

Appendix D

Aspects of Gaelic Grammar

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Introduction

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1. Adverbs ‘ever’ and ‘never’

1.1 Adverbs ‘ever’ and ‘never’: *riamh, chaoidh, gu bràth*

1. Introduction

Following is an overview of the meanings and use of the Gaelic adverbs (*a-*)*riamh*, (*a-*)*chaoidh* and *gu bràth*,¹ based on the data obtained from the MEANMA Gaelic online corpus. The use of these adverbs depends on the category of time: generally speaking, (*a-*)*riamh* refers to the past and is used predominantly with the past tense and the conditional (= past habitual), whilst (*a-*)*chaoidh* and *gu bràth* refer to the future (including relative future). Exceptional examples are discussed in §5. All three adverbs can be translated into English in a number of ways, depending on context: as ‘always’, ‘ever’ or ‘never’, and (*a-*)*chaoidh* and *gu bràth* can also correspond to English ‘(n)ever again’ or ‘forever’.

The meaning of these adverbs can be emphasised or reinforced by the word *tuilleadh*, as in *a-riamh tuilleadh*, *a-chaoidh tuilleadh*, *gu bràth tuilleadh*, or *tuilleadh gu bràth* (‘never again’ or similar); or by reduplication such as *gu bràth bràth* (‘forever and ever’).

The expression *bho riamh* appears to mean something like ‘from time immemorial’, whereas *riamh bho* acts as a conjunction meaning ‘ever since’.

There are other words or phrases meaning ‘always/ever/never’ in Gaelic, such as: *gu siorraidh* (*bràth*), *gu dìlinn* (*tuilleadh*),² *uair sam bith*, etc. These, however, have not been addressed here.

2. The adverb (*a-*)*riamh*

2.1. Past tense

This adverb is most commonly used with the past tense and it refers to the period preceding the time of reference. Depending on the context, the Gaelic past tense can correspond to the past tense, the present perfect or the past perfect in English.

- *Sin mar a bha riamh shaoil leis.* (That is how it has always been, he thought.)³ (§3983);
- *... tha iad anabarrach cosmhail ri chèile a thaobh an àite a bha iad riamh a’ toirt do sheanfhaical...* (= they have always been giving to proverbs) (§4030);

¹ Also spelled *gu bràch* in some texts, reflecting the pronunciation of the final consonant.

² This is found predominantly in early texts.

³ All translations are my own (D.M.).

- *Is e Anndra an t-ainm a bh' air a' chiad leannan a bh' agam **riamh**.* (= the first boyfriend I have ever had, i.e. my first boyfriend ever) (§3981);
- *An aithne dhut gun dh'ith siorc duine **a-riamh**?* (= has ever eaten) (§3777);
- *Chan fhaca mi gin **a-riamh** cho àlainn.* (I have never seen any that lovely.) (§3771);
- *Bha a chridhe **riamh** ann an Eilean a' Cheò, agus chan iarradh e na b'fheàrr...* (His heart had always been...) (§4017);
- *Robh e **riamh** san Spàinn? Bha dùil acasan a dhol ann as t-samhradh.* (Had he ever been to Spain? They hoped...) (§3876);
- *Fòghnaidh e a ràdh nach deach a ghlacadh **riamh**.* (It is enough to say that he was never caught.) (§3794).

Examples of the past perfect have been attested too, but they form a very small minority in the corpus in comparison to the examples of the past tense.

- *Bha tarbh air a bhith aig muinntir Alasdair Lachlainn **a riamh**, mas robh tairbh a' Bhùird idir ann...* (A. L.'s family had always had a bull, before the Board's bulls even existed...) (§3883);
- *Cha robh e **riamh** air am faicinn...* (He had never seen them...) (§3857);
- *... mar nach robh thu air a bhith **a-riamh** ann...* (= as if you had never existed – the subjunctive, governed by *mar*) (§3844).

The adverb *riamh* is also used in relative clauses with the verb in the past tense, following comparative, superlative and equative expressions, as follows:

- *Bha i cho fallain 's a bha i **riamh**.* (= as healthy as ever) (§3867);
- *An ceann ùine rugadh mac daibh, agus mac cho grànda mì-shlàn agus a rugadh **riamh**.* (= the ugliest, most unhealthy boy that had ever been born) (§4032);
- *... ged a b' iad amadain bu mhotha bha **riamh** air an t-saoghal.* (= the biggest fools that had ever existed) (§4049);
- *An dèidh a' Chogaidh lean bàtaichean a' tadhal, ach nas minig na bha iad **a-riamh roimhe**.* (= more rarely than they had [been visiting] ever before, i.e. more rarely than ever before) (§4083).

The expression **riamh roimhe** means '(n)ever before'.

- *“Cha do thachair,” ars esan. “**A riamh roimhe**.”* (It had never... happened before.) (§3852);
- *An dèidh a' Chogaidh lean bàtaichean a' tadhal, ach nas minig na bha iad **a-riamh roimhe**.* (= more rarely than they had [been visiting] ever before) (§4083);
- *Na thuit seòladair a-mach à long **a-riamh roimhe**?* (Had a sailor ever fallen out of a ship before?) (§3776).

However, note an example of the past perfect:

- *Aon turas chuir piuthar mo mhàthar ann an Glaschu thugam measan nach robh mi air fhaicinn **riamh roimhe**: banàna.* (... fruit that I had never seen before: banana) (§3879).

The expression **riamh tuilleadh** appears to mean ‘ever since’ or ‘(n)ever again’, depending on polarity.

- *Bha cuimhn’ aige riamh tuilleadh air an dearbh àit’ far na thurchair e bhith.* (He has remembered ever since...) (§3856);
- *Nuair a dh’éibh mise Maighstir Ciss air thubhairt esan, “T-Seon.” Is b’ e t-Seon a bha air riamh tuilleadh.* (And he has been called t-Seon ever since.) (§3961);
- *Agus cha do dh’fhan piuthar mo mhàthar aig Gleann Dail oidhche riamh tuilleadh.* (...never stayed at Glendale overnight again.) (§4067);
- *... cha do chuimhnich mise air a’ chùis riamh tuilleadh gus an raoid fhéin.* (I never thought about the matter again until last night.) (§3884).

The expression **bho riamh** appears to be an emphatic version of *riamh*, meaning ‘always’. In other words, just as English ‘forever’ implies the lack of an end, Gaelic *bho riamh* implies the (presumed) lack of a beginning. Cf. English ‘since time immemorial’.

- *Bha e mar a bha e bho riamh.* (It was like it had always been.) (§3848);
- *Bho dhearc e air aodann, shaoil leis gu robh iad eòlach air a chèile bho riamh.* (... they had always known each other.) (§3855);
- *Bha bodaich an eilein a’ creidsinn bho riamh gum b’ e droch àidhear a bha na h-eilthirich a’ giùlain thuca bho Thìr-Mòr...* (= had always believed / had believed since time immemorial) (§4079);
- *Thàinig e steach orm an uair sin (...) nach robh aona dhòchas, aona chreideamh, aon iarrtas na mo bheatha, bho riamh, a bha seasmhach is daingeann.* (= ever at all) (§3849).

The expression **riamh bho** means ‘ever since’. It often functions as a conjunction. The past tense occurs in the main clause and corresponds either to the present perfect or to a past tense in English.⁴

- *Riamh o mharbh am mathan athair, Bairn Mór, ’se a mhàthair Agadh a thog e, a stiùir ’s a sheòl e.* (Ever since the bear killed his father... it had been his mother Agadh who raised him...) (§3984);
- *Riamh on a b’ urrainn domh coiseachd, bha eòlas maith agam orra...* (Ever since I had been able to walk, I had known them well...) (§4022);
- *Riamh on chaidh innseadh dhomh (...) bha m’ fhuil a’ teòthadh ri m’ fhine...* (Ever since I was told... my blood has been warming...) (§4006);
- *Ach riamh bhon latha a loisg an nàmhaid air an eilean, cha do chaill an Riaghaltas sealladh air an luach...* (But ever since the day... the Government had not lost sight of...) (§4082).

Note, however, the past perfect in the following example:

⁴ Cf. §2.3.

- *Bha Pàdraig air fuireach air falbh bhon taigh aca **riamh bhon** oidhche a chaidh Karl a mharbhadh...* (P. had stayed away...) (§3872).

The expression **ach aon uair riamh** could be translated as follows:

- *Chan fhaca mi Iain Caimbeul, Bàrd na Leideige, **ach aon uair riamh**, ged a bha mi eòlach gu leòr air an teaghlach.* (I have only ever seen I. C. once...) (§4013).

In the expression **ainneamh riamh**, *riamh* could act as an intensifier: ‘very rarely’, ‘hardly ever’.

- *Chaill e ’athair ’s chaill e bhràthair le dosgann-mhara, is b’ **ainneamh riamh** bàs a’ chinn-adhairt nam measg nan daoine on tàinig e.* (§3991);
- *... gus an do ràinig e àite sònraichte a bha e cinnteach nach robh ach **ainneamh riamh** gun bhreac a bhith ’na laighe ann.* (= hardly ever without a fish, i.e. there was almost always a fish there) (§4063);
- *’S ann **ainneamh a riamh** a chunnacas ann an eachdraidh ar n-Eaglais a leithid de bhròn...* (§4513).

2.2. Conditional

The adverb *riamh* is used with the conditional when the latter functions as the past habitual. The same applies to expressions such as *bho riamh*, *riamh bho*, and similar.

- *’S beag an t-iongnadh ged a bhiodh i **riamh** cho searbh.* (No wonder, although she always used to be that bitter.) (§3875);
- *... bha dlùth-dhàimh aig Ruairidh ri m’ athair, agus bhiodh iad a’ dèanamh companas ri chèile **riamh**.* (§4074);
- *Agus **riamh** às dèidh sineach (...) bhitheamaid a’ fuireach oidhche ’s dòcha, no a’ tadhal, ann an taigh Ruairidh Ghilleasbaig Aonghais air an rathad dhan sgoil...* (And ever after that... we would stay / used to stay...) (§4075);
- ***Riamh bho** ’n d’ thàinig am marsanta Gallda tarsuinn air, bliadhnachan roimhe sud, bhiodh e cumail cinn chruaidh ris a’ bhàillidh ùr...* (Ever since the Lowland merchant came... he had kept...) (§4054);
- *... gur ann far na chuir mi mo chàr a bhiodh a bhean-san a’ cur a car **bho riamh**, agus air an adhbhar sin, gu feumainn mo chàr a ghluasad.* (= that his wife always parked her car where I had put my car...) (§3845).

Riamh is also used with the conditional in clauses introduced by the conjunction *mar gu/nach*, where the Gaelic conditional corresponds to the past perfect (subjunctive) in English.

- *Bheireadh e greis mhòr a’ coimhead ri gach clach – a’ coimhead riutha mar nach biodh e air a’ leithid fhaicinn **a riamh**.* (= as if he had never seen something like them.) (§3869).

NB: This is the conditional perfect.

2.3. Present tense

The present tense can be used with the expressions *bho riamh* and *riamh bho*, to imply that the process is still ongoing. The present tense corresponds to the present perfect in English in these contexts. The former has been recorded in:

- *Oir tha a gualainn bho riamh dhan adhar gun atharrachadh.* (About a standing stone: its shoulder has been [pointing up] to the sky without change since time immemorial.) (§3854).

There are more examples that contain *riamh bho* in the corpus.

- *Tha eagal orm ro na seilleanan cuideachd riamh on a chuir mi tè na mo phòcaid 's mi a' smaoineachadh gu robh i marbh.* (I have been afraid of bees too ever since I put...) (§3878);
- *Riamh on oidhche sin tha sùil na h-òige agus cridhe na h-aoise a' sireadh siar – ma tha no nach eil an solas-iùil fhathast air an sgeir.* (Ever since that night, the eye... has been searching...) (§3992);
- *Riamh o nuair [sic! on uair] sin thathas a' cumail a' bhocsa chungaidhean-leighis air sgeilp bhig anns an trannta eadar a' bhùth agus an rùm-cùil.* (Ever since that time, the medicine box has been kept...) (§4505).

However, note an example of the present perfect:

- *Choisinn i cuideachd L.R.A.M. ann an ceòl, 's tha i air a bhith iomraiteach mar bhana-sheinneadair riamh bho fhuair i bonn òir a' Mhòid, 's i na nighean òg.* (= she has been famous as a [female] singer ever since she won...) (§3986).

2.4. Future tense

There is one example of the future tense used with *riamh bho* 'ever since' (cf. §2.3). The future form has the present habitual meaning and corresponds to the present perfect in English.

- *“Miann do chridhe dhuit,” ars esan – 's gabhar le chèile thun a' chuain. Riamh on oidhche sin chìthear baintighearna òr-bhuidh, le earball èisg, a' snàmh nan tonn 's a' sìor-iarraidh an nì sin nach gabh faotainn, tè as àille na i fhèin* (“As you wish”, he said – and they went to the ocean together. Ever since that night, a golden-haired lady with the tail of a fish has been seen swimming⁵ the waves and looking forever for the thing that cannot be found, one more beautiful than herself.) (§3994).⁶

⁵ I.e. it has been possible to see her...

⁶ Translations by D. M.

2.5. Verbal noun

The adverb *riamh* can occur with verbal nouns. Since they refer to past events/states in this case, the verbal nouns correspond to the perfect infinitive (*to have X-ed*) or gerund (*having X-ed*) in English.

- “*Cìod, a dhuine bhoichd a’ ghaoth tha cur dragh ort?*” ‘*Tha le ’r cead, ’ arsa mise, ’ an aona ghaoth as fhiosrach mise thigh ’n riamh rathad a’ bhaile so, – a’ ghaoth-’n-ear.*’ (= the only wind I know ever to have come in the direction of this village) (§4506);
- ... *oir cha robh cuimhn’ agamsa air fhaicinn riamh mu choinneamh mo dhà shùil.* (= since I did not remember ever having seen him) (§3864).

2.6. Other

Following question words, *riamh* can be interpreted as an intensifier:

- *Ach dé riamh thug oirre Tormod a phòsadh?* (But what on earth made her marry Norman?) (§3968).

The same is true of *riamh* following phrases that contain the expression *a h-uile*:

- *Beag air bheag thàinig an tigh gu ar miann agus ghabh sin gu math socair e oir bha sinn sgìth (...)* – *cha do stad sinn eadhoin airson an dà sheachduinn shaor laithean a tha sinn a cur seachad anns na Hearadh a h-uile bliadhna riamh eile.* (= of holiday that we have been spending in Harris every single year) (§3881);
- “*Tha; tha, gun teagamh,*” *ars a h-uile fear riamh.* (= every single man) (§4051);
- ... *’s bha seachd cisteachan ann am broinn na tè sin, ’s bha h-uile tè riamh dhiubh glaiste dhe na seachd...* (= every single one of them) (§4069);
- ... *gus an robh a h-uile tè riamh làn, seachd cisteachan.* (§4068);
- *Éist ris a h-uile facal a-riamh!* (= every single word) (§4509).

3. The adverb *a-chaoidh*

3.1. Future tense

This adverb is most commonly used with the future tense and refers to the time that extends from the point of reference onwards.

- *Ach bidh mise ’s mo leannan / Chaoidh nar flaitheas fo thuinn...* (= forever) (§4093);
- ... *an tilleadh iad a chaoidh do na glinn san robh iad òg?* (= will they ever return?) (§4112);
- ... *ach chan fhaic e sinne a’ danns a-chaoidh.* (= he will never see us dance) (§4106);
- *Nach mór a rinneadh an Strath-Oiceil agus nach eil a choltas air gun deanar mórán an sin a chaoidh.* (= it does not seem that much will ever be done there) (§3843);

- ... agus cha 'n fhosglar an doras sin dhuit **a chaoidh tuilleadh**... (= that door will never be open to you again) (§4090);
- Dh'fhalbh a' chuid mhòr dhiubh a-nis, 's **a-chaoidh gu bràth** cha bhi an samhail ann. (... there will not be anyone like them there ever again) (§4103).

3.2. Conditional

A-chaoidh can be used with the conditional that acts either as the 'past future' or as the 'true' conditional. In either case, it refers to the period that extends from the point of reference onwards.

- *Agus bha Teàrlach eòlach air a dhòighean, 's bhiodh an dithis aca còmhla' ris a **chaoidh**.* (= the two of them would be with him forever) (§4091);
- *Thuirt e a-rithist nach robh fiamh no feagal air gun tilleadh am fear ud **a-chaoidh tuilleadh**, agus cha do thill e sin.* (= he was not in the least afraid that that man would return ever again) (§4104);
- *A' chlann-nighean anns nach suathainn **a-chaoidh tuilleadh**.* (§4089);
- *Nam faighinn innse / Dhan t-sagart ghaolach / Gur e an daorach / A thug orm seòladh... / **A chaoidh** cha taobhainn / Na taighean-òsda.* (I would never approach...) (§4092);
- ... nan cuireadh iad dragh airesan a-rithist, **a-chaoidh** (...) gu marbhadh e iad. (= if they annoyed him ever again... that he would kill them) (§4086);
- ... ged nach aidichinn **a-chaoidh** gur e Leòdhasach a th'annam... (= although I would never admit...) (§4108).

With the verb *bi*, the forms *bha/robh* can be used instead of the conditional. The following examples contain perfect forms.

- *Mura biodh e fhèin air bruidhinn, cha robh sinne air aithneachadh **a chaoidh**...* (= we would never have recognised him [i.e. after we had met him]) (§4084);
- *Fhuair e air innse dha mu dheireadh nach robh esan air a' chùis a dhèanamh air **a-chaoidh** às aonais nam brògan donna.* (= that he would never have managed it without the brown shoes) (§4107).

3.3. Imperative

- ***A chaoidh** na sgar bhuaat sinn.* (Do not ever separate us from you.) (§4102).

3.4. Past tense

Unlike *a-riamh*, which refers to a past period that precedes the point of reference, *a-chaoidh* can be used with the past tense to refer to the period that follows a point of reference that is placed in the past.

- *Seo a' mhadainn a bha dealbht' a-chaidh tuilleadh air clàr inntinn...* (= forever and ever) (§4098);
- *'S chan fhac' an Sgeilbheag iad a-chaidh tuilleadh.* (The Crumb did not see them ever again.) (§4097);
- *... is e sin gun cual e athair a' mallachd Dhé, 's bha e smaoineachadh a chaidh gu robh mallachd air an teaghlach (...) air sgàth sin.* (= he always thought [i.e. from then on] that their family was cursed because of that) (§4109).

3.5. Verbal noun

The verbal noun refers to a future process in this case (cf. §2.5).

- *... nuair a dhrùidh e air nach robh math dha pòsadh a chaidh...* (= when he realised that it was not good for him to ever get married) (§4110).

4. The adverb *gu bràth*

4.1. Future tense

Cf. the use of *a-chaidh* with the future (see §3.1).

- *O Rìgh, bidh cuimhne agam gu bràth air na làithean a bh' ann...* (I will always remember those days...) (§4298);
- *... tha iad còrr is cóig notaichean an t-slat ach mairidh iad gu bràth.* (= but they will last forever) (§4300);
- *Ach bidh Dòmhnall Ruadh a-nis a' coiseachd romhamsa gu bràth...* (But D. R. will be walking before me forever) (§4321);
- *Ma thachras e gu bràth...* (= if it ever happens) (§4284);
- *... agus sin a chanas mi ris an lighiche mo bhràthair cuideachd, ma chì mi gu bràth tuilleadh e...* (= if I see him ever again) (§4320);
- *Am fac no am faic sinn gu bràth nigheanan bu chridheile 's bu laghaiche na mnathan-luaidhe?* (Have we [ever] seen or will we ever see girls...?) (§4299);
- *A bheil sibh am beachd gum faigh sinn gu bràth Pàrlamaid dhuinn féin an Albainn?* (Do you think we will ever get a Parliament of our own in Scotland?) (§4295);
- *... 's math dh'fhaidteadh nach tachair gu bràth* (= and [we] may never meet again) (§4275);
- *“Agus c' uin a thilleas tu?” “Cha till gu bràth”* (And when will you return? I never will.) (§4289);
- *... Cha tèid mise,” ars esan, “a dh'Uibhist gu bràth.* (= ever again) (§4307);
- *... 's a-chaidh gu bràth cha bhi an samhail ann.* (§4386);
- *Ach ged nach eil e ro choltach gum bi I gu bràth mar a bha an t-eilean ri linn Chalum Chille...* (But although it is not too likely that Iona will ever be as the island was in St Columba's time...) (§4297);

- ... 's na leigeadh Dia gun cuir mac dhòmhsa **gu bràth** cas air clàr luinge... (= and Heaven forbid that a son of mine ever sets foot on the deck of a ship) (§4358);
- *Agus ni mò a chluinnear e tuilleadh gu bràth.* (§4305).

Gu bràth occurs with the future tense that acts as the optative:

- *Gun soirbhich gu bràth, / Le buidheann mo ghràidh...* (May [...] thrive forever) (§4252).

An example of reduplication has been found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*:

- *'Na tàmh ann an Tàimis an tàrr i fuireach, a' siaradh air a slabhraidhean, dò-cheannsaicht' uile, ma chail i Rubha na Cloiche is Cille Mhunna, is Seann Dùn a h-àbhaiste gu bràth bràth buileach?* (Text 25).

4.2. Conditional

Cf. the use of *a-chaidh* with the conditional (see §3.2).

- *Bhiodh ainm Aonghais Iain an sud gu bràth.* (A. I.'s name would be there forever.) (§4311);
- *Thug i dùil gu 'n tilleadh Iain gu bràth.* (She gave up hope that Iain would ever return.) (§4277);
- *Cha robh dùil agam (...) gu faighinn mi fhìn gu bràth tuilleadh air ais am broinn rùm sgoile...* (= ever again) (§4317);
- *Ràinig an naidheachd (...) nach faiceadh e a chuideachd gu bràth!* (= that he would never see his company again) (§4273);
- *Agus thug iad mionnan air a chèile, nuair a bha iad anns an sgoil, nach tionndaidheadh an dàrna fear an aghaidh an fhir eile gu bràth aca.* (§4306);
- *Dh'fheumadh cuideigin ceist brosnachaidh fhaighneachd, no bhiodh sinn gu bràth fuar thall a sud.* (= or we would have been cold over there forever) (§4314);
- *Nam b' fhirinn e, chan eil mi an dùil gun nochdainn m' aghaidh gu bràth tuilleadh shìos air a' chòmhnard.* (= that I would show my face... ever again) (§4357).

Note an example of the perfect conditional (cf. §4314 and §4357 above):

- ... *cha bhithinn air mothachadh gu bràth...* (= I would never have noticed) (§4387).

With the verb *bi*, the forms *bha/robh* can occur instead of the conditional:

- *Bha feum greim a' chait a bhi cho math no bha crìoch air mo dhan gu bràth.* (= or else my song would have finished forever) (§4272);
- ... 's na 'n robh e an dàn da dol dachaidh gu bràth, gu 'm biodh i aige 'n a h-ionghnadh as na h-Innseanan-ear. (= and if he were destined to ever go home) (§4278).

4.3. Present tense

These examples describe plans for the future or situations that will extend into the future.

- *Tha 'n oighreachd so air reic 's an sean uachdaran r' a chùlaibh a thoirt oirre **gu bràth**...* (= the old landlord is about to leave it forever) (§4279);
- *... gu 'm bheil do mhàthair fo 'n leacaig 's mise creachte **gu bràth**.* (§4283);
- *Tha 'n saoghal ud air falbh **gu bràth**...* (That world is gone forever.) (§4293);
- *“Tha sinne às a geasan **gu bràth**,” ars iadsan.* (§4350).

Cf. an example of the present progressive:

- *Beannachd leat an-dràsta; / 'S mur fhaic mi thu 's an fhàsach / Gu 'n coinnich sinn 's an àite / **Gu bràth** nach 'eil gradh a' sgur.* (= where love never stops⁷) (§4262).

4.4. Imperative

Cf. §3.3.

- *... biodh a' choire gu bràth orm bitheamsa fuidh 'n choir-iomchar **gu bràth**.* (= let me bear the guilt forever and let me be under the blame-carrying forever) (§4237);
- *Na dèan a leithid **gu bràth**.* (= Do not do anything like that ever again.) (§4294);
- *... fan leinn fhèin **gu bràth**...* (= stay with us forever) (§4351).

4.5. Past tense

Cf. §3.4.

- *... thug oighre bòidheach an Dùin-bhàin **gu bràth** a chul [sic! chùl] air an dùthaich.* (= the heir (...) left the country forever) (§4274);
- *... a sheòl am Prionnsa Teàrlach Eideard Stiùbhart air falbh **gu bràth*** (= sailed away forever) (§4301);
- *... gus an d' fhàg e Alba **gu bràth*** (= until he left Scotland forever) (§4302);
- *Ach cha do thill e **gu bràth*** (But he never returned again.) (§4303).

Cf. an example of the (past) progressive, where *gu bràth* could mean ‘continuously’:

- *Bha ghaoth bho 'n Earadheas agus Alasdair na Buaile a' glaothaich, a' glaothaich, **gu bràth** gus an duirt an guth socair ciùin seo 'na chluais: ‘A’ rud nach buin riut, Alasdair, na buin dhà.* (§4331).

Cf. examples of the past perfect. The first sentence is passive.

- *'S bha thu mar tha **gu bràth** air d' fhilleadh / Am fuachd 's an cadal a' bhàis.* (And you had already been wrapped forever...) (§4292);

⁷ That is unless *gu bràth* refers to the previous line: *we will meet forever...*

- ... *is iongantach gu robh am poileas air a lorg **gu bràth**...* (= it is surprising that the police had ever found it) (§4384).⁸

4.6. Verbal noun

Cf. §3.5.

- ... *gun dùil a dhùthaich no a chuideachd fhaicinn **gu bràth**.* (= without hope of seeing his home or his company ever again) (§4271);
- ... *nach leig a h-aon d' a shìolaidh leas làmh no cas a ghluasad **gu bràth tuillidh*** (= will not allow... to move a hand or foot ever again) (§4281);
- *An toiseach, nach bu chòir dhuinn **gu bràth** sgur a dh'urnuigh...* (First, that we should never stop praying...) (§4288);
- *Chan iarrainn fuireachd **gu bràth**...* (= I would not like to live [there] forever.) (§4290);
- *Thubhairt i ris (...) nach robh e 'na dùil pòsadh **gu bràth**.* (= that she does not intend to ever get married.) (§4313);
- ... *chruthaich e e na ìomhaigh fhèin (...) airson a phianadh 's a chràdh **gu bràth**...* (§4322);
- *Dh'iarrainn-sa nis a bhith còmhnaidh **gu bràth**...* (§4328).

4.7. Elliptical optative expressions

These expressions lack a finite verb. They include wishes, curses, oaths, greetings, and similar.

- *Mòr bheannachd **gu bràth** dha...* (= a great blessing to X forever) (§4264);
- ... ***gu bràth** mo mhìle beannachd leo.* (= my thousand blessings to them forever) (§4291);
- *Agus baobach (tuathail) orm **gu bràth** (...) mur eil an claidheamh aige cromadh no cromadh gu leth nas fhaide na mo chloidheamh fhèin.* (§4342);
- *Mo shoraidh slàn **gu bràth** leis...* (§4388).

4.8. Other

The expression *gu bràth* can modify adjectives.

- *Ainmeil **gu bràth tuilleadh** – sin a' fear a – seadh, anns an eaglais, o droch isean – air feadh an t-saoghail.* (= famous forever and ever) (§4315);
- *Bha mise (...) an dùil gun robh mi (...) saor **gu bràth** o dhraoidheachd na Doimhne...* (= free forever) (§4361).

⁸ *A-riamh* might be expected in this context.

These examples can be interpreted differently. The former could be an elliptical expression in which the verb *bi* is understood. In the latter, *gu bràth* could modify the predicate (*robh... saor gu bràth* ‘was free forever’) rather than just the adjective.

5. Exceptional uses of *riamh*, *chaoidh* and *gu bràth*

5.1. *Riamh* occurring with the future tense

There are no examples in the corpus of the adverb *riamh* modifying verbs in the future tense. There is only one example of a future form accompanying the expression *riamh bho* ‘ever since’. This verb form corresponds to the present perfect in English in this context.

- “*Miann do chridhe dhuit,*” *ars esan* – ‘*s gabhar le chèile thun a’ chuain. **Riamh** on oidhche sin chìthear baintighearna òr-bhuidh, le earball èisg, a’ snàmh nan tonn ’s a’ sìor-iarraidh an nì sin nach gabh faotainn, tè as àille na i fhèin* (“As you wish”, he said – and they went to the ocean together. Ever since that night, a golden-haired lady with the tail of a fish has been seen swimming⁹ the waves and looking forever for the thing that cannot be found, one more beautiful than herself.) (§3994).

5.2. *A-chaoidh* and *gu bràth* occurring with the past tense

In all examples, the adverbs *a-chaoidh* and *gu bràth* appear to refer either to the relative future or to a period that extends into the future. There are two examples of the **simple past tense** in negative sentences. The adverbs can be translated as ‘never (again)’.

- ‘*S chan fhac’ an Sgeilbheag iad **a-chaoidh tuilleadh*** (The Crumb never saw them again.) (§4097);
- *Ann an dealchadh ris na càirdean dìleas a dh’fhàgte ’na dhéidh, is dòcha, co-dhiùbh, gu robh e-fhéin an dùil r’ a thilleadh le feachd a dh’fhóghnadh dhà airson buaidh chinnteach fhaotainn. Ach cha do thill e gu brath* (But he never came back again.) (§4303).

In one example, the adverb *a-chaoidh* (meaning ‘ever’) modifies a verbal noun introduced by an expression in the past tense.

- *Bha e dol a phòsadh nighean do ’m b’ ainm Regina, nighean a bha na b’ òige na e fhéin: rinn e cùmhnant rithe. Ach chaidh a’ cùmhnant a bhristeadh nuair a dhrùidh e air nach robh math dha pòsadh a chaoidh, oir dh’aitnich e gu robh obair mhór mu choinneamh, a dh’fheumadh a bhith dèanta ann an aonaranachd (... when he realised that there is no point in him ever getting married) (§4110).*

⁹ I.e. it has been possible to see her...

3. *A-chaidh* and *gu bràth* occurring with the conditional

Some examples of the conditional with the **conditional** meaning have been found.

- *Nam faighinn innse / Dhan t-sagart ghaolach / Gur e an daorach / A thug orm seòladh, / Bhiodh m' inntinn aotrom / 'S bhiodh m' anam saor, is / A **chaidh** cha taobhainn / Na taighean-òsda (... I would never approach the pubs.) (§4092);*
- *Bha mi fhèin fo gheasa (...) nach rachainn thar cuan dh'fhios mo nighinn, ach shiùbhlainn a-nis còig còigeadh na h-Eireann cas-ruisgte ri sneachd 's ri gaillinn, agus cha mhaoidhinn oirre gu bràth e ach mi ga faoitainn an deireadh sgeòil (... I would never grudge her that) (§4353);*
- “*Mìorbhaileach,*” thuirt i, “*mìorbhaileach coltach, cha bhithinn air mothachadh gu bràth, mura b' e gu robh mi ag obair san oifis shìos as t-samhradh...*” (I would never have noticed if I had not happened to work in the office below) (§4387);¹⁰
- *O cha tuigeadh a chaidh, nas motha na thuigeadh esan mu cruadalan agus àmhghairean a thàinig air a' chuid a chaidh a-null dhan Choille...* (Oh, he would never understand...) (§4111);
- *B' ann fo lannsa ann an ospadal Steòrnabhadh a rugadh mi, ged nach aidichinn a-chaidh gur e Leòdhasach a th' annam...* (... although I would never admit that I am a Lewisman) (§4108);
- *Cha dèanadh mac an duine gu bràth nì cho iongantach, cho sgileil, ri seo* (A human being would never (manage to) make a thing...) (§4330);
- *'S chan ailis idir e air gaol nam ban, ma chuir deagh bhanaltramas a' chuain teothad 'nan deòir is goirtead 'nan cridhe nach cuireadh a h-an-ìochd gu bràth (... which her rigour would never put¹¹) (§4340);*
- *Tha mi coma ged nach fhaicinn gu bràth e...* (I would not care even if I never saw him again...¹²) (§4375).

The conditional has a similar meaning, but with a connotation of habituality, in the following examples.

- *Chan fhalbhainn gu bràth gus a leigeadh e 'm braim* (I would never leave until/before he would fart.) (§4332);
- *Bha e an seo fo gheasa nach marbhadh e cruitire-ciùil gu bràth ach le chruit fhèin* (He was under a spell so that he would never kill a harpist except with his own harp.) (§4349).

However, the majority of the examples have the **past future** meaning so the adverbs *a-chaidh* and *gu bràth* are expected here.

- *Bha cuimhne aige air fhéin 's an seòladair ag òl á leth-bhotull, a' seinn an tilleadh iad a chaidh do na glinn san robh iad òg?* (... would they ever return...) (§4112);

¹⁰ NB: the past conditional.

¹¹ This might have the past future sense.

¹² This form acts as the subjunctive.

- “*Cha robh iad rèidh,*” *arsa bantrach Thormoid Dhòmh’Ruaidh,* “*’s a rèir colais cha deigheadh ac’ a-chaoidh air a bhith rèidh...*” (... as it seemed, they would never manage to be ready.) (§4099);
- *A’ chlann-nighean anns nach suathainn a chaoidh tuilleadh,* *a’ chlann-nighean a bha cho fada air falbh...* (§4089);
- “*Dhia-Dhia! An ann mar so a tha! Bha dùil agam-sa nach sealladh tu air fear gu bràth tuilleadh bhon a chaidh Calum Seasaig an taobh a chaidh e leis an té Ghallda.*” (... that you would never look at the man again) (§4296);
- *Bhòidich an sin gach fear diubh, nam faigheadh e a bheatha leis an tràth-sa, nach marbhadh ’s nach màbhadh e ròn gu bràth tuilleadh* (... that he would not kill or harm a seal ever again) (§4347);
- *Fhuair sinn fàilte o ar càirdean, / ’S dùil gu bràth nach tigeamaid* (... hoping that we would never come.) (§4248);
- *Bha dùil agam dòcha nach fhaicinn gu bràth tuilleadh thu* (... that I would never see you again.) (§4365);
- “*O, Alasdair!*” *Dh’èirich i air a casan ’s deòir an aoibhneis a’ sruthadh sìos a h-aghaidh. “Bha dùil agam nach fhaicinn thu gu bràth tuilleadh!”* (... that I would never see you again.) (§4372);
- *Bha aghaidh Catrìona a’ tighinn na inntinn agus na sùilean donn aice làn de thruas air a shon agus thug an smaoin nach fhaiceadh e gu bràth tuilleadh i ’s nach bitheadh beatha aca còmhla air na deòir a bhith sruthadh sìos aodann* (... that he would never see her again) (§4371);
- *Bha e air cur roimhe mar tha nach fhaiceadh Singer gu bràth tuilleadh an t-eagal anns na sùilean aige-san* (... that S. would never see fear in his eyes again.) (§4378);
- *Agus feò[i]rnein àghmhor, / A dh’fhàs air uaigh do mhàthair, / Nach tréigeadh tu gu bràth / Gus an càireadh iad i ’san dust* (... which you would never abandon) (§4261);
- ... *Bho ’n là a dh’fhàg thu iad air do chùl; / Le d’ ghnìomh ’s le d’ chànan, le ciall is gràdh dhaibh, / Nach gabhadh àireamh gu bràth...* (... which would not be possible to ever count) (§4247);
- *Thug diùlnaich Sgousair àithne, / Sir Coinneach bhi ga ’m fàgail, / Bho ’n ’s iad na féidh bha ’n glaic fo ’sgéith, / Nach éisdeadh iad gu bràth ris* (... that would never listen to him again.) (§4243);
- *Ràinig an naidheachd so a chridhe gu mór: gu’n robh e ’na mhurtair, gu ’m feumadh e teicheadh, ’s nach faiceadh e a chuideachd gu bràth!* (... and that he would never see his company again) (§4273);
- *Agus thug iad mionnan air a chèile (...) nach tionndaidheadh an dàrna fear an aghaidh an fhir eile gu bràth aca* (... that neither of them would ever turn against the other) (§4306);
- *Latha dha robh iad, shaoil leotha nach dìochuimhnicheadh iad gu bràth Iain no Alasdair, ach cha robh ìomhaigh fear seach fear dhiubh aca an diugh* (... they thought they would never forget I. or A.) (§4312);

- *Sheas e gus an robh an rìghle seachad, fhios agus cinnt aige a nise nach déidheach na bha e ri faicinn ás a chuimhne no ás a chom gu bràth (... that what he was able to see would never leave his mind or his heart) (§4310);*
- *'S cha do thill 'ad tuilleadh, 's cha thilleadh gu bràth (... and they never would (i.e. return)) (§4329);*
- *... bha pàirc aig na caoraich nach spiulladh 'ad gu bràth... (a field... they would never manage to nibble away) (§4327);*
- *Ach mar gum b' ann ann a' suain chunnaic e athair air a' leabaidh, air a dhruim, marbh. Cionnus a thuit na cumhachdaich – chan fhaigheadh e gu bràth seachad air (... he would never get over that) (§4325);*
- *Laigh i air an leaba, agus cha bhiodh i slàn gu bràth gus am faigheadh i cridhe agus grùthan Chraoibh-òir (...) rin itheadh (... she would never recover until she got...) (§3445);*
- *Thug mo mhac mionnan is bòid nach innseadh e gu bràth no 'na dhèidh sin (... that he would never ever tell (it)) (§4364);*
- *... agus bhòidich is bhriathraich iad 'nan ceathrar nach leigeadh iad cach-a-chèile air dì-chuimhn gu bràth (... that they would never forget one another) (§4352);*
- *... ach an ceann na h-ùine sin thòisich i air a ràdh riutha nach robh math dhaibh a bhith mar sin ri the air neo nach dèanach i car feuma gu bràth (... or else she would never do anything useful again) (§4377);*
- *Ach gu dearbha fhèin 's i tha ga fhreagairt. Agus gu bràth sìorraidh buan cha deigheadh agams' air a chur na b' fheàrr (And forever and ever, I would not manage to put it better.) (§4385).*

1.2 Adverbs ‘ever’ and ‘never’: *uair sam bith*

1. Introduction

The examples analysed in this overview have been found in post-1900 texts available in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

The adverbial expression *uair sam bith* can correspond to English ‘whenever’ (often followed by a relative clause) or ‘at any/whatever time’ (often in affirmative sentences). In questions, *if*-clauses and negative sentences, it can mean ‘(n)ever’. In most examples, it occurs with the verb either in the future tense or in the conditional progressive, describing present or past habitual events respectively. The simple future and conditional are used with verbs that do not normally occur in progressive constructions (*bi*, auxiliaries, modals) and less commonly with other verbs. The present (*tha*) and past tenses sometimes indicate repeated actions. This adverbial phrase is also used with the copula (*is*).

1.1. *Uair sam bith* meaning ‘whenever’

- *Bidh e tighinn a chèilidh oirr’ (...)* ***uair sam bith*** *a tha e anns an sgìre...* (§11); *Thig suas uair sam bith a tha thu ag iarraidh* (§202); ***Uair sam bith*** *a bhiodh a mhàthair tinn...* (§203); *Agus nuair a thig e go feum,* ***uair sam bith*** *a bhios e a dhìth oirbhse...* (§51);
- “*Cuine mharbhas sinn e?*” [i.e. the ram] “***Uair sam bith.***” (§30).

1.2. *Uair sam bith* meaning ‘at any/whatever time’, ‘at some point’

- ... *agus e ’n dùil gu nochdadh am fear eile* ***uair sam bith*** (§310); *Bithidh mise toilichte d’ fhaicinn* ***uair sam bith*** (§43); *Thubhairt i riut gun gabhadh i iad* ***uair sam bith*** (§44);
- *Bidh dùil aig Seonag ri fòrlagh* ***uair sam bith tuilleadh*** (§14); ... *’s tha mi cinnteach gun téid i dhachaidh do dh’Alba* ***uair sam bith tuilleadh*** (§305);
- ... *is leòir leatha,* ***air uair sam bith,*** *gu’n tig an gnothach a tha ’na laimh gus a’ bhuil a shonraich i fein* (§199); ... *agus thig na pàrantan ga coimhead nuair nach tigeadh* ***aig uair sam bith eile*** (§400150).

2. Future tense

2.1. Simple future

- “*Cha bhi* (habitual) *e ’n seo uair sam bith*,” *arsa fear dhe na balaich* (§203); *Cha bhi duine uair sam bith nas fhaide na trì mìle bhon a’ mhuir* (§400169);
- *Cha chluinn thu dad mu ’n timcheall uair sam bith*... (§400058); *Cha dèan e cabhag uair sam bith!* (§400175); *Chan aidich saidheans uair sam bith gu bheil rudan os-nàdarrach ann*... (§400194);
- *’S nach fhaod thu dhol dhan bhaile mhòr uair sam bith air a’ bhus?* (§2); ... *’s nach iarr iad an cainnt fhèin a chleachdadh uair sam bith* (§11); ... *le spionnadh (...)* *nach fhairich thu uair sam bith nuair a tha làr a’ chidsin feumach air a sgùradh* (§331);
- ... *ach ma thèid a’ chlach luachmhor so uair sam bith air chall*... (§401012).

2.2. Future progressive

- *Am bi thu uair sam bith a’ smaointeachadh*... (§305); *Am bi e idir a’ dol a-mach uair sam bith air an oidhche?* (§244);
- *Cha bhi i uair sam bith a’ cur siùcar dhan an teatha* (§11); ... *ach tha luchd-obrach ann nach bithear a’ faicinn uair sam bith* (§400055).

3. Conditional

3.1. Simple conditional

- *Am biodh e sgìth uair sam bith?* (§304);
- ... *cha bhiodh e uair sam bith gun a’ phìob a’ ceòthadh ’na bheul* (§311);
- *Cha ghabhadh i oirre uair sam bith gun tainig i a dh’aon sgrìob a choimhead ort* (§245); *Chan itheadh iad ach feòil uair sam bith*... (§400033); ... *ag innse nach fhaigheadh tu iasg uair sam bith far am biodh a’ ròn* (§30); ... *Anna, nach dèanadh meurachd uair sam bith*... (§400053); *A thuilleadh air obair taighe (...)* *air nach tigeadh crìoch uair sam bith*... (§400180).

3.2. Conditional progressive

- *Ach bha mo bhean-s’ a’ coimhead ris mar nach biodh i uair sam bith a’ coimhead riumsa*... (§11); *Cha bhiodh m’ athair no mo mhàthair a’ dol dhan an t-searmon uair sam bith* (§11); *Cha bhiodh tu tilleadh a seo uair sam bith?* (§400103).

4. Present tense

4.1. Simple present

- *Eil eagal oirbh **uair sam bith** anns an dorchadas?* (§205);
- *Chan eil iad ann **uair sam bith** nuair a tha thu gan iarraidh* (§332); *Chan eil a bheul aig fois **uair sam bith**...* (§400025); *Chan eil mise **uair sam bith** gun fhorc no ràcan no dhà bhith ri m' làimh air an achadh* (§400056); *...ged nach eil a' chuideachd **uair sam bith** mór...* (§41);
- *... nach eil air am faicinn ann am bailtean mòra **uair sam bith** 'which are never seen in cities'* (§252).

4.2. Present progressive

- *Chan eil i call nan òrduighean **uair sam bith**...* (§198); *O, chan eil sinne **uair sam bith** a' faireachdainn na h-ùine fada* (§305); *Chan eil dad ùr a' tachairt ann **uair sam bith*** (§43).

4.3. Copula

- *... chan urrainn mi dol seachad air an àit' adhlaic **uair sam bith** gun seasamh...* (§400052);
- *Is math leabhar ùr de bhàrdachd Ghàidhlig fhaicinn **uair sam bith**. 'It is always good to see...'* (§400157).

5. Past tense

5.1. Simple past

- *... ach cha robh e fada air falbh **uair sam bith*** (§315); *Cha robh e 'na dhragh **uair sam bith*** (§400189); *...cha robh ùine aige, **uair sam bith**, airson tighinn dhachaidh* (§43);
- *... agus cha do sgrìobh mo mhàthair-chèile dhòmhsa **uair sam bith** ach an Gàidhlig...* (§400037); *... ach cha do chuir na seann phìobairean cudrom air, **uair sam bith**, ach air a' phong a bha...* (§400079); *... chan eil mi a' smaoineachadh gun mhair¹³ ar saor-làithean **uair sam bith** na bu lugha na ceala-deug* (§400192).

¹³ Gun mhair = gun do mhair.

5.2. Past progressive

- ... thàinig triùir bhoireannach (...) a' foighneachd an robh iad **uair sam bith** a' cur seòl ris an eathar (§400167);
- Cha robh i toirt na flèide sin **uair sam bith** (§203); Cha robh Iain Mòr **uair sam bith** a' dol a mach gun an deise chruadhach air (§302); Cha robh sin a' tachairt **uair sam bith** anns a' bhàta againne (§42).

5.3. Copula

- B' e ràidhimid o, uam, uat etc. daonnan, agus cha b' e bho, bhuam, bhuat etc. **uair sam bith** (§400040);
- ... ach cha b' urrainn (past) dhomh **uair sam bith** bruidhinn riut air creideamh... (§11); Cha bu chòir **uair sam bith** a dhol a-mach gun ola... (§400056).

6. Imperative

- Na cuir cus Fàile-cùbhraidh ort **uair sam bith** ... (§400046).

2. Expressions of quantity

2.1 Expressions of quantity: *deannan*, *leòr*, *uireasbaidh*, *easbaidh*

The meanings of *deannan*, *leòr*, *uireasbaidh* and *easbaidh*.¹⁴

	AW	CM	RC ¹⁵	FB
<i>Deannan</i>	a good/fair number of; quite a few			
		small amount, pinch; small number, group, collection		small number/ amount of; small particle ¹⁶
<i>Leòr</i>	enough, sufficiency	satiety, sufficiency		satiety, sufficiency
<i>Gu leòr</i>	enough, sufficient plenty	adequate, enough, plenty, sufficient		enough, sufficient; galore
<i>Uireasbaidh</i>	want, need, indigence; a lack, a deficiency, a shortage	defect, lack, poverty, privation, want		want; defect; deficiency, inadequacy; deficit
<i>Easbaidh</i>	lack, want, need, a deficiency or deficit; a fault, a defect	defect, deficiency, deficit, deprivation, flaw, fault, lack, need (want)		deficiency; deficit, deprivation, lack; flaw, fault, defect

1. Deannan

Deannan, noun, masc. (AW, CM, FB); gen. *deannain*, pl. *-an* (CM, FB).

In almost all of the examples found in these sources, *deannan* is followed by a genitive noun: *deannan dhaoine* ‘a good number of people’ (AW); *cha robh anns a’ bhaile ach deannan thaighean-dubha* ‘the town was just a small group of black houses’; *ghabh e deannan làithean ga giùlan dhachaigh* ‘it took a number of days to carry it home’ (CM); *deannan éisg* ‘a catch (of fish)’; *deannan chat* ‘a small number / a few cats’; *deannan làithean* ‘a few days’ (FB). There is one example of *deannan* modified by an adjective and followed by the preposition *de*:

¹⁴ AW = A. Watson; CM = C. Mark; RC = R. Cox; FB = *Am Faclair Beag*.

¹⁵ Only *leòr* is briefly mentioned by RC, but no meaning or interpretation is provided.

¹⁶ Dwelly: *deannag* ‘very small quantity of any comminuted matter; pinch; small grain’.

deannan math dhiubh ‘a good few of them’ (FB). The preposition, however, is expected with a pronominal complement.

According to AW, *deannan* denotes a (fairly) large quantity, while the other sources describe it as referring to a small to middling quantity. It seems to have a more concrete meaning in *deannan talmhainn* ‘a parcel of land’ (FB), unless this in fact means something like ‘a wee bit of land’.

Information from MEANMA (post-1900 texts):

- Not many examples have been found in these texts.
- All of them involve a positive verb.
- *Deannan* appears to mean ‘a few/little, some’. Cf. also *deannan beag* ‘a little bit of’, *deannan math* ‘a good few’.
- All examples contain either a genitive noun or a *de*-phrase.
- Most examples involve an indefinite noun in the genitive plural.

2. Leòr

Leòr, indecl. noun, fem. (AW, CM, FB). Also *leòir* (Dwelly).

This noun occurs in the construction POSS + *leòr*, which can function as the subject or object of a verb, e.g. *an d’fhuair thu do leòr?* (CM, FB, RC §192 vi);¹⁷ *fhuair mi mo leòir* ‘I have had enough’ (Dwelly); *tha a leòr aice ri dhèanamh* ‘she has plenty to do / her work is cut out for her’ (CM) / ‘she has enough to do / on her plate’ (FB);¹⁸ *ith do leòr* ‘enjoy your meal’ (FB). In this construction, *leòr* can be modified by a genitive noun, e.g. *bha a leòr airgid aige* ‘he had enough money’ (CM); or by a phrase involving the preposition *de*, e.g. *fhuair mi mo leòr de dh’òrain a-raoir* ‘I got (more than) enough songs / all the songs I could take / my fill of songs last night’ (AW).

The noun *leòr* seems to be more commonly used nowadays in the phrase *gu leòr*, which can refer to a sufficient or fairly large quantity (or number of people &c.). It can be used on its own, e.g. *tha gu leòr agam* (RC §422 iii [3]); *bha gu leòr ann ri ithe is ri òl* ‘there was enough to eat and drink’ (CM); *gu leòr ri ithe* ‘enough to eat’ (FB); *bha e air gu leòr fhaicinn* ‘he had seen enough’ (CM); *cha b’urrainn dha gu leòr a dhèanamh* ‘he couldn’t have been more helpful’ (FB); *tha gu leòr ann a tha den bheachd sin* ‘there are plenty of / a good many people around who think that’ (AW); *tha gu leòr ann a chuala guth na cuthaige nach fhaca riamh i* ‘there are plenty who have heard the cuckoo’s voice that haven’t seen it’ (CM). This expression can also function as the complement of a preposition, e.g. *tha e soilleir do gu leòr...* ‘it’s clear to plenty [of people]...’ (CM) / ‘it’s clear to enough people’ (FB).

The expression *gu leòr* can be modified by a genitive noun, e.g. *a bheil gu leòr bìdh agad?* ‘have you enough food?’ (AW); *a bheil gu leòr airgid agad?* (RC §422 iii [3]); or by a phrase

¹⁷ Translated as: ‘did you get enough? (to satisfy you)’ (CM); ‘did you get enough/a sufficient amount?’ (FB).

¹⁸ Note the difference in interpretation.

introduced by the preposition *de*, e.g. *far a bheil gu leòr a dh'iarrrtas* 'where there is sufficient demand' (CM, FB); *gu leòr de leabagan* 'plenty of flat fish' (FB); *chan eil sgeul an-diugh air gu leòr de na daoine a bha ag obair còmhla rium* 'there's no sign nowadays of plenty of the people who were working with me' (CM); *chan eil sinn air gu leòr den obair aige fhaicinn...* 'we haven't seen enough of his work...' (CM); *chan eil gu leòr dhiubh sin air fhàgail* 'there aren't enough of these left' (CM); *gu leòr dhe sin!* 'enough of that' (FB).

Alternatively, the phrase *gu leòr* can modify an indefinite noun (which it follows in that case), e.g. *tha trioblaid gu leòr againn aig an taigh* 'we've plenty / a lot of trouble at home' (AW); *tha airgead gu leòr agam* 'I have plenty of / enough money' (CM); *a bheil airgead gu leòr agad?* (RC §422 iii [3]); *fhuair mi damaiste gu leòr mun d'fhuair mi e* 'I had enough trouble before I got it' (FB). This usage is structurally similar to expressions like *a bharrachd*, *a chòrr*, &c.

The noun *leòr* can be modified by the word *eile*, e.g. *tha gu leòr eile ris an obair ach chan eil gu leòr* 'there are plenty of others engaged in the work, but not enough' (CM); and perhaps by numerals, e.g. *fhuair mi mo leòr is mo dhà leòr* 'I have had more than enough' (FB).¹⁹ Both POSS + *leòr* and *gu leòr* can be used with 'ri + VN' constructions, e.g. *tha a leòr aice ri dhèanamh* 'she has plenty to do' (CM) *bha gu leòr ann ri ithe is ri òl* 'there was enough to eat and drink' (CM).

The expressions *nas leòr* (FB) and *na leò(i)r* (CM) can occur instead of *gu leòr*, cf. *gheibh sibh na leòr de dh'airgead* 'you'll get plenty of money' (CM). They might be archaic or limited to certain dialects.

The expression *gu leòr* can function as the complement of the verb *bi*, like adjectives or adverbs, e.g. *bha aon dhiubh gu leòr leamsa* 'one of them was enough for me' (CM); *tha sin gu leòr leinn* 'that's enough for us' (FB).²⁰

[Early Gaelic *lour/loor/lór* was an adjective, but it could also function as a noun, e.g. in 'POSS + *lór* (GEN/de)' expressions. The expression *co lór* has been attested in adverbial use (= sufficiently). The Modern Gaelic expression *gu leòr* behaves like a noun, in that it can be the subject or object of a verb, or the complement of a preposition.]

Information from the MEANMA corpus (post-1900 texts):

The following basic expressions have been found in the corpus:

1. *na 's leòr*
2. *gu leòr*
3. POSS + *leòr*

¹⁹ This seems to be a set phrase and the question is whether modifying *leòr* with a numeral is possible otherwise, and (if it is) how common it is nowadays.

²⁰ The noun *leòr* can also be the complement of the copula (*is leòr*) and *gu leòr* can modify adjectives (e.g. *mòr gu leòr*). These usages are probably not relevant here.

2.1. *Na 's leòr*

This expression either occurs on its own or is modified by a *de*-phrase in the MEANMA corpus. There is only one example that contains, seemingly, a genitive noun: *na 's leòr phailte* (§8518). The expression *na 's leòr* has been found in very few post-1900 texts, exclusively in verses.²¹ It is not completely clear if *na 's leòr* has the same meaning as *gu leòr*, or it can (at least sometimes) have a comparative meaning.²²

No examples of *na leòr* have been found in post-1900 texts on MEANMA, but there are some in earlier texts (in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*).

2.2. *Gu leòr*

Gu leòr is much more frequent than either *na 's leòr* or POSS + *leòr* in the corpus. It can be used either on its own, or modified by a prepositional phrase (*de* or *aig*) or by a genitive noun.

When used on its own, *gu leòr* can still refer to a specific noun, even though there is no overt expression (complement) referring to that noun, e.g. *chan eil facal sam bith ann an Gàidhlig le dà “D” còmhlaidh ri chèile, ged a tha gu leòr anns a’ Chuimris* (§8771). It can also have a more abstract meaning, cf. *Thachair gu leòr riutha...* ‘A lot happened to them’ (§8743). *Gu leòr* can also refer to people, e.g. *Tha mi creidsinn gun do rinn gu leòir a tha ag éisdeachd mar a rinn mise nam ghille...* (§8609).

Gu leòr can be modified by a relative clause, e.g. *Tha gu leòr ann a luthaigeadh nach biodh soirbheachadh sam bith aca san obair so* (§8565); *Tha mi creidsinn gun do rinn gu leòir a tha ag éisdeachd mar a rinn mise...* (§8609). In a few examples, *gu leòr* is modified by the word *eile*, e.g. *B’ inntinneach an comas a bha aig bràthair mo mhàthar, agus aig gu leòr eile, air clèibh ghiomach a dhèanamh* ‘many others’ (§8824).²³ Cf. also: *...dh’fhaodadh e ’n cothrom a leigeil seachad mar a leig gu leòir a bharrachd air* (§8534). It may also be modified by the word *leth*; there are very few post-1900 examples in the MEANMA corpus, all in negative clauses, e.g. *Chan urrainn dha leth gu leòr fhaighinn* (§8580). Cf. also: *Chan eil sin faisg air gu leòr...* ‘not nearly enough’ (§8892);²⁴ *Bha cuibhreann aige bho athair a bha tuilleadh ’s gu leòr airson fheumalachd* (§8835); *Bhoill, bhiodh Doilidh Dhòmhnail fhèin air cluinntinn gu leòr is cus mu dheidhinn na Tocasaid...* (§8846).²⁵

When modified by a *de*-phrase, *gu leòr* seems to correspond to English ‘a lot’, although it could perhaps be interpreted as ‘enough’ in some cases, e.g. *Tha gu leòr de dh’uisg an seo* (§8711).

²¹ These verses (including example §8518) may be much older than the texts in which they have been found. There are more examples of *na 's leòr* in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*, mainly in pre-1900 texts, some of which are prose.

²² Its original meaning may have been ‘what is enough’, ‘as much as is enough’.

²³ No examples of this phrase modified by a genitive noun or a *de*-phrase (see below) have been found in post-1900 texts, but cf. *B’ ainneamh leis an latha naomh a chur seachad ’na chadal mar a bha gu leòr eile de shluagh a’ bhaile ’dèanamh* (81007, *Corpas na Gàidhlig*).

²⁴ This is the only example of *faisg air gu leòr* and it comes from a recent text.

²⁵ In this example, *gu leòr is cus* follows the verbal noun, which is not lenited.

Most of the examples involve an indefinite noun. Where the noun is definite, the whole phrase can be translated as ‘much of the X’, e.g. *Is iad cus nas oideachdaile agus as taitniche na gu leòr den a’ bhumasdaireachd gun stàth a tha air a chraobh-sgaoileadh air fritheud is sealladh-cèin.* (§8683). One example contains a relative clause introduced by the pronoun *na*, which may be translated as ‘many of those who...’: *Bha taighean gan dùnadh agus misneach gu leòr dhe na bha a’ fuireach a’ tuiteam ìosal gu làr, agus mo mhisneach-sa cuideachd* ‘the courage of many of those who were...’ (§8698). Cf. also: *Chan eil sinne dèanamh leth gu leòr de bhiadh Gaidhealach nas motha* (§8581). The plural pronominal forms of *aig* may be used instead of the equivalent forms of *de*, e.g. ...*agus chaidh gu leòr aca a chur sìos an ainm airson falbh* (§8821).²⁶ *Gu leòr* can be separated from the prepositional phrase by an adverb or similar, e.g. *Tha gu leòr an siud dhen chlamhan àrd-ghuthach...* (§8729). This applies to other quantifiers too.

The use of the genitive to modify the expression *gu leòr* seems to be uncommon; fairly few examples have been found in the corpus, almost all in post-1970 texts, e.g. ...*tha beachd agam air gu leòr theintean fosgailte le ursannan cloiche air gach taobh* (§8670); *Ach tha thu fhathast a’ dèanamh gu leòr airgid às?* (§8850). Unlike various other quantifiers, *gu leòr* is frequently modified by phrases comprised of the preposition *de* and an indefinite noun. This might be related to the fact that *gu leòr* does not appear to be used a lot with definite nouns.

Gu leòr can function as the subject or object of a verb (as shown by the examples above), or as the complement of a preposition, e.g. *B’ inntinneach an comas a bha aig bràthair mo mhàthar, agus aig gu leòr eile, air clèibh ghiomach a dhèanamh* (§8824); *Tha seo thar tuigse do ghuleòr* (§8648). It can also function as the predicate of the verb *bi*, e.g. ...*is bha sin gu leòr dha* (§8490); *Tha am fàileadh fhèin gu leòr* (§8905).

Gu leòr can also modify a noun, which it follows in that case, and numerous examples of this construction have been found in the corpus. This seems to correspond to English ‘a lot’ too, although the meaning ‘enough’ is possible in some examples, e.g. ...*bha rùm gu leòr ann dhàsan* ‘there was a lot of / enough room for him in it (=the house) (§8785). The meaning ‘enough’ appears to be more likely in negative clauses, e.g. *Dh’aithnich sinn nach biodh biadh gu leòr againn* (§8876).

Gu leòr do corresponds to English ‘enough for’, e.g. *tha àite gu leòr an seo dha fhèin, agus dha bhean...* (§8752). The preposition *le* is found in some early examples, e.g. *Nach eil Cùil Fhodair fhèin gu leòir leibh?* (§8513).²⁷ Occasionally, the preposition *airson* is used instead of *do*, e.g. *Cha robh gu leòr air fhàgail na bhroinn airson sin* (§8864); but this seems to be more common with verbal nouns, e.g. *Cha do fhreagair i anns a’ mhionaid, ach nach robh tìde gu leor air son faighneachd is freagairt* (§8922).

²⁶ It seems that only the plural forms of *aig* (i.e. *againn, agaibh, aca*) are used with quantifiers (in general). *De* can also be used in the singular (*dheth, dhith*).

²⁷ This could have spread from the expression *is leòr le*.

Gu leòr mu (dheidhinn) corresponds to English ‘a lot about’, e.g. *Dh’ionnsaich Dòmhnall gu leòr mu chòcaireachd* (§8755); *Chan aithne dhomh gu leòr mun ghnòthach fhathast* (§8875); *Ged a chuala Catriona gu leòr mu dheidhinn Ally aig Mórach chan fhaca i riamh e* (§8592).

Gu leòr ri + POSS + VN corresponds to English ‘a lot/ enough to V’, e.g. *tha gu leòr ri dhèanamh fhathast...* (§8659). *Ach cho-dhiùbh tha rudan gu leòir r’ am faicsin an sin* (§8551); *Tha leabhraichean gu leòr ri fhaighinn ...* (§8579).²⁸

* * * * *

The following examples seem to be exceptional:

1. *mnathan is clann gu leòr dhiubh* ‘many of them women and children’ (§8621) – If this is not a calque of the English expression, *mnathan is clann* could be interpreted as the predicate of the (unexpressed) copula, and *gu leòr dhiubh* as its subject.

2. *Gu leòr dhomh i bhith ’n làthair anns an aon rùm; gu leòr dhomh na sùilean aice (...) a bhith coimhead rium...* (§8625; §8626) – *Gu leòr* appears to be the predicate of the copula here.

3. *Bha taighean gan dùnadh agus misneach gu leòr de na bha a’ fuireach a’ tuiteam ìosal gu làr* ‘The houses were being shut and the courage of many of those who were waiting was (lit.) falling low to the ground’ (§8698) – *Gu leòr* acts as a genitive noun here.

2.3. POSS + *leòr* (+ GEN / *de*)

This construction seems to occur in two types of contexts. In the first, *leòr* functions as the object of verbs such as *ith*, *gabh*, *faigh*, *thoir (do)*, or as the predicate of *bi (aig)*, and the whole expressions correspond to English *to eat one’s fill*, *to take/get/give/have enough* or *as much as one needs/wants*. The possessive agrees with the subject of the verb, except with *thoir do*, where it agrees with the object of the preposition *do*, and with *bi aig*, where it agrees with the object of *aig*, while POSS + *leòr* acts as the subject of *bi*.

Examples: *ach an ith e a leòr* (§8844); *Bheir sinne dhoibh an leòir* (§8541); *...gu ’n deanamaid ann am mios e, ach ar leòr uisge beatha ’s tombaca a bhith againn* (§8509); *Ith do leòr de dh’iasg a’ chuain* (§8504).

This expression can be emphasized by the number *seachd*, as in, e.g. *Bha a-nis an seachd leòr aca* (§8701); *...fhuair mi mu dheireadh thall mo sheachd leòr dheth* (§8696).

The other context is the expression *thug e (a) leòr do dhuine rud a dhèanamh*, which implies a degree of difficulty or effort in doing something, e.g. *Feumaidh mi aideachadh gu bheil e toirt*

²⁸ Apparently, the possessive particle does not have to agree with the subject of the main clause.

mo leòr dhomh an sgeulachd aig Karl Herder a chreidsinn! (§8780); ...*thug e leòr do dhaoine deich tastain air fhichead a thoirt dhachaidh agus iomadh uair nas lugha* (§8787).

3. Uireasbhaidh

Uireasbhaidh, noun, fem. (AW, CM, FB, Dwelly); gen. *-e*, pl. *-ean* (AW, FB, Dwelly).

The examples include instances of this noun used on its own, e.g. *cò a b' urrainn dol na b' ìle ann am bochdainn agus uireasbhaidh na mise?* 'who could descend further into poverty and want than I?' (CM); *bha iomadh uireasbhaidh air na togalaichean* 'the buildings had many defects' (CM); or modified by a genitive noun, e.g. *uireasbhaidh ghoireasan* 'inadequate resources' (FB); *uireasbhaidh coslais* 'want of conformity (in religion)' (FB).

MEANMA:

Very few examples are found in post-1900 texts. The noun *uireasbhaidh* does not function as a quantifier in these examples.

4. Easbhaidh

Easbhaidh, noun, fem.; gen. *-e*, pl. *-ean* (AW, CM, FB, Dwelly).

There are few examples of the noun *easbhaidh* modified by a genitive noun in these sources, and they all look like compounds, e.g. *easbhaidh eòlais* 'inexperience' (CM, FB), *easbhaidh beathachaidh* 'malnutrition' (CM, FB); *easbhaidh-bhràghad* 'scrofula' (FB).

It is also found in the expression *a dh'easbhaidh* 'lacking, wanting, missing' (AW), 'missing' (CM), e.g. *dè tha a dh'easbhaidh ort?* 'what do you lack?' (CM), 'what do you want?' (Dwelly); *dè tha a dh'easbhaidh orra?* 'what do they lack/want/need?' (AW), 'what do they lack?' (FB); *bha còmhdach an leabhair a dh'easbhaidh* 'the cover of the book was missing' (AW). Cf. also: *a dh'easbhaidh urraim* 'lacking honour' (FB), where the expression *a dh'easbhaidh* functions as a compound preposition.

MEANMA:

Few examples occur in post-1900 texts and almost all contain the expressions *a dh'easbhaidh* and *tha easbhaidh air*.

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2.2 Expressions of quantity: *liuthad*, *feadhainn*, *gin*

The meanings of *liuthad*, *feadhainn* and *gin*.²⁹

	AW	CM	RC	FB
Liuthad		many so many	mòran meud no uimhir (de) na tha sin (de)	many so many
Feadhainn	some some people	people, folk some, few		people, folk some, a few
Gin	any, none (<i>neg. v.</i>)	any	duine no rud neo-àraidh	anyone anything

1. Liuthad

Liuthad has been described as an indeclinable noun (RC §175), a (declinable) masculine noun (gen. *liuthaid*, FB), an adjective (CM), or an adjective & adverb (Dwelly).³⁰

It can be modified by the masculine singular possessive *a* (CM; RC §175, §192 xi), e.g. *tha a liuthad ann*, *chan fhaigh sinn a-steach* (RC §175).

The quantified noun that accompanies the word *liuthad* occurs in its singular form (CM, RC §58 iv, §175):³¹ *a' coimhead air ais air a liuthad atharrachadh a thàinig air an t-saoghal* 'looking back at how many changes have come over the world' (CM); *smaoinich mi air a liuthad uair a chuidich mi leis* 'I thought of how often I had helped him' (CM); *chan fhaca mi a liuthad duine a-riamh* (RC §58 iv); *tha mi a' creids' gur e a liuthad bliadhna a bha eadarainn a bu choireach* (RC §175). FB has the following examples: *a liuthad turas a* 'the number of times that...' (Nom. sg.); *liuthad chuileagan* 'so many flies' (Gen. pl.); *liuthad a rud* 'how/so many things' (*de* + noun).

The expression *a liuthad* can be followed by a relative clause introduced by the conjunction *agus*, e.g. *a liuthad 's a bha ann an-uiridh* (RC §175, §333 i,d,ε); *Cia liuthad uair 's a dh'innis mi sin dhut?* 'how many times have I told you that?' (Dwelly).

²⁹ AW = A. Watson; CM = C. Mark; RC = R. Cox; FB = *Am Faclair Beag*.

³⁰ According to RC (§175), *liuthad* comes from *liuth(a)*, which was an adjective originally, and the form *liuthad* and its usage with poss. *a* might have developed under the influence of *leithid*. However, *liuthad* is a noun that could, in fact, have been derived from an old comparative-like stem (cf. Old Irish *lia* 'more numerous'), cf. *truimead*, *gainnead*, *miosad*, and OIr. *leithet* 'width, breadth' (> *leathad* 'hillside'), *treisset* (Gaelic *treasad*), &c.

³¹ Cf. *iomadh*, *iomadach*, *co mheud*, and numbers like *fichead*, *ceud*, which all govern Nom. sg.

Examples from *Corpas na Gàidhlig*:

Most examples contain the expression *a liuthad* + NOUN^{NOM.SG}, e.g. *Dh'fhaoidte sgrùdadh a dheunamh air a liuthad ciall a th' aig na facail so...* (§244); “*Agus a liuthad bliadhna bha mi seo,*” *chanadh e. “A liuthad bliadhna chuir mi seachad an seo* (§245); ...*agus a liuthad nì eile* (§400001); *Gur tric mi nis a' cuimhneachadh A liuthad pìinnt a dh'òl mi* (§47); ...*a' dol á cleachdadh 'na liuthad àite air a' Ghàidhealtachd* (§53).

The definite article occurs occasionally instead of the possessive *a*, e.g. *Cha do leig i oirre an liuthad oidhche a dh'èirich i a dhèanamh cinnteach gu robh na dorsan agus na h-uinneagan glaiste agus i air chrith leis an eagal* (§313); ...*tha an liuthad fhacal a thilgeas iad orra: ablach, amadan...* (§333); *Dh'innis e dhomh an sin an liuthad cuan a sheòl e 's an liuthad cladach a bhuaile e, an tòir air an fhortan* (§48); especially in genitive and dative positions, e.g. *A-measg an liuthad eile a bh' aige 'na phòcaidean...* ‘among many other things he had in his pockets’ (§400177); ... *'s dh'fheuch e ri sealltainn an liuthad gnè rud a bha lùib bhith cur do shaothair ri nithean nas àirde na thu fhèin* (§400151); “*Tha seo a rèir aon den liuthad sgeulachd a chuala mi,*” *arsa Calum* (§334).

Very few examples have been found of a quantified noun in the genitive case, e.g. ...*nach coltach an rud gu'm faigh sinn cho liuthad mineachaidh sa théid an ceann gnothaich de inntinnean a chum fuasgladh a chur air a' cheist?* (§217001); ...*air nach eil a liuthad eòlais (...)* *aig an nàbuinnean* (§400021); *cho liuthad dhaoine tuigseach fòghluimte* (§217001).

There are a few examples that involve a definite noun introduced by the preposition *de*, e.g. *Dh'innis bodach air choir-eigin an Diura dhomh-sa gur anns an dòigh so a fhuair an Gill'Odhar a liuthad de shìneadh laithean* (§54); *Dhoirt cho liuthad de'n namhaid aon uair air an Reismid Dhuibh, 's gun saoilleadh neach gun slugadh iad suas i* (§81002); ...*rainig i 'n t-aite ainmeil sin, Scainn (Scoon), far na chrunadh a liuthad d'a sinnseara...* (§81008).

The expression *a liuthad* can be followed by a relative clause introduced by *agus*. The whole phrase corresponds to English *as many/much* or *how many/much*, e.g. *Shlaod iad na clachan leo, agus chuir iad na bhroinn iad, a liuthad 's a b' urrainn iad a chur ann...* ‘as many as they could’ (§81003); *Agus chuimhnich e air a bhith a' tarraing dhealbhan san sgoil is a liuthad uair s a bhiodh am maighstir ga bhacadh air sgàth na faoileagan gorma* ‘And he remembered (...) how many times...’ (§244); *Is cianail ri' smuaineachadh air a liuthad teaghlach 's a tha air an creachadh le amaideachd ceannard an teaghlach anns an tigh-osda* ‘how many families have been...’ (§81004). If the main verb is negative, this can mean ‘not even as much as’, e.g. ...*air nach eil a liuthad eòlais, ar leam, aig na nàbuinnean, agus a tha aca air na h-Innseanan an ear no na h-Innseanan an iar* ‘...about which, I think, their neighbours know (even) less than they do about the East or West Indies’ (400021).³²

The word *liuthad* can be preceded by *cho*, like an adjective. The expression *cho liuthad* + NOUN corresponds to English ‘so many/much X’, indicating a surprisingly large amount, e.g. *Rinn i sin suidhe, far na chuir i cho liuthad latha sona seachad comhla ri 'h-athair* (§81009).³³

³² Apparently, *agus* can be left out, cf. *Dh'fhaodte sgrùdadh a dheunamh air a liuthad ciall a th' aig na facail seo.*

³³ *A liuthad* can be used in the same way, cf. *A liuthad bliadhna a chuir mi seachad an seo.*

When the expression *cho liuthad* + NOUN is followed by the conjunction *agus* and a relative clause, the whole construction has an equative meaning, e.g. ...*nach coltach an rud gu 'm faigh sinn cho liuthad mineachaidh sa théid an ceann gnothaich de inntinnean a chum fuasgladh a chur air a' cheist?* (§217001).³⁴ On the other hand, cf. the following example, in which *air a liuthad* or *dè/cia liuthad* could also be expected: *Tha fios aig luchd-leughaidh an Deò-Gréine cho liuthad uair 's a thagair mi air taobh ar cànan* (§401013). The conjunction *agus* can be followed by a consecutive clause introduced by *gu/nach*, which describes the consequence of the presence of a (great) quantity of something that is mentioned in the main clause, e.g. *Dhoirt cho liuthad de 'n namhaid aon uair air an Reismid Dhuibh, 's gun saoiladh neach gun slugadh iad suas i* (§81002).

Expressions *cia/dè liuthad* (+ rel. clause) correspond to English 'how many/much?', e.g. *Is chan eil fios aig duin' againn cia liuthad duine a dh'oidhirpich an guth a dhùsgadh, ged nach tug iad gèill* (§316); *Is cha robh fios dé liuthad breug eile a sgap e air feadh a' bhaile...* (§39). These clauses look like subordinate questions.

2. Feadhainn

Feadhainn is a feminine noun (gen. *feadhna* (AW, CM, RC §79 ii, Dwelly), *feadhnach* (CM, Dwelly)). It is described as an *abairt riochdaireil* in RC (§212, 225). It can be modified by an adjective, which often occurs in its plural form, e.g. *feadhainn mhòra bhuidhe* 'some big and yellow' (CM).

When without a complement, *feadhainn* can correspond to English 'some; some people', e.g. *tha seo na adhbhar ioghnaidh do dh'fheadhainn cuideachd* 'this is also a cause of surprise to some' (CM).

It can be modified by the word *eile* (AW, CM); this corresponds to English 'others; other people' (CM), 'others' (Dwelly), e.g. *tha feadhainn air a shon, tha feadhainn eile na aghaidh* 'some (people) are in favour, others are against' (AW); *tha feadhainn a' fuireach agus feadhainn eile a' dol dhacaidh* 'some are staying and some others are going home' (CM).

It can be modified by a *de*-phrase, e.g. *bha feadhainn de na balaich a' cluiche air a' chladach* 'some of the boys were playing on the seashore' (CM); *feadhainn dhinn* (CM); or by *aig* (with a pronominal complement), e.g. *feadhainn againn* 'some of us' (CM, FB); *bha feadhainn aca a dhèanadh uisge-beatha aig an taigh* 'there were some of them who used to make whisky at home' (CM).

When modified by the definite article, *feadhainn* can correspond to English 'the ones', e.g. *an fheadhainn bheaga* 'the little ones' (CM); *an fheadhainn eile* 'the other ones; the others'; *tha an fheadhainn seo a' dol dhachaidh* 'these (ones) are going home' (AW); *chuir i an fheadhainn bu shine dhiubh a thrusadh còinnich* 'she sent the eldest ones of them to gather moss' (CM); *'s iad an fheadhainn as lugha...* (RC §225); or to English 'those' (as the antecedent of a relative clause), e.g. *tha an fheadhainn a th' air an sgeilp briste* 'the ones that

³⁴ But cf. *a liuthad 's a b' urrainn iad a chur ann*, which also seems to be equative.

are on the shelf are broken’ (AW); *tha cuimhne air a cumail air an fheadhainn a leig sìos am beatha* ‘remembrance is kept of those who laid down their lives’ (CM); *’s e fear den fheadhainn a bha ris an obair seo Uilleam* ‘one of those who was engaged in this work was William (CM);³⁵ *...a chum math na feadhna nach eil nan Gàidheil idir* (RC §225); *an fheadhainn a thàinig a-steach* ‘the people that came in’; *an fheadhainn a dh’fhàg sinn* ‘those we left’ (Dwelly); cf. also *an fheadhainn dhiubh a thig* ‘those of them that mean to come’ (Dwelly).

Examples from *Corpas na Gàidhlig*:³⁶

Without a complement, the noun *feadhainn* usually corresponds to English ‘some (people or objects, &c.)’, e.g. *Tha feadhainn ag ràdh gu bheil Tormod Iain a’ bualadh a mhnatha* (§198); *Thug iad a-staigh feadhainn an urra don chidsin* ‘each took some’ (§313).

It can also correspond to English ‘any’ when used in *if*-clauses, e.g. *...bidh iad ag iarraidh barrachd bhàtaichean na bha iad a-riamh ma chaillear feadhainn tro chogadh* ‘if any are lost’ (§14); *Ma tha feadhainn nan cadal, taigh na galla dhaibh!* ‘If any (people) are asleep’ (§313).³⁷

Feadhainn can be modified by expressions such as *eile* and *sam bith*, e.g. *Thuirt an nàbaidh ri feadhainn eile gun d’ robh i anns an taigh aice le botal liquor* ‘to some others’ (§197); *’S tha feadhainn eile ag ràdh gur e mèirleach a th’ ann* ‘And some others say’ (§198); *Bha feadhainn eile san eilean ag iarraidh cuirm mhòr a chur air bonn aig an cuirte fàilt air na gaisgich* (§19); *Chan eil feadhainn eile ann a tha airidh air riaghladh!* (§16);³⁸ *...bithidh dùil aig feadhainn sam bith a chì e gur ann le feadhainn ceangailte ris an taigh-staile ’tha e* (§321).³⁹

It can also be modified by a relative clause, e.g. *Thàinig feadhainn às an sgìre agam fhìn, nach robh mi air fhaicinn bho chan eil fhios cuin* (§11); *... ’s e an obair as motha a bhitheas agadsa (...) a’ cur eòlas air feadhainn a dh’fhaodadh a bhith ag iarraidh leabhraichean* (§16); *Tha feadhainn air a bheil an t-eagal buailteach air rudan gòrach a dhèanamh!* ‘Some (of those) who are scared are prone to doing stupid things’ (§16); *A thaobh aislingean mu fheadhainn a chaidh a bhàthadh...* ‘some who drowned’ (§197); *Ma bha feadhainn ’nar measg nach seasadh e, bha iad ri bhith air an tilleadh gu na reiseamaidean as an tàinig iad* (§19); *Bha feadhainn eile nach do dh’aithnich e, coltach ri oifigich anns an arm nan giùlan* (§16). Cf. also: *...bithidh dùil aig feadhainn sam bith a chì e gur ann le feadhainn ceangailte ris an taigh-staile ’tha e*. ‘that it belongs to some who are connected with the distillery’ (§321).

Feadhainn can be modified by a *de*-phrase, to denote a subset of entities belonging to a larger definite group (partitive), e.g. *Thòisich feadhainn dhen luchd-èisdeachd air èigheach, “Croch an salachar!* ‘some of the audience’ (§16); *Thàinig feadhainn dhe na h-A Maireaganaich a-nuas faisg oirnn* (§19); *...thug feadhainn dhe na balaich orra fhèin an cuid de bhlàths an*

³⁵ This could possibly be paraphrased as: *Tha Uilleam na fhear den fheadhainn a bha ris an obair seo*, or *Bha Uilleam air fear den fheadhainn a bha ris an obair seo*, or even: *’S e fear den fheadhainn a bha ris an obair seo a bha ann an Uilleam*.

³⁶ The usage described in the previous passage (*an fheadhainn*) has not been considered here.

³⁷ This could also be translated as ‘some’.

³⁸ Following a negative verb: ‘There aren’t any others...’

³⁹ Followed by a relative clause: ‘Any other people that see it will expect...’

uisge-beatha fhaotainn (§19); *Timcheall oirre chunnaic i feadhainn de na daoine dubha* (§205); *Chuir an Rothach an aghaidh feadhainn dhe na ceistean, agus dhiùlt e feadhainn aca a fhreagairt* (§26); *Chum feadhainn dhe 'r cuideachd orra gu taobh an ear a' bhaile* 'some of our company' (§19). The larger group can be described by a relative clause introduced by *na*, e.g. *Air an t-slighe steach a Steòrnabhagh, thug iad a-steach air feadhainn dhe na bha romhpa* 'some of those who were before them' (§14); *Bha feadhainn dhe na bha air am bualadh leis na h-eucailean sin air an toirt a stigh do'n Tigh-eiridinn* 'some of those who were afflicted' (§43).

If the complement is a personal pronoun, forms of the prepositions *de* and *aig* are used (the latter appears to be more common in the 1st and 2nd persons), e.g. *Bha feadhainn dhiubh a thriall iomadh mìle* (§19); *Bu mhath nan d'rachadh feadhainn dhiubh a lorg* (§400014); *...tha fios gun robh feadhainn againne nach robh a' faireachdainn an fhuachd ceart cho duilich* (§19); *Thug feadhainn aca bàrr nan craobhan orra* (§19); *'S cinnteach nach robh feadhainn aca mórán a bharrachd air ochd-deug* (§205); *Chuir an Rothach an aghaidh feadhainn dhe na ceistean, agus dhiùlt e feadhainn aca a fhreagairt* (§26). Only *de* is used in examples such as: *Tha sinn an dòchas gun sgrìobh feadhainn dhiubh sin thugainn* 'some of those' (§400005).

The *de*-phrases appear to have a different function in the following examples: *Bha feadhainn dhe leithid sin air am meas gaisgeil* (§26); *...agus feadhainn dhen t-seòrsa sin* (§31).

The noun *feadhainn* can be modified either by the singular or the plural form of the adjective, e.g. *'S bha iad brèagha cuideachd, feadhainn dearg mar fhìon, feadhainn ghlas mar mhuir* (§204); *...feadhainn gheala airson a' bhùrn, 's feadhainn bheaga mar sùil cudaig airson a broilich* (§306).

The genitive forms (*feadhna, feadhnach*) do not seem to occur in these contexts, in which the noun *feadhainn* is indefinite, e.g. *'Se an aon toileachadh a th' aige a nise a bhith a' faicinn feadhainn eile a' fulaing mar a rinn e fhéin* (§42).

Apparently, *feadhainn* is never modified by a genitive noun. In fact, it does not seem to refer to a quantity at all, but rather to a group of indefinite entities (= certain Xs).

3. Gin

Gin has been described as a pronoun (AW), an indefinite pronoun (CM), an *abairt riochdaireil* in RC (§212, 229), but it seems to be understood as a noun there, since it is marked as *b.* (feminine). FB and Dwelly describe it as a feminine noun.

When without a complement, it corresponds to English 'any' (in questions and in *if*-clauses) or 'none' (with a negative verb), e.g. *bha e ag iarraidh thàirngean ach cha robh gin agam* 'he was wanting nails but I had none' (AW); *tha mi duilich. chan eil gin agam* 'I'm sorry. I don't have any [=eggs] (CM); *a bheil gin ann?* (RC §229); *am faca tu gin a-raoir?* 'did you see any last night?'; *cho éibhinn ri gin* 'as funny as any' (FB); *a bheil gin agad?* 'have you any?'; *cha dàinig gin* 'no one came' (Dwelly). Cf. also: *gin sam bith* 'any one whatever' (Dwelly); and: *chan eil beachd agam air gin nach eil tinn* 'I don't know of anyone who isn't sick' (FB).

Gin can be modified by a genitive noun, e.g. *a bheil gin chèisean-litreach againn?* ‘have we any envelopes?’ (AW); or by a prepositional phrase, e.g. *cha robh gin a chloinn aca* (RC §229); *gin a dh’uighean agad?* ‘got any eggs?’ (FB); *a bheil gin agaibhse ag aithneachadh seo?* ‘do any of you recognise this?’ (CM).

Examples from *Corpas na Gàidhlig*:

Without a complement, *gin* corresponds to English ‘any’ or ‘none’, e.g. *An do dh’ionnsaich sibh gin bhuaithe?* ‘any (stories)’ (§318); *Aon latha cha bhi gin ann* (§202); *Bha i cinnteach nach biodh gin le Gàidhlig ann* (§330). It refers to plural objects, people, etc.

Gin can be modified by words such as *sam bith*, *eile*, or by a relative clause etc., e.g. *...anns an robh na facail (...) rin cluinntinn na bu thrì na gin eile* ‘than any other (words)’ (§11); *Chaidh am baile a thogail gu bhith ’na baile puirt mòr a bheireadh bàrr air gin eile air an taobh siar* ‘any other’ (§400005); *...na bu duiliche an leughadh na bha iad air gin sam bith eile* ‘on any other (i.e. pages)’ (§42); *Rinn e aon aoir a tha cho geur ri gin eile a chaidh a dhèanamh an Leòdhas* (§27); *Bha e mòr; na bu mhotha na gin a rinn iad a-riamh...* (§30); *Cha do chur gin a chunnaic mi eagal orm riamh* (§316); *Chan fhaca mi gin a-riamh cho àlainn* (§2).

It can also be modified by a *de*-phrase, regardless of whether the noun in the phrase is indefinite or definite, e.g. (indefinite) *...nach robh a’ toirt gin a ghàire gu m’ aodann* (§11); *...tro nach robh gin a chopag no dheanntag a’ fàs* (§11); *Nam marbhadh i a’ chearc a bh’ air fhàgail cha bhiodh gin de dh’uighean aice* (§400143); *Bha e pòsda ach cha robh gin de chloinn aca* (§400190); (definite) *Cha deach a h-uile gin dha na ceistean aice a fhreagairt* (§202); *Ach cha toir sinn do ghin de na seòid i* ‘to any of the heros’ (§26); *Cha robh solas ann an gin de na trì uinneagan a bha air cùlaibh na taighe* (§321); *...gun uisge fuar nam pìoban ann an gin de thaighean Bheàrnaraigh* (§251); *Dh’fhaighnich sinn dha aon latha an robh e airson gin de chompanaich fhaicinn ach cha robh* ‘any of his companions’ (§244); *Chaidh iad an sin a choimhead air na craobhan, ach cha do gheàrr iad gin dhen fheadhainn air an robh am peanta* ‘any of those’ (§2). Cf. also: *Saoil a bheil gin eile dhen an t-seòrsa sin aig an luchd-leughaidh?* ‘any others of that sort’ (§400096). It seems that the word *gin* cannot be modified by a genitive noun.

The prepositions *de* and *aig* are used with personal pronouns (both seem to be common), e.g. *Rosg, dràma, bàrdachd – chan eil gin dhiubh gu nach tionndaidh e a làmh* (§11); *Cha robh gin dhiubh air an rud a bha dhìth air a thoirt dha* (§202); *...cha robh tròcair sam bith a’ nochdadh ann an gin aca* (§16); *Cha b’ urrainn gin againn àicheadh nach robh an fhìrinn aig ar màthair* (§69).

A summary based on the data obtained from the MEANMA corpus:

The word *gin* occurs in:

1. negative clauses (including *gun* &c.)
2. interrogative clauses (including embedded questions and similar)
3. certain types of subordinate clauses
 - *if*-clauses
 - temporal clauses introduced by *mus/mun*
4. after comparatives and equatives
5. after *is gann* (indicating a very small quantity)
6. *bi air gin* + superlative + *agus a* (to be one of the ... that)
7. *bi air gin cho* + positive + *agus a* (to be one of the ... that)
8. *gach / a h-uile gin* (every/each one)
9. *a h-uile gin riamh*
10. *gin eile* (any other, and similar)
11. *gin sam bith eile* (any one else)

Gin does not seem ever to occur in affirmative main clauses, except as part of the phrases in 6-11.

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2.3 Expressions of quantity: *cus* and *dìth*

Abbreviations:

CM = C. Mark

AW = A. Watson

RC = R. Cox

FB = Am Faclair Beag

Cus is a masculine noun; its genitive form is *cuis* (CM, AW, FB); but it is indeclinable according to RC. *Dìth* is a masculine noun; the genitive form is *dìthe* (AW, FB).

The meaning of *cus* and *dìth*.

	CM	AW	RC	FB
cus	too much, too many, superfluity, surfeit; a lot	excess, too much	barrachd air na tha iomchaidh; mòran	too much/many, superfluity, surfeit; (in some areas) a lot
dìth	dearth, defect, deficiency, deficit, lack, need, privation, shortage, want	lack, want, deficit		need, want; deficit, lack, dearth, privation

1. *Cus*

1.2. *Cus* + 0

When used without a complement, the noun *cus* corresponds to English ‘too many’ or ‘too much’, e.g. *dh’òl mi cus a-raoir!* (I drank too much last night) (AW); *tha iad ag ithe cus* (they eat too much) (CM); *tha e a’ saoil sinn cus d’heath fhèin* (he thinks too much of himself) (CM); *a bheil cus ann an cuid de na roinntean?* (are there too many in some of the departments?) (CM); *bha cus ann dhomh* (RC §172); *cosg cus* (spend too much) (FB).

Examples from the MEANMA Gaelic online corpus: *Saoil a’ bheil mi ’g iarraidh cus?* (#68-5); *Ghabh e cus ri òl ann an Steornabhagh, agus dhùisg e le ceann goirt is Canada roimhe* (#39-1); *Bha cus agam ri dhèanamh* (#198-3); *Mar as trice, ’se an diomoladh a bhios aca orra gu bheil cus annta nach buin do’n Ghàidhlig* (#32-5); *Cha chan mi ’n còrr mun can mi cus* (#333-3); *“Uill, chan eil fhios agam air cus m’a dheidhinn,” arsa Pàdraig* (#321-3); *’S e mo bharail gu bheil fhios aig Karl air cus mu na thachair...* (#321-4); referring to people: *...tha cus a’ sireadh beagan oibreach ann an Ulaidh an diugh* (#400-19-16).

1.2. Cus + GEN

The quantified noun can be marked by the genitive case, e.g. *cus bruidhne* (too much talking) (AW); *cha robh cus iarraidh air* (there wasn't too much demand for it) (CM); *bha cus pùdair air a h-aodann* (there was too much powder on her face) (CM); *tha cus dhaoine ann* (there are too many people (in it)) (CM); *gun cus calla* (without too much loss) (CM); *bha cus dighe air an duine* (RC §172); *cus aodaich* (too much clothing) (FB); and meaning 'a lot', e.g. *cus mholaidhean* (a lot of proposals); *cha do dh'ionnsaich sinn cus sam bith bhuaithe* (RC §172).

MEANMA: *Bha cus eagail air riaghailt a bhriseadh* (#400-1-15); “*Na gabh cus dragh, a ghaoil!*” *ars ise* (#321-9); *Cus dhaoine le feusagan* (#205-20); *Rinn e air dachaigh nàbaidh a bha air thaigheadas fad cus bhliadhnachan san dùthaich sin* (#28-1-4); ...*cha bhiodh iad ro thoilichte a bhith call cus oidhcheanan iasgaich* (#14-2); “*Dh'ith 'ad cus chuileagan,*” *thuirt a' Sgudalair* (#30-2); and with verbal nouns: *Bha na paipearan a' toirt cunntas air leanabh a bhàsaich le cus ithe de na dearcagan so* (#81-10-24); ...*nach robh cus bacaidh orra* (#400-20-12); *Tha mi dèanamh cus bruidhinn co-dhiùbh* (#192-12); *Fhad 's a bha mi air falbh, thàinig cus atharrachaidh air...* (#28-5).

Lenition is optional after *gun* (both variants have been attested in texts from various periods), e.g. *Lean Alasdair air ga bhearradh fhèin gun cus aire dè bha e dèanamh...* (#16-11); “*O, chan eil fhios a'm, a Chatriona – 's iomadh fear air an d'fhuair mi fhèin gu math faisg gun cus còmhraidh!*” (#331-16); ...*bha grunnan do fhleasgaich mun cuairt a bha ri sreap agus ri tuisleachadh air sgeirean na meadhon-aoise, gun chus dòchas pòsaidh aig gin dhiubh* (#39-3); *Chaidh air na pàipearan-naidheachd gun chus othail a dhèanamh mun chùis...* (#16-18).

1.3. Cus de

The quantified expression can be introduced by the preposition *de*, e.g. *tha cus de Ghàidheil ann fhathast a tha a' dèanamh seo* (there are still too many Gaels who are doing this) (CM); *tha iad ag ithe cus dhen bhiadh cheàrr* (they eat too much of the wrong food) (CM); *bha cus de nàdar na Pàpanachd sna deas-ghnàthaibh a bha e a' cumail suas* (RC §172); *fada cus a thìde* (far too much time) (FB); and with pronominal objects: *tha cus dhiubh ann am Beurla* (too many of them are in English) (CM); *cus dheth* (too much of it) (FB); *cus dhiubh* (too much of them) (FB).

MEANMA: *Gu dearbha is ann a bha cus de fhacail ùra air an deanamh an Eirinn* (#400-29-21); ‘*Se gearain an aghaidh cus de bhullsgeanadh a tha ann an cruaidh-chruinneachadh na dùthchadachd o chionn ghoirid...*’ (#400-100-14); *Tha cus dhe na liosan air an togail a measg bhruachan...* (#81-11-17); *Tha cus de'n t-sean seòrsa oifigeach beò fhathast* (#400-12-18); *Tha cus de na mairbh timcheall orm* (#205-20); ...*seach g'eil cus dher raointean fo shìol?* (#4-18); ...*a tha a' toirt air falbh an uisge ma tha cus dheth ann* (#33-1-13); *Tha mi cinnteach gu bheil deoch gu leòr aca cuideachd, ach chan fhaic thu cus dhith gu follaiseach* (#400-108-2).

1.4. *Cus aig*

The preposition *aig* can be used instead of *de* when the complement is a plural personal pronoun. Very few examples have been found in the corpus.

MEANMA: *Bha cus aca mar a bha, thuir iad ris* (#400-33-25).

1.5. Adverbial function, modifying a verb or similar

The noun *cus* can function as an adverb corresponding to English ‘too much’, e.g. *cha toil leam Calum cus* (I don’t like Calum too much) (FB); *na mol duine cus mus dig ort a chàineadh* (= in the evening praise the day) (FB). This usage is not well-attested in the corpus.

MEANMA: “*S fheàrr dhut gun thu fhèin a shàrachadh cus,*” arsa Aonghas (#16-13).

1.6. Adverbial function, modifying an adjective or an adverbial phrase

Cus can modify adjectives, e.g. *cus nas fheàrr* (much better, a lot better) (CM); *cus nas fheàrr* (a lot better) (FB); *bha sin cus na b’ fheàrr* (RC §172); *bha e cus ro àrdanach* (RC §172).

MEANMA: *Is esan cus a’s miosa!* (#81-11-25); *Anns a’ choitcheann, ’se sluagh glè bheag ann am meudachd a bha anna [=na sìthichean], cus nas lugha na daoine nàdurra* (#400-110-16); *Còmh-thràth, fuamhair fiadhaich a bheireadh glamhadh thugad a bha cus na bu chunnartaiche na beul na h-oidhche* (#333-4); *Tha mi fada an comain iomadach neach a chuidich leam a tha cus ro lìonmhor ri an ainmeachadh* (#8-0); *Cha’n eil e cus os chionn trì fichead bliadhna!* (#81-10-12); *Eadar cumhachd an dealain is eile, nach ann a bha sinn a-nis cus air thoiseach air iomadh eilean beag eile...* (#28-4).

1.7. Adverbial, as the complement of *bi*

The noun *cus* can function as a predicative, i.e. the complement of the verb *bi*, meaning ‘to be too much’, e.g. *bha sin cus dhomh* (RC §172); *tha sin cus* (RC §296). This is not well-attested in the corpus.

MEANMA: *Tha a’ phinnt ’dol an-àird aon là, ged a tha i cus* (#25-10).

1.8. *Cus a bharrachd*

This expression corresponds to English ‘a lot more’, e.g. *chosg e cus a bharrachd gan cuideachadh na thog e air màl* (he spent a lot more helping them than he collected in rent) (CM). The standard of comparison, modifying *barrachd*, can be expressed by a relative clause introduced by the conjunction *na* (CM).

MEANMA: *Tha cus a bharrachd a’ tighinn fo ur làimh nach toireadh sibh sùil air ann an Ospadal* (#400-46-9-1); *Gun fhios a bheil cus bharrachd do dh’eòlas agaibh càite a bheil an*

t-eilean... (#400-56-19); *Ach ma tha thu a' feitheamh do dheuchainn, tha cus a bharrachd de shochairan agad* (#400-155-20); *Gheibhear mar sin àireamh mhór, mhór anns na sgoiltean sin a' gabhail Gàidhlig (...)* *cus a bharrachd na ghabhas i anns na sgoiltean far am feumar roghainn a dhèanamh eadar Gàidhlig is Fraingis* (#32-4); *Bha Sìle i fhèin comasach air cus a bharrachd na tha an dreuchd "ban-chlèireach" a cur an gèill...* (#400-123-14).

1.9. Tuilleadh is cus

This expression corresponds to English 'too much' (FB). Only two examples of it have been found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig* (DASG), both in 20th century texts; one of them is modified by a prepositional phrase: *tuilleadh is cus de dhaoine* (400032).

2. Dìth

The noun *dìth* can be modified by a genitive noun, e.g. *dìth cleachdaidh* (a lack of practice / experience) (AW); *dìth cèille* (a lack of common sense) (AW); *dìth smachd* (indiscipline) (CM); *nuair nach robh dìth airgid orra* (when they weren't short of money) (CM); *tha dìth a' chadail orm* (I need / lack sleep) (CM). More commonly, it is used in the expression *a dhìth*, e.g. *tha biadh a dhìth* (food is lacking / in short supply) (AW); *dè tha a dhìth oirbh?* (what do you want/need? what would you like?) (AW). Similar examples have been found in CM and FB.

MEANMA: *Bha a' choille pailt, agus cha bhiodh dìth connaidh orra* (#81-11-7); *Cha mhòr nach do chuir e bàs mi le dìth bìthidh, agus sgiùrs e mi gach làtha le crios leathraich* (#81-11-9); *Cha robh dìth éisg air duine beag no mór fhads a thigeadh iasg air dubhan* (#400-2-6); *Cha robh dìth shearmoinean dùrachdach agus drùiteach oirnn...* (#81-10-3); with a definite noun: *Bha mo cheann goirt le dìth a' chadail a dh'aindeoin nan Codeins* (#205-20); *Tha mi cinnteach gu bheil coire mhór aig dìth an airgid ris an so...* (#400-59-22); *...an gnùisean a' fàs leth-bhàn le dìth na fala* (#501); *...agus dìth nam beanntan àrda a tha gainne ann an Alba* (#38-6).

The noun *dìth* appears to have its literal meaning ('lack', 'want', etc.) in all these expressions. One example of *dìth* modified by a *de*-phrase has been found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig* (DASG): *Trì dithean a chuireadh iad dhiùbh – dìth teine dhe'n armaibh, dìth cailceadh dhe'n sgiathan, dìth dhe'm fuil, dhe'm feòil, dhe'm fèithean ann an cleitibh adhair agus iarmailte* (51).⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The example comes from an old story and this *dìth* may not be the same word as *dìth* 'lack'.

Sources:

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2.4 Expressions of quantity: *pailteas*

Source:

MEANMA – Scottish Gaelic online corpus.

Pailteas is a masculine noun meaning ‘abundance, plenty, sufficiency’.

It can occur without a complement, referring more generally to ‘abundance’, as in: *B’ e feòil nan cearc, maille ri feòil chaorach, na h-annlain. Abair gum biodh **pailteas** ann!* (§9369); or to a great quantity of something in particular, as in: *Chleachd e a bhith sgur a dh’obair cho luath ’s a dhèanadh e 1000 breige. Na bharaill-san bha **pailteas** ann am 1000* (§9399).

It can be modified by a genitive noun, e.g. *Lion e phòcaidean làn do dh’òr, ’s dh’iarr e air an duin’-uasal **pailteas òir** a thoirt do na bochdan* (§9254); *Cha bhiodh e air a bhith comasach do dhaoine a bhith còmhnaidh air Hiort mura biodh an t-eilean air a bhith air iadhadh le **pailteas eun agus uighean*** (§9406).

The noun *pailteas* is commonly modified by a *de*-phrase, even if the object of *de* is indefinite, e.g. *Tha **pailteas de dh’iasg** anns na h-aibhnichean agus na lochan* (§9329); *Thilleadh iad le sunnd is slàinte ’nan gnùis an déidh trì mìosan de àile a’ chuain shiar is **pailteas de bhiadh math*** (§9347); *...an deigh dhaibh **pailteas de ’n bhiadh** agus **de ’n deoch** a ghabhail, thug iad leotha ’n corr* (§9267); *Tha **pailteas ann diubh** aig gach céilidh...* (§9315); *Tha Dùghall trom air an tombaca, ’S tha **pailteas dheth sin** aig Fionnladh* (§9273).

It can be modified by the definite article, seemingly without any change in meaning, e.g. *Tha e coltach gu ’n robh **am pailteas bainne** aice...* (§9220); *Bha iad le chéile acrach gu leòr; oir thug sealladh dhe ’n **phailteas bìdh** a bha fo’n t-seòl géireag mhath dhaibh* (§9240); *Ach bha ’m **pailteas de chraobhan còco** a’ fàs ann* (§9236); *...bha **am pailteas aicese dhiubh*** (§9249).

The phrase (*ann*) *am pailteas* corresponds to English ‘in abundance’, e.g. *Bha na sòbhrachan a’ fàs mun cuairt fo làn bhlàth **ann am pailteas**...* (§9391); *Bha leann-dubh agus feòil thorc air an roinn air muinntir an àite **am pailteas**...* (§9365).

The noun *pailteas* can be modified by an adjective, e.g. *Bha **pailteas math feòla** oirre – ged nach robh i idir ro reamhar no gun deagh chruth* (§9379); *Tha phlùr, ’us coirce, ’us sgadan, us iasg, ’us buntàta ’s feur tioram ’g an tabhairt sìos **ann am pailteas anabarrach*** (§9319).

2.5 Expressions of quantity: *leth*

1. Introduction⁴¹

Leth is an indeclinable masculine noun meaning ‘half’ (AW, CM):⁴² *an leth eile* ‘the other half’ (AW); *bha seo a’ dèanamh dà chruinn leth* ‘this made two neat halves’ (CM); *bhriseadh am bata na dhà leth* ‘the stick broke in two halves’ (CM). It can be modified by a genitive noun: *leth na glainne* ‘half a glass’ (CM); *leth an t-samhraidh* ‘mid-summer’ (the half-way point) (AW, Dwelly); *leth an rathaid / na slighe* ‘halfway’ (CM); or by a possessive pronoun: *cha do dh’innis mi a leth* ‘I didn’t tell the half of it’ (CM); or by a *de*-phrase: *bha an taigh ùr na leth a dh’uallach dha* ‘s a bha an seann taigh ‘the new house was half the trouble to him as the old house was’ (CM).⁴³

The expression *gu leth* can be used adverbially, as in: *bha botal uisge-beatha air òl gu leth air a’ bhòrd* ‘there was a half-drunk bottle of whisky on the table’ (CM); and with a possessive pronoun: *lion e a’ ghlainne gu a leth* ‘he half filled the glass’ (CM). It can refer to an additional half of a measure or number: *mìle gu leth* ‘a mile and a half’ (AW, Dwelly); *trì uairean fichead gu leth* ‘23½’; *dà cheud agus ceithir latha fichead gu leth* ‘224½’; *ceud gu leth mìle* ‘150,000’; *mu dhà cheud deug gu leth* ‘1,250’; *dà cheud gu leth mìle de mhìltean* ‘250,000’; *trì cheud gu leth millean* ‘350,000,000’; *millean gu leth* ‘1,500,000’ (RC §165, ii).

As the first part of a compound, *leth* can refer to a half measure or similar: *leth-mharbh* ‘half dead’ (AW); *leth-shean* ‘middle aged’ (AW); or it can mean ‘one of a pair’: *leth-chàraid* ‘a twin’ (AW); *air leth-chois* ‘on one leg’ (AW). Cf. also: *leth uair* ‘half an hour’, *leth phunnd* ‘half a pound’, *leth mhìle* ‘half a mile’ (CM); *leth-cheud mìle duine* ‘50,000’ (RC §165, i).

The expression *dàrna leth* corresponds, semantically, to English ‘one half’: *seo dàrna leth an diofair* ‘this is half the difference’ (CM), *suas gu an dàrna leth* ‘halfway up’ (CM).

Cf. also: *barrachd air leth an astair* ‘more than half the distance’ (CM); *nam biodh an t-astar leth an rud a tha e* ‘if the distance were half what it is’ (CM); *a leth uiread seo* ‘half as much as this’ (CM); *a leth uimhir ri sin* (RC §192, xii); *a leth uiread eile* ‘half as many again’ (CM); *a leth cho... ri* ‘half as... as’ (CM; cf. RC §181, iii).

⁴¹ AW = A. Watson; CM = C. Mark; RC = R. Cox; FB = *Am Faclair Beag*.

⁴² Its other meaning is ‘side’, which is uncommon now except in set expressions such as *às leth* or *air leth*.

⁴³ The example *a leth* ‘the half of it’ is interesting because *dheth* would be expected here on analogy with other quantity words (e.g. *mòran dheth*).

2. *Leth*⁴⁴

The noun *leth* can correspond to English ‘side’ or ‘part’, e.g. *anns gach leth* ‘in all parts (areas)’ (§9703); and is often modified by adverbs of place in this sense, e.g. *leth shear na dùthcha* ‘the eastern side of the country’ (§9933); *an duine bho ’n leth a-muigh* ‘the person from the outside’ (§10109). Its more common meaning, however, is ‘half’. This can be more concrete, as in e.g. *leth clì na h-eanchainn* ‘the left half (=hemisphere) of the brain’ (§10107); *an leth eile* ‘the other half’ (of an apple) (§9656); but it can also refer to quantities that equal ½ of something, e.g. *leth mionaid* ‘half a minute’ (§9805); *leth na buaile* ‘half of the herd’ (§9939). In any case, it can be modified by:

- a genitive noun
- a possessive particle
- a *de*-phrase
- a demonstrative
- a *na*-relative

These modifiers describe the quantified entity.

The noun *leth* can also be modified by the word *eile*, by cardinal or ordinal numbers, adjectives, etc. It can modify adverbial expressions and function as the first element (mainly) of nominal and adjectival compounds, and is found in the very frequent expression *gu leth*.

2.1. *Leth* + 0

Examples of *leth* without a complement are very rare in the corpus, e.g. *mu ’n d’ fhuair mi leth* ‘before I got half [of it]’ (§9826); *gheibh thu leth a ghill* ‘you’ll get a half [of it], lad’ (§9834). However, these could, in fact, represent the expression *a leth* ‘half of it’ (see below). *Leth* occurs with the definite article in very few such examples, e.g. *Chan eil an sin ach leth na fìrinn, ma tha an* [sic! instead of *a*] *leth fhèin ann* ‘That is only half of the truth, if it even is half’ (§9962).

2.2. *Leth* + GEN

The modifying noun can be either indefinite or definite. Examples involving a definite noun are common, e.g. *tuilleadh is leth Alba* ‘more than half of Scotland’ (§9679); *mu leth meudachd Albann* ‘about half the size of Scotland’ (§10054); *leth na rìoghachd* ‘half of the kingdom’ (§9949); *gle bheag us leth an astair* ‘a tiny bit more than half the distance’ (§9634); *leagh mu leth na doimhne sin air falbh* ‘about half of that depth [of snow] melted away’ (§9790); *anns nach eil ach mu leth an fhaide a tha anns na spealan againne* ‘[scythes] which are only about half the length of our scythes’ (§9750); *ged nach biodh e leth an oirlich a dh’ fhad* ‘although it was not half an inch long’ (§9697);⁴⁵ *ghluais i an t-uaireadair leth na h-òirlich às àite* ‘she

⁴⁴ Based on data from the MEANMA Gaelic language corpus.

⁴⁵ Cf. the much more common *leth òirleach* (§9672). Using units of measurement with the definite article, however, seems to be common with other fractions.

moved the watch half an inch out of place’ (§10108); *An uair a bha iad mu leth an rathaid dhùisg am paiste* ‘When they were about half-way [across], the child woke up’ (§9938); *cha ruigeadh e leth na slighe gus na fion-dhearcan* ‘he would not reach [even] half-way to the grapes’ (§9757); *leth an latha* ‘half of the day’ (§9620); *thug i leth na h-oidhche gun chadal* ‘she spent half of the night sleepless’ (§9649); *b’ e am buntàta biadh nan Uibhisteach fad leth na bliadhna* ‘potato was the food of Uist people for one half of the year’ (§10211); *fad leth a bheatha* ‘for half of his life’ (§9997); *Chan eil sin ach leth na firinn* ‘That is only half of the truth’ (§9961); *beagan a bharrachd air leth na suime* ‘a bit more than half of the sum’ (§9819); *Thug Calum leth an àirgid dh’ a mhàthair* ‘C. gave half of the money to his mother’ (§9738); *tha mi ’cur leth mo chodach gu m’ aon phiuthair* ‘I am leaving half of my property to my only sister’ (§9893); *Thomhais e leth na glainne dha fhéin* ‘He measured half a glass for himself’ (§10112); *leth a’ bhaile* ‘half of the village’ (§10002);⁴⁶ *leth Baile a’ Chnuic* ‘half of Hilton(?)’ (§10150); *mu leth nan gillean* ‘about half of the lads’ (§9974); *mu leth nan soithichean Frangach* ‘about half of the French ships’ (§9986). Cf. also the set phrases *leth na slighe* ‘half-way’ (§9596, §9673); *leth na truaighe* ‘my goodness’ (§10141).

Numerous examples contain indefinite nouns, e.g. *De ’n rud a ’s coltaiche ri leth ubhail? An leth eile.* ‘What is most similar to half of an apple? The other half.’ (§9655); *gun d’ ith e (...) leth bò* ‘that it ate half a cow’ (§10144); *leth obair seisean acaideamach* ‘half of the work of an academic session’ (§10135); *thuirt e le leth aire* ‘he said not quite paying attention’ (§9866);⁴⁷ *mu leth mìle air falbh* ‘about half a mile away’ (§10185); *mu astar leth latha o’n bhaile puirt* ‘about a half-day distance from the port town’ (§9639); *leth mionaid* ‘half a minute’ (§9805); *leth pinnt uisge* ‘half a pint of water’ (§10053); *suas ri leth bocsa mhaitseachan* ‘up to half a box of matches’ (§10125); *beagan a bharrachd air leth millean dolair* ‘a little more than half a million dollars’ (§9705). In expressions like these, however, it can be difficult to distinguish between *leth* + N phrases and *leth*-N compounds, and some of these examples might, in fact, represent compounds (see below).

2.3. POSS + *leth*

While forms of the preposition *de* are normally used with other quantity expressions when the quantified entity is expressed by a pronoun, possessive pronouns appear to be more common with *leth*, e.g. *gu ’n roinneadh iad an duais, a leth do gach fear* ‘that they would divide the prize, half [of it] to each man’ (§9664); *bha gann a leth air a threabhadh* ‘hardly half of it (=the land) had been ploughed’ (§9749); *a’ dol (...) air ceann na leth a dhlùth-lean ris an rian Cheilteach* ‘taking power in the half of it (=the country) that adhered to the Celtic order’ (§9930); *chail iad an leth* ‘they lost half of them (=of their companions)’ (§9752).

⁴⁶ Referring to the people of the village.

⁴⁷ Lit. ‘with half attention’.

2.4. *Leth de*

De-phrases appear to be uncommon in this context, e.g. *Tha arthritis a' bualadh mu leth de 'n t-sluagh* 'Arthritis affects about half of the population' (§10099); *leth dheth* 'half of it (=the potato crop)' (§9824); *leth dhith* 'half of it (=the country)' (§10055). However, *de*-phrases are more common in some other expressions that include *leth* (see below).

2.5. *Leth + DEM*

The noun *leth* can be modified by a demonstrative without the preposition *de*, e.g. *còrr is leth sin* 'more than half of that' (§9820); *nach eil ann ach mu leth sin* 'that it is only half of that (number)' (§9976); *bhiodh leth sin cus* 'half of that would be plenty' (§9977); *Chan eil leth sin ann an-diugh* 'There is not half of that number there today' (§10173). It is interesting that *leth* is not modified by the definite article / possessive *a* in this context either (cf. *uiread*, doc. 35).

2.6. *Leth na + REL*

Na-relatives are usually linked to a quantity expression using the preposition *de*, which does not seem to be the case here, e.g. *a tha a' lùghdachadh àireamh nan cromosom gu leth na bha ann an ceallan na bodhaig* 'which reduces the number of chromosomes to half the number that was in the cells of the body' (§10132); *'S cha do dh'inns mi leth na dh'fhaodainn* 'and I did not tell half of what I could (have told)' (§10082); *'S cha duirt mi leth na b' urrainn mi* 'and I did not say half of what I could' (§10083). These are the only examples found in the post-1900 texts and the latter two both come from the same poem.

2.7. *A leth agus na + REL*

One example has been found in the post-1900 texts:⁴⁸ *Cha 'n fheil a leth 's na b' fhiach thu Fo d' riaghladh 'san àm* 'not half of the number that you would deserve is ruled by you...' (§9852). This construction is very common, for instance, with the word *uiread*.

2.8. *Leth agus a + REL*

One example has been found in the post-1900 texts: *is gann a shàbhaileadh leth 's a thigeadh do 'n t-saoghal* 'hardly half of those that were born would have been saved' (§9963).

⁴⁸ It comes from a poem that might be older than the text that contains it.

2.9. NUM + *leth*

Most examples contain the number *dà*, e.g. *an da leth so* ‘these two halves’ (§9931); *mas e dà leth tha air* ‘if that is called two halves’ (§9967); and especially the expression *na dhà leth* ‘in two halves’, which is used with verbs that refer to cutting, breaking, splitting, dividing, folding, e.g. *air a ghearradh ’na dha leth* ‘cut in two’ (§9721); *sgoilt e ’na dà leth i* ‘he split it in two’ (§9874); *chaidh Vietnam a roinn ’na dà leth* ‘Vietnam was divided in two parts’ (§10088); *phaisg Uilleam an litir ’na dà leth* ‘William folded the letter in two’ (§10115); and in the expression *dà leth a dhèanamh air/de X* ‘to divide X in two halves’, e.g. *den abhainn, a tha a’ dèanamh dà leth den bhaile* ‘of the river, which divides the village in two halves’ (§10181); *a’ dèanamh dà chruinn leth air a’ bhaile bhrèagha so* ‘dividing this lovely town in two neat halves’ (§10070). Cf. also: *ceithir leithean* ‘four halves’ (§10023), which is the only example of the plural form of *leth* found in the post-1900 texts in the corpus. Cf. also: *aon leth de ’n bhuntàta* ‘half of the potatoes’ (§9886), which is rare and corresponds to the more common expression *an dàrna leth* (see below).

2.10. ORD.NUM + *leth*

The noun *leth* can be modified by ordinal numbers, e.g. *anns a’ cheud leth de ’n naoidheamh linn deug* ‘in the first half of the 19th century’ (§10128); *ré na ceud leth de an linn* ‘during the first half of the century’ (§9926); *Agus ma dh’fhalbh a’ cheud leth dhe ’n latha (...) gun fhios do ar caraid, cha robh sgeul idir aige air an dàrna leth* ‘And if the first half of the day passed without our friend noticing, he had no idea at all about the second half’ (§9968).

2.11. *An dàrna/dara leth... an leth eile*

This construction corresponds to English ‘one half... the other [half]...’, e.g. *nach eil fhios aig an dàrna leth de shluagh an t-saoghail ciamar a tha an leth eile a’ faighinn troimhe* ‘that one half of the world’s population does not know how the other half is getting through it’ (§10142). The idiomatic expression *an dàrna/dara leth* often occurs on its own, in which case it still corresponds to English ‘one half’, e.g. *cuiridh tu an dàrna leth aig taobh a’ chladaich* ‘you will put one half [of the dead sheep] by the shore’ (§9980). Both expressions can be modified by a *de*-phrase, e.g. *Fhuair Iain an dàrna leth den rìoghachd* ‘Iain got half of the kingdom’ (§9952); *an dàrna leth de shluagh an t-saoghail* ‘one half of the world’s population’ (§10142); *an dara leth de a chuid òran* ‘half of his songs’ (§10067); *anns an leth eile d’ bheairteas* ‘in the other half of your wealth’ (§9839);⁴⁹ *tha mu ’n dàrna leth dhiubh air am fàgail ann am bochdainn* ‘half of them have been left in poverty’ (§9682); *an dara leth dhiu geal ’s an leth eile dearg no dubh* ‘one half of them white and the other half red or black’ (§9797); *ged nach d’ fhuair MacEanraig an cothrom an dàrna leth a dheanamh de na b’ urrainn da dheanamh* ‘...to do half of what he was able to do’ (§9960); *nach robh tuigsinn an dàrna leth de na bha*

⁴⁹ The preposition *a* (=de) has been absorbed by the final vowel of *eile*, i.e. *an leth eile (a) d’ bheairteas*.

e 'g ràdh ‘who did not understand half of what he was saying’ (§10208).⁵⁰ The plural forms of *aig* can be used too, but they seem to be rare, e.g. *cha do dh'fhan an dàrna leth againn ri còta...* ‘half of us did not wait for a coat’ (§10126).

However, *an dàrna leth* is more commonly modified by a genitive noun, and if that noun is definite the first definite article is omitted, as expected, e.g. *cha deach ach mu dharra leth an luchd-taghaidh a mach* ‘only half of the voters went out’ (§9606); *mu dhara leth an t-sluaigh* ‘about half of the people’ (§10133); *dàrna leth sluagh an t-saoghail* ‘half of the world’s population’ (§10204); *dara leth na Roinn-Eòrpa* ‘half of Europe’ (§9816); *tha mi fàgail dàrna leth nan caorach* ‘I am leaving half of the sheep’ (§10018); *a' caitheamh dara leth m' uine* ‘spending half of my time’ (§9916); *darna leth do mhaoin* ‘half of your wealth’ (§9836); *bha dàrna leth a chinn air a losgadh* ‘half of his head was burnt’ (§10102). Similarly, a *na*-relative can follow the word *leth* without the preposition *de*, e.g. *gle fhaisg air darra leth na tha ri bhi de bhuill 'sa phàrlamaid air fad* ‘very close to half the number of members that are to be in the parliament altogether’ (§9603); *nach smuainich air dàrna leth na labhras iad* ‘who do not think about half of what they say’ (§9759). It is interesting that these relative clauses function as definite nouns, since there is no article before *dàrna leth* in these examples.

Cf. also: *tha mi 'cur leth mo chodach gu m' aon phiuthair agus an leth eile ugad fhein* ‘I am leaving half of my property to my only sister and the other half to you’ (§9893); *gu bheil aon leth de 'n bhuntàta loth agus nach fhiach an leth eile a thoirt as a' ghrunnd* ‘that one half of the potatoes are rotten and the other half are not worth taking out of the ground’ (§9886; §9887). Examples like these – involving the expression (*aon*) *leth* instead of *an dàrna leth* – are very rare in the corpus.

2.12. *Leth* and other modifiers

Leth can be modified by adjectives, e.g. *'san leth a 's fhearr dhe 'n bhlàr* ‘in the better half of the battle’ (§9882); or by genitive nouns that describe it (rather than being quantified by it), e.g. *an leth deiridh* ‘the last half’ (§9848); *leth toisich an fhacail sin* ‘the first half of that word’ (§9847). Note that *leth* is modified by two genitive nouns, each with a different function, in the latter example. This might mean that *leth deiridh* and *leth toisich* are compounds.

2.13. *Leth* + ADV

The word *leth* can modify certain adverbial expressions. There are few examples in the post-1900 texts, all of them involving the expression *gu leòr*, e.g. *chan eil leth gu leòir de leabhraichean Gàidhlig againn* ‘half enough’ (§10009); *Chan eil sinne dèanamh leth gu leòr de bhiadh Gaidhealach nas motha* (§10081). This seems to be limited to negative clauses.

⁵⁰ Cf. also: *nach bi aite-fuirich ann do 'n dàrna leth de an thig* ‘that there will not be a place to live for half of those who will come’ (§9626); where *de an thig* seems to stand for *de na thig*.

2.14. *A leth cho* + ADJ

This expression corresponds to English ‘half as ADJ’, e.g. *nach robh an [sic!] leth cho fiachail ris an fhàine ’bha air chall* ‘that was not half as valuable as the ring that had been lost’ (§9667); *Cha robh e leth cho mòr ris an Duine Mòr* ‘He was not half as big as the Big Man’ (§10146); *a bha leth cho blasda ris a hama a bha iadsan a’ dèanamh* ‘that was half as tasty as the ham that they were making’ (§10155); *bha iad ma thuaiream a leth cho lionmhor riu féin* ‘they were approximately half as numerous as them’ (§9681); *ged nach eil am bàrr ach gann a leth cho math ’s a bha e an uiridh* ‘although the crops are only barely half as good as they were last year’ (§9660); *nach robh aon tè dhiubh a leth cho dearg ’s a bha mo shròn-sa* ‘that not a single one of them (=noses) was half as red as my own nose was’ (§10153).

2.15. *Gu leth*

This expression can be used adverbially, in which case it means literally ‘to the mid-point’, e.g. *botul le bàrr sìos gu leth* ‘a bottle [of milk] with cream going half-way down’ (§10087). In a huge number of examples, however, it modifies various quantity words, such as numbers, units of measurement, words referring to sections of time, etc., and corresponds to English ‘and a half’.⁵¹

When it modifies a noun, the expression *gu leth* refers to an additional half of what that nouns denotes, e.g. *mu òirleach gu leth* ‘about an inch and a half’ (§9825); *mu thuaiream mìle gu leth* ‘approximately a mile and a half’ (§9917); *an déidh uair gu leth* ‘in an hour and a half’ (§10048); *mu bhliadhna gu leth* ‘about a year and a half’ (§9592); *còrr is punnd gu leth* ‘more than a pound and a half’ (§10119); *dolar gu leth* ‘one dollar fifty’ (§9684); *mu dhuilleag gu leth* ‘about one and a half pages’ (§10096). This also applies to the numbers *ceud*, *mìle*, *milleann*, *billeann*, which are nouns morphosyntactically, e.g. *ceud gu leth* ‘150’ (i.e. one and a half hundred) (§10040); *mìle gu leth* ‘1500’ (§10004); *muilleann gu leth* ‘1.5 million’ (§9627). The same goes for nouns that are modified by a number, e.g. *dà throidh gu leth* ‘two and a half feet’ (§10022); *sia troidhean gu leth* ‘six and a half feet’ (§10106); *ochd troidhean deug gu leth* ‘18 and a half feet’ (§10020); *mu thrì mìle gu leth* ‘about three and a half miles’ (§10057); *mu cheithir mìle gu leth* ‘about four and a half miles’ (§9896); *ochd mìle deug gu leth* ‘18 and a half miles’ (§9846); *rè dha latha gu leth* ‘for two and a half days’ (§9711); *ceithir mìosan gu leth* ‘four and a half months’ (§9889); *trì bliadhna gu leth* ‘three and a half years’ (§10034); *ceithir fichead is da ùnnsa gu leth* ‘82.5 ounces’ (§9784); *da dholair gu leth* ‘two dollars fifty’ (§9868); *dà cheud gu leth* ‘250’ (=two and a half hundred) (§9897); *trì cheud gu leth* ‘350’ (§10103); *ochd ceud gu leth* ‘850’ (§9903); *aon mhuillein deug gu leth* ‘11.5 million’ (§9699). Cf. also: *ged nach eil de shluagh anns an stàid ach mu uiread gu leth ’s a tha ann an Nobha Scotia* ‘although the state’s population is larger by only about a half than that of Nova Scotia’ (§9849).⁵² The expression *gu leth* can also be used with numbers from one to ten without a

⁵¹ On MEANMA, expressions such as *bliadhna gu leth* have been assigned the category ‘N + gu leth’ and those like *trì (N) gu leth* or *trì cheud (N) gu leth* the category ‘NUM + gu leth’, which may not be too precise (see the following paragraph).

⁵² More literally: there are only about 1.5 times as many people in the state as there are in Nova Scotia.

noun, e.g. *a dhà gu leth* ‘two and a half’ (§9624); *gu coig gu leth* ‘to five and a half’ (§9725). Although *gu leth* usually follows the noun, as evident from the examples, there are exceptions, e.g. *coig deug gu leth dolair* ‘fifteen dollars fifty’ (§9723), instead of *còig dolaran deug gu leth*.

Nouns quantified by expressions such as *ceud gu leth*, *dà mhìle gu leth*, etc. normally occur in their nominative singular form and follow the whole expression, e.g. *mu cheud gu leth dolair* ‘about 150 dollars’ (§9803); *mu cheud gu leth duine* ‘about 150 people’ (§9875); *còrr agus ceud gu leth bliadhna* ‘more than 150 years’ (§10033); *millean gu leth dolair* ‘1.5 million dollars’ (§9678); *còrr agus muillean gu leth fear siubhail* ‘more than 1.5 million travellers’ (§10000); *mu chòig cheud gu leth duine* ‘about 550 people’ (§9975); *sia ceud gu leth baraille* ‘s a dhà ‘652 barrels’ (§9809); *còrr is seachd ceud gu leth mìle* ‘more than 750 miles’ (§10092). Occasionally, the noun comes between the number and *gu leth*, e.g. *dà mhìle bliadhna gu leth a dh’aois* ‘2500 years of age’ (§10024). The genitive case, however, seems to be used in this context if the quantifier is not a number such as *ceud*, e.g. *coig unnsa gu leth sallainn* ‘five and a half ounces of salt’ (§10118).⁵³

De-phrases have also been attested in this context, e.g. *ceud gu leth de bhàtaichen beaga spòrs* ‘150 small sport boats’ (§10171); *mu dhuilleag gu leth de sgrìobhaidhean Gàidhlig* ‘about one and a half pages of Gaelic writing’ (§10096); *da mhìle gu leth de mhiltean* ‘2500 miles’ (§9806). They seem to be the only option if the modifier is a definite noun phrase or a pronoun, e.g. *mu cheud gu leth de mhuinntir an àite* ‘about 150 local people’ (§9588); *ceud gu leth de ’n luchd-obrach* ‘150 of the workers’ (§9807); *còrr is ceud gu leth dhe ar taighean-sgoile* ‘more than 150 of our schoolhouses’ (§9844); *mu cheithir cheud gu leth de na ministearan* ‘about 450 of the ministers’ (§10095); *mu dha mhìle gu leth dhe na Boerich* ‘about 2500 of the Boers’ (§9602); *ceud-gu-leth dhiubh* ‘150 of them’ (§9828); *corr is tri cheud gu leth dhiubh sin* ‘more than 350 of those’ (§9808).⁵⁴ Cf. also: *a’ chiad bhliadhna gu leth de ’n chogadh* ‘the first year and a half of the war’ (§10036); *anns a’ chiad linn-gu-leth dhe ’n Atharrachadh Gnìomhachais* ‘in the first one and a half centuries of the Industrial Revolution’ (§10138), where the expression is modified by an ordinal number.

Such more complex expressions as *ceud gu leth mìle*, *dà cheud gu leth millean*, etc. can be modified by another noun, e.g. *mu cheud gu leth mìle dolair* ‘about 150,000 dollars’ (§9904); *còrr is ceud gu leth muillion dolair* ‘more than 150 million dollars’ (§9855); *da cheud gu leth mìle dolair* ‘250,000 dollars’ (§9891). The genitive case is used after units of measurement, e.g. *ceud gu leth tunna feoir* ‘150 tons of hay’ (§9600); *mu ’n cuairt air da mhuillean-gu-leth acair gruinnd* ‘about 2.5 million acres of land’ (§9829); and also: *eadar da mhìle gu leth is tri mìle tunna guail* ‘between 2500 and 3000 tons of coal’ (§9906). But cf. *coig gu leth millein sluaigh* ‘5.5 million people’ (§9689), with a genitive noun following a number, which might be due to hypercorrection, unless this is a dialectal nominative form (see note 53). The word order

⁵³ The genitive is never used with *ceud*, *mìle*, etc. The forms *dolair* (§9803), *millein* (§9689), *baraille* (§9809), found in some examples, are dialectal nominative singular forms – the genitive singular would not make sense in this context (**one and a half million of a dollar).

⁵⁴ Perhaps these examples are better translated into English using indefinite nouns, e.g. ‘450 ministers’, ‘2500 Boers’, etc.

can differ here too, e.g. *ceud punnd gu leth uranium* (§10116), instead of *ceud gu leth punnd uranium*. Examples containing a *de*-phrase have also been found, e.g. *mu cheud gu leth mile de luchd-imrich* ‘about 150,000 migrants’ (§9901); *mu dha cheud gu leth mile de luchd-bruidhinn Gàilig* ‘about 250,000 Gaelic speakers’ (§9728); *da cheud gu leth mile dhe sin* ‘250,000 of that’ (§9850).

2.16. Compounds

A large number of various compound nouns whose first element is *leth-* are found in the corpus. Some of them are exocentric, e.g. *leth-chiallach* ‘a halfwit’ (§9640), but the majority seem to be endocentric compounds, e.g. *leth char* ‘half turn’ (§9885); *leth-cheud* ‘fifty’ (§10230); *leth-chroitean* ‘half-crofts’ (§10168); *leth phiuthar* ‘half-sister’ (§10163); *leth amadan* ‘halfwit’ (§9845); *leth-fhacal* ‘hint’ (§9642); *leth-sgeul* ‘excuse’ (§10140) (now *leisgeul*).

Among the latter, some denote one member of a pair (usually of parts of the body), e.g. *do leth-shùil* ‘one of your eyes’ (§9794); *le leth-chois* ‘san uaigh’ ‘with one foot in the grave’ (§9800); *bha thu ’nad leum air do leth-chois* ‘you were jumping on one foot’ (§10101); *ai[r] leth-mhanachan* ‘on one buttock’ (§10127); *deònach an leth-dhubhag a thoirt* ‘willing to give one of their kidneys’ (§10143); and also: *air leth-shùil* ‘one-eyed’ (§9953); *air leth-chluais* ‘one-eared’ (§9942); *air leth-làimh* ‘one-handed’ (§9773). Cf. also: *leth-aon* ‘a twin’ (§10131); *leth-taobh* ‘one side’ (§10035).

Others refer to quantities that equal half of something, e.g. *air a leth-luach* ‘for half of its value’ (§9924). Most of these are units of measurement (*ùnnsa, mìle, slat*), including words referring to sections of time (*latha, bliadhna*) or money (*dolar, crùn*), e.g. *leth-shlat* ‘half yard’ (§9769); *leth-bhodach* ‘half a mutchkin’ (§9851); *leth-bhliadhna* ‘half a year’ (§9843); *leth-chrùn* ‘half crown’ (9768).

These include the expression *a leth uiread/uimhir*,⁵⁵ e.g. *cha dean i a leth uibhir a dh’ obair ’s a dheanadh a mathair* ‘she will not do half as much work as her mother would do’ (§9734); *gu bheil cosgais teachd-an-tìr air meudachadh faisg air a leth uimhir a rithist ’s na bha e (...)* *anns na sia bliadhna mu dheireadh* ‘that subsistence expenses have increased by nearly half the amount they were in the last six years’ (§10010); *mu leth uiread ’sa bha an gual a chosg dhaibh* ‘about half the amount that the coal cost them’ (§9696); *nach eil e leth uiread ri Eilean Leòdhais* ‘that it is not half the size of the Isle of Lewis’ (§10093); *cha fhàgar ach leth urrad de uisge is a tha innte de mhòine* ‘there will remain only half as much water as there is peat in it’ (§10117).

It can be difficult to distinguish compounds from phrases, i.e. from groups of separate words. The following parameters can be considered in this case:⁵⁶

1. presence/absence of lenition in the second word;
2. nominative vs. genitive form of the second word;

⁵⁵ See Section 2.8.

⁵⁶ Obviously, there is no information on stress patterns in written texts.

3. the position of modifiers;
4. hyphenation.

Examples that involve lenition can be analysed as compounds, while those that do not may be phrases. Since *leth-* is the modifier in the compounds discussed here, the expressions in which the second noun occurs in the genitive form must be interpreted as phrases.⁵⁷ Hyphenation is unreliable since it is often inconsistent, especially in earlier texts, e.g. *leth-bhliadhna* (§9843) vs. *leth bhliadhna* (§9695). However, the expressions that are hyphenated more regularly are likely to be compounds.

The following examples could be regarded as compounds, due to the presence of lenition: *leth-mhìle* ‘half a mile’ (§10086), *leth mhìle* (§10064, §10075); *leth mhìle de ’n chuan* ‘half a mile of the ocean’ (§10075); *leth-pheighinn fhearainn* ‘a half pennyland (of land)’ (§10212); *leth-phinnt bainne* ‘half a pint of milk’ (§10016); *leth-bhodach* ‘half a mutchkin’ (§9851); *leth-bhotul uisge-bheatha* ‘half a bottle of whisky’ (§10051); *an leth bharaile sgadain* ‘the half barrel of herring’ (§10029); *leth-phoca buntàta* ‘half a sack of potatoes’ (§10145); *leth-phunnd Cooanut agus cairteal puinnnd siùcair* ‘half a pound of coconut and a quarter pound of sugar’ (§9984); *leth-chrùn* ‘half crown’ (§9768); *leth-phrìs* ‘half price’ (§10089); *leth bhliadhna* ‘half a year’ (§9695); *seachd ceud ’s leth-cheud ’sa dha* ‘752’ (§9777); *corr math ’s an leth-chuid dhiubh* ‘a good bit more than half of them’ (§10156); and even: *le leth-bhuntàta na mo làimh* ‘with half a potato in my hand’ (§10151); and: *a tha ’na leth Bheurla is ’na leth Chuimris* ‘which is half English and half Welsh’ (§10044, §10045).

Structurally similar expressions in which the second element starts with an unlenitable sound can also be thought of as compounds, e.g. *leth latha* ‘half a day’ (§10231); *leth-uair* ‘half an hour’ (§9614); *a h-uile leth uair* ‘every half an hour’ (§10152); *leth-òirleach* ‘half-inch’ (§9876); *leth òirleach eile* ‘another half-inch’ (§9789); *nach e Leódhusach idir a tha an Calum (...)* – *ach leth-Uibhisteach is leth-Hearach* ‘that C. is not a Lewisman at all, but half Uistian and half Harrisian’ (§10090, §10091); *a bha ’na leth Eireannach* ‘who was half Irish’ (§10043). *Leth-* seems not to lenite *t* and *d* in compounds, e.g. *leth té* ‘half a glass’ (§10085); *leth-te* (§10154); *leth troidh na b’ fhaide* ‘half a foot longer’ (§9783); *leth troidh a bharrachd* ‘half a foot more’ (§9871); *leth-dusan de leabhraichean* ‘half a dozen books’ (§9860); *leth-dusan dhathan* ‘half a dozen colours’ (§10058); *aon leth-dusan eileanach* ‘half a dozen islanders’ (§10110); *leth-dolar* ‘half dollar’ (§9867); *leth-dolair* (§9861); *leth dolair* (§9598).

Examples whose second element lacks lenition and is unambiguously in the genitive case are rare, e.g. *mu leth-cuain* ‘about half-way across the ocean’ (§9911). Another example is *leth mionaid* ‘half a minute’ (§9691); *ann an leth mionaid* ‘in half a minute’ (§9666); *beagan us leth mionaid* ‘a little more than half a minute’ (§9688); which is very well-attested in the post-1900 texts (and earlier), while its lenited variant is extremely uncommon for some reason, cf. *leth-mhionaid* ‘half a minute’ (§10205). Other similar examples are rare, e.g. *leth pinnt uisge* ‘half a pint of water’ (§10053); *leth-botal uisge-beatha* ‘half a bottle of whisky’ (§10148); the second part of both expressions is usually lenited.

⁵⁷ Cf. the aforementioned examples *leth toisich* (§9847) and *leth deiridh* (§9848), which could be interpreted either as compounds or as phrases, but in which *leth* is the head, rather than the modifier.

The genitive form can sometimes be ascribed to hypercorrection, e.g. *leth chrùin* ‘half crown’ (§10077); *leth-chairteil unnsa* ‘1/8 of an ounce’ (§10195); cf. *leth-chairteal* ‘half a quarter’ (§10198). The presence of lenition in these expressions implies that they are compounds. The form seen in e.g. *leth dolair* ‘half dollar’ (§9598) is probably a dialectal nominative form, cf. *aon dolair deug* (#81-11-6). Cf. also: *leth muillein dolair* (§9652), instead of the more common *muillean gu leth*. In *tuighead leth oirlich* ‘the thickness of half an inch’ (§10121) the whole compound is in the genitive since it modifies the preceding noun, cf. *leth-òirleach* ‘half an inch’ (§10122); *leth òirleach* (§9672).

The position of additional modifiers can be helpful in distinguishing phrases from compounds. For instance, the definite article can precede a compound, e.g. *an leth-acaire de chladach creagach* ‘the half acre of rocky shore’ (§10111); *an leth bharaillle sgadain* ‘the half barrel of herring’ (§10029); but it would precede the second noun in a phrase, e.g. *leth an latha* (§9620). The same applies to possessive pronouns, e.g. *air a leth-luach* ‘for half of its value’ (§9924). Similarly, the word *eile* follows the word to which it refers: the whole compound in this case, e.g. *leth dolair eile* (§9598); *leth òirleach eile* (§9789), rather than **leth eile de dh’òirleach*.

Various compound adjectives have also been found in the corpus, e.g. *leth-mharbh* ‘half-dead’ (§9613), *leth-fhiadhaich* ‘half-wild’ (§9617), *leth thioram* ‘half-dry’ (§9765), *leth bheò* ‘half-alive’ (§9943), *leth-chruinn* ‘hemispherical’ (§10130), *leth-fhalamh* ‘half-empty’ (§10139), *leth-shean* ‘middle-aged’ (§10188); *leth sheann bhoirionnach* ‘a middle-aged woman’ (§9879); *choisich e sìos rathad a chladaich gu leth ain-deonach* ‘he walked down the coast road half-heartedly’ (§9631).

Almost all compound verbs found in the corpus are represented either by participles or by verbal nouns occurring in constructions that describe a state, i.e. passive and *an*-constructions, e.g. (participles) *leth loiste* ‘half-burnt’ (§9597); *leth bhathte* ‘half-drowned’ (§9745); *leth-fhosgailte* ‘half-open(ed)’ (§9937); *leth dhèanta* ‘half-done’ (§10159); *leth-rùisgte* ‘half-naked’ (§10169); *leth-dhùinte* ‘half-closed’ (§10201); (passive) *ceann ’us guailnean air an leth-fhalach* ‘a head and shoulders half-hidden’ (§9680); *ged a bha pìos dhe ’n mhat (...) air a leth losgadh* ‘although a bit of the mat was half-burnt’ (§9763); *bha Iain Domhnullach (...) air a leth-mharbhadh* ‘I. D. was almost killed’ (§9821); *bha na prìosanaich dhona air an leth-bhàthadh* ‘the bad prisoners were half-drowned’ (§9999); *a bha air a leth-reodhadh* ‘that was half-frozen’ (§10113); cf. also: *chaidh fhàgail air leth-chrochadh* ‘it was left half hanging off’ (§10114); (*an*-construction) *’n a leth-dhùsgadh* ‘half-awake’ (§9772); *’s e na leth shìneadh* ‘and he was half-stretched’ (§9856); *a’ feitheamh ’na leth-chadal* ‘waiting half-asleep’ (§9993); *Ach fhuair mi mi fhìn ’na mo leth-ruith* ‘but I found myself half running’ (§10129); *a’ dol na leth-sheasamh às an t-seithear* ‘standing up half-way from the chair’ (§10202); cf. also: *ghabh e sìos an Cadha na leth chrùban* ‘...in a half crouch’ (§10158). Cf. also: *Cha robh e ach a’ dèanamh leth èisdeach ri Fulton* ‘He was listening to Fulton with half an ear’ (§10157). There are hardly any examples of finite forms of these verbs in the post-1900 texts, e.g. *ged a leth-mharbhadh iad sinne* ‘although they would almost kill us’ (§10124).

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2.6 Expressions of quantity: *còrr*

Abbreviations:

CM = C. Mark

AW = A. Watson

RC = R. Cox

F = Am Faclair Beag

Còrr is a masculine noun meaning ‘excess, surplus; rest, remainder’. It is rarely used without the definite article, e.g. *ochdnar no còrr de theaghlach*. (CM) When modified by the article, it can be translated as ‘the rest/remainder’ or ‘more’, ‘any/no more’, &c. (CM)

1. ‘The rest/remainder’

Examples: *An gabh thusa an còrr?* (Will you take the rest?) (AW); *Cha do dh’èist mi ris a’ chòrr*. (I did not listen to the rest.) (CM).

2. ‘More’

In an affirmative sentence, *an còrr* can correspond to English ‘more’, e.g. *Innsidh mi an còrr dhut*. (I’ll tell you more.) (F)⁵⁸

3. ‘What more?’

The expression *dè an còrr* can be translated as ‘what more?’, e.g. *Dè ’n còrr a b’ urrainn dhomh a dhèanamh?* (What more could I do?) (CM); *Dè an còrr as urrainn dhomh a ràdh?* (What more can I say?) (RC, F).

4. ‘Any more’ and similar

An còrr corresponds to English ‘any/no more’, ‘anything (else)’, ‘nothing (else)’, in negative sentences, e.g. *Na chuinneam an còrr* (Don’t let me hear any more.) (CM); *Na can an còrr*. (Say

⁵⁸ The precise meaning of *an còrr* depends on context and it is possible that it can also be translated as ‘the rest’ here, and as ‘(any) more’ in the examples in (1).

no more.) (F); *Cha tubhairt i an còrr.* (She didn't say anything.) (AW); *Chan ith mi an còrr.* (= *dad eile*) (RC); *Chan eil an còrr ann.* (There is no more) (F); *Chan eil an còrr agam ri ràdh.* (I have nothing else to say.) (RC, F); *Chan fhaic mi an còrr ach meanbh-chuileagan.* (I can't see anything but midges.) (F); *Cha robh an còrr air ach sin.* (That is all there was to it.) (CM);⁵⁹ *Cha robh an còrr ann ach sin.* (That is all there was to it.) (AW); *Chan eil an còrr mu dheidhinn.* (That is all there is to it.) (F); *Chan eil an còrr 'gam dhìth.* (I'm not looking for anything better.) (F); *Cha robh an còrr air ach aontachadh an toirt leam.* (There was nothing else for it but to agree to take them with me.) (CM); *am fear aig nach eil an còrr ri dhèanamh* (who has nothing else to do) (F); and more idiomatic: *Chan eil an còrr aca.* (They have no other choice.) (F); *Chan eil an còrr air.* (There's no other option.) (F).

An còrr can refer to people, as in, e.g. *Cha robh an còrr anns an rùm aig an àm.* (There were no more people in the room at the time.) (CM).

Negation can be expressed by the preposition *gun* (without), e.g. *aon là, gun an còrr againn ri dhèanamh* (one day, (we) having nothing else to do...) (CM); *gun an còrr uime* (without any more ado) (CM); *gun an còrr dälach* (without further delay) (F).

5. *An còrr* + GEN

This construction can be translated as 'any/no more + N' or 'any/no other + N', e.g. *Cha robh an còrr roghainn againn.* (We had no other choice.) (CM, & a similar ex. in F); *Cha robh an còrr ùine ann do Chalum* (C. ran out of time / had no more time.) (F); *Cha do dh'iarr e an còrr fiathachaidh* (He did not need a second invitation, i.e. ask for any more inviting) (CM); *Chan eil an còrr seallaidh aige dhith* (He can't see her anymore, i.e. has no more sight of her) (F); *...nach biodh ann air a' chòrr dòigh* (...which would not otherwise exist, i.e. in any other way) (CM); cf. also *gun an còrr dälach* (without further delay) (F).

6. *An còrr de/aig*

In this construction, *an còrr* usually corresponds to English 'rest/remainder'. The preposition *de* is used with definite nouns and with pronouns, e.g. *an còrr dhen ùine* (the rest of the time) (RC, F); *an còrr dhen latha* (F); *an còrr de a bheatha* (the rest of his life) (CM); *an còrr dhe do bheatha* (F); *airson a' chòrr den gheamhradh* (for the rest of the winter) (CM); *A bheil an còrr agad dheth?* (Do you have the rest of it?) (CM). The preposition *aig* is found only in pronominal phrases, e.g. *m' athair is an còrr againn* (my father and the rest of us) (CM).

The meaning 'any/no more' has also been attested, e.g. *Cha robh còrr a ghuth air Calum.* (C. was never mentioned again, i.e. there was no more mention...) (F).⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Literally, there wasn't anything else on it but that.

⁶⁰ The definite article is absent here. Similar examples in *Corpas na Gàidhlig* all appear to include the article, e.g. *Ach fhuair mi seachad air, agus nuair a chaidil mi cha robh an còrr a ghuth air* (§400055).

7. *Còrr agus*

This can be translated as ‘more than’. Most examples contain a number, e.g. *còrr is aon uair* (CM, F); *còrr is ochd bliadhna deug a dh’aois* (CM); *còrr is fichead bliadhna* (RC); *Tha e còrr is fichead bliadhna a dh’aois.* (RC);⁶¹ *Tha iad còrr is fichead mìle air falbh.* (They are more than 20 miles away.) (AW); *á còrr is mìle* (from more than a thousand) (F);⁶² *ann an còrr is deich bliadhna* (CM); *bho chionn còrr is ceud bliadhna* (more than a hundred years ago) (CM);⁶³ *o chionn còrr is fichead bliadhna* (over 20 years ago) (F).

Cf. also: *còrr is an dàrna leth dhiubh* (more than half of them) (F); *Tha còrr is an dàrna leth dhiubh nan laoidhean* (More than half of them are hymns.) (CM); and: *Bha e tinn còrr agus bliadhna.* (He was ill more than a year.) (CM) There are no numbers in these examples, but they contain other (comparable) expressions of quantity or duration.

One example has been found in these four sources, in which *an còrr agus* (with the definite article!) means ‘more than just’: *an còrr is eucail bodhaige* (more than a physical infirmity) (F).⁶⁴

The noun *còrr* can be modified by the adjective *math*, conveying the sense of ‘a good bit more’ or similar, e.g. *còrr math is millean* (a good bit more than a million) (F); *còrr math is deich* (RC); *còrr math is fichead bliadhna* (more than some 20 years) (F); *còrr math agus mìle neach* (a good bit more than a thousand people) (CM).

8. *Còrr air*

Apparently, this has the same meaning as *còrr is*. One example has been found: *féir còrr air bliadhna* (just over a year) (F).⁶⁵

9. *Num. no còrr*

This expression corresponds to English ‘num. or more’, e.g. *Feumaidh deichnear no còrr a bhith ann.* (Ten or more must be present.) (F). It can be modified by a phrase introduced by the preposition *de*, e.g. *Bha ochdnar no còrr de theaghlach anns gach taigh.* (There were eight or more of a family in each house.)⁶⁶ (CM).⁶⁷

⁶¹ Cox, p. 192 – *còrr is* (and *barrachd, tuilleadh, &c.*) can be used with the verb *bi* (as part of the predicate).

⁶² Following a preposition.

⁶³ Following a compound preposition.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Ach cha robh Ealasaid cho mi-sgilear ’s nach aithnicheadh i gu’n robh an còrr is eucail bodhaig an co-cheangal ri a timneas.* (§68)

⁶⁵ Other similar examples have been found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Bha ochdnar neo còrr de theaghlach anns a h-uile taigh anns a’ bhaile bheag againn fhìn.* (§28)

⁶⁷ There are various examples in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*, such as *trì mìle no còrr* (three miles or more), *fad mìos no còrr* (for a month or longer), *mìle no còrr do fhéidh* (a thousand or more deer), &c.

10. *Còrr na* + V

Where the standard of comparison is a clause that contains a finite verb, it is introduced by the conjunction *na* ‘than’, e.g. *còrr na b’ urrainn dhomh innse dhut* (more than I can tell you) (F); cf. also: *Tha i còrr na aghaidh na tha i leis*. (She is more against it than for it) (F).

11. *A chòrr*

This expression corresponds to English ‘extra, left over’ (CM), e.g. *an stiudha a bha a chòrr bho ’n-dè* (the stew that was left over from yesterday) (CM); *iasg sam bith a bhitheadh a chòrr aca* (any surplus fish they had) (CM). Cf. also: *Chan eil ach beagan a chòrr air ceithir millean sa bhuidseat gu lèir*. (There is just a little over three million in the budget altogether.) (CM). The expression *a chòrr* might be semantically identical to *a bharrachd* in this context.

Sources:

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2.7 Expressions of quantity: *tuilleadh*, *barrachd*

1. Introduction⁶⁸

The words *barrachd* and *tuilleadh* are nouns whose original meanings are ‘surplus; excess’ and ‘additional quantity’, respectively. In modern Gaelic, however, both indicate a greater number or amount of something and, in that sense, they correspond to the English comparative ‘more’, as in the following examples.

- *Mas e sin a tha sibh ag iarraidh, cosgaidh e **barrachd** (§2);⁶⁹*
- *Thug **tuilleadh** an casan leotha eadar 1828 agus 1842 (§333);⁷⁰ tha **tuilleadh** agam ri innse dhut (§331);⁷¹ cha b’ urrainn dhaibh **tuilleadh** a dheanamh (§401008).*

Both nouns can be modified by the definite article, apparently without any semantic difference. The lack of lenition implies that both nouns are masculine, although *barrachd* is expected to be feminine.

- *Ma tha duine sam bith déidheil air **am barrachd** a chluinntinn... (§400016); Saoilidh mi gun deanadh iad **am barrachd** air a son... (§400042);*
- *Tha trì muillean mhnathan a’ toirt an cul-taic do Bh.S.I., mar a thà, is tha feum air **an tuilleadh** (§400021); ...cluinnidh tu ’n **tuilleadh** an uair sin (§203).*

Both *barrachd* and *tuilleadh* can be modified by the adjective *mòr*, acting as an intensifier, cf. English ‘a lot more’. The adjective does not undergo lenition after *barrachd*.⁷²

- *Saoilidh mi gu bheil a’ chlann (...) a’ faicinn **barrachd mòr** ann an ùine ghoirid an [recte: na] chunnaic mise ann a fichead bliadhna (§172);*
- *...a bha dol a dheanamh **tuilleadh mor** air ar son’ ne, na bha ann comas an t shaoghail gu leir a dheanamh (§148).*

The two nouns can be modified by the word *fada*, cf. English ‘far more’. This is considerably rare in the corpus (*Corpas na Gàidhlig*).⁷³

- *Gun dàil fhuair e sin làn-chuideachadh, **fada barrachd** is na bha dhìth air no a bha gu maith a theaghlaich (§217002);*

⁶⁸ All examples adduced here come from *Corpas na Gàidhlig* – Scottish Gaelic online corpus.

⁶⁹ I.e. *more money*.

⁷⁰ I.e. *more people*.

⁷¹ I.e. *more (information)*.

⁷² There is one lenited example in the corpus: *tha fhios agam (...) gu robh mi air **barrachd mhór** air a’ seo do chrodh fhaighinn (§318).*

⁷³ Cf. *fada (a) bharrachd* (see §6).

- *Ged nach eil ach mu dhà mhìle duine gun Bheurla idir tha **fada tuilleadh** air sin ann nach eil idir siùbhlach anns a' Bheurla (§400041).*

The expression *(an) tuilleadh (mòr) agus a' chòir* corresponds to English ‘(much) more than enough’ or ‘far too much’.

- *Bha **tuilleadh 's a' chòir** air inntinn an t-seachdainn ud (§328); Agus mur bi e 'na **thuilleadh 's a' choir** de dhragh dhut... (§81008); Tha e leughadh **tuilleadh 's a' chòir** dhe na sgeulachdan detective (§16);*
- *Bha **tuilleadh mòr is a' chòir** de luchd anns a' bhàta (§400013);*
- *Bha saothair mhòr an crochadh ris an obair ach bha **an tuilleadh is a' chòir** ri thighinn (§400189).*

The expressions *barrachd agus barrachd* and *tuilleadh agus tuilleadh* correspond to English ‘more and more’, indicating a gradual increase in quantity or intensity.

- *Na dùthchannan beairteach ag iarraidh **barrachd is barrachd**, a' cosg **barrachd is barrachd** is gun iad a' cur càil na àite (§337);*
- *Ach bha **tuilleadh is tuilleadh** a tighinn... (§6386).*

The expressions *dè am barrachd* and *dè an tuilleadh* (also: *gu dè, ciod*) correspond to English ‘what else’, ‘what other’, ‘how much more’. This usage appears to be very rare.

- *Dh'fhaighnich mi **gu dè am barrachd**, agus thàinig am freagairt 'Còig tasdain san t-seachdain' (§4);*
- ***Ciod an tuilleadh seirbhis** bu mhiann leibh mi dheanamh dhuibh? (§81008).*

Other expressions containing the words *barrachd* and *tuilleadh* are addressed in §6 and §7.

2. Notes on syntax

The nouns *barrachd* and *tuilleadh* can have various syntactic roles: they can act as the subject, the object, the predicative, the complement of a preposition, or as an adverbial.⁷⁴

- SUBJ – *Co-dhiù, bidh **barrachd** 'nam phòcaid (§400048); Tha **tuilleadh** ann gu cinnteach (§400048);*
- OBJ – *Chì mi **barrachd** 's a bhios ann (§242); Ach innsidh mi **tuilleadh** mu dheidhinn sin (§400134)*
- PRED – *Is e sin **barrachd bhùithean agus tighean-fuireach** airson an luchd-féill (§400044);*
- PP – *Is àbhaist **do bharrachd air trian de dhealain-dè Bhreatainn** a bhith a' brideadh air tuathanais (§252); Thàinig an cù **le tuilleadh chaorach** (§43);*
- ADV – *Thachair sin **barrachd** is aon uair (§400177); Tha seo **tuilleadh** agus fìor mu na h-Eileanan-a-Siar (§400090).*

⁷⁴ Some of the examples include complements that will be discussed in the following text. No examples of the nouns *barrachd* and *tuilleadh* modifying a noun (as its attribute) have been found.

Both words can be modified by a complement describing what is quantified, which is referred to as the *object of quantification* in the following text. The phrase that denotes what something is compared to is referred to as the *standard of comparison*. In the context of quantity nouns such as *barrachd* and *tuilleadh*, the phrases that express the standard of comparison fall into four categories:

1. noun phrases that describe a specific quantity and, in this case, define its lower limit, e.g. *barrachd air dà bhòrd* ‘more than two tables’ / *deich sgillinn* ‘ten pence’ / *triùir* ‘three people’ / *bliadhna (no dhà)* ‘a year (or two)’ / *sin* ‘that (many/much)’;
2. relative clauses that describe such a quantity less directly, e.g. *barrachd air na bh’ agam (de dh’uighean)* ‘more than [the number (of eggs)] I had’; *barrachd airgid is a bh’ aca* ‘more money than they had’; *barrachd na chunnaic e riamh* ‘more than [the amount] he has ever seen’; *barrachd na thug iad do chàch* ‘more than [the amount] they gave to the others’;
3. noun phrases and partitive expressions describing something that is opposed to the object of quantification, e.g. *barrachd fion na uisge* / *barrachd fion na de dh’uisge* / *barrachd de dh’fhion na de dh’uisge* ‘more wine than [the amount of] water’;
4. various phrases opposed to words that play other syntactic roles, e.g. *rinn Iain barrachd obrach air càch* ‘Iain did more work than the others’; *thug e barrachd do dhaoine eile na dha mhac fhèin* ‘he have more to other people than [he gave] to his own son’.

Types 3 and 4 can be interpreted as reduced variants of (2), e.g. *bha barrachd fion ann na (bha ann) de dh’uisge*; *thug e barrachd do dhaoine eile na (thug e) dha mhac fhèin*. These distinctions are partially reflected in the manner in which the standard of comparison is expressed with *barrachd* and *tuilleadh*.

3. Object of quantification

In the context of the nouns *barrachd* and *tuilleadh*, the object of quantification can be expressed as follows:

- by the genitive case
- by a phrase introduced by the preposition *de*
- by a phrase introduced by the preposition *aig*

These constructions are interchangeable in certain contexts and their use might depend on the dialect, the speaker’s age, etc.

3.1. Genitive case⁷⁵

The genitive case is used only when the object of quantification is an indefinite noun, especially if neither the quantity expression nor the object of quantification is expressed by a complex phrase.

- *Bha barrachd dòchais ann* (§16); ...*bha e a' caoidh nach do ghabh e am barrachd suim de'n ionnsachadh* (§40);
- *Cha nigheadh i m' aodach dhomh gun tuilleadh airgid* (§198); *Chàraich e an tuilleadh connaidh air an teine* (§40).

Note also the following examples, which contain complex quantity expressions:

- *Nì iad fada barrachd adhartais san sgoil às aonais Gàidhlig* (§400168); *'S dòcha gur ann a bhios am barrachd mór cosgais mu cheann le bhith a' pàigheadh caochladh sheòrsa chisean...* (§311); ...*far a bheil barrachd is barrachd farpais* (§6);
- *Siud gu leòr deoch, tuilleadh 's a' chòir biadh...* (§329); *Tha na sochairean sin a' ciallachadh (...)* *an tuilleadh mór telebhisean anns a' Ghàidhlig* (§400038); *Troimh an 18mh agus an 19mh linn chaidh tuilleadh is tuilleadh leabhraichean a sgrìobhadh air a' chuispeir so* (§38).

3.2. Preposition de

De-phrases are used primarily when the object of quantification is definite, i.e. expressed by a definite noun or a pronoun (or a pronominal element).⁷⁶

- *Is dòcha nam biodh e air saoghal na b' fhaide fhaighinn gu robh e air barrachd den sgeula sin innse* (§400169); *Tha barrachd ann de na meanbh-fhrìdean na th'ann de na h-ainmhidhean eile air fad* (§33); *'Nar barail-ne, tha sin a' dearbhadh gur e an t-aineolas is coireach nach eil am barrachd de'r boireannaich a' fighe stocainnean* (§400010);
- *Abair thusa feòil – barrachd dhith 's a gheibhinn aig an tigh ann an sia seachdainean* (§400041); *Bha barrachd dhiùbh-san ann na bha dùil agam* (§16); *bidh barrachd dhe sin air a thoirt dha cuideachd* (§81011);
- *Gun dàil sam bith ròst iad tuilleadh dhe'n fheòil* (§81008); *Tha mi an dòchas (...)* *gun cuir thu thugam tuilleadh dhed obair* (§4); *An cuala sibh gu bheil tuilleadh de na féidh Lochlannach air tighinn do'n Ghàidhealtachd?* (§400002);
- *Òlaidh e an tuilleadh dhethe* (§329); *Bha tuilleadh dhiubh ri fhaotainn ameasg nan Greugach no [sic!] bha 's an airde 'n iar* (§238); ...*gu'm bàsaicheadh tuilleadh mor*

⁷⁵ Note that the genitive case is frequently replaced by the nominative in modern Gaelic. Such examples have been included here too and what is said about the genitive in the following text also refers to the nominative occurring in genitive position.

⁷⁶ The same applies to (large) complex numbers or expressions such as 'two or three' – they tend to be followed by *de*-phrases: *tri fichead 's a cóig deug de bhliadhnaichean roimhe* (§400021); *bha dha no trì de bhliadhnachan air a dhol seachad* (§400011). *De* is often reduced to *a* or to zero (leaving lenition behind) in such expressions.

dhiu (§81006); *bithidh e cunnartach gum faic sinn tuilleadh dhiubh sin a nis* (§400029); *Bheir mi dhut tuilleadh dhe so ann an àireamh eile* (§81007).

The *de*-phrase can contain a relative clause introduced by the pronoun *na*, as in the following examples.⁷⁷

- *Theagamh nach robh a h-aon 'sa choimhthional a ghiùlain air falbh barrachd de na thug e seachad...* (§133002);⁷⁸
- *'S duilich leinn nach eil e'nar comas tuilleadh de na bh' air labhairt a chuir sios* (§102001);⁷⁹ *...ach bithidh tuilleadh dhe na sgrìobh e againn 'ga thoirt am follais* (§400005).⁸⁰

The preposition *de* can govern indefinite nouns, especially when either the quantity expression or the object of quantification is represented by a complex phrase.

- *Bha am bàrr aca car mar a th' againn fhìn, ach gu robh barrachd de sheagal 's de chruithneachd ann* (§400024); *O chionn ciad gu leth bliadhna air ais, bha fada barrachd de ghréim aig bàrdachd air inntinn an t-sluaigh na tha aice an diugh* (§400058); *An diugh (...) bheir sinn fa-near gun robh barrachd mòr de ghliocas ann am beachdan nan seann daoine (...) na bha na Goill a' tuigsinn aig an àm* (§400109); *Tha barrachd mòr de dhaoine bochda ann am Baile Lunnain...* (§81004); *Ach bha sinn air barrachd mòr do thachartasean [sic!] cumanta (...) fhiosrachadh...* (§34); *tha barrachd is barrachd de bhoireannaich an sàs ann an obair-chosnaidh* (§6);
- *Bha nis tuilleadh de shneachd ùr bog air uachdar na bh' ann roimhe...* (§400177); *Ni tuilleadh 's a' chòir de ni sam bith cron do dhaoine* (§81009); *Bha tuilleadh mór is a' chòir de luchd anns a' bhàta* (§400013); *Ach a thaobh na Gàilig, feumar aideachadh gu bheil tuilleadh mór de chùram agus de ghràdh air an taisbeanadh d' a taobh, na bha coitchionn an uair a chumadh a' cheud Mhòd* (§401007); *...aig nach eil ùidh ach ann a bhith tional an tuilleadh 's an tuilleadh de dh'airgead* (§400068).

But note the following examples, in which both phrases are simple. Expressions such as these appear to be very uncommon.

- *Nan robh barrachd de chothrom aca air cluich roimh-làimh...* (§42); *'S cinnteach gun do sgrìobh e barrachd de òrain na tha againn air sgeula an diugh* (§400021);
- *B' e an cuspair a bha aig na Flaithibh an ceart ni a bha aig an Rìgh, is a sin ri ràdh, tuilleadh de dh'fhearann fhaotainn; tuilleadh de chumhachd fhaotainn...* (§218003).

Cf. also: *Bu mhath gu dearbh gu robh barrachd dha seòrsa ma chuairt* (§400101); *Is bochd nach eil tuilleadh de sheòrsa Mhgr. Rollo ann* (§400002); *Tha sinn an dòchas gum faic sinn tuilleadh de a leithid* (§400165).

⁷⁷ This construction is addressed briefly in §4.1.

⁷⁸ I.e. *more of what he gave*.

⁷⁹ I.e. *to write down more of what has been said*.

⁸⁰ I.e. *more of what he wrote*.

3.3. Preposition *aig*

The plural form *aca* can occur alternatively instead of *dhiubh*. No examples of the forms *againn* and *agaibh* used in this context have been found in the corpus.⁸¹

- *Tha barrachd aca nis r' a fhaicinn ri neadachadh a h-uile bliadhna mu chreagan an eilein* (§400011); *Tha barrachd is barrachd aca air fàs mothachail...* (§6).

4. Standard of comparison

The standard of comparison can be expressed by a noun (N), a pronoun (PRON), a number (NUM), a *na*-clause (*na* + REL), or a relative clause (*a* + REL), which can be introduced by:

- the conjunction *agus* (*is*)
- the preposition *air*
- the preposition *seach*
- the conjunction *na*

Not all combinations, however, are equally frequent in the corpus; in fact, some are fairly rare, whilst a few are unattested. The standard of comparison appears to occur less commonly with *tuilleadh*.

4.1. Conjunction *agus*

In this context, the conjunction *agus* (normally reduced to *is*) can be followed by:

- a number (NUM)
- a noun or pronoun (N/PRON)
- a *na*-clause (*na* + REL)
- a relative clause (*a* + REL)

The expressions that contain a number or a (pro)noun describe a particular quantity by defining its lower limit (Type 1, see §2), as in:

- *Tha mi 'n dòchas gum bi barrachd is uair a thìde no dhà againn* (§16); *tha barrachd is aon rud aig feadhainn aca* (§400156); *Bha barrachd is lethcheud riochdair an làthair as na tìrean Ceilteach eile* (§400005); *tha tuilleadh is dà cheud mìle Iudhach 'nam measg* (§69); *Tha tuilleadh mòr 'us mìle dhiubh gach seachduin* (§112002); *Tha uaireannan tuilleadh is 95% de uisge ann am muir-tèachd* (§33); cf. also: *Is e corra fhear nach eil ag òl tuilleadh mòr is cus* (§400038).⁸²

⁸¹ Cf. *Tha cuimhne aig móran againn air na làithean...* (§400014); *Bha cinnt aca gun robh móran dhinn 'nar n-ablaich* (§35).

⁸² The phrase *tuilleadh 's a' chòir* belongs to this type of expression.

The same or similar meaning can be expressed by relative clauses (Type 2), as in the following examples.⁸³

- *Tha ar biadh nar cois, **barrachd** 's na chuireas sinn feum air* (§400119); *Gun dàil fhuair e sin làn-chuideachadh, **fada barrachd is na bha dhìth air*** (§217002); *Tha (...) agus **tuilleadh** 's na tha dhìth ort* (§6169); *gheibh iad air uairibh, eadhon anns a' bheatha so, **tuilleadh** agus na chaill iad air a sgàth* (§67); *Bha, mar bu bhitheanta, **tuilleadh is na bu chòir a' chadal san aon seòmar*** (§400032);
- *Thug i dhomh **barrachd is a dh'iarr mi*** (§400141); *Their iad (...) gu bheil aca, mar tha, **barrachd** 'sa's urrainn daibh a leughadh* (§81001); *fhuair sinne **tuilleadh is a bha sinn an dùil*** (§38); *bha'm **barrachd bainne** aca am feasgar sin 's a b' àbhaist a bhith aca* (§318); *feumaidh mi aideachadh gu bheil iad a' faicinn **barrachd toinise** anns na New Mathematics 's a tha mise* (§28);⁸⁴ *Tha a' chéir so air leth cruaidh agus cha leagh i gun **tuilleadh teas is a dh'fheumas céir nan seilean*** (§38).

There does not appear to exist any significant semantic difference between *na*-clauses and other relative clauses in this context. Generally speaking, *na*-clauses resemble nouns in terms of their syntactic behaviour, e.g. they can act as the subject or the object of a verb, or as the object of a preposition, cf. *Theirig **na bh' ann*** (§318); *...mar gum biodh i ri caoidh **na bh' ann*** (§41); *cha robh e furasda **do na bh' ann** siubhal eadar bailtean...* (§400032);⁸⁵ and they can be modified by a *de*-phrase: *chosg e **na bha aige de dh'airgead*** (§400114).⁸⁶ The other relative clauses either function as attributes of nouns or they occur after *agus* in various constructions, e.g. *cho luath 's a b' urrainn sinn* (as fast as we could) (§400119). Cf. also a combination of the two types of clauses: *Gun dàil fhuair e sin làn-chuideachadh, **fada barrachd is na bha dhìth air no a bha gu maith a theaghlaich*** (§217002).

Similar expressions, usually containing a noun or a pronoun, convey the meaning 'more than just/merely', which does not refer to a quantity – as in the following examples.

- *Bha **barrachd is dìtheanan** air a' bhòrd, thug e an aire, is thàinig snodha gaire air* (§317); *bha ùidh againn ann **am barrachd is Astràilia** fhaicinn* (§400191); *Tha mise deimhine (...) gu'n deanadh iad **barrachd mor is bruidhinn** am measg a chéile* (§81011); *Ach tha **barrachd is sin** co-cheangailte ris a' chùis* (§313);
- *tha na rannan so (...) a' ciallachadh **tuilleadh mór is duanag ghaoil*** (§401011); *Tha an Soisgeul a' deanamh **tuilleadh agus sin** air ar son* (§48); *Ach tha e a' deanamh **tuilleadh mór is sin*** (§400018); *Ach ni mise Dun-dòrainn de do Nic Griogair ruaidh, agus do **thuilleadh 's i*** (§64).

⁸³ Cf. §4.4, on the conjunction *na*.

⁸⁴ I.e. *barrachd (...) 's a tha mise a' faicinn (dhith)*.

⁸⁵ Meaning: *what was there* in the first two sentences and *those* (= doctors) *that were there* in the last one.

⁸⁶ *He spent the amount of money that he had, i.e. all the money he had.*

4.2. Preposition *air*

In this context, the preposition *air* can be followed by:

- a number (NUM)
- a noun or pronoun (N/PRON)
- a *na*-clause (*na* + REL)

These expressions appear to have the same meaning as those that contain the conjunction *agus*. However, they are less frequent in the corpus, especially with the word *tuilleadh*, which occurs in only a few examples. They are never followed by ‘regular’ relative clauses, i.e. *air* never acts as a conjunction.

- *Nam biodh **barrachd** air triùir a-staigh dh’fheumadh cuideigin seasamh (§313); *Cha robh **barrachd** air cóignear dhiubh ann (§400021); *Ma chì thu **barrachd** air na dhà dhiubh còmhla faodaidh tu bhith cinnteach gu bheil closach faisg an làimhe (§400012); *bha **barrachd** air dà mhìle dhaoine ’sa’ pharraiste (§400001); ...*le **barrachd** air dà mhìle luchd-obrach (§333); cf. also: *chan ’eil **barrachd** air bliadhna bho bha thu ag innse dhomh mu aisling air choreigin... (§306);⁸⁷ and also: *Ged nach eil ach mu dhà mhìle duine gun Bheurla idir tha **fada tuilleadh** air sin ann nach eil idir siùbhlach anns a’ Bheurla (§400041);⁸⁸ ...*nach faodadh ma thuairm ’s 80,000 duine aig a bheil deagh fhoghlam sgoile **fada barrachd** air a sin de rosg a thoirt a follais (...) ann an còig bliadhna... (§400054);⁸⁹ *tha fhios agam (...)* gu robh mi air **barrachd mhór** air a’ seo do chrodh fhaighinn (§318); ...*dùthaich anns nach eil ach 150,000 luchd-àiteachaidh, **beagan tuilleadh** air àireamh dhaoine siorramachd Inbhir-nis (§400026);⁹⁰*********
- *Ach tha fios a’ m a-nise gur tric a tha an dìoghaltas a’ cosg **barrachd** air na ’s fhiach e (§2); *A bheil sinn a’ pàidheadh a mach **barrachd** air na tha sinn a’ toirt a stigh? (§400001); *Fhuair e **barrachd** air na bha dùil aig ris (§67); *tha mi smaoinichadh gu’n teid air a bhi suas **tuilleadh** air na chuir sinn m’a seach (§81005); *thugadh dhomh **barrachd airgid** air na phaigheadh mo rathad, agus air na chumadh suas mi anns a’ bhaile-mhor (§81012).*****

Unlike *agus*, however, the preposition *air* can govern noun phrases that do not refer directly to a quantity (Types 3 and 4).

- *bha mi riamh de’n bheachd gun do dh’ionnsaich mi fhéin **barrachd** air neach de’n chuideachd (§400002);⁹¹ *Thà (...)* gille ’sa’ sgiobadh agams’ (...) *a dh’itheas **barrachd** air a’ sgiobadh air an cur còmhladh, ’s mi fhìn còmhla riuth’ (§31); *am bitheadh e coltach gun itheadh an fheadhainn sin **barrachd** air càch?* (§400016); *Mar a chaidh an***

⁸⁷ I.e. *more than a (= one) year*.

⁸⁸ I.e. *many more than that (= than about two thousand people)*.

⁸⁹ I.e. *far more prose than that*, ‘that’ being *aon leabhar beag gu leth do sgialachdan goirid*, which is mentioned earlier on in the text.

⁹⁰ I.e. *a little more than the number of the inhabitants (= the population) of Inverness-shire*. On *beagan tuilleadh*, see §7.

⁹¹ I.e. *I learned more than anyone in my company*.

*seusan air adhart 's ann bu lugha an t-iasg, ged a bha cuid de chiùrairean aig an robh **barrachd air càch** (§250);⁹²*

- *Ged a lìonas aon chriutha **barrachd bharailean air criutha eile**, tha gach fear aca a' faighinn an aon chothruim (§250); chuir e r' a chéile **barrachd de phuirt phìobaireachd air aon duine eile air a bheil cunntas againn** (§400031).⁹³*

These constructions can also convey the meaning 'more than just'.

- *feumaidh gu robh **barrachd air uisge-beatha annta** (§2);*
- *Ach, co-dhiù, dh'ìarradh sinn **tuilleadh air bàrdachd** (§400082);*
- *ma thuigeas tu sin, tuigidh tu **tuilleadh air na sgrìobhas mo làmh dhuìt** (§61).*

4.3. Preposition *seach*

Although very few examples have been found in the corpus, it is evident that this preposition can introduce prepositional phrases, *na*-relatives, and certain other types of clauses.

- *bha **am barrachd ceangail aige-san ri Lìonadal seach ri Baile Ràghnaill** (§26);*
- *Bha na seann daoine air an obrachadh cho cruaidh, agus bha **barrachd de dh'anacothrom an lorg na h-obrach a bha iad a' dèanamh, seach mar a tha a' tachairt do sheann dhaoine na linn seo** (§311);*
- *Tha **tuilleadh mór de mhùthadh, air ceud litir nam focal, aig Siaraich an là an diu (...)** seach na bha againn* (§400040).

Seach corresponds to English 'besides' in the following example.

- *Aon oidhche fhuair mi de mhisneachd na dh'fhaighneachd do Dhòmhnall an robh **tuilleadh cheathramhan anns an òran seach an fheadhainn a bhiomaid a' cluinntinn aig na seinneadairean** (§333).*

4.4. Conjunction *na*

The conjunction *na* introduces the standard of comparison after a comparative adjective and is commonly used with the nouns *barrachd* and *tuilleadh*, which are semantically close to the comparative. The conjunction *na* is not the same word as the relative pronoun *na*.

The conjunction *na* can be followed by:

- a number (NUM)
- a noun or pronoun (N/PRON)

⁹² Instead of: *barrachd air na bha aig càch*. Cf. also: *bha **moran a bharrachd tuigse aice air an t-Seilcheig** (§2)*, i.e. 'she had a lot more common sense than the Slug'.

⁹³ I.e. *more bagpipe tunes than anyone else...*

- a prepositional clause (PREP)⁹⁴
- a relative clause (*a* + REL)⁹⁵

Numbers, and nouns and pronouns that describe quantities (Type 1), seem to occur very rarely in this context.

- *Bha **barrachd** na mionaid air dol seachad cheana* (§400046);⁹⁶ ...*gu'n do bhuidhinn e duais aig a' mhòd **tuilleadh** na aon uair* (§401001);⁹⁷ *Cha'n 'eil an loch **tuilleadh** na sè mìle air fad* (§401001); *Pàighidh tu **barrachd** na sin* (§202).

On the other hand, nouns and pronouns are commonly found after *na* when they are opposed to another phrase in the sentence, such as the subject or the object, or the object of quantification (Types 3 and 4).

- *Ni leanabh bho choimhearsnachd mhath **barrachd** na fear bho choimhearsnachd bhochd* (§400074); *Mur ith an duine sàmhach **barrachd** na càch, an e gu bheil an sean-fhacal a' cur teachd-geàrr air choireigin eile as a leth?* (§42); *Chuala mi Eachann Posta a' gearan an là-roimhe gu bheil an tigh-sgoile agus am mansa a' toirt **barrachd oibre** dha na a' chuid eile de'n choimhearsnachd uile gu léir* (§400001); *An e gur fhiach crioman talmhainn **tuilleadh** na beatha an duine?* (§48);
- *Fhuair luchd riaghlaidh na dùthcha a mach gu robh **barrachd** "millidh na molaidh" anns an t-seasg* (§297); *Tha beachdan meallta mar sin a' dèanamh **barrachd cron** na feum* (§333).

The last example is similar to the following one, in which the standard of comparison is expressed by a relative clause (Type 2): *tha eagal orm gun dèan e **barrachd cron** na nì e dh'fheum* (§400159); cf. also: *Bha **barrachd fhirionnach** an 1951 ann an Cillemhòire is an Diùrinnis na bha annta de bhoirionnaich* (§201). These relative clauses contain the partitive constructions (*de*) *dh'fheum* and *de bhoirionnaich*, which too are expressions of quantity.

Similarly, the standard of comparison is reduced to a prepositional phrase in the following examples (Type 4).

- *bha **barrachd eòlais** aige air Afraga na air Alba* (§333); *Bha **barrachd spéis** do chrodh is do chaoraich na do bheatha duine* (§26); ...*gu bheil Murchadh Piobaire a' cosg **barrachd dhe ùine 's dhe thàlant** riut-sa na ris a' chòrr againn?* (310); *A-ris, chuir sè seirbhisich eile uaithe, **tuilleadh** na sa cheud chuideachd...* (§173);⁹⁸
- *bha **barrachd de Chlann Artair** na de Chaimbeulaich 'nam measg* (§288).

⁹⁴ No examples of *adverbs* have been found in this context, such as: (?) *chosg sinn **barrachd airgid** am bliadhna na an-uiridh*. This seems to be expressed by a relative clause: *na chosg sinn an-uiridh*. But cf. *na bu trice na riamh roimhe* (§313).

⁹⁵ The relative particle *a* is normally elided after *na*.

⁹⁶ I.e. *more than a* (= one) minute.

⁹⁷ Adverbial use.

⁹⁸ I.e. *more (servants) than (he sent) in the first company/troop*.

Cf. the following examples, with the standard of comparison *not* expressed by a prepositional phrase, although that may be expected: *na ('s aithne) dhise; na aig càch*.

- *Chan eil neach san dùthaich d' an aithne **barrachd** mu sheann mhodhannan na i (§400015); *Cha robh fhios aig Seonaidh air mórán sam bith mu'n chàmpa ach bha e smaointinn gu robh fhios aige air **barrachd na càch** (§400059);⁹⁹**
- *Tha **barrachd fhaclan** mu na fir na na boireannaich (§333).¹⁰⁰*

Similar meanings can be expressed by relative clauses (Type 2).¹⁰¹

- *Is e a bhi 'g iarraidh **barrachd na tha againn** (§102005); Am feasgar ud bha **barrachd na b' àbhaist** an coinneamh na stiomair... (§400052); bha **barrachd uisge ann na shaoil sinn** (§70); Am bliadhna bha **barrachd bhoireannach ann na bha an obair a' feumachadh** (§250); *dh'itheadh e fada tuilleadh bìdh na bha nàdurra d' a leithid* (§216); *Bha **barrachd dhiùbh-san** ann na bha dùil agam* (§16); *...bheir sinn fa-near gun robh **barrachd mòr de ghliocas** ann am beachdan nan seann daoine (...) na bha na Goill a' tuigsinn aig an àm (§400109); ...a bha dol a dheanamh **tuilleadh mor** air ar son' ne, na bha ann comas an t shaoghail gu leir a dheanamh (§148);**
- *Tha **barrachd ann de na meanbh-fhrìdean na th' ann de na h-ainmhidhean eile air fad** (§33);*
- *Agus có a rinn **barrachd** airson an sìol a chur na rinn Fionnlagh Mac-an-Rothaich (§249); ...sgrìobh e **tuilleadh na sgrìobh am fear eile** (§48);*
- *sgrìobh Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn (...) **barrachd na aonar na sgrìobh a h-uile duine eile còmhla** (§244); Saoilidh mi gu bheil a' chlann a tha ag èirigh suas an dràs d' a' faicinn **barrachd mòr ann an ùine ghoirid an** [sic!] chunnaic mise ann a fichead bliadhna! (§400172); *Tha iad a' losgadh **barrachd dealain** a-staigh an sin ann am mìos na tha iad a' losgadh am baile Thàboist ann an trì (§11); 's gann a bhiodh **barrachd gràidh** aig màthair da mac na bh' aice-se do Choinneach (§217004); bha **barrachd feagail orra-san romhainne na bh' againn rompa** (§27);**
- *Cha bhitheadh Uilleam air **am barrachd iongnaidh** a ghabhail na ghabh e, an uair a thàinig Seumas a mach (§40); ...bha fada **barrachd de ghréim** aig bàrdachd air inntinn an t-sluaigh na tha aice an diugh (§400058); *Bha nis **tuilleadh de shneachd ùr bog** air uachdar na bh' ann roimhe (§400177); Ach a thaobh na Gàilig, feumar aideachadh gu bheil **tuilleadh mòr de chùram agus de ghràdh** air an taisbeanadh d' a taobh, na bha coitchionn an uair a chumadh a' cheud Mhòd (§401007); ...gu robh **mòran tuilleadh Gàidhlig** ga bruidhinn o chionn fichead bliadhna na chluinnear an diugh (§48);**

⁹⁹ The use of the words *i* and *càch* (instead of *dhi* and *aig càch*) here may be explained by the fact that the forms *d' an* and *aige* (to which *i* and *càch* are opposed) refer to the 'semantic subject' in these examples. However, cf. *cò aige as fheàrr a tha fios air sin na agamsa* (§400184).

¹⁰⁰ Instead of: *na mu na boireannaich*. Cf. *na air Alba* in the example above.

¹⁰¹ In the first group of examples, the standard of comparison simply defines the lower limit of a quantity (e.g. *barrachd na tha againn* 'more than we have'). The rest of the examples are organised into groups according to what phrase is compared to the standard of comparison. E.g. in the second group, it is the object of quantification (i.e. the amount of *meanbh-fhrìdean* is compared to the amount of *na h-ainmhidhean eile air fad*). In the third one, it is the subject; and in the fourth one, two pairs of phrases are involved in the comparison, e.g. *Ian Crichton Smith alone* vs. *everyone else together*; in the fifth group, things are compared as they are in different time periods, etc.

- *Bha Dòmhnall a' cur seachad **barrachd dha thìde** an Tàbost na bha e an Grabhair (§14); *Bha **tuilleadh dhiubh** ri fhaotainn am easg nan Greugach no [sic!] bha 's an airde 'n iar (§238);**
- *...feadhainn a bha a' gabhail orra fhéin **barrachd tuigse** a bhith aca na bha aige-san (§301);*
- *Tha mòran dhaoine ann aig a bheil **fada barrachd meas** air na h-òrain a bhoineas do shaoghal an fhearainn (...) na tha aca air a' bhàrdachd litearra (§400190); rinn bean a' mhinisteir **barrachd bruidhinn** ris a' chuilean na rinn i riuthasan (§244); bha sinn a' cluinntinn **barrachd mu dhùthchannan coimheach** na bha sinn mu ar stairsnich fhèin (§333); Fhuair mi cuideachd **barrachd cliù** (**no mì-chliù**) as an deachdadh na fhuair mi á obair nan sgoiltean ré suas ri fichead bliadhna (§301).*

The following examples illustrate the meaning ‘more than just’.

- *...dé fhios a th' agaibhse nach do dh' fhuiling esan **barrachd na an teine?** (§400053); *Ach nach fhaod a bhith gu bheil na facail a' ciallachadh eadhon **tuilleadh na sin** (§48).**

No examples of *na*-relatives have been found in the corpus, such as: (?) *Bha **barrachd airgid** aig Iain na na bh' aig a bhràthair.*¹⁰²

The word *barrachd* can function as an adverbial, as in: *Dh'atharraich a bheatha **barrachd na bha dùil aige** a' mhadainn a chaidh e shireadh obrach anns a' chompanaidh seo* (§16).

5. *Barrachd/tuilleadh mu*

The expression *barrachd* or *tuilleadh mu* (*dheidhinn*) corresponds to English ‘more (news or information) about’.

- *Bu mhòr am beud nach cualas **barrachd mun tarbh** (§400131); lorg esan **barrachd mu dheidhinn Heyford** (§2); ...gus am fiosraich sinn **tuilleadh mun chleas neònach so** (§42); *feuch am faigh thu a-mach **tuilleadh mu mo dheidhinn** (§328).**
- *bha eòlaichean ag ionnsachadh **barrachd agus barrachd mu dheidhinn an t-saoghail mun cuairt orra** (§400193); *Tha coltas gun cluinn sibh **tuilleadh is tuilleadh mu dheidhinn siubhal adhair** (§400038).**

6. *A bharrachd/thuilleadh*

Expressions *a bharrachd air* and *a thuilleadh air* correspond to English ‘in addition to’. This takes most of the types of complement described in §4.2.

¹⁰² A few examples of such clauses occur with comparative adjectives in some early texts, e.g. *Is mò a ni inntinn shunndach, thoilichte **de dh'fheum** dhut na na tha de chungaidhean agamsa 'nam thaigh (§81012). The adjective *is mò* corresponds to *barrachd/tuilleadh* in this sentence (cf. *barrachd feum*).*

- *A bharrachd air an sgìths bha a shùilean goirt... (§400184); bha iad, mar a tha gu leòr a bharrachd orra, deònach pòsadh... (§317); A thuilleadh air na sgeulachdan mòra fada seo, bha mòran do sheanachasan 's do naidheachdan eile aige (§400134);*
- *A bharrachd air sin, bha an t-eilean anabarrach torrach... (§26); A thuilleadh air seo, bha a shròn air fhiaradh (§400126);¹⁰³*
- *Nan robh mi air aon cheum eile a dhèanamh a bharrachd air na rinn mi... (§2); Còig tasdan deug a bharrachd air na chaill mi mar tha! (§400178); Agus cha robh e a-riamh gann de bhiadh, oir a thuilleadh air na bha e a' faighinn san taigh-bìdh bhiodh e faighinn chriomagan gu bitheanta bhon fheadhainn a bha a' tadhal air (§400163).*

The expression *a bharrachd* 'additional' can modify a noun. The word *tuilleadh* does not seem to be used that way.

- *Chan eil facal a bharrachd aige mar as trice (§400148); Cha robh ach aon bhonn-asia a bharrachd anns a' bhanca (§400160).*

It can also modify quantity nouns, such as *mòran*, *tòrr*, *cus*, etc. These expressions mean 'a lot more', 'many/much more';¹⁰⁴ and take the same type of complement as *barrachd* when used on its own (see §3 and §4).

- *As déidh na bliadhna 1887 (...) chuireadh mòran sgadain a bharrachd air tìr anns a' chumantas gach bliadhna na a rinneadh roimh an ám sin (§400001); Bha aon bhodach faisg oirnn, Ruairidh Alasdair, aig an robh tàbh a ghlacadh mòran èisg a bharrachd air na glacaimid le aon dubhan (§333); bha mòran a bharrachd tuigse aice air an t-Seilcheig (§2);*
- *bha mi ag iarraidh tòrr a bharrachd de eòlas air an Fhìrinn uile... (§400105); Agus seo ged a tha barrachd teisteanas againn (...) airson eachdraidh na daoine ann an Hiort na tha againn airson a' chuid mhór de'n Ghaidhealtachd: tòrr a bharrachd na tha againn son a' chòrr de na h-Eileanan-a-Muigh (§400094);*
- *Bha Sìle i fhèin comasach air cus a bharrachd na tha an dreuchd "ban-chlèireach" a' cur an gèill (§123); Gheibhear mar sin àireamh mhór, mhór anns na sgoiltean sin a' gabhail Gàidhlig (...) cus a bharrachd na ghabhas i anns na sgoiltean far am feumar roghainn a dhèanamh eadar Gàidhlig is Fraingis (§32).*

The expression *fada (a) bharrachd* corresponds to English 'far more'.

- *Ist! Dhèanainn fada bharrachd airson mac d' athar nam b' urrainn dhomh! (§16); Gheibh thu fada a bharrachd fois as t-Earrach neo anns a' Gheamhradh (§400144); bha e dol a chosg fada a bharrachd a dh'airgead na thogadh iad (§202).*

In a negative statement, the expression *a bharrachd* can also mean 'either', as in: *Chan òl e fìù uisge-beatha, agus 's iongantach gun ith e sgadan a bharrachd (§400154).*

¹⁰³ I.e. *additionally*.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *barrachd/tuilleadh mòr* (see §1), *mòran barrachd/tuilleadh* (see §7).

7. *Tuilleadh* as an adverb

As an adverb of time, *tuilleadh* can mean ‘ever again’ (in questions and conditional clauses) or ‘anymore; ever again’ (in negative statements).

- *Faic mi tuilleadh thu?* (§40); *Eil fhios am faic sinn a chèile tuilleadh?* (§16); *Ma chì mise Ruairidh tuilleadh feumaidh mi aideachadh gu robh e ceart* (§14);
- *cha tug mi smaoin tuilleadh air a’ ghnòthaich* (§2); *chan fhaca mi i tuilleadh* (§198); *Cha deach mi air ais a Dhun Eideann tuilleadh bho dh’fhàg mi e* (§198); *...sgriobh fear Alasdair Moireasdan mu chleasan Uibhisteach aig an àm agus feadhainn nach robhar a’ cluich tuilleadh* (§333); *tha uairean a bhios an dorchadas cho dùmhail ’s gu saoil thu nach till an solas tuilleadh* (§2); cf. also: *Ach dòcha gur coma dhuinn tuilleadh* (§40).¹⁰⁵

Cf. also: “*Tha thu ro-aosd tuilleadh,*” *arsa mise ris. “Nach eil thu coimhead sin? Tha thu ro-aosd airson do thigh fhàgail”* (§198).¹⁰⁶

Tuilleadh functions as an intensifier when combined with the adverbs *a-chaoidh*, *gu bràth*, and *a-riamh*, as follows:

- AFF (forever; from now on) – *Ach dh’fhaodadh (...) gun do dhùin e bhial a chaoidh tuilleadh* (§198); *Ge brith dè bh’ air roimhe seo, ’s e Cnoc na h-Èiginn a bhios air gu bràth tuilleadh* (§333);
- AFF (ever since; from then on) – *Bha Iain Bàn Camshron riamh tuilleadh mar a h-aon de theaghlach a’ ghreusaiche* (§217001); *Is b’ e t-Seon a bha air riamh tuilleadh* (§40);
- NEG (ever again) – *A’ chlann-nighean anns nach suathainn a-chaoidh tuilleadh* (§198); *Bha dùil agam nach fhaicinn thu gu bràth tuilleadh* (§16); *A riamh tuilleadh (...) cha do shuadh i ola rithe* (§40);
- INT (ever again) – *...saoil an canar facal coibhneil Gàidhlig riutha gu bràth tuilleadh?* (§400059); *An cuala tu guth riamh tuilleadh air Van Krane?* (§305).

Tuilleadh can also be combined with nouns (some of which refer to quantities) such as: *mòran*, *began*, *càil*, *gin*, *an còrr*, and also: *facal* and *guth*. All these expressions have been attested either in negative statements or in conditional clauses.¹⁰⁷

- (much more) – *Cha robh mòran tuilleadh air fhàgail anns an sporan* (§204); *Ach cha chanadh iad mòran tuilleadh* (§198); *Leis an fhìrinn innse chan eil mòran tuilleadh agam ach mo bhaidhseagail* (§400109); *Ma ghabhas tu seachad gu luath (...) chan fhaic thu mòran tuilleadh ach corra cheann togalaich a’ nochdadh air taobh thall balla mór cloiche* (§400052);¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ The last example might be a calque – it is affirmative, but it translates into English as a negative statement (!): ‘we do not care anymore’.

¹⁰⁶ Expressive use?

¹⁰⁷ They probably also occur in questions.

¹⁰⁸ A few examples of *mòran barrachd* have been found in the corpus, almost all in early texts: *Bha cuideachd mòran barrachd meas air a chur air teagasg Bìobull (...) na tha ’ga chleachdadh air an là-an-diugh* (§400020).

- (a little more) – *Ach tha **beagan tuilleadh** againn r’ a aithris mu Mhàiri Jones (§112004); Thoir duinn **beagan tuilleadh dheth** a nis, ma ta, oir is taitneach leam a chluinntinn (§102002);*
- (anything else) – *Chan eil mi ag iarraidh **càil tuilleadh** an diugh (§400053); Ma ghoideas tu **càil tuilleadh** tha mi dol a dh’innse ort (§400134);*
- (nothing/nobody else) – *Agus cha tàinig **gin tuilleadh** á Lochlann a chur dragh air an t-saor Mac-Pheigh (§295);*
- (nothing else, no more) – *’S cha dubhairt i **’n còrr tuilleadh** (§198); Chan iarr mise **an còrr tuilleadh** ort (§400095);*
- (another word) – *leis an sin thuit e seachad agus cha d’fhuaireadh **facal tuilleadh** aige (§333);*
- (another word; anything else to say) – *Cha robh **guth tuilleadh** aig Sìne air Eideart! (§43); Gun **ghuth tuilleadh** tharraing e an doras leis, is bha e air falbh (§40).*

The expression *tuilleadh agus* can govern adjectives and certain adverbs, as follows:¹⁰⁹

- *Tha na faoileagan a’ dol **tuilleadh is dàna** air talamh tioram (§400005); O an creutair bochd, tha e **tuilleadh is blàth** (§40); bha Fionnlagh Dòmhnallach **tuilleadh is fialaidh** nuair a sgrìobh e ann an Gairm (§333);*
- *Bha cuibhreann aige bho athair a bha **tuilleadh ’s gu leòr** airson fheumalachd (§2); ’S e àite beag nach eil **tuilleadh is fada** bho Bhaile an Todhair a th’ ann am Baile a’ Bhealaich (197).¹¹⁰*

¹⁰⁹ This is related to the meaning ‘more than just’ (see §4.1). There is only one example of the word *barrachd* in this context: *bha am Prionnsa **barrachd agus riarachte** leis an t-sògh a bha ’ga chuartachadh (§234001).*

¹¹⁰ I.e. *too far away*.

2.8 Expressions of quantity: *uimhir*, *uiread*

1. Introduction¹¹¹

The word *uimhir* (earlier, also *uibhir*) is a feminine noun and *uiread* is a masculine noun.¹¹² Both are described as indeclinable or invariable in AW, CM, D, and RC (§178-179), although the genitive and plural forms are provided in FB.¹¹³

The meanings of *uimhir* and *uiread* given in various dictionaries are presented in Table 1. The exact meaning depends on the syntactic and semantic contexts in which they occur.

Table 1: The meanings of *uimhir* and *uiread*.

	C. Mark	A. Watson	R. Cox	FB
Uimhir	number, quantity, amount	a number, amount, quantity	<i>meud</i>	quantity, amount
		a certain amount, a measure, a modicum of something		
	so much/many	a great number or quantity, so many, so much	<i>mòran</i>	so much/many
	as much/many	the same number, quantity	<i>an aon mheud ri</i>	as much/many
Uiread	quantity, modicum, number			number, quantity
		a certain amount, a measure, a modicum of something		
	so much/many	a great number or quantity, so much, so many	<i>mòran</i>	so much/many
	as much/many	the same number, quantity or amount	<i>an aon mheud ri</i>	as much/many
	much, many		<i>mòran</i>	much, many
		<i>neg.</i> even, so much as		

¹¹¹ Sources: *Corpas na Gàidhlig*; AW – Angus Watson; CM – Colin Mark; D – Dwelly; FB – *Am Faclair Beag*; RC – Richard Cox.

¹¹² According to RC, §179, *uiread* can be feminine – presumably because of the form of the article: *an uiread* (see §2 below).

¹¹³ The plural form *uireadan* occurs once in the corpus: *times table – clàr nan uireadan* (§257). The genitive *uimhire* has been found in a 17th-century text. There are a few examples of *uireid*, mainly in early texts, but this appears to be a variant of *uiread* rather than its genitive form, since it is not limited to genitive contexts.

Both nouns seem to occur almost exclusively within certain expressions that convey one of the following meanings:¹¹⁴

- ‘that many/much’, ‘as many/much’, ‘the same amount’ (equal quantities)
- ‘the same/equal size’
- ‘a certain amount’, ‘a number of’ (middling quantities)¹¹⁵
- ‘so many/much’, ‘such a lot’ (notably large quantities)

Very few examples of the word *uimhir* functioning as a ‘regular’ noun (meaning ‘number’ or ‘size’) have been found in the corpus: *Tha a’ Ghàidhlig a th’ aca ann an Ceap Breatunn ag atharrachadh na h-uimhir bho àite gu àite mar a tha i bhos an seo fhéin* (§400077);¹¹⁶ *tha uimhir nan litrichean a’ dol an lughaidhe oirnn* (§81007). Cf. also: *seo an uimhir as motha de a dhàintean a gheibhear ann an aon leabhar* (this is the largest number of his poems which will be found in one book) (CM).¹¹⁷

2. Mandatory modifiers

In most examples found in the corpus, the nouns *uiread* and *uimhir* are modified by one of the following words, which appear to be:

- the feminine (!) singular form of the definite article (*an*)
- the plural form of the definite article (*na h-*)
- the masculine possessive (*a*)
- the feminine possessive (*a h-*)

The distribution of these modifiers seems to depend on syntactic context only partially, but they do not appear to affect the meaning of the whole expressions in any particular way.

The singular form of the definite article is not frequent in the corpus and mainly occurs in association with a demonstrative or, less often, with a question word, as follows:¹¹⁸

- *bu mhiann leam an uiread sin a bhith ann* (RC, §179); *cha robh e ann am bheachd an uiread ud fhéin a ràdh* (§108);¹¹⁹ *Nuair a thug thu an uiread sin a bhliadhnachan fada an Ameireaga...* (§400054);¹²⁰ *chuireadh iad an uimhir seo air do bheulaibh air bòrd*

¹¹⁴ These expressions will be discussed in the following text.

¹¹⁵ This meaning is given only by AW. No examples of *uimhir* or *uiread* that appear to express this type of quantity have been found in the corpus.

¹¹⁶ I.e. *The number of Gaelic speakers varies...* (lit. *Gaelic... varies in its/her size/amount*). Or this could be an adverbial expression: *Gaelic... varies a lot from place to place*.

¹¹⁷ The expression *an uiread a’s lughaidhe* seems to mean ‘at least’ in: *Ged a chuir na paipearan-naigheachd Sasunnach an aghaidh an oidheirpean a rinneadh as leth an sean doigh-sloinnidh a bha aig na Gaidheil da mhìle bliadhna roimh dhuinn an uiread a’s lughaidhe a’ cluinntinn mu dheibhinn nan Sasunnach, cha mhisd sinn beagan phoncan a thoirt f’ar comhair, a thaobh a’ bheachd a bha aig na sean Sasunnachair air a chùis* (§81006).

¹¹⁸ According to Dwelly, *uiread* is never accompanied by the article: *cha’n ’eil uiread* (not *an uiread*) *sin agam* (I have not as much as that). However, the following examples do not support that claim.

¹¹⁹ I.e. *to say that much*.

¹²⁰ I.e. *that many long years*.

(§251); 'S cinnteach gu bheil comas agad air **an uimhir sin** a dhèanamh (§27); Chan aithne dhaibh **an uimhir sin fhéin** a dhèanamh an diugh (§204; RC, §178); ...agus na h-eòin a bha sinn a' marbhadh leis **an uimhir seo** de dh'urchraichean (§251);

- **dé an uiread** dhe sin a bhios air fhàgail mar phrothaid (§400053);¹²¹ **Ciod an uibhir** a dh'òladh duine de'n fhìon... (§69).

Examples such as the following are rare:

- *tha mi an dòchas gun d'fhuair esan **an uiread tlachd** annamsa 's a fhuair mise annsan* (§400096);¹²² *Tha **an uiread gràidh** agam dhuit (...)* agus nam bàsaicheadh tu, nach biodh moran saoghail agam 'nad dheigh (§81006);¹²³ *Tha **an uiread de bhuaidh** ort* (§240);¹²⁴ *chan eil sinn a' gabhail **an uimhir a dh'iongantais** den fhuaran...* (§400138);¹²⁵ *cha'n fhaodar a ràdh ann an ceartas nach deach gu math leis **an uibhir** a rainig Canada...* (§401009);¹²⁶ *...a chunnaic **an uimhir** anns a' chogadh* (§400138).¹²⁷

The plural form of the definite article occurs more frequently and is often accompanied by the object of quantification expressed by a *de*-phrase.¹²⁸ The expression *na h-uimhir* is rarely modified by a demonstrative.

- *tha mi eòlach air **na h-uiread*** (RC, §179); *Leigidh e **na h-uiread** troimhe* (§33); *Bha **na h-uiread** ri innseadh* (§62); *chuala mi **na h-uiread** mu a dheighinn fad mo bheatha* (§400153); *Chan eil ceàrn eile de'n rìoghachd anns a bheil **na h-uiread** gun obair* (§400019); ***na h-uibhir*** (a great number or quantity) (D); *'se **na h-uibhir*** (it is so much) (D); *nuair a chluinneas sinn **na h-uimhir** mu...* (when we hear so much about...) (CM); *bha **na h-uimhir** ann* (RC, §178); *ged a tha **na h-uimhir** ga dhèanamh an ainm a bhith a' cumail ar cainnt beò* (RC, §178); *Dé tha thu a' smaoinichadh a tha a' cur **na h-uimhir** a-null a dh'Ameireaga?* (§400041); *'S dòcha nach bi **na h-uimhir*** (§400134); *chan eil ach **na h-uimhir** ri'm faotainn sa' choimhearsnachd* (§400035); *cha robh sinn a' coimhead airson **na h-uimhir** an uair ud idir agus a tha sluagh an là an-diugh* (§251);
- *Shàbhail Hitler mi o Phadgate, agus tha agam ri mholadh airson **na h-uiread sin** co-dhiù* (§400135); *tuigidh sibh bho **na h-uiread ud fhéin**...* (§35);¹²⁹ *Ann an cur seachad **na h-uiread sin de'n t-slighe**...* (§35); *bha gach fear a' faighinn **na h-uimhir seo de chairtean feamad*** (251);
- *Tha againn **na h-uiread de bhàird*** (§217004); *Tha **na h-uiread de'n t-sluagh** a' gabhail an rabhaidh gu cridhe...* (§401012); *Ach tha **na h-uiread dhe sin** ann...* (§400115); *chan eil **na h-uiread dheth** ga oibreachadh is a chleachd* (§400060); *'Se so as coireach*

¹²¹ I.e. *how much of that will be left as profit.*

¹²² I.e. *the same amount of pleasure.*

¹²³ I.e. *I have so much love for you* (= love you so much).

¹²⁴ I.e. *You have so much virtue.*

¹²⁵ Note the nominative form of the article following a verbal noun.

¹²⁶ I.e. *so many (people) who arrived in Canada.* For relative clauses in this context, see §3.

¹²⁷ I.e. *who saw so much in the war.*

¹²⁸ See §4.2.

¹²⁹ I.e. *you will understand from that much...* (= from what has been said).

gu bheil na h-uimhir de Ghaidheil (...) air an cluas a dhùnadh riutha (§400064); Bha na h-uimhir de na daoine òga sùndach air an tarraing air falbh dh'an Arm Bhreatannach (§400061); Bha na h-uimhir de na thubhairt am polasman ceart (§400177); Tha na h-uimhir dhiubh ann (§321); Fhuair e na h-uimhir dheth ann an seann-phàipeirean naidheachd (§400189).

The masculine possessive pronoun occurs in numerous examples although it is usually absorbed by the following vowel. It is fully realised when another modifier occurs between it and *uiread* or *uimhir*.¹³⁰

- *bha (a) uiread ri a dèanamh* (RC, §179); *Bha uiread ri fhaicinn 's gun iarradh duine barrachd air greiseag de latha air a shon* (§400016); *nan robh fios agam cha robh mi air uimhir a ràdh rithe* (if I had known I wouldn't have said so much to her) (CM); *Bha, bha uimhir aige ri dèanamh* (§313); *Tha uimhir ann nach do leugh mi* (§205); *Dè b' urrainn dhasan a dhèanamh an aghaidh uimhir?* (§16); *Uimhir gam marbhadh leis a' bhiodag is leis an daga!* (§205);
- *Tha dual-chainnt nan Leódhusach féin do-thuigsinneach do mhóran againn agus air an aobhar so cha chluinnear uiread dhith air an adhar 's a bu chòir* (§400041); *Na gabh uimhir a dhragh, a thasgaidh* (§245);
- *bha a cheart uimhir de mhoit air na pàrantan* (§317);¹³¹ *chan eil pàipear seachdaineil an Alba a tha cur an clò a leth uiread* (§400059).¹³²

Cf. also:

- *uiread is uiread* (equal shares) (D); *Dearbha fhéin, leigidh, agus do dhìol dhiubh – uiread agus uiread agus is urrainn dhuit* (§59004); *An deigh bas m' athar roinneadh gach ni a dh'fhag e, agus thugadh uiread is uiread do gach aon de'n teaghlach* (§81006); *thoir thusa dhomh-sa dithis is bithidh uiread is uiread againn* (§102001); *Tha uibhir is uibhir aca* (they have share and share alike) (D); *Cha do gheall e uibhir is uibhir a thoirt do na h-uile aon do'n t-sliochd uile* (§136).

Few examples of the feminine possessive pronoun have been found. Only *a h-uimhir* occurs in the dictionaries and only *a h-uiread* in the corpus.

- *an sin nochd a h-uimhir de dhaoine* (then there appeared a large number of people, ever so many people) (CM); *a h-uimhir de dhaoine* (so many people, a large number of people) (FB);
- *Chàirich nàdar a h-uiread gun chòrr* (§177); *Mar as trice, òlar le cungaidh a h-uiread eile a dh'uisge, agus faodar tuilleadh òl as a déidh* (§53);¹³³ *Tha e duilich ri thoirt fanear nach 'eil sinn a' togail a' h-uiread do bhiadh ás an fhearann 's a bu chòir dhuinn*

¹³⁰ The expressions *(a) uiread* and *(a) uimhir* can be modified by various other words or phrases (see §3).

¹³¹ I.e. *the same amount of pride* (= the parents were equally proud).

¹³² I.e. *half the amount [of Gaelic texts]*.

¹³³ I.e. *twice as much water [as there is medicine]*.

(§81011); and possibly: *is e an fhìrinn nach 'eil anns a' chruiteir ris a bheil mise ag éisdeachd le **h-uiread tlachd**, ach creutair féineil, mosach* (§65).¹³⁴

Cf. also the following two examples, which might be typographical errors (*an* instead of *na*) or orthographic peculiarities possibly due to hypercorrection (*n* can be silent before *h*).

- *Gheibhear iad air an cur sìos gu h-aithghearr anns an dàn sgaiteach ud, The Twa Dogs, agus anns **an h-uiread eile de a chuid bàrdachd** (§217002); *Tha e coltach gu bheil **an h-uibhir de chomuinn Ghaidhealach** an tòir air seòmraichean fhaighinn...* (§400003).*

3. Additional modifiers

Both *uiread* and *uimhir* can be modified by:

- a demonstrative (*seo, sin, ud*)
- a cardinal number
- the word *leth*
- the words *eile, ceart, aon, fhèin*, and *faisg*
- the expression *a bharrachd*
- a relative clause
- a question word¹³⁵

Some of the resulting expressions can function as parts of equative constructions, which are discussed in §5. Most of these modifiers occur only in association with the masculine possessive *a*.

As evident from some of the examples adduced so far, the demonstratives occur in association with the article (both *an* and *na h-*) or, less commonly, with the masculine possessive.¹³⁶ The whole expression can be interpreted literally as ‘this/that amount’, but it usually corresponds to English ‘this/that many/much’ or ‘as many/much as this/that’. In other words, the demonstrative can function here as the (semantic) standard of comparison.¹³⁷

- *An fhiach iad **an uiread sin?*** (§400007);¹³⁸ *cha tug an aois **an uimhir sin de laigse** air* (§400054); *Ach bha Seumas Bàn o'n **uimhir so bhliadhnachan** aig na bodaich Ghallda, 's tha e làn airgid* (§401009);
- *tuigidh sibh bho **na h-uiread ud fhéin*** (§35); *Bhiodh gach croitear sìos le each is cairt, agus bha gach fear a' faighinn **na h-uimhir seo de chairtean feamad*** (§251);

¹³⁴ I.e. *with so much delight*.

¹³⁵ This is a simplification. In fact, the noun *uimhir* or *uiread* is not *modified* by the question word, but rather both words are arguments of the copula, which is absorbed into the question word (at least diachronically), cf. *dé an uiread* (= what [is] the amount).

¹³⁶ The latter is unusual and could have developed from the expressions in which the demonstrative refers back to the possessive: *a uiread sin* ‘the amount of that’ (i.e. the amount equalling that).

¹³⁷ Cf. §5.1.

¹³⁸ I.e. *that amount* (= as much as that).

- *carson uiread sin?* (why that much? why so many as that?) (CM); *Uiread sud air luchd-feannaidh nan Gàidheal* (§212002, cf. RC, §232, iii); *Chan eil uiread sin a dhìth orm* (§400141); *chan ith e (a) uiread sin de bhiadh* (RC, §192, xi); *ma bheir sibh a uiread siud de dh'fhuil air m' athair-sa* (RC, §232, iii); *nuair a dh'fhalbhas a uiread siud de dhaoine à aon obair tha e a' dol a dhèanamh diofar mòr dha na h-eileanan a tha seo* (RC, §232, iii); *...a thug uiread seo de bhliadhnachan 'san Arm* (§311); *b' iongantach leam fhéin gun cuireadh aon duine feum air togalach a bha uimhir sud* (§400041);¹³⁹ *Seo aon dhiubh, 's chan eil i dol uimhir sin a ghinealaich air ais* (§36); *Cha robh uimhir seo do dh'obair leabhraichean aige co-dhiù* (§400089); *Nuair a bhios an lite fuar, thoir taosg cuinneig dhan bhrùid bhochd agus uimhir sin a-rithist feasgar* (§400186).¹⁴⁰

The demonstratives can accompany some of the other modifiers that are addressed here, such as numbers, the words *leth*, *ceart*, etc. In these contexts, the nouns *uiread* and *uimhir* are always modified by the possessive *a*.

The construction *a* NUM *uiread/uimhir* corresponds to English 'NUM times as many/much', as in the following examples.

- *a dha uiread arain* (twice as much bread) (D); *Tha a chòig uiread sa' bhaile 's a tha air an tuath* (§400005);¹⁴¹ *a dheich uiread* (ten times as many) (FB); *Tha mu dheich uiread Ghàidheal an Glascho 's a tha de shluagh 's an Oban* (§81010); *a dhà uimhir* (double the amount; twice as much) (CM); *a dhà uimhir* (twice as much) (FB); *... 's ann a bha dhà uimhir aig an fhear ud* (§400017); *Tha tir-mór na siorrachd timcheall air a dhà uimhir ann am meud ris na h-eileanan so* (§400065);¹⁴² *a sheachd uimhir* (RC, §178); *bha e a' smaoineachadh air a' [sic!] mhìle uimhir a dh'fhaodadh a bhith aige* (he was thinking of the thousand times as much that he might have had) (CM); cf. also: *a dhà uiread a dhà* (two times two) (AW);
- *Ged a tha mu ochd uiread sin de shluagh ann an Canada...* (§81010);¹⁴³ *Chosgadh iad a thrì 's a cheithir uimhir sin an diugh* (§400029).¹⁴⁴

The expressions *a leth uiread/uimhir* correspond to English 'half as many/much', 'half the size', etc. They are not frequent in the corpus and occur mainly in negative sentences. Syntactically, *leth uiread* and *leth uimhir* can be interpreted as compounds.

- *leth uiread* (half as much) (D; AW); *tha mi do'n bheachd nach eil e leth uiread ri Eilean Leódhais* (§400056);¹⁴⁵ *Chan eil a leth uimhir a dh'obair agaibh ri dheanamh ruinne* (§400056);¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ I.e. *that size* (= as big as that).

¹⁴⁰ There are no examples of (*a*) *uiread/uimhir seo/sin/ud* acting as the object of a preposition, but cf. *o'n uibhir so* (§401009); *mun uibhir sin* (§318); *air an uiread sin* (§81012); *de na h-uiread sin* (§217004).

¹⁴¹ I.e. *five times as many (people)*.

¹⁴² I.e. *about twice as much in size...* (= twice the size).

¹⁴³ I.e. *about eight times as many people as that*.

¹⁴⁴ I.e. *three and (even) four times as much as that*.

¹⁴⁵ I.e. *it* (= Bermuda) *is not even half the size of Lewis*.

¹⁴⁶ I.e. *You do not have half as much work to do as we do*.

- *cha d'fhuair mi a leth uiread seo an-uiridh* (I didn't get half as much last year) (FB); *Chan eil a leth uiread seo air astronaut an-diugh* (§400135).¹⁴⁷

The expressions *eile* and *a bharrachd* refer to an additional quantity, cf. English 'as many/much again' or 'the same amount again'. The expression *uiread eile* is the most common, whilst the phrase *a bharrachd* is very rare in this context. The word *eile* can accompany some of the other modifiers.

- *uiread/uibhir eile* (as much again) (D); *uiread eile* (as many/much again) (CM); *uiread eile* (as much again, the same again) (AW); *Shaoileadh tu nis gu robh uiread eile anns a' chàr 's a bha ann a' fàgail Nis* (§400007); *thoir/dèan uimhir eile* (double v) (CM); *thoir dhomh uimhir eile* (give me as much again, the same again) (AW); *thoir uimhir eile dhi* (give her the same amount again) (FB); *faigh uimhir eile air a shon* (get as much in return) (FB); *Air an treas latha, an déidh uimhir eile fhaotainn, cha tàrradh tu danns' an t-saighdeir a dheanamh aig a luathas!* (§400026); *Tha dùil gum bi e uimhir eile ann an 1970* (§400050);¹⁴⁸
- *uiread is uiread eile* (that much and as much again) (FB);
- *Tha ochd Oilthighean an Alba agus còrr is uimhir eile sin, a deich, de Cholaisdean Oideachais* (§32);¹⁴⁹
- *Tha e nas motha na'n àbhaist – a leth uiread eile de dhuilleagan ann – tha dathan ùra 'na bhroinn...* (§400041);¹⁵⁰
- *O na thuirt mi agus na h-uiread eile a dh'fhaotainn a ràdh cha ghabh e àicheadh nach bu Cheilteach Burns* (§217002); *Ceathrar le fìdheall, bogsa, double-bass, bòdhran is na h-uimhir eile de dh'innealan* (§317);
- *'Se, ma tha, is coireach, shaoillinn-sa, gu bheil na h-uimhir a bharrachd de sheann litreachas nan linntean borb fhathast r' a fhaighinn am Barraigh 's an Uibhist gun do sgur an litreachas aca a' deanamh adhartas o chionn linntean* (§400066); *Bha sia cait ann, ged a bha e coltach ris na h-uimhir a bharrachd* (§400143).

The expressions *a cheart uiread/uimhir* correspond to English 'just as many/much', 'the very same amount/size'.¹⁵¹

- *Is gann obair an diugh anns nach eil làmh mhath aig na boireannaich agus a' chuid mhór dhiubh a' cosnadh a cheart uiread ris na fìr* (§400081);¹⁵² *An té aig a bheil gràin a cridhe orm, agus a' cheart uiread agamsa dhi-se* (§42); *chan eil teagamh nach eil an t-ùghdarras a' togail a cheart uiread airgid bho thaigh-samhraidh 's a tha e bho thaigh sam bith eile* (§400086);¹⁵³ *a' cheart uimhir* (the same amount/quantity) (AW); *Bheathaich e an laogh le bainne nan seachd mart, co-dhiù, agus an uair nach robh e*

¹⁴⁷ I.e. *half as much (equipment) as this*.

¹⁴⁸ I.e. *twice as many (inhabitants) in 1970 (as there were when this was written)*.

¹⁴⁹ I.e. *more than as many as that again*.

¹⁵⁰ I.e. *it (= the new issue of Gairm) has half as many pages again (as the previous one did)*.

¹⁵¹ This can be compared to expressions such as *a cheart cho math/soilleir/luath* (§400003).

¹⁵² I.e. *just as much as men (do)*.

¹⁵³ I.e. *just as much money (= the same amount of money)*.

ach beagan nas sine na laogh bha e a cheart uimhir ri tarbh (§400048);¹⁵⁴ Tha na sgoilearan a rithist air a dhol an greim leis a' cheart uimhir fiughair is othail 's a bha orra an là a dhùin an sgoil (§400009);¹⁵⁵ ...nach math gu bheil a cheart uimhir a dh'ùidh aig na thàinig às an dèidh anns an obair inntinnich sin (§400154);

- *Dhùisg truas mór ri Raibeart ann an cridheachan muinntir a' Bhàigh agus a' cheart uiread sin de fheirg an aghaidh Seonaig airson a déiligeadh ris (§400080).¹⁵⁶*

The expressions *an aon uimhir/uiread* correspond to English 'the same amount'. Few examples have been found in the corpus.

- *an aon uiread* (the same amount) (FB); *Tha so a chionn gu bheil mu'n aon uiread de stuth leaghte anns na ceallan sin agus anns an t-sàl (§400071); Nach bu neònach, a Ruairidh, nach robh an aon uibhir posdachd orra a' falbh 's a' tighinn (§318); dh'fhoighnich mise dha an robh an aon uimhir de mheas aige air Schopenhauer 's a bh' aige 'na òige (§400092).*

The expressions *uiread/uimhir fhèin* correspond to English 'the same/very amount'. Other modifiers can occur along with *fhèin*. Few examples occur in the corpus.

- *Tha so deich tasdain an leth-phinnt, ach thatar a' cur uimhir fhéin de bhùrn 'na cheann... (§400022); Tha an Lemonade-sa feumachadh barrachd air uimhir fhéin de bhùrn 'na chois, mur teid òl (§400030);*
- *Chan eil fhios co an latha a rinn mise 'n uiread fhéin a dh'obair le spaid (§400003);*
- *cha robh e ann am bheachd an uiread ud fhéin a ràdh (§108);¹⁵⁷ Chan aithne dhaibh an uimhir sin fhéin a dhèanamh an diugh (§204; cf. RC, §178);*
- *tuigidh sibh bho na h-uiread ud fhéin... (§35).*

The expressions *faisg uiread/uimhir* correspond to English 'nearly as many/much', 'nearly the amount/size'. Few examples are found in the corpus, mainly in negative sentences.

- *Cha do thomhais i faisg uiread 'sa bha mi 'n dùil... (§81009);¹⁵⁸ Cha bhi faisg uiread eisg aig na h-iasgairean 'sa bh' aca 'n uiridh (§81002); Cha d' rinn an t-airgiod faisg uiread a dh'fheum 'sa dheanadh e na'm biodh tuilleadh air a chur na cheann (§81002); ...ged a tha mórán de'n luchd-Gàidhlig as sine nach fhaigh faisg uimhir a thlachd á seirbhis Bheurla (§32); Tha a' Ghàidhlig a th' aca ann an Ceap Breatunn ag atharrachadh na h-uimhir bho àite gu àite mar a tha i bhos an seo fhéin, ged nach eil faisg uimhir dhith ann an diugh (§400077).*

Cf. also:

- *Cha-n 'eil faisg air uiread so 's an Eilean a Tuath (§279);¹⁵⁹*

¹⁵⁴ I.e. *just as big as a bull* (= the same size as a bull; the size of a bull).

¹⁵⁵ Note the form of the preposition. Cf. *le cheart uiread do choslas reusanachaidh agus firinn* (§136).

¹⁵⁶ I.e. *just as much anger as that* (= the same amount of anger).

¹⁵⁷ I.e. *to say as much as that*.

¹⁵⁸ I.e. *it* (= the pig) *did not weigh nearly as much as I expected/hoped*.

¹⁵⁹ I.e. *not nearly as much (gold) as this*.

- *Tha mìle de luchd-obrach a dhith air luchd na h-obair-iaruinn anns a bhaile so, agus tha faisg air uiread eile a dhith orra-san a tha cur air adhart an rathaid iaruinn ann an siorrachd Inbhirnis (§81008).*¹⁶⁰

The expressions *an uimhir* and *na h-uiread/uimhir* can be modified by a relative clause, as in:

- *cha ’n fhaodar a ràdh ann an ceartas nach deach gu math leis an uibhir a rainig Canada (§401009);*¹⁶¹ cf. also: *bha e ag iarraidh uimhir na h-oghreachd a fhuair a bhràthair* (RC, §178);
- *’S ann a tha ioghnadh air cuid againn gu’m bheil na h-uiread ann a tha labhairt na Gàilig (§81010); thachair mi air na h-uiread a thug barrachd gaireachdaich orm na’s urrainn mi a chur an ceill (§81006); Tha e iongantach gu bheil na h-uimhir ann a bhuaill an tinneas (§400042); Cha bhi na h-uimhir a chuidich leinn chun a seo deònach a dheanamh nas fhaide (§400043).*

The following example is related to the interrogative expressions discussed in the following passage.

- *Tha seo a toirt cothrom dha cùntas (...) a thoirt seachad air far a robh na h-àirighean, (...) an uiread a bh’ ann dhiubh ’s an ùine a bha daoine a’ fuireachd anna (§400154).*¹⁶²

The expressions *dè an uiread/uimhir* correspond to English ‘how many/much’, ‘what amount’. The interrogative *ciod* occurs in earlier texts. The expression *dè/ciod (a) uiread* is found in the corpus, but it is very rare. All these are followed by relative clauses, which can be introduced by the conjunction *agus*.

- *dé an uiread dhe sin a bhios air fhàgail mar phrothaid (§400053); Chan eil fhios agam dé an uiread againn a tha a’ tuigsinn... (§400054); ’dé ’n uibhir a th’ ann? (what quantity is there?) (D); Ciod an uibhir a dh’òladh duine de’n fhìon... (§69);*
- *Dè uiread a bhainne a bha iad a’ faighinn? (§400150); dé uiread a tha thu fhén a’ cur ann? (§67); Innis do’n Lighiche ciod uiread cadail ’s a fhuair am fulangaiche... (§53); dè uimhir ’s a th’ ann? (how much is there? how many are there?) (AW).*

Expressions such as the following are found in FB and RC, but no examples occur in the corpus.

- *co uiread?* (how many?) (FB); *...nuair a dh’amhairc e cò (a) uiread ’s a bha ann* (RC, §179);
- *dé na h-uiread de dh’airgead a fhuair thu an-dé?* (how much money did you get yesterday?) (FB).

¹⁶⁰ I.e. *almost as many again, almost twice as many.*

¹⁶¹ This is the only such example found in the corpus.

¹⁶² I.e. *how many there were.*

4. Object of quantification

The object of quantification can be expressed by:

- the genitive case¹⁶³
- a phrase introduced by the preposition *de*
- a phrase introduced by the preposition *aig*

4.1. The genitive case

The genitive case is used predominantly with indefinite nouns, as in the following examples, but it does not appear to be particularly common in this context.

- *chan eil uiread iarraidh air a-nis* (there isn't as much demand for it now) (CM); *rinn e uiread millidh air a' choirce* (he did so much damage to the oats) (FB); *cha chreidinn fhèin mur fhaicinn e gun togadh maide na poite (a) uiread bhrochain* (RC, §179);¹⁶⁴ *bha uiread fiodha 's a dhèanadh aon sgeilp* (there was as much wood as would make one shelf) (CM); *ged a thàrr dhomh (a) uiread gràidh, (a) uimhir smuaintean gun tàmh, (a) uiread iomagain, (a) uiread cràidh 's a dh'fhòghnadh do chòmhlán bhàrd* (RC, §179); *Uimhir bleedraich an-diugh mu dheidhinn fulfilment, tha e doirbh a bhith cinnteach!* (§317); *Carson a tha uimhir dorradais againn nuair a thig sinn gu lorg neach a thàillearas an clò-mòr?* (400022);
- *gabh a cheart-uiread ùine 's thug thu roimhe* (take as much time as you did before) (FB); *tha a cheart-uiread còir agad air 's a tha agam-sa* (you have as much right to it as I do) (FB); *...agus a cheart uiread bhoireannach* (and just as many women) (CM); cf. also: *na h-uiread cheannais oirne* (so much superiority over us) (D);
- *a dha uiread arain* (twice as much bread) (D); *Tha mu dheich uiread Ghàidheal an Glascho 's a tha de shluagh 's an Oban* (§81010); *bha a thrì uimhir sluaigh aig MacGill-Eain 's a bha aig MacDhòmhnail aig an àm sin* (RC, §178);
- *bha Iain air a bhrosnachadh chum na h-uiread fheirg* (RC, §179); *Chan e mhàin gum buin an talamh dhaibh, 's gum feum an t-Ileach na h-uiread màil a phàigheadh air a' pholl-mòna, ach mur e Sasunnaich a th' annta 's e Gearmailtich* (§400028).¹⁶⁵

Few examples of definite nouns in the genitive have been found, mainly in early texts – some of these expressions mean ‘the equivalent of X’, ‘the equal part of X’ or ‘the size of X’.

- *uibhir na circe* (the equivalent [value] of a hen) (D); *Mèirlich nach coisinn uiread an uibhe le obair onaraich!* (§62); *Cordadh aca, ma's fhior, 's gun uiread na circe no choilich aca 'gun tighinn air crodh no caoraich* (§81002); *Gun rùsg, gun uiread nam*

¹⁶³ In indefinite nouns, the genitive is often replaced by the nominative nowadays. What is said about the genitive in the following text also refers to the nominative occurring in genitive position.

¹⁶⁴ Lenition does not occur regularly in this context.

¹⁶⁵ This is the only 20th-century example of *na h-uiread/uimhir* + GEN found in the corpus.

freumhan (§168);¹⁶⁶ *bha e ag iarraidh uimhir na h-oighreachd a fhuair a bhràthair* (RC, §178);

- *Tha e còrr is mìle uibhir na talamhuinn so agus a' toirt dà bhliadhna dheug a' cuairteachadh na gréine* (§38; cf. RC, §178);¹⁶⁷ *Mura biodh bacadh air roinn nan ceallan sin (...) an ceann 48 uair-a-thìde bhiodh iad a cheithir mìle uiread na talmhainn* (§33).¹⁶⁸

4.2. The preposition *de*

The object of quantification is normally expressed by a *de*-phrase with *uiread* and *uimhir*, even when it is represented by an indefinite noun.

- *tha e iongantach gun do rinn e uiread de obair ionmholta anns an ùine sin* (it is amazing that he performed so much praiseworthy work in that time) (CM); *...a bha a' cur uiread de dhragh air* (which was bothering him so much) (CM); *chaill mi uiread de thìde* (I lost so much/such a lot of time) (AW); *uiread de dhaoine* (so many people) (AW); *cha robh (a) uiread de dh'fheum ann* (RC, §179); *cha robh uimhir de chraobhan an seo* (there weren't so many trees here) (CM); *bha uimhir de dhaoine ann* (there were so many / such a lot of people there) (AW); *bha uimhir de dh'airgead agam* (I had so much / such a lot of money) (AW); *tha mi a' creidsinn nach robh (a) uimhir de shluagh anns na h-eilein a-riamh* (RC, §178); *bha uimhir de shoirbheachadh leis a' chiad chochruinneachadh agus nach robh dàil ann a bhith a' foillseachadh an dara fir* (there was so much success with the first collection that there was no delay in publishing the second one) (CM); *tha mi glè chinnteach nach eil eilean eile anns a' Ghàidhealtachd anns a bheil (a) uimhir de dhaoine 's de mhnathan sgriobtarail agus a tha againn an Eilean Leòdhais* (RC, §178); *gu dè a dh'fhàg an gille bochd ud fo uimhir a bhròn?* (§317); *cha bhiodh uimhir a dh'iongnadh oirnn* (§317); *...a chionn 's nach robh uimhir a chudrom air a bhith aige mun àm ud* (§197); *Carson a bha uimhir de chloinn dhìolain air chall anns an t-saoghal?* (§313); *bha sinn toilichte uimhir de luchd tadhail á dùthchannan eile fhaicinn 'nar measg* (§400034);
- *chan eil uimhir sin a dh'earbsa agam innte* (I don't have that much faith in her) (FB); *Seo aon dhiubh, 's chan eil i dol uimhir sin a ghinealaich air ais* (§36);
- *tha (a) dhà uiread de bhuill aig a' chlub seo 's a tha aig an fhear eile* (this club has twice as many members as the other one has) (CM); *bha a thrì uiread de thidsearan a' tighinn a-mach às na colaistean air na bha ann de dh'àiteachan dhaibh* (there were three times as many teachers coming out of the colleges as there were places for them) (CM); *Smaoinichibh ma tha air sràid nach eil ach a leth cho leathainn sin agus le dhà uiread de shluagh* (§400036); *...gu feumadh e an uair sin a bhaisteadh le a dhà uimhir de dh'uisge a mheasgachadh ris* (§251);

¹⁶⁶ However, this might mean 'in their roots'.

¹⁶⁷ I.e. *It* (= Jupiter) is more than a thousand times the size of this earth and takes twelve years to rotate around the sun.

¹⁶⁸ I.e. *four thousand times the size* (or mass) of Earth. Note the unexpected presence of the possessive here, but cf. the preceding example.

- *tha iad a' dèanamh a leth uiread de mhearachdan a-nise* (they are making half as many mistakes now) (CM); *cuir a-mach a leth-uiread de shèithrichean* (put out half as many chairs) (FB); cf. also: *bithidh iad a' cur a-mach a leth uiread eile de phrògraman Gàidhlig* (they'll be producing half again as many Gaelic programmes) (CM);
- *Thug an t-inneal ùr uiread de thogail dha na croitearan 's gun chuir iad am bliadhna uiread eile de shìol corca 's a chuir iad an uiridh* (§400104); *Chan eil san ionad gu h-ìomlan ach sia deug thar fhichead de luchd-ceàird, agus uimhir eile de ghillean ionnsaich* (§400035);
- *...agus a cheart uiread de bhoireannaich* (and just as many women) (CM); *ach tha eagal orm gu bheil a cheart uiread ann de sheòrsa eile* (RC, §179); *sheall iad a cheart uimhir de choibhneas* (they showed just as much kindness) (CM); *tha a cheart uimhir de luach anns an fhear seo 's a tha anns an fhear eile* (there's just as much value in this one as there is in the other one) (CM); *chuir e a cheart uimhir a dh'iongnadh orm fhìn* (§317);
- *cha d' rinn an t-airgid faisg uiread a dh'fheum 'sa dheanadh e na'm biodh tuilleadh air a chur na cheann* (§81002); *cha robh faisg uimhir a dhaoine anns an t-seòmar seo* (there weren't nearly as many people in this room) (CM); *faisg uimhir a phiseagan* (nearly as many kittens) (FB); *...ged a tha mòran de'n luchd-Gàidhlig as sine nach fhaigh faisg uimhir a thlachd à seirbhis Bheurla* (§32);
- *an sin nochd a h-uimhir de dhaoine* (then there appeared a large number of people, ever so many people) (CM); *a h-uimhir de dhaoine* (so many people, a large number of people) (FB);
- *chan eil iad air an uiread de chothroman fhaighinn 's a tha càch* (RC, §179);
- *tha iad air ar cur anns na h-uiread de dhuilgheadas* (they have put us in so much difficulty) (CM); *còmhla ris na h-uiread de chomataidhean eile* (along with a number of other committees) (CM); *tha iad a' dèanamh na h-uiread de mholaidhean* (they make a number of recommendations) (CM); *bha na h-uiread de thèarainteachd againn* (we had a certain amount/a modicum of security) (AW); *chail mi na h-uiread de thìde* (I lost so much/such a lot of time) (AW); *cha robh na h-uiread de dhaoine ann an-diugh* (RC, §179); *bha na h-uimhir de dhaoine ann* (there were so many/ such a lot of people there) (AW); *bha na h-uimhir de dh'airgead agam* (I had so much/such a lot of money) (AW); *bha na h-uimhir de thèarainteachd againn* (we had a certain amount of security) (AW); *na h-uimhir de dh'fheum* (a lot of good) (FB); *na h-uimhir de daoine* (a great number of men) (D); *mi fhéin a dh'fhaotainn na h-uimhir de dhragh* (my getting so much trouble) (D); *Bha an taigh mòr, caran ìosal air a thogail agus na h-uimhir de rumannan ann* (§313); *Bha na h-uimhir de dhaoine air tighinn dhan oidhche-chiùil aig Mgr Diack* (§16);
- *Bhiodh gach croitear sìos le each is cairt, agus bha gach fear a' faighinn na h-uimhir seo de chairtean feamad* (§251);
- *Ceathrar le fidheall, bogsa, double-bass, bòdhran is na h-uimhir eile de dh'innealan* (§317);
- *dé na h-uiread de dh'airgead a fhuair thu an-dé?* (how much money did you get yesterday?) (FB).

Examples of definite nouns are less frequent.

- *An toiseach chuir e iongnadh orm gum biodh a' bheachd so aig **uiread de'n t-sluagh** (§400042); *Chaidh **uiread de na h-eildeirean** agus **de'n luchd-comanachadh** an aghaidh na roghainn seo 's gun d' dhiùlt a' Chléir a' ghairm a dhaingneachadh...* (§249); *Tha an t-àite cho sàmhach a-nise on dh'fhalbh na poilis le **uimhir dhen luchd-obrach!*** (§16); *Gun teagamh, cha do nochd **uimhir dhen dà chànan sin** innte...* (§400139); *Gu bheil **uimhir dhan fhìrinn** san dà bheachd, tha na leanas a' dearbhadh – 'nam bharrail fhéin co dhiùbh* (§36); *bha **uibhir de'n t-slamán** a dol air aodach 's air a ghruaidhean sa bha dol na bheul* (§401002);*
- *cha chreid a' chuid mhór gu bheil iad a' caitheamh a' cheart **uimhir de'n teas luachmhor so** 's a tha iad a' cur gu feum* (§400008);
- ***na h-uimhir dhen rud choimheach** a th' innte* (§400154); *a sgrìobh **na h-uimhir de na h-earrannan*** (§400167); *Tha dearbhadh ann a nise gu bheil **na h-uibhir de na saighdearan** fìor thaingeil airson gach leabhar Gaidhlig a tha'gan ruigheachd* (§401011);
- *ann an cur seachad **na h-uiread sin de'n t-slighe** bu mhór a ruiginn air innse dhuibh* (§35; cf. RC, §179);
- *seo an **uimhir as motha de a dhàintean** a gheibhear ann an aon leabhar* (this is the largest number of his poems which will be found in one book) (CM).

Pronominal objects are introduced by the preposition *de*, as follows:

- *cha do rinn e **uiread d'heath** 's a dh'fhaodadh e* (he didn't make as much of it as he might [have done]) (CM); *rinn e **uiread d'heath** 's a dh'fhaodadh e* (he did as much of it as he could) (FB); *Tha dual-chainnt nan Leódhusach féin do-thuigsinneach do mhóran againn agus air an aobhar so cha chluinnear **uiread dhith** air an adhar's a bu chòir* (§400041); *Tha e mar sin nas dòcha gum fàs na h-uighean torrach, agus cha leigear a leas **uiread dhiubh** a bhreith* (§400072); *Chan e nach fheum sinn a bhith faiceallach 's **uimhir dhiubh** ann!* (§16);
- *chan eil **na h-uiread d'heath** ga oibreachadh 's a chleachd* (there isn't much of it [=of the land] worked as there used to be) (CM); *O laithean òige bha e eolach air '**na h-uiread dhiubh*** (§217002); *Fhuair e **na h-uimhir d'heath** ann an seann phàipeirean naidheachd* (§400189); *chan eil bàrdachd san Laidinn an seo idir, ged a tha **na h-uimhir dhith** air sgeul* (§400174); *Eich is crodh agus daoine – **na h-uimhir dhiubh** a' tighinn mun taigh aig àm na buana* (§317).

The preposition *de* can govern a *na*-relative.

- *Bha **na h-uimhir de na thubhairt am polasman ceart*** (§400177).¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ I.e. *So much of what the policeman had said was correct.*

4.3. The preposition *aig*

The plural pronominal forms of this preposition can replace those of *de*. Very few examples are found in the corpus.

- *Chan eil fhios agam dé an uiread againn a tha a' tuigsinn...* (§400054);
- *bha na h-uimhir aca ann* (there were so many of them, a fair number of them) (CM); *bha na h-uimhir aca ann* (there were so many of them) (FB); *Ach ud, a dhuine bhochd, bha na h-uimhir aca ann, cha robh cothrom ann* (§400043); *Bha na rionnagan mar gum biodh iad a' priobadh air (...) Bha uimhir ac' ann, mar shìoltachan* (§205).

5. Standard of comparison

The standard of comparison occurs in equative constructions. It can be introduced by:

- the preposition *ri*
- the preposition *air*
- the preposition *seach*
- the conjunction *agus*

5.1. The preposition *ri*

This preposition introduces a noun phrase, which either defines a quantity (cf. 'as much as ten pounds') or denotes an argument that is involved in the comparison (cf. 'he did as much as the others'). The expression (*a*) *uiread/uimhir ri* is comparable to the equative construction *cho* ADJ *ri*.

- *Bhiodh uiread ri naoi cairtean mònach aig eathar Shùlaisgeir 'gan toirt leatha o chionn fhada* (§400002); *faodar uimhir ri trì sheòrsachan luibhean a bhruiche anns an aon phoit* (§400021); *...pris gach ball còmhdaich a' thoirt sìos gu tric uimhir ri not* (§400024);
- *cha d'fhuair iad uiread ruinn* (they didn't get as much/many as we did) (CM); *faigh uiread rium fhìn* (get as much as me) (FB); *Cha b' fhiach e uiread ri Mòrag* (§400142); *Ithidh ochd dhiubh uiread ri caora* (§252); *Chan fhaiceadh tusa rud ged a bhitheadh e uiread ri Beinn Mhór a' Chinn a Deas!* (§305);¹⁷⁰ *Is gann obair an diugh anns nach eil làmh mhath aig na boireannaich agus a' chuid mhór dhiubh a' cosnadh a cheart uiread ris na fir* (§400081); *tha cudthrom na talmhainn a cheithir fichead uiread ri truimead na gealaich* (the weight of the earth is eighty times the heaviness of the moon) (CM); *uibhir ri càch* (as much as the rest) (D); *cha robh fios aig duine eile air uimhir ris* (nobody else had as much knowledge of it as he) (CM); *na toir dhomh uimhir ri Seumas!* (don't give me as much as James!) (AW); *Bheathaich e an laogh le bainne nan seachd mart, co-dhiù, agus an uair nach robh e ach beagan nas sine na laogh bha e a cheart*

¹⁷⁰ I.e. *the size of Benmore*. When referring to size, these nouns can function as predicatives, governed by the verb *bi*, like adjectives or adverbs.

uimhir ri tarbh (§400048); *Chan eil a leth uimhir a dh'obair agaibh ri dheanamh ruinne* (§400056);¹⁷¹ *Tha an t-seabhag-mhòr-ghorm – a' chearc (...) – faisg air a bhith a dhà uimhir ri a chèile* (§400012).¹⁷²

Demonstratives rarely occur in this context: a single example has been found in the corpus (cf. §3).

- *cha d'fhuair sinn (a) uimhir ri sin* (RC, §178); *a leth uiread ri sin* (RC, §192, xii); *bha a dhà uimhir ri sin sa bhotal an-dè* (RC, §178); *Ma chuireas tusa ar cinn far am bu chòir dhaibh a bhi, theagamh gu'n dean sinne uibhir ri sin air do shon-sa fhathast* (§216).

5.2. The preposition *air*

The preposition *air* introduces a *na*-relative in the following example. This expression can be compared to the construction *barrachd/tuilleadh air na + REL.*¹⁷³ No examples, however, have been found in the corpus.

- *bha a thrì uiread de thidsearan a' tighinn a-mach às na colaistean air na bha ann de dh'àiteachan dhaibh* (there were three times as many teachers coming out of the colleges as there were places for them) (CM).

5.3. The preposition *seach*

One example has been found in the corpus.

- *...a chionn gu'n cailleadh esan a dhà uimhir air paidhir bhròg a bhiodh deich tasdain seach paidhir a bhiodh crùn mur a faigheadh e pàigheadh anna* (§217004).

5.4. The conjunction *agus*

This conjunction is extremely common in this context. It can introduce:

- a number
- a noun phrase
- a small clause
- a *na*-relative
- a relative clause

These constructions are very frequent in the corpus and can be compared to those that contain the expression *barrachd/tuilleadh agus.*¹⁷⁴ Like those that are introduced by the preposition *ri*,

¹⁷¹ I.e. *You do not have half as much work to do as we do.*

¹⁷² I.e. *twice the size of her mate.*

¹⁷³ See Section 2.7.

¹⁷⁴ See Section 2.7.

they can either define a quantity or denote an argument involved in the comparison.¹⁷⁵ With a negated verb or the preposition *gun*, they express insufficiency, cf. English ‘not even’, ‘without even’, ‘without so much as’.

Phrases that contain a number describe (prototypical) quantities.

- *cha dh'fhàgadh uiread 's a h-aon dhiubh* (not so much as one of them was left) (CM); *gun uiread agus leth-cheud sgillinn* (without even fifty pence) (AW).

Other noun phrases also express quantities, including non-prototypical quantities.

- *cha deach uiread is léine a dhèanamh* (not so much as one shirt was made) (FB); *uimhir is facal* (as much as a word) (FB);
- *bha e gun uiread agus lèine ri a chraiceann* (he was without as much as a shirt to his skin) (CM).

The same applies to small clauses.

- *cha do rinn e uiread is sgrìobhadh thuice* (he didn't so much as write to her) (CM);
- *gun uiread agus fianaisean a ghairm* (without so much as calling witnesses) (CM); *cha deach aige air uibhir agus a' chlach a ghluasad!* (he couldn't so much as budge the stone!) (CM); *cha deach agam air uimhir 's sùil fhosgladh* (I couldn't so much as open an eye) (FB).

Na-relatives too describe quantities.

- *cho-dhuin i gu bheil cosgais teachd-an-tìr air meudachadh faisg air a leth uimhir a rithist 's na bha e (...) anns na sia bliadhna mu dheireadh* (§400017).¹⁷⁶

Relative clauses normally function as part of equative constructions. In some cases, however, they refer primarily to quantities, cf. ‘he had as much (water) as he wanted’.

- *tha uiread agam 's a th' agad-sa* (I have as much as you have) (D); *thoir dhomh uiread 's a tha aig Iain* (give me as much as Ian has) (AW); *uibhir 's a th' ann* (as much as there are) (D); *cha robh uimhir an làthair aig a' choinneamh seo is a bha dùil* (there weren't as many present at this meeting as was expected) (CM); *fhuaire mi uimhir 's a b' urrainn dhomh a ghiùlan* (I got as much/many as I could carry.) (CM); *uimhir 's a tha bhuaht* (as much as you desire) (FB); *cha do rinn iad (a) uimhir 's a rinn iad an-dè* (RC, §178);
- *bha uiread fiodha 's a dhèanadh aon sgeilp* (there was as much wood as would make one shelf) (CM); *ged a thàrr dhomh (a) uiread gràidh, (a) uimhir smuaintean gun tàmh, (a) uiread iomagain, (a) uiread cràidh 's a dh'fhòghnadh do chòmhlán bhàrd* (RC, §179); *Cha robh uimhir toileachaidh aca 'nan obair lathail 's a b' àbhaist* (§217004);

¹⁷⁵ Additionally, there are expressions that define or describe something as a certain minimum, but are not normally perceived as prototypical quantity expressions, e.g. *as much as a pair of shoes* or *so much as say “hello”*.

¹⁷⁶ I.e. *half as much again as what it was in the last six years*.

- *tha mi glè chinnteach nach eil eilean eile anns a' Ghàidhealtachd anns a bheil (a) uimhir de dhaoine 's de mhnathan sgrìobtarail agus a tha againn an Eilean Leòdhais* (RC, §178); *chuir iad air tìr an Ceann Bharraidh dha'n athair uimhir 's a bha feumail dha'n athair agus do dh'fheadhainn eile do bhuntàta 's do gach uile seòrsa sìl, min, mucan, feòil...* (§400007);
- *cha do rinn e uiread dheth 's a dh'fhaodadh e* (he didn't make as much of it as he might [have done]) (CM); *rinn e uiread dheth 's a dh'fhaodadh e* (he did as much of it as he could) (FB); *ma dh'òlas duine dheth uimhir 'sa dh'oladh neach paiteach de dh'uisge, bheir é bàs obann air* (§102005);
- *chruinnicheadh i le siubhal na dùthcha a thrì uiread 's as urrainn dhaibh a cheannach leis an airgead a tha iad a' faotainn* (RC, §179); *bidh a dhà uimhir 's a bh' againn an-dè a dhìth oirnn an-diugh* (RC, §192, xii); *Ach rug e air a' bhotal agus chuir e ceithir dhiubh (= pills) na bhois, a dhà uimhir 's a bu chòir dha a ghabhail còmhla* (§317);
- *bha a thrì uimhir sluaigh aig MacGill-Eain 's a bha aig MacDhòmhnail aig an àm sin* (RC, §178);
- *tha (a) dhà uiread de bhuill aig a' chlub seo 's a tha aig an fhear eile* (this club has twice as many members as the other one has) (CM);
- *chunnaic e gun robh dìreach a cheart uiread ann 's a bh' aig a' mhaor na aghaidh* (RC, §179);
- *tha a cheart uimhir de luach anns an fhear seo 's a tha anns an fhear eile* (there's just as much value in this one as there is in the other one) (CM); *Tha an sgadan fhéin os cionn nan uile, oir tha a cheart uimhir a bheathachadh ann 's a tha san stèig as fheàrr* (§250); *cha chreid a' chuid mhór gu bheil iad a' caitheamh a' cheart uimhir de'n teas luachmhor so 's a tha iad a' cur gu feum* (§400008);
- *chan eil iad air an uiread de chothroman fhaighinn 's a tha càch* (RC, §179);
- *Cha robh dùil againn agus cha robh sinn a' coimhead airson na h-uimhir an uair ud idir agus a tha sluaigh an là an-diugh* (§251);
- *chan eil na h-uiread dheth ga oibreachadh 's a chleachd* (there isn't much of it [=of the land] worked as there used to be) (CM).

Note the use of the genitive and a *de*-phrase in the following example: *Tha mu dheich uiread Ghàidheal an Glascho 's a tha de shluagh 's an Oban* (§81010).¹⁷⁷

The construction *agus* REL can occur after interrogative expressions, although that seems to be rare (cf. §3, question words).

- *...nuair a dh'amhairc e cò (a) uiread 's a bha ann* (RC, §179); *Innis dhomh a nis gu poncail gu'dé uiread 's a thug thu seachad* (§108); *dh'fheòraich i gu de uiread 'sa bha ri phàigheadh* (§81005); *Sgrìobh duin' àraidh (...) ag iarraidh oirnn innse dha gu de uiread 'sa bh' aige ri phàigheadh dhuinn* (§81006); *cha'n eil sinn cinnteach dé uiread 's a tha i (= an duais)* (§81003); *Tha e doirbh fhaighinn a mach dé uiread 's a chailleadh, ach thatar a' meas gu'n do chailleadh tri cheud mìle dolair (...) ann an Sidni a mhàin* (§81011); *dè uimhir 's a th' ann?* (how much is there? how many are

¹⁷⁷ Cf. the similar syntax in: *tha eagal orm gun dèan e barrachd cron na nì e dh'fheum* (§400159) (cf. Section 2.7, §4.4).

there?) (AW); “*Tha i dol a chosg dhut,*” ors esan, “*cóig puinnnd*” – *na ge b’ e dé uibhir ’s a bhiodh ann* (§318);

- *Dé uiread uisge ’sa tharruing thu uile gu léir anns an ùine sin* (§81004).

6. Consecutive clauses

Consecutive clauses are introduced by the expression *agus gu/nach* in this context. Cf. English: *There were so many people there that they couldn’t fit into the room.*

- *bha uiread ri a dhèanamh ’s gun do chuir e eagal orm* (there was so much to do that it scared me) (CM); *Tha uimhir a’ bruidhinn na Fraingis sna ceàrnaidhean so ’s gum feum cuid do na mnathan-eiridnidh an dà chanain a bhith aca* (400020); *Bha uimhir a-staigh ’s nach dèanadh an aon bhàr an gnothach, bha e coltach* (§317);
- *Tha an uiread gràidh agam dhuit (...) agus nam bàsaicheadh tu, nach biodh moran saoghail agam ’nad dheigh* (§81006);
- *bha uimhir de shoirbheachadh leis a’ chiad cho-chruinneachadh agus nach robh dàil ann a bhith a’ foillseachadh an dara fir* (there was so much success with the first collection that there was no delay in publishing the second one) (CM).

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Table 2. Examples from the original version of the report on *uimhir* and *uiread*.

		uimhir	uiread
1.	A definite noun; can be modified by an adjective or similar	<i>a' cheart uimhir</i> (the same amount/quantity) (AW); <i>chan aithne dhaibh an uimhir sin fhèin a dhèanamh an-diugh</i> (RC §178)	<i>bu mhiann leam an uiread sin a bhith ann</i> (RC §179); <i>an aon uiread</i> (the same amount) (FB)
2.	<i>de</i> + N ¹⁷⁸	<i>seo an uimhir as motha de a dhàintean a gheibhear ann an aon leabhar</i> (this is the largest number of his poems which will be found in one book) (CM)	
3.	<i>de</i> + N <i>agus</i> + rel.		<i>chan eil iad air an uiread de chothroman fhaighinn 's a tha càch</i> (RC §179)
4.	Modified by poss. <i>a</i> (often absorbed by the following vowel)	<i>nan robh fios agam cha robh mi air uimhir a ràdh rithe</i> (if I had known I wouldn't have said so much to her) (CM); <i>dè b' urrainn dhàsan a dhèanamh an aghaidh uimhir?</i> (what could he do against so many?) (CM); <i>an aghaidh uimhir</i> (against so many) (FB)	<i>bha (a) uiread ri a dhèanamh</i> (RC §179); <i>uiread is uiread eile</i> (that much and as much again) (FB)
5.	<i>agus</i> + N		<i>bha e gun uiread agus lèine ri a chraiceann</i> (he was without as much as a shirt to his skin) (CM)
6.	<i>agus</i> + v.n.		<i>cha do rinn e uiread is sgrìobhadh thuice</i> (he didn't so much as write to her) (CM)
7.	<i>agus</i> + OBJ + v.n.	<i>cha deach aige air uimhir agus a' chlach a ghluasad!</i> (he couldn't so much as budge the stone!) (CM); <i>cha deach agam air uimhir 's sùil</i>	<i>gun uiread agus fianaisean a ghairm</i> (without so much as calling witnesses) (CM); <i>cha deach uiread is léine a dhèanamh</i> (not so much as one shirt was made) (FB)

¹⁷⁸ The symbol N represents nouns, pronouns, and pronominal elements.

		<i>fhosgladh</i> (I couldn't so much as open an eye) (FB)	
8.	<i>agus</i> + NUM ¹⁷⁹ + N	<i>uimhir is facal</i> (as much as a word) (FB)	<i>gun uiread agus leth-cheud sgillinn</i> (without even fifty pence) (AW)
9.	<i>agus</i> + NUM + <i>de</i> + PRON		<i>cha dh'fhàgadh uiread 's a haon dhiubh</i> (not so much as one of them was left) (CM)
10.	<i>agus</i> + <i>gu/nach</i> + V		<i>bha uiread ri a dhèanamh 's gun do chuir e eagal orm</i> (there was so much to do that it scared me) (CM)
11.	<i>agus</i> + rel.	<i>cha robh uimhir an làthair aig a' choinneamh seo is a bha dùil</i> (there weren't as many present at this meeting as was expected) (CM); <i>fhuair mi uimhir 's a b' urrainn dhomh a ghiùlan</i> (I got as much/many as I could carry.) (CM); <i>cha do rinn iad (a) uimhir 's a rinn iad an-dè</i> (RC §178); <i>uimhir 's a tha bhuat</i> (as much as you desire) (FB)	<i>thoir dhomh uiread 's a tha aig Iain</i> (give me as much as Ian has) (AW)
12.	<i>de</i> + N	<i>cha robh uimhir de chraobhan an seo</i> (there weren't so many trees here) (CM); <i>bha uimhir de dhaoine ann</i> (there were so many / such a lot of people there) (AW); <i>bha uimhir de dh'airgead agam</i> (I had so much / such a lot of money) (AW); <i>tha mi a' creidsinn nach robh (a) uimhir de shluagh anns na h-eilein a-riamh</i> (RC §178)	<i>tha e iongantach gun do rinn e uiread de obair ionmholta anns an ùine sin</i> (it is amazing that he performed so much praiseworthy work in that time) (CM); <i>...a bha a' cur uiread de dhragh air</i> (which was bothering him so much) (CM); <i>chaill mi uiread de thìde</i> (I lost so much/such a lot of time) (AW); <i>uiread de dhaoine</i> (so many people) (AW); <i>cha robh (a) uiread de dh'fheum ann</i> (RC §179)
13.	<i>de</i> + N <i>agus</i> + <i>gu/nach</i> + V	<i>bha uimhir de shoirbheachadh leis a' chiad</i>	

¹⁷⁹ If no number is present, *agus* + N can correspond to English *a single / one* + N. Cf. also *uiread is léine a dhèanamh* in row 7.

		<i>cho-chruinneachadh agus nach robh dàil ann a bhith a' foillseachadh an dara fir</i> (there was so much success with the first collection that there was no delay in publishing the second one) (CM) ¹⁸⁰	
14.	<i>de + N agus + rel.</i>	<i>tha mi glè chinnteach nach eil eilean eile anns a' Ghàidhealtachd anns a bheil (a) uimhir de dhaoine 's de mhnathan sgriobtarail agus a tha againn an Eilean Leòdhais</i> (RC §178)	<i>cha do rinn e uiread dheth 's a dh'fhaodadh e</i> (he didn't make as much of it as he might [have done]) (CM); <i>rinn e uiread dheth 's a dh'fhaodadh e</i> (he did as much of it as he could) (FB) ¹⁸¹
15.	+ GEN		<i>chan eil uiread iarraidh air a-nis</i> (there isn't as much demand for it now) (CM); <i>cha chreidinn fhèin mur fhaicinn e gun togadh maide na poite (a) uiread bhrochain</i> (RC §179); <i>rinn e uiread millidh air a' choirce</i> (he did so much damage to the oats) (FB)
16.	+ GEN (agus) + rel.	<i>bha e ag iarraidh uimhir na h-oighreachd a fhuair a bhràthair</i> (RC §178); ¹⁸² <i>ged a thàrr dhomh (a) uiread gràidh, (a) uimhir smuaintean gun tàmh...</i> (RC §178) (see <i>uiread</i>)	<i>bha uiread fiodha 's a dhèanadh aon sgeilp</i> (there was as much wood as would make one shelf) (CM); <i>ged a thàrr dhomh (a) uiread gràidh, (a) uimhir smuaintean gun tàmh, (a) uiread iomagain, (a) uiread cràidh 's a dh'fhòghnadh do chòmhlàn bhàrd</i> (RC §179)
17.	<i>ri + N</i>	<i>cha robh fios aig duine eile air uimhir ris</i> (nobody else	<i>cha d'fhuair iad uiread ruinn</i> (they didn't get as

¹⁸⁰ This clause has a consecutive meaning, so the particle *nach* corresponds to *gu* here (cf. row 10), i.e. this cannot be the relative particle *nach*.

¹⁸¹ Presumably, *dheth* refers to *uiread* (i.e. the equal amount of it) in these examples, although it could in fact refer to the verb (as in 'did nothing of it'), in which case both examples would have to be in row 11.

¹⁸² *Uimhir* is modified by a definite noun in the genitive. The preposition *de* usually occurs with other expressions of quantity when modified by a definite noun (e.g. *barrachd*).

		had as much knowledge of it as he) (CM); <i>na toir dhomh uimhir ri Seumas!</i> (don't give me as much as James!) (AW); <i>cha d'fhuair sinn (a) uimhir ri sin</i> (RC §178)	much/many as we did) (CM); <i>faigh uiread rium fhìn</i> (get as much as me) (FB)
18.	+ DEM		<i>carson uiread sin?</i> (why that much? why so many as that?) (CM); <i>a uiread siud air luchd-feannaidh nan Gàidheal</i> (RC §232, iii)
19.	+ DEM <i>de</i> + N	<i>chan eil uimhir sin a dh'earbsa</i> agam innte (I don't have that much faith in her) (FB)	<i>chan ith e (a) uiread sin de bhiadh</i> (RC §192, xi); <i>ma bheir sibh a uiread siud de dh'fhuil</i> air m' athair-sa (RC §232, iii); <i>nuair a dh'fhalbhas a uiread siud de dhaoine</i> à aon obair tha e a' dol a dhèanamh diofar mòr dha na h-eileanan a tha seo (RC §232, iii)
20.	<i>eile</i>	<i>thoir/dèan uimhir eile</i> (double v) (CM); <i>thoir dhomh uimhir eile</i> (give me as much again, the same again) (AW); <i>faigh uimhir eile air a shon</i> (get as much in return) (FB); <i>thoir uimhir eile dhi</i> (give her the same amount again) (FB)	<i>uiread eile</i> (as many/much again) (CM); <i>uiread eile</i> (as much again, the same again) (AW); <i>uiread is uiread eile</i> (that much and as much again) (FB)
21.	Modified by NUM	<i>a dhà uimhir</i> (double the amount; twice as much) (CM); <i>a dhà uimhir</i> (twice as much) (FB); <i>a sheachd uimhir</i> (RC §178); <i>bha e a' smaoinichadh air a' [sic!] mhìle uimhir a dh'fhaodadh a bhith aige</i> (he was thinking of the thousand times as much that he might have had) (CM)	<i>a dheich uiread</i> (ten times as many) (FB); <i>a dhà uiread a dhà</i> (two times two) (AW)
22.	<i>agus</i> + rel.	<i>bidh a dhà uimhir 's a bh' againn an-dè a dhìth oirnn an-diugh</i> (RC §192, xii)	<i>chruinnicheadh i le siubhal na dùthcha a thrì uiread 's as urrainn dhaibh a cheannach</i>

			<i>leis an airgead a tha iad a' faotainn</i> (RC §179)
23.	<i>de</i> + N <i>agus</i> + rel.		<i>tha (a) dhà uiread de bhuill aig a' chlub seo 's a tha aig an fhear eile</i> (this club has twice as many members as the other one has) (CM)
24.	<i>de</i> + N <i>air na</i> + rel. ¹⁸³		<i>bha a thrì uiread de thidsearan a' tighinn a-mach às na colaistean air na bha ann de dh'àiteachan dhaibh</i> (there were three times as many teachers coming out of the colleges as there were places for them) (CM)
25.	+ GEN	<i>tha e còrr is mìle uimhir na talmhainn seo agus a' toirt dà bhliadhna dheug a' cuairteachadh na grèine</i> (RC §178) ¹⁸⁴	
26.	+ GEN <i>agus</i> + rel.	<i>bha a thrì uimhir sluaigh aig MacGill-Eain 's a bha aig MacDhòmhnail aig an àm sin</i> (RC §178)	
27.	<i>ri</i> + N	<i>bha a dhà uimhir ri sin sa bhotal an-dè</i> (RC §178)	<i>tha cudthrom na talmhainn a cheithir fichead uiread ri truimead na gealaich</i> (the weight of the earth is eighty times the heaviness of the moon) (CM)
28.	Modified by <i>leth</i>		<i>leth uiread</i> (half as much) (AW) ¹⁸⁵
29.	+ DEM		<i>cha d'fhuair mi a leth uiread seo an-uiridh</i> (I didn't get half as much last year) (FB)
30.	<i>de</i> + N		<i>tha iad a' dèanamh a leth uiread de mhearachdan a-nise</i> (they are making half as many mistakes now) (CM);

¹⁸³ The phrase *air na bha ann de dh'àiteachan dhaibh* appears to play the same syntactic role as *'s a th' aig an fear eile* (above) and *ri sin* (below).

¹⁸⁴ The possessive *a* does not occur here, when *uimhir/uiread* is modified by a definite noun.

¹⁸⁵ Without poss. *a* here!

			<i>cuir a-mach a leth-uiread de shèithrichean</i> (put out half as many chairs) (FB)
31.	<i>eile</i> <i>de</i> + N		<i>bithidh iad a' cur a-mach a leth uiread eile de phrògraman Gàidhlig</i> (they'll be producing half again as many Gaelic programmes) (CM)
32.	<i>ri</i> + N		<i>a leth uiread ri sin</i> (RC §192, xii)
33.	Modified by <i>ceart</i> ; ¹⁸⁶ <i>agus</i> + rel.		<i>chunnaic e gun robh dìreach a cheart uiread ann 's a bh' aig a' mhaor na aghaidh</i> (RC § 179)
34.	<i>de</i> + N	<i>sheall iad a cheart uimhir de choibhneas</i> (they showed just as much kindness) (CM)	<i>... agus a cheart uiread de bhoireannaich</i> (and just as many women) (CM); <i>ach tha eagal orm gu bheil a cheart uiread ann de sheòrsa eile</i> (RC §179)
35.	<i>de</i> + N <i>agus</i> + rel.	<i>tha a cheart uimhir de luach anns an fhear seo 's a tha anns an fhear eile</i> (there's just as much value in this one as there is in the other one) (CM)	
36.	+ GEN		<i>... agus a cheart uiread bhoireannach</i> (and just as many women) (CM)
37.	+ GEN <i>agus</i> + rel.		<i>gabh a cheart-uiread ùine 's thug thu roimhe</i> (take as much time as you did before) (FB); <i>tha a cheart-uiread còir agad air 's a tha agam-sa</i> (you have as much right to it as I do) (FB)
38.	Modified by <i>faisg</i> ; <i>de</i> + N	<i>cha robh faisg uimhir a dhaoine anns an t-seòmar seo</i> (there weren't nearly as many people in this room) (CM); <i>faisg uimhir a</i>	

¹⁸⁶ The word *a* could be interpreted as the definite article here, cf. row 1.

		<i>phiseagan</i> (nearly as many kittens) (FB)	
39.	Modified by <i>dè</i> or <i>cò</i> (interrogative and similar)		<i>co uiread?</i> (how many?) (FB)
40.	<i>agus</i> + rel.	<i>dè uimhir 's a th' ann?</i> (how much is there? how many are there?) (AW)	<i>...nuair a dh'amhairc e cò (a) uiread 's a bha ann</i> (RC §179)
41.	Modified by poss. <i>a</i> (fem.); <i>de</i> + N	<i>an sin nochd a h-uimhir de dhaoine</i> (then there appeared a large number of people, ever so many people) (CM); <i>a h-uimhir de dhaoine</i> (so many people, a large number of people) (FB)	
42.	Modified by the plural form of the definite article	<i>nuair a chluinneas sinn na h-uimhir mu...</i> (when we hear so much about...) (CM); <i>bha na h-uimhir ann</i> (RC §178); <i>ged a tha na h-uimhir ga dhèanamh an ainm a bhith a' cumail ar cainnt beò</i> (RC §178)	<i>tha mi eòlach air na h-uiread</i> (RC §179)
43.	<i>de</i> + N	<i>bha na h-uimhir de dhaoine ann</i> (there were so many/such a lot of people there) (AW); <i>bha na h-uimhir de dh'airgead agam</i> (I had so much/such a lot of money) (AW); <i>bha na h-uimhir de thèarainteachd againn</i> (we had a certain amount of security) (AW); <i>na h-uimhir de dh'fheum</i> (a lot of good) (FB)	<i>tha iad air ar cur anns na h-uiread de dhuilgheadas</i> (they have put us in so much difficulty) (CM); <i>còmhla ris na h-uiread de chomataidhean eile</i> (along with a number of other committees) (CM); <i>tha iad a' dèanamh na h-uiread de mholaidhean</i> (they make a number of recommendations) (CM); ¹⁸⁷ <i>bha na h-uiread de thèarainteachd againn</i> (we had a certain amount/a modicum of security) (AW); <i>chail mi na h-uiread de thìde</i> (I lost so much/such a lot of time) (AW); <i>cha robh</i>

¹⁸⁷ *Na h-uiread* might be the genitive form here (after a verbal noun).

			<i>na h-uiread de dhaoine ann an-diugh</i> (RC §179)
44.	+ DEM <i>de</i> + N		<i>ann an cur seachad na h-uiread sin den t-slighe</i> (RC §179)
45.	<i>de</i> + N <i>agus</i> + rel.		<i>chan eil na h-uiread dheth ga oibreachadh 's a chleachd</i> (there isn't much of it [=of the land] worked as there used to be) (CM)
46.	<i>aig</i> + PRON	<i>bha na h-uimhir aca ann</i> (there were so many of them, a fair number of them) (CM); <i>bha na h-uimhir aca ann</i> (there were so many of them) (FB)	
47.	+ GEN		<i>bha Iain air a bhrosnachadh chum na h-uiread fheirg</i> (RC §179)
48.	Interrogative <i>de</i> + N + rel.		<i>dé na h-uiread de dh'airgead a fhuair thu an-dé?</i> (how much money did you get yesterday?) (FB)

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3. Case morphology

3.1 Case morphology: Genitive after compound prepositions

1. Introduction

The aim of the following overview is to provide examples of noun phrases introduced by certain prepositions that govern the genitive case in traditional Scottish Gaelic. These are expected to demonstrate how common the genitive case is in this context in (written) modern Gaelic. The examples have been extracted from post-1950 texts available in the MEANMA Scottish Gaelic online corpus.

The genitive case is normally associated with compound prepositions that are comprised of a simple preposition and a noun. Some of these nouns or noun forms are not used independently anymore and occur only as part of these expressions. In some cases, the simple preposition can be omitted: *(air) feadh*, *(air)son*.

A chionn	'because of'
A dh'aindeoin	'in spite of'
A dh'ionnsaigh	'towards'
A dhìth	'for want of'
A rèir	'according to'
A thaobh	'regarding'
Air beulaibh	'in front of'
Air cùl(aibh)	'behind'
(Air) feadh	'all over; throughout'
Air sgàth	'for the sake of'
(Air)son	'for'
Am broinn	'within'
Am measg	'among'
An aghaidh	'against'
An àite	'instead of'
An ceann	'in, after' (<i>time</i>)
An cois	'beside, along with'
An comhair	'in the direction of'
An dèidh/deaghaidh	'after'
Às dèidh/deaghaidh	'after'
Às leth	'on behalf of'
Mu choinneamh	'opposite'
Mu dheidhinn	'about'
Mu thimcheall	'around'
O chionn	'ago; for' (<i>time</i>)
Os chionn	'above'
Ri taobh	'beside'

A small group of simple prepositions also govern the genitive case. Some of them have evolved from earlier compound prepositions, e.g. *far* < *de bhàrr*.

Chun	‘to, up to’
Fad	‘throughout’
Far	‘off’
Rè	‘during, in the course of’
Thar	‘across, over’
Tarsainn	‘across, over’

2. Post-1950 examples from the MEANMA corpus

The following groups of examples have been excluded from the overview since they are deemed either ambiguous or irrelevant:

- the nouns whose nominative and genitive forms are identical (apart from plural nouns susceptible to lenition);
- nouns modified by another genitive noun.

Notes:

- The genitive endings *-e* and, especially, *-a* are often omitted, and such examples can be ambiguous if the definite article is absent too;
- Indefinite genitive plural forms that start with *t*, *d*, *s* can be delenited after *n*;
- An indefinite genitive plural noun is normally not lenited when modified by another indefinite genitive plural noun.

2.1. A dh’aindeoin

	Nominative	Genitive
sg. m. indef.	dìth agus cruas (#4); acras (#40); a h-uile rud (#28); acras agus droch bhiadh (#400); dath (#39); gaiseadh (agus gathan) (#30); an siubhal ¹⁸⁸ (#400); (gach uilc ’s) droch ghnìomh (#321); gach ceum (#8); luairean agus frionas (#8); pearsantas (#329);	gach gàbhaidh (#400); gach cnap-starraidh (#400); buairidh (#400); cogaidh (#28); eu-dòchais (#28); gach uallaich eile (#28); gach dùbhlain (#28); (dheuchainnean is) bròin (#28); bùirt is magaidh (#48); a’ chrathadh-làimhe (#16); gach uilc (’s droch ghnìomh) (#321); a gearain ¹⁸⁹ (#321); coltais (#321); a h-uile amaideas (#321); acrais (agus bochdainn) (#8);

¹⁸⁸ Their travelling.

¹⁸⁹ Her complaining.

		tomhais mhath (#400); eireachdais (#329); teicneòlais (#333);
sg. f. indef.	strì (#400); ¹⁹⁰ cùis (#400, #501); gach drip is deuchainn (#400); gach strì (#28); gach cas bhacail (#28); pian ¹⁹¹ is dòrainn (#329);	tuaighe (#25); gaoithe (#48);
pl. indef.	(ainreit agus) clachan-meallain (#30); (gaiseadh agus) gathan (#30); siantan (#30); teintean móra (#30); tòimhsean (#400); duaisean eile (#400); bliadhnaichean (#321);	choilltearan (#25); chùisean (#28x7); dheuchainnean (#28);
sg. m. def.	an t-atharrachadh (#44); (an ainm agus) an gealladh ¹⁹² (#400); an cumadh (#400)	mo dhìchill (#400); a cruth-atharrachaidh (#28); an dorchadais (#321); a' bhàis (#400); an teagaimh (#8);
sg. f. def.	an sgeulachd (#25); an fheadhainn (#333);	na firinn (#400); na mì-mhodhalachd (400); na sgàile dhorcha (#321); na spàirn (#321); na glòir 's na gleadhraich (329); na h-obrach (#333);
pl. def.		nam beachdan (#400); nan Codeins (#400); nan duilgheadasan (#400); nam bliadhnachan (#30, #329); nam faclan brèagha (#16); nan smaointean (#16); nan uile (#400); nan coibhneasan (#8)

2.2. A dh'ionnsaigh

	Nominative	Genitive
sg. m. indef.	Tìr-mòr (#400); duine (#400); fear àraidh (#400); gach taobh-teine (#48); sgoltadh beag (#16); Ball-Pàrlamaid (#400); gach 'mìoth-shluagh' (#400); ceum (#333);	sìthein àraidh (#400); achaidh (#48); trèinidh (#6);
sg. f. indef.		
pl. indef.		

¹⁹⁰ *A dh'aindeoin strì is buairidh.*

¹⁹¹ *Pian* (gen. *pèin*) can be either masculine or feminine.

¹⁹² Their name and their promise // their name and the promise.

sg. m. def.		an taighe (#802 x3; #16); an dorais (#802; #16 x3, #328); an uachdarain (#400); a' chnuic (#802); a' chaolais (#802); a' chladaich (#400, #34); a' chuain mhòir (#400); a' bhodaich (#400); an t-sìthein (#802 x2); an tighe (34); a charbaid (#34); a phòl-a-tuath (34); a' bhothain (#400); a' chruinneachaidh (#48); an t-saoghail (#48); a' Chùirn (#16); Aonghais (#16); a' mhotar-baidhseagail (#321); a' chàmpa (#321); Tharmaid (#321); a' Bhealaich Bhàin (#400); a' bhaile (#400); a luingeis mhòir (#400); bhàis ¹⁹³ (#197); 'm bàis ¹⁹⁴ (#197); 'bhaile dhìon (#197), 'n àit' (#197);
sg. f. def.	an aird an Iar (#400); 'n dachaigh bhuain ¹⁹⁵ (#197); 'n uaigh (#197); 'chnuimh (#197);	na crìche (#400); na dùthcha (#400); na h-iolaire (#802); na h-amhach (#400); na làimhe clithe (#400); na beairte (#400); na ceàrdaich (#802); na blianaig (#802); na tràghad (#802); na Leòdaich (#802); na seasgaireachd (#400); na Tòisidheachd (#400); na Gearmailt (#400); na caibideil (48); na cùirte (#48); 'obrach ¹⁹⁶ (#48); na dìinneireach (#48); na h-oifis (#16); na talla (#16); na h-Eòrpa (#14); na dòigh-beatha (#400); na creideimh ¹⁹⁷ (#321); na Dail Ghiorra (#400); na h-obrach (333);
pl. def.	(nam bàgh,) na tràighean briagha gainmhich agus na machraichean tlachdmhor (#400);	nan cladaichean (#400); nan làithean (#400); nam beanntan (#400); nam bàgh (#400); nan eileanan (#400 x2); nan isean (#400); nan coinneamhan (#321); nan crìochan iomallach (#400).

¹⁹³ His death.

¹⁹⁴ Their death.

¹⁹⁵ Unless *dachaigh* is masculine here. Cf. *uaigh* and *cnuimh*, from the same text.

¹⁹⁶ His work.

¹⁹⁷ *Creideamh* should be a masculine noun.

2.3. A dhìth

Sg. m. def. *a dhìth an tastain* (#333 x2); *a' chinn* (#333 x2, #28, #400); *an fhasain* (#333 x2, #28, #400); *an taighe* (#400). All these examples come from proverbs except the last one.

2.4. A rèir¹⁹⁸

	Nominative	Genitive
sg. m. indef.	ceòl sgrìobhte (#333); càirdeas (is comain) is eòlas (#333); beul-aithris (#8 x2, #400 x4, #30 x2); aona mhinistear (#8); beachd eile (#33); a h-uile coltas (#11); reusanachadh (#34); sgeul-aithris (#38); gnàthas (#400); coltas (#400);	coltais (#331 x2, #400 x25, #8, #321 x2, #14, #16 x18, #33 x6, #38 x5, #802, #40 x4, #44 x2); dualchais (#197); choltais (#197, #400 x8, #28 x5, #32, #34 x4, #802 x2); colais (#203 x6, #39, #44); cholais (#203, #44); iomraidh (#400 x3); iarrtais (#5); fiosrachaidh (#5); cunntais (#8 x3, #400); gnìomhachais bhuirb (#400); dòchais (#400); coslais (#48 x5); seannsgeula (#400); beòil-aithris (#400); a h-uile coltais (#28); tomhais (#33); gach coltais (#38, #400); gach sgeòil (#400); (bàrr no) leasachaidh (#400);
sg. f. indef.	ùine mhòr (#400);	àireimh (#400); aoise (#33);
pl. indef.		chunntasan leabhraichean (#8); fheuman (#33);
sg. m. def.	an treòrachadh (#400); an teisteanas foghlaim (#16); am beul-aithris ¹⁹⁹ (#400); bhur n-iarrtas (#400); an cunntas fhéin ²⁰⁰ (#400); Osgar (#11); am feum (#38); an rathad (#38); mo leabhar-sa ²⁰¹ (#400); an lagh ²⁰² (#40 x2, #44); a h-aodann (#40); am fiach ²⁰³ (#400);	an lagha (#333, #400 x2); an t-Soisgeil (#333); an t-seanfhaicail (#333, #329, #48); Aonghais Sheonaidh (#333); an fhir (#333); a' mhinistear (#333); Mhàrtainn (#333, #8); an fhir-aithris (#197); an leabhair (#329); an fhaicail (#329); Choinnich (#203); a' phoilis (#2); an t-seanchais (#400); a' chunntais (#8); Phàdraig (#8); a' bheòil-aithris (#8); MhicIlleMhìcheil (#8); an

¹⁹⁸ Occasionally *a(i)r rèir*.

¹⁹⁹ The / their.

²⁰⁰ Their own account.

²⁰¹ This could be because *r* is depalatalised before *-sa*.

²⁰² This might be an example of caducous schwa.

²⁰³ Their value.

		leabhrachain (#8); a' mhinisteir (#8); an ùghdair (#400); a thomhais (#400); a' leabhair (#400); Ailein (#16); an sgeòil (#48 x5); t'fhacail ²⁰⁴ (#48); a sgeòil-san (#48); an t-siùil-mhara (#48); a' chuain (#48); a gnàtha (#48); an cothroim (#48); a dualchais (#48); a' chòcaire (#400); a' bheathaich (#400); an geallaidh (#400); Eachainn Chamshroin (#400); an eòlais (#33); an teisteanais (#32 x2); a' Riaghaltais (#32); an Achd (#400, #40); a chrannchuir (#400); an àite (#32); a' bheachd seo (#33); an uidheim (#32); an deilbh (#32); a' phoilisi neònach (#400); a' ghuth (#11); Uilleim (#11); a chumadh (#38); Ghillanndrais (#39); an coltais (#40, #44); a' choltais (#44); an taghaidh (#400); a' chomhthéacs (#400); an teaghlaich (#400); a' phàtarain ((#400); mo chunntais (#400); an rathaid chaim (#400); an t-sluaigh (#400);
sg. f. def.	a' ghaoth (#197); an toil ²⁰⁵ (#40);	na bliadhna (#333); na h-aimsir (#333); na sùil (#331); na h-aibideil (#329); na h-obrach (#329); na trealaich (#328); na sgeòil (#400 x3, #28 x2); na feallsanachd (#400 x2); na h-aoise (#48); na dùrachd (#48); na naidheachd (#28); na Pàrlamaid Eòrpach (#400); na h-eachdraidh (#28 x2); na slait-tomhais (#400); na h'oibreach (#34); na beachd seo (#44); na cloinne (#400); na sgìreachd (#400); na fala (#400);
pl. def.	na reultan ²⁰⁶ (#40);	nan leabhraichean-aithisg (#333); nan uairean (#328); nan ceann-crìche (#6); nan amasan (#6); nan ollamh (#48); nan uile coltas (#400); nan

²⁰⁴ Your word.

²⁰⁵ Their will.

²⁰⁶ Possibly, *nan* > *na* before *r*.

	cùmhnantan (#400); nan sgeulachd (#400); nan eachdraichean (#400); nam feallsanach (#38); nan reultan (#40); nan rannsaichidhean (#400); nan daoine (#400).
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The following examples could be due to hypercorrection: *a rèir cleachdaidh an àite* (#400), *a réir cunntais na bliadhna* (#400).

2.5. A thaobh

	Nominative	Genitive
sg. m. indef.	siubhal (#400); cùram (#6); mean-fhàs (#33 x4); cruth (#33); cac (#33 x2); faochadh (#400); iasad (#400); (meudachd is) cumadh (#33); sìol (#33); comharra àraidh (#33); airgead is cultur (#400); Co-mhaoineas (#400); siubhal (agus astair) (#400);	cànain (#333, #400); ciùil (#400); airgid (#400 x2, #321); foghlaim (#5, #28); solair (#5); ruithim (#400); fasdaidh (#6); trèinidh (#6); fasaidh (#6); dèiligidh (#400); bìdh (#14); iasgaich (#14); ceartais (#48); eaconomaidh agus leasachaidh (#400); glanaidh is peantaidh (#400); sluaigh (#400); fòghlaim (#400); teagaisg (#28); gnìomachais (#400); creidimh (#400); structair (#33 x5); crutha (#33); pàtarain (#33); dualchais (#33 x3, #400); cumaidh (#33); clàir-rathaid (#32); (rian is) riaghlaidh (#32); fìor chomais (#32); ealantais ((#32); foghlaim (#32, #400); oideachais agus feuma (#32); àiteachaidh (#38); litreachais (#400 x2); gràmair (#400); Nàduir (#400); litreachaidh (#400); bidhe (#400); riaghlaidh (#400);
sg. f. indef.	obair (#400); aois (#400); sgoil (#28); sanntachd ghlamhach (#400); buaidh (#400); céir (#38);	bruthaiste (#48); àireimh (#32);
pl. indef.	faireachdainnean (#321); fuadaichean (#400); polasaidhean dà-chànanach (#400); fosailean (#33); gnothaichean eaconomaic (#33); dachaidhean (#400); cuspairean (#400);	dhùthchannan cèin (#333); sheirbhisean (#5); chùisean (#5); chomataidhean is mhinistearan (#5); dhreuchdan (#6); thaighean-eiridinn ùra (#400); bhuidhnean poballach (#400); chroitean (#28); dhotairean is

	(rathaidean, is) bailtean (#400); togalaichean (#400);	m eadhanan-leighis (#400); ghnothaichean Gàidhlig (#400); chromosoman (#33 x2); sheòrsachan (#33); phrògraman (#400); fhacal ùra (#400);
sg. m. def.	Deòrsa MacEanraig (#48); an stuth (#38); an t-ainm St. Kilda (#400);	an taighe (#328); a' mhillidh (#400); an fhacail (#400); an teaghlach (#6); a' chogaidh (#14, #400); a chomais (#16); a' chuain (#48); an t-Soisgeil (#48); ar dùthchais (#48); an Eilein Sgitheanaich (#48); an t-saoghail (#48); an Phairisich (#48); an t- Slanaigheir agus a Shoisgeil (#48); a' Chomuinn (#48); an fhogharaidh (#48); an Dòmhnallaich (#400); an iasgaich (#400); a' chinn (#33); a chrannchuir (#400); an t-seòrsa coimhearsnachd ²⁰⁷ (#32); an comais (#33); ar dualchais (#400); an dollair Aimeireacanach (#38); an t-seòrsa (#400); an oilthigh (#205); an fhir (#400); a' chùirn (#400); an litreachais (#400); an sgadain (#400); a' chruidh (#400); a' Chaolais (#400);
sg. f. def.	an fheadhainn (#32, #400); a' mhòr- chuid (#33); ar n-obair (#400); ar dùthaich (#38);	na h-amhaich (#203); na Gàidhlig (#5 x2, #400 x4, #32 x5); na h-Iolaire mòire spàgaiche (#48); an cànaire ²⁰⁸ (#48); na h-ulaidhe (#48); ar cànaire (#48); na Fèinne (#48); na beinne (#48); na feòla (#48); na ceiste (#48 x2); na roinne (#400); na tocasaid (#30); na cùise (#400); na h-Eaglais (#32); na h-òige (#32); na gine sin (#33 x2); na Gàidhealtachd (#32); na mòrchuid (#33); m'oibreach (#400); na cànan (#400); na gaoithe (#38); na céire (#38); na clòimhe (#400); na litreach (#400); na Gàidhlig Albannaich (#400);
pl. def.	na h-uallaichean (#400 x2);	nan Salm (#197); nan Gàidheal (#5, #802); nan seirbhisean (#5); nan

²⁰⁷ Cf. *an seòrsa leasachaidh* (#400).

²⁰⁸ Their language.

		dùthchannan (#48); nan lighichean (#400); nan ceàrd (#48); nam beò (#48); nam marbh (#48); nam fàidhean agus nam fianaisean (#48); nan daoine (#802); nan caorach (#30); nan cearcan 's nan caorach (#30); nan ròn is nan each-mara (#33); nam buidhnean-stàite (#32); nam peasairean (#33); nan comharraidhean (#33); nan cùrsan (#32); nan Ceilteach (#33); nan Eireannach (#33); nan dearbh fhacaìl (#34); nan sgoilean (#400); nam mnathan (#400); nan nithean (#400); nan suidhichidhean (#400); nan càirdean (#400); nam ballads (#400).
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This might be due to hypercorrection: *a thaobh comais an duine* (#400).

2.6. Airson

Because of the large number of returns, the search was limited to prose texts published in the magazine *Gairm*, 1952–2002.

	Nominative	Genitive
sg. m. indef.	adhbhar gòrach, mothachadh cultarach, connadh, adhbhar, biadh (x2), bocsa mòr, càraid òg, tultachsgadh, diathad, airgead ²⁰⁹ , leasachadh eaconomach, cuideachadh, losgadh no dathadh, còmhradh, eòlas, piobrachadh, àrdachadh, leasachadh, mort, talamh, rud beag, tasdan, tàladh, peanas, grinneas, talamh, seòmar cadail, togalach ²¹⁰ ;	cunntais, ciùil (x2), teagaisg, foghlaim, leighis, (cliù no) beartais no urraim, airigid is òir, adhbhair eile, sgrùdaidh fheumail, gach eucoraich, solais, fiosrachaidh, leasachaidh (x4), gàrraidh, coibhneis, lòin, iasgaich, cuideachaidh, biathaidh, taghaidh;
sg. f. indef.	obair (x6), (biadh is) deoch, ùine mhòr, bean, àireamh mhór, fidheall, greiseag bheag, cumhachd dhrùidhteach, greiseag, siorrachd	greis mhòir, tubaiste mhòir, ùine mhòir (x3), dàlach;

²⁰⁹ This is followed by a list of genitive plural forms, none of them lenited.

²¹⁰ This could also be the genitive singular form of *togail* (f.).

	Shasunnach, dìinneir mhath Fhrangach, saothair neo-chinnteach;	
pl. indef.	gnìomharran mì-chneasda, pìosan, gillean, saor-làithean, cìobairean, dannsaidhean is cèilidhean ²¹¹ , tràighean bàna, caoraich, fèilidhean, seann daoine, bàtaichean-iasgaich, duaisean (x2); buill-airm (...) carbadan, bàtaichean; cuspairean, inbhich , tabhartasan, mìltean, Cànainean Beaga, cruinneachaidhean, prògraman-sgoile, cogaidhean dligheach, saor-làithean, mapaichean, dùthchannan eile, dreasaichean;	chleasan, dhaoine (x2), ghearraidhean, thuaghan, chànainean beag, mhinistearan, bheathaichean, phàisdean, chnapach, chroiteirean, bhiorach;
sg. m. def.	a' chiad turas, an coibhneas ²¹² , an turas, an gnothach seo, am fèisd aca ²¹³ , am ball, (an onoir agus) an t-àrdachadh, an cànan ²¹⁴ , a beartas ²¹⁵ , (an leas, an saorsa is) an sonas fhéin ²¹⁶ , an cudthrom as lugha, a' chiad leasan, an cruadal;	an taighe, an turais, an teaghlaich, an turais, a' Phrionnsa (x3), Aonghais, a' chiad turais, a' phòla, an uaireadair, a' chutaidh, an tacain, a' cholla-deug, a' bhàta, an aon adhbhair, a' chànain, an òrain, a' chroitear, an eilein, a chlà-sgrìobhaidh, a' ghnòthaich, an arain làitheil, an adhbhair, a' ghnìomh ghleusda seo, Mhuile, a' ghnìomh oillteil, a' chuspair, an dearbh aobhair, an t-Soithich, Ghlascho, an aon aobhair, an iomraill, a' chòta dhìonaich, a' phiàno, a' cheòl-seinn, an dìchill ²¹⁷ , an tìre, an aobhair so (x2), an t-seallaidh, an t-seann nòis, an t-subhachais sin, a' chòrr, a' mhór-shaoghail, an airgid, an fhùdair, Gheàrrloich, a' Bhàird, a' chiad ama, an t-snìomh, am foghlaim agus an oileanachaidh ²¹⁸ , an urrainn, an t-seòrsa colaisde (!), a' chruidh, an

²¹¹ *Airson biadh is deoch is dannsaidhean is cèilidhean.*

²¹² Their kindness.

²¹³ This should be feminine: *airson na fèist(e) aca.*

²¹⁴ Their language.

²¹⁵ Her wealth.

²¹⁶ Their own happiness.

²¹⁷ Their effort.

²¹⁸ Their education and tuition.

		dathaidh ²¹⁹ , a' Bhass Rock, a' cheud turuis, an sgadain shailt, a' chòmhradh thròcairich, an leabhair so;
sg. f. def.	a' chùlaist, an t-Sàbaid, an onoir, an ùine, an fheadhainn, a' chiad uair;	na h-easbhaidh, na duilleig Ghàidhlig , na sìde, na h-oidhche (x2), na h-aiseig ²²⁰ , na h-adaig, na teine, na h-ionnsaigh, na Gàidhlig (x7), na tubaist, na cèilidh mhòr seo ²²¹ , na h-oidhche mhòr seo, na Pàrlamaid (x2), na-obrach, na h-ama sin, na bliadhna (x2), na slighe, na cloinne (x2), na carantachd, na h-oidhirpe, na mara, na h-eaglais, na h-oibre, na poite, na cuirme, na ciad uaire, na feòla, na h-oibreach (x2), a oibreach, na ciad uair (x2), na Gàidhealtachd, na cloinne bige, na Gàidhlighe, na ceud uaire, na h-eaglaise, na deuchainn, na h-oidhirp so, na Gaidhealtachd;
pl. def.	na caileagan, na balaich; (nam bochd,) na h-euslaintich; Na Lochan, na daoine, na h-oifigearan, na briathran ud, na taighean, na dàin-symphonach, na luidean;	nan eacarsa ich , nan dannsaichean, nan ginealach, nan cèilidhean, nam bochd, nan lorgan, nam prionnsachan òga, nam balach òga, nan Eileanan Beaga, nan eun, nan ceithir seachdainean, nan òran, nam fàdan, nan oibrichean, nam brisidhean, nan dùthchannan, nan seirbhisean, nan sgoiltean, nan creuchdan, nan lìon-mhóra, nan luchd-oibreach, nan seòmraichean suidhe, nan càirdean.

Note the double genitive marking in:

- *airson ghnòthaichean na pàirce*;
- *airson bàis fhir cinnidh*.

The word *airson* is very often used as a conjunction that introduces clauses of purpose, intention and similar, e.g.

- *airson am prògram a chluinntinn*;

²¹⁹ To singe them.

²²⁰ This noun is expected to be masculine.

²²¹ Possibly, *r* is depalatalised before *s*.

- (rarely) *airson leasachadh an talamh; airson sàbhaladh maraichean.*

The object of the verbal noun is sometimes in the genitive case following *airson*, which might be due to hypercorrection:

- *airson na h-obrach a stiùreadh;*
- *... a bha airson coibhneis agus spèis a nochdadh dha.*

3. Conclusions

Genitive case forms are still very common in this context in written Gaelic, although nominative forms occur too, especially when the governed noun is indefinite. Nominative forms appear to be more common with the preposition *airson* than with other prepositions, which could be explained by the fact that both the replacement of the genitive by the nominative and the increased frequency of this preposition are features of innovative language.

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3.2 Case morphology: Case forms of adjectives

1. Introduction

The following overview is based on examples that have been obtained from the 20th-century texts available on *Corpas na Gàidhlig* (primarily those published in *Gairm*).

Various difficulties arise in this type of analysis. Generally, adjectives are numerous and it is impossible to look at all of them. Some adjectives are (considerably) frequent (e.g. *mòr*, *beag*) whilst others are seldom attested in attributive position or at least in genitive and dative contexts, whatever the reason.²²² Another problem is the widespread syncretism/homonymy, e.g. *g(h)lan* (adjective/verb), *m(h)arbh* (adjective/noun/verb), *òige* (F.GEN.SG / comparative / abstract noun), etc., which makes the search more difficult and time-consuming when using a non-tagged corpus such as *Corpas na Gàidhlig*. In any case, only a small number of adjectives had to be selected for analysis (see the list in §3 below), which may result in various inaccuracies or vagueness.

Although only post-1900 texts have been used, they may contain quotes from earlier texts or be re-editions of such texts, and reflect older stages of Gaelic. Additionally, written language tends to be more conservative so the usage reflected in these texts might differ considerably from that of contemporary spoken language. Regarding that, innovative adjective forms occur (sporadically?) even in pre-1900 publications.

Another difficulty stems from the dialectal variation within Gaelic: certain dialects could have been more conservative than others at any given time.²²³ Certain phonological oppositions do not exist in all dialects, e.g. broad vs. slender *r*, *n*, *rt/rd*, etc., which could affect the spelling of such examples as *bodha(i)r*, *bà(i)n*, *à(i)rd*, by certain authors. Silent final consonants (e.g. *th*) can resurface in palatalising contexts, but not necessarily: forms such as *maith* or *luaith* do not appear to be common.²²⁴ Many dialects elide final schwa in certain contexts (*caducous schwa*)

²²² Dative forms are more frequent than the genitive in the corpus. Adjectives occur more rarely in genitive position and many are unattested in that context.

²²³ Morphological conservatism is addressed in Pavel Iosad & William Lamb. 2020. Dialect variation in Scottish Gaelic nominal morphology: A quantitative study. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 5(1): 130. 1-31. The authors carried out a dialectometric analysis of nominal morphology data available in SGDS field records in order to detect any related patterns of geographical variation. The results revealed an east to west cline, with western varieties being more conservative and closer to the ‘Biblical Gaelic’ ideal (peaking in Uists and Barra), as well as a correlation between the degree of conservatism and the percentage of Gaelic speakers in particular regions. In other words, more endangered varieties were also more innovative, partially as consequence of language attrition. The analysis also demonstrated that morphosyntactic phenomena (such as slenderisation or lenition) which co-occur in the context of certain grammatical categories can evolve separately from these categories, i.e. that the loss of such phenomena does not necessarily result in the loss of the morphological category associated with it.

²²⁴ However, *maith* can also be the conservative spelling of *math*, which is another problem.

and schwa can generally be elided before another vowel, which can affect plural forms of adjectives, etc. These facts were borne in mind during the selection and treatment of adjectives for this analysis.

2. General tendencies

Generally speaking, much of the traditional morphology is still well-preserved in earlier texts, whereas innovative forms become more common (if not prevalent?) more recently (especially after 1980?). However, lenition still occurs considerably regularly in its traditional contexts except in genitive plural indefinite nouns.

Suffixed feminine genitive singular forms are rare throughout the period and innovative forms identical to the dative occur instead. These are frequently replaced by even more innovative nominative forms in recent texts. Traditional feminine dative singular forms become less common in recent texts, but various innovative examples are also found earlier, especially if the traditional form involves a vowel change (e.g. *lom* and *liath* seem to occur frequently instead of *luim* and *lèith* in earlier texts too). The plural suffix is omitted in certain (groups of) adjectives, especially if it causes or blocks a vowel change (e.g. *mall*, *malla*), after a word-final long vowel (e.g. *luath*, *luatha*), or in strings of adjectives (see §8.4).

Examples of gender confusion have also been recorded, i.e. feminine adjective forms used with masculine nouns or vice versa.²²⁵

3. Adjective classes

Adjectives can be divided into groups according to their phonological properties, such as the number of syllables, initial and final phonemes, the properties of the stressed vowel and the changes that (may) affect it, the possibility of syncope, epenthesis, etc. These features appear to be related to the use and frequency of particular morphological forms. Many monosyllabic adjectives (1B, 2B, 3C, 5B) undergo vowel change in the masculine and feminine GEN.SG forms and in the feminine DAT.SG form. The same applies to certain adjectives that undergo epenthesis (6B) or syncope (8B). Only monosyllabic adjectives, including (6), have suffixed PL and feminine GEN.SG forms (although not categorically²²⁶).²²⁷

1. monosyllabic, long V, final broad C
 - A. *àrd*, *fàs*, *làn*, *slàn*, *mòr*, *òg*, *dùr*, *ùr*, *caol*, *daor*, *maol*, *saor*; *buan*, *fuair*, *ruadh*;
 - B. *cian*, *ciar*, *dian*, *fiar*; *geur*;
2. monosyllabic, short V, final broad C

²²⁵ Additionally, certain nouns differ in gender in various dialects and, occasionally, the original genitive forms of some nouns have assumed the function of the nominative, which may have led to the change of gender, e.g. *Am meadhon nan achaidh tha locha bheag chruinn agus faileas an adhair 'na gnùis* (§400055).

²²⁶ Conservative forms are often retained in place-names. See Richard A. V. Cox. 2002. *The Gaelic Place-names of Carloway, Isle of Lewis*. Dublin: DIAS.

²²⁷ Only the adjectives that have been searched for in the corpus are included in the following list.

- A. *bras, cas, glas, lag, rag, snog*;
- B. *bog; beag, breac, geal; fliuch*;
- 3. the same as (1) and (2), but the final C is silent
 - A. *dubh, math, teth*;
 - B. *blàth, luath*;
 - C. *liath*;
- 4. the same as (2), but with final *ng*, e.g. *seang, trang*;
- 5. adjectives that undergo vowel lengthening
 - A. *cam, fann, mall; teann*;
 - B. *dall; lom, trom*;
- 6. adjectives that undergo epenthesis
 - A. *balbh, garbh, garg, marbh; dearg, searbh*;
 - B. *borb, gorm*;
- 7. disyllabic adjectives that can undergo syncope, long V, e.g. *dileas, ìosal*;
- 8. disyllabic adjectives that can undergo syncope, short V
 - A. *cumhang, leathann, reamhar*;
 - B. *bodhar, odhar*;
- 9. disyllabic/polysyllabic, final *-ach*, e.g. *amaideach, biorach, brònach, carach, gòrach, inntinneach, salach, suarach*;
- 10. disyllabic/polysyllabic, final *-amh*, e.g. *falamh*;
- 11. final slender C (various adjectives)
 - A. *cèin, mìn; cruaidh, rèidh, sèimh, sgìth*;
 - B. *clis, glic*;
 - C. *binn, tinn, cruinn*;
 - D. *doirbh*;
 - E. *righinn*;
 - F. *fallain, goirid*;
 - G. *diadhaidh, fialaidh, tapaidh*;
 - H. *ainmeil, cuideachail, duineil, faiceil, fearail, feumail, gràineil, measail, modhail, oillteil, sgileil, sgoinneil, sgreamhail, spaideil*.

Adjectives that end with a vowel do not inflect at all and are irrelevant here, e.g. *meata, stuama, buidhe, uaine*.

4. Genitive singular

4.1. Masculine

Adjectives are lenited and their final consonant is palatalised (if possible) in the traditional masculine genitive singular form.

4.1.a. Indefinite

Genitive forms are uncommon in this context in the corpus, even in earlier texts.

- *a' gearradh giuthais àird* (§400049); *air mullach cnuic àird* (§70); *nighean duine mhóir* (§400029); *a' cur cumaidh ùir* (§400085); *'g iarraidh taghaidh shaoir* (§400049); *gu oir bearraidh chais* (§401001); *thug sinn a mach fasgadh eilein bhig* (§400002); *fuaim carbaid truim* (§234001);²²⁸ *ri aodann cladaich ghairbh* (§341); *dà chois duine mhairbh* (§289); *air beulaibh carbaid dheirg* (§400035); *a-rèir gnìomhachais bhuirb* (§400155); *a' cluinntinn guth bhrònaich* (§302); *air uchd gach luinn mhaoil, fhada, ghuirm* (§70); *air ceann teaghlaich òig, bhig, laig* (§70); *air chùl cuilbh thiugh ghil* (§400046); *seinn orain bhinn* (§401003).

Both nouns and adjectives normally occur in their nominative forms, especially in more recent texts.

- *ag ithe pìos mór feòla* (§400045); *an cruth gille òg* (§400017); *ag iarraidh bocsa-chlàr saor* (§400042); *an aghaidh uisge fuar* (§400086); *a' ceangal cupan beag* (§400035); *coltas gille snog* (§14); *mu dheighinn duine borb* (§400097); *de dh'fhiodh giuthas dearg is darach dubh* (§400129); *a' siubhal rathad cumhang* (§400117); *troimh chraiceann duine fallain* (§400069); *mu choinneimh taigh brèagha mòr geal* (§400191); *a' stealladh cop mìn geal air a cùlaibh* (§400044); *a' coimhead aodann geal deàlrach an T. V.* (§400040).²²⁹

Occasionally, only the noun is inflected for the genitive and the adjective is lenited, or lenition is absent but the adjective is inflected.

- *a' tilgeadh soluis fhann* (§401001);
- *air còmhdach duine mairbh* (§302).

4.1.b. Definite

Traditional genitive forms are considerably more common with definite nouns; in fact, they appear to occur very regularly in that context.

- *chun an taobhain àird* (§400010); *a' toirt an t-soithich làin di* (§400053); *gnothaichean an t-saoghail mhóir* (§400008); *mu dheighinn an duine òig bheairtich* (§400013); *a rèir a' chunntais ùir* (§400018); *sùil an fhir chaoil* (§400026); *naidheachd an fhir mhaoil* (§54); *truas an t-saoghail shaoir* (§400049); *meud an Leabhair Bhuaire* (§25); *luach a' ghamhainn ruaidh* (§400011); *mhic a' bhodaich dhéin* (§246); *aig bonn a' Choire Chais* (§400027); *airson an t-Sasunnaich ghlais* (§400101); *bonaid a' bhalaich bhig* (§400007); *Clann Chaluim Big* (§31);²³⁰ *bho tharbh Iain Bhric* (§401008); *ri iasgach an éisg ghil* (§400020); *Fir a' Ghearraidh Fhlich* (§400010); *bho linn an duine dhuibh* (§400018); *faoileag a' chinn duibh*

²²⁸ Delenition following a homorganic consonant.

²²⁹ The nominative form is expected here since the phrase is modified by a definite noun (*an T. V.*). Although they are in fact definite, examples like this have been included among indefinite nouns/phrases because they are not modified by the article or a possessive pronoun, which can affect case marking.

²³⁰ Delenition after a homorganic consonant.

(§400011);²³¹ *fiamh a' bhainne bhlàith* (§47); *mar it' 'n fhithich luaith* (§307); *cromadh a' chinn lèith* (§25);²³² *aois an fhir léith* (§47); *a' cràdh a' phìobaire chaim* (§400031); *bàrdachd a' Chlàrsair Dhoill* (§400118); *air aghaidh 'n fhàsaich luim* (§199); *[a] dh'ionnsaigh an eilein luim* (§400026); *aig ionad an uisge thruim* (§333);²³³ *am meadhan a' chath ghairbh* (§19); *fuil Iain Ghairbh* (§400040); *a' mìneachadh (...) a' bhlais ghairg* (§199); *anam an duine mhairbh* (§251); *saighdearan an airm dheirg* (§400008); *a réir an t-soluis bhig dheirg* (§400073); *fear a' chòta ghuirm* (§400094); *companach deas a' Ghàidheil dhileis* (§401017); *uinneag an t-seòmair ìosail* (§199); *tarsainn a' Chaolais Chumhaing* (§28); *air cùl a' chinn reamhair ud* (§198); *air taigh a' bhodaich bhodhair* (§400146); *an déidh bàis a' Ghill-Uidhir* (§400010); *màthair Choinnich Uidhir* (§401012); *a thilleadh a' mhairt odhair* (§57); *clach Choinnich Odhair* (§400179); *bho mhullach an t-Sìthein Bhioraich* (§400149); *madainn an latha bhrònaich* (§400124); *fear-teagaisg a' chogaidh inntinnich* (§400040); *a dh'iarraidh an aodaich shalaich* (§400044); *samhlaichean falamh an t-saoghail shuaraich so* (§400019); *ri taobh an t-suidheachain fhalaimh* (§313); *a' foillseachadh an duine choibhneil ghlic* (§400002).

Palatalisation marking might be only a matter of spelling in adjectives such as *fhalaimh* and possibly in *dhuibh* and *luaith*.²³⁴

Forms identical to the nominative are also attested, whereby the noun is either inflected for the genitive or not. The adjective is normally lenited if the definite article is present.

- *a' deoghal an t-solais fhann* (§255); *ceum an fhir mhall* (§21); *a' giùlan a' chrann throm* (§400168); *airson an ainmhidh bhalbh* (§400154); *ainm an duine bhorb* (§400034);
- *ri taobh an locha gorm* (§400040);
- *a' sgaoileadh a bhrat geal* (§400184); *crathadh mo chòta fliuch* (§400017).

4.2. Feminine

Adjectives are not lenited, their final consonants are palatalised, and the suffix *-e* is added in the traditional feminine genitive singular form. This form is fairly rare in the corpus and it is usually replaced by a lenited suffixless form, which is identical to the dative. The suffix *-e* is more common in (monosyllabic) nouns.

Traditional adjectival GEN.SG forms usually occur with traditional GEN.SG forms of nouns whilst innovative forms occur with both traditional and innovative noun forms.

²³¹ Delenition after a homorganic consonant.

²³² This is a verse.

²³³ A 21st-century text!

²³⁴ The form *luaith* is generally rare in the corpus.

4.2.a. Indefinite

Genitive case marking appears to be much more common in feminine nouns than it is in masculine nouns in this context.

- *gu mullach creige àirde* (§400031); *ri taobh creige móire* (§400018); *aig toiseach bliadhna ùire* (§400017);²³⁵ *taobh mara céine* (§25);²³⁶ *puirt chloinne bige* (§400040);²³⁷ *a' faicinn tràghad gile* (§400102); *Cruach Doire Lèithe* (§25); *gruaidhean làn cloich-deirge* (§400007); *brat clòimhe mìne* (§267); *a' fàsgadh làimhe cruaidhe a h-athar* (§217003);²³⁸ *ag aithris oiteig brònaich* (§15);²³⁹
- *fad ùine mhóir* (§400011); *Làn spàin mhóir de shalann* (§400026); *air chumadh cuaich mhóir fhosgailte* (§400014); *ann an uchd nìghinn òig* (§400017); *gu toiseach slighe ùir* (§400039); *[a'] cuartachadh pairce chaoil* (§234001); *bathar crèadha-ruaidh* (§257); *ri aghaidh carraig chais shleamhainn* (§400017); *coltas leanaig ghlais* (§234001); *le bhith 'g oibreachadh croit bhig* (§400008); *[a'] deanamh oidhirp mhaith* (§400086); *airson ùine mhaith* (§400108);²⁴⁰ *air aghaidh sgeir ghairbh* (§400152); *gun [=to the] taigh mhòr chloiche-dheirg* (§400110); *mullach bonaid ghuirm* (§15); *as earbsail na sùil bana-charaid dhileis* (§400014); *a bha cur air mhanadh oidhche shalaich* (§234002); *fo riaghladh inntinn bheò, bhlàith, ghéir* (§201).

However, genitive marking is not mandatory in this context and nominative forms can be found, especially in more recent texts. Note that only the adjective can inflect for case in some of the following examples.

- *air chùl sguab mhór de fhalt mì-sgiobalta* (§400049); *dol a dheanamh banais mhór uamhasach dha* (§400050); *a' cumail sùil gheur* (§400008); *tarsainn gainmheach gheal Astràilia* (§400110);²⁴¹ *'s i toirt dhomh clach chruinn gheal* (§401012); *ag innse earrann mhath de 'n sgeulachd* (§400034);
- *a' toirt fàinne chaol* (§250); *a' faicinn pìtheid bheag bhiorach* (§401012); *a' deanamh buannachd mhath* (§400039); *a' leantainn riaghailt theann* (§400169); *a' fàgail tobhta leathann* (§400178); *os cionn mala leathann, gheal* (§400089).

Occasionally, only the noun is inflected for the genitive. The adjective is usually lenited.

- *osag gaoithe fhuar* (§400018);
- *far creig fhliuch* (§400106); *a' toirt cluais bhodhar do 'n ghearan* (§401015);²⁴²
- *bad olainn fliuch* (§53).

²³⁵ Attested mainly in the expression (*na*) *bliadhna ùire*.

²³⁶ This could be either a form of *cian* or *cèin*. The variant *cèin* is generally more common.

²³⁷ Cf. hypercorrection in: *as dèidh cèilidhe bige a dhèanamh* (§400120). Since this is object inversion, i.e. *às dèidh [cèilidh bheag] a dhèanamh*, the question is whether the object of the verbal noun should be in the genitive case, i.e. governed by the preceding preposition.

²³⁸ Modified by a definite genitive noun!

²³⁹ Since the adjective is not lenited, this might reflect the (apocopated) earlier form *brònaiche*.

²⁴⁰ *Maith* might be the older spelling of *math* here, rather than a palatalised form.

²⁴¹ The nominative form is expected because the phrase is modified by a definite noun.

²⁴² It is possible that the author's dialect did not distinguish between broad and slender *r*.

Some examples are ambiguous because neither the noun nor the adjective inflects for case.

- *an déidh ùine ghoirid* (§400006);
- *a' tarraing anail shèimh* (§400146); *mu dheidhinn cainnt dhoirbh* (§401012).²⁴³

Note the unusual genitive form of the adjective in: *a' toirt sùla geura* (§400134).

4.2.b. Definite

Traditional (suffixed) genitive forms appear to be rare in this context too. Most of the following examples are the only attestations of such forms in the 20th-century texts in the corpus.

- *ràn na pìoba móire* (§400003); *air sgiathan na h-inntinn òige* (§400047); *aig àm na bliadhna ùire* (§400030); *mac na mnatha caoile Gallda* (§26); *Allt na Sgeire Maoile* (§309); *eachdraidh na h-Eaglaise Saoire* (§249); *mìosachan na h-Eaglais Saoire* (§400065);²⁴⁴ *fuaim na gaoithe fuaire* (§218001); *às deaghaidh na bà ruaidhe* (§400054); *thar na mara céine* (§25);²⁴⁵ *fairsingeachd na machrach cèire* (§25); *air mullach na creige glaise* (§64); *cùnnas na cloinne bige* (§400001);²⁴⁶ *chun na cuirme bige* (§400046); *air Fèill na h-Eaglaise Brice* (§400167); *anns an adhar os cionn na beinne gile* (§400106); *fear na coise fliche* (§92);²⁴⁷ *Macan na Falluinne fliuiche* (§81011); *ri obair na sgoile duibhe* (§400009); *a' feitheamh na tìde blàithe* (§400042); *air clàr do luinge luaithe* (§400009); *chum na Càirne Léithe* (§62); *Cogadh na Cailliche Caime* (§400179); *a chumail na sùla doille* (§400014); *[a'] tolladh na cuairteig luime* (§62); *sìor-éirigh na gaoithe gairbhe* (§305); *muinntir na Croise Deirge* (§400059); *airson na comhairle buirbe seo* (§400168); *á pòcaid-achlais na léine-guirme* (§400027); *cùl na Sgeire Guirme* (§401007); *fead na gaoithe cruaidhe* (§47); *Odusseus na h-inntinne glice* (§267); *giùlan na clàrsaiche binne* (§267).

Lenited suffixless forms are much more common than suffixed forms in the corpus.

- *là na mòintich àird* (§400006); *oidhche na gealaich shlàin* (§400058); *a dh'aindeoin na prìs mhóir* (§400069); *thun na mnatha òig* (§400042); *corran seang na gealaich ùir* (§400026); *air slios na beinne mhaoil* (§400042); *ministear na h-Eaglais Shaoir* (§400027); *an còmhdhail na beatha bhuaibh* (§50); *fear na fiasaig ruaidh* (§400028); *ri taobh na creig ruaidh* (§400088); *ealain na h-inntinn ghèir* (§400113); *air uchd na h-aibhne bhrais* (§400042); *bàrr na duilleig bhig* (§400058); *sròn Mairi Bhig* (§400022); *chun na tràghad ghil ghrianaich* (§400038); *de chraicionn a' bhruic, an*

²⁴³ The traditional genitive forms of these phrases are, respectively, *analach sèimhe* and *cainnte doirbhe*. The forms *anail shèimh* and *cainnt dhoirbh* can be interpreted as more innovative, dative-like forms, which happen to be identical with the nominative in these particular examples.

²⁴⁴ Occasionally lenited: *an aghaidh na h-Eaglaise Shaoire* (§400006); *ministear na h-Eaglais Shaoire* (§400059).

²⁴⁵ Possibly a form of *cèin*, rather than *cian*.

²⁴⁶ The forms *mòire* and *bige* are somewhat more common since these two adjectives are more frequent. The form *bige* often occurs in the expression *na cloinne bige*.

²⁴⁷ This and the following example both come from pre-1900 texts.

ròin, no na beisd-duibh (§401012);²⁴⁸ *chun na mòintich bhlàith* (§29); *reithe na h-adhairce chaim* (§400089); *bha mi 'g ionndrainn na sgoile luim* (§400137); *trid na cainnt bhailbh so* (§69); *gu àrd ghuth na gaillinn ghairg* (§199); *spiorad mo mhàthar mhairbh* (§267); *a' togail dhith na boineid dheirg* (§400125); *am marbh na h-oidhche bhuirb* (§70); *thun na liana ghuirm* (§400063); *ann an taigh-cuibhle na drochaid ìosail* (§400133); *am broinn na h-uaimhidh chumhaing ud* (§400043); *a chum na slighe leathainn* (§62);²⁴⁹ *fir na fuaraig' uidhir'* (§102005);²⁵⁰ *a dh'innseadh na sgeul bhrònaich* (§400028); *a' snìomh na clòimh mhìn* (§400017); *dualchas na sgeulachd ghoirid* (§400133).

The following examples lack lenition and could represent apocopated traditional forms: *gu ruige na h-Aibhne Glais* (§201); *Gleann na Beinne Bric* (§400150); *gu Drochaid na h-Aibhne Deirg* (§400135); and: *deatach na mòna fallain* (§401011); *air son na cuilme diadhaidh* (§72).

Nominative forms of adjectives have also been attested in this context. They can be lenited (if possible), but that does not seem to be mandatory.

- *thun na Mòintich Chiar* (§400092); *buachailte na sùil gheur* (§400041); *a' sealltainn a léine gheal shìoda agus na tai leathainn dhearg* 'showing his white silk shirt and the broad red tie' (§400037); *le barr a [=her] teangaidh fhliuch* (§400093);
- *aig ceann na leapadh geal* (§400126);
- *ag ionndrain na bà liath* (§400139); *o chom na h-aibhne luath* (§400042).

The case marking of the following phrase resembles that of the masculine: *ann an Caolas an Abhainn Dhuibh* (§400185).

Note the unusual form of the adjective in: *air feadan na Bà Teanna* (§11), unless this is, in fact, plural.

The traditional forms of the adjectives *leathann* and *salach* have been found in pre-1900 texts: *air chùl na sgeire leithne* (§102006); *fior chomharradh na slighe leathainne* (§112002); *leth-bhreac na bròige salaiche* (§206001).

5. Vocative singular

The following are a few examples of the masculine vocative singular.

- *Fàilt' ort, fhir mhóir* (§400026); *Seall so, a fhir òig* (§400032); *dhuine dhùir* (§267); *dhuine raig* (§267); *Cha dochainn anail gràidh thu, a mhaotharain laig!* (§68); *'ille ruaidh bhig / Trobhad dhachaidh* (§400096); *Thus' a mheàrlaich dhuibh!* (§400037);

²⁴⁸ Delenition following a homorganic consonant.

²⁴⁹ This is ambiguous since the palatalised form *leathainn* is also attested in the nominative, e.g. *cho leathainn ris an àirigh* (§400006).

²⁵⁰ This is from a pre-1900 text.

A Cholum Chille léith (§400087); *O amadain dhoill!* (§288); *A chreutair ghòraich!* (§400086); *A bhalaich shuaraich* (§48).

6. Nominative and dative dual²⁵¹

A few examples of the feminine dual have been found in the corpus. The traditional feminine nominative/dative dual form is identical to the dative singular form.

- [NOM] *eadar dà loch mhóir* (§400020); *eadar dà sgeir dhuibh* (§400027); *dà spot dheirg* (§245); *eadar dà chreig bhioraich* (§43);
- [DAT] *air dà chois chaoil* (§401001); *'na [=in her] dà bhròig mhóir* (§400037); *le [=with his] fheusaig mhóir dhuibh 's a dhà làimh thréin* (§400039); *'na [=in his] dhà shùil ghuirm* (§400013).

Innovative forms, identical to the nominative singular, also occur:

- [NOM] *dà shùil mhòr ghorm* (§400128); *Dà shùil gheur ghorm* (§400132); *dà nighean òg* (§400016); *an dà shùil bhiorach* (§400138).

The masculine dual form is identical to the nominative singular, though plural forms have also been attested.

- *dà chnoc àrd* (§400021);
- *a [=her] dà chrann àrda, tana* (400084).

7. Dative singular

7.1. Masculine

The masculine dative singular form is identical to the nominative singular form.

7.1.a. Indefinite

The adjective is normally not lenited in this context.

- *air mullach àrd* (§400012); *air eilean fàs* (§400012); *ann an tigh mór brèagha* (§400044); *ri laogh òg, slàn* (§400054); *ann an guth dùr* (§16); *air cladach dùr gruamach* (§400176); *de chrodh maol dubh* (§400069); *le ceann maol mìn* (§400050); *de stuth saor* (§400077); *air turus buan* (§42); *le uisge fuar* (§400004); *le falt ruadh* (§400045); *mu chogadh cian* (§41); *ann an saoghal ciar* (§400141); *de iasg glas* (§400001); *ri beathach lag* (§400017); *air là bog fliuch* (§400016); *ann an seòmar beag* (§400033); *gobhlagan a dh'iarann geal* (§400005); *le aodach dubh* (§400040); *le bainne math* (§400031); *le cridhe blàth* (§400008); *an [=in] cànan luath, mìn*

²⁵¹ No genitive dual examples have been found in the corpus (either traditional or innovative).

(§400042); *de bhodach liath* (§400036); *air rathad càim* (§400048); *le ceum mall* (§400016); *do dhuine dall* (§400064); *air uisge balbh* (§400009); *le cìrean dearg* (§400009); *de fhìon dearg* (§400015); *do ghille borb* (§400022); *le feur gorm* (§400018); *de fheur goirid gorm* (§400099); *fo aon bhuachaille dìleas* (§400007); *le cliabh falamh* (§400017); *do dhuine làidir, fallain* (§400007).

There are a few instances of lenited adjectives, which may represent the influence of definite forms.

- *le bréid fhliuch* (§400001); *le nàdur mhath* (§400039); *coltach ri ròs dhearg, dhearg* (§400003); *le aodach dubh, léine gheal, 's aodann chiùin* (§400040).²⁵²

In some examples, the adjectives have been influenced by feminine forms: *le guth àird* (§64); *ann an tomhas mhòir* (§400014). This might be hypercorrection or purely orthographical if the author's dialect does not distinguish between broad and slender *r* and *rd*.

7.1.b. Definite

The adjective is lenited (if possible) if the noun is modified by the definite article.

- *air an rathad àrd* (§400018); *aig an duine mhór so* (§400043); *ris an chòmhlán mhór dhaoine* (§400046); *anns an taigh mhòr fhalamh ud* (§400120); *ris a' cheann mhaol* (§400133); *air a' chnoc mhaol bhuidhe* (§48); *air an réidio shaor* (§400049); *sa' chadal bhuan* (§400018); *'san uisge fhuar* (§400002); *ris a' chlamhan ruadh* (§400012); *bho 'n astar chian* (§218004); *air an rathad chian* (§400082); *leis a' mharraiche dhian* (§294); *ris a' ghuga ghlas* (§400002); *anns an t-seòmar bheag* (§400034); *fichead tonna (...) de 'n iasg gheal* (§400005); *san latha fhliuch* (§400137); *air a' chabhsair fhliuch* (§400085); *air a' cholman liath* (§400137); *ris an Dròbhair Cham* (§234002); *air an fheasgar fhann* (§29); *roimh 'n each mhall so* (§400061); *ris a' Chlàrsair Dhall* (§400005); *dhan talamh gharbh* (§400161); *air an each mharbh* (§46); *mu 'n fhiabhirus dhearg* (§400003); *air an fhiar ghorm* (§400015); *air an fheur bhrèagha ghorm* (§400030); *ris an t-saoghal bhodhar, bhalbh* (§400123); *air an sgeul bhrònach so* (§400024); *air a' bheathach ghòrach seo* (§317); *mun ghnòthach shuarach bhreugach seo* (§400086); *bhon mhuga fhalamh* (§400111); *air a' bhiadh fhallain* (§400003).

Lenition is absent following proper nouns or nouns modified by possessives.

- *air Ruairidh Mór* (§400045);
- *'s e 'na dhuine òg beairteach* (§400066).

There are a few other examples that lack lenition.

- *don t-saoghal geal ud* (§400128); *do 'n chridhe fann* (§234001); *còmhlà ris an t-seann bhuntàta gorm* (§400122).

²⁵² However, the noun *aodann* is feminine in Dwelly!

This example has been influenced by the feminine form: *de 'n ribein dheirg* (§400087).

7.2. Feminine

Adjectives are lenited and their final consonants are palatalised (if possible) in the traditional feminine dative singular form. These forms are still extremely common in earlier texts, but they have become rarer recently and are often replaced by the nominative.

7.2.a. Indefinite

Traditional dative forms of adjectives are well-attested in the corpus.

- *air creig àird* (§400012); *do uaimhe àird fharsainn* (§400040); *á cluasaig shlàin* (§53); *le saothair mhóir* (§400015); *air boiteig mhòir reamhair* (§400130); *le aid mhóir dhuibh* (§400047); *ri rìoghachd mhóir Bhreatainn* (§400014); *le maighdein òig* (§400027); *ann an rìoghachd ùir* (§400025); *le slataig chaoil chaorainn* (§400003);²⁵³ *le teanga mhaoil* (§400141); *ann an dùthaich shaoir* (§401014); *sìnt' an sàmhchair bhuaibh* (§201); *ri sgillinn ruaidh* (§400010); *do dhùthaich chèin* (§400026);²⁵⁴ *le h-èigheach dhèin* (§400108); *air tuaigh ghéir* (§400033); *ann an achlais chais an t-sléibh* (§199);²⁵⁵ *ballachan iosal de chloich ghlais* (§400102); *de chloinn laig* (§294); *am mòintich bhuig* (§48); *mu aon chaileig bhig* (§400003); *le sùil bhig bhioraich* (§198); *le adhairc bhig mhaoil* (§15); *aig boin bhric* (§400031); *mìltean de ghainmhich ghil* (§400003); *le ùir dhuibh* (§400019); *gu ìre mhaith* (§400019); *do fhuil bhlàith* (§400177); *air oidhche fhiadhaich, fhliuich* (§400188); *air creig luim* (§198); *thuit mi an suain truim* (§294);²⁵⁶ *le teachdaireachd bhailbh* (§234002); *an [=in] gaoith ghairbh* (§400153); *fo aghaidh ghairg* (§201); *á cloich dheirg* (§400050); *le feusaig dheirg* (§400106); *air mnaoi bhuirb* (§197); *mar chainnt bhuirb* (§217004); *air lianaig bhriagha, ghuirm* (§400045); *do mhnaoi dhìleis* (§234002); *ann an cùil chumhaing* (§60); *air clòidh-uidhir* (§117021);²⁵⁷ *le pròis amaidich* (§401018); *le wire bhioraich* (§46); *de chaillich charaich* (§39); *pàirt de eachdraidh inntinnich an teaghlaich Ó Gnímh* (§400180);²⁵⁸ *mar chuaich fhalaimh* (§199).

Palatalisation marking might be only a matter of spelling in adjectives such as *fhalaimh* and possibly in *dhuibh* and *mhaith*.²⁵⁹

²⁵³ Followed by a genitive noun which is also lenited.

²⁵⁴ Possibly a form of *cèin*, rather than *cian*.

²⁵⁵ Note the definite genitive noun that follows. Although phrases like this are definite, they have been included among indefinite nouns/phrases because they are not modified by the article or a possessive pronoun, which can affect case marking.

²⁵⁶ Delenition after a homorganic consonant.

²⁵⁷ This is from a pre-1900 text. Cf. also: *air chaileachd buidhir, a's daill* (§233), with both adjectives unlenited.

²⁵⁸ Modified by a definite genitive noun.

²⁵⁹ *Mhaith* could simply represent the older spelling of *mhath*, as in: *Madainn mhaith leat* (§199).

Nominative forms of adjectives are also common in the corpus. The nouns that they modify can retain their traditional dative forms, but that is often not the case. Many examples, however, are ambiguous since they contain nouns that do not have special dative forms.

- *le cabhaig dhian* (§400013); *le sùil agus cluais gheur* (§400009); *air cluasaig bhog* (§400122); *mar chloinn bheag* (§400047); *dhan ghréin bhlàth* (§41); *air oiteig fhann an fhoghair* (§48); *air làraich lom* (§400101); *air mòintich lom, gheal, fhuar* (§400119); *le craoibh dhearg an oleander* (§400036); *mu mhalaidh leathann an urra urramaich* (§400092);²⁶⁰ *le làimh fhalamh* (§400135);
- *gu inbhe àrd* (§400006); *air Impireachd mhòr Shasainn* (§400048); *gu slighe chaol agus chàm nan Astràileinich dhubha* (§400047);²⁶¹ *ann an dùthaich shaor* (§400040); *air oidhche fhuar* (§400054); *de chrèadh ruadh* (§400031); *bho phlanaid chian* (§400042); *troimh choille chiar* (§400092); *mu làir ghlas* (§400056); *air caora lag* (§400012); *le seacaid gheal* (§400004); *le aodach dubh, léine gheal, 's aodann chiùin* (§400040); *ann an deise dhorch, le léine gheal, agus bonaid soilleir air a cheann* (§400089); *air sitig fhliuch* (§400117); *an ìre mhath* (§400038); *tre thìde bhlàth an t-samhraidh* (§400064); *le crios leathair agus léine liath* (§400019); *le sùil cham* (§327); *air oidhche dhall dhorcha* (§400057); *le briogais dhearg* (§400149); *ri obair dhùleas* (§401012); *air cuspair chumhang* (§400082); *cuid de òigridh amaideach an latha 'n diugh* (§400061); *le aghaidh bhrònach* (§11); *de uèir bhiorach* (§400146); *Fo shùil bhiorach Chef Ely* (§400028); *le obair shalach* (§40); *air prìs shuarach* (§400055);
- *le brù làn* (§400082); *gun fhacal ri bean òg* (§400012); *dealbh de bhean-usal òg bhòidheach* (§400070); *aig sean-mhaighdean chaol, dhùr, Ghallda* (§43); *mu bhó mhaol odhar* (§400030); *ri faoileag ghlas* (§400011); *do mhòinteach bhog* (§400044); *le bratach bheag* (§400034); *air leac lom* (§400092); *air muc mharbh* (§400061); *le srianag ghorm* (§400025); *le làmh fhalamh* (§400061).

Occasionally, there are combinations of traditional and innovative adjective forms: *o phlanaid chian choimhich* (§400042); *a [=de] chloich gharbh 's a chloich phruinn* (§400005).

Adjectives that end with slender consonants are ambiguous since their dative and nominative forms are identical: *air cloich chruinn* (§400024); *ann an inntinn fhallain* (§401009).

7.2.b. Definite

Traditional dative forms are well-attested, but probably less common than the uninflected ones, especially in more recent texts.

- *bhon drochaid àird* (§400133); *fo 'n ghealaich làn* (§400023); *air an uamh mhóir* (§400010); *air a' chàraid òig* (§400029); *ris an dùthaich dhùir seo* (§29); *aig a' bhliadhna-ùir so chaidh* (§400001); *air a' Phàirc Chaoil* (§400031); *bho 'n Sgeir-Mhaoil* (§400033); *air a' Ghàidhlig mhaoil* (§400001); *air an Eaglais Shaoir*

²⁶⁰ *Malaidh* could be a generalised singular form.

²⁶¹ Modified by a definite genitive noun phrase. Note its innovative form!

(§400005); *dhan dachaidh bhuaibh* (§50); *bho 'n té ruaidh* (§400049); *don mhuir chèir* (§25); *leis an sgiorta ghlais* (§400144); *air an osaig laig* (§400023); *mun iuchair bhig* (§400003); *ris an naidheachd bhig bhrònaich seo* (§400087); *aig an Eaglais Bhric* (§400184); *ris an fhaoileig ghil* (§400001); *air a' ghainmhich fhliuich* (§400183); *ris a' phoit dhuibh* (§400014); *ris an nighinn sheing* (§400151); *air Mairi dhoill* (§234001); *air an lic luim* (§294); *anns an teangaidh bhailbh* (§48); *san dùthaich ghairbh ud* (§400029); *leis a' chirc mhairbh* (§401011); *anns a' ghrìosaich dheirg* (§400099); *anns a' chònsaid sheirbh* (§217004); *ris a' bhean bhuirb* (§400004); *air a' mhuir dhomhain, ghuirm* (§400023); *air a' chluasaig ìosail* (§400133); *air an t-slighe chumhaing* (§400046); *air an fheusaig bhioraich* (§204); *sguir e de 'n bhruidhinn ghòraich sin* (§401001); *anns an obair inntinnich sin* (§400154); *de 'n bhéisd shalaich* (§401013); *faisg air an té shalaich* (§53); *anns an acarsaid fhalaimh* (§267).

Palatalisation marking might be only a matter of spelling in adjectives such as *fhalaimh* and possibly in *dhuibh*, cf. also *luath* in: *le d' luing luath chrannagaich* (§400010).

Dative forms also occur with nouns modified by possessives.

- *'na* [=in his] *lasair dhéin* (§72); *gus a bheil e 'na thaois bhuig* (§400041); *'na* [=in his] *chlosaich mhairbh* (§289); *le* [=with his] *fheusaig mhóir dhuibh 's a dhà làimh thréin* (§400039); *'na* [=in his] *shùil ghuirm* (§400050); *an Rothach leis a bhonaid odhair* (§218004); *na bi na do chileig shuaraich* (§315); *bha i 'na ghruagaich mhaisich fhallain, deas am bodhaig 's geur thuigseach am buadhan inntinn* (§400042).²⁶²

Nominative forms of adjectives are also common in the corpus. The nouns that they modify can retain their traditional dative forms, but there are exceptions.

- *air a' Mhòintich Chiar* (§400092); *anns a' ghrèin lag* (§400111); *air a' ghainmhich mhìn, bhog* (§400189); *air a' ghaoith luath Mhàirt* (§400019);²⁶³ *air an nighinn sheang* (§16); *fon a' ghrèin fhann* (§253); *bhon t-sròin dhearg rubair* (§400106); *air an lianaig ghorm* (§400006);
- *anns an sgoil-àrd* (§400162); *leis a' chiad bhliadhna shlàn* (§400053); *ris an aon abhainn mhór* (§400047); *air a' chèis chaol fhada* (§2); *nan* [=in their] *tuath shaor* (§400050); *anns a' bheatha bhuan* (§217003); *do m' dhachaidh bhuan* (§401012); *air do bheatha bhuan* (§11); *as an dùthaich fhuar* (§400026); *air a [=her] deise ruadh fhéin* (§400044); *tron ghloine ghlas* (§400191); *aig an Eaglais Bhreac* (§400188); *san oidhche fhliuch dhorcha* (§400048); *anns an obair throm* (§400033); *air a shliasaid throm, reamhar* (§400011); *air an eachdraidh shearbh* (§400115); *mu 'n chonnsaid shearbh* (§401008); *ris a' mhòine shearbh* (§33); *air an obair bhorb* (§400045); *leis an deuchainn bhorb agus dhuilich seo* (§54); *do 'n leaba chumhang* (§400030); *air an naidheachd inntinneach* (§400165);

²⁶² *Deas* and *geur-thuigseach* are in the predicative position and hence in their basic (nominative) form.

²⁶³ Cf. *air a' ghaoith luath Mhàirt* (§108), in a 19th-century text.

- *anns a' bhrù chian sin* (§253); *anns a' Chreag Gheal* (§400137); *anns a' ghrian bhlàth mhaireann seo* (§400118); *ris an t-Sròn Liath* (§400166); *gus am bithinn 'nam èibhleag dhearg* (§400137).

A few examples of delenition have been found: *do 'n chloich cruinn* (§400020); *air a' chloinn tinn* (§294).²⁶⁴

8. Plural

8.1. General notes

Adjectives do not inflect for case or gender in the plural. Monosyllabic adjectives, including (6), take the ending *-a* or *-e* in all cases, although not consistently. Other adjectives use a form identical with the nominative singular. Certain monosyllabic adjectives are regularly suffixed, e.g. *mòra*, *ùra*, *beaga*; and some are suffixed very frequently, e.g. *àrda*, *matha*, *dubha*, *borba*. Adjectives that contain a long vowel followed by a silent consonant are often suffixless, e.g. *blàth*, *luath*, *sèimh*, *sgìth*. Adjectives that undergo vowel lengthening tend to have suffixless plurals too, e.g. *cam*, *fann*, *mall*, *teann*. The presence or absence of the suffix does not appear to depend only on phonemic factors, e.g. the expression *dùthchannan cèin* is very common. Suffixless forms are also often found in strings of adjectives (see §8.4).

Suffixless forms occur very frequently in verses (even in those from earlier periods) if the longer forms would add superfluous syllables to the verse. This implies that such forms were already present in everyday language alongside the suffixed variants and that they were acceptable in literary registers to a degree.

Dissyllabic and polysyllabic adjectives do not normally inflect for number. Very few examples have been found in 20th-century texts, e.g. *aotroma* (§400080); *lìonmhòra* (§400102); and some syncopated forms such as *leathna* (§400150); *reamhra* (§48) (see §8.5).

Adjectives are lenited after noun forms that end with a slender consonant and after the plural ending *-s* in English loanwords. Indefinite nouns are lenited in the genitive plural.

8.2. Suffixed plural forms

The plural suffix seems to be most common in (single) monosyllabic adjectives that end with a single consonant and do not undergo any other changes. It is less common in other monosyllabic adjectives although suffixed forms have been attested for most of them.

- [NOM.INDEF] *tuiltean àrda* (§400011); *saibhlean fàsa* (§400036); *seachd duilleagan slàna* (§400159); *dùirn mhóra* (§400107); *croitearan dùra* (§400085); *bodaich ruadha* (§46); *neòil chiara* (§25); *gathan laga gréine* (§400059); *lochann snoga nam beann* (§400027);²⁶⁵ *daoine tranga* (§400085); *deòir thetha* (§267); *coin sheanga* (§217004);

²⁶⁴ Cf. [NOM] *a' bhean thinn* (§400017).

²⁶⁵ Modified by a definite genitive noun!

briogaisean teanna (§400084); *beanntan garbha* (§400028); *gaothan garga* (§400055); *ceatharnaich bhorba* (§400007); *neòil shìthe shèimhe an latha* (§48); *daoine tinne* (§400003); *tuill chruinne* (§400016);

- [NOM.DEF] *na cidheachan fàsa* (§400048); *na daoine ùra* (§400039); *na caoraich-mhaola* (§302); *na ceàrdan ruadha* (§48); *na cnuic chasa* (§25); *na geòidh ghlasa* (§400044); *na h-eòin bheaga bhinne bhuchallach* (§48); *na gillean breaca* (§400101); *na deòir thetha* (§267); *na gluasadan malla stàtail* (§400046); *na cearcan marbha* (§400053); *na cinnich bhorba* (§218004); *na fìr-chlìse* (§400087);
- [GEN.INDEF] *aig bonn chreagan àrda* (§400111); *tòrr chlachan mòra* (§10); *a' teagasg thuathanach òga* (§400027); *air togail chraobhan ùra* (§400024); *a' lorg dhathan ùra* (§400036); *a' toirt toys dhaora* (§400126); *beagan làithean saora* (§400018); *am-measg dhaoine ruadha* (§400148); *os cionn raointean glasa* (§400018); *mun robh mi 'g ionndrainn tràigheannan geala gainmhich Innse Gall* (§400013);²⁶⁶ *[a'] cur chlachan tetha* (§400049); *Fuil mhartairean balbha* (§21); *fo làmhan dhaoine borba* (§400024); *thar loman cruaidhe* (§1);
- [GEN.DEF] *a mhullach nan crann àrda* (§400034); *iasgach nan lìon móra* (§400026); *air tòir nan eun òga* (§400025); *an cois nan caorach maola* (§401002); *an déidh nan làithean-saora* (§400099); *bàta nan Daoine Saora* (§400154); *mac-talla nan teallaichean fuara* (§400041); *a' glanadh aiste nan sgallan ruadha* (§400122); *air birlinn nan guaillean ciara* (§267); *luchd nam beul fiara* (§288); *piobaire nam feadan brasa* (§400049); *aon thogradh nam fineachan brasa* (§68); *a' dìreadh nan easan casa* (§401011); *'toirt fainear nan creagan glasa* (§401011); *a' cumail an [=their] cuirp laga* (§37); *a' tairgsinn nan uinneagan snoga-sa* (§400030); *a' taghadh nan àiteachan boga* (§400041); *a' cur nam muillnean beaga air ghluasad* (§400042); *air uinneagan nan taighean geala* (§400030); *airson nam piobairean matha* (§400029); *cogadh nan Claidheamh Tetha* (§400058); *a' lùbadh nan diasan seanga* (§68); *am measg nan clachan garbha* (§64); *saoghal nan nithean marbha* (§400072); *an aghaidh nan Gaidheal borba* (§400041); *air sgàth nam faoileagan gorma* (§400036); *toirt nan dùthchannan cèine far comhair* (§400109); *airson nam pronnagan mìne* (§400096); *buidheann nan daolagan rèidhe* (§33); *ri teas nan raointean sgìthe* (§25); *amaideas nan daoine glìce* (§400028); *a' gabhail nam bràisdichean cruinne* (§400024);
- [DAT.INDEF] *le beanntan àrda* (§400034); *le geallaidhean fàsa* (§400035); *de chaileagan òga* (§400013); *le riamhagan caola* (§400133); *bho chearcann saora* (§400049); *air madainnean fuara* (§400004); *bho linntean ciana* (§400031); *troimh aonaichean ciara* (§68); *air slatan fiara* (§400125); *le oiteagan brasa* (§400044); *le uilt raga* (§400115); *mu chasan fliucha* (§42); *le pioban tetha* (§400105); *aig eich sheanga* (§400012); *ann am parraistean tranga* (§400065); *le ceumannan cama* (§400085); *ann am brògan teanna* (§400167); *le clachan troma cladaich no monaidh* (§400178); *air saoir gharbha* (§400135); *de dhaoine marbha* (§400175); *de shaighdearan borba* (§217001); *ri dùthchannan céine* (§400001); *le briathran mìne* (§400009); *le (...) uisgeachan sèimhe* (§217001); *do dhaoine sgìthe* (§400087); *mu dhaoine glìce* (§400141);

²⁶⁶ *Traigheannan* is not lenited, possibly because of the preceding homorganic consonant.

- [DAT.DEF] *air na monaidhean àrda* (§400034); *nan [=in their] tobhtaichean fàsa* (§23); *do na h-aibhnichean làna* (§400106); *ris na tuathanaich mhóra chaorach* (§400020);²⁶⁷ *leis na cnuic mhaola* (§217004); *dhe na Frangaich shaora* (§400040); *air na h-oidhcheannan fuara* (§400025); *air na creagan 's na raoin fhuara* (§400042); *bho na beanntan ruadha* (§400096); *anns na làithean ciana* (§400006); *leis na sùilean fiara* (§316); *troimh na tuill fhiara* (§400130); *le mo shùilean geura* (§400096); *ris na sléibhteann casa* (§217001); *air na badan laga* (§400099); *anns na rudan beaga* (§400036); *aig na h-eòin dhubha* (§400047); *anns na fìor bhùthan matha* (§400016); *troimh na dùthchannan tetha* (§400053); *do na daoine luatha* (§400009); *ris na daoine dalla* (§48); *anns na h-uisgeachan garbha sin* (§200025); *anns na bliadhnachan searbha* (§401015); *aig na daoine borba* (§400041); *air na facail chruaidhe sin* (§199); *sna lathaichean doirbhe* (§400098).

8.3. Suffixless plural forms

Plural adjectives can be suffixless, especially those that undergo lengthening and epenthesis, as well as those in (3). Dysyllabic and polysyllabic adjectives, including those that undergo syncope, are virtually never suffixed.

- [NOM.INDEF] *croitean fàs* (§400001); *sgeirean maol* (§400176); *làithean saor* (§400135);²⁶⁸ *sùilean geur* (§400091); *aibhnichean bras* (§401015); *cearcann snog* (§313); *làithean luath is làithean mall* (§400038); *sia cearcann math* (§400045); *corra ghathan fann na gréine* (§400036); *fuaimhean fann a' ghlinne* (§41); *ceumannan mall an fhir eile* (§309); *ceithir cuilbh theann* (§400019); *calpannan garbh* (§400193); *tighean falamh is croitean fàs* (§400001); *adhaircean cruinn* (§400026); *aoanaichean réidh* (§400058); *uisgeachan réidh na h-aibhne móire* (§400028); *lathaichean doirbh* (§400021);
- [NOM.DEF] *a chasan fuar* (§205); *na stocainnean fliuch* (§400027); *na làithean math* (§400166); *suas na stràidean trang* (§400108); *na ballachan lom* (§400030); *na brògan trom* (§400027); *chunnaic na saighdearan dearg e* (§400009); *[a] chnamhan sgìth* (§401015); *na fìr chlis* (§401010); *na caileagan glic* (§400042);
- [GEN.INDEF] *air mullach beanntan àrd* (§400039);²⁶⁹ *an dithis dhaoine mór* (§62); *bho cheann linnntean cian* (§400010); *am measg dhaoine cian* (§401013); *beagan oidhirpean fann* (§401012); *airson trèanaichean mall* (§15);²⁷⁰ *a' toirt ionnsaighean garg* (§400012); *mar shuilean dhaoine marbh* (§401011); *a-measg duilleagan gorm* (§400113);²⁷¹
- [GEN.DEF] *gu bàrr nan creagan àrd* (§400159); *nuallan siùbhlach nan cuan fàs* (§400057); *mu bhàrdachd nan linnntean cian-sa* (§401009); *leathadan nan cnoc cas*

²⁶⁷ *Tuathanach caorach* (sheep farmer). The same structure as *craobh dharaich* (re. hyphenation).

²⁶⁸ Late 20th century.

²⁶⁹ Note the lack of lenition in the noun.

²⁷⁰ No lenition in the noun, possibly delenition.

²⁷¹ No lenition in the noun.

(§400038); *fir nan còtachan glas* (§400110); *a' neartachadh nan creutairean lag seo* (§327); *Cladh nam Manach Liath* (§400163); *an [=in] ciar aimsir nan aisling mall* (§400102); *a bhristeadh nan ceanglaichean teann* (§400184); *airson nan daoine dall* (§400022); *air cùl nan sùilean dall sin* (§400091); *ri gearan nan creutairean balbh* (§400009); *seann litreachas nan linntean borb* (§400066); *air stuidhan lionmhor nan tonn gorm* (§400139); *mu phrìomh chràbhadh nan treubhan borb* (§400181); *a' lìonadh nan àitean falamh* (§400007); *brag nan casan clis* (§317);

- [DAT.INDEF] *air beanntan àrd na gealaich* (§400038); *de fhàrdaichean fàs* (§400026); *bho dhaoine slàn* (§400068); *mar dhaoine saor* (§400077); *tre linntean buan na sìorruidheachd* (§400057); *le frasan fuar geamhraidh* (§400144); *de chreagan ruadh* (§15); *air cladaichean ciar* (§400092); *le sùilean geur* (§400106); *ann an glinn chas* (§400036); *ann an còtaichean glas* (§400110); *le dùitheanan geal* (§400047); *air làithean fliuch* (§400167); *le dùitheanan dubh* (§400047); *ann an dùthchannan blàth na Roinn Eòrpa* (§400039); *mu charbadan luath* (§400060); *troimh shràidean trang na cathrach* (§400038); *le casan càmh* (§400162); *fo òrdain theann* (§400171); *le criosan teann* (§288); *air ainmhidhean garbh* (§400058); *fo dhuilleagan marbh* (§252); *do phiantan searbh* (§267); *troimh dhannsaichean borb* (§400047); *le a [=her] seann sùilean gorm* (§400040); *air cluasan bodhar* (§62); *ann an dùthchannan céin* (§400026); *ann an aodaichean mìn* (§400025); *cuid do “dhaoine glic an Eilein”* (§400081); *do bhrùidean tinn* (§35); *aig daoine fallain* (§400185);
- [DAT.DEF] *nan [=in their] chaoraich mhaol* (§400108); *dhe na h-eich ruadh* (§400031); *bho na linntean cian* (§400013); *air na beathaichean lag* (§400060); *aig mo ghàirdeanan rag 's mo chasan rag* (§400055); *dha na craobhan fliuch* (§400109); *air na stràidean blàth* (§400111); *air na daoine càmh* (§400175); *'nan [=in their] cuirp mharbh* (§400075); *anns na làithean searbh ud* (§400136); *ris na càirdean dileas* (§400025); *air na cnocan ìosal* (§400045); *ri na h-òrain bhinn* (§401007); *dhe na naidheachdan goirid* (§400072).

8.4. Multiple adjectives

If two or more monosyllabic adjectives modify the same noun, all of them can be suffixed.

- [NOM.INDEF] *creagan àrda casa* (§400017); *cnuic àrda ghorma* (§400024); *craobhan móra garbha* (§217004); *gathan fuara geala na gréine* (§40); *uillt bhrasa bheotha lainnireach* (§400061);²⁷² *eileanan beaga fàsa* (§400050); *cearcan beaga, geala* (§400049); *easgannan beaga dubha* (§400044); *neòil bheaga mhìne* (§217002); *cnuic bheaga, fhiadhaich, mholach, chasa* (§25); *clachan cruinne, loma* (§400184);
- [NOM.DEF] *na ballaichean móra tiugha* (§400037); *na cnaip chaola àrda* (§400015); *na caoraich bhoga, mhaola* (§401006); *na h-eòin bheaga bhinne bhuchallach* (§48); *na h-eich liatha, dhiana, bhrasa* (§25);
- [GEN.INDEF] *gu bhi taghadh facail mhora chruaidhe thioram* (§218002);²⁷³

²⁷² Note the suffixed plural form *bheotha* (SG *beò*).

²⁷³ This is, actually, the nominative form. Found in an early text, published in 1905.

- [GEN.DEF] *a-measg nan togalaichean àrda grànda* (§400041);
- [DAT.INDEF] *le cìochan móra cruinne* (§400037); *ri buill chaola, theanna, chruaidhe* (§47); *de stuthan daora, ùra* (§400029); *air eich bheaga, luatha, sgiolta* (§400162); *aig seana dhaoine bochda laga* (§400032); *air casan aotroma, luatha* (§400080);²⁷⁴
- [DAT.DEF] *gu na rathaidean mòra tranga* (§400181); *leis na steamaran móra luatha* (§400055); *de na h-easgannan caola dubha* (§400061); *air na boisean boga, mìne* (§40); *ris na briosgaidean cruaidhe, cruinne* (§400003).

Often, however, only the first monosyllabic adjective is suffixed.

- [NOM.INDEF] *feadhainn mhóra chruinn shoilleir* (§400081); *ribeanan caola geal* (§400132); *trì leabhraichean caola, geal, snog* (§400073); *bruaichean casa, bog an uillt* (§400184); *feadhainn bheaga shaor eile* (§400042); *tùthagan beaga snog* (§44); *“refrigerators” bheaga, shnog* (§400033); *clachan beaga garbh* (§400096);
- [NOM.DEF] *na h-amannan searbha cruaidh agus acrach ud* (§75);
- [GEN.INDEF] *an àite clachan beaga gorm* (§400043);²⁷⁵
- [DAT.INDEF] *le mullach dubh agus dìtheanan móra geal* (§400047); *le fèithean cruaidhe teann* (§29); but cf. *le aodann socair is sùilean sèimh mòra gorm* (§400192);²⁷⁶
- [DAT.DEF] *air na creagan loma, liath* (§400024).

Occasionally, all are suffixless.

- [NOM.INDEF] *monaidhean àrd, cas, creagach* (§400102); *sùilean bog donn* (§400191); *còmhragan garg, teann* (§400110); *daoine clis luath* (§400071);
- [NOM.DEF] *na sùilean caomh fliuch* (§400038);
- [GEN.INDEF] *aig bonn bruthaichean àrd, cas* (§400079);²⁷⁷ *a’ dèanamh laghannan teann, cruaidh, dìongmhalta, neo-mhathach* (§64).

If only the first adjective is monosyllabic, it is often suffixed.

- [NOM.INDEF] *calpannan làna fallain* (§39); *naoi bà maola odhar* (§294); *rudan beaga suarach* (§400044); *notebooks bheaga bhrònach* (§400084); *fir throma, stòlda agus fir chaola, bhòsdail* (§400032); [NOM.DEF] *na gluasadan malla stàtail* (§400046); [DAT.INDEF] *le uinneagan beaga, cumhang* (§400050);
- [NOM.INDEF] *creutairean lag, meata* (§62); *daoine sèimh, socair, pongail* (§400186); [GEN.INDEF] *móran dhealbhan snog daite* (§400054); *teanga dhaoine borb allaidh* (§400034); [GEN.DEF] *air oir nam fàsach cian, coimheach* (§25); [DAT.DEF] *do na clachan àrd, snaidhte* (§400092).

If the second adjective is monosyllabic, it seems to be more often suffixless.

²⁷⁴ This is exceptional: a suffixed dysyllabic adjective.

²⁷⁵ Note the lack of lenition in the noun.

²⁷⁶ The form *sèimhe* seems to be rare, unlike *mòra*, which is very common.

²⁷⁷ Noun not lenited.

- [NOM.DEF] *na mnathan finealta, seanga* (§400038); *na h-uillt bhòidheach bhinne* (§48); [DAT.INDEF] *mar mheuran tana cruaidhe caillich* (§313); *le meuran reamhar cruinne* (§400037) [DAT.DEF] *ris na creagan àrsaidh liatha* (§400036);
- [NOM.INDEF] *[a] bilean tioram, rag* (§400151); [NOM.DEF] *na ceàrnan falamh fàs* (§400074); *na h-òrdagan fada caol aige* (§400038); [GEN.INDEF] *an dithis dhaoine bodhar, balbh* (§62); [DAT.INDEF] *le gaothan fiadhaich blàth* (§400028); [DAT.DEF] *air na creagan gruamach àrd* (§400139).

8.5. Old and exceptional forms

The old plural forms of some dysyllabic adjectives have been attested, mainly in pre-1900 texts. Many of these adjectives undergo syncope.

- *monaidhean àrd, cas, creagach, lochan mara lionmhora* (§400102);²⁷⁸ *air na taighean falamha* (§400137); *air casan aotroma, luatha* (§400080);
- *geòcairean nan cluasan leathna* (§400150); *air na seilcheagan reamhra* (§48); *am measg nan cnàmhan tiorma* (§81006); *as na fàsaichibh falmha, tiorma, farsuing* (§275); *ceithir spadagan odhra a' mhairt* (§102004); *muinntir nan roinnean isle* (§81010); *do nithibh doimhne Dhé* (§118); *cliathan righne* (§125); *calpana fada teanna righne* (§81007).

Note also the following non-traditional examples:

- *beanntan àirde* (§401003), instead of *beanntan àrda*;
- *an aon àireamh chaorach mhaol* (§33), instead of *chaorach maol*;
- *air muin eich bhras* (§400092); instead of *each bras*, which could be misinterpreted as singular;
- *am measg chinnich bhorba* (§401013); with nominative forms in the genitive position, but the noun is lenited;
- *gu slighe chaol agus chàm nan Astràileinich dhubha* (§400047); where the genitive is expressed solely by the article.

9. Conclusions

Cases are expressed by (1) the article and the accompanying initial mutations; (2) noun and adjective morphology; and (3) lenition (indefinite genitive plural).

Genitive case marking still appears to be common with definite nouns.

Genitive singular forms of indefinite masculine nouns have become uncommon. Nominative forms are normally used in genitive contexts, even in earlier texts.

²⁷⁸ It is interesting that the same sentence contains suffixless forms.

Genitive singular forms of indefinite feminine and plural nouns seem to be more common than that, but that may have changed in recent times.

Traditional feminine genitive singular forms of adjectives are not very common in the corpus. They seem to have been replaced by more innovative forms that are identical to the dative forms: *na cloiche mòire* >> *na cloiche mhòir*.

Special dative forms of feminine nouns become less common in recent texts. This means that dative case marking has become limited (more or less) to masculine definite singular nouns, where the dative is expressed by the article and initial mutations.

Some innovations in number and case marking:

- Dysyllabic and polysyllabic adjectives do not have any suffixed forms anymore (except the comparative).
- This also applies to adjectives that undergo syncope: [PL] *bodhar* instead of *bodhra*, *reamhar* instead of *reamhra*, *ìosal* or *ìseal* instead of *ìsle*.
- Certain types of vowel change associated with slenderisation have disappeared or become rare: *bhodhair* instead of *bhuidhir*; *fhliuich* instead of *fhlich*.
- Certain adjectives often lack slenderisation when it would be expected, e.g. *àrd*, *fann*, *mall*, *trom*, *borb*, *fliuch*, *blàth*, *luath*, *liath*. Not all of these involve vowel change.
- Certain adjectives often lack the plural suffix, e.g. *fann*, *mall*, *blàth*, *luath*, *clis*, *sgìth*.
- Uninflected forms of adjectives often occur even when the noun that they modify is inflected for case.
- Noun and adjective inflection is being eroded and case marking depends primarily on the article and initial mutations.

In some cases, conservative forms can be characteristic of written language rather than what the author would use in everyday language. Cf. examples such as: *a' fàsgadh làimhe cruaidhe a h-athar* (§217003); with a genitive noun modified by a definite genitive noun.

4. Tense and aspect

4.1 Tense and aspect: Lexical aspect and telicity²⁷⁹

1. Perfective vs. imperfective

Processes that are perceived as completed at/by a given point of reference can be termed *perfective*. Those that are perceived as continuing/unfolding or repeating over a period of time can be termed *imperfective*.

Some verbs are intrinsically perfective, whilst others are intrinsically imperfective. This seems to depend on the type of process that they describe, e.g. *tuit* (PFV) vs. *caidil* (IPV), as in:

- ***Thuit an t-each, 's chaidh mo shadail ás an diollaid*** ‘The horse fell and I was thrown out of the saddle’ (§400047);
- ***Chaidil ise gu séimh sa' chreathail*** ‘She slept calmly in the cradle’ (§400081).

Processes expressed by an intrinsically perfective verb can be described as imperfective (either durative or iterative) when used in progressive forms.

- [DUR] ***Bha an oidhche a' tuiteam agus bha mi a' tighinn gu ceann mo chuairt, ach air an t-slighe dhachaidh bha an smuain ud fhathast air m' aire...*** ‘The night was falling and I was approaching the end of my journey, but on the way home that thought was still on my mind’ (§400042);
- [ITER] ***Bha mi ann a sin a' tuiteam 's ag éirigh, 'gam stialladh fhéin leis na ski-ichean is a' sìor fhàs fliuch. Ach mu robh am feasgar seachad cha robh mi a' tuiteam cho tric is bha mi faighinn ruith bheag tarsainn corra uair*** ‘I was there falling and rising, lashing myself with the skis and getting wetter and wetter [lit. getting continually wet]. But before the afternoon was over I was not falling as often and I was getting a wee [smooth] run across every now and again’ (§4000027); ***Ghluais mi, ach bha gach boinne a' tuiteam air mo ghualainn*** ‘I moved but every drop fell on my shoulder’ (§400086).²⁸⁰

Intrinsically imperfective verbs describe processes that are usually perceived as unfolding over a certain period of time. Their simple forms may imply completeness, whereas the progressive tenses may serve to emphasise that the process is either continuous or repeated, or to set the scene for another process, or to describe several processes as simultaneous.

²⁷⁹ The adduced examples have been found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*, mainly in 20th century texts.

²⁸⁰ In this example, the constant falling of individual drops can be interpreted as an iterative process.

- [COMPL] *Bhruidhinn e ris an nighean, 's thuirt an nighean ris* ‘Well, a’ cheud fhear a thig còmh rium an nochd, bheir e punnd Sasannach dhomh...’ (§400050);
- [PROG] *Bha i a’ bruidhinn aig a’ fòn, agus thuig gach duine gu grad gu robh i còmhradh ri a nighean Catriona* ‘She was speaking on the phone, and everyone suddenly understood (= realised) that she was talking to her daughter Catriona’ (§400021);
- [PROG] *Fhad 's a bha i còmhradh ris, bha i sealltainn tarsainn air a ghualainn mar gum biodh i toirt an aire do rudeigin eile* ‘While she was talking to him, she was looking over his shoulder as if she had been paying attention to something else’ (§400025).

Certain verbs are exceptional in that they only have simple forms: the verb *bi*, the modals *feum* and *faod*, and verbs such as *gabh* and *thèid* when used as auxiliaries. The verbs *saoil* ‘think’ and *buin* ‘belong’ too often take simple forms even though the process that they describe may be imperfective.

2. Telicity

Telicity is a property of the entire verb phrase (predicate). A verb phrase is telic if it describes a process that has an endpoint; otherwise it is atelic.

- [TEL] *Uill, dh’innis e an sgeulachd seo dhomh* ‘Well, he told me this story’ (§400108); *Choisich e a-null gu’n chunntar eile, agus tharruing e pàipear às a phòca* ‘He walked over to the other counter and pulled a paper out of his pocket’ (§44);
- [ATEL] *'S bha 'n fhuil a’ ruith mar eas* ‘And the blood was running like a waterfall’ (§400114); *Tha a’ saoghal a’ cur charan fad na h-ùine* ‘The world is turning all the time’ (§306).²⁸¹

Telling a story is completed once the story has been told. Running and turning, on the other hand, can either go on forever or they can stop, but they cannot be completed in the same sense as, for example, telling a story or walking to a counter can.

3. Lexical aspect (Aktionsart)

According to their lexical aspect or Aktionsart, verb expressions can be described as:

- *activities* (dynamic and atelic);
- *states* (static and atelic);
- *accomplishments* (dynamic, telic and non-punctual);
- *achievements* (dynamic, telic and punctual);
- *semelfactives* (dynamic, atelic and punctual).

²⁸¹ This appears to be iterative in Gaelic, i.e. ‘making (consecutive individual) turns’, which means that the whole process is comprised of a series of telic processes.

Dynamic processes consist of various phases, e.g. *filling a bottle* involves phases such as the bottle being almost empty, half-full, etc. Those that are described as static do not consist of such phases, e.g. *sitting on a chair* or *glowing*. Punctual events involve a sudden change of state, e.g. *getting married* – a person is either married or not and interrupting a wedding ceremony does not result in the couple being only half-married.

3.1. Activities

Activities are dynamic and atelic, i.e. they consist of various phases and do not have a terminal point, e.g. *bruidhinn* (speak), *cluich pìob* (play the pipes), *coisich* (walk), *danns* (dance), *dràibh(ig)* (drive), *gearain* (complain), *giùlain* (carry), *imlich* (lick), *obraich* (function), *ruith* (run), *sèid* (blow), *seinn* (sing), *slaod* (pull), *snàmh* (swim), *sruth* (flow), *stiùir* (steer), *tarraing* (draw); and also: *dèan adhradh* (worship), *dèan gearan* (complain). Certain nouns function as verbal nouns in progressive tenses, e.g. *adhradh* (worship), *cabadaich* (blethering), *còmhradh* (talking; conversation), *deasbad* (debate), *obair* (work).

So-called **verbs of active perception** can be included here too: *coimhead* (look; watch); *seall* (look; watch); *èist* (listen). These are opposed to **verbs of inert perception** (see §3.2 and §3.4).

Activity verbs can be either intransitive (*coisich*, *snàmh*, *bruidhinn*, *sèid*) or transitive (*slaod*, *tarraing*, *giùlain*, *dràibh*).²⁸²

Activity verbs are intrinsically imperfective (either durative or iterative) and normally occur in progressive constructions.

- ***Bha sinn a' snàmh ann an uamh le uisge cho teth 's a dh'iarradh duine ann an amar-ionnlaid*** 'We were swimming in a cave with water as hot as you would want in a washbasin' (§400165); ***Aon latha bha tarbh a' ruith às a dhéidh agus thàinig e gu sloc mhór agus leum e thairis*** 'One day, a bull was running after him and he came to a large pit and jumped over it' (§400057); ***Bha i ag innse dha, fhads a bha iad a' cladhach, mun chroit a bh' aig a sheanair...*** 'She was telling him, while they were digging, about the croft that his grandfather had' (§400126).

Simple tense forms describe activities as completed/bounded events.

- ***Shéid a' ghaoth agus b' e sin an séideadh*** 'The wind blew and that was some blowing' (§400007);
- ***Bhruidhinn e rium, 's dh'fhoighneachd e dhìom cà' robh mi dol, 's thuirt mi gu robh mi dol gu fear MacFhilib. Bha e treiseag a' coimhead orm*** 'He spoke to me and asked me where I was going, and I said that I was going to a certain MacKillop. He looked at me for a moment' (§400023);
- ***Cha robh sgeul air mo sporan! Choimhead mi air an t-Sasunnach agus 's ann a bha dreun air*** 'My wallet was gone! I looked at the Englishman and he was scowling'

²⁸² Some verbs belong to both groups depending on context, e.g. *coisich* and *snàmh* can be (marginally) transitive, with the object usually describing a distance (*snàmh mìle* 'swim a mile').

(§400032); “*Tha fhiosam fìor mhath, air na litrichean a tha iad a’ cur dhachaidh.*” *Sheall i orm* “‘I know very well about the letters that they are sending home.’ She looked at me’ (§400041); “‘*S chaill sinne an dotair a b’ fheàrr a thainig riamh á colaiste – nach robh do choguis a’ cur dragh ort fad nam bliadhnachan?*” *Sheall Parlann air gu geur. Thog am fear eile a ghuaillean* “‘And we lost the best doctor that had ever come out of the college – did your conscience not trouble you all these years?’ Bartholomew looked at him sharply. The other man shrugged’ (§400042);

- *Dh’èisd e airson mionaid ’s bhruidhinn e ri cuideigin ach mu dheireadh chuir e shìos an telefon* ‘He listened for a minute and spoke to somebody but he put down the phone eventually’ (§400035); *Dh’èisd e ri fuaim a’ bhùirn a’ dòrtadh troimh’n dorchadas* ‘He listened to the sound of the water pouring through the darkness’ (§400109).

Many of these verbs can also express achievements or accomplishments in certain contexts (see §3.3 and §3.4).

3.2. States

States are static and atelic, i.e. they have no internal dynamic (phases) and no terminal point, e.g. *aithnich* (know, recognise), *buin* (belong; concern), *cadail* (sleep), *cluinn* (hear), *còrd ri* (agree), *creid* (believe), *deàrrs* (shine), *dìochuimhnich* (forget), *fairich* (feel), *feith* (wait), *fuirich* (stay; live), *gràdhaich* (love), *faic* (see), *fuathaich* (hate), *iarr* (want), *laigh* (lie), *motaich* (be aware), *saoil* (think, suppose), *seas* (stand), *sìn* (stretch), *smaoin(t)ich* (think; imagine), *suidh* (sit), *tuig* (understand).²⁸³

State verbs appear to be less common in Gaelic than they are in English and many English state verbs correspond to complex phrases in Gaelic, e.g.

- *thoir meas/spèis/urram do* (respect);
- *cuir earbsa ann* (trust); *cuir iongnadh air* (surprise, amaze); *cuir dragh/cùram air* (trouble, worry, bother);
- *gabh tlachd de* (enjoy); *gabh iongantais* (wonder); *gabh iongnadh* (marvel; wonder); *gabh dragh* (worry); *gabh cùram de* (worry, be concerned);
- *dèan dragh do* (bother);
- *tha fhios aig* (know), *tha meas aig... air* (respect), *tha gaol/gràdh aig... air* (love), *tha gràin aig... air* (hate), *tha fuath aig... do* (hate), *tha farmad aig... ri* (envy), *tha dùil aig... ri* (expect), *tha earbsa aig... an* (trust); *tha... aig* (have);
- *tha iongantais air...* (be surprised), *tha nàire air* (be ashamed), *tha an t-acras air* (be hungry), *tha an t-eagal air* (fear, be afraid), *tha aileag air* (be hiccupping), *tha rudhadh air/an* (be blushed);
- *tha... an dùil* (hope/expect); *tha... an dòchas* (hope);
- *tha... fo iongnadh* (be amazed); *fo chùram* (troubled); *fo bhròn/mhulad* (sad, dejected);
- *tha... air chrith* (be trembling);

²⁸³ Some of these verbs do not express states in all contexts, which will be addressed in the following text.

- *tha... an crochadh* (be hanging / suspended; depend);
- *is toil/math le* (like); *is fheàrr le* (prefer); *is beag air* (dislike); *is lugha air* (loathe); *is aithne do* (know).

The above expressions that contain the verbs *dèan*, *cuir*, *thoir* and *gabh* may be interpreted as achievements and, perhaps, even as activities, in certain contexts. Those that contain either the verb *bi* or the copula describe only states.

State verbs can be either intransitive (*suidh*, *laigh*, *deàrrs*) or transitive (*iarr*, *faic*, *creid*). They are intrinsically imperfective (durative) and normally occur in their progressive forms.

There are several types of state verbs/expressions:

1. ‘Ordinary’ state verbs (*còrd ri*, *deàrrs*, *feith*, *fuirich*, *gràdhaich*, *fuathaich*,²⁸⁴ *iarr*; *buin*, *saoil* and the complex expressions listed above);
2. Interval stative (*laigh*, *seas*, *sìn*, *suidh*; *stad*; and also: *cadail*, *dùisg*);
3. Verbs of inert perception (*faic*, *cluinn*, *fairich*, *aithnich*, *mothaich*);
4. Verbs of inert cognition (*creid*, *dìochuimhnich*, *smaointich*, *tuig*);
5. Habitual expressions.

3.2.1. ‘Ordinary’ state verbs/expressions

These verbs are normally progressive although their simple forms occur in certain contexts. The simple forms may either be inchoative, or indicate completeness/boundedness. Inchoatives, however, describe achievements. The simple forms of complex expressions that contain the verbs *cuir*, *dèan*, *gabh* and *thoir* most likely describe achievements too (see §3.4).

- *Bha a’ cheò is na sgòthan air teicheadh, bha a’ ghrian a’ deàrrsadh – latha brèagha samhraidh dìreach* ‘The mist and the clouds had dispersed, the sun was shining – a lovely summer day, indeed’ (§400137);
- *Bha càirdeas is furan, subhachas agus cridhealas follaiseach gun teagamh. ‘S e Féill Rìoghail a bha so da-rìribh. Dheàrrs a’ ghrian oirnn. Thog mi orm roimh ochd uairean sa’ mhadainn, fhad ‘s a bha e fionnar* ‘Friendliness and welcome, cheerfulness and mirth were definitely obvious. The sun shone on us. I set out before eight o’clock in the morning while it was still fresh’ (§400033).

The verbs *saoil* ‘think, suppose’ and *buin* ‘belong; concern, pertain’ are exceptional in that their simple forms commonly indicate state: *shaoil mi* ‘I thought’; *saoilidh mi* ‘I think/suppose’.²⁸⁵

The complex expressions that contain the verb *bi* or the copula do not have simple forms.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ *Gràdhaich* and *fuathaich* appear to be very rare.

²⁸⁵ For *buin*, see Section 4.11.

²⁸⁶ In some cases, there are corresponding expressions that contain the verb *thig*. They express achievements: *thàinig an t-acras air* (vs. *tha an t-acras air*). Some have causatives that are expressed by the verb *cuir*.

3.2.2. Interval statives and similar

When describing states, the verbs *laigh*, *seas*, *sìn*, *suidh*, *stad*, *cadail* and *dùisg* occur in a special progressive construction that involves the preposition *an* and a possessive pronoun. A few common nouns are used this way too, e.g. *tost* (silence), *cabhag* (hurry), *crùban* (crouching).

- *Tha e na shìneadh* ‘He is stretched/lying’
- *Tha e na dhùisg* ‘He is awake’
- *Tha e na stad* ‘He has stopped / is not moving’
- *Tha e na chabhag* ‘He is in a hurry’

Regular (*ag/a*) progressive forms of these verbs normally express achievements (see §3.4) although there are examples of them describing states too, which seems to be less common,²⁸⁷ e.g.

- *Tha mi a’ laighe air mo dhruim, anns an dorch, a’ coimhead suas a mhullach an taigh* ‘I am lying on my back, in the dark, looking up at the ceiling’ (§11);
- *Bha mòran dhaoine a’ seasamh mun cuairt agus fir-ciùil a’ chuich agus a’ gabhail òran* ‘Many people were standing around and musicians were playing and singing’ (§400032);
- *Bhiodh iad a’ cadal annta – bha leapannan annta* ‘They used to sleep in them – there were beds in them’ (§26).

Simple forms of these verbs describe either bounded states, as in the following examples, or achievements (see §3.4).

- *Ach shuidh sinn far an robh sinn greis eile, agus cha robh fada gus an do thòisich duine a’ nochdadh an sud ’s an so* ‘But we sat where we were for another while, and it was not long till people started to appear here and there’ (§400005);
- *Caidlidh e gu socair an deidh so* ‘He will sleep calmly after this’ (§401015).²⁸⁸

3.2.3. Verbs of inert perception

Progressive forms of the verbs *faic*, *cluinn*, *fairich*, *aithnich*, *mothaich* express states. These correspond to English simple forms or the expression *can* + verb.

- *Bha e nis a’ faicinn nan rionnagan ’nam miltean* ‘He could now see thousands of stars’ (§400045); *Cha robh e a’ faireachdainn fuar ged nach robh grian ann* ‘He did not feel cold even though there was no sun’ (§400038); *Bha fhios aig Iseabail agus aig na coimhearsnaich nach maireadh i fada. Bha Pàdruig a’ mothachadh gu robh a mhàthair glé thinn* ‘Isabel and the neighbours knew that she would not live long. Patrick was aware that his mother was very ill’ (§400018);

²⁸⁷ See Section 4.5.

²⁸⁸ *Suidh greis eile* could be an accomplishment, like *ruith mìle*. Cf. *Caidlidh sinn an oidhche an tigh mo pheathar fhéin...* ‘We will sleep the night in my own sister’s house’ (§400005).

- *Ach, a chàirdean, **tha mi a' faicinn** nach eil sibh cho fortanach ruinne* ‘But, friends, I can see that you are not as lucky as we are’ (§400032); *A **bheil thu ag aithneachadh** na làimhe-sgrìobhaidh so?* ‘Can you recognise this handwriting?’ (§400048);²⁸⁹
- *...thoir taing dhan t-sealbh **nach eil thu faicinn** na rudan **tha sinne faicinn** a h-uile latha* ‘thank God that you do not see the things that we see every day’ (§400176); ***Bidh mi faicinn** tòrr bheathaichean fo na clachan nuair a thogas mi iad* ‘I see a lot of animals under the stones when I lift them’ (§198).²⁹⁰

Simple forms of these verbs describe achievements (see §3.4).

3.2.4. Verbs of inert cognition

Progressive forms of these verbs are used in contexts in which simple forms normally occur in English, as in:

- *Ged **a bha mi a' tuigsinn** air a còmhradh dé bha i ciallachadh bha mi smaoineachadh nach robh ann am blian ach facal a rinn i fhéin suas!* ‘Sann nuair a chuala mi rithist e aig te eile á Ceann t-Sàile a thuig mi cho aineolach’s a bha mi ‘Although I could understand her speech, what she meant, I thought that ‘blian’ was nothing else but a word she made up herself! Only when I heard it again from another woman from Kintail, I realised how ignorant I was’ (§400089); ***Bha mi a' smaoineachadh** gur ann a bha mo chluasan air fàs caran neònach an déidh bhith ag éisdeachd òraid Chaluum* ‘I thought that my ears had become a bit weird after listening to Calum’s speech’ (§400032); ***Cha robh iad a' creidsinn** ann an smachd* ‘They did not believe in authority’ (§400053).

Cf. also the following example, where *tha sibh a' dìochuimhneachadh* is more or less the same as ‘you are in the state of having forgotten’.

- *“Le ’r cead,” ars esan, agus crith ’na ghuth leis an fheirg, “**tha sibh a' dìochuimhneachadh** gu bheil sibh an cunnart ur beatha aig na daoine borba a tha san àite so...”* ““With your permission,” he said, and his voice was trembling with anger, “you are forgetting that your lives are in danger for the barbarous people who are in this place” (§400041).

The simple forms of *dìochuimhnic* and *tuig* express achievements (see §3.4). Simple forms of *creid* and *smaoinich*, however, seem to describe (bounded?) states, at least in some contexts:

- ***Cha do chreid** i riamh gu robh Pàdraig ’na eildear* ‘She never believed that Patrick was an elder’ (§400146); ***Smaoinich** e gu robh diabhail a’ sporghail aig na ballachan ’s a’ fiachainn ri faighinn a-steach air an uinneag* ‘He thought that the devil was rummaging around the walls trying to get in through the window’ (§400109).

²⁸⁹ These examples describe the ‘true’ present.

²⁹⁰ These examples describe habituais.

3.2.5. Habituals

Habitual activities, and some accomplishments and achievements, can also be interpreted as states:

- *Tha barrachd dha na boireannaich a' smocadh na tha de na fir* 'There are more women who smoke than there are men' (§400147).

3.3. Accomplishments

Accomplishments are dynamic, telic and non-punctual, i.e. they consist of various phases and have a terminal point, e.g. *at* (swell), *bruich buntàta* (boil a potato), *buain a' mhòine* (cut peat), *cluich geama* (play a game), *cruthaich* (create), *gabh òran* (sing a song), *gearr aran* (cut some bread), *glan an taigh* (clean the house), *innis sgeulachd* (tell a story), *ith ugh* (eat an egg), *leagh* (melt), *leugh leabhar* (read a book), *nìgh na soithichean* (wash the dishes), *òl am fìon* (drink the wine), *peant an fheansa* (paint the fence), *ròst an fheadil* (roast the meat), *sgeadaich* (decorate), *sgioblaich an rùm* (tidy the room), *sgrìobh litir* (write a letter), *snàmh dà mhìle* (swim two miles), *sùigh an t-uisge* (absorb the water), *thoir mìos/bliadhna* (spend a month/year), *tog balla* (build a wall).

Cf. also the following complex expressions:

- *dèan aiteamh* (thaw), *dèan deiseil* (get ready);
- *fàs mòr* (grow big), *fàs sean/aosta* (grow old), *fàs bàn* (grow pale), *fàs dearg* (grow red);²⁹¹
- *rach am feabhas* (improve, become better); *rach am meud* (grow bigger); *rach an lughad* (decrease, become less).²⁹²

These verbs are either transitive (*gabh*, *innis*, *tog*) or intransitive (*at*, *fàs*), or both (*leagh*). Expressions such as *dèan deiseil* are also intransitive.

Accomplishment verbs are intrinsically perfective in Scottish Gaelic and accomplishments are expressed by simple tenses. Progressive tenses can be used to describe the process that leads to the actual accomplishment.

- *'S e Dan Iain Dhòmhnail a dh'innis dhomh an sgeulachd seo o chionn ghoirid* (§2); *Co dhiù, dh'fhàs mi mòr agus cho-dhùin mi gu robh Bean Iomhair gu math seòlta, carach anns an naidheachd a bha i air a thoirt dhuinn 'nar clann* 'Anyway, I grew up and concluded that Iomhar's wife was quite sly and sneaky in the story that she had told us when we were children' (§27);
- *Chaidh mi gu Aonghas Beag, 11/6/'59, agus bha i [= the story] aige mar a chuala esan i aig Domhnall mac Dhonnchaidh, athair Dhonnchaidh Chlachair nach maireann, bho chionn corr is trì fichead bliadhna is a deich 'n uair a bha Domhnall mac Dhonnchaidh a' togail taighe ann an Loch Aoineort* 'I went to Angus Beg, 11/6/'59, and he had it as

²⁹¹ Causative: *deargaich* (redden, make red).

²⁹² Causative: *cuir am feabhas* (improve, make better), etc.

he heard it from Donald MacConachie, the late Duncan the builder's father, more than 70 years ago when Donald MacConachie was building a house in Loch Eynort (§400029).

Accomplishments can, therefore, be interpreted as expressing a *gradual* change of situation, a series of changes, since they unfold over a certain period of time until completion.

3.4. Achievements

Achievements are dynamic and telic, but unlike accomplishments, they occur punctually, e.g. *aithnich* (recognise), *atharraich* (change), *bàsaich* (die), *bàth* (drown), *caill* (lose), *ceannaich* (buy), *cluinn* (hear), *coisich a-mach* (walk out), *dìochuimhnich* (forget),²⁹³ *dùin* (shut), *dùisg* (wake up), *èirich (nad sheasamh)* (stand up; rise), *faic* (see), *faigh* (get; find), *fairich* (feel), *falbh* (leave), *feith air/ri* (wait for), *fuirich ri* (wait for), *foillsich* (reveal), *fosgail* (open), *laigh* (lie down), *mothaich* (notice), *nochd* (appear), *pòg* (kiss), *pòs* (marry; get married), *rach do/gu* (go to), *reic* (sell), *ruig* (reach; arrive), *ruith do/gu* (run to), *seas (suas)* (stand up), *suidh (sìos)* (sit down), *thig* (understand), *thoir do/bho/le* (give/take/bring), *tuit* (fall).

These verbs are either intransitive (*tuit*) or transitive (*ceannaich*), or both (*bàth*). Intransitive meanings of some of them can also be expressed by constructions such as: *thàinig atharrachadh air* (it changed); or by the passive: *chaidh a bhàthadh* (he drowned).

The following phrases too express achievements:²⁹⁴

- *rach à bith* (disappear; become extinct), *rach às do chuimhne* (be forgotten by you), *rach bàs* (die);
- *thig am bith* (come into being; start to exist);
- *thàinig rudhadh an/air* (blushed), *thàinig an t-acras air* (grew hungry), *thàinig an aileag air* (started to hiccup);
- *tuit nad chadal* (fall asleep), *tuit às a chèile* (fall apart);
- *thoir an aire / fa-near* (notice)
- *gabh eagal* (get scared), *gabh iongantais* (become surprised),²⁹⁵ *gabh gràdh/gaol* (start loving); *gabh fuath* (start hating); *gabh farmad ri* (become envious);²⁹⁶
- *fàs mòr* (grow up).

There seem to be four types of achievement verbs/expressions:

1. 'ordinary' achievement verbs (the majority);
2. verbs of inert perception (*faic*, *cluinn*, *fairich*, *aithnich*, *mothaich*);
3. verbs of inert cognition (*dìochuimhnich*, *thuig*);
4. interval statives (*seas*, *suidh*, *laigh*).

²⁹³ Forgetting could sometimes be interpreted as an accomplishment.

²⁹⁴ Some (if not all) are obviously inchoative, which is expected since *tòisich* is an achievement verb too.

²⁹⁵ These resemble verbs of inert perception in that they express states when progressive.

²⁹⁶ These are rarely progressive in the corpus.

The latter three groups can also describe states (see §§3.2.2–4).

All achievement verbs are intrinsically perfective and describe a punctual change of state.

- *Chaill sinne an soitheach ann an uisgeachan na Gréige an samhradh sin* ‘We lost the vessel in Greek waters that summer’ (§400048); *Ràinig an triùir aca Glaschu gun tubaist* ‘The three of them reached Glasgow without any trouble’ (§400032); *Agus ruith e suas dhachaidh* ‘And he ran up home’ (§39); *Dh’èirich e agus ruith e do’n bhaile, suas gu geata a’ Chaiptein agus a steach ghabh e* ‘He got up and ran to the village, up to the Captain’s gate and in he went’ (§288); *Ré na h-oidhche thuit sneachd mòr; agus air a’ mhadainn, bha e fhathasd a’ tuiteam gu trom* ‘A lot of snow fell during the night and it was still falling in the morning’ (§112003);
- *Chunnaic e obair càise ann an Giogha agus obair gainmhich ann an Loch Aluinn; agus chunnaic e far an robh iad a’ dol a thòiseachadh air cidhe ùr ann an Tiridhe* ‘He saw a dairy in Gigha and a sand mine in Lochaline; and he saw where they were going to start (constructing) a new quay in Tìree’ (§400009); *Dh’fhairich mise eagal uair na dhà, roimhe seo ’s ’na dhéidh sin, air muir ’s air tìr, ach tha fhiosam a nis nach robh mothachadh agam dé bh’ ann an eagal gus a’ mhadainn ud* ‘I felt fear a few times before that and later on, at sea and on land, but I know now that I was not aware of what fear was until that morning’ (§36); *Fads a bha e ’na sheasamh thug e sùil mun cuairt is mhothaich e do cheathrar òga* ‘While he was sitting he had a look around and he noticed four youths’ (§400084); *Agus ann a cheart mhionaid anns na dh’aithnich mis’ esan, dh’aithnich esan mise* ‘And in the very minute that I recognised him, he recognised me’ (§34);
- *Ach dhòchuidh mi mo sgeul* ‘But I have forgotten my story’ (§400040); *Bha i a’ bruidhinn aig a’ fòn, agus thuig gach duine gu grad gu robh i còmhraidh ri a nighean Catriona* ‘She was speaking on the phone, and everyone suddenly understood (= realised) that she was talking to her daughter Catriona’ (§400021); *Ged a bha mi a’ tuigsinn air a còmhraidh dé bha i ciallachadh bha mi smaoinichadh nach robh ann am blian ach facal a rinn i fhéin suas! ’Sann nuair a chuala mi rithist e aig te eile á Ceann t-Sàile a thuig mi cho aineolach ’s a bha mi* ‘Although I could understand her talk, what she meant, I thought that ‘blian’ was nothing else but a word she made up herself! Only when I heard it again from another woman from Kintail, I realised how ignorant I was’ (§400089);
- *An ceann ùine chaidh i null chun na leapa is shuidh i* ‘After a while, she went over to the bed and sat down’ (§400031).

When progressive, the ‘ordinary’ achievement verbs and interval statives either describe the situation that leads to the achievement itself or are iterative.

- *Ach, beag air bheag, bha ciùird na tughadaireachd a’ dol bàs* ‘But, gradually, the trades of thatching were dying’ (§400052);
- *Air uairean, bha am bàillidh a’ cur nan coitearan sin air a’ choitcheann aig croitearan eile, is mar sin bha na croitearan a’ call tuilleadh feuraich* ‘The factor would sometimes

put these cottars on other crofters' common and the crofters were thus losing more pasture' (§26);

- **Bha e a' ruigsinn** *Bhochanain, a-réir choltas, ann an caochladh chruthan* 'Apparently, he was approaching Buchanan in various ways' (§400147);
- **Bha an sneachd a' tuiteam** 's e leaghadh anns an teine, mar gu robh dàimh aige ri na daoine' 'Snow was falling and melting in the fire...' (§400114).

On the other hand, verbs of inert perception (*faic, cluinn, fairich, aithnich, mothaich*) describe states rather than achievements when progressive (see §3.2.3). This is also true of some verbs of inert cognition (*dìochuimhnich, tuig*), at least in certain contexts (see §3.2.4).

Interval statives too can describe states when progressive although a special progressive construction is normally used for that purpose. Their simple forms can describe states too (see §3.2.2).

Note the following examples of achievement verbs in the future tense, corresponding to the present tense in English.

- *Nuair a chì sibh uighean le buidheagain bhrèagha dhearg faodaidh fhios a bhith agaibh gu bheil na cearcan sin a' faighinn gu leòr iarunn agus iodine* 'When you see eggs with nice red yolks you can know that those hens are getting enough iron and iodine' (§400045);
- *Aig ciaradh an fheasgair dh'fhàg sinn am baile agus choisich sinn a-null gu Ruaidheabhal, dhìrich sinn thairis air Mullach Sgar is sìos dha na creagan faisg air a' mhuir a dh'fheitheamh air na h-eòin a bhios aig muir fad an latha is a' tilleadh nuair a thuiteas an dorchadas do an nid fo chlachan mòra a-measg nan creag* 'At dusk, we left the village and walked over to Rueval, we climbed over the Mullach Sgar and down to the rocks near the sea to wait for the birds that are (habitually) at sea all day and return, when the darkness falls, to their nests under large stones among the rocks' (§400137).

3.5. Semelfactives

Semelfactives are atelic and punctual, i.e. they are intrinsically perfective but they do not have a terminal point. When progressive, they are interpreted as iterative, i.e. a series of punctual instances of the same event.

- *boillsg* (flash), *priob* (wink; blink), *caog* (wink), (*b*)*rùchd* (burp), *sreoth* (sneeze), *srann* (snort; snore), *drann* (hum), *dìosg* (creak), *èigh* (shout), *sgreuch* (scream), *sgread* (shriek), *fead* (whistle), *crath* (shake), *smèid* (wave; nod), *gnog* (knock);
- *gnog do cheann* (nod);
- *buail basan* (clap hands);
- *dèan sreothart* (sneeze), *dèan casad* (cough), *dèan srann* (snort; snore), *dèan fead* (whistle), *dèan dìosgan* (creak);
- *leig sreothart* (sneeze), *leig brùchd* (burp), *leig braim* (fart).

Cf. the following example, which seems to describe a single sneeze.

- *Bha an cnatan fhathast 'ga shàrachadh, agus rinn e sreothart uabhasach mun d' ràinig e a chàr-dealain* 'He was still suffering from the cold and he sneezed terribly before he reached his car' (§400038).

Verbs that describe animal noises (miaowing, cackling, bleating, mooing, etc.) might belong here too.

Some of the above expressions, however, might not necessarily be semelfactives, e.g. *casad* could mean 'coughing' rather than 'a single cough', and *srann* can refer to continuous snoring, at least in certain contexts.

Nouns such as *brùchd* or *casad* do not seem to occur in progressive expressions – there are no examples of that in the corpus. However, there are equivalent verbal nouns, such as *casadaich*, *sreothartaich*, *srann(d)ail*, etc., which can be used in the progressive. Additionally, there are few examples like *a' dèanamh srann*, and no examples of *a' leigeil braim* (or *bhramannan*) and similar. No examples of the *air*-perfect have been found in the corpus either.

Source:

Corpas na Gàidhlig (<https://dasg.ac.uk/corpus>).

4.2 Tense and aspect: habitual aspect – adverbs of frequency

1. Introduction

The examples were identified by searching for the expressions *a h-uile madainn / feasgar / oidhche* and *gach dàrnacha*, in the 20th century texts in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*. A number of sentences that do not contain adverbials of frequency have also been found and included in this overview. Most examples come from mid and late 20th century publications, although some of the texts found in them may be older.²⁹⁷

The examples have been found in the following texts:²⁹⁸

Early 20 th century	#401001, #401013
Mid 20 th century	#197, #198, #244, #27, #2, #304, #306, #34, #38, #39, #400136, #46, #48
Late 20 th century	#11, #14, #250, #305, #311, #313, #317, #318, #400003-135, #400140-186

The verb forms used in Gaelic to express habitual actions are:

- the present (progressive) tense;
- the future (simple and progressive);
- the conditional (simple and progressive);
- the past tense (progressive, rarely simple);
- other expressions.

The differences in usage may depend on the time period, dialect, register, or the degree of the influence of English.²⁹⁹ No such differences, however, have been noticed here, except that simple verb forms might be more common in earlier (or higher-register) texts.

There appears to exist a difference between sentences that contain an adverb of frequency and those that do not – the future and the conditional seem to be more common (or perhaps even mandatory) in the latter as markers of habituality.

Another difference seems to be related to whether the verbal expression describes the action as a whole, i.e. as a series of events, or is focused on single events (as parts of a series). Progressive forms seem to be used in the former case and simple forms in the latter.

²⁹⁷ Interestingly, very few examples of these expressions seem to occur in the early 20th century publications in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

²⁹⁸ All of the relevant examples have been included here unless indicated otherwise.

²⁹⁹ This will also depend on the ‘type’ of speaker, bearing in mind that there are differences between various types of native speakers and learners.

2. Present tense

The present tense is common in sentences that contain an adverbial of frequency: 'S a dh'aindeoin sin, **tha** "Rìgh Deòrsa" taosgach gach dàrnacha latha (#400005); **Tha** Seonag a' dol seachad air an tigh a h-uile madainn... (#198); **Tha** suas ri ceithir fichead balach agus caileag beag ... a' coinneachadh aig aon uair deug a h-uile madainn Di-Sathuirne (#400003); **Tha** còrr agus ceud gille agus cailleag a' coinneachadh a h-uile madainn Di-Sathuirne... (#400005); **Tha** iad ag ionnsachadh na Gàidhliche a h-uile madainn... (#400032); ...**tha** na basgaidean a' tighinn thugainn a h-uile madainn as a' mhèin... (#400038); 'S **tha** dithis no trìuir fhathast a' dol don bhàr a h-uile feasgar Dihaoine... (#400140); ...agus **tha** Tormod a' cadal a h-uile oidhche leis a' phòcair ri a thaobh (#400054); **Tha** mise toirt dhuit airgid a h-uile oidhche... (#400067); **Tha** itealan a' dol seachad a' seo a h-uile oidhche (#400181); ...**tha** fhios nach ann gun mòran saothair a **tha** an luchd-deasachaidh ... ga thoirt am follais gach dàrnacha seachdain (#400059); "Truaghain bhochda a **tha** nan suidhe aig dasc a h-uile madainn 's nach fhaigh air facal a chur air pàipear (#400108); Bha sinn nar suidhe ... mar as trice **tha** sinn (i.e. nar suidhe) a h-uile feasgar Disathurna an deaghaidh a dhol timcheall a' chùrsa (#400127).

A similar example of the present perfect has been found: **Tha** 'm polas air a bhith a stigh a seo gach dàrnacha latha, bho chailleadh iad (#306).

3. Future tense

The meaning of the 'future tense' form in this context is that of the present habitual. It can occur in sentences that contain an adverbial of frequency: 'S **bidh** e dol do 'n tobar a h-uile madainn 's cha bhi e bruidhinn ri duine (#198); ...a h-uile madainn, aig leth-uair an dèidh naoi, **bidh** a' chlann 's an luchd-teagaisg gu lèir a' tional (#11); ...a h-uile feasgar Dihaoine, **bidh** mi dol a-null dhan a' bhun-sgoil, 's a toirt leasan Beurla dhan a' chlas... (#11); ...**tha** fhios agam gum bi i ag èisdeachd ri Tagh Fonn a h-uile feasgar Diciadain... (#400140); ...a bhios a' faotainn ùrachaidh agus foghlaim aig a' cheilidh a' h uile oidhche Shathuirne (#401013). It also occurs in sentences that do not contain adverbs of frequency: **Bidh** guirean a' tighinn air smiogaid MhicCoinnich, an còmhnaidh anns an aon àite (#11).³⁰⁰

The simple future is used with the verb *bi* since this verb does not have progressive forms: **Bithidh** elephants sìos an rathad mu choinneamh an tighe... (#400037); and often with the verbs of perception:³⁰¹ An taobh a muigh de 'n ghàrradh **tha** an "jungle" far an **cluinn** mi na moncaidhean a' còmhradh a h-uile feasgar (#400037); **Cluinnidh** tu daoine a' gearan an diugh – agus **cluinnidh** tu ministearan a' gearan – nach eil ùine aca leabhraichean a leughadh... (#400026).³⁰²

³⁰⁰ Habitual expressions not involving adverbs of frequency have not been searched for systematically.

³⁰¹ This might be optional or more conservative.

³⁰² An diugh means 'nowadays' here.

The future tense can be combined with the present tense, as in: *Thathar an còmhnaidh a' ruith dhannsaichean agus bidh "cèili" ann a h-uile oidhche air feadh an t-samhraidh...* (#400130); *Tha mi anns a' chéilidh a h-uile oidhche a chumas am Freasdal Dòmhnall ruadh gun tighinn a choimhead orm* (#401001). *Anns a' bhaile-mhòr tha uiread a' falbh na stràide gun fhios carson, agus gun nì ri dhèanamh, agus stadaidh fear an siud 's an seo, ged a b' ann a dh'èisdeachd searmoin fhèin* (#400186).³⁰³

4. Past tense

Habitual processes can be expressed by the past tense: *Bha na h-agents air bòrd gach dàrnacha latha...* (#27); *Gach dàrnacha latha fad an fhoghair bha naidheachd ùr air choreigin mun t-Suaineach aig Ruairidh 's aig feadhainn eile* (#317); *...bha e ri fhaicinn ri taobh a h-uile madainn Sàbaid* (#400144); *A h'uile feasgar, bha sinn a muigh airson leth-uair a coiseachd mun cuairt...* (#34); *... 's i toirt a' bhainne thugam mar a bha i dèanamh a h-uile madainn* (#198); *Bha mi a' dol ga choimhead a h-uile madainn 's a h-uile feasgar...* (#2); *...shìn i mach a làmh 's chuir i dheth a' chaismeachd ud a bha 'ga dùsgadh a h-uile madainn* (#305); *...cha robh aon tè dhiubh a thigeadh faisg air an nighean àlainn ud a bha e faicinn a h-uile madainn* (#400133); *...a bha ag éiridh suas an aghaidh Rà a h-uile feasgar aig àm dol fodha gréine* (#38); *Agus bha e dol laighe h-uile oidhche da bheatha gun léine* (#197). Similar examples that contain the same adverbials have also been found in #400048; #400084; #400117; #4000136 x2; #400164 x2.³⁰⁴

Apart from the verb *bi*, simple past forms seem to be rare in this context; very few examples have been found: *A h-uile oidhche, thug an tuathànach sgillinn do 'n ghille ... A h-uile oidhche, chùm am balach an sgillinn...* (#400067); *Ach chaidh na làithean seachad agus na pòcaidean falamh ged a rinn e ùrnaigh a h-uile oidhche* (#400160).

5. Conditional

The meaning of the 'conditional' in this context is that of the past habitual. This form seems to be more common in habitual expressions than the past progressive, regardless of the presence of adverbs of frequency. The following examples contain such adverbs accompanied by conditional habitual forms: *Bhiodh i a' toirt orm bhith 'g ithe Alpen a h-uile madainn* (#11); *Bhiodh iad a' tighinn a-steach a Steòrnabhagh a h-uile madainn agus a' dol a-mach a chur nan lìon a h-uile feasgar* (#14); *...gum biodh na tuathanaich a' tighinn a-steach dhan bhaile a h-uile madainn a dh'fhaighinn sgalagan a bhiodh a' tighinn air an trèana a' lorg obair* (#27); *Thachair té ris, ris am biodh e coinneachadh a h-uile madainn...* (#304); *Bhiodh a' dùsgadh tràth a h-uile madainn agus a' dol an car a chuid leabhraichean* (#400026); *Bhiodh e ga bhearradh fhèin a h-uile madainn ... 's ag èisdeachd ris an rèidio...* (#400108); *Agus cha robh*

³⁰³ In the last sentence, so many walk the street (constantly) and some stop occasionally, hence the difference in tense. A similar analysis can be applied to the other two examples.

³⁰⁴ There are also a number of similar examples that involve the expression *a h-uile oidhche*.

mòran air fhàgail mu m' aodann dhen a' bheagan peanta leis **am bithinn ga mo dhèanamh** fhìn brèagha ... a h-uile madainn cha mhòr (#400159); ...**bhiodh e a' toirt a' bhalaich bhig** ... sìos cuairt a h-uile feasgar ... dha Pàirc Victoria, 's **ag innse** dha ainmeannan lusan is dhìtheanan is eòin (#11); 'S ann mun àm seo **a bhithheadh e a' gabhail** cuairt dhan chladach h-uile feasgar. **Bhithheadh e a' toirt** faochadh dha an deaghaidh strì agus buaireas an latha (#400177). Cf. other similar examples in #28; #400126; #400132; #400135.³⁰⁵

The following examples contain the conditional progressive without an adverb of frequency: *Ged a bha eagal am beatha orra roimh Thòmas, bhiodh cuid de na gillean agus Tormod 'nam measg, a' goid nan ùbhlán agus nam plumbaisean air* (#400141); **Bhiodh esan ag ithe** h-uile grèim a gheibheadh e 's e gnòsail mar mhuic fhad 's a bha e ga dhèanamh (#400152).³⁰⁶

Some sentences are comprised of more (habitual) clauses, only one of which contains an adverb of frequency: **Bhiodh e ga ghearradh fhèin glè thrìc** leis an ràsar, agus air an adhbhar sin **bhiodh e ceannachd** mòran stiptic (#400108); A h-uile madainn ... bhiodh e a' dol seachad air Oifis na Gineachd far **am biodh** na caileagan òga an dùil pòsaidh **a' feitheamh**... (#400034); **Bhiodh mo mhàthair ag innse** dhuinn gum **biodh iad a' cur** bùrn teth suas dhan an t-seomar-cadal as a' mhuga ud a h-uile madainn... (#400167).

The simple conditional too appears to be common in this context: A h-uile feasgar bhiodh e-fhèin is Màiri an cuideachd a chèile (#313, #400086); ... 's e mise **a dh'fheumadh** an crodh bainne a chur a-mach a h-uile madainn (#400142); A h-uile madainn air an rathad don cholaisde chitheadh Cailean i (#400133); ...gu robh fhios aige glé mhath gur i chruach mhònadh aige bha cumail a' dol na toit liath chaol **a chitheadh e** dìreadh dha na speuran a h-uile feasgar (#400101); A h-uile feasgar Sàbaid chitheadh tu ann an siud e... (#400186); "Ud, isd," **chanadh i a h-uile madainn**, "chan eil math dhut an cnatan a ghabhail (#317); A h-uile madainn thigeadh e do leabaidh Isbeil ga dùsgadh, agus **dh'fhuiricheadh e an sin gus an èireadh i**... (#400178);³⁰⁷ *Cha robh latha nach falbhadh a ròn a dh'iasgach agus thilleadh e dhachaidh a h-uile feasgar*... (#400040); ...**gum fanadh e** gu foighidinneach a h-uile feasgar gus an tigeadh cuideiginn aca steach... (#400056);³⁰⁸ *Ach is tric nach biodh an t-sìd a rèir na fàisneachd agus 's ann an uair sin a bhiodh* culaidh-spòrs aig a' chloinn – ag éisdeachd ri'n athair a' cur dheth agus a' gearan an ath mhadainn (#400056); A h-uile feasgar nuair a bhiodh i air a sàth itheadh laigheadh i ri fasnadh na Creige Mòire agus cha robh eun mu na còrsachan nach tigeadh a chèilidh oirre... (#400105); *Agus thairis air an drochaid seo rachadh seanair Choinnich ... a h-uile feasgar cha mhòr, an dèidh obair a' latha a chrìochnachadh* (#400115); *Gach dàrnacha latha bheireadh an seachran-seilg e gu Bonn-sgaoid*... (#48); A h-uile oidhche, aig an dearbh mhionaid, thigeadh bualadh do'n doras. Rachadh esan ga fhreagairt ... a-mach ghabhadh e a chath ris an t-seann olc. An sin thilleadh e a-stigh... (#400063); ...**bhiodh searmoin bheag aige anns an taigh a h-uile oidhche, mun teidheadh iad a chadal** (#400167); **Bheireadh am fear a b'fheàrr trì latha ach glé thrìc bheirte** ochd seachdainean air an t-slighe (#400005); *Is ann mar siud a bhithheadh e cha mhòr a h-uile oidhche den t-seachdain ach air*

³⁰⁵ Additionally, there are numerous similar examples that contain the expression *a h-uile oidhche*.

³⁰⁶ The last clause refers to single actions separately, hence the past tense.

³⁰⁷ The conditional in the clause *gus an èireadh i* would probably be used even if it referred to a single event.

³⁰⁸ Re. *gus an tigeadh*, see the previous note.

an oidhche **choisicheadh** iad sìos chun a' bhothan airson gloinneachan liunn is còmhradh ris na fir eile (#400158); An uair a **bhitheadh** e deiseil a dh'èigheach a-mach na h-ainmeannan às an leabhar-ainm anns an sgoil a h-uile madainn, **dhùineadh** e 'n leabhar, **shliobadh** e stais aige, **chanadh** e, "Agus is mise Tòmas Tait!" agus an uair sin **thòisicheadh** obair an latha (#400141); ...**sgrìobhadh** e mu gach cùis a **thigeadh** ri aghaidh a inntinne... (#400026); "A-nis," **theireadh** i, "nuair a théid thu do Ghlaschu, théid thu a h-uile madainn Shathurna do'n "laundrette," ... (#400073); **Dheidheadh** e air a bhroinn air beulaibh nam balgairan mòr grànnda, agus ann an tiotadh **bhiodh** am fear a b' fhiadhaiche 'na charaid aige (#400178).

Some examples contain both the simple conditional and the conditional progressive: Agus **bhiodh** té ùr aige gu dàrnacha seachduinn. **Bhiodh** e **ag radh** riutha gur e pilot a bh' ann ... oidhche Dhiardaoin dhéidheadh e do'n leabhar-lann agus **dh'ionnsaicheadh** e á leabhraichean na **chuireadh** ceann nighinn aotrom seachad uair-a-thìde no dhà (#39); Agus o, cha mhór a h-uile feasgar a bhiodh e **tighinn** dhachaidh **bheireadh** e ultach do sheannmhaidean... (#318); A h-uile feasgar bhiodh e 'na **shuidhe** 's a dhruim ris a' bhalla a' coimhead bhuaithe **gus an tuiteadh** e 'na chadal leis an sgìos... (#400152);³⁰⁹ **Bhiodh** mo mhàthair **ag innse** dhuinn gum **biodh** iad a' cur bùrn teth suas dhan an t-seomar-cadal as a' mhuga ud a h-uile madainn mus deigheadh iad dhan a sgoil ach a **nigheadh** na seann daoine iad fhèin ann a sin (#400167); **Bhiodh** e fada **gun èirigh** sa mhadainn, agus **dheigheadh** e dhan leabaidh tràth a h-uile feasgar (#14).³¹⁰

The conditional (both simple and progressive) can occur in combination with the past tense, as in: ...**bha** ceige aig na balaich anns an taigh-sa gach dàrnacha seachdain. **Thigeadh** iad an seo leis an leann a dh'èisdeachd mo sgeulachdan agus gam bhùirt às (#27); Tha fios agad mar a **bha** e **ga do choinneachadh** leitheach slighe a h-uile oidhche n' ar a **bhiodh** thu a' **tighinn** dhachaigh bho t' obair (#400089); Eadhoin anuair a **bhiodh** e 'na **shuidhe** air a stòl ... **bha** rudeigin air cùl inntinn **ag innse** dha gu robh am maor air a chùlaibh... (#400034). Cf. also the following: Là an déidh là bha a' chrith 'na làmhan a' dol na bu mhiosa, agus a h-uile madainn anuair a rachadh e fhéin ... chun a' chanteen **bhiodh** e a' **slugadh** trì pilichean far **nach robh** càch ach a' **gabhail** a dhà (#400034).

6. Other expressions

Some idiomatic expressions indicating habituality can be illustrated by: '**S àbhaist dhuinne a dhol** a mach ... air son greis a h-uile madainn ro ám na bracaist (#305); **Bha e mar fhasan aige** port a **thoirt** ás a' phìob a h-uile feasgar (#244); Nis **tha e mar chleachdadh agam-sa** bho chionn mìos an so, a **bhith dol** a null a thigh Iain a h-uile feasgar Di-Ciadaidh... (#400003).

7. Examples of longer passages that include habituals

³⁰⁹ See the previous two notes.

³¹⁰ *Bhiodh e gun èirigh* can be interpreted as a progressive expression.

(#311) In this example, a habitual action regarded as a series of events is expressed by the past progressive, but when the focus is on the individual events that constitute a habitual action they are expressed by the conditional (e.g. *each time, he would do...*). Intrinsically imperfective verbs such as *caidil* may acquire the sense of telicity when used in the simple conditional.

Bha an seirbhiseach a' dol a-mach a h-uile madainn agus bioran beag maide aige 'na dhòrn. Stobadh e am bioran dha'n talamh agus an uair sin chuireadh e ri shròin e. Thilleadh e stigh. Shìneadh e e fhéin suas ri taobh an teine agus chaidleadh e. Bha cùisean a' dol air adhairt mar seo bho latha gu latha, 's cha robh obair de sheòrsa sam bith ga dèanamh. Bha MacMhuirich a' faighneachd tric dheth cuin a bha obair an earraich a' dol a thòiseachadh, ach fhreagradh esan nach robh an talamh deiseil no freagarrach fhathast.

(#250) This is similar to the previous example. The habitual actions are expressed by the past progressive (or the simple past in the case of the verb *bi*); the conditional (progressive) is used when individual events are in focus, i.e. the habitual action is regarded as a series of single events. Note the habitual progressive: *Nuair a bhiomaid a' tighinn* = when we would be [in the process of] coming. The expression *'s iomadh madainn* is used with the simple past; similar examples have been noted elsewhere in the corpus.

...is 's e cuarain a bh' againn orra; bha sin air ar corragan, agus còtaichean oilisgin; is 's e sin an rig a bhiodh oirnn aig a' chutadh – còt' oilisgin agus cuarain air ar corragan; agus nuair a bhiomaid a' tighinn dhachaigh an uair sin, bhiodh e gu deich uairean oidhcheannan ann an Sasainn.

Bha sinn ag èirigh aig ceithir uairean sa mhadainn is bha againn ri coiseachd sìos chun a' gharraidh – pìos math coiseachd a h-uile madainn – is a' faighinn na làraidh dhachaigh airson ar braiceast aig leth-uair an deaghaidh ochd. Ach cha robh sinn a' faighinn làraidh idir sa mhadainn – bha againn ri coiseachd. 'S iomadh madainn fhuar a dh'fhalbh sinn, le reothadh agus le sneachd air an talamh.

Ach co-dhiù, bha sinn toilichte ann, agus bha gu leòr de nigheanan Leòdhasach a' cutadh còmhla rinn agus gu leòr de bhalaich Leòdhasach aig an iasgach an uair sin; agus an oidhche a bhiomaid dhe tràth...

(#46) The habitual actions are expressed by the conditional here fairly regularly, with the exception of some examples of *bha*.

Bha an Johnstonach a bha an seo, bha taigh aige, 's cha robh duine teaghlaich aige, bha e fhéin 's a bhean a' fuireach, bha e aona mhìle air falbh o'n bhaile. Bhiodh e a h-uile madainn as a' stàbla mun gabhamaid ar breacaist; 's ann a bha esan ach ag obair latha, anns a' ghàrradh bu mhutha bha e deanamh a dh'obair. Bhithte tilgeil oirnn cho mocheireach 's a bha an Johnstonach, 's gun ann ach seann-duine, nach deanamaid, nach éireamaid 's cha robh ach rachamaid a chadal. Bhithte 'gar càineadh. Ach bha mi fhìn agus gill' eile ... oidhche Shathuirne, cha robh ann ach an déis a' bhuain...

(#400141) The habituals are expressed by the conditional (progressive). In the last sentence, however, it is expressed by the past progressive: *bha Neilidh Bheag ... a' dol dhachaidh a h-uile feasgar aig còig uairean*, but cf. the conditional in: *a bhitheadh a' glanadh an taighe dha*, which contains no adverbs.

Ged a bha eagal am beatha orra roimh Thòmas, bhiodh cuid de na gillean agus Tormod 'nam measg, a' goid nan ùbhlán agus nam plumbaisean air. Bha seo soirbh gu leòr dhaibh, oir chitheadh iad Tòmas a' falbh ... agus bhiodh fhios aca gun robh rathad fosgailte aca staigh dhan ghàrradh, oir bha Neilidh Bheag a bhitheadh a' glanadh an taighe dha 's a' dèanamh a bhìdh, a' dol dhachaigh a h-uile feasgar aig còig uairean.

(#400164) The past tense seems to occur mainly where habituality is indicated by adverbial phrases in this example.

Anns an t-sabhal bha uidheam a bheireadh dhaibh solas an dealain agus gach goireas a bha 'na chois. A h-uile feasgar bha iad a' dol le ròp a chur car do chuibhil a chuireadh a dhol e agus gu àm leapa chluinneadh na taighean mun cuairt gaoir inneal an dealain bho thaigh a' cheannaich ... Is an 'dairy' a bha aca air an àite seo agus bhiodh na searbhantan a' dèanamh obair a-mach 's a-steach fad an latha. Rè na maidne bhiodh an dithis shearbhant le pinnear gorm agus a h-uile feasgar bha tè mu seach dhiubh an dubh is geal mar chaileag frithealaich. A h-uile Diardaoin an uair a sgioblaicheadh iad an taigh an dèidh na diathad chuireadh iad lìomh air gach nì airgid a bha staigh agus 's ann asda a bhiodh a' soills' mus sguireadh iad. Gach Earrach bha gach brat-ùrlair air a thogail a-mach gu raon air cùl an taighe. Shuidheadh an dithis shearbhant le maide sùbailte an làimh gach tè, a' bualadh a stùr às a' bhrat...

(#310) Conditional and future forms are used to express habituality here. The past tense forms that occur towards the end of the passage refer to single events.

Cha robh cuilbheart air nach smaointicheadh iad airson iad fhéin a chumail toilichte, gu h-àraidh air oidhcheannan fada a' gheamhraidh. Thigeadh iad air chéilidh o thigh gu tigh, agus 's iomadh oidhche chridheil a chaidh seachad aig innse agus ag éiseachd ri sgialachdan 's òrain. Ach mar a thachras gu bitheanta, dh'fhàs na h-òganaich sgìth de chéilidh a h-uile oidhche, agus bha iad deònach air tuilleadh chulaidh-bhrosnachaidh ma bha e idir comasach. Cha robh fada gus an do chuir fear dhiubh a bheachd gum bu chòir dhaibh na coilich a chur a shabaid airson spòrs...

(400117) Although all these verbs indicate habitual events, some are expressed by the present form (*tha*).

“A h-uile oidhche, an dèidh dhuinn greis cadail a dhèanamh, cha bhi mise a' cadal gu dearbh” ars esan, “tha am boireannach – bean an tuathanaich a' tighinn far a bheil mi is srian bheag

aice 's i ga crathadh air mo bheulaibh 's **tha** mi **dol** 'nam each 's **tha** i **falbh** leam 's **a' dol** a choimhead air fear eile. **Bidh** i greis còmhla ris 's **bidh** mise ann a shin aig a' gheata gus an tig i a-mach''.

(#48) Some conditional forms seem to represent the future in the past here (*gus am biodh, gus an èireadh, gum faigheadh*).

Bha na fleasgaich **a' tighinn** a choimhead oirre h-uile oidhche fad nan trì bliadhna a bha i anns an eilean. **Dh'fhanadh** iad còmhla rithe gus am biodh e anmoch anns an oidhche, agus **mus falbhadh** iad **dh'iarradh** iad oirre gun i dh'èirigh an làrna-mhàireach gus an èireadh a' ghrian, agus gum faigheadh i na beathaichean cruinn, còmhla, 'nan sìneadh ri taobh an taighe, dìreach mar a dh'fhàg i iad. **Bha** ise **a' deanamh** a h-uile sìon mar a **dh'iarradh** iad oirre...

(#27) The simple conditional vs. progressive reflects the difference in aspect here (except in the case of the verb *bi*). This is also the case, for example, in #46 and #400141 above.

Eadar 1950 agus 1954, nuair a **bhithinn** saor is air fòrladh às an Oil-thaigh, **bhithinn gach dàrnach-oidhche** suas is sìos Steòrnabhagh **a' suirighe** air Sandra, a' chaileag a phòs mi ann an 1958. Aig aon uair deug a dh'oidhche **thiginn** bhàrr a' bhus aig ceann rathaid Bhrocair agus **dheidhinn** a-steach a chèilidh air Suileabhan agus Seonag. Nuair a **dh'fhidreadh** mo mhàthair mi a' dol air mo chorra-bhioda dham leabaidh ann an àmhar na h-oidhche, **bhiodh** i **a' cur** às mo leth gu robh leannan eile agam a bhàrr air tè Steòrnabhaigh!

4.3 Tense and aspect: habitual aspect – *tric*

1. Introduction

The examples analysed here come from the issues of *Gairm* that were published in the period 1952–2000 and are available in the MEANMA Scottish Gaelic online corpus.

The adverbial expressions are:

- *tric* ‘often, frequently’ (and also: *gu tric*, *ro/glè thric*, *gu math tric*, *tric gu leòr*, *cho tric*, *nas trice*, *is/bu tric*, etc.);
- *mar as/is tric(e)* ‘usually’ (and also *mar bu t(h)ric(e)*).

The expression *mar as/is tric(e)* can also mean ‘the more often...’, e.g. *Mar is trice a nì sin so, is ann is trice a dh’iarras sinn e* ‘the more often we do this, the more often we want it’ (#10399). The expression *mar as tric* (whereby *tric* is the positive form) followed by a relative clause means ‘as... often’, as in: *...nuair a bhiodh iad a’ deasbud ameasg a chèile – mar as tric a bhithheadh* ‘when they would debate among themselves, as they often would’ (#10536).

The possible differences in the usage of verb forms with these two adverbials can depend on the period in which the text was written, type of text, register, the author’s dialect, proficiency, individual preferences and speech habits, etc. These factors, however, can often be difficult to assess.

2. The meaning of tenses

Generally speaking, the meaning of particular forms seems to depend a lot on the context or on specific markers (adverbials), since there are few tense forms in Scottish Gaelic and each has a range of different meanings. For example, cf. (past progressive) *bha e a’ fuireach an seo ann an 1998* (continuously over a period) vs. *bha e tric a’ fuireach an seo* (intermittently); or *bha e a’ dol ann nuair a thachair mi air* (at the time, i.e. only once) vs. *bha e tric a’ dol ann* (regularly); (conditional) *shuidheadh e aig an uinneag nam biodh uinneag ann* (conditional) vs. *thuirte gun suidheadh e aig an uinneag an ceann greis* (past future) vs. *suidheadh e aig an uinneag a h-uile madainn agus leughadh e am pàipear* (habitual).

In their habitual usage, Gaelic present and past forms appear merely to indicate the time of an event or a state (past vs. non-past), while the future and conditional seem to put emphasis on habituality, cf. English: *I ate a lot of fish when I lived there* vs. *I used to eat a lot of fish when I lived there*.

3. Simple vs. progressive

The difference in the use of simple vs. progressive forms seems often to depend on whether an action is described as happening repeatedly over a period of time (corresponding to English: *He often goes out for a walk; they visit their parents very often; he usually sleeps in the smaller room*) or the focus is on particular/individual instances of such an action (as in: *he often goes to the park, sits on a bench, and thinks about life; they usually lie down after dinner and sleep for an hour or so*).³¹¹ The progressive tenses are normally used in the former context in Gaelic and the simple tenses in the latter.

However, only simple tenses are used with the verb *bi* and the other auxiliary or modal verbs, e.g. *Mar as trice, tha a' chiad seòrsa nas gainne, 's an dara seòrsa ro phailt!* (#10549); *Faodar a nighe cho tric 's a thograr* (#10438); *Gabhaidh i nighe cho tric 's a thogras sibh* (#10455);³¹² *Chan ann tric a thig orra sparradh an lagha a chur air bathar* (#10529); *O! 's tric a thèid do mhionnachadh...* (#10344); *Chaidh sinn a mhaslachadh gu tric* (#10257).³¹³ Cf. also: *feumaidh a' bhanaltrum gu tric eadar-theangair 'na cois* 'a nurse often needs an interpreter' (#10527), where the verb *feum* does not function as a modal. Additionally, simple forms appear to be commonly used with verbs of perception and thinking, e.g. *Tric chithinn coisichean a' dol air an "Highland" chun a' Ghearasdan* (#10322); *Aig deireadh gach òrain chluinninn gu tric té de na mnathan-luaidhe ag éigheach ri càch...* (#40500); *Is tric a chuala mi...* (#10433); *Nach eil an t-òran brèagha sin a' chluineas sinn gu math tric ga sheinn air a rèidio* (#10310); *'S ann air far-ainm, mar A' Phiseag ... as fheàrr a dh'aithnichear mar as trice an cluicheadair Leódhusach* (#10545); *...beatha nach tuig iad gu tric, nach còrd riutha, is a bhios duilich dhaibh a ghiùlan* (#10281). These forms are often used even if the focus is not necessarily on the individual instances of the recurring action, as in the last three examples. Similar examples occur frequently in the corpus while progressive forms are extremely rare (at least with verbs of perception), e.g. *Gu tric air an oidhche bhiodh e a' cluinntinn guth athar ag éigheachd...* (#4905); *...a' Bheurla a bhiodh sinn gu tric a' cluinntinn nuair a bha Prohibition san tìr* (#10560). Apart from *bi*, *feum*, *faod*, and *gabh*, all these verbs seem to be either intrinsically perfective (e.g. *thig*) or biaspectual (e.g. *rach*, *faic*). Other verbs occur in their simple forms in this context too, but that is less frequent and may be a trait of a more conservative language or a higher register, e.g. *cha bu tric a thadhaileadh croitear air a' mhaighstir-sgoile* (#10556).³¹⁴ Some of the attested future forms can be translated into English using either the present or future tense, e.g. *Lorgaidh tu e 'na shuidhe, gu tric air an aon spiodan carraig...* 'you will/(can) find it' (#10441).³¹⁵

Besides the tenses formed with the element *a' /ag*, progressive constructions include those that use the prepositions *an* and *ri*, e.g. *Is tric a bha mi 'nam shuidhe anns an t-seòmar-ciùil...* (#10534); *tha cumadh agus fuaim nan roinn cho tric an crochadh ris na tha mu'n timcheall*

³¹¹ In the past tense, this may correspond to English examples such as: *He used to go out for a walk every morning back then* vs. *Every morning, he would eat his breakfast, wash the dishes, and go out for a walk*.

³¹² However, the adverbials modify the verbal nouns, rather than the modals, in these two examples.

³¹³ This should probably be *chaidh ar maslachadh*.

³¹⁴ Note also the use of the expression *is tric* + REL here, rather than *(gu) tric*.

³¹⁵ This might not be a habitual expression, strictly speaking.

(#10508); **Bhitheadh** iad glé thric ri iasgach an éisg ghil... (#10528); and also the passive: *Mar bu trice, is ann an ám feasgair a bhiodh a' Ghruagach ri faicinn* (#10378).

The *air*-passive appears to be ambiguous in this sense. It is expected to express perfective aspect (due to its etymology) and it sometimes does, e.g. *Mar bu trice bha am fàinne air a dheanamh ann an coltas dà làmh ann an glaicean a chéile* (#10371); ...*cha robh e air a shèideadh suas le fèin-spèis idir, mar as tric a bhios taidhcùn* (#4935). In some cases, however, it definitely expresses an imperfective action,³¹⁶ e.g. *Bhithinn-sa gu tric air mo chumail trang a' lìonadh nan iteachain* (#10496); *Dh'fheumadh an teàrr a bhith aig tigheadachd shònraichte, agus b'e ola éisg mar bu trice, a bha air a cleachdadh gu a tanachadh* (#10491). Cf. also the active perfect: *Bha Pòl air seo a chluinntinn tric* (#4959).

4. The action vs. state opposition and aspect

When not fully specified by adverbs or context, state verbs tend to refer to continuous processes while action verbs can refer to intermittent processes, cf. *bha e a' fuireach anns a' Ghearasdan aig an àm* (continuous) vs. *bha e ag ithe tòrr iasg aig an àm* (habitual). Some action verbs can refer to situations that are close to states in some contexts, e.g. *bha e aig obair mar iasgair aig an àm* (= he had a job in the fishing industry). When used in simple tenses, state verbs can be interpreted as describing recurring processes that are either imperfective (continuous) or perfective (inchoative), e.g. *Air dha crìoch a chur air an obair, laigheadh e air an fheur is chaidleadh e*. The same applies to other intrinsically imperfective verbs.

5. *Tric* vs. *mar as trice*

Unlike the adverb *tric*, the expression *mar is trice* seems to be rarely used with simple tenses, except the conditional, which occurs in somewhat more examples. This, however, might be a coincidence.

6. Progressive tenses

6.1. Present (progressive)

This form has a progressive meaning regardless of whether it is morphologically simple (as in the verb *bi*) or compound (the other verbs). It frequently expresses habituality and that usage is well-attested in earlier texts too. It refers to processes that recur over a period of time, whereby the verbs that describe these processes can be either intrinsically imperfective or intrinsically perfective, e.g. (imperfective) *Tha iad a' gaireachdainn tric* (#4957); *Chan eil mi cho cinnteach cuideachd gu bheil luch-teagach nan cànan Ceilteach anns na h-Oilthighean a' cleachdadh na Gàidhlighe cho tric 's a dh'fhaodadh iad* (#10563); ...*thathar gu tric a' cleachdadh bàta beag, ochd ràimh de dh'fhiodh 's de chanbhas ris an canar "curragh"*

³¹⁶ In fact, this may depend on the intrinsic aspect of the verb and not on the passive construction.

(#10320); *'S tric a tha 'n toinisg seo a' tarraing* às na boireannaich (#10290); *Cuimhnichibh cuideachd gu bheil a' chrìoch gu tric a' ruith* troimh chlachain (#10518); *Ach tha fios a'm a-nise gur tric a tha an dìoghaltas a' cosg barrachd air na 's fhiach e* (#4955); and (perfective) *Tha sinn gu tric a' dìochuimhneachadh* so (#10539); *Gu tric, tha fir-deasachaidh Ghairm a' tighinn far a bheil mise agus ag ràdha...* (#10531); *...leis gu bheil luchd-oibreach gu tric a' tighinn bho thir-mór...* (#10550); *...agus tha sin gu tric a' fàgail* teaghlaich gun Ghàidhlig (#10551); *Tha mi gad fhàgail nad aonar ro thrìc* (#10336); *Tha glé thrìc osteo-arthritis a' bualadh barrachd air aon duine anns an aon teaghlach* (#10384); *...gum bheil ur craiceann beò agus mar sin gum bheil e gu tric ag ath-ùrachadh* (#10552); *...gu bheil coigrich a' farraid gu tric gu dé na cuileagan as freagarraiche air na lochan san àite* (#10410); *Thatar gu tric a' cur* as a leth gun do rinn i droch dhìol air òrain Ghàidhlig (#10530; cf. #10540); *Glé thrìc tha cus spéis ga thoirt do dhaoine mì-reusanta...* (#10387); *Mar is tric, tha an oidhche a' dùnadh,* agus uaireannan a' fosgladh cuideachd... (#10478); *'Sann mar as trice a-mach a Steòrnabhagh a tha na h-eithrichean Scalpach a' co-sheasamh* (#10341); *Mar as trice, chan eil mise a' coireachadh nan daoine a tha ag obair an aghaidh ar cànan mar seo* (#10362).

The verb *bi* can be interpreted as progressive, e.g. *Is aithne dhomhsa aon fhear ... a tha tric an cuideachd a' bhàillidh* (#10558); *Tha deagh fhios ... gur tric a tha treallaich mhath de'n Ghàidhlig aig a' chlann ma tha i aig am màthair* (#10541); *...nach tric a tha air trèana* 'who is not on a train frequently' (#10295); *Tha fear an seo a tha tric gu leòr mu 'n tigh-sgoile* (#10555); *Tha an tigh-staile ag iarraidh fear-riaghlaidh, agus chan ann glé thrìc a tha e sin as Ile...* (#10548); *...gun ghuth gu bheil na sean-fhacail gu tric calg-dhìreach an aghaidh a chéile* (#10481); *Mar as trice, tha a' chiad seòrsa nas gainne, 's an dara seòrsa ro phailt!* (#10549); *Chan eil Gàidhlig aca sin idir agus mar as trice chan eil a' Bheurla aca ròine nas fheàrr na aig càch* (#10564); *Tha obair latha mar as tric seachad mu shia feasgair* (#10402); *Mar as trice, tha trì seirbhisean agam* (#10259).

Cf. also the passive expressions: *Tha a' chathag ... gu tric air a cumail 'na peata aig cloinn* (#10463); *Tha mórán de nithean ann a so nach eil gu tric air am mìneachadh ann na gràmairean coitcheanna* (#10511); *Mar as trice tha beachdan na cloinne air an stéidheachadh air beachdan nam pàrantan...* (#10568). Cf. also: *...chan eil iad tric ri'm faighinn ach air leth* (#10461).

6.2. Future progressive

This form can express the habitual aspect in the same (or similar) contexts in which the present tense occurs.³¹⁷ Fewer examples of the future progressive, however, have been found in the corpus, so the present tense might be more common in this context. This form is also used with both intrinsically perfective and imperfective verbs, e.g. (imperfective) *'S tric a bhios daoine a' bruidhinn air na rudan èibhinn no eirmseach a thuirt e* (#4939); *Is e Mgr. Dòmhnallach a bhios gu tric a' leughadh nan naidheachdan air an radio* (#10400); *Bidh mo smuaintean a' dol tric gu na làithean anns am bu bheag mo chùram* (#10335); *An diugh, is iad na*

³¹⁷ The exact difference (if there is any) is not clear at this stage, but the future might emphasise habituality, i.e. on the recurring nature of the process.

boireannaich gu tric a bhios a' dol an greim a' ghnìomh so (#10447); and (perfective) Glè thric bidh feadhainn den treubh sin a' tighinn 's an teanga 'nam pluic! (#10346); Nuair a bhios mi a' gabhail cuairt taobh na mòintich ... bidh ceist gu tric ag èirigh 'nam inntinn... (#10261); bithidh iad a' faighneachd gu tric, "Càite a bheil a' chreag..." (#10467); Cha bhi daoine a' bàsachadh an seo glè thric (#4940); Bitear gu tric a' cur air ministearan na Pàrlamaid an diugh ... nach e freagairtean sònraichte mar bu chòir gheibhear bhuapa... (#10407); Tha an tinneas so a' bualadh iomadach alt, ach 'se cnàmh an droma ... a bhios e bualadh mar as trice (#10380); Ach mar is trice, 'sann a bhios mi toirt sùil air beatha an duine... (#10355).

The verb *bi* is included here as well, e.g. ...far an trice a bhitheas clach luachmhor (#10368); Seach gu bheil an talamh cho mì-chothrom bidh am bonn (i.e. of the houses) gu math tric àrd agus bidh iad an còmhnaidh a' cur rùm no dhà shìos gu h-ìosal (#10338).

6.3. Past progressive

This form can express habituality in the past, i.e. to describe processes that recurred in the past, e.g. (imperfective) Chan eil beachd sam bith agam cò e an seann duine air an robh mo dhaoine gu tric a' bruidhinn (#10254); 'sann a bha Kierkegaard a' déiligeadh gu tric ris an fheallsanachd fhéin (#10572); bha Anndra a' faireachdainn an acrais gu math tric (#10301); Is ann an hostailean sgoile mar bu tric a bha sinn a' fuireach (#10276); Mar bu trice bha làrach an tighe fhada a' ruith ri bruthach beag leis a' bhàthaich aig ceann shìos an tighe (#10553); cf. also: Is tric a bha mi 'nam shuidhe anns an t-seòmar-ciùil... (#10534); and (perfective) ...oir bha an seòrsa oibreach a bh'aige 'ga thoirt a tuath gu math tric (#10535); cha robh mi a' tuiteam cho tric... (#10546); Cha robh e furasda naidheachdan fhaighinn uaireannan ach bha sinn a' dèanamh gnothaich mar bu trice (#10331).

The verb *bi* only has simple forms, e.g. Gu dearbha, bha iad tric ann am fiachan (#4949); Mar so bha an sluagh gu tric air allaban gun fhearann gun thigheadas (#10571); Bha, cuideachd, galair glé thric measg na cloinne a b' òige san eilean... (#10414); Gle thric, bha am biadh gann, agus cho neo-thaitneach agus gur h-e fìor èiginn a bheireadh air neach itheadh (#10345); Bho 'n àm sin, 's ann aig sgìrean a' Bhac is an Rubha bu thrice a bha e (#10544); Mar a bu trice, bha dithis mhinistearan agad co-dhiù (#10304).

Cf. some passive expressions: Gu tric 's ann le làn spòrs a bha a' cheisd air a cur (#10501); 'S e leabhraichean a bu trice bh'air an toirt seachad [sic! *trice* > *tric a*] (#10326).

Cf. an example of the past perfect: Bha Pòl air seo a chluinntinn tric (#4959). It comes from a recent text; a more traditional way to say this may be: *is tric a chuala Pòl seo* or *chuala Pòl seo (gu) tric* (cf. §7.2).

6.4. Conditional progressive

Like the past tense, this is used to express habitual events that happened in the past although the exact difference between the two forms has not been determined.³¹⁸ The conditional seems to be more common in this context since there are more examples of it in the corpus, e.g. (imperfective) ...*nuair a bhiodh iad a' deasbud ameasg a chéile – mar as tric a bhitheadh* (i.e. *a' deasbad*) (#10536); ...'s *gum biodh daoine a' dol ann tric* (#10332); *Duine truagh a bha fuireach leis fhéin ann am bothan, nach tric a bhitheadh a' tarraing ás nuair a bha sinn sa' sgoil* (#10559); *Bhiodh mo mhàthair glè thrìc a' sanntachadh an liosa ud* (#4956); *Gu tric air an oidhche bhiodh e a' cluinntinn guth athar ag èigheachd...* (#4905); *Glè thrìc bhiodh sinn a' lorg uighean san iodhlainn* (#4942); cf. also: *Bhiodh e na shuidhe mar bu trice anns a' mhansa a' deasachadh a shearmoin airson na Sàbaid* (#4904); and: *Bhitheadh iad glé thrìc ri iasgach an éisg ghil...* (#10528); and (perfective) *cha bhiodh i fhéin a' tighinn cho tric ameasg nan daoine* (#10505); *Bhiodh iad a' dol gu muir aig briseadh an là ... agus mar bu tric a' tilleadh aig aon uair deug* (#4958); *a sin, bha taod-fo-mhuir gu Loch Thamanabhaigh far 'm bu tric a bhiodh loingeas chogaidh a' gabhail tàmh* (#10490); *Bhitheadh càch den teaghlach a' fònach gu tric 's a' tighinn dhachaigh aig na làithean saora* (#10277).

Cf. also the verb *bi*: *Nuair a bhiodh mo mhàthair a' dol gu mòine no talamh, chuireadh i a-steach gu Aonghas mi agus glè thrìc cha bhiodh duine ann ach e fhèin 's mi fhìn* (#4941); *Mar bu tric 's e geansaidh iasgair agus seann bhriogais a bhiodh air, oir bha e daonnan ag obair mu eathraichean is iasg* (#4936); and the passive: *Bhithinn-sa gu tric air mo chumail trang a' lìonadh nan iteachain* (#10496); *Bha dà bhord anns an t-seòmar againne agus bhiodh iad air a sgrùbadh 's air an glanadh cho tric 's gu robh am fiodh cho geal ri sneachd* (#10264). Cf. also: *Mar bu trice, is ann an ám feasgair a bhiodh a' Ghruagach ri faicinn* (#10378).

7. Simple tenses

7.1. Simple future

This form expresses recurring events and states, often with the focus on individual instances of such an event or a state. It appears to be commonly used with verbs of perception and similar, e.g. *Cò fear ás an sgìreachd seo as tric a chì e...* ‘that sees it most often’ (#10557); *chan ann tric a chithear...* (#10427; cf. #10373; #10358); *chan fhaicear ise gu tric...* (#10437); *Nach eil an t-òran brèagha sin a' chluineas sinn gu math tric ga sheinn air a rèidio* (#10310); *'s tric a chluinneas sinn...* (#10428); *is tric a cluinnear* (#10418); *nach tric a chluinnear* (#10516); *cluinnear na facail sin tric ann am Beàrnaraigh* (#10570); *...beatha nach tuig iad gu tric, nach còrd riutha, is a bhios duilich dhaibh a ghiùlan* (#10281); *'S ann air far-ainm, mar A' Phiseag ... as fheàrr a dh'aithnichear mar as trice an cluicheadair Leódhusach* (#10545). Cf. also: *feumaidh a' bhanaltrum gu tric eadar-theangair 'na cois* ‘a nurse often needs an interpretor’ (#10527).

³¹⁸ The difference might correspond to that between English *he often phoned home* and *he used to phone home very often*. Cf. footnote 317.

There are examples of the simple future used with other verbs, most of which are intrinsically perfective, e.g. *Tachraidh e glé tric gu bheil an sluagh a' cur...* (#10395); *Nach tric a thachras e...* (#10422; cf. #10583); *nì a thachras tric air banais* (#10575); *mar a thachras ro thric* (#10293; cf. #4948); *mar is tric a thachras* ‘as often happens’ (#10476);³¹⁹ *Aig àm buain mònach is tric a thig ris cròicean móra de chraobhan a bha taisgte fo'n riasg fad iomadh linn* (#10538); *Nach tric a thig an smuain a tha sin...* (#10562); *Agus glé thric thig sibh dhachaidh fuar...* (#10406; cf. #10325); *...gu tric ruigidh iad an dà bhliadhna dheug gun ach corra fhacal Gàidhliche* (#10576); *...cuirear glé thric iongnadh air...* (#10350); *Their iomadh lighiche tric gu leòir...* (#10446); *Gur tric riut fèin a chanas tu...* (#10343);³²⁰ *Canar* “Gaelic-essential” *ris na coimthionalan sin gu tric* (#10391); *...far an tric a gheibh e am bàs o na cait* (#10464); *...ach cha tric a gheibhear iad a' neadachadh an seo* (#10458); *is tric a sgithicheas e na coin* (#10448); *smuainichibh cho tric is a dhòirteas cupan tea ... air trusgan ùr* (#10486); *...nach tric a chailleas iad cuimhne* (#10474); *Lorgaidh tu e 'na suidhe, gu tric air an aon spiodan carraigh...* ‘you will/can find it’ (#10441); *Tha co-chomann agus còrdadh eadar na h-eaglaisean ann am Meadhon Earra-Ghàidheal nach lorgar tric ann an àiteachan eile ann an Alba* (#10260); *Gu tric, ionnsaichidh e modh an sin* (#10521); *cha chaill e chruth (mar is tric a nì nylon* ‘as nylon often does’ (#10488). Cf. also: *Mar is trice a nì sin so, is ann is trice a dh'iarras sinn e* ‘the more often we do this, the more often we want it’ (#10399); *Mar as tric* ‘s e aon ghlainn a bheir siorc à duine’ (#4953).

Few examples of intrinsically imperfective verbs have been found in the corpus, e.g. *...òran a chleachdar gu tric mar òran-dealachaidh aig céilidhean* (#10452); *Mar as trice mairidh an cuideachadh trì bliadhna* (#10309); *Agus gu tric ma tha an croitear deònach faighinn air falbh ann an, cha chùm an t-uachdaran ri rabhadh bliadhna e* (#10424); *...ged, mar is trice, nach dean an riaghladh sin móran gus bacadh a chur orra* (#10520).³²¹

7.2. Simple past

This form expresses events and states that recurred in the past, focusing on the individual instances of such an event or a state, e.g. (perception) *agus is tric a chunnaic sinn deagh fhoidinn an fhigheadair...* (#10495); *...gun cuala mi gu tric 's mi 'nam bhalach* (#10482; cf. 4938); *Is tric a chuala mi...* (#10433; cf. #10453; #10466; #10480; etc.); *Is tric a chualas...* (#10582); (perfective) *...gun do thachair a leithid seo ro thric* (#10289); *'S tric a thainig e steach orm...* (#10421); *Nach tric a thug iad luch mònach a Colla agus as an Ros Muileach...* (#10477); *Is tric a thug Seòras Mór sùil air bun-an-uillt...* (#10417; cf. #10450; #10275); *...agus bu tric a chuir mi seachad laithean saora ... san taigh aice* (#10532); *Gur tric a dh'fhàg e mi leam fhéin* (#10352);³²² *...bu tric, anns na linntean fad as, a rinn ceatharnaich faire air a mullach* (#10468); *Dhearbh iad tric gu leòir roimhe so...* (#10442); cf. passive: *...mar as tric a chaidh a dhearbhadh dhut* (#10412); and (imperfective) *...tha mi*

³¹⁹ Cf. *mar 's trice thachras* (#10308), where *trice* = *tric a*.

³²⁰ This is a line from a verse.

³²¹ The last three examples, however, can be translated into English, respectively, as *will last*, *will keep*, and *will not do*.

³²² This is a line from a song.

*cinnteach gun do leugh mi “An Dealbh Briste” o cheann gu ceann gu math nas trice na leugh e fhéin e (#10354);*³²³ ...agus **labhair** Mgr. Ceausescu *gu tric an aghaidh prìomh-uachdaranach nan Ruiseanach sa’ Chomunn (#10388); Is tric a ruith* sgoth gu math caol ag iarraidh nan gugannan (#10415); *Bu tric a smaoinich* mi dè thachair don chàr ud (#10253); *Nach tric a chuidich* sinn ar seana-mhathair chaomh... (#10493); *is tric a chaidh* mi a chèilidh air (#10267); ...geata a’ chladh air **an deach** e fhèin *cho tric a-steach* (#10278).³²⁴

7.3. Simple conditional

This form appears to occur in the same contexts as the simple past tense (i.e. when the latter expresses habituality), although it seems to emphasise the habitual nature of a process, e.g. (perception) *Tric chithinn* coisichean a’ dol air an “Highland” chun a’ Ghearasdan (#10322); *Chitheamaid* fhèin na fèidh *gu math tric a-nuas dlùth oirnn* (#10323); ...ach *mar bu trice*, is ann an riochd boireannaich **a chite** am Fuath (#10374; cf. #10347); Aig deireadh gach òrain *chluinninn gu tric té de na mnathan-luaidhe ag éigheach ri càch...* (#40500); (perfective) *Nach tric a theireadh* e fhéin... (#10578); ‘S e a bhiodh sinne a’ lorg na nid a bhiodh dhà no thrì de chearcan a’ dèanamh san iodhlainn, agus *glè thrìc gheibheadh* sinn uighean an sin (#4943; cf. #10339); *bu tric a gheibhte* e-fhéin ... a’ cur seachad an fheasgair shamhraidh ag iolla san Loch a Tuath no san Chuan Sgìth (#10517); *gu math tric gheibhteadh* iad ann an àrd inbhe air muir ‘s air tìr (#10423); *Mar bu trice* ‘se “My heart’s in ze Highlands” **a gheibhinn** (#40457); *Bu tric a bheireadh* e (i.e. April) beagan ceò leis cuideachd (#10471; cf. #10303; #10506); *gu math tric, bheireadh* e sùil air leabhar beag a bha air a bheulaibh (#10473); *bu tric a chuireadh* na h-iasgairean an t-seachdainn seachad aig muir (#40252); *Gu tric ma bha* òganach san sgioba, *chuireadh* esan a ghàirdean ri ràmh an guallainn na luinge (#10283); *cha bu tric a thòisicheadh* obair-latha ... roimh mheadhon-latha (#10430); *cha bu tric a thadhaileadh* croitear air a’ mhaighstir-sgoile (#10556); Bha an t-aiseag a’ fàgail mu mheadhon-oidhche agus *mar bu trice ruigeadh* i an Caol aig 4.30 sa’ mhadainn (#10251); Ach chan eil e gu deifir *dé cho tric* ‘s **a dheanainn** so... (#10573); Air a chuireadh duine a-steach a làmh chuireadh an t-eun bochd mach ugh gus nach beireadh iad air fhèin ach **cha dèanadh** sin a’ chùis *ro thrìc* (#10263); **cha deanadh** sinn bun no bàrr de na h-òraidean *mar bu tric* (#40542; #10312); *Ro thrìc, rachadh* neart thar cheart (#10379); (imperfective) *bha a h-uile coltas gur aislingean draoluinneach a bh’ ann, oir ghlaodhadh* i mach *gu tric an guth àrd cruaidh an eagail*, ‘s bhiodh a colainn fliuch le fuar-fhallus... (#10569); **chòrdadh** i gu mòr ri muinntir an eilein agus *glè thrìc ri coigrich cuideachd* (#10327); *Bu tric a chosgadh* iad fàinne umha (#10372).

³²³ This can be interpreted as perfective since it is about reading the whole book.

³²⁴ The last two examples can be interpreted as perfective.

4.4 Tense and aspect: expressing habituality³²⁵

1. Simple future

The simple future can describe recurring events or states.

Verbs of inert perception (e.g. *faic*, *cluinn*) and verbs of inert cognition (e.g. *aithnich*, *tuig*) are interpreted as describing achievements when in the simple future.

- *Chì mi Dòmhnall air na tràigh a h-uile madainn.* ‘I see Donald on the beach every morning.’

Corpus examples:³²⁶

- *Tha bhùth aige dìreach coltach ris na bùitean eile a chì sibh air feadh na Gàidhealtachd ann am bailtean beaga* ‘His shop is just like the other shops that you can see all over the Highlands in small villages’ (§198); *Chan ann tric a chì sinn thusa a’ tadhal oirnn* ‘It is not often that we see you visiting us (§198); *Ma tha leanabhan òga aca bithidh iad crochte riutha ann an sheaghall mar a chì sibh, uaireannan, na bana-cheardan* ‘If they have young children, they are hung from them in the shawl as you sometimes see the tinker women do’ (§400038); *Cò fear às an sgìreachd seo as tric a chì e...* ‘that sees it most often’ (#10557); *Chithear i [=iolaire iasgaich] an còmhnaidh faisg air uisge...* (#22); *chan ann tric a chithear...* (#10427; cf. #10373; #10358); *chan fhaicear ise gu tric...* (#10437);
- *An taobh a muigh de’n ghàrradh tha an “jungle” far an cluinn mi na moncaidhean a’ còmhradh a h-uile feasgar* ‘Outwith the garden is the jungle where I hear monkeys talk every evening’ (§400037); *Cluinnidh tu daoine a’ gearan an diugh – agus cluinnidh tu ministearan a’ gearan – nach eil ùine aca leabhraichean a leughadh...* ‘You hear people complain nowadays – and you hear ministers complain – that they do not have time to read books’ (§400026); *Nach eil an t-òran brèagha sin a’ chluineas sinn gu math tric ga sheinn air a rèidio* (#10310); *’s tric a chluinneas sinn...* (#10428); *is tric a cluinnear* (#10418); *nach tric a chluinnear* (#10516); *cluinnear na facail sin tric ann am Beàrnaraigh* (#10570); *Tha mi creidsinn gun cluinnear ann an iomadh dachaidh, an glaodh “Dé chuireas mi umam?”* (#38-2);
- *’S ann air far-ainm, mar A’ Phiseag ... as fheàrr a dh’aithnichear mar as trice an cluicheadair Leódhusach* (#10545);

³²⁵ § – examples from *Corpas na Gàidhlig*, # – examples from the MEANMA corpus.

³²⁶ Many examples contain the adverb *tric* since this was one of the expressions used to find examples.

- ...*beatha nach tuig iad gu tric, nach còrd riutha, is a bhios duilich dhaibh a ghiùlan* ‘a life that they often do not understand, that they do not like, and which is difficult for them to bear’ (#10281).³²⁷

With achievement and accomplishment verbs (perfective), the simple future conveys the sense of completeness/boundedness of individual events that recur.

Corpus examples:

- *Anns a’ bhaile-mhòr tha uiread a’ falbh na stràide gun fhios carson, agus gun nì ri dhèanamh, agus stadaidh fear an siud ’s an seo, ged a b’ ann a dh’èisdeachd searmoin fhèin* ‘In the city, so many walk the street not knowing why, and without anything to do, and a man stops here and there, as if they were listening to a sermon’ (§400186);
- *Tachraidh e glé tric gu bheil an sluagh a’ cur feum air atharrachadh àraidh...* (#10395); *Nach tric a thachras e...* (#10422; cf. #10583); *nì a thachras tric air banais* (#10575); *mar a thachras ro thrìc* (#10293); *mar is tric a thachras* ‘as often happens’ (#10476);
- *Aig àm buain mònach is tric a thig ris cròicean móra de chraobhan a bha taisgte fo’n riasg fad iomadh linn* (#10538); *Nach tric a thig an smuain a tha sin...* (#10562); *Agus glé thrìc thig sibh dhachaidh fuar...* (#10406; cf. #10325);
- ...*gu tric ruigidh iad an dà bhliadhna dheug gun ach corra fhacal Gàidhlig* (#10576);
- ...*cuirear glé thrìc iongnadh air dùthchadaich Chuimreach gu bheil a leithid de rud ann ri gluasad dùthchadach as aonais a chànain fhéin* (#10350);
- *Their iomadh lighiche tric gu leòir...* (#10446); *Gur tric riut fèin a chanas tu...* (#10343); *Canar* “Gaelic-essential” *ris na coimthionalan sin gu tric* (#10391); *Canar diglossia ris an t-seòrsa suidheachadh seo...* ‘This kind of situation is called “diglossia”’ (#32-2);
- ...*far an tric a gheibh e am bàs o na cait* (#10464);³²⁸ ...*ach cha tric a gheibhear iad a’ neadachadh an seo* (#10458); *Bitear gu tric a’ cur air ministearan na Pàrlamaid an diugh, an uair a théid an ceasnachadh an Tigh nan Cumantan mu nithean a tha a’ cur dragh air an t-sluagh, nach e freagairtean sònraichte mar bu chòir gheibhear bhuapa, ach tuilleadh ’s a chòir de’n ghobble-de-gook* ‘...one does not get defined answers from them as one should’ (§400045);
- *Mar as tric’ ’s e aon ghlaime a bheir siorc à duine* (#4953);
- ...*is tric a sgithicheas e na coin* (#10448);
- *Cuiridh iad suas ri gainne is cha bhi iad ris a’ mhèirle ach nuair a sparras an éiginn iad* ‘They put up with scarcity and they do not steal except when the necessity forces them to’ (§40);
- *smuainichibh cho tric is a dhòirteas cupan tea ... air trusgan ùr* (#10486);
- ...*nach tric a chailleas iad cuimhne* (#10474);
- *Lorgaidh tu e ’na suidhe, gu tric air an aon spiòdan carraig...* ‘you (will/can) find it’ (#10441); *Tha co-chomann agus còrdadh eadar na h-eaglaisean ann am Meadhon Earra-Ghàidheal nach lorgar tric ann an àiteachan eile ann an Alba* (#10260);

³²⁷ This might be a (bounded) state, in fact: ‘a life that they often cannot understand’.

³²⁸ Talking about snipes: they are often killed by cats.

- *Gu tric, ionnsaichidh e modh an sin* (#10521);
- *...ged, mar is trice, nach dean an riaghladh sin mórán gus bacadh a chur orra* (#10520);
- *cha chaill e chruth (mar is tric a ni nylon) ‘as nylon often does’* (#10488).

There are few examples of activity and state verbs, and some of the following expressions may be interpreted as accomplishments (*cha chùm*) or achievements (*mairidh*).

Corpus examples:

- *Agus gu tric ma tha an croitear deònach faighinn air falbh ann an cabhaig, cha chùm an t-uachdaran ri rabhadh bliadhna e* (#10424);
- *B’ e Iain MacPhàidein a b’ ùghdar do’n òran a chleachdar gu tric mar òran-dealachaidh aig céilidhean is cuirmean Gaidhealach, “Soiridh leibh is oidhche mhath leibh” ‘...which is often used’* (§400011);
- *Mar is trice a ni sin so [= walk in the hills], is ann is trice a dh’iarras sinn e ‘the more often we do this, the more often we want it’* (#10399);
- *Mar as trice mairidh an cuideachadh trì bliadhna* (#10309);
- *feumaidh a’ bhanaltrum gu tric eadar-theangair ’na cois ‘a nurse often needs an interpretor’* (#10527).

Cf. also:

- *A thaobh suidheachadh nam prìosanach a thig a-staigh dhan phrìosan às na h-ionadan-gleidhidh airson òigridh: tilgear air ball iad an sàs ann am beatha nach tuig iad gu tric, nach còrd riutha, is a bhios duilich dhaibh a ghiùlan ‘Regarding the situation of the prisoners who come in to the prison from youth detention centres: they are entangled immediately in a life that they often do not understand, that they do not like, and which is difficult for them to bear’* (#10281).

Modals and auxiliaries occur only in their simple forms. Additionally, the verbs *faodar* and *gabhadh* describe a state (= ‘is possible’).

Corpus examples:

- *Faodar a nighe cho tric ’s a thograr* (#10438);
- *Gabhadh i nighe cho tric ’s a thogras sibh* (#10455);
- *Chan ann tric a thig orra sparradh an lagha a chur air bathar* (#10529);
- *O! ’s tric a thèid do mhionnachadh...* (#10344);
- *Cuiridh iad suas ri gainne is cha bhi iad ris a’ mhèirle ach nuair a sparras an éiginn iad ‘They put up with scarcity and they do not steal except when the necessity forces them to’* (§40).

2. Future progressive

The future progressive can express events and states that occur habitually.

- (ACT) *Bidh Dòmhnall a' snàmh anns an loch a h-uile madainn.* 'Donald swims in the loch every morning.'
- (ACP) *Bidh Dòmhnall a' nighe nan soithichean a h-uile feasgar.* 'Donald washes the dishes every afternoon.'
- (ACH) *Bidh Dòmhnall a' tighinn dhachaigh a h-uile mìos.* 'Donald comes home every month.'
- (STT) *Bidh Dòmhnall na shuidhe aig an uinneig a h-uile madainn.* 'Donald sits at the window every morning.'

In this context, the future progressive appears to imply recurrence rather than duration, even with accomplishment and achievement verbs: the sentence *Bidh Dòmhnall a' tighinn dhachaidh a h-uile mìos* implies that Donald eventually arrives home each time. Identical or very similar meanings can also be expressed by the present (see §3).

Corpus examples:

- *'S bidh e dol do'n tobar a h-uile madainn 's cha bhi e bruidhinn ri duine* 'He goes to the spring every morning and he does not talk to anyone' (§198); *'S tric a bhios daoine a' bruidhinn air na rudan èibhinn no eirmseach a thuir e* (#4939);
- *...tha fhios agam gum bi i ag èisdeachd ri Tagh Fonn a h-uile feasgar Diciadain...* 'I know that she listens to 'Pick a tune' every Wednesday' (§400140);
- *Is e Mgr. Dòmhnallach a bhios gu tric a' leughadh nan naidheachdan air an radio* (#10400);
- *Nuair a bhios mi a' gabhail cuairt taobh na mòintich ... bidh ceist gu tric ag èirigh 'nam inntinn...* (#10261);
- *...a h-uile madainn, aig leth-uair an dèidh naoi, bidh a' chlann 's an luchd-teagaisg gu lèir a' tional* 'every morning, at half past nine, all children and teachers gather' (§11);
- *Bidh mo smuaintean a' dol tric gu na làithean anns am bu bheag mo chùram* (#10335); *An diugh, is iad na boireannaich gu tric a bhios a' dol an greim a' ghnìomh so* (#10447); *...a h-uile feasgar Dihaoine, bidh mi dol a-null dhan a' bhun-sgoil, 's a toirt leasan Beurla dhan a' chlas...* 'every Friday afternoon, I go over to the primary school and give an English lesson to the class' (§11);
- *Ach mar is trice, 'sann a bhios mi toirt sùil air beatha an duine 's air na duilgheadais a tha 'na chois* (§400093);
- *Bitear gu tric a' cur air ministearan na Pàrlamaid an diugh, an uair a théid an ceasnachadh an Tigh nan Cumantan mu nithean a tha a' cur dragh air an t-sluagh, nach e freagairtean sònraichte mar bu chòir gheibhear bhuapa, ach tuilleadh 's a chòir de'n ghobble-de-gook...* (§400045);
- *...an treud a bhios a' faotainn ùrachaidh agus foghlaim aig a cheilidh a'h uile oidhche Shathuirne* 'the crowd that gets refreshment and education at the ceilidh every Saturday night' (§401013);

- *bithidh iad a' faighneachd gu tric*, “Càite a bheil a' chreag...” (#10467);
- *Cha bhi daoine a' bàsachadh an seo glè thrìc* (#4940);
- *Bidh* guirean *a' tighinn* air smiogaid MhicCoinnich, an còmhnaidh anns an aon àite ‘A spot comes on Mackenzie’s chin, always in the same place’ (§11); *Glè thrìc bidh feadhainn den treubh sin a' tighinn 's an teanga 'nam pluic!* (#10346);
- *Bithidh feadhainn, leithid an fheadhainn a dh'ainmich mi, a' libhrigeadh a' ghuaill chun nan taighean, ach bithidh feadhainn eile a' cladhach fo'n talamh* ‘Some, like those that I have mentioned, deliver the coal to the houses, but some others dig under the ground’ (§400038);
- *Bidh na caileagan gan ungradh fhéin airson maise craicinn...* (#38-11);
- *Seach gu bheil an talamh cho mì-chothrom bidh am bonn* (i.e. of the houses) *gu math tric àrd agus bidh iad an còmhnaidh a' cur rùm no dhà shìos gu h-ìosal* (§400118);
- *Tha an tinneas so a' bualadh iomadach alt, ach 'se cnàmh an droma ... a bhios e bualadh mar as trice* (#10380).

The verb *bi* occurs in its simple forms.

- *An taobh a muigh de'n ghàrradh tha an “jungle” far an cluinn mi na moncaidhean a' còmhradh a h-uile feasgar. Bithidh elephants sìos is suas an rathad mu choinneamh an tìghe – feadhainn sholta, tha mi toilichte a ràdha* ‘Outwith the garden is the jungle where I hear monkeys talk every evening. Elephants go up and down the road opposite the house – harmless ones, I am glad to say’ (§400037); *Ma tha leanabhan òga aca bithidh iad crochte riutha ann an sheaghall mar a chì sibh, uaireannan, na bana-cheardan* ‘If they have young children, they are hung from them in the shawl as you sometimes see the tinker women do’ (§400038); *...far an trice a bhitheas clach luachmhor* (#10368); *Seach gu bheil an talamh cho mì-chothrom bidh am bonn* (i.e. of the houses) *gu math tric àrd* (§400118).

3. Present progressive

The present progressive can express habituality, which usage is well-attested in the corpora (even in early texts). The present is extremely common in this context, at least when an expression of frequency is present, perhaps even more common than the future progressive (see §2).

- (ACT) *Tha Dòmhnall a' snàmh anns an loch a h-uile madainn.* ‘Donald swims in the loch every morning.’
- (ACP) *Tha Dòmhnall a' nighe shoithichean a h-uile feasgar.* ‘Donald washes dishes every evening.’
- (ACH) *Tha Dòmhnall a' tighinn dhachaigh a h-uile mìos.* ‘Donald comes home every month.’
- (STT) *Tha Dòmhnall na shuidhe aig an uinneig a h-uile madainn.* ‘Donald sits at the window every morning.’

In this context, the present progressive appears to imply recurrence rather than duration, even with accomplishment and achievement verbs: the sentence *Tha Dòmhnall a' tighinn dhachaidh a h-uile mìos* implies that Donald eventually arrives home each time.

Corpus examples:

- *Chan eil mi cho cinnteach cuideachd gu bheil luch-teagach nan cànan Ceilteach anns na h-Oilthighean a' cleachdadh na Gàidhlig cho tric 's a dh'fhaodadh iad* (#10563); ...*thathar gu tric a' cleachdadh bàta beag, ochd ràimh de dh'fhiodh 's de chanbhas ris an canar "curragh"* (#10320);
- *'S tric a tha 'n toinise seo a' tarraing às na boireannaich* (#10290);
- *Thatar gu tric a' cur as a leth gun do rinn i droch dhiol air òrain Ghàidhlig* (#10530; cf. #10540);
- *Mar as trice, chan eil mise a' coireachadh nan daoine a tha ag obair an aghaidh ar cànan mar seo* (#10362);
- *Tha glé thric osteo-arthritis a' bualadh barrachd air aon duine anns an aon teaghlach* (#10384);
- *Tha iad a' gaireachdainn tric* (#4957);
- *Cuimhnichibh cuideachd gu bheil a' chrìoch gu tric a' ruith troimh chlachain* (#10518);
- *Tha Seonag a' dol seachad air an tigh a h-uile madainn, 's thàinig e steach orm gun tugadh i thugam e air a slighe gu a h-obair* 'Joan goes past the house every morning and it occurred to me she could bring it to me on her way to work' (§198); *Tha itealan a' dol seachad a' seo a h-uile oidhche* 'A plane flies past here every night' (§400181); *'S tha dithis no trì air fhathast a' dol don bhàr a h-uile feasgar Dihaoine...* 'And two or three still go to the bar every Friday evening' (§400140);
- *Tha sinn a' losgadh ceithir basgaidean san là, agus tha na basgaidean a' tighinn thugainn a h-uile madainn as a' mhèin air an giùlan air cinn ceathrar bhoireannach* 'We burn four baskets per day and baskets come to us every morning from the mine, carried on the heads of four women' (§400038); *Gu tric, tha fir-deasachaidh Ghairm a' tighinn far a bheil mise agus ag ràdha...* (#10531); ...*leis gu bheil luchd-oibreach gu tric a' tighinn bho thir-mór...* (#10550);
- *Tha mise toirt dhuit airgid a h-uile oidhche...* 'I give you money every night' (§400067); ...*tha fhios nach ann gun mòran saothair a tha an luchd-deasachaidh ... ga thoirt am follais gach dàrnacha seachdain* 'it is clear that the editors do not bring it to light every second week without a lot of hard work' (§400059); *Glé thric tha cus spéis ga thoirt do dhaoine mì-reusanta...* (#10387);
- ...*gu bheil coigrich a' farraid gu tric gu dé na cuileagan as freagarraiche air na lochan san àite* (#10410);
- *Tha suas ri ceithir fichead balach agus caileag beag ... a' coinneachadh aig aon uair deug a h-uile madainn Di-Sathuirne* 'Up to eighty wee boys and girls ... meet at eleven every Saturday morning' (§400003); *Tha còrr agus ceud gille agus cailleag a' coinneachadh a h-uile madainn Di-Sathuirne...* 'More than a hundred boys and girls meet every Saturday morning' (§400005);

- 'Sann mar as trice a-mach a Steòrnabhagh **a tha** na h-eithrichean Scalpach **a' co-sheasamh** (#10341);
- ...agus **tha** sin gu tric **a' fàgail** teaghlaich gun Ghàidhlig (#10551); **Tha** mi gad fhàgail nad aonar ro thrìc (#10336);
- Mar is tric, **tha** an oidhche **a' dùnadh**, agus uaireannan a' fosgladh cuideachd, le sabaid eadar muinntir am' chinn shìos agus muinntir a' chinn shuas mu dheighinn na tigheannan anns am bi iad a' tadhal (§400017);
- **Tha** iad ag ionnsachadh na Gàidhlig a h-uile madainn... 'They learn Gaelic every morning' (§400032);
- **Tha** sinn gu tric **a' dìochuimhneachadh** so (#10539);
- ...gum bheil ur craiceann beò agus mar sin **gum bheil e gu tric ag ath-ùrachadh** (#10552);
- Ach tha fios a'm a-nise gur tric a tha an dìoghaltas **a' cosg** barrachd air na 's fhiach e (#4955);
- ...agus **tha** Tormod **a' cadal a h-uile oidhche** leis a' phòcair ri a thaobh 'and Norman sleeps every night with the poker by his side' (§400054);
- Truaghain bhochda **a tha nan suidhe** aig dasc a h-uile madainn 's nach fhaigh air facal a chur air pàipear 'Poor souls that sit at the desk every morning and do not manage to put a single word on the paper' (§400108);
- **tha** cumadh agus fuaim nan roinn cho tric an crochadh ris na tha mu'n timcheall (#10508).

The verb *bi* only has simple forms.

Corpus examples:

- 'S a dh'aindeoin sin, **tha** "Rìgh Deòrsa" taosgach gach dàrnacha latha 'Despite that "King George" is full to the brim every second day' (§400005); *Bha* sinn nar suidhe anns an taigh-chlub ... mar as trice **tha** sinn a h-uile feasgar Disathurna an deaghaidh a dhol timcheall a' chùrsa 'We were sitting in the club as we often do every Saturday evening...' (§400127); *Is aithne dhomhsa aon fhear ...* **a tha tric** an cuideachd a' bhàillidh (#10558); *Tha deagh fhios ...* gur tric a tha treallaich mhath de'n Ghàidhlig aig a' chlann ma tha i aig am màthair (#10541); ...nach tric a tha air trèana 'who is not on a train frequently' (#10295); *Tha fear an seo* **a tha tric** gu leòr mu 'n tigh-sgoile (#10555); *Tha an tigh-staile ag iarraidh fear-riaghlaidh, agus chan ann glé thrìc a tha e sin as Ile...* (#10548); ...gun ghuth gu bheil na sean-fhacail gu tric calg-dhìreach an aghaidh a chéile (#10481); Mar as trice, **tha** a' chiad seòrsa nas gainne, 's an dara seòrsa ro phailt! (#10549); *Chan eil Gàidhlig aca sin idir agus* mar as trice **chan eil** a' Bheurla aca ròine nas fheàrr na aig càch (#10564); **Tha** obair latha mar as tric seachad mu shia feasgair (#10402); Mar as trice, **tha** trì seirbhisean agam (#10259).

Cf. the following passive expressions:

- **Tha** a' chathag ... gu tric air a cumail 'na peata aig cloinn (#10463); *Tha mórán de nithean ann a so* nach eil gu tric air am mìneachadh ann na gràmairean coitcheanna

(#10511); *Mar as trice tha beachdan na cloinne air an stéidheachadh air beachdan nam pàrantan...* (#10568);

- ...*chan eil iad tric ri'm faighinn ach air leth* (#10461).

4. Present perfect

The present perfect does not seem to be common in this context. It could probably be replaced by the present in the following example.

- *Tha 'm polas air a bhith a stigh a seo gach dàrnacha latha, bho chailleadh iad* 'The police officer has been (coming) in here every second day, since they got lost' (§306).

5. Simple future vs. future progressive & present

The simple future describes perfective events as opposed to ongoing or recurring events/states, which are expressed by progressive forms (cf. also §13).

The simple future can describe an event that occurs regularly in a (recurring) situation expressed by the future progressive or the present (see §2 and §3).

- *Tha mi cinnteach gun smuainich sibh fhéin air buadhan eile airson an seall sibh ann an aodach a bhios sibh a' ceannach* 'I am sure that you yourself think of other qualities you look for in clothes that you buy' (#38-2);
- *Bidh Iain Crotach a' gabhail a thìde leis na litrichean, agus uaireannan stadaidh e aig tigh 's gabhaidh e copan tea* 'Iain the Hunchback takes his time with the letters and, at times, he stops at a house and has a cup of tea' (§198);
- *Anns a' bhaile-mhòr tha uiread a' fulbh na stràide gun fhios carson, agus gun nì ri dhèanamh, agus stadaidh fear an siud 's an seo, ged a b' ann a dh'èisdeachd searmoin fhèin* 'In the city, so many walk the street not knowing why, and without anything to do, and a man stops here and there, as if they were listening to a sermon' (§400186);
- *Turus sam bith a chì e mi, nuair a tha e ag obair air an rathad mhór, stadaidh e fada mun ruig mi idir, is faighnichidh e gu caomhneil mu ar déidhinn uile* 'Whenever he sees me, when he is at work at the great road, he stops long before I even arrive, and asks me kindly about us all' (§40).

The simple future can describe recurring events in subordinate clauses that may serve as expressions of frequency (or similar) for the events or states described by the main clause. The latter are expressed either by the future progressive or by the present (see §2 and §3).

- *Madainnean nach eil agam ri dhol dhan an sgoil, bidh mi dol air ais dhan an leabaidh cho luath 's a chluinneas mi an gleoc alarm a' duirgheal an ath-dhoras...* 'On the mornings that I do not have to go to school, I go back to bed as soon as I hear the alarm clock ringing next door' (#11-2);

- *Cuiridh iad suas ri gainne is **cha bhi** iad ris a' mhèirle ach nuair **a sparras** an éiginn iad* 'They put up with scarcity and they do not steal except when the necessity forces them to' (§40);
- *An dràsda, gach taobh **a thionndaidheas** duine air a' Ghàidhealtachd, **tha** Beurla f'a chomhair* 'Whatever side you turn to in the Highlands now, English is in front of you' (#32-2);
- ***Tha** mi anns a' chéilidh a h-uile oidhche **a chumas** am Freasdal Dòmhnall ruadh gun tighinn a choimhead orm* 'I am at the ceilidh on every night on which Providence keeps Red Donald from coming to see me' (§401001).

6. Future progressive vs. present

It is not completely clear how the present differs from the future progressive when expressing habituality. The present might add a sense of continuity or greater regularity to a habitual event or state for pragmatic or stylistic reasons (cf. *he is constantly in the pub*). In other words, the future progressive seems to emphasise habituality, whilst the present appears to emphasise continuity, simultaneity or more regular occurrence (cf. §16).

The two forms can be combined as follows.

- *Madainnean **nach eil** agam ri dhol dhan an sgoil, **bidh** mi **dol** air ais dhan an leabaidh cho luath 's a chluinneas mi an gleoc alarm a' duirgheal an ath-dhoras, 's **a' laighe** leis a' chuibhrig air an tarraing suas fo mo smiogaid, ag èisdeachd ri na fuaimean a **bhios** mo bhean **a' dèanamh** tron a' bhalla... 'S e chiad rud a **tha** mi **cluinntinn** brag nan casan aice air an làr... Ràn tanca na poit a' falamhachadh 's a' lìonadh, fluis tap a' bhùirn theth ... a **bhios** i **fàgail** a' ruith fhad 's a **tha** i **glanadh** a fìaclan* 'On the mornings that I do not have to go to school, I go back to bed as soon as I hear the alarm clock ringing next door, and lie with the duvet pulled up under my chin, listening to the sounds that my wife makes through the wall... The first thing that I hear is the clacking of her feet on the floor... The roar of the water tank emptying and filling, the flush of the hot water tap... which she leaves running while she brushes her teeth' (#11-2);
- ***Tha** cromosoman **a' dealachadh** bho chéile air thuairream aig àm meiósis, agus mar sin **tha** dà ghine air an aon cromosom buailteach air dealachadh còmhla... Bidh co-cheangal anns an dualchas a **tha** gineachan de'n t-seòrsa sin a' giùlan, agus **cha bhi** iad **a' dealachadh** 's **a' tighinn** gu chéile air thuairream mar a **bhios** gineachan a **tha gan giùlan** air cromosoman eadar-dhealaichte... (#33-3-3);*
- ***Thathar** an còmhnaidh **a' ruith** dhannsaichean agus **bidh** "cèili" ann a h-uile oidhche air feadh an t-samhraidh... 'They always run dances and there is a ceilidh every night throughout the summer' (§400130);*
- *...**tha** mi nise **fuireach** 'nam aonar (...) ann an tigh comhfhurtail le leas air a bhialaibh far am **bi** mi **a' cur** mheasan. **Bidh** mi **caitheamh** mo thìde a' coimhead 's a' toirt aire do na nithean a **tha dol** air adhairt anns a' bhaile. Aig amannan **bidh** mi **faireachdainn** aonaranach. Ach **nach eil** a h-uile duine **faireachdainn** sin eadhon nuair a **tha** iad*

*pòsda? (...) 'Sann aig Dougie a **tha** an aon bhuth a **th'**anns a' bhaile 's **bidh** e **reic** phàipearan 's trealaich de gach seòrsa (§198);*

- *“A h-uile oidhche, an dèidh dhuinn greis cadail a dhèanamh, **cha bhi** mise **a' cadal** gu dearbh” *ars esan*, “**tha** am boireannach – bean an tuathanaich **a' tighinn** far a bheil mi is srian bheag aice 's i ga crathadh air mo bheulaibh 's **tha** mi **dol** 'nam each 's **tha** i **falbh** leam 's **a' dol** a choimhead air fear eile. **Bidh** i greis còmhla ris 's **bidh** mise ann a shin aig a' gheata gus an tig i a-mach” (§400117).*

7. Simple conditional

The simple conditional can describe events or states that recurred in the past, apparently with the focus placed on individual instances of such an event or state (cf. §9).

Verbs of inert perception (e.g. *faic*, *cluinn*) and verbs of inert cognition (e.g. *aithnich*, *tuig*) are interpreted as describing achievements when in the simple conditional.

- ***Chithinn** Dòmhnall air na tràigh a h-uile madainn.* ‘I would (or used to) see Donald on the beach every morning.’

Corpus examples:

- *A h-uile madainn air an rathad don cholaisde **chitheadh** Cailean i* ‘Every morning on his way to the college, Colin would see her’ (§400133); *...gu robh fhios aige glé mhath gur i chruach mhònadh aige bha cumail a' dol na toit liath chaol a **chitheadh** e dìreadh dha na speuran a h-uile feasgar (§400101); A h-uile feasgar Sàbaid **chitheadh** tu ann an siud e, 'na sheasamh air bloigh de bhucas aig oisean na sràide, is grùnn de leth-bhalaich, maille ri bodach na dhà, timcheall air* ‘Every Sunday evening, you would see him there, standing on an old box at the street corner, and a few youths, together with a couple of old men, around him’ (§400186); *Tric **chithinn** coisichean a' dol air an “Highland” chun a' Ghearasdan (#10322); **Chitheamaid** fhèin na fèidh gu math tric a-nuas dlùth oirnn (#10323); ...ach mar bu trice, is ann an riochd boireannaich **a chite** am Fuath (#10374; cf. #10347);*
- *Aig deireadh gach òrain **chluinninn** gu tric té de na mnathan-luaidhe ag éigheach ri càch...* ‘At the end of each song, I would often hear one of the waulking women shout to the others’ (#40500).

With achievement and accomplishment verbs (perfective), the simple conditional conveys the sense of completeness/boundedness of individual events that recurred in the past.

- *A h-uile madainn, **ghabhadh** Dòmhnall a bhracaist agus **rachadh** e a dh'obair.* ‘Every morning, Donald would have his breakfast and go to work.’

Corpus examples:

- *Tugainn ma-tha, a luaidh (**chanainn** ris)* ‘Let’s go then, dear (I would say to him)’ (#11-2); *“Ud, isd,” **chanadh** i a h-uile madainn, “chan eil math dhut an cnatan a ghabhail*

- (§317); “A-nis,” **theireadh** i, “nuair a théid thu do Ghlaschu, théid thu a h-uile madainn Shathurna do’n “laundrette,” ... (§400073); Nach tric a theireadh e fhéin... (#10578);
- *bha a h-uile coltas gur aislingean draoluinneach a bh’ ann, oir **ghlaodhadh i mach gu tric** an guth àrd cruaidh an eagail, ’s bhiodh a colainn fliuch le fuar-fhallus...* (#10569);
 - *Cha robh latha **nach falbhadh** a ròn a dh’iasgach agus **thilleadh** e dhachaidh a h-uile feasgar...* (§400040);
 - *A h-uile feasgar nuair a bhiodh i air a sàth itheadh laigheadh i ri fasgadh na Creige Mòire agus cha robh eun mu na còrsachan **nach tigeadh** a chèilidh oirre...* (§400105); *A h-uile oidhche, aig an dearbh mhionaid, thigeadh bualadh do’n dorus* (§400063); *A h-uile madainn thigeadh e do leabaidh Isbeil ga dùsgadh, agus dh’fhuiricheadh e an sin gus an èireadh i...* (§400178);
 - *Bha an t-aiseag a’ fàgail mu mheadhon-oidhche agus mar bu trice ruigeadh i an Caol aig 4.30 sa’ mhadainn* (#10251);
 - *cha bu tric a thadhaileadh croitear air a’ mhaighstir-sgoile* (#10556);
 - *bu tric a chuireadh na h-iasgairean an t-seachdainn seachad aig muir* (#40252); *Gu tric ma bha òganach san sgioba, **chuireadh** esan a ghàirdean ri ràmh an guallainn na luinge* (#10283);
 - *Gach dàrnacha latha bheireadh an seachran-seilg e gu Bonn-sgaoid* (§48); ***Bheireadh** am fear a b’fheàrr trì latha ach glé thric **bheirte** ochd seachdainean air an t-slighe* (§400005); *Bu tric a bheireadh e (i.e. April) beagan ceò leis cuideachd* (#10471; cf. #10303; #10506); *gu math tric, bheireadh e sùil air leabhar beag a bha air a bheulaibh* (#10473);
 - *’S e a bhiodh sinne a’ lorg na nid a bhiodh dhà no thrì de chearcann a’ dèanamh san iodhlainn, agus glè thric **gheibheadh** sinn uighean an sin* (#4943; cf. #10339); *bu tric a gheibhte e-fhéin ... a’ cur seachad an fheasgair shamhraidh ag iolla san Loch a Tuath no san Chuan Sgìth* (#10517); *gu math tric gheibhteadh iad ann an àrd inbhe air muir ’s air tìr* (#10423); *Mar bu trice ’se “My heart’s in ze Highlands” **a gheibhinn*** (#40457);
 - *cha bu tric a thòisichheadh obair-latha ... roimh mheadhon-latha* (#10430);
 - *Ach chan eil e gu deifir dé cho tric ’s a **dheanainn** so...* (#10573); *Air a chuireadh duine a-steach a làmh chuireadh an t-eun bochd mach ugh gus nach beireadh iad air fhèin ach **cha dèanadh** sin a’ chùis ro thric* (#10263); ***cha deanadh** sinn bun no bàrr de na h-òraidean mar bu tric* (#40542; #10312).

Intrinsically imperfective (activity) verbs such as *rach* or *coisich* are normally accompanied by a phrase that indicates destination (or similar) or purpose.

- **Rachadh** Dòmhnall sìos chun na tràghad. ‘Donald would go down to the beach.’
- **Rachadh** Dòmhnall a dh’fhaighinn aran. ‘Donald would go to get bread.’

Corpus examples:

- *Agus thairis air an drochaid seo **rachadh** seanair Choinnich ... a h-uile feasgar cha mhòr, an dèidh obair a’ latha a chrìochnachadh* (§400115); *Ro thric, rachadh neart thar cheart* (#10379); ***Dheidheadh** e air a bhroinn air beulaibh nam balgairean mòr*

grànnda, agus ann an tiotadh bhiodh am fear a b' fhiadhaiche 'na charaid aige (§400178);

- *Is ann mar siud a bhitheadh e cha mhòr a h-uile oidhche den t-seachdain ach air an oidhche **choisicheadh** iad sìos chun a' bhothan airson gloidneachan liunn is còmhradh ris na fir eile (§400158).*

Intrinsically imperfective (state) verbs such as *fuirich* are accompanied by phrases or clauses introduced by *gu(s)* 'until'.

- *A h-uile madainn, **dh'fhuiricheadh** Dòmhnall gus an tilleadh sinn.* 'Every morning, Donald would wait until we returned.'

Corpus examples:

- *A h-uile madainn thigeadh e do leabaidh Isbeil ga dùsgadh, agus **dh'fhuiricheadh** e an sin gus an èireadh i... (§400178); ...**gum fanadh** e gu foighidinneach a h-uile feasgar gus an tigeadh cuideiginn aca steach (§400056).*

There are few examples of activities and states.

- *...**chòrdadh** i gu mòr ri muinntir an eilein agus glè thrìc ri coigrich cuideachd (#10327);*
- *Bu tric a chosgadh iad fàinne umha* 'They often wore a bronze ring' (#10372).

The simple conditional seems to be common in narrative contexts as in the following examples from *Corpas na Gàidhlig*. State verbs such as *caidil* have been attested in this context too.

- *A h-uile oidhche, aig an dearbh mhionaid, **thigeadh** bualadh do'n doras. **Rachadh** esan ga fhreagairt ... a-mach **ghabhadh** e a chath ris an t-seann olc. An sin **thilleadh** e a-stigh... (§400063);*
- *An uair a bhitheadh e deiseil a dh'èigheach a-mach na h-ainmeannan às an leabhar-ainm anns an sgoil a h-uile madainn, **dhùineadh** e 'n leabhar, **shliobadh** e stais aige, **chanadh** e, "Agus is mise Tòmas Tait!" agus an uair sin **thòisicheadh** obair an latha (§400141);*
- ***Chuirte** am balach 'na shìneadh air an ùrlar, agus **chaidleadh** e ann an sin gu socair, agus nuair a **dhùisgeadh** e cha bhiodh aon dad de choltas tinneis air (§28);*
- *...**sgrìobhadh** e mu gach cùis a **thigeadh** ri aghaidh a inntinne... (§400026).*

Modals and auxiliaries have only simple forms.

- *... 's e mise a **dh'fheumadh** an crodh bainne a chur a-mach a h-uile madainn* 'it was I that used to have to take the milk cows out every morning' (§400142).

8. Simple conditional perfect

The contexts are the same as for the simple conditional (see §7), with an additional retrospective sense.

- *A h-uile feasgar nuair a bhiodh i air a sàth itheadh laigheadh i ri fasgadh na Creige Mòire agus cha robh eun mu na còrsachan nach tigeadh a chèilidh oirre...* ‘Every afternoon, when she would have eaten her fill, she would lie in the shelter of Craigmòre and there was no bird about the shores that would not come to visit her’ (§400105).

9. Simple past

The simple past can describe events or states that recurred in the past, apparently with the focus placed on individual instances of such an event or state. The simple past appears to be less common in this context than the simple conditional (see §7).

Verbs of inert perception (e.g. *faic, cluinn*) and verbs of inert cognition (e.g. *aithnich, tuig*) are interpreted as describing achievements when in the simple past.

- *Chunnaic mi Dòmhnall air na tràigh a h-uile madainn.* ‘I saw Donald on the beach every morning.’

Corpus examples:

- ...agus *is tric a chunnaic* sinn deagh fhoidinn an fhighheadair... (#10495);
- ...*gun cuala mi gu tric* ’s mi ’nam bhalach (#10482; cf. 4938); *Is tric a chuala mi*... (#10433; cf. #10453; #10466; #10480; etc.); *Is tric a chualas*... (#10582).

With achievement and accomplishment verbs (perfective), the simple past conveys the sense of completeness/boundedness of individual events that recur.

Corpus examples:

- *Nach tric a thug iad luchd mònach a Colla agus as an Ros Muileach, agus nuair a sguir sin, nach iad a bha ’toirt guail o dheas?* ‘Did they not often bring a load of peat from Coll and from the Ross of Mull, and when that ended, was it not them that used to bring coal from the south?’ (§400015); *Is tric a thug Seòras Mór sùil air bun-an-uillt*... (#10417; cf. #10450; #10275);
- *A h-uile oidhche, thug an tuathànach sgillinn do’n ghille airson coinneal a cheannach gus am bitheadh solust aige anns a’ stàbull. A h-uile oidhche, chùm am balach an sgillinn ’chionn nach robh feum aige air nì sam bith ach an ròinneag a thug e às a phòcaid ’s chuir e air an an treasd i. Thug an ròinneag dha barrachd soluist na trì coinnlean* ‘Every night the farmer would give the boy a penny to buy a candle so that he would have light in the stable. Every night, the boy would keep the penny because he did not need anything but a tuft of wool that he would take from his pocket and put it on the bench. That would give him more light than three candles’ (§400067);

- ...agus bu tric **a chuir** mi seachad laithean saora ... san taigh aice ‘and I often spent holidays in her house’ (#10532);
- Ach chaidh na làithean seachad agus na pòcaidean falamh ged a **rinn** e ùrnaigh a h-uile oidhche ‘But the the days went past and the pockets got empty although he prayed every night’ (§400160); ...bu tric, anns na linntean fad as, **a rinn** ceatharnaich faire air a mullach (#10468);
- is tric **a chaidh** mi a chèilidh air (#10267); ...geata a’ chladh air **an deach** e fhèin cho tric a-steach (#10278);
- ’S tric **a thainig** e steach orm... ‘It often occurred to me’ (#10421);
- ...**gun do thachair** a leithid seo ro thrice ‘that something like this happened too often’ (#10289);
- Gur tric **a dh’fhàg** e mi leam fhéin ‘He often left me alone’ (#10352);
- ...tha mi cinnteach **gun do leugh** mi “An Dealbh Briste” o cheann gu ceann gu math nas trice na leugh e fhéin e (#10354);
- **Dhearbh** iad tric gu leòir roimhe so... (#10442).

There are few examples of activity and state verbs. The verb *chuidich* may also be interpreted as describing an accomplishment.

- Is tric **a ruith** sgoth gu math caol ag iarraidh nan gugannan (#10415);
- ...agus **labhair** Mgr. Ceausescu gu tric an aghaidh prìomh-uachdaranach nan Ruiseanach sa’ Chomunn (#10388);
- Nach tric **a chuidich** sinn ar seana-mhathair chaomh ... anns an obair màirnealaich fhadalaich so (§400022);
- Bu tric **a smaoinich** mi dè thachair don chàr ud (#10253).

Cf. the following passive examples:

- Mar bu trice **bha** am fàinne **air a dheanamh** ann an coltas dà làmh ann an glaicean a chéile (#10371);
- Dh’fheumadh an teàrr a bhith aig tigheadachd shònraichte, agus b’e ola éisg mar bu trice, **a bha air a cleachdadh** gu a tanachadh (#10491);
- Gu tric ’s ann le làn spòrs **a bha a’ cheisd air a cur** (#10501);
- ’S e leabhraichean a bu trice bh’ air an toirt seachad (#10326);
- A dh’aindeoin sin **bha e ri fhaicinn** ri taobh a h-uile madainn Sàbaid ‘Despite that, he could be seen next to her every Sunday morning’ (§400144);
- ...mar as tric **a chaidh a dhearbhadh** dhut ‘as it was often proved to you’ (#10412).

10. Simple past perfect

The contexts are the same as for the simple past (see §9), with an additional retrospective sense.

- **Bha Pòl air seo a chluinntinn** tric ‘Paul had often heard this’ (#4959).

11. Conditional progressive

The conditional progressive can describe habitual events and states that occurred in the past (cf. §12).

- (ACT) *Bhiodh Dòmhnall a' snàmh anns an loch a h-uile madainn.* 'Donald used to swim in the loch every morning.'
- (ACP) *Bhiodh Dòmhnall a' nighe nan soithichean a h-uile feasgar.* 'Donald used to wash the dishes every evening.'
- (ACH) *Bhiodh Dòmhnall a' tighinn dhachaigh a h-uile mìos.* 'Donald used to come home every month.'
- (STT) *Bhiodh Dòmhnall na shuidhe aig an uinneig a h-uile madainn.* 'Donald used to sit at the window every morning.'

In this context, the conditional progressive appears to imply recurrence rather than duration, even with accomplishment and achievement verbs: the sentence *Bhiodh Dòmhnall a' tighinn dhachaidh a h-uile mìos* implies that Donald eventually arrived home each time. Identical or very similar meanings can also be expressed by the past progressive (see §12), although that seems to be less common.

Corpus examples:

- *Duine truagh a bha fuireach leis fhéin ann am bothan, nach tric a bhitheamaid a' tarraing ás nuair a bha sinn sa' sgoil* 'The poor man who lived on his own in a bothy, did we not used to tease him often when we were at school' (#10559);
- *...nuair a bhiodh iad a' deasbud ameach a chéile – mar as tric a bhitheadh* 'when they would debate among themselves, as they often would' (#10536);
- *Glè thrice bhiodh sinn a' lorg uighean san iodhlainn* 'Very often, we used to look for eggs in the stackyard' (§2);
- *Bhitheadh iad glè thrice ri iasgach an éisg ghil, ri sealg nan eun fiadhaich agus ri togail nam faochag* 'Very often, they used to catch white fish, hunt wild birds and collect whelks' (§400020);
- *a sin, bha taod-fo-mhuir gu Loch Thamanabhaigh far 'm bu tric a bhiodh loingear chogaidh a' gabhail tàmh* (#10490);
- *Bhiodh mo mhàthair glè thrice a' sanntachadh an liosa ud* 'My mother used to covet that garden very often' (#4956);
- *Gu tric air an oidhche bhiodh e a' cluinntinn guth athar ag èigheachd...* 'At night, he would often hear his father's voice calling him' (#4905); *...a' Bheurla a bhiodh sinn gu tric a' cluinntinn nuair a bha Prohibition san tìr* (#10560);
- *...mar a bha an tìde dol air adhart bha na bu lugha aice-se r'a ràdh is cha bhiodh i fhéin a' tighinn cho tric ameach nan daoine* 'as the time was going forward she had less and less to say and she did not go among the people that often' (§400022); *Bhiodh iad a' tighinn a-steach a Steòrnabhagh a h-uile madainn agus a' dol a-mach a chur nan lion a h-uile feasgar* 'They would come into Stornoway every morning and go out to set the nets every evening' (§14); *...gum biodh na tuathanaich a' tighinn a-steach dhan*

bhaile a h-uile madainn a dh'fhaighinn sgalagan **a bhiodh a' tighinn** air an tràna a' lorg obair 'that the farmers used to come to the village every morning to get servants who would come by train looking for work' (§27); ... 's **gum biodh daoine a' dol ann tric** (#10332);

- **Bhiodh iad a' dol** gu muir aig briseadh an là ... agus mar bu tric a' tilleadh aig aon uair deug (#4958);
- **Bhitheadh càch den teaghlach a' fònadh gu tric** 's a' tighinn dhachaigh aig na làithean saora (#10277).
- **Bhiodh i a' toirt** orm bhith 'g ithe Alpen a h-uile madainn. A' bhliadhna a bha sinn air an 'diet' 'She would make me eat Alpen every morning. The year we were on the diet' (§11);
- Thachair té ris, ris **am biodh e coinneachadh a h-uile madainn**... 'He met a woman, that he used to meet every morning' (§304);
- **Bhiodh a' dùsgadh tràth a h-uile madainn** agus **a' dol an car** a chuid leabhraichean 'He used to wake up early every morning and go to get his books' (§400026);
- **Bhiodh e ga bhearradh fhèin a h-uile madainn ... 's ag èisdeachd** ris an rèidio... 'He used to shave every morning ... and to listen to the radio' (§400108);
- **Bhiodh e ga ghearradh fhèin glè thrìc leis an ràsar**, agus air an adhbhar sin **bhiodh e ceannachd mòran stiptic** 'He used to cut himself very often with the razor, and for that reason he used to buy a lot of Styptic' (§400108);
- A h-uile madainn ... bhiodh e a' dol seachad air Oifis na Gineachd far am biodh na caileagan òga an dùil pòsaidh a' feitheamh... 'Every morning he used to pass by the Genetics Office, where the young girls hoping to get married would be waiting' (§400034);
- ...**bhiodh e a' toirt a' bhalaich bhig ... sìos cuairt a h-uile feasgar ... dha Pàirc Victoria, 's ag innse** dha ainmeannan lusan is dhitheanan is eòin 'he used to take the wee boy down for a walk every afternoon ... to Victoria Park, and to tell him the names of plants and birds' (§11);
- **Bhiodh mo mhàthair ag innse dhuinn gum biodh iad a' cur bùrn teth suas dhan an t-seomar-cadal as a' mhuga ud a h-uile madainn mus deigheadh iad dhan an sgoil ach a nigheadh na seann daoine iad fhèin ann a sin** 'My mother used to tell us that they used to take hot water up to the bedroom in that mug every morning before they went to school so that the old ones could wash themselves there' (§400167);
- Agus cha robh mòran air fhàgail mu m' aodann dhen a' bheagan peanta leis **am bithinn ga mo dhèanamh fhìn brèagha ... a h-uile madainn cha mhòr** 'And not much remained on my face of the paint with which I was making my face prettier ... nearly every morning' (§400159);
- Seo mar a **bhiodh iad a' toirt bòid a' phòsaidh** (#8-1-19);
- 'S ann mun àm seo **a bhitheadh e a' gabhail cuairt dhan chladach h-uile feasgar. Bhitheadh e a' toirt faochadh dha an deaghaidh strì agus buaireas an latha** 'About this time, he would walk to the coast every evening. It used to give him relief after the struggle and troubles of the day' (§400177);

- *Ged a bha eagal am beatha orra roimh Thòmas, **bhiodh** cuid de na gillean agus Tormod 'nam measg, a' goid nan ùbhlan agus nam plumbaisean air* 'Although they were terrified of Thomas, some boys and Norman among them, used to steal apples and plums from him' (§400141);
- *A h-uile feasgar **bhiodh** e 'na shuidhe 's a dhruim ris a' bhalla a' coimhead bhuaithe gus an tuiteadh e 'na cadal leis an sgìos an deaghaidh saothair chruaidh an latha. Ach cha bu sin e do Ulnat idir. **Bhiodh** esan ag ithe h-uile grèim a gheibheadh e 's e gnòsail mar mhuic fhad 's a bha e ga dhèanamh* 'Every evening he would be sitting with his back against the wall looking from him (into the distance) until he would fall asleep with the tiredness after the hard work of the day. But that was not all for Ulnat at all. He would be eating every bit that he would get, grunting like a pig while he was doing it' (§400152).

The verb *bi* only has simple forms.

Corpus examples:

- *A h-uile feasgar **bhiodh** e-fhèin is Màiri an cuideachd a chèile* (§400086); *Ach is tric **nach biodh** an t-sìd a rèir na fàisneachd agus 's ann an uair sin a **bhiodh** culaidh-spòrs aig a' chloinn – ag éisdeachd ri'n athair a' cur dheth agus a' gearan an ath mhadainn* (§400056); *...**bhiodh** searmoin bheag aige anns an taigh a h-uile oidhche, mun teidheadh iad a chadal* (§400167); *Is ann mar siud a **bhitheadh** e cha mhòr a h-uile oidhche den t-seachdain ach air an oidhche choisicheadh iad sìos chun a' bhothan airson gloinneachan liunn is còmhradh ris na fir eile* (§400158); *Dheidheadh e air a bhroinn air beulaibh nam balgairean mòr grànnda, agus ann an tiotadh **bhiodh** am fear a b' fhiadhaiche 'na charaid aige* (§400178); *Nuair a bhiodh mo mhàthair a' dol gu mòine no talamh, chuireadh i a-steach gu Aonghas mi agus glè thrice **cha bhiodh** duine ann ach e fhèin 's mi fhìn* (#4941); *Mar bu trice 's e geansaidh iasgair agus seann bhriogais a **bhiodh** air, oir bha e daonnan ag obair mu eathraichean is iasg* (#4936).

Cf. the following passive expressions:

- *Bha dà bhord anns an t-seòmair againne agus **bhiodh** iad air a sgrùbadh 's air an glanadh cho tric 's gu robh am fiodh cho geal ri sneachd* 'There were two tables in our room and they would be scrubbed and cleaned so often that the wood was as white as snow' (#10264);
- ***Bhithinn-sa gu tric air mo chumail** trang a' lìonadh nan iteachain* 'I would often have been kept busy filling the spools' (#10496);
- *Mar bu trice, is ann an àm feasgair a **bhiodh** a' Ghruagach ri faicinn* 'It is usually in the evening time that the Gruagach could be seen' (#10378).

12. Past progressive

The past progressive can describe events and states that occurred habitually in the past (cf. §11).

- (ACT) *Bha Dòmhnall a' snàmh anns an loch a h-uile madainn.* ‘Donald swam in the loch every morning.’
- (ACP) *Bha Dòmhnall a' nighe shoithichean a h-uile feasgar.* ‘Donald washed dishes every afternoon.’
- (ACH) *Bha Dòmhnall a' tighinn dhachaigh a h-uile mìos.* ‘Donald came home every month.’
- (STT) *Bha Dòmhnall na shuidhe aig an uinneig a h-uile madainn.* ‘Donald sat at the window every morning.’

In this context, the past progressive appears to imply recurrence rather than duration, even with accomplishment and achievement verbs: the sentence *Bha Dòmhnall a' tighinn dhachaidh a h-uile mìos* implies that Donald eventually arrived home each time.

Corpus examples:

- *Chan eil beachd sam bith agam cò e an seann duine air **an robh** mo dhaoine gu tric a' bruidhinn (#10254);*
- *... 'sann **a bha** Kierkegaard **a' déiligeadh** gu tric ris an fheallsanachd fhéin (#10572);*
- *Mar bu trice **bha** làrach an tìghe fhada **a' ruith** ri bruthach beag leis a' bhàthaich aig ceann shìos an tìghe ‘The ruin of the long house would usually run down a small slope with the byre at the lower end of the house’ (#10553);*
- *Is ann an hostailean sgoile mar bu tric a bha sinn **a' fuireach** (#10276);*
- *...**bha** Anndra **a' faireachdainn** an acrais gu math tric (#10301);*
- *A dh'aindeoin sin **bha** e ri fhaicinn ri taobh a h-uile madainn Sàbaid agus ged nach **robh** e **nochdadh** aig àm sam bith eile agus ged nach e duine uabhasach briathrach a **bha** ann **bha** e **bruidhinn** gu càirdeil ri neach sam bith a dhèanadh còmhradh ris ‘Despite that, he could be seen next to her every Sunday morning and although he did not used to appear at any other time and although he was not a terribly talkative person he talked kindly to anyone who would talk to him’ (§400144);*
- *Am màireach a rithist choinnichinn ri Seonag 's i toirt a' bhainne thugam mar **a bha** i **dèanamh** a h-uile madainn ‘Tomorrow, I would meet Joan again when she brought me the milk as she used to do every morning’ (§198);*
- *Cha robh e furasda naidheachdan fhaighinn uaireannan ach **bha** sinn **a' dèanamh** gnothaich mar bu trice (#10331)*
- ***Bha** mi **a' dol** ga choimhead a h-uile madainn 's a h-uile feasgar... ‘I used to go to see him every morning and every afternoon’ (§2); Agus **bha** e **dol** laighe a h-uile oidhche da bheatha gun léine ‘And he used to go to bed without a shirt every day of his life’ (§197);*
- *...oir **bha** an seòrsa oibreach a bh'aige **'ga thoirt** a tuath gu math tric (#10535);*
- *Bha nàimhid mor aig “Rà,” ... **a bha ag éiridh** suas an aghaidh Rà a h-uile feasgar aig àm dol fodha gréine ‘Ra had a great enemy, who used to rise against Ra every evening at sunset time’ (§38);*

- **cha robh mi a' tuiteam cho tric...** (#10546);
- ...shìn i mach a làmh 's chuir i dheth a' chaismeachd ud a **bha 'ga dùsgadh a h-uile madainn** 'she stretched out her hand and turned off that alarm that used to wake him up every morning' (§305);
- *O bha deannan math chaileagan grinn mu na taighean-seinns ceart gu leòr, ach ... cha robh aon tè dhiubh a thigeadh faisg air an nighean àlainn ud a **bha e faicinn a h-uile madainn** 'Oh there were a fair number of pretty girls about the pubs right enough, but ... none of them would come close to that beautiful girl that he could see every morning' (§400133);*
- **Is tric a bha mi 'nam shuidhe anns an t-seòmar-ciùil...** (#10534).

The verb *bi* only has simple forms.

Corpus examples:

- *A dh'aindeoin sin **bha e ri fhaicinn ri taobh a h-uile madainn Sàbaid**...* 'Despite that, he could be seen next to her every Sunday morning' (§400144); **Bha na h-agents air bòrd gach dàrnacha latha**... 'The agents were on board every second day' (§27); *A h'uile feasgar, **bha sinn a muigh airson leth-uair a coiseachd mun cuairt os déidh a chéile ann a scuair a phrìosain** 'Every afternoon, we were out for half an hour walking around one after the other in the prison square' (§34); *Fad a' gheamhraidh **bha teine guail againn air a h-uile là** (§400038); *Gach dàrnacha latha fad an fhoghair **bha naidheachd ùr air choreigin mun t-Suaineach aig Ruairidh 's aig feadhainn eile** 'Every second day throughout the autumn, Ruairidh and some others had fresh news of some sort about the Swede' (§317); *Gu dearbha, **bha iad tric ann am fiachan** (#4949); *Mar so **bha an sluagh gu tric air allaban gun fhearann gun thigheadas** (#10571); **Bha, cuideachd, galair glé thrice measg na cloinne a b' òige san eilean**... (#10414); *Gle thrice, **bha am biadh gann, agus cho neo-thaitneach agus gur h-e fìor èiginn a bheireadh air neach itheadh** (#10345); *Bho 'n àm sin, 's ann aig sgìrean a' Bhac is an Rubha **bu thrice a bha e** (#10544); *Mar a bu thrice, **bha dithis mhinistearan agad co-dhiù** (#10304).********

13. Simple conditional vs. conditional progressive

The conditional progressive can describe past events or states that occurred habitually, whereas the simple conditional describes individual events that usually occurred in specific/defined circumstances (cf. §5).

- *Agus **bhiodh té ùr aige gu dàrnacha seachduinn. Bhiodh e ag radh riutha gur e pilot a bh' ann ... oidhche Dhiardaoin dhéidheadh e do'n lebhar-lann agus dh'ionnsaich e á leabhraichean na chuireadh ceann nighinn aotrom seachad uair-a-thìde no dhà** 'And he had a new woman every second week. He used to tell them that he was a pilot ... on Thursday night, he would go to the library...' (§39);*
- ***Bhiodh e fada gun èirigh sa mhadainn, agus dheigheadh e dhan leabaidh tràth a h-uile feasgar** (§14);*

- *Eadar 1950 agus 1954, nuair a bhithinn saor is air fòrladh às an Oil-thaigh, bhithinn gach dàrnach-oidhche suas is sìos Steòrnabhagh a' suirighe air Sandra, a' chaileag a phòs mi ann an 1958. Aig aon uair deug a dh'oidhche thiginn bhàrr a' bhus aig ceann rathaid Bhrocair agus dheidhinn a-steach a chèilidh air Suileabhan agus Seonag. Nuair a dh'fhidreadh mo mhàthair mi a' dol air mo chorra-bhioda dham leabaidh ann an àmhar na h-oidhche, bhiodh i a' cur às mo leth gu robh leannan eile agam a bhàrr air tè Steòrnabhaigh! (§27).*

The conditional progressive can describe a recurring background situation during which another event, described by the simple conditional, usually occurred.

- *Nuair a bhiodh mo mhàthair a' dol gu mòine no talamh, chuireadh i a-steach gu Aonghas mi agus glè thrì cha bhiodh duine ann ach e fhèin 's mi fhìn (#4941);*
- *Agus o, cha mhór a h-uile feasgar a bhiodh e tighinn dhachaidh bheireadh e ultach do sheannmhaidean (§318).*

The simple conditional occurs in temporal, final or conditional subordinate clauses, whilst the events or states described by the main clause are expressed by progressive forms.

- *A h-uile feasgar bhiodh e 'na shuidhe 's a dhruim ris a' bhalla a' coimhead bhuaithe gus an tuiteadh e 'na chadal leis an sgìos... 'Every evening he would be sitting with his back against the wall looking from him (into the distance) until he would fall asleep with the tiredness' (§400152);*
- *Bhiodh mo mhàthair ag innse dhuinn gum biodh iad a' cur bùrn teth suas dhan an t-seomar-cadal as a' mhuga ud a h-uile madainn mus deigheadh iad dhan a sgoil ach a nigheadh na seann daoine iad fhèin ann a sin 'My mother used to tell us that they used to take hot water up to the bedroom in that mug every morning before they went to school so that the old ones could wash themselves there' (§400167);*
- *Là an déidh là bha a' chrith 'na làmhan a' dol na bu mhiosa, agus a h-uile madainn anuair a rachadh e fhéin agus a cho-oibrichean chun a' chanteen bhiodh e a' slugadh trì pilichean far nach robh càch ach a' gabhail a dhà '...and every morning when he and his co-workers would go to the canteen he would swallow three pills where others would only take two' (§400034);*
- *Bha stamag Alasdair a' cur dragh air mar a bhithheadh i 'n còmhnaidh nam bitheadh rud cudthromach sam bith ri aghaidh, no mus suidheadh e deuchainn... 'Alasdair's stomach was bothering him as it always would if something important would be facing him or before he would sit an exam' (#16-1).*

14. Simple conditional vs. past progressive

The past progressive can describe general situations and facts that existed in the past, whereas the simple conditional describes individual events that usually occurred in specific/defined circumstances (cf. §5).

- Nuair a **bha** fear is tè airson pòsadh, **bha** e na chleachdadh dhan oifigeach a **bha** os cionn na seirbheis an coitheanal a ghairm gu Eaglais Chrìosda, a **tha** dlùth air a' Bhaile ... **Bha** aig an oifigeach ... ri faighneachd dhan choitheanal an **robh** fhios aca an **robh** adhbhar riatanach aca am pòsadh a thoirmeasg. Mura **labhradh** duine le gearan, **chuireadh** e an dithis nan suidhe ... agus **chuireadh** e orra na bòidean... Nuair a **dh'aontaicheadh** iad gu robh, **bheireadh** e a-mach a' bhiodag lomnochd, agus **bheireadh** e orra am moinnan a thoirt... Sin seachad, **ghairmeadh** an t-oifigeach gu **robh** a' chàraid a-nis pòsda (#8-1-19);
- Ach co-dhiù, **bha** sinn toilichte ann, agus **bha** gu leòr de nigheanan Leòdhasach a' **cutadh** còmhla rinn agus gu leòr de bhalaich Leòdhasach aig an iasgach an uair sin; agus an oidhche a **bhiomaid** dhe tràth... (§250);
- **Bha** seo soirbh gu leòr dhaibh, oir **chitheadh** iad Tòmas a' falbh... 'This [= stealing apples and plums] was easy enough for them, because they would see Thomas leaving' (§400141).

The past progressive can also describe events and states that occurred habitually in the past in this context (see §12).

- ...**bha** ceige aig na balaich anns an taigh-sa gach dàrnacha seachdain. **Thigeadh** iad an seo leis an leann a **dh'èisdeachd** mo sgeulachdan agus gam bhùirt às (§27);
- A **dh'aindeoin** sin **bha** e ri **fhaicinn** ri taobh a h-uile madainn Sàbaid agus ged nach **robh** e **nochdadh** aig àm sam bith eile agus ged nach e duine uabhasach briathrach a **bha** ann **bha** e **bruidhinn** gu càirdeil ri neach sam bith a **dhèanadh** còmhradh ris 'Despite that, he could be seen next to her every Sunday morning and although he did not appear at any other time and although he was not a terribly talkative person he talked kindly to anyone who talked to him' (§400144);
- **Bha** an seirbhiseach a' **dol a-mach** a h-uile madainn agus bioran beag maide aige 'na dhòrn. **Stobadh** e am bioran dha'n talamh agus an uair sin **chuireadh** e ri shròin e. **Thilleadh** e stigh. **Shìneadh** e e fhéin suas ri taobh an teine agus **chaidleadh** e. **Bha** cùisean a' **dol air adhairt** mar seo bho latha gu latha, 's **cha robh** obair de sheòrsa sam bith **ga dèanamh**. **Bha** MacMhuirich a' **faighneachd tric** dheth cuin a **bha** obair an earraich a' **dol a thòiseachadh**, ach **fhreagradh** esan nach robh an talamh deiseil no freagarrach fhathast (§311);
- **Bha** na fleasgaich a' **tighinn** a choimhead oirre h-uile oidhche fad nan trì bliadhna a bha i anns an eilean. **Dh'fhanadh** iad còmhla rithe gus am biodh e anmoch anns an oidhche, agus **mus falbhadh** iad **dh'iarradh** iad oirre gun i **dh'èirigh** an làrna-mhàireach gus an èireadh a' ghrian, agus gum faigheadh i na beathaichean cruinn, còmhla, 'nan sìneadh ri taobh an taighe, dìreach mar a **dh'fhàg** i iad. **Bha** ise a' **deanamh** a h-uile sìon mar a **dh'iarradh** iad oirre... (§48).

The simple conditional occurs in temporal and other subordinate clauses, whereas the events or states described by the main clause are expressed by the past progressive.

- Anns an sgoil aon bhliadhna, **bha** balach againn air an robh droch thinneas. Nuair a **dh'fhàsadh** e meadhonach, **bha** e a' **call** a mhothaich. A cheart cho luath 's a **bheireadh**

a' chlann an aire, bha iad a' leum a-staigh dhan taigh-sgoil agus a' faotainn chluasagan agus plaide neo dhà 'At school one year, there was a boy who was very ill. When he would get bad, he would lose consciousness. As soon as the children would notice that, they would run into the school building and get pillows and a few blankets' (§28);

- *A dh'aindeoin sin bha e ri fhaicinn ri taobh a h-uile madainn Sàbaid agus ged nach robh e nochdadh aig àm sam bith eile agus ged nach e duine uabhasach briathrach a bha ann bha e bruidhinn gu càirdeil ri neach sam bith a dhèanadh còmhradh ris* 'Despite that, he could be seen next to her every Sunday morning and although he did not used to appear at any other time and although he was not a terribly talkative person he talked kindly to anyone who would talk to him' (§400144).

15. Simple past vs. conditional progressive & past progressive

The conditional progressive can describe a recurring background situation during which another event, described by the simple past, usually occurred.

- *Nach tric a chuidich sinn ar seana-mhathair chaomh ... an uair a bhiodh sinn 'nar suidhe an tac an teine ... anns an obair màirnealaich fhadalaich so* (§400022).

The past progressive can describe a (possibly recurring) background situation in which another event, described by the simple past, usually occurred.

- *Bha sinn ag èirigh aig ceithir uairean sa mhadainn is bha againn ri coiseachd sìos chun a' gharraidh – pìos math coiseachd a h-uile madainn – is a' faighinn na làraidh dhachaigh airson ar braiceast aig leth-uair an deaghaidh oich. Ach cha robh sinn a' faighinn làraidh idir sa mhadainn – bha againn ri coiseachd. 'S iomadh madainn fhuar a dh'fhalbh sinn, le reothadh agus le sneachd air an talamh* (§250).

16. Conditional progressive vs. past progressive

It is not completely clear how the past progressive differs from the conditional progressive when expressing habituality. The past progressive might add a sense of continuity and greater regularity to a habitual event or state for pragmatic or stylistic reasons (cf. *he was constantly in the pub*). In other words, the conditional progressive seems to emphasise habituality, while the past progressive appears to emphasise continuity, simultaneity or more regular occurrence (cf. §6).

The conditional progressive describes events or states that occurred habitually in the past, whilst the past tense describes more general (possibly recurring) situations or facts.

- *Mar bu tric' 's e geansaidh iasgair agus seann bhriogais a bhiodh air, oir bha e daonnan ag obair mu eathraichean is iasg* (#4936);
- *Bha e sgiobalta air a chasan anns gach obair a bhiodh e a' dèanamh* (#14-1);

- *Là an déidh là bha a' chrith 'na làmhnan a' dol na bu mhiosa, agus a h-uile madainn anuair a rachadh e fhéin agus a cho-oibrichean chun a' chanteen bhiodh e a' slugadh trì pilichean far nach robh càch ach a' gabhail a dhà '...he would swallow three pills where others would only take two' (§400034);*
- *... 's e cuarain a bh' againn orra; bha sin air ar corragan, agus còtaichean oilisgin; is 's e sin an rig a bhiodh oirnn aig a' chutadh – còt' oilisgin agus cuarain air ar corragan; agus nuair a bhiomaid a' tighinn dhachaigh an uair sin, bhiodh e gu deich uairean oidhcheannan ann an Sasainn 'we called them cuarain ('leather brogues'); those were on our toes, and oilskin coats; and that was the rig that we would wear when gutting fish – an oilskin coat and cuarain on our toes; and when we would come home back then, it would be up to 10 o'clock some nights in England' (§250);*
- *Ged a bha eagal am beatha orra roimh Thòmas, bhiodh cuid de na gillean agus Tormod 'nam measg, a' goid nan ùbhlan agus nam plumbaisean air. Bha seo soirbh gu leòr dhaibh, oir chitheadh iad Tòmas a' falbh ... agus bhiodh fhios aca gun robh rathad fosgailte aca staigh dhan ghàrradh, oir bha Neilidh Bheag a bhitheadh a' glanadh an taighe dha 's a' dèanamh a bhìdh, a' dol dhachaigh a h-uile feasgar aig còig uairean (§400141).*

The past progressive can describe a habitual event that occurred in a situation described by the conditional progressive (in a temporal clause or similar).

- *Tha fios agad mar a bha e ga do choinneachadh leitheach slighe a h-uile oidhche n' ar a bhiodh thu a' tighinn dhachaigh bho t' obair 'You know how he used to meet you half way every night when you would be coming home from your work' (§400089);*
- *Bha e sgiobalta air a chasan anns gach obair a bhiodh e a' dèanamh, agus, nuair a bhiodh na gillean a' ruith rèis, cha robh duine aca a dhèanadh a' chùis air Seumas 'He was agile on his feet in every work that he would to do, and when the boys would be running a race, they had nobody who would/could defeat James' (#14-1);*
- *Eadhoin anuair a bhiodh e 'na shuidhe air a stòl ... bha rudeigin air cùl inntinn ag innse dha gu robh am maor air a chùlaibh... (§400034).*

17. Simple past vs. simple conditional vs. conditional progressive

For the use of verb forms in these passages cf. §13 and §15.

- *Bha an Johnstonach a bha an seo, bha taigh aige, 's cha robh duine teaghlaich aige, bha e fhéin 's a bhean a' fuireach, bha e aona mhìle air falbh o'n bhaile. Bhiodh e a h-uile madainn as a' stàbla mun gabhamaid ar breacaist; 's ann a bha esan ach ag obair latha, anns a' ghàrradh bu mhutha bha e deanamh a dh'obair. Bhithe tilgeil oirnn cho mocheireach 's a bha an Johnstonach, 's gun ann ach seann-duine, nach deanamaid, nach éireamaid 's cha robh ach rachamaid a chadal. Bhithe 'gar càineadh. Ach bha mi fhìn agus gill' eile ... oidhche Shathuirne, cha robh ann ach an dèis a' bhuaire... (§46);*

- *Anns an t-sabhal bha uidheam a **bheireadh** dhaibh solas an dealain agus gach goireas a bha 'na chois. A h-uile feasgar **bha** iad **a' dol** le ròp a chur car do chuibhil a **chuireadh** a dhol e agus gu àm leapa **chluinneadh** na taighean mun cuairt gaoir inneal an dealain bho thaigh a' cheannaich ... Is an 'dairy' a bha aca air an àite seo agus **bhiodh** na searbhantan **a' dèanamh** obair a-mach 's a-steach fad an latha. Rè na maidne **bhiodh** an dithis shearbhant le pinnear gorm agus a h-uile feasgar **bha** tè mu seach dhiubh an dubh is geal mar chaileag frithealaich. A h-uile Diardaoin an uair a **sgioblaicheadh** iad an taigh an dèidh na diathad **chuireadh** iad lìomh air gach nì airgid a bha staigh agus 's ann asda a **bhiodh** a' soills' mus **sguireadh** iad. Gach Earrach **bha** gach brat-ùrlair **air a thogail** a-mach gu raon air cùl an taighe. **Shuidheadh** an dithis shearbhant le maide sùbailte an làimh gach tè, a' bualadh a stùr às a' bhrat... (§400164).*

Sources:

Corpas na Gàidhlig (<https://dasg.ac.uk/corpus>).

MEANMA – Scottish Gaelic online corpus.

4.5 Tense and aspect: progressive aspect – *ag* vs. *an*³²⁹

1. *An*-progressives

The progressive aspect is normally expressed, with the majority of verbs, by the construction composed of the verb *bi* and a verbal noun introduced by the preposition *ag/a*, e.g. ***Tha iad ag ithe às an aon truinnsair*** (#197); ***Bha Murchadh a' bruidhinn gun sgur*** (#290); ***An dràsda bithear a' fuine...*** (#28); ***B' àbhaist dhi a bhith a' toirt dhaoine chun an taigh-sholais an Ceann Bharraigh*** (#28).

A different construction, however, involving the preposition (*ann*) *an* instead of *ag*, is used with a small group of verbs (*suidh*, *seas*, *laigh*, *sìn*, *stad*, *cadail*, *dùisg*) to describe states rather than (progressive) actions/events, e.g. ***Bha sinn 'nar suidhe air balla ìosal mu choinneamh Tigh Dhréimisdail*** (#36); ***Bha i 'na seasamh ri balla aosd na colaisde*** (#205); ***Shaoileadh duine gu robh cuideam 'na laighe air a dhruim*** (#198); ***Bhiodh iad nan sìneadh gu seasgar anns na leapannan*** (#217004); ***Cha robh i fada 'na stad nuair a dh'fhairich i bhith 'ga togail suas 'san athar*** (#294); ***Ach ged a bha mo shuilean duinte, cha robh mi 'nam chadal idir*** (#232001); ***A Dhiarmaid! am bheil thu 'nad dhùsgadh?*** (#217001). The noun *dùisg* is sometimes heard instead of *dùsgadh*, e.g. ***Faodaidh an gille a bhith 'na dhuìsg*** (#400151).³³⁰ Some semantically similar common nouns occur in this construction too, e.g. *tost*, *crùban*, e.g. ***Bi 'na d' thosd*** (#243); ***...aig an dithis a bha 'nan crùban mu theine chidsin*** (#36).

When used without the verb *bi* (or another 'linking' verb), these expressions can correspond to English participles or adjectives, e.g. ***Fhuair mi Francis 'na dhùisg*** (#81009); ***'Nuair bha i tighinn faisg air an fhearann, chunnaic i duine 'na shuidhe air carraig*** (#199). They can also occur with verbs such as *fan*, *fàg* or *cùm*, which express the prolongation of a situation, e.g. ***An uair a chual' iad so, dh'fhan iad uile 'nan tosd*** (#232002); ***Thug mi sùil os mo chionn ach gu dé an nì a bha 'gam chumail 'nam stad*** (#400011); ***Mus sealladh tu riut fhèin rinn iad as (... a' fàgail a' chàir na stad far an robh e*** (#309); ***Dh'fhàg e 'na chadal e trì mìle bho 'n uaimh*** (#205); and with verbs that express a change of state, e.g. ***Chuir e a ghunna 'na laighe air an talamh*** (#204); ***Dh'éirich an saighdear 'na sheasamh air an ùrlar*** (#217001); ***Chaidh athair 'na stad mar uaireadair a' dol a bhualadh*** (#204); ***Ghrad thuit thu nad chadal*** (#81010).³³¹

Interestingly, the verb *croch* does not appear to occur normally in this construction. Very few examples have been found in the corpus, e.g. ***...air mìosachan a bha 'na chrochadh air cromag***

³²⁹ The examples adduced in the following text come from *Corpas na Gàidhlig* (<https://dasg.ac.uk/corpus>), mainly from post-1900 texts.

³³⁰ This might be a feature of certain dialects.

³³¹ These verbs are either intransitive (*fan*, *èirich*, *tuit*) or transitive (*fàg*, *cùm*, *cuir*).

aig an dorus (#400011); *Lìon e an coire 's chuir e 'na chrochadh air an t-slabhraidh e* (#204). The *ag*-construction is extremely rare too, e.g. *Bhiodh iasg a' crochadh anns a' cheò* (#10). The usual expression seems to be *an crochadh (ri/air)*, e.g. *Bha seice ruadh mairt an crochadh ris a' bhalla* (#36); *Tha na lìn aige an crochadh air na sparran* (#68).³³²

Another interesting verb is *ruith*, which occurs frequently in this construction even though it describes an action (movement) rather than a state, e.g. *Bha iad 'nan ruith a nise suas chun an tighe* (#245); *Far an robh a' ghrian a' bualadh dìreach, bha a' ghainmheach cho teth 's nach fuilingeadh boinn nan cas i, gun duine a bhith 'na ruith* (#201); and also: *Mar chungaidhleigheis air foinneachan, tha MacKenzie (...) a' toirt iomraidh (...) air' uisge a tha na ruith gu deas is unghadh de bhlongaig cullaich* (#197). Such examples, however, are rare and the *na*-construction functions mainly as the complement of verbs of motion such as *thèid, falbh, gabh, thig, ruig, till*, e.g. *Thàinig Coinneach a nuas 'na ruith* (#43); *Dh'fhalbh a bhean 'na ruith a' dèanamh air tigh Chaluum* (#245); *Thill i 'na ruith, a brògan a' bragadaich air an rathad reòdhta* (#40); and in other types of small clauses, e.g. *Chunnaic Iain e 'na ruith thuige* (#400089); *...gum faodte cuimse a ghabhail air gearr is i 'na ruith* (#40).

The expression *deann-ruith* is found in the same contexts, e.g. *An ùine gheàrr bha mi 'nam dheann-ruith a null thar Druim-nam-Blaoch...* (#400031); *Bha sinn nar deann-ruith s na peilearan a' frasadh timcheall oirnn* (244); *Thèid esan 'na dheann-ruith...* (#48).

The nouns *leum* and *cabhag* are also found in similar contexts, e.g. *Dh'fhalbh mise 'nam leum as a dheoghaidh, fiach am beirinn air* (#46); *Théid Iain 'na leum am mach* (#401006); *...nuair chunnaic i (...) tri-fichead fiadh a' bruchdadh a mach as a' choille, 's a' tighinn 'nan leum g'a h-ionnsaidh* (#199); *On a bha dile uisge air a bhith ann fad oidhche Dhiardaoin, bha gach allt na leum sa mhadainn Dihaoine* (#14),³³³ *Tha iad 'nan cabhaig* (#306); *Bha MacFhionghuin toilichte seo a chluinntinn ach bha e 'na chabhaig innse do'n mhaighstir-sgoile...* (#37); *Chaidh e 'na chabhadh* (#400148); *Dh'éirich an siorram 'na chabhaig far na cathrach* (#400012).

Combinations of the verbal noun *ruith* and the other nouns are found, especially in earlier texts and in poetry, e.g. *...ghabh i na ruith 's na deann-ruith do'n iollainn far an robh am mullan arbhair* (#117002); *Sméid mi air, 's thàinig e 'na ruith 's 'na leum* (#81012); *Aig a' cheart àm bha na Ròmanaich 'nan ruith is 'nan cabhaig...* (#48); *An uair a chunnaic na gobhair òga seo, thainig iad 'nan ruith, 's 'nan ruaig...* (#81003).

2. *Ag/a'*-constructions vs. *an*-constructions

The verbs *suidh, seas, laigh, sìn, stad, cadail, dùisg* and *ruith* also occur in *ag*-constructions, although not many (relevant) examples of this have been found in the corpus, except for the verbs *stad* and *ruith*.

³³² In other words, *croch* is a transitive verb in (traditional) Gaelic, meaning only 'to hang OBJ', while the phrase *bi an crochadh* means 'to be suspended'. Metaphorically, it also means 'to depend (on)'.

³³³ Describing rivers in spate or similar.

The verbs *suidh* and *laigh* can describe actions, i.e. changes of physical position, in this usage and, in that case, they can be modified by the adverb *sìos*,³³⁴ e.g. “*An gabh thu drudhag?*” *thuirt e, a’ thoirt sùil gheur air an doctair. “Dìreach leth na glainne,” fhreagair esan, is e a’ suidhe gun chabhaig* (#316); “*Tha am biadh deiseil. Thig a nall chun a’ bhùird.*” *dh’iarr i, a’ toirt a mach cathair dha ’s a’ suidhe aig a’ bhòrd i fhéin* (#43); ***Tha sinn ag eirigh ’s a laighe aig an am abhuisteach*** (#57); *Chì sinn an fhaoileag a’ laighe ’s ag éirigh* (#217003); *Ghrian a’ laighe sìos sa’ chuan* (300); and possibly: “*Dé chanas mi?*” *thuirt i rithe fhéin an deaghaidh dhi am biadh a chur a-mach, agus i a’ suidhe aig a’ bhòrd* (#245); *Bha iad an sin a’ suidhe sìos aig na bùird* (#28); *Feasgar ann ’s a’ ghrian air cromadh (...) tha an geata air iomall a’ bhaile dùinte, tha na caoraich a’ laighe sìos a chnàmh an cìre...* (#253); *S tha a’ sneachda gun fhiosd a’ laighe air mullach nan taighean* (#30).³³⁵

In some examples, this construction definitely expresses a state, e.g. *Cha robh e dèanamh càil ach a’ suidhe* (#198); *Nach iomadh oidhche agus sinn a’ suidhe ri taobh an teine a thuirt sinn gu h-obunn...* (#38); ***Tha mi a’ laighe air mo dhruim, anns an dorch...*** (#11); ***Bha cèis gheal a’ laighe air cùl an dorais*** (#400111).³³⁶

Cf. also: ***Bha móran dhaoine a’ seasamh mun cuairt agus fir-ciùil a’ chuich agus a’ gabhail òran*** (#400032). There do not appear to be any examples of the phrase *a’ seasamh* describing a change of position (i.e. standing up) in the corpus since *ag éirigh (na sheasamh)* is normally used in that sense.

The expression *a’ sìneadh* can mean ‘extending (in space)’, e.g. *...machraichean a’ sìneadh bhuat, tuath ’s a deas* (#29); and it can also be transitive, e.g. ***Tha e a’ sìneadh mach a làimh...*** (#112003); *...a’ sìneadh dhi a’ phasgain* (#316). No examples describing body position have been found in the corpus.

Numerous examples of the expression *a’ stad* occur in the corpus, e.g. ***Bha gach obair a’ stad*** (#251); ***Tha an trèin-sa a’ stad aig Loch Odha?*** (304); *O, choisich sinn iomadach mìle, a’ stad an dràsda ’s a-rithist* (#27). Clearly, they describe a change of situation (i.e. *stad* ‘stop moving’). The vast majority of examples are intransitive, which appears to be the only option in traditional Gaelic, and only two or three examples (all from 21st century texts) are transitive, e.g. ***’S ann a tha iad a’ stad na fala*** (#332).

As an equivalent of the noun *crùban*, the expression *a’ crùbadh* can describe a position (state), e.g. *...gus an do thuit a sùilean air a’ chreutair a bha a’ crùbadh ri taobh na leapa* (#112004); or a change of state, e.g. ***Tha mi a’ crùbadh sìos fon a’ bhòrd, a’ toirt a chreids gu bheil mi a’ lorg peansail*** (#11). Alternatively, the latter can be expressed by the phrase *rach na chrùban*, e.g. ***Theid mi ’nam chrùban air chùl gàrraidh...*** (#400026); ***Chaidh Niall ’na chrùban ri taobh an duine leòinte*** (#400039); but progressive constructions such as *a’ dol na chrùban* have not been found.

³³⁴ *Laighe* can also mean ‘land (from above)’, ‘descend’, ‘set (=sun, moon)’ and similar.

³³⁵ These four sentences might describe states (positions) rather than something assuming those positions.

³³⁶ The first example is interesting because it presents *sitting* as a type of activity: ‘The only thing he did was sitting.’

The expression *a' dùsgadh* can express a change of state, i.e. ‘becoming awake’, e.g. *Leig Iain air gu robh e a' dùsgadh às cadal* (#400104); ...*gun robh am baile gu léir a' dùsgadh* (400045); also metaphorically: *Nach iomadh smaoin agus ceist a tha a' dùsgadh sa' mhac-meanmna...* (#400154); and as a transitive verb: *Tha sin a' dùsgadh aigne an údair...* (#400086). It seems to describe a state (i.e. ‘being awake’) in the following example: *Bu bheag oirre riamh a bhith a' dùsgadh feadh na h-oidhche* (#245).³³⁷

The expression *a' cadal* may refer to ‘sleeping’ as an activity, rather than a state, e.g. *Bhiodh iad a' cadal annta – bha leapannan annta* (#26); *Bha i a' cadal anns an turaid* (#316); *Bithidh i an còmhnaidh a' cadal gach feasgar* (#204); *Tha deagh ghlas air an dorus agus tha Tormod a' cadal a h-uile oidhche leis a' phòcair ri a thaobh* (#245); *Tha mi a' cadal agus a' dùsgadh, ithidh mi biadh...* (#3); *Cha robh i ach a' cadal far an tuiteadh i* (#317). Additionally, all these examples express habitual processes, rather than single instances of a (progressive) state.

The noun *cabhag* occurs in the phrase *dèan cabhag* that describes a change (action), i.e. ‘hurry up’, e.g. ...*rinn mi cabhag dhachaidh* (#51); but no examples of progressive tenses have been found in the corpus.

3. The verb *ruith*

The basic meanings of the verb *ruith* are:

1. intransitive:
 - (a) ‘move swiftly’ (humans, animals, vehicles, etc.);
 - (b) ‘flow’ (water, blood, tears, and metaphorically, time).
2. transitive:
 - (a) ‘race’
 - (b) ‘chase; hunt’
 - (c) ‘manage (a business or similar)’

Various metaphorical meanings are also common.

The expression *a' ruith* occurs in numerous examples in the corpus in its intransitive meanings and these are found in texts from all periods. In most instances, it is modified by various types of adverbials (indicating place, time, manner, etc.) and most examples that lack an adverb seem to refer either to flowing water or to the passage of time.

Examples:

- *Bha iad a' ruith mu 'n cuairt* (#102003); *Aon latha bha tarbh a' ruith às a dhéidh* (#400057); *Aon turas chunna mi cat a' ruith tarsainn air an rathad* (#198); ...*an t-allt a tha a' ruith gun sgur gus an ruig e an cuan* (#198);

³³⁷ Unless this is iterative, i.e. ‘waking up repeatedly’.

- ...agus cù mór dubh an tòir air an fheadhainn **a bha a' ruith** (#245); *Chual e i a' nighe shoithichean 's am bùrn a' ruith* (#205); **Bha tìm a' ruith** (#62); cf. also: *Bha a' bhiodag air a chùlaibh 's e a' ruith* (#205); *Lean mi orm a' ruith* (#244).

The expression *a' ruith* can be repeated or accompanied by another similar word for emphasis, e.g. ...*s e a' ruith s a' ruith* (#244); *Chùm mi orm a' ruith 's a' sior-ruith gus an tàing gréim 'na mo thaobh* (#400041); ...*bha mu fhichead balach a' ruith 's a' réiseadh a thall 's a bhos* (#400035). It can also be accompanied by verbal nouns describing other activities, e.g. ...*a' sgrìachail 's a' ruith 's a' leum* (#304); ...*a bhiodh a' Ghruagach ri faicinn a' ruith 's a' dannsadh* (#400075); and also: ...*a' ruith 's a' stad* (#29). It appears to be more common for examples like these to lack any modifying adverbs.

The verb *ruith* can be modified by adjectives, as in e.g. *Féumar an t-allt a ghlanadh aig a thoiseach mu 'm faicear an sruth a' ruith glan* (401008); *Agus bhiodh na marsantan fhéin a' ruith gann uaireannan do ghnothaichean* (#318). Not many examples of this phenomenon have been found in the corpus, but it seems to be old in Gaelic (some examples occur in 19th century texts).

Instances of the verb *ruith* used transitively are much less frequent in the corpus. In most such examples, it has the meaning akin to 'chase; hunt', e.g. ...*ri dithis bhalach a bha a' ruith a chéile 's cù a' ruith an dithis* (#198); *Tha e coltach gu 'n robh am Freiceadan Dubh a' ruith nan ceatharnach so cho teann 's nach robh a bhi beò aca* (#234002); ...*'s e an rud a bhiodh e a' deanamh, a' ruith nan gobhar fhiadhaich* (#302); ...*an uair a bhiodh neach (...) a' ruith chaorach* (#400010); *A' ruith a' bhradain leis an leus* (#199); *Is fada bho thòisich daoine a' ruith an sgadain* (#250). Occasionally, the object denotes a place or a unit of length, e.g. ...*bha e òg 's a' ruith nan sràidean* (#310); *Chunnaic mi e latha a' ruith leth-mhìle* (#400096). Cf. also: *An robh thu a' ruith réise?* (#286); ...*a' ruith reisean* (#229). These usages have all been attested in early texts too.

The meaning 'manage; be in charge of' is rare and mainly limited to recent texts, e.g. *Bha i fhèin a' ruith na bùtha glè chomasach* (#251); ...*a bhios a' ruith an Fhéis Dhràma nàiseanta gach bliadhna* (#400058); ...*buidheann a bha a' ruith nan dannsan an Dun-Eideann o chionn bhliadhnachan* (#39). The same applies to examples such as: ...*a' ruith a corragan tron fhalt aice* (#321).³³⁸

Only the intransitive meanings of *ruith* can be expressed by the *na*-construction. In fact, most examples that occur in the corpus represent meaning 1(a) above (i.e. 'move swiftly'). The *ag*-construction *a' ruith* describes 'running' primarily as an action, i.e. a process controlled by the subject, whilst the *na*-construction describes it as a situation or a process in which the subject is involved. Cf. *Ach, siud chunnaic e rudeigin. Muc! Muc 'na deann-ruith astar bhuidhe! Muc a' ruith, is teine ma casan!* (#400123), i.e. 'a pig in the process of running' vs. 'a pig [that was doing] running'. Cf. also: *Bha clann bheaga a' ruith gus am faicte có bhiodh aig an àirigh an toiseach* (#400006), i.e. what they did is run so that it can be seen who will get to the sheiling

³³⁸ Presumably, these and similar expressions are calques from English.

first; but: “*Oh, tha mise ’ga choimhead,*” *their té mu dheireadh.* “***Tha e ’na ruith.***” (304), i.e. he is in the situation/process of running.

The *na*-construction probably cannot be used in the following context: ‘*S thòisich a’ mhuc a’ ruith*’ (#400026); *Rinn i sìos ch[o] luath ’s a b’ urrainn di, a’ gal ’s a’ caoineadh mar a bha i a’ ruith*’ (#313). These describe running as an action rather than a situation. The *ag*-construction, however, is sometimes found where *na* might be expected, e.g. ...*chluinneadh e faram casan a’ choin, is glugadaich na caora(ch) a’ ruith*’ (#400054; #313).

4.6 Tense and aspect: progressive aspect – *ri*

The preposition *ri* occurs in two basic constructions that contain a verbal noun:

- *ri* + poss. pronoun + verbal noun
- *ri* + (verbal) noun

Both constructions can express that something needs or is to be done. The first one occurs with transitive verbs and has a passive meaning, e.g. (AW³³⁹) *tha an taigh sin ri reic* ‘that house is to be sold / is for sale’; *tha mòran agam ri dhèanamh* ‘I’ve got a lot to do’; (CM) *tha rudeigin agam ri ràdh* ‘I have something to say (lit. to be said)’; ...*ma tha gu leòr ann ri itheadh is ri òl* ‘if there is plenty to eat and [to] drink (lit. to be eaten and to be drunk)’; (Cox §368,viii,h) *bhiodh sgadan ri (a) fhaotainn gach seachdainn bhon bhan an uair ud*. The latter construction is used with intransitive verbs and its meaning is active, e.g. (Dwelly) *bha e ri tighinn* ‘he was to come’.³⁴⁰

The second construction can also express engagement in an activity. In that case, both transitive and intransitive verbal nouns are used, as well as other nouns that describe activities, e.g. (AW) *tha iad ris an iasgach* ‘they are at the fishing (either just now, or as an occupation)’; (CM) *tha Seumas a-nis ri maorach* ‘James is now [engaged in] fishing for shellfish’; (Cox §368,viii,g) *tha i ri sgrìobhadh*;³⁴¹ (Dwelly) *ri saorsainneachd* ‘employed as a carpenter’.³⁴²

The usage relevant here appears to be a development of the latter (=engagement in an activity). According to AW, ‘*ri* in this sense is used by some speakers in the place of *ag* or *a*’ to form the pres part’. AW, however, provides no examples and CM does not even mention this usage. According to Cox (Footnote 97): ‘An-dràsta ’s a-rithist, gheibhear *ri* an àite *a’/ag (aig)* le ainmear gnìomhaireach §299 (i) (a) + b-n 43, m.e. *tha i ri coiseachd dhachaidh*, .i. *tha i a’ coiseachd dhachaidh*’. Paragraph §299 (i) is dedicated to the word *ag/a’* expressing *aogas leantainneach* (continuous aspect). According to Dwelly, this use of the word *ri* is common in Lewis dialects: ‘*Ri* in Lewis often takes the place of *ag*, as, *tha e ri bualadh he is striking*’.

Numerous examples of this usage have been found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*, e.g. ‘*Se aon de na comharraidhean as faicsinnich air na cearbain a bhios ri ithe éisg gu bheil sreathan fhiacalan biorach aca* (#33); *Bha rùm eil’ ann far an robh fir is boireannaich ri òl is ri coimh-mhire gu h-aotrom ach cha robh anns a’ chearn seo ach fir a-mhain* (#400126); *Agus gu robh cuid aca ri còmhradh ’s ri coiseachd dìreach mar a bha esan* (#203); *Tha e ri coiseachd air cùl na*

³³⁹ AW = Angus Watson; CM = Colin Mark; Cox = Richard Cox.

³⁴⁰ AW, CM, and Cox only mention the first construction, only CM and Cox mention its passive meaning, and only Cox states that it contains a possessive pronoun.

³⁴¹ Cox gives the following explanation: ‘an sàs ann, a’ cleachdadh rudeigin gu riaghailteach, aig’.

³⁴² Definition 14: ‘in, denoting employment or occupation’.

bothaig (#306); *Fhad 's a bhios mi ri coiseachd...* (#335); *Dé do bheachd? 'Se feur a chaidh a spionadh a tha sin gun teagamh. 'S ann ri cadal ann a seo a bha iad 's iongantach* (#306); *Bha gu leòr agamsa ri dhèanamh ach ciamar a bha ise ri cur seachad na tìde?* (#198); **Bhiodh feadhainn ri tighinn dhachaigh – clàrcan – agus bha boireannach à seo fhèin agus bhiodh iad ri sgrìobhadh thuic'**, agus **bhiodh ise ri gabhail nan criuthaichean** (#250); **Tha an Caiptin a nis ri sgrìobhadh cho pongail, ceart is nach urrainn neach sam bith 'san tìr so coire idir fhaighinn dha** (#294). Cf. also: *Ach cha robh muinntir Leòdhais idir ri dol a' leigeil na cùise seachad cho beag-suim sin...* (#248); and: *Chum e air an uairsin ri ruith gu cruaidh* (#313); and also: *Rud a bha ri ràdh aig duine àraid agus e ri òl aig an taigh san àm a bu chòir dha a bhith san eaglais...* (#197); *Bha feasgar math air a bhith ann agus iad ri coiseachd air Sràid Chrombhail...* (#348).

Occasionally, the particle *a'* occurs in the same text, e.g. **Bha mise ri cur an t-salainn air (...)** *Chan eil fhios a'm dè fhad 's a bheirinn ri lìonadh a' bharaill; cha robh tìde againn. 'S e tubannan a bhiodh leis an sgadan a bha iadsan (na cutairean) ri cur a-mach, is ròp às gach taobh dhiubh. Bha mise ri dol sìos, neo suas, a rèir càit an robh am bucas, 's a' lìonadh sin còmhla riuthasan, is bha 'n triùir againn ri falbh leis an dà thuba (...)* is ghan dòrtadh dhan an tuba mhòr (#250); *'S cha robh e fada 'n sin – tha mi cinnteach gu robh iad ri òl 's ri ùpraid 's dhìochuimhnich e c' àite robh e dol...* (#318).

The preposition (or particle) *ri* can take the form *ri 'g* before nouns that start with a vowel and before the verbal noun *ràdh*. This amalgam of *ri* and *ag* is probably characteristic of particular dialects, e.g. **Bha mi a-rithist ri 'g amharc air clach uaigne an dithis bhalach (...)** **Bha mi ri leughadh a sgrìobhadh a tha air a ghràbhadh air gach taobh don a' chloich** (#400117); *Tha cuid do'n a' bheachd gur e cho beag fosgailidh agus a tha orra a tha ri fàgail muinntir Alba gu bhi ri 'g' òl cho sanntach agus ri gabhail na daoraich* (#400099); *“Tha mi ri 'g' iarraidh tofaidh bò leis” arsa mise* (#400130); *An do shàth thu mi leis an t-saighead chritheannaich ud a tha ri 'g' itealaich 's nach eil* (#15); **Tha sgàilean dorcha cogaidh ri 'g' iathadh an domhainn anns na làithean so** (#243); **Bhiodh iad ri 'g' òl a' phicil!** (#250); *...agus tha na Gàidhil ann gach àite ri 'g' obair gu treang* (#401002); **Tha Dòmhnall ri 'g' ràdh gu fac e Alasdair MacIomhair, fear as a' Rubha, ri losgadh rocaidean agus a rithist ri feuchainn ri eathar a chur sìos** (#248). Cf. also: *Fhuair mise trì notaichean a' chiad bhliadhna de dh' àirleas. Agus bha ochd tasdain gu bhith againn san t-seachdainn agus sia sgillinn sa bharaill. Agus trì sgillinn san uair a thide ri 'g' ath-lìonadh (#250). However, *ri* alone has also been attested before vowels (cf. *ri ithe* and *ri òl* above).*

Ri does not seem to occur in combinations with possessive pronouns that indicate the object of a verbal noun, but rather the lenited form *gha* is used instead, e.g. **Bha am muir gha mo shadadh** (#248); **Tathas gha h-innse** [i.e. sgeulachd] *cuideachd...* (#250); *...is bha 'n triùir againn ri falbh leis an dà thuba (...)* is **ghan dòrtadh dhan an tuba mhòr** (#250); *Thuir Nora, a bha air mhuinntearas aca, gum biodh iad ghan crochadh bho na sparran* (#336); cf. also: *Nuair a thigeadh ciùrrair ghar h-iarraidh bhiodh sinn ri faighinn an àirleis* (#250).

These texts date from various periods and most of them originate in Lewis, apart from #197 (E Ross, E Sutherland, Caithness); #294 (W Ross); #318 (Canada). The origin of #400/#401 is unclear (Various).

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4.7 Tense and aspect: Perfective aspect and perfect tense

1. Introduction³⁴³

The **perfective aspect** describes a process as a (complete) whole, e.g. *John arrived at 5am* means that the process, i.e. John's arrival, was completed at 5am and says nothing about its internal temporal structure. Perfective processes can occur at any time, e.g. the sentence *John will arrive this evening* describes a process completed in the future (i.e. this evening).

Unlike the perfective aspect, the **perfect tense** describes a process in relation to a particular time of reference, e.g. *John has (already) arrived* means that John's arrival is relevant to the present. A process expressed by the perfect tense does not need to be perfective, e.g. *Next Sunday, John will have been working here for 10 years* (IPV).

In the morphology of English, the opposition imperfective vs. perfective does not appear to be indicated consistently, e.g. *he ran for miles* (IPV) vs. *he ran home* (PFV). The imperfective aspect can be expressed using progressive tenses in certain contexts, e.g. *he was running home when I saw him*. The perfect tenses, however, seem to be used more consistently in English when a process is perceived as relevant to a particular time of reference.

Gaelic is similar to English regarding the opposition imperfective vs. perfective, although it seems to use the progressive tenses more commonly to describe imperfective processes, e.g. *Bha e a' fuireach ann an Inbhir Aora* (He lived in Inveraray); *Cha robh mi ga thuigsinn* (I did not understand him).³⁴⁴ Perfect tenses, on the other hand, appear to be less common than they are in English, at least in more traditional Gaelic.

2. Adverbial expressions

Perfect tenses are commonly used in English with the following adverbial expressions:

- always; ever; never
- still, yet; already; just (now/then)
- since + NP/ADV/V
- for + NP
- by + NP

³⁴³ Abbreviations and symbols: CM – Colin Mark (dictionary); # – examples from *Corpas na Gàidhlig*; § – examples from the MEANMA Scottish Gaelic online corpus; ADV – adverb; FUT – future; HAB – habitual; IPV – imperfective; NP – noun phrase; PERF – perfect; PFV – perfective; PROGR – progressive; PRON – pronoun; PRS – present; PST – past; REL – relative; V – verb. The abbreviation V sometimes refers to the whole clause.

³⁴⁴ Additionally, the present tense is only progressive for most verbs.

- by the time + v
- various expressions referring to periods that have still not finished, e.g. today

The corresponding Gaelic expressions are shown in the following table:

(a-)riamh	always; ever; never
bho riamh	always; since time immemorial
fhathast	still, yet
mar-thà, (a-)cheana	already
an cheart(u)air	just (now/then)
bho + NP/PRON	since
bho(n) + V(REL)	since
bho chionn + NP	since; for
airson	for
gu(s) + NP/PRON/ADV	by
mus/mun + V	by the time + v (?)

The following text is an overview of the use of verb tenses (not just the perfect) in the context of these adverbial expressions. Since this can depend on aspectual distinctions, verbal aspect will also be addressed. The results can be compared then with the use of the tenses in the same contexts in English to determine the similarities and differences between the two languages, with the focus on the perfect tenses.

A difference is made between completed (perfective) and continuous (imperfective) processes, whereby expressions such as e.g. *thuit e* are understood as perfective and those like e.g. *bha e a' tuiteam* as imperfective. The real situation, however, is more complex since expressions like *bhruidhinn e* can probably be interpreted as describing completed processes even though verbs such as *bhruidhinn* are inherently imperfective. Additionally, imperfective processes can be truly continuous (durative) or recurring (iterative or habitual), which is not relevant here.

The use of the conditional to express past habituality will not be considered here although the habitual conditional does occur with the adverbials mentioned above, e.g. *Agus riamh às dèidh sineach ... bhitheamaid a' fuireach oidhche 's dòcha, no a' tadhal ann an taigh Ruairidh Ghilleasbaig Aonghais air an rathad dhan sgoil* 'And ever since then, we used to spend the night...' (§4075).

3. Riamh³⁴⁵

The past tense is normally used with this adverb in Gaelic, regardless of time reference. It can, therefore, correspond either to the present perfect or the past perfect in English,³⁴⁶ e.g. *Sin mar a bha riamh shaoil leis* 'That's how it's always been, he thought' (§3983); *Co-dhiubh bha aon*

³⁴⁵ The adverbial expressions *riamh*, *bho riamh* and *riamh bho* are discussed in Section 1.

³⁴⁶ And, presumably, to the past tense in certain contexts.

nighean ris nach do bhruidhinn mi riamh gu sin ‘However, there was one girl I had never spoken to until then’ (#66).

The past progressive expresses processes that continue(d) to a point of reference,³⁴⁷ e.g. *Bha i riamh math air sin* (Cox, §423 iv); *Bha balaich Sheiseadair a-riamh geur air an teangaidh* (#27); *Bha e cho seòlta ’s a bha e riamh* (CM, s.v. *riamh*); ...*tha iad anabarrach cosmhail ri chèile a thaobh an àite a bha iad riamh a’ toirt do sheanfhaic* (§4030); *Bha na h-Albannaich riamh a’ tarraing asda* (#11); or processes perceived as incomplete, e.g. *Cha robh mi riamh a’ dèanamh sin* ‘I never did that’ (NicLeòid³⁴⁸).

Processes completed by a point of reference are expressed by the simple past, e.g. *Airson na chunnaic thu riamh na sgithich den obair* (§4021); *An ceann ùine rugadh mac dhaibh, agus mac cho grànda mì-shlàn agus a rugadh riamh* (§4032); *Chan fhaca mi gin a-riamh cho àlainn* (§3771); *Cha do thachair càil cho oillteil san eilean a-riamh* (§3775); *An cuala tusa ... rud riamh cho laghach no cho inntinneach ris a’ phort seo?* (§4005); *Am faca tu sin riamh roimhe?* (Cox, §423 iv); *Na thuit seòladair a-mach à long a-riamh roimhe?* (§3776); *Cha robh mi ann riamh* (NicLeòid);³⁴⁹ *Cha robh mi a-riamh ann an Tummel* (#329); ...*ged nach robh e riamh ann an Alba* (#400187); *An robh thu riamh ann an Inbhir Nis? Cha robh a-riamh* (CM, s.v. *riamh*).

Examples of the past perfect have also been attested with the adverb *riamh*, all with a past time of reference, as expected, e.g. *Bha tarbh air a bhith aig muinntir Alasdair Lachlainn a riamh* (§3883); *Cha robh iadsan air a bhith a riamh ann a San Fransisco* (#198); *Cha robh e riamh air a bhith air falbh* (#203); *Cha robh Peigi a-riamh air a bhith cinnteach mu na Ruiseanaich* (#202); *Cha robh i riamh air sgeulachd Seasaidh ... a chluinntinn* (#333); *Cha robh e riamh air am faicinn* (§3857); *B’fhearr leam nach robh mi riamh air a faicinn le m’ shùil* (#62); ...*nach robh riamh air bàta thoirt a-steach* (#248); ...*nach robh i riamh air atharrachadh* (#217002); *Aon turas chuir piuthar mo mhàthar ann an Glaschu thugam measan nach robh mi air faicinn riamh roimhe: banàna* (§3879). The past perfect appears to be much less common than the simple past in this context and, although there are some earlier attestations, most examples come from recent texts.

4. *Bho* + NP/PRON

The preposition *bho* can correspond to English ‘since’ or ‘from’ in adverbial expressions such as *bhon uair sin*, *bhon latha ud*, *bhon bhliadhna 1750*, *bho thoiseach an earraich*.³⁵⁰ Processes that continue to the present can be expressed either by the present (progressive) or the present

³⁴⁷ NB: an exception is the verb *to be*, whose simple forms usually have a progressive meaning: such forms will be quoted here as progressive/imperfective.

³⁴⁸ Mòrag NicLeòid: *Gràmar an cunnart*.

³⁴⁹ The meaning of *robh* is close to ‘has/have/had visited’ in this and the following examples so it is analysed as perfective (even if that may not be the best solution).

³⁵⁰ It can also correspond to English ‘from’ as in e.g. *bho thoiseach gu deireadh*, but that usage is irrelevant here.

perfect progressive. The latter is more common in the corpus,³⁵¹ e.g. (PRS) *Tha greis mhath bhon uair ud* (#203); *Bhon latha sin tha luchd-leantainn ball-coise ann a Steòrnabhagh an aghaidh a' chupa seo* (#400153); *Bhon uair sin, thathar a' tòiseachadh air ùidh a chur ann an tubaist na Linnet a-rithist...* (#197); (PRS.PERF.PROGR) ...agus *tha i air a bhith an seo bhon uair sin* (#400179); *Tha comasan na fàisneachd a' fuireach dìomhair, mar tha iad air a bhith bho thùs* (#210); ...agus *tha cùisean air a bhith a' dol gu math leotha bhon uair sin* (#400134); *Bhàsaich m' athair a' bhean-uiridh, agus bhon uair sin chan eil duine air a bhith fuireachd anns an t-seann dhachaigh* (#11); *Ann an 1841 bha àireamh an t-sluaigh air tuiteam air ais gu 3,871 agus tha e air a bhith sìor chrìonadh on uair sin* (#333); ...*tha mi air a bhith a' seachnadh Anglo-American pop on uair sin* (#500004).³⁵²

The past progressive is used if the reference point is in the past,³⁵³ e.g. *Bha faisg air fichead bliadhna bhon uair sin, agus bha Donaidh Mobà a-nis ochd bliadhna deug* (#330); *Ach bha ceud bliadhna is còrr bhon uair sin agus cha robh rian nach robh sneachd ifrinn a-nis air leaghadh agus nach robh na maoir air bàsachadh* (#334); *Ach càite robh thu bhon uair sin?* (#400133); *Bhon latha a pheanasaich am maighstir-sgoile e bha e mar gu robh dà inntinn an ceangal ris* (#316); *Bha i eòlach air Gairm bho thoiseach tòisich* (#400034); *Bha i ann bho thoiseach tòiseachaidh* (#334); *Na survival suits a bh' aig Dòmhnall bhon uair a bha e air na rigichean* (#202); *Chuala Mairead, na bìodag, mo mhathair a' cantainn ris, 'Nach tu rinn an saoghal dhut fhèin!' – 's bhon uair sin, bha i creidsinn gur e Ponto a rinn an saoghal* (#11).

Processes that were completed in the past are expressed either by the simple past or the simple present perfect if the reference point is the moment of speaking, e.g. (PST) *Rinn mi siubhal gu leòr bhon uair sin...* (#28); *Tha na rinn i bhon uair sin aig Dòmhnall Iain air a chruinneachadh* (#203); *Phòs i geamair à Yorkshire agus bhon uair sin chaill i a' Ghàidhlig* (#2); *Bhon uair sin, chuir Alasdair amach leabhar...* (#400014); *Bhon oidhche sin ... thòisich e a' leughadh a' Bhìobaill* (#313); *Dh'obraich seo gu math, agus bhon a sin thàinig an ring net* (#250); ...*mar a dh'atharraich na h-eileanan bhon uair sin* (#400120); *Thachair do'n chàraid so mar a thachair do'n leithid bho thoiseach an t-saoghail* (#234001); ...*is bhon uair sin is tric a chaidh mi a chèilidh air* (#400173); *Bha e air a bhith na b' fheàrr iomradh goirid a chur ris mun fhichead bliadhna a chaidh seachad bhon uair sin* (#400171); *Chan faca tu Jock bhon uair sin?* (#202); ...*chan fhaca agus cha chuala sinne an corr bhuaipe bhon uair sin* (#400001); ...*cha do stad an t-atharrachadh idir bhon uair sin* (#400178); *Cha robh e seo bhon uair sin* (#332);³⁵⁴ *Mur do bhàsaich e bhon uair sin, tha e fhathast cho beò...* (#28); cf. also: *Ach is iomadh facal a chualas air Close Time bhon uair sin* (#250); (PRS.PERF) *Tha ùine mhòr air a dhol seachad bhon uair sin* (#400199); *Gun teagamh sam bith tha cùisean anns na h-Alps air a dhol am feabhas gu ìre bho thoiseach na linn so* (#400028); ...*agus anns na caogad bliadhna bhon uair sin tha e air fàs gu bhith na phrìomh ionad son tasgadh is mìneachadh dualchas nan Gàidheal an Albainn Nuadh* (#333); ...*ach tha an saoghal air atharrachadh gu mòr bhon uair sin*

³⁵¹ The verb *to be*, which has no special progressive forms, has been included here since its simple forms normally express the imperfective aspect (cf. footnote 349).

³⁵² But cf. the simple past (!) in the same text: *Agus sheachain mi Anglo-American pop on uair sin.*

³⁵³ The past perfect progressive probably occurs in this context too. No examples of that have been found in the corpus, but cf. §5-7.

³⁵⁴ In the sense 'has not visited'.

(#400107); *Bhon uair sin tha Nirribidh air a cànan agus a dualchas a chur an òrdugh...* (#400118).

If the point of reference is in the past, processes completed by that point are expressed by the simple past or, apparently more often, by the simple past perfect, e.g. (PST) *Gus an tàinig sibhse cha do chaidil duin' ann bhon uair ud* (#316); *Bhon bhliadhna 1793 ... fhuair e àrdachadh bho inbhe iarla gu bhith aithnichte mar Morair Sìophort...* (#335); (PST.PERF) *Bha cus thonnair air an tràigh a bhualadh on uair ud agus cus, cus air tachairt dha* (#317); *...agus 's e nàbaidh a bha air falbh a dh'Ameireaga bhon uair sin a fhuair brath ann an aisling air an àite far an robh an corp* (#197); *...shaoileadh i nach robh dad air atharrachadh on uair ud ach i fhèin* (#317).

In passive clauses, both the *rach*-passive and the *air*-passive have been attested in the corpus, e.g. *Bhon uair sin, chaidh cuid de na tionnsgalan agus na h-ainmeannan atharrachadh...* (#400088);³⁵⁵ *...far am bheil an taigh-solais air a thogail bhon uair sin* (#400152); *Chaidh an leabhair eireachdail seo a chur an clò an toiseach an 1937, agus 'se tha seo againn ceangal as ùr air na duilleagan a bha air an gleidheadh gun chòmhdach bhon uair sin* (#400110); *Bha fios aig Iain air dè thachair dha Johan, ach bha dùil aige gu robh cùisean air an rèiteach bhon uair sin* (#202). These are all perfective. The *air*-passive might be more common if the reference point is in the past.

5. *Bho riamh*

This expression is not very common in the corpus. The present tense seems to be used with it to express processes that continue in the present, e.g. *Oir tha a gualainn [=of the standing stone] bho riamh dhan adhar gun atharrachadh* (§3854).³⁵⁶ The past progressive is used to express imperfective processes with a past time reference, e.g. *Tha i air sgur a lìonadh an t-sinc le soithichean salach, cuideachd, 's an uair sin gam fàgail – fasan loibht eile a bh' aice bho riamh* (#11);³⁵⁷ *Bha e mar a bha e bho riamh* (§3848); *Bha bodaich an eilein a' creidsinn bho riamh gum b' e droch àidhear a bha na h-eilthirich a' giùlain thuca bho Thìr-Mòr* (§4079).

Two examples of the past perfect (progressive) have been found in the corpus, both in the same text: *Bha cù agam air an robh Daoimean, agus bha e air a bhith anns an taigh bho riamh* (#27); *Bha an t-Eireannach air a bhith ag obair bho riamh aig muileann-shàbhaig* (#27).

³⁵⁵ 'Since then, some of the plans and names have been changed...'

³⁵⁶ 'Its shoulder has been pointing up to the sky from time immemorial without change.' This is the only example of the present tense in this context found in the corpus.

³⁵⁷ I.e. she had that habit in the past, until she stopped doing it.

6. *Bho(n)* + V(REL)

In this case, the word *bho(n)* ‘since’ is a conjunction that introduces a relative clause. The use of verb forms in expressions modified by such clauses appears to be the same as with *bho* + NP expressions.

Processes that continue to the present are expressed either by the present tense or the present perfect progressive, e.g. (PRS) *Tha neul nam cheann bhon thòisich mi* (#21); *Bhon a dh’fhalbh mo mhàthair chan eil neach air am bi iomnaidh ged nach tillinn airson oidhche no dhà* (#316); *Bhon a chaidh Strath-Oiceil an taobh a chaidh e, chan eil dòchas sam bith againn gun deanar dad eile aig a’ mheudachd sin* (#400001); *Chan eil mionaid bhon a chuir sibh an sàs mi* (#328); *Chan eil ach dà cheud bliadhna bhon a thàinig a’ chiad bhàta le Gàidheil air imrich na cladaichean againn* (#333); *Tha mi ’ruith ... on a bha mi glé òg* (#31),³⁵⁸ *Tha iad a’ ràdh nach eil sibh a’ bruidhinn riutha bhon fhuair sibh an telebhisean* (#245); cf. however: *Bha sròn mhòr orm bho rugadh mi, ach bha mo bheul a-riamh milis* (#335);³⁵⁹ (PRS.PERF.PROGR) *Tha i air a bhith gu math tinn (bh)on a thuit i* (Cox, §351 xi); *Anns an ùine o dh’fhàg e tha an eaglais air a bhith bàn* (CM, s.v. o); *Sin an dearbh àite far a bheil mi air a bhith bhon a ràinig mi an t-eilean seo* (#328); *Tha luchd Beurla air a bhith a’ leantainn nan leasan aig Jake Dòmhnallach bhon a thòisich Gairm* (#400014); *B’fheàrr gu mòr sin fhàgail aig na h-éildeirean a tha air a bhith ga dhèanamh bhon a bha Noah ’na leanabh* (#400001).

Either the past progressive or the past perfect progressive can be used if the reference point is in the past, e.g. (PST.PROGR) *Bha i na b’ aonaranaiche buileach bhon a chaochail a màthair...* (#244); *Bha an làrach ann bho rugadh mi* (#313); *Cha robh gu leòr agam ri dèanamh bho dh’fhàg mi mo dhreuchd* (#198); *...bhiodh e doirbh dhut a chreidsinn gu robh seachd seachdainean bhon a thàinig thu dhachaidh* (#251); *Bhon a chaochail a mhàthair bha e fuireach leis fhèin* (#316); (PST.PERF.PROGR) *...a chionn s gun robh eachdraidh na Reilig air a bhith na mo chluasan bhon a bha mi na mo phàisde* (#244); *...bha Mór anns an leabaidh far an robh i air a bhith on a thachair an tubaist àmhgharach* (#43); *Ma bha mòd annasach a-riamh air bhith aig Mac an Tòisich, b’ e siud am mòd a b’ aoibhnic a bha air a bhith agamsa anns na naoi bliadhna deug bho rugadh mi* (#335); *Tron t-seirbheis, lean Collie aig an doras a’ caoineadh, mar a bha e air a bhith a’ dèanamh bho thàinig na daoine chun na taighe leis an droch naidheachd* (#335).

Processes completed in the past with the reference point in the present are expressed either by the simple past or the simple present perfect, e.g. (PST) *...bhon a chaill thu an game cha chluich thu tuilleadh* (#306); *Chan fhaca mise Donnchadh ach dhà no trì thursan bhon a thill mi dhachaigh* (#328); *Cha do dh’fhàg e an rùm aige san taigh-òsta bhon a thàinig e a dh’Uibhist* (#328); *Cha do theich duin’ a Bischofroda fhathast bhon a thàinig mise* (#34),³⁶⁰ and also: *Cha robh mi muigh oidhche bho thàinig mi* (#205); *Robh duine timchioll a-seo bho dh’fhalbh mi?* (#30);³⁶¹ (PRS.PERF) *Tha thu air fàs cho mòr on a bha thu san sgoil* (#317).

³⁵⁸ This is also habitual.

³⁵⁹ The use of the past tense here might have been influenced by the adverb *a-riamh* in the following clause.

³⁶⁰ Also including the adverb *fhathast* (see §9).

³⁶¹ The meaning of *robh* is closer to ‘went, came, visited’ than to ‘existed’ in these two examples.

If the reference point is in the past, completed processes are expressed either by the simple past or by the simple past perfect, e.g. (PST) *'Se an t-àite a dh'atharraich bhon a thainig i fhéin agus Uilleam roimh ám a' chogaidh* (#245); ...*ged a sgrìobh fear an taighe gu chàirdean ... a leigeil riutha gur i siud an oidhche bu toilichte a chuir e seachad bhon a dh'fhag e eilean a bhreith is àraich* (#28); *Chuir e roimhe nach innseadh e do neach sam bith mar a thachair dha bho dh'fhalbh e don arm* (#334); (PST.PERF) ...*bha e air a dhol bhuaithe gu mòr on a chunnaic e mu dheireadh e* (#317); ...*bho dh'fhalbh e aig an Nollaig bha i air a màthair a chall* (#244); *Ged a bha mi nis aig inbhe, cha robh mi air e fhèin fhaicinn 'na thaigh bhon a bha mi 'nam phàisde beag* (#316).

Cf. also the construction that involves the copula: *'S fhada bho nach fhaca mi thu* (Cox, §334 iv; §351 xi); which can be paraphrased as *Chan fhaca mi thu o chionn fhada* (see §8); cf. *Nach fhada bho chuala tu...* (#40); *B' fhada bho fhuair i leithid de spòrs* (#40).

7. Riamh bho(n)

This expression corresponds to English 'ever since', i.e. the adverb *riamh* functions here as an intensifier that modifies the phrase introduced by the preposition/conjunction *bho*. The use of tenses appears to be largely the same as outlined in §4-6.

The present tense and the present perfect progressive indicate processes that started in the past and continue in the present, e.g. (PRS) *Tha eagal orm ro na seilleanan cuideachd riamh on a chuir mi tè na mo phòcaid 's mi a' smaoineachadh go robh i marbh* (§3878); *Riamh o'n thainig an duine gu staid creutair reusanta, tha e a cur mor-earbsa am buaidhean cungaidhean-leighis* (#199); *A riamh bho 1841 ... tha gach cunntadh a chaidh a dhèanamh a' nochdadh gu soilleir gu bheil an t-àireamh a' sìor-dhol an lughaid gach bliadhna* (#201); *Riamh on oidhche sin tha sùil na h-òige agus cridhe na h-aoise a' sireadh siar...* (§3992); *'S a-riamh bhon uairsin, tha mi a' cumail dlùth air a' Bhìoball agus air a' ghunna* (#400153); *Riamh o nuair [sic!] sin thathas a' cumail a' bhocsa chungaidhean-leighis air sgeilp bhig anns an tranntsa eadar a' bhùth agus an rùm-cùil* (§4505); note also the 'future passive': *Riamh on oidhche sin chìtear baintighearna òr-bhuidh, le earball èisg, a' snàmh nan tonn...* (§3994);³⁶² (PRS.PERF.PROG) *Choisinn i cuideachd L.R.A.M. ann an ceòl, 's tha i air a bhith iomraiteach mar bhana-sheinneadair riamh bho fhuair i bonn òir a' Mhòid...* (§3986); ...*agus riamh bhon uair sin, tha e air a bhith còmhla ris a' chompanidh* (#400018); ...*agus tha Club Ball-coise Nis air a bhith 'na eiseimpleir air leth do bhuidhnean coimhearsnachd eile anns na h-eileanan a-riamh bhon uair sin* (§4825); ...*agus riamh bhon a chuala mi an sgialachd tha an Spàin air a bhith 'ga mo tharraing* (#400033).

Imperfective processes with a past time reference are expressed by the past progressive, e.g. *Le léine ... a bh' aice riamh bho'n bha i òg* (#47); *Riamh o'n a b'urrainn domh coiseachd, bha eòlas math agam orra* (§4022); *Riamh on chaidh innseadh dhomh ..., bha m' fhuil a' teòthadh ri m' fhine* (§4006); *Agus a riamh bho'n uairsin bha mi coimhead ri peileachan sinc ann an*

³⁶² This is also habitual, i.e. a golden-haired lady is / can be seen occasionally/habitually. Cf. Sections 4.2-4.4, for the use of the simple future with verbs of perception to express habituality.

dòigh ùr (#30); *Riamh bhon uair sin, bha sinn a' creidsinn gum biodh e math agus iomchaidh comann a chur air chois...* (#400144). Cf. also: ...agus **bha** Dòmhnall *stèidhichte* na chuid fearainn *riamh on latha sin* (§4064), where the participle *stèidhichte* does not appear to affect the (imperfective) aspect of the whole expression.

Note, however, an example of the simple past expressing an imperfective process with a present time reference: ...*chithear an sin fhathast seann àraich tìghe agus fheannagan ged nach do dh'fhuirich duine an sin a riamh bho is cuimhne le duine* (§4816); and examples of the simple past and the simple past perfect describing imperfective processes with a past time reference: (PST) *Riamh o mharbh am mathan athair, Bairn Móir, 'se a mhàthair Agadh a thog e, a stiùir 's a sheòl e* (§3984); *Riamh bhon chaidh am muran a chur, chinn e gu math agus bha sluagh an eilein a' deanamh móran feuma dheth* (§4817); (PST.PERF) **Bha** Pàdraig *air fuireach air falbh bhon taigh aca riamh bhon oidhche a chaidh Karl a mharbhadh* (§3872).

The simple past expresses processes completed in the past if the reference point is the moment of speaking, e.g. (PST) *Their cuid: Fear-Scalpaidh ris, ged a leig e an t-àite sin am fiadh, riamh bho 'n thainig e air ais a Lunnainn* (§4079); *A bheil fhios agad ... 's a-riamh bhon uair sin nach do nochd muc le gob air a sròin?* (#400123); *Ach riamh bhon latha a loisg an nàmhaid air an eilean, cha do chaill an Riaghaltas sealladh air an luach a bha anns a' charragh iomallach ud trì fichead mìle an iar air Uibhist* (§4082); *Chan' eil iomradh gum facas e riamh bho an latha ud* (#294). The same tense form is used if the reference point is in the past, e.g. *Is e glé bheag a chuala Doilidh bochd a riamh bho thuit e ann a' bhàthaich oidhche is e 'na luairean leis an deoch* (§4064).³⁶³

8. Bho chionn + NP

This expression corresponds either to English 'since', 'for', or 'ago'. Judging by the examples found in the corpus, the NP seems always to contain an expression referring to a period of time that extends to the point of reference, as in 'for two years', 'two years ago' or (literally) 'since two years ago', rather than a point in the past that defines the beginning of such a period, as in 'since 1976' or 'since that day'.

8.1. Processes that started in the past and continue in the present

Processes that started in the past and continue in the present are expressed either by the present (progressive) or by the present perfect progressive.

The present tense is well-attested in the corpus, e.g. **Tha** *i aig an taigh o chionn dà là ach chan fhaca duine a-mach à taigh i* (#14); **Tha** *a màthair marbh o chionn dha-na-tri bhliadhna* (#205); **Tha** *i marbh a nis o chionn deich bliadhna fichead* (#244); **Tha** *sin soilleir dha'n bhaile o chionn treis, tha mi smaoineachadh* (#310); ...*a tha ainmeil ann an eachdraidh bho chionn linn nan linntean gus an latha so* (#38); **Tha** *bailtean beaga ... gun mhoran atharrachadh anns na*

³⁶³ Additional examples of sentences that include the expression *riamh bho* can be found in Section 1.

h-eileanan o chionn fhada (#17);³⁶⁴ **Tha** chailleach 'na shuain i fhéin, *o chionn fada* (#310); *O chionn beagan làithean tha* fuachd neo-àbhaisteach 'gam **thadhal**... (#305); ...ach *bho chionn fichead bliadhna tha* Rubair a' tighinn a steach an àite leathair (#38); **Chan eil** duine **fuireach** ann *bho chionn cheithir fichead bliadhna no còrr* (#316); *Tha e coltach gu bheil* an gille ... a' **leannanachd** nighean an tuathanaich Ghallda ... *o chionn còrr math agus bhliadhna* (#234002); *Gabh na trunnseirean-sgiathach a thathar a' faicinn o chionn iomadh bliadhna nis*... (#36).

The present perfect progressive seems to be more common in this context,³⁶⁵ e.g. **Tha am bàta seo air a bhith** againn a-nis *o chionn seachd bliadhna fichead* (#14); **Tha mi air a bhith** ann *o chionn da fhichead bliadhna* (#205); ...**tha e air a bhith** anns an sgoil-sa *o chionn dà fhichead bliadhna a nis* (#304); *Bho chionn iomadh linn ... tha an calman air a bhith* na chomharr air sìth (#210); **Tha e an deaghaidh a bhith** fo leithid de sprochd is iomagain *o chionn ghoirid* (#16); **Chan eil e air a bhith** ro mhath *o chionn ghoirid* (#16); Ach **tha** duineigin... *te-eigin... air a bhith cumail* teineachan anns an taigh tha than *o chionn ceala-deug* (#11); **Tha mi air a bhith a' beachdachadh** mun seo *o chionn greis*... (#14); *Cuideachd, bho chionn greis tha e air a bhith ag obair* mar fhear-comhairleachaidh (#203); ...**tha sinn air a bhith faighinn** toradh sin *o chionn treise* (#244); **Tha mi air a bhith ag iarraidh** cinn iomchuidh *o chionn dà bhliadhna* (#244); **Tha mi air a bhith a' cluich a' bhucais** bhig sin cha mhòr a h-uile h-oidhche *bho chionn seachdain* (#330); 'S dòcha rudan a **tha air a bhith a' dèanamh** dragh dhut *o chionn fhada* (#337); **Tha daoine air a bhith gam sheachnadh** *bho chionn ghoirid* (#328); **Tha thu an deaghaidh bhith 'g ràdh** sin *o chionn mìos ... agus cha tàinig e fhathast* (#245).

8.2. Processes that continued to a point in the past

Similarly, imperfective processes that continued to a point in the past are expressed either by the past progressive or by the past perfect progressive.

Examples: (PST.PROGR) ...*agus an sin dh'aithnich an lighiche ... gum be an ceann eile ceann grànda amadain a bha sa bhanca o chionn bhliadhnachan* (#244); *B' e seo, gu cinnteach, gnùis ro-bhòidheach na meadhon-aois; ged nach fhaca mi i ach tro dhealbh a-mhàin, cha do dhìochuimhnich mi riamh gu tur i. Bha i nam chuimhne o chionn cho fada a-nise agus, o àm gu àm, tha mi a' dearmad nach fhaca mi a' chailin beò riamh* (#313);³⁶⁶ **Cha robh** sgeul air luchd-adhair nan Gearmailteach *o chionn ùine, oir cha robh ola air fhàgail aca* (#19); ...*oir bha e a' falbh le Anna Mhurchaidh Aonghais o chionn dà bliadhna, agus bha e nis deiseil gu pòsadh nam biodh àite dha fhèin* (#14); ...**bha mi lùigeachdainn** *bho chionn fhada* gun toirte sùil oirre (#203); *O chionn fhada bha Pòl a' bruidhinn air a dhol air adhart* (#2); ...*fhuir thu 'n cothrom a bha thu feitheamh o chionn greis* (#313).

³⁶⁴ This could be interpreted as a perfect construction: *tha... gun atharrachadh = chan eil... air atharrachadh.*

³⁶⁵ Examples are found even in earlier texts.

³⁶⁶ The narrative seems to switch from the past to the present with *tha mi a' dearmad...*, so this example might be somewhat untypical.

Examples: (PST.PERF.PROGR) *Bha e air a bhith ro thrang o chionn ghoirid* (#16); *Bha iad an deaghaidh a bhith caran mì-rianail o chionn bliadhna na dhà agus bha feadhainn ag iarraidh stad a chur orra uile gu léir* (#245); ...*a bha na h-Eaglaisean air a bhith dèanamh o chionn fhada* (#250); ...*mar a bha e air a bhith 'g ràdh o chionn dà fhichead bliadhna* (#304); *Bha i air a bhith feuchainn ri Gàidhlig ionnsachadh o chionn suas ri naoi bliadhna a nise* (#310).

8.3. Processes completed within a period that extends to the present

Perfective processes that occurred in the past within a period that extends to the moment of speaking can be expressed either by the simple past or by the simple present perfect.

Examples: (PST) *Seo an taisbeanadh as fheàrr a chunnaic mi o chionn greis mhath* ‘this is the best exhibition I’ve seen for a good while’ (CM, s.v. *cionn*); ...*seo a’ chiad bhliadhna a bha e dhachaigh o chionn ùine mhòir* (#317);³⁶⁷ *Mar a thubhairt mi, cha robh mi muigh o chionn seachdain* (#205); *Cha chuala mi guth uaipe o chionn mìos* (#14); *Cha do chòrd rud sam bith rium cho math o chionn fada* (#16); *Cha do dh’atharraich sibh mòran o chionn fichead bliadhna* (#313); ...*fear nach fhaca e o chionn dà bhliadhna na sheasamh* (#16).

Examples: (PRS.PERF) *Tha air tilleadh, o chionn sia mìosan air ais, a dh’eilean bhreith is àraich, fear Murchadh MacLeòid...* (#11); *Tha iad air sguir o chionn fhada dhen luchd glacaidh a chur a-mach gu daoine thoirt dhan chabhlach an aghaidh an toile* (#14); *Tha sinn air fas eolach o chionn bhliadhnaichean air ais air daoine...* (#320); *O chionn beagan bhliadhnachan air ais tha leabhraichean Gàidhlig ... air a dhol am meud gu mór* (#32); *Tha sinn air atharraichidhean iongantach fhaicinn ann an saoghal teile-fhiosan o chionn ghoirid* (#320); *Tha rannsachadh ... air moran adhartais a dheanamh o chionn ghoirid* (#320); *’S ioma duine tha air eagal a ghabhail romhams’ ann a sheo ... o chionn ùin’ fhada* (#31); *O chionn ghoirid tha luchd-comhairle air feadh Alba ... air toirt mòran airgid do bhuidheannan mar “Theatremakers” agus “Borderline”* (#32); *Tha mi air mo dheòir a shileadh o chionn fada, is gu leòr dhuibh* (#317); *Tha mi air mothachadh gu bheil mo mhodh cadail air atharrachadh bho chionn oidhcheannan air ais* (#316).

The similar passive construction can be used in the same context, i.e. to describe perfective processes, e.g. *Tha paipearan agus clàr-obrach nan deuchainnean seo air an ath-leasachadh o chionn ghoird* (#32); but it can also describe imperfective processes that continue in the present, e.g. *Tha a’ Ghàidhlig air a labhairt an Albainn bho chionn iomadh ceud bliadhna* (Cox, §299 v); ...*gu seann bhodach a tha air a leireadh bho chionn bhliadhnaichean le siataig ’s an da ghlun* (#57). In the latter use, this construction corresponds to the active present (perfect) progressive (see §8.1).

³⁶⁷ The form *bha* has the meaning of ‘gone, visited’ rather than ‘existed’ here, so it is interpreted as perfective. The same applies to *robh* in the following example.

8.4. Processes completed within a period that extended to a point in the past

Processes that had been completed by a point in the past can be expressed either by the simple past or by the simple past perfect. Few examples have been found in the corpus, e.g. (PST) *Ach a dh'aindeoin sin bha i faireachdainn mòran na bu toilichte 's na bu shaoirsneile air a' mhadainn seo na **dh'fhairich** i o chionn fada* (#305); *Cha do rinn e gàire **bho chionn aon bliadhna deug gu siud*** (#334); *Madainn latha Nollaig bha an gleann fo bhrat throm gheal ... **Chan fhacas** a leithid o chionn fhada* (#313); *...is chualas ceòl 'sa ghleann an oidhche sin **nach cualas ann o chionn iomadh latha*** (#244); (PST.PERF) *...thachair mi ri fear ... **nach robh mi air fhaicinn o chionn iomadh bliadhna*** (#333).

8.5. Processes that occurred at, about or before a point in the past

The expression *bho chionn* corresponds to English 'ago' or 'earlier' in this context, i.e. it defines a point in the past, rather than a period of time (as in the contexts discussed thus far).

Imperfective processes that were unfolding at or about a point in the past are expressed by the past progressive, e.g. *Ach **bha** sin o chionn bhliadhnaichean* (#337); *Bho chionn còrr is trì fichead bliadhna **bha** Mairi Chaimbeul ... aig seirbheis ann an tigh ministear ainmeil ann an Siorramachd Earraghaidheal* (#234001); *Bha iad ag iarraidh o chionn greis mo chur gu dachaidh nan seann daoine* (#245);³⁶⁸ *O chionn fhada **bha** calmain a' fuireach ann an creagan mara no ann an uamhan. Cha b' fhada gus an d' fhuair iad a-mach gun robh togalaichean ann am bailtean a cheart cho math* (#252); *Bha mi bruidhinn air bho chionn ghoirid* (30); *O chionn iomadh bliadhna agus linn, bhathar a' faicinn aig an àite seo ... cù mòr dubh le sùilean 'na cheann a bha lasadh mar theine...* (#36).

Perfective processes that occurred at a point in the past are expressed by the simple past, e.g. *Chuala mi coin o chionn greis a' dol suas* (#16); *O chionn seachdain chaidh mi steach do chafé air Sràid...* (#205); *Bha Pàrtaidh Nàiseanta na h-Alba a' dol às àicheadh gu dian gun robh gnothach sam bith aca-san ... ris na gnìomhan uile eile a ghabh àite o chionn ghoirid* (#16); *An d' fhuair thu na dealbhan a chuir mi thugad o chionn ghoirid?* (#198); *...duine caol a bhàsaich o chionn deich thar fhichead bliadhna* (#11); *...agus an sin dh'aithnich an lighiche le briogadh gum be aon de na cinn ceann caileig òig a thainig a-steach o chionn seachdainn, agus gum be an ceann eile ceann grànda amadain a bha sa bhanca o chionn bhliadhnachan* (#244); cf. also: *Son nach robh thu brist' mu thràth ... Son nach robh thu brist' gun a seo. Son nach robh thu brist' o chionn fhada* (#11); cf. also: *...sgeulachdan-goirid Gàidhlig a chaidh a sgrìobhadh o chionn bhliadhnaichean* (#244).

Perfective processes that had been completed by a point in the past are expressed by the simple past perfect,³⁶⁹ e.g. *O chionn trì bliadhna bha buaireadh air a bhith aca* (#304);³⁷⁰ *...ged nach robh mi cluinntinn co-sheirm ach ceòl na beairt a bha air stad o chionn iomadh bliadhna*

³⁶⁸ 'A while ago, they were wanting to...'

³⁶⁹ This is not the same context as that described in §8.4; since the interpretation of the adverbial is not the same (e.g. *for many years (until then)* vs. *many years earlier, before that time*).

³⁷⁰ The meaning of *a bhith* is closer to 'happened' rather than 'existed' here, so it is interpreted as perfective.

(#198); ...*ged a bha a' ghrian air cromadh bho chionn còrr is uair a thìde* (#244); *Chuir Seumas seachad mìos ... ag ionnsachadh as ùr na bha an R. N. R. air ionnsachadh dha o chionn faisg air fichead bliadhna* (#14); *Bha a' Chliutag air a dhol gu fhois shìorraidh bho chionn iomadach bliadhna mus do thuig Dòmhnall Iain mar a bha e ga ionndrain* (#203); *Bha mo bhean air saoghal ùr a stèidheachadh dhi fhèin, o chion fhada, anns nach robh mise a' gabhail com-pàirt idir* (#11); *Bha e air an t-oilthigh fhàgail bho chionn fhada* (#203); *Bha muinntir Thòmais air an clachan fhàgail o chionn fhada* (#2); *Carson nach robh i air seo a dhèanamh bho chionn fhada!* (#202).

9. Fhathast

The adverb *fhathast* corresponds to English 'still' and 'yet'. Imperfect processes continuing in the present are expressed by the present tense. The word *fhathast* corresponds to English 'still' in this context, e.g. ...*tha mi fhathast ga fhaicinn 's ga chluinntinn* (#11); *Chan eil thu coimhead ro mhath fhathast* (#16). The past progressive is used if the point of reference is in the past, e.g. *Cha robh solas againn fhathast* (#19); *O, bha mi fhathast a' dol a-mach dhan a sgoil a h-uile latha...* (#11); *Bha e fhathast na sheasamh, ge-tà* ((#202). Perfect tenses are not used in these contexts.³⁷¹

Processes completed in the past can be expressed either by the simple past or the simple present perfect. The latter seems to be rare in this context. The adverb *fhathast* corresponds to English 'still' (in negative sentences) or 'yet' (in questions and negative sentences) in this context, e.g. (PRS) *An do dh'ith thu fhathast?* 'Have you eaten yet?' (#328); *An tàinig iad fhathast?* (Cox, §260 v); *Am faca tu fhathast i?* (#202); *A Mhàiread, an tug thu am biadh dha na cearcan fhathast?* (#335); *Cha do ràinig i fhathast* (Cox, §423 v); ...*ach fhathast cha do lorg iad de mhisneachd a chuireadh sgoil Ghàidhlig air bhonn* (CM, s.v. *fhathast*); *Cha do chaill mo chluasan an claisneachd fhathast* (#11); *Tha mi a' beachdachadh mun sin, ach cha d' fhuair mi freagairt dhan cheist fhathast* (#14); *Cha d' fhuair e obair ùr fhathast* (#16); ...*agus cha tàinig e fhathast* (#245); *Fad seachdain an seo is cha chuala mi fhathast a guth* (#331); *Cha do nochd iad fhathast* (#54); *Bheil dad fasanta air fhàgail nach do dh'fheuch i fhathast?* (#317); (PRS.PERF) *Tapadh leat airson na litreach, ged nach eil mi air a leughadh fhathast* (Cox, §299 v); *Theagamh nach eil e fhathast air a dhol bàs* (#316); *A-rithist, chan eil iad fhathast air adhartas mór sam bith a dheanamh...* (#32).

The simple past and the simple past perfect are used if the reference point is in the past, e.g. (PST) *Chan fhaca Sergei fhathast e...* (#202); (PST.PERF) *Cha robh iad fhathast air tighinn chun an stéisean* (#305); *Bha smaoin air choireigin a' gluasad gu ceòthail 'nam inntinn ach cha robh i air tighinn gu ìre fhathast* (#198); *Cha robh i air guth a ràdh fhathast...* (#331); *Cha robh e fhathast air mathanas a thoirt dhomh...* (#333); *Cha robh an càirdeas fhathast air tighinn gu crìch* (#334); *Cha robh mi fhathast air a dhol dhan sgoil...* (#335). Cf. also: *Bha e fhathast gun tilleadh* 'He still hadn't returned' (CM, s.v. *fhathast*), which can be paraphrased

³⁷¹ This applies to English too, e.g. *we are/were still writing...*

as: *Cha robh e fhathast air tilleadh*. Examples of past time reference are less well-attested in the corpus, especially in earlier texts.

Similarly, the *air*-passive is used if the reference point is in the past, e.g. ...*anns na pìosan dhen rathad nach robh fhathast air an crìochnachadh* (#14); while the *rach*-passive seems to be more common if the reference point is the moment of utterance, e.g. *Tha e an deaghaidh dà nobhail a sgrìobhadh ged nach deach am foillseachadh fhathast* (#16); ...*gun cluinnear fuaimean nach deach fhathast a dhèanamh* (#316). The *air*-passive has also been attested in the latter context, e.g. *Dèan dà tholl ... ann an achadh a tha air a treabhadh agus ann an tè nach eil air a treabhadh fhathast* (#252).³⁷²

10. *Mar thà*³⁷³

This expression corresponds to English ‘already’. Imperfective processes unfolding at the time of speaking or about a point in the past are expressed by the present and the past progressive respectively, e.g. (PRS) *Tha fear aig Helena mu thràth, ge-tà* (#202); *Tha thu falbh mar-thà?* (#197); *Tha seo a’ tachairt mu thràth ann an cuid de sgoiltean...* (#24); *Tha thu dìreach air falbh aon latha ’s tha mi gad ionndrainn mu thràth* (#337); (PST) ...*chaidh innse dhomh gu feumainn an sgoil fhàgail; ach bha fios agam air a sin mu thràth* (#11); *Bha na freagairtean aige mu thràth* (#11); *Dh’fhairich i gu robh a corp a’ fàs eadar-dhealaichte mu thràth* (#202). No examples of the perfect used in this context have been found in the corpus.³⁷⁴

Processes that were completed in the past but are relevant to the present are expressed either by the simple past or by the simple present perfect, e.g. (PST) *Na dh’ith thu mar-thà?* (Cox, §293, ii); *Nochd sinn mu thràth cia mar tha fuil Iosa eifeachdach chum ar glanadh bho pheacadh...* (#241); *Thug mi iomradh mu thràth air iasgach ghiomach ron chogadh* (#251); *Thug sinn an aire mar thà gu bheil comharraidhean ann...* (#33); *Cheannaich mi grunn dhealbhan bhuapa mar thà* (#198); *Bhruidhinn mi air Coinneach Iain mar thà* (#198); Nis, *thuir mi mu thràth gu robh e math air a ghnathach* (#317); *Dh’inns mi dhut mar-thà* (#238); *Bha dithis bhana-mhaigstirean-sgoile agam mar tha* (#304);³⁷⁵ *Dè dhèanadh tu leotha, nach do rinn thu leis an fheadhainn a fhuair thu mur thà?* (#11); ...*bha dhà ann de na leapannan móra dh’ainnich mi mar thà* (#31); *Mar a thuir mi mu thràth...* (#203); *Mar a thubhairt mi riut mu thràth, a Bharabal, chan eil mi gabhail turus ris na rudan sin* (#305); *Chan urrainn dhaibh gluasad nar h-aghaidh ... an deaghaidh na thachair mar thà* (#321); *Fhuair a’ ciad fhreagairt na ceiste seo mar thà anns an t-seachdamh linn deug* (#33); ...*agus b’ e an duine aice (mar a dh’innsadh mu thràth) a bha ’na fhear amharc-thairis air an tuathanas aig Daibhidh* (#305); *A bharrachd air laoidhean cràbhaidh, air an tugadh iomradh mu thràth...* (#197). Cf. the passive: *Chaidh a bhò a bhleoghan mar-thà* (Cox, §300); (PRS.PERF) *Tha sinn air ithe mar-thà* (Cox, §299 v); *Tha mi air gu leòr ithe mar-thà* (Cox, 423 i); *A bheil thu air sin uile ithe mar-thà?* (Cox, §363 v); ...*mur eil iad air a dhèanamh mar thà* (CM, s.v. *mar*); *Agus cuideachd*

³⁷² Not many examples of the passive have been found.

³⁷³ Also: *mu thràth*.

³⁷⁴ Cf. English ‘they have/had already been waiting for three hours’.

³⁷⁵ I.e. ‘I’ve already had...’

feumaidh e bhith sìor chur an cuimhne a luchd-éisdeachd na tha air tachairt mu thràth (#244); *Bhon uair sin, chuir Alasdair amach leabhar a tha air beag fhortan a dheanamh dha mar thà* (#400014); *Tha Ailig air an t-airgead a phàigheadh dha mu thràth* (#2); *Tha Sìne air a gealladh a thoirt seachad mu thràth* (#305); *Is ann a tha mi air cus a ràdh mu thràth!* (317); *O, ghràidhein, nach eil i air gu leòr fhulang mu thràth, an creutair* (#317). Cf. the passive: *...tha tòiseachadh math air a dhèanamh mu-thràth* (#24); and: *...gus daingneachadh na h-obrach a tha dèanta mu thràth* (#18).³⁷⁶

Processes completed by a point in the past, i.e. with a past time reference, are expressed by the simple past perfect, e.g. *Bha dàibhearan nan creachan air falbh mu thràth* (#202); *Bha 22 de sheòladairean nach d' fhuair rùm an oidhche roimhe air a dhol air bòrd mar-tha* (#248); *Bha e air innse do Mhurchadh mar tha mar a thachair...* (#321); *Gu dearbha, bha Màiri air sgrìobhadh mu thràth chun a' bhoireannaich agus air innse dhi...* (#317); *Bha an aon chòmhradh air a bhith aca iomadach uair mar tha* (#321);³⁷⁷ *...thog i a' cheist a bha i air a thogail mar tha ri Ruairidh is ri Màiread* (#14); *...an ceann na bha air tachairt mu thràth, chuir e mór-iomnadh orra* (#26); *Bha mi fhìn agus Dòmhnall Bàn air cus òl mu thràth...* (#27); *Bha e air sgioblachadh mòr a dheanamh mu thràth, chunnaic i* (#317); *A' chiad bliadhna a bha e teagaisg air ais anns an eilein ... 's a bha e air e fhèin a mhaslachadh innte mu thràth, a' tuiteam na chadal madainn os cionn an register* (#11); *Thuir e gun robh iad air ceumannan a ghabhail mu thràth* (CM, s.v. *tràth*). Cf. the passive: *'S bha thu mar tha gu bràth air d' fhilleadh / Am fuachd 's an cadal a' bhàis* (§4292); and also: *Son nach robh thu brist' mu thràth ... Son nach robh thu brist' gun a seo. Son nach robh thu brist' o chionn fhada* (#11). The simple past might also be possible in this context. It has been attested in passive expressions, e.g. *Agus b' fheudar dhaibh innse dha a-rithist rud a chaidh innse mu thràth mìle triop* (#336); *Chaidh a ghoirteachadh aon uair mar thà ... cha tachradh e tuilleadh* (#43). See also §11.

An example of a hypothetical expression, involving the conditional perfect, has been found in the corpus: *Bha e cinnteach gum biodh a mhàthair air innse dha mu thràth na bha na poilis air innse dhi...* (#337). No examples of the future perfect have been found.³⁷⁸

11. Cheana

The use of tenses with this adverb, which corresponds to English 'already', is the same as with *mar thà* (see §10). Processes occurring at the moment of speaking or about a reference point in the past are expressed, respectively, by the present and the past progressive, e.g. (PRS) *Ars ise, 'bithidh cuimhne oirbh mar a tha cheana air na suinn a bhuannaich aig Allt a' Bhonnaich'* (#26); *A cheana tha mo Thighearna Iosa 'g am fhailteachadh* (#57); note also the 'future passive': *Anns an rioghachd so fhéin chithear a cheana gu bheil féin-àicheadh, agus iomadh*

³⁷⁶ The participle *dèanta* is perfective and corresponds to the construction *air a dhèanamh*.

³⁷⁷ I.e. 'They'd already had the same conversation...'

³⁷⁸ Cf. English 'we'll already have arrived'.

*subhailc eile 'g an nochdadh fhéin as úr... (#291);³⁷⁹ (PST) **Bha** na laghan ann cheana (#249); **Bha** iad làn cheana (#67); ...**bha** 'Moraire Goiridh cheana **feitheamh** oirre (#68).*

Processes completed by the time of speaking are expressed either by the simple past or the simple present perfect, e.g. (PST) *Mar a thuir mi cheana...* (#16); ...**dh'ith** i aona phiobaire an diugh cheana, agus an droch bhàs oirre, tha i air son fear eile bhi aice (#289); Agus cò a nochd a-rithist ach a' bhana-phoileas a **bhruidhinn** rium a cheana (#334); cf. also: *Mar a chaidh a innseadh cheana...* (#197); (PRS.PERF) *Tha fuachd a' gheamhraidh air tighinn cheana* (#57); *Mar a chaidh leis, tha sinn cheana air fhaicinn* (#68); *Ar leamsa gu bheil stéidh mo sgeòil air tuiteam a cheana...* (#62). Note the passive: ...*duine treun ... air a bheil eachdraidh a cheana sgrìobhte* (#35), where the participle *sgrìobhte* corresponds to *air a sgrìobhadh*.

Processes completed by a point in the past are expressed either by the simple past or by the simple past perfect, e.g. (PST) *Fhreagair Fear Mharabhaig gu'n d' fhuiling e gu leòir cheana...* (#234002); *Thainig mi cheana tarsuinn air far am bu chòir dha ... a bhi riaghladh* (#68); (PST.PERF) *Bha e cheana air éirigh bho'n bhòrd* (#68); *Bha iad cheana air cuairt a chur air a' mhór-chuid de'n Ghàidhealtachd* (#26); *Gun teagamh, bha i air adhbhar no dhà a thoirt dhomh cheana gun faighneachd* (#334); *Bha cuid mhòr dhe'r cuideachd an deidh an dìol de chogadh fhaighinn cheana an Afraca...* (#19); cf. the passive: *Bha na h-uile chuir an Tighearn a mach le a shoisgeul air an iompachadh agus air an deanamh rèidh ri Dia cheana* (#241).

12. *Mus* + V

The word *mus* (or *mun*), normally followed by the dependent form of the verb, corresponds to English 'before' or, possibly, 'by the time' in this context.

The simple past describes a process that occurred in the past before another process, e.g. *Dh'innis e an sgeulachd dhomh mus do chaochail e* 'He told me the story before he passed away' (CM, s.v. *mus*); *Ghabh e cuairt ghoirid mun do ghlas e an doras* 'He took a short walk before he locked the door' (CM, s.v. *mun/mum*); *Dìreach mus do ràinig e am bàta chaidh e às mo shealladh...* (#313); *Chaidh a chur dhan taigh-loidsidh agad ann an Glaschu, ach feumaidh gun do dh'fhalbh thus mus tàinig e* (#16).³⁸⁰ Cf. also: *Bha e às an t-sealladh mus do sheall thu ort fhèin* (Cox, §246 i e);³⁸¹ *Bha e marbh mus do ràinig an ambulance an t-ospadal!* (#16);³⁸² *Mus robh an Cogadh seachad bha gach fireann is boireann air Hiort cleachdte ri eilthirich, airgead agus goiresan a' bhaile mhòir* (#8).³⁸³

The past progressive implies that a process continued to the moment at which another process occurred, e.g. *Bha clag na fòna a' dol airson greis mus do fhreagair guth fireannaich e* (#16).

³⁷⁹ 'In this very kingdom, it can already be seen...' Cf. footnote 362, re. verbs of perception.

³⁸⁰ '...you must have left before / by the time he arrived.'

³⁸¹ The meaning of *bha* is closer to 'went' or 'got' here.

³⁸² 'He was dead (i.e. he died) before they reached the hospital.'

³⁸³ 'Before (or by the time) the war was over, every man and woman on St. Kilda had become used to...'

Perfect tenses are used to point out that the first process is completed before the following one takes place, e.g. (FUT) *Nach bi thu air a dhèanamh mus ruig sinn?* (Cox, §299 v); (HAB) *Bha an cù cho sgiobalta is gum biodh e air a bhiadh uile ithe, mus do sheall thu riut fhèin* (Cox, 299 v). Cf. also: (PST) *Bha a' Chliutag air a dhol gu fhois shìorraidh bho chionn iomadach bliadhna mus do thuig Dòmhnall Iain mar a bha e ga ionndrain* (#203), where, however, the perfect is used probably because of the phrase *bho chionn iomadach bliadhna*.

13. *Gu(s)* + NP/PRON/ADV

The preposition *gu(s)* corresponds to English ‘till’. Alternatively, the preposition *chun* can be used before the definite article, and the form *thuige* can occur with demonstratives. The adverbial expressions introduced by this preposition indicate the reference point by which a process has unfolded or has been completed. Occasionally, they are combined with other adverbs, such as *riamh* or *fhathast*.

Processes continuing in the present, i.e. at the moment of speaking, are expressed either by the present tense or (more rarely) by the present perfect progressive, e.g. (PRS) *Tha cuimhne mhath aig na daoine as sine ann an Inbhir Uig chun an latha seo fhèin air a' chlann-nighean Ghàidhealach...* (#250); *Tha e na mhìorbhail gu bheil an seann chreideamh Ceilteach seo fhathast ri lorg anns na h-Eileanan an Iar sìos chun an latha an-diugh* (#327); *'S e sin, ma-thà, facal tha iad ràdh gus an là an-diugh* (#197); *Tha an sgeulachd a' leantainn chun an là againn fhèin* (#327); *Agus tha cuid ... chun an là-an-diugh a' cumail a-mach nach do thachair na fuadaichean...* (#333); *Chòrd e rium, agus tha e a' còrdadh rium chun an latha an-diugh* (#500004); *Agus chanadh iad an aon rud 's tha iad a' ràdh an aon rud chun an latha an-diugh* (#500003); *...rinn mi rud a bha cho suarach 's gu bheil e gam bhuaireadh chun an latha an-diugh* (#335); *Chun an latha-diugh ... tha an comharra sin 'na sheasamh aig ceann na drochaid* (#19); *Chun a seo thathar a tairgse gun teid suil a' chumail gu bitheanta air prìomh fhollsichidhean...* (#18); *...agus chun an latha 'n diugh thatar a' gabhail ris le luchd na Gàidhlig fhéin* (#32); (PRS.PERF.PROGR) *...mar a tha Sgrìobhaiche air a bhith aca chun a seo* (#20); *Tha mi air bhith caoidh sin chun an latha 'n-diugh* (#335).

A few examples of the habitual ‘future’ have been found in the corpus. These describe habitual processes with a present time reference, e.g. *Bha far-ainmean gan toirt tric air teaghlaichean agus cluinnear cuid aca chun an là-an-diugh* (#333); *Their iad chun an latha an diugh, gum faodadh iad a bhith air na saighdearan a chur fodha an seo, nam b' e an toil e* (#26); *'S e Oitir 'ic Dhòmhnail Ghlais a chanar rithe chun an là-an-diugh* (#333); *...agus, chun an latha 'n-diugh nuair a bhios mi air mo dhòigh, bidh mi ga sheinn fo m' anail* (#335).

The past progressive, however, is used if the situation has changed by or at the moment of speaking, e.g. *Faodar a ràdh nach robh a leithid ann gu seo* ‘it may be stated that such a thing has never existed until now’ (CM, s.v. *gu*); *Càit idir an robh thu chun a seo?* (#310); *...gun do ghlac mi còir air an àite bha agad-sa thuige seo anns an dachaidh* (#305); *...ach bha iad ceum air thoiseach oirnn fad an t-siubhail gus a-nochd* (#16); *Dè bha thu dèanamh, fad làithean do bheatha, ach a' siubhal chun na h-oidhche seo?* (#11); *Bhon is e a' Bheurla a bhathas a' cleachdadh an gnothaichean oifigeil chun a seo...* (#32).

Processes continuing to a point in the past are expressed either by the past progressive or the past perfect progressive,³⁸⁴ e.g. (PST.PROGR) *Bha ceòl agus aighearachd ann gu madainn* (CM, s.v. *gu*); *Gus a seo, bha freasdal gu math do Sheumas...* (#14); *Thug i crathadh le ceann air a falt fhèin – falt gu math na bu duirche na am bian bàn a bh' air uachdar chun a seo* (#317); *...bha e fhèin agus Shoudan a' còmhradh chun na mionaid mu dheireadh air naidheachdan na dachaigh* (#335); *Thuige seo bha i a' cur seachad a lathaichean ann an cùil chumhang, a' ceartachadh litreachadh dhaoin' eile...* (#331); *...agus bha banais aighearach a' dol ann an sin gu madainn* (#14); (PST.PERF.PROGR) *...teaghlaichean a bha air a bhith chun sin cho sona, stuama, rianail ri teaghlaichean ann an àite 'sam bith ann an Impireachd fhairsing na Banrigh* (#335); *A dh'innseadh na firinn leis a' ghleadhar a bh' air bhith ann thuige sin, b' e faochadh an t-sàmhchair bu lugha a thigeadh* (#400052); *Bha e taingeil gun robh e fhèin air Canada a thoirt air – bha e air a bhi san uaigh gu seo* (#39); *Sheas i cumhad a-steach a chluais dheis a' Chluaisein... a chluais a bha air a bhith bruidhinn chun a seo...* (#44).

Occasionally, the simple past or the simple past perfect is found in this context,³⁸⁵ e.g. (PST) *Dh'fhuirich iad an Ullapul gu madainn gus am faiceadh iad am biodh cùisean freagarrach* (#14); *... 's e The North British Society an t-ainm a thug iad orra fhèin agus a mhair chun an là-an-diugh* (#333); (PST.PERF) *Chun an seo bha cùisean air a dhol leotha ro mhath* (#400098); *Suas gu seo bha i air creideas a thoirt do gach facal a thuirt e* (#334).

Processes completed by the moment of speaking are expressed either by the simple past or by the simple present perfect, e.g. (PST) *Bha rud eile a bha dùil agam innseadh dhut, ach chaidh e as mo chuimhne gu seo* (#14); *Chan do chuimhnich mi air a sin chun a seo* (#306); *...cha do thachair e air Bel chun a seo* (#331); *Ciamar a b' urrainn dhomh a bhith air a dhìochuimhneachadh nuair nach cuala mi guth mu dheidhinn chun a seo fhèin* (#331); cf. also: *Cha deach a' cheist sin fhuasgladh chun an là-an-diugh* (#333); (PRS.PERF) *Gum bu choir An Roinn cumail ris an taic laidir a tha iad air sealltainn do fhoghlam Gaidhlig chun a seo* (#20); *...agus ged a tha iad air faisg air mìle gu leth a reic thuige seo, chan fhac' iadsan sgillinn ruadh fhathast* (#328).

The simple past and the simple past perfect are used if the point of reference is in the past, e.g. (PST) *Cha do thòisich iad air an obair gu toiseach na Lùnastail* 'they didn't start on the work until the beginning of August' (CM, s.v. *gu*); *Cha do thill e gu madainn* (#11); *Chaochail i an shin fhèin, agus cha d' fhuair iad fios thugamsa chun an làrna-mhàireach* (#317); *Thuige sin cha tug Iain mòran aire air cùrsa a' Chogaidh* (#310); *Cha dànaig Aonghus gu seo* (#46); *Bha trod mhór againn, 's dh'fhalbh e mach 's cha tainig e steach gus an ath-mhadainn* (#205); *Gu latha a bhàis cha do sguir e ach a' tolach orm seach nach robh mi air balgam a shàbhaladh dha às mo pheile* (#27); *Chan fhaca mi e gus an ath latha a rithist* (#198); *...ach thuig i gum b' fheàrr dhi leigeil leis agus uimhir annais aige dhe gach rud – na rudan sin nach fhac' e riamh chun a seo* (#317); *Co-dhiubh bha aon nighean ris nach do bhruidhinn mi riamh gu sin* (#66); cf. the passive: *Son nach robh thu brist' mu thràth ... Son nach robh thu brist' gun a*

³⁸⁴ The expression *gus a seo* (or similar) means 'until then' in this context.

³⁸⁵ I.e. besides the forms of the verb 'to be'. This might depend on particular verbs, i.e. certain verbs might be used more commonly in their simple forms (rather than the progressive).

seo. *Son nach robh thu brist' o chionn fhada* (#11); (PST.PERF) **Cha robh** *duine air guth a chluinntinn aige mu Seònaid gu seo* (#14); *Suas gu seo, cha robh Georgina air mòran a ràdh, ach gun dh'òrdaich i a biadh* (#334); **Cha robh** *esan air facal a radh, no móran a chluinntinn, gu sud* (#39); cf. the passive: **Cha robh** *an eaglais air a togail gu timcheall air ceud bliadhna an dèidh sin* 'The church wasn't built until about a hundred years after that' (CM, s.v. *gu*).

14. *Gus an* + V

This expression corresponds to clauses introduced by the English conjunction 'until'. Although the use of tenses with this construction is expected to be the same as with *gus* + NP/PRON/ADV, that does not always seem to be the case, judging by the examples found in the corpus.³⁸⁶

Processes continuing in the present time are expressed by the present tense, e.g. **Tha e** [i.e. the road] **leantainn** *ri bruaich an Uillt gu an tig e gu ceann faisg air an àite far a bheil Allt na Ciste ruith a-staigh anns an Abhainn Riabhaich* (#16);³⁸⁷ *...an t-allt a tha a' ruith gun sgur gus an ruig e an cuan* (#198); *...agus chan eil an sgadan anns na h-amaran a' cur feum air salainn gus an tòisich an obair a-rithist* (#250); *...agus tha na gamaitean sin a' snàmh an dara cuid gus an tachair torrachadh no gus am bàsaich iad* (#33); *Anns a' phioban seo tha na niùclasan fireann, agus tha e a' fàs troimh stuth an fhliùir gus a ruig e a' chealla-uirge* (#33); *...agus tha iad a' feitheamh oirne gus an dean sinn a bhaisteadh* (#57).³⁸⁸

Processes continuing to a point in the past, however, seem to be most commonly expressed by the simple past, rather than the progressive. Numerous examples have been found in the corpus, e.g. *Thàinig bò a bhuineadh don tuathanach 's lean i an connlach gus an do ràinig i an tùr sa' mhullach* (#210); *Suas, suas chaidh e gus an do rug Aonghas air coilear a sheacaid...* (#16); *Sin mar a chaidh na seachdainean seachad gus an do dh'fhàs sinn cho fileanta ris na fèidh air faighinn o àite gu àite* (#19); *...chaidh a' ghaoth sìos gus nach robh deò idir oirre...* (#14); **Chaidh** *am biadh an gainnead gus nach robh aca mu dheireadh ach min choirce is sàile* (#234001); **Shuidh** *mi airson ùine mhór anns a' chathair gus na dh'éirich a' ghealach làidir chruaidh anns an adhar* (#198); **Dh'fhuirich** *e san leabaidh gus an robh an dinneir deiseil aig Màiread dha* (#14); **Dh'fheith** *iad gus an robh cùla nam freiceadan riù* (#234001); **Sheall** *mi às a dhéidh gus an deach e á sealladh le bhith 'na mo chridhe* (#198); **Dh'èisd** *Aonghas ris gu foighidneach gus an robh e deiseil* (#16); *...ach cha do smaoinich mis' air sin gus an robh e ro fhadalach* (#198); *Dh'fhosgail mi e 's thionndaidh mi na duilleagan gus an d' ràinig mi an Soisgeul* (#198); *...agus rinn i cabhag gus an do ràinig i an uaigh fhosgailte* (#210); **Chuir e**

³⁸⁶ Additionally, this construction appears to be much less common in earlier texts, where the word *gus* usually acts either as a preposition or as a conjunction introducing a clause of purpose, e.g. *gus a dhèanamh* 'in order to do it', *gus am faic(eadh) sinn e* 'so that we may/might see it'.

³⁸⁷ This is an example of a general situation, rather than a process occurring in the 'true' present time, i.e. the road follows the river until it ends... In fact, it describes space rather than time.

³⁸⁸ The last example might be a clause of purpose and not a clause of time, i.e. 'they are waiting for us to baptize him'.

iongnadh orm nach robh bean Dhougie fhéin a' tighinn a-steach gus an do chuimhnich mi gur e oidhche na coinneimh a bh' ann (#198).³⁸⁹

The past progressive, however, is also attested, even in earlier texts, although it seems to be far less common, e.g. *Bha e faighinn a bheò mar sin gus an d' fhàs e sean* (#197); ...agus *bha e a' deanamh na h-obrach sin gus an d' thill e do Leódhas* (#249); *B' e a barail-se gun robh iad a' feitheamh gus an tigeadh muinntir an Tighe Mhóir* (#244); ...agus *cha robh i* [i.e. the tv] *dol dheth gus an tigeadh dealbh na bàn-rìghinn air aig leth-uair an deaghaidh aon uair deug air an oidhche* (#245); *Bha e 'cur dheth an an sud gus an do leig e roimhe leis an sgìos* (#60); *Bha Cloinn Ghriogair air fàs cho luaineach 's cho coma-co-dhiu nach gabhadh iad cumail aig an tigh; bha iad a ghnàth 's gun tàmh a' thoirt sgrìob thall 's a bhos 's a' togail creach shìos is shuas, gus an d' éirich an dùthaich uile 'nan aghaidh* (#234002); *Cha robh mi tuigsinn dè bh' ann gus an do shuath mi ri tòin mo bhriogais e* (#251); ...*bha cùisean a' dol gu math leatha gus an do thòisich na h-Aimeireaganaich air gearain*... (#251); ...*ach bha am mì-fhortan ga leantainn gus na thòisich companaidh a' cur phìoban tron mhòintich airson uisge a' bhaile mhòir* (#2); cf. also such examples as: *Bha toll leathann cruinn an ùrlar na bascaid agus b' ann le fìor eagal ar bàis a bha sinn a' sealltainn troimhe sìos air an talamh mar a bha sinn a sìor èirigh suas, gus an do ràinig sinn àirde seachd ceud troigh* (#19).³⁹⁰ Cf. the passive: *Tha e coltach gun robh 'An Linnet Mhòr' ga chur mun chuairt am measg a' phobail ann an sgrìobhainn agus, gu ìre, sa bheul-aithris gus an do rinn Mairead Mitchell ... clò-bhualadh dheth am meadhan na linne seo chaidh* (#197).

Examples of the verb 'to be': *Bha ceum sunndach aige gus an do ràinig e taigh Dhòmhnail Tharmoid* (#14); *Cha robh e fada gus an do chuir Màiri, bean Dhòmhnail, agus Seonag, a nighean, deagh bhiadh de mharag agus uighean air am beulaibh* (#14); *Cha robh e fada gus an do chruinnich an teaghlach a-rithist*... (#14); ...*ach cha robh tid' ann airson coimhead ri seo gus an deigheadh na lìn gu lèir a tharraing air bòrd* (#14); ...*ged nach robh i airson innseadh dha gus am biodh Seònaid fhèin deiseil agus deònach coinneachadh ris* (#14).

Processes completed by the present time are expressed by the present perfect.³⁹¹ Very few examples have been found in the corpus, e.g. ...*tha na h-òrdagan air fàs nas lugha ann an àireamh, gus nach eil aig each an diugh ach an aon òrdag air gach cois* (#33); *Is e seo lìonadh nam baraillean, mar as trice seachdain as dèidh a' chiad lìonaidh, nuair a tha an t-iasg air sìoladh gus nach eil na baraillean ach cheithir chòigeamhan làn* (#250).³⁹²

Processes completed by a reference point in the past are expressed by the simple past. In fact, the verb is normally negative in this context so it describes an action that had not yet occurred

³⁸⁹ *Gus an* might mean 'so that' in some of these examples, but definitely not in all of them. For this meaning of *gus an* (introducing clauses of purpose/result/consequence), cf. e.g. *Cha do labhair an gobhainn, ach chrom e 'cheann gus an do thuit a dheòir ghoirt air a muineal* (#234001).

³⁹⁰ Two parallel progressive processes: 'we were looking... as/while we were rising'.

³⁹¹ This also occurs in sentences that describe general facts, habitual processes and similar, so it is not always the 'true' present.

³⁹² These two examples can also be interpreted as representing clauses of result: 'so that a horse has only one toe on each foot today' and 'so that the barrels are 4/5 full'. The simple past probably occurs in this context too, cf. §13.

by the reference point, e.g. ...*agus cha do stad an ruaig gus an robh iad aig El Alamein* (#14); ... *'s cha do sguir e gus an d' ràinig e amar an uillt* (#234001); *Dìreach mus do ràinig e am bàta chaidh e às mo shealladh, agus chan fhaca mi tuilleadh e gus an tug luchd a' bhàta a-steach e marbh* (#313); *Cha chuala mi mòran bhuaithe ... gus an do cheannaich "Taigh-Foillseachaidh Alba" a' chompanaidh agam* (#16); *Cha do choinnich an dithis tuilleadh gus an tàinig Dòmhnall a bhruidhinn ri Alasdair aig banais* (#248); *'S cha do dhùisg thu gus na ràinig i leinn* (#30); *Gus an tàinig sibhse cha do chaidil duin' ann bhon uair ud* (#316).³⁹³

The future tense is used when the point of reference is in the future, e.g. *Tha d' athair a' dol ga pòsadh, agus bidh i mar mhàthair dhut gus am pòs thu fhèin* (#14); *Chan eil fhios am am bi e fada gus am pòs i* (#198); *Gabhaidh sinn fois an seo airson greiseag bheag gus am faigh thu d' anail air ais* (#16); *Fuirichidh mise an seo gus an till thu* (#40); ...*feithidh mi gus am faic mi ciamar théid am margadh* (#289); *Cha teich iad gus a bheil iad cinnteach có an taobh air a bheil an cunnart* (#291). The simple future appears to be used even if the verb describes a continuous process.

Numerous examples of various small (non-finite) clauses have been attested in the corpus, most of which contain simple verbal nouns rather than progressive constructions such as *a bhith a' dèanamh*, cf. *Shuidh Ali, a cheann crom, agus e a' pasgadh a làmhan eadar a ghluinean gus an robh na h-uilt buidhe troimh 'n chraicinn dhonn* (#44).

Cf. also some expressions that involve the copula, e.g. ...*cha 'n fhada gus an téid sinn còmhla 's cha sgarar sinn fhad 's is beò sinn* (#234002); *Cha b' fhada gus an d' fhuair iad* [i.e. pigeons] *a-mach gun robh togalaichean ann am bailtean a cheart cho math* (#252); ...*cha b' fhada bha sinn a' feitheamh rithe gus an robh i gu grinn air a suidheachadh air ar bialamh* (#57).

15. Other contexts

Processes continuing to/in the moment of speaking can be expressed by the present perfect progressive, e.g. *Tha i air a bhith ag obair an seo fad an latha* (Cox, §299 v). Cf., however: *Tha thu dìreach air falbh aon latha 's tha mi gad ionndrainn mu thràth* (#337); where the expression *tha... air falbh* means 'have been away/gone', rather than 'have left' (cf. *dh'fhalbh thu o chionn latha*), so it can be interpreted as the present tense. Cf. also: *Tha 'n saoghal ud air falbh gu bràth* (§4293); where the expression *tha... air falbh* means 'is gone' rather than 'has left'.

The past perfect can be used when the point of reference is in the past, e.g. *Bha e air a bhith na b' fheàrr iomradh goirid a chur ris mun fhichead bliadhna a chaidh seachad bhon uair sin* (#400171).

There are other adverbial expressions that describe periods of time extending to (and beyond) the moment of speaking. When such an adverb is present, processes completed by the time of

³⁹³ This is also habitual, i.e. nobody slept there habitually rather than continually.

speaking can be expressed by the simple past, e.g. *An cualas dad mun deidhinn an-diugh?* (Cox, §293 ii).

The present perfect might be more common than the simple past when there are no adverbs that define the context, to avoid ambiguity (at least in some cases), cf. *Tha sinn air ithe* (Cox, §299 v) vs. *Na dh'ith thu mar-thà?* (Cox, §293, ii); *Tha e an deaghaidh dà nobhail a sgrìobhadh ged nach deach am foillseachadh fhathast* (#16); *Tha aon mhathas air a thighinn às – chan eil i cho luideach am broinn an taigh 's a chleachd i. Tha i air sgar a lìonadh an t-sinc le soithichean salach, cuideachd, 's an uair sin gam fàgail* (#11). The simple past has also been attested, e.g. *Bhon is e a' Bheurla a bhathas a' cleachdadh an gnothaichean oifigeil chun a seo, cha do ghin a' Ghàidhlig na faclan no an dòigh-labhairt ... a tha iomchuidh airson na h-obrach seo* (#32). Cf. also the passive: *Tha a làmh air a goirteachadh* (Cox, §299 v); *Tha na rinn i bhon uair sin aig Dòmhnall Iain air a chruinneachadh* (#203).

The simple past can be used when talking about general experience before the time of speaking, e.g. *Am fac no am faic sinn gu bràth nigheanan bu chridheile 's bu laghaiche na mnathan-luaidhe?* 'Have we seen or will we ever see...' (§4299); *Chan fhaca mi Iain Caimbeul ... ach aon uair riamh, ged a bha mi eòlach gu leòr air an teaghlach* 'I have only ever seen Iain Campbell once, although I was familiar enough with their family' (§4013).

The past perfect can be used to describe completed processes if the point of reference is in the past, e.g. *Ach bha ceud bliadhna is còrr bhon uair sin agus cha robh rian nach robh sneachd ifrinn a-nis air leaghadh agus nach robh na maoir air bàsachadh* (#334); *Bha e taingeil gun robh e fhéin air Canada a thoirt air* (#39); *...is iongantach gu robh am poileas air a lorg gu bràth* (§4384); *Ann an 1841 bha àireamh an t-sluaigh air tuiteam air ais gu 3,871* (#333).

In that case, the point of reference can be defined by another process, e.g. *Nuair a bha i air ithe, thòisich i ag innse mun obair a bha aice* (#334); *Bha smaoin air choireigin a' gluasad gu ceòthail 'nam inntinn ach cha robh i air tighinn gu ìre fhathast. Cha robh i air ruighinn cruth soilleir* (#198); *Bha e cinnteach gum biodh a mhàthair air innse dha mu thràth na bha na poilis air innse dhi...* (#337).

Cf. also the future: *Ma thig thu dhachaidh cho annoch ri sin, bidh sinn air a dhol innte* (Cox, §299 v).

16. Conclusions

The use of verb tenses in the context of the adverbial expressions discussed here is as shown in the following table.

	Non-perfect	Perfect
Continuing to/in the present	The present	The present perfect progressive
Continuing to/beyond a moment in the past	The past progressive	The past perfect progressive
Completed by the moment of speaking	The simple past	The simple present perfect

Completed by a moment in the past	The simple past	The simple past perfect
Unfolding at a moment in the past	The past progressive	
Completed at a moment in the past	The simple past	

There, however, are some peculiarities or limitations related to particular adverbials:

- Only past tenses occur with the adverb (*a-*)*riamh*, even when the process continues in the present, as in: *Sin mar a bha riamh* ‘That’s how it has always been’.
- The expression *bho riamh* implies duration and is used only with progressive forms.
- Only non-perfect tenses are used with the adverbs *fhathast*, and *mar-thà* and *cheana*, when describing processes that continue to the point of reference, e.g. *Bha mi fhathast a’ dol a-mach* ‘I was still going out’.³⁹⁴
- The past perfect seems to be far more common than the past tense with the adverbs *fhathast*, and *mar-thà* and *cheana*, when the reference point is in the past; few examples of the past tense have been found in the corpus.
- The simple past (perfect) describing continuous processes has been attested with the expression *riamh bho*. This appears to be rare and might be a conservative feature or peculiar to certain verbs (e.g. *fuirich*).
- The simple past (rather than progressive) is often used to describe continuous processes with expressions introduced by the preposition/conjunction *gus* (even with verbs such as *rach*, *fuirich*, *lean*, *smaoinich*...). The same applies to the future tense.
- With expressions introduced by the preposition *gus/chun*, when the point of reference is the moment of speaking, there is a distinction between ongoing processes (expressed by the present tense) and continuous processes that have ended at or just before the moment of speaking (expressed by the past tense), cf. *Chòrd e rium, agus tha e a’ còrdadh rium chun an latha an-diugh* ‘I enjoyed it and have been enjoying it up to this day’ vs. *Càit idir an robh thu chun a seo?* ‘Where on earth have you been until now?’
- With the expression *bho chionn*, processes completed before a point in time that precedes the point of reference (both in the past!) seems to be expressed only by the past perfect, while processes completed within a period that extends to a point of reference in the past is expressed either by the past tense or by the past perfect, cf. *...ged a bha a’ ghrian air cromadh bho chionn còrr is uair a thìde* ‘although the sun had set more than an hour before that’ vs. *Chan fhacas a leithid o chionn fhada* ‘Something like that had not been seen for a long time’ or *...thachair mi ri fear ... nach robh mi air fhaicinn o chionn iomadh bliadhna* ‘I met a man that I had not seen for many years.’
- As expected, the perfect (present or past) is never used to describe processes occurring at or about a specified moment in the past, e.g. *Ach bha sin o chionn bhliadhnaichean* ‘But that was years ago’; *Chuala mi coin o chionn greis a’ dol suas* ‘A while ago, I heard dogs going up.’

³⁹⁴ This also applies to English, at least with the adverb *still* (**I have still been going out?!).

In most contexts addressed here, however, perfect tenses can be used alternatively instead of their non-perfect equivalents. One or the other type of tense can be more common in certain contexts but no regularity has been noted, except that the perfect tenses become more common in recent texts. Their frequency could also be related to the writer's dialect or personal preferences – for example, texts by Iain Crichton Smith appear to contain numerous examples of the perfect even though they cannot be described as recent. The (original) purpose of perfect forms seems to be (or have been) *pointing out* that a process is relevant to a particular time of reference, rather than expressing *regularly* any such process. Their use could have become more frequent (i.e. more regular) in recent times, presumably under the influence of English.

Certain related topics have not been analysed thoroughly or at all here:

- the use of verb tenses with *mus/mun* + v (see §12);
- the Gaelic equivalent of the expression *by the time something happened* and the use of tenses in that context;
- the use of tenses when no adverbials define the context (see §15);
- the use of the *rach*-passive vs. *air*-passive (based on aspectual oppositions);
- conditional clauses, e.g. ...*cha bhithinn air mothachadh gu bràth* (§4387);
- hypothetical expressions such as: ...*a' coimhead riutha mar nach biodh e air a' [sic!] leithid fhaicinn a riamh* (§3869);
- the progressive verbal noun construction, e.g. *dh'iarrainn-sa nis a bhith còmhnaidh gu bràth...* (§4328).

Sources:

Corpas na Gàidhlig (<https://dasg.ac.uk/corpus>).

Cox, Richard (2017) *Geàrr-Ghràmar na Gàidhlig*. Brig o' Turk, Perthshire: Clann Tuirc.

Mark, Colin (2004) *The Gaelic-English Dictionary*. London: Routledge.

MEANMA – Scottish Gaelic online corpus.

Nic Leòid, Mòrag: *Gràmar an cunnart*.

4.8 Tense and aspect: Prospective aspect

1. Introduction³⁹⁵

The prospective aspect describes processes that occur subsequent to the time of reference, especially when there is evidence for their realisation. In other words, it expresses something that is predicted, expected or planned, cf. English: *he is/was about to leave*. Some prospective expressions can be understood as involving a sense of temporal restriction, i.e. as describing a process that is to occur shortly, cf. English: *he is/was on the point of leaving*. In any case, the prospective aspect can be interpreted as a type of relative (near) future.

The following constructions are used in Gaelic to express the prospective aspect:

- *bi gu(s) + VN*
- *bi an ìmpis + VN*
- *bi air thuar / bheul / lunn + VN*
- *bi ri + VN*

2. *Bi gu(s) + VN*

This construction may be the most common way of expressing the prospective aspect in Gaelic judging by its frequency in the corpus.³⁹⁶ The preposition *gu(s)* governs a small clause that consists of a verbal noun and (optionally) other elements, as in the examples below. Some of these examples involve a sense of temporal restriction. The choice between the forms *gu* and *gus* may depend on the dialect.³⁹⁷

- *tha thu gu bhith sgùth* (RC, §360,x); *tha thu gu bhith sgùth a-nochd* (RC, §299,vii); *tha i gu (a) dhèanamh* (RC, §299,vii); *mura robh muinntir a' bhaile gu bhith a' faighinn buannachd às* (unless the townspeople were to be benefitting from it) (CM); *tha mi gu bhith deiseil* (I'm just about ready / I'm almost ready / up to the point of being ready) (AW, cf. CM); *bha i gu bhith deiseil* (she was nearly/almost ready) (AW); *tha mo sporan gu bhith bàn* (I'm almost broke) (FB); *tha Calum gu bhith aig a dhachaigh* (Calum is almost home) (FB); *tha Màiri gu bhith aig àm na h-aiseid* (Mairi is about to give birth) (FB); *tha sinn gu falbh* (we're [just] about to go/leave / we're on the point of leaving) (AW); *bha e gu toirt thairis* (he was dead-beat / he was on the point of giving

³⁹⁵ AW – Angus Watson; CM – Colin Mark; FB – *Am Faclair Beag*; D – Dwelly; § – examples from *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

³⁹⁶ That, however, is not its only function. See Section 5.3, §6.

³⁹⁷ According to CM (*s.v. gu*), the form *gus* is used in some areas.

up) (CM); **tha mo cheann gu sgàineadh** (my head is about to burst) (FB); **tha e gu siaradh** (he is almost dropping [from exhaustion]) (FB); **gu dìobhairt** (almost vomiting) (FB); **tha Calum gu tèachdadh leis a' phathadh** (Calum is totally parched / dying from thirst) (FB); **bha i gu fannachadh leis an teas** (she was almost fainting with the heat) (CM); **Bha Aonghus gu bhith ceithir fichead nuair a chaidh e an imrich dheireannach** (§400010); **Nach robh iad a' dol a phòsadh co-dhiùbh? Nach robh iad gu bhith còmhla fad a' chòrr de'm beatha?** (§400023);³⁹⁸ **Bha Baile an Abaidh gu bhith air a roinn 'na croitean...** (§400028); **Tha na caoraich a nis a' faotainn "perm", mun teid an rùsgadh (...)** **Ma bha gearain air cuid de na fir, mu chosg perm nam mnatha, 's ann a tha an là gu thighinn** orra nuair a dh'fheumas na caoraich iad (§400024); **Ach cha robh e gu tachairt sa' Ghaidhealtachd airson trì cheud bliadhna eile** (§400034); **Cha robh Torcuil air a bhean no an leanabh fhaicinn o chionn seachd bliadhna, agus nuair a thuig e far an robh iad gu seòladh, bha e 'na thoileachas dha gum biodh dùil aige ri sealladh fhaighinn do Loch Odhairn agus baile Ghrabhair** (§400144);

- **tha thu gus a bhith sgèth** (RC, §360,x); **Tha dinneir gus a bhith againn do na seann daoine** (#43); **thathas gus a bhith a' cur suas talla ùr** (RC, §299,vii); **gus a bhith deiseil** (CM); **tha mi gus a bhith ullamh** (I'm almost finished) (FB); **tha iad gus falbh** (they are ready/about to leave) (AW); **tha an gleoc gus bualadh** (the clock is about to strike) (FB); **tha mi gus sìoladh** (I'm about to collapse) (FB); **tha mi gus bàsachadh leis an acras** (RC, §299,vii); **gus tìoradh leis an acras** (on the verge of starving) (FB); **gus a dhol a-mach orra** (about to fall out with them, on the point of falling out with them) (FB); **bha eagal mòr orm gun robh e gus a dhol a-mach orra** (I was greatly afraid that he was on the point of falling out with them) (CM); **Nuair a bha i gus a bhith aig an tigh chunnaic i each mór ruadh-dhearg 'na dheann-ruith às a dhéidh** (§400048); **Bha deuchainn gus a bhith againn greiseag ro là nan duaisean** (§2); **Chaidh mi a dh'innseadh dha gu robh mi gus a bhith sgrìobhadh chugaibh** (§294); **Tha an tea gus tarraing, is théid mi g'a h-iarraidh dhuibh** (§400031); **Ach an cànan ionadail aige fhèin tha e gus bàsachadh** (§400154); **Bha e gus tuiteam leis an sgìos agus cha robh e air càil ithe o chionn dà latha** (§400045).

When the direct object is present, it precedes the verbal noun (direct object inversion), and when it corresponds to an English personal pronoun, it is expressed by a possessive pronoun. Only the preposition *gus* appears to occur in this context – no examples of *gu* have been found in the corpus.

- **tha mi gus an doras a dhùnadh** (RC, §299,vii); **bha e gus òran a sheinn** (RC, §299,vii); **gus mo chiall a chall** (on the point of losing my mind) (AW); **tha mi gus mo chiall a chall** (I am about to lose my senses) (CM); **tha e gus a mhùn a chall** (he's almost wetting himself [fear or elation]) (FB); **bha e gus a mhùn a chall ag èisteachd riutha** (he was nearly wetting himself listening to them) (AW); **bha Calum gus a bheul a bhualadh fodha** (Calum was on the point of collapse) (FB); **Bha i gus an t-uain a chur còmhla ri mhàthair a-rithist ach ràin Màiri Bheag cho goirt is nach robh air a' chùis ach an t-**

³⁹⁸ This may convey an additional sense of expectation: *Were they not (supposed) to be together for the rest of their lives?*

*uan a leigeadh air feadh an taighe na fianuis (§400105); Nuair a thòisich a' chlann ri bruidhinn an toiseach **bha** sinn **gus a h-uile oidhirp a dhèanamh** agus faclan coigreach a chumail uapa (§400048); **Tha mi gus mo chiall a chall** is gun fios agam ciod e nì mi (§400142);*

- ***tha** an ainmein **gus a thachdadh** (he is almost choking with rage) (FB); **Bha mi gus mo thachdadh leis an eagal** (§400055); *Chuir an cleireach a bh' air bord sios aireamh nam pocannan bathair, agus ainm gach fir do'm buineadh iad 'na leabhar; agus an uair a dh'fheoraich e dhe'n sgiobair co 'n t-ainm a bh' air an fhear do'm buineadh am bathar a **bha** mise **gus a reic**, thuir e, "Buinidh e do Shinbad, an Seoladair (§232002); **Bha a neart gus a thréigsinn** (§37); *Bha a ghlùinean 'nan crith agus **bha** anail fhèin **gus a thachdadh** (§400189); Chaidh sinn sìos chon na trèana a **bha gus ar toirt air ais ma thuath** (§400028); and also: **Bha Calum dìreach gus a mhort**, air son gun leig e às caora (§400080).***

3. *Bi an ìmpis*³⁹⁹ + VN

This expression seems to often imply a sense of temporal restriction and corresponds to English 'about to', 'almost', 'nearly', 'on the point/verge of'. The phrase *an ìmpis* can govern the same types of syntactic structures as *gus*.

- ***an ìmpis falbh** (about to leave/go) (AW); **an ìmpis bruidhinn** (on the point of speaking) (FB); **an ìmpis teicheadh** (on the eve of scampering) (D); **an ìmpis dol fodha** (almost sinking) (D); **bha i an ìmpis dol fodha** (she [the boat] was on the point of sinking / about to sink) (CM); **an ìmpis a bhi sgàinte** (like to burst) (D); **bha mi an ìmfhios a bhith a' falbh** (I was on the verge of leaving) (FB); **Bha sinn an ìmpis ruith** air adhart nuair a stad Lachlainn mar gum buaileadh am peilear e (§400044); *Fhuair an nighean bhoichd a **bha an ìmpis a dol** á cochall a cridhe leis an eagal, gu tèaruinte dhachaidh gu bhith toirt a beannachd cho fad 's bu bheò i airsan a theasairg i (§400055); also: **Bha mi dìreach an ìmpis éirigh agus a dhol dhachaidh**, nuair a chuala mi grùsdaich am bad-eigin (§400055);⁴⁰⁰**
- ***an ìmpis an dùthaich fhàgail** (on the point of leaving the country) (AW); **an ìmpis a chiall a chall** (almost losing his reason) (D); **Bha e an ìmpis an dorus a bhristeadh asteach roimhe anuair a dh'fhosgail boireannach mór ruadh e agus thug i rabhadh is àithne dha a theicheadh le bheatha mun tigeadh a bràithrean dhachaidh (§400030); Chaidh deich thaighean tomadach snasail a thogail as ùr o chionn ghoirid, agus **thathar an ìmpis sia eile thogail an dràsda** (§400078); 'S ann a bha e spionadh na luibhean grannda, gun fheum a **bha an ìmpis an tuirneip agus mùiran-buidhe** [sic!] **a thachdadh** (§43);***
- ***bha na tonnan an ìmpis an slugadh** (the waves were on the point of engulfing them / swallowing them [up]) (CM); **Bha 'ghaoth a bha e taruinn an ìmpis mo thilgeadh dheth, ach bha mo dheich iongan an greim-bais ris a' roth, 's gun mi faighinn m' anail***

³⁹⁹ Also: *an imis*, *an imfhios* (D, FB). There are no examples of *imfhios* in the corpus.

⁴⁰⁰ I.e. *I was just about to get up and go home...*

ach le riasladh (§34);⁴⁰¹ Chan e mhàin gun cluinnear manadh leis a' chluais, ach fairichear e leis a' bhodhaig cuideachd. Tha cuimhne agam air boireannach a bhith ag innse dhomh uair gun do dh'fhairich i is i anns an leabaidh, cudthrom anabarrach a' tighinn oirre **a bha an ìmpis a mort**. Mhair e mu thuiream trì mionaidean, 's an sin, thog e dhith (§400057); A thaobh fuinn nan salm tha eagal air **gu bheil** dòighean ùra **an ìmpis am milleadh** (§400056).

A few examples of verbal nouns in the genitive case occur in early texts: *Tha e furasda gu leòir dhoibh iarraidh oirnn ar n-eanchainnean a chur air ghleus – Moire, **tha** mo chlaigeann truagh fhéin **an ìmpis sgàinidh** mar tha, 's is faoin domh bhi 'ga sgròbadh (§234002).*

4. *Bi air thuar* + VN

This expression governs the same types of complements as *gus* and appears to have the same meaning. It occurs in recent texts but it is more frequent in pre-1950 ones.

- **air thuar tuiteam** (on the verge/point of falling) (FB); **bha mi air thuar tionndadh is innse dhaibh nach robh mi...** (I was on the point of turning and saying to them that I was not...) (CM); **bha e air thuar faighneach** dhiubh dè bha cho eibhinn mun a chùis (he was on the point of asking them what was so funny about the matter) (CM); **bha an teine air thuar a dhol bàs** (the fire was about to die [go out]) (CM); *B' ann mu fhear Cleveland, an Ameireaga, a bha e bruidhinn; fear a thànaig á dachaidh glé bho chd ach a bha nis air thuar a bhith Phrìomhaire air na Stàitean Aonaichte (§400043);⁴⁰² Mu dheireadh, nuair a bha e air thuar a bhith faighinn bhàis, dé a thachair gu fortanach ach gun do thuit do thé de na bana-bhuidisichean faclan a ràdh a bhrath i fhéin agus na bha 'na comunn (§400056); **Bha mi air thuar tionndaidh is innse dhaibh nach b' urrainn dhòmhsa an crodh fhàgail an sud leotha fhéin, an uair a fhuair mi ùpag uabhasach o fhear aca (§400041); Thuit e fhéin is Barabal an trom ghaol a dh'aindeoin 's nach robh sam bith aige ri "na daoine móra" agus aig deireadh na sgeulachd **tha iad air thuar pòsadh** (§400080).***

Examples such as the following have not been found in the corpus.

- **tha Calum tuar buannachaidh** (Calum is on the verge of winning) (FB); **bha mi tuar éigheach ris** (I was on the verge of shouting to him) (FB).

5. *Bi air bheul* + VN

This expression is rare and mostly limited to pre-1920 texts.

- **air bheul tuiteam** (about to fall down) (FB); **air bheul tilleadh** (about to return) (FB); **Tha sè ceud bliadhna air bheul a bhi seachad bho'n là ud a chuir Eideard Brus a**

⁴⁰¹ I.e. *The wind (= turbulence) that it (= the car) was creating nearly threw me of it...*

⁴⁰² [Sic!] Should this be: *a bhith na Phrìomhaire?*

*chòmhrag dheireannach air aonach Faich-aird (§217002); **Bha sinn air bheul tilleadh dhachaidh** (§401001).*

Cf. also: *beul a bhith deiseil* (almost/nearly finished) (FB).⁴⁰³

6. *Bi air lunn* + VN

This is very rare and limited to pre-1900 texts.

- *tha iad air lunn a dhol ann* (they are on the verge/point of going) (FB); *Bu ghle thoigh leam cuid de nithe, tha air lunn dol air di-chuimhne, fhaotainn a mach bho Aonghas Caimbeul* (§81006).⁴⁰⁴

7. *Bi ri* + VN

All unambiguous examples of this contain the expressions *ri tighinn* and *ri teachd*.⁴⁰⁵

- *bha e ri tighinn* (he was to come) (D); *Bidh e soilleir nach tàinig Lines a-mach cho cunbhalach on bhliadhna sin agus a thàinig Gairm, agus bithear an dòchas gu soirbhich leatha sna bliadhnaichean a tha ri tighinn* (§400139);
- *Tha latha nan uachdaran seachad, agus tha a làn thìde aige, agus feumaidh sinn a bhith air ar faiceall gur h-e là fada nas fheàrr a tha ri thighinn* (§400059);
- *Mura cuirear rian air na duilgheadasan sin is dòcha gun teid mac-an-duine á bith, agus is dòcha gach seòrsa beatha eile, anns na linntean tha ri teachd* (§33); cf. also: *an t-àm ri teachd* (the future) (CM); *san àm ri teachd* (RC §368,viii,k).

Most instances of the construction *bi ri* + VN that are found in the corpus appear to represent a dialectal progressive construction, corresponding to *bi a' + VN*.⁴⁰⁶

Sources:

Am Faclair Beag (<https://www.faclair.com>).

Corpas na Gàidhlig (<https://dasg.ac.uk/corpus>).

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Mark, Colin (2004) *The Gaelic-English Dictionary*. London: Routledge.

Watson, Angus (2011) *The essential Gaelic-English / English-Gaelic Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

⁴⁰³ However, there are no examples of *beul a bhi(th)* in the corpus and, seemingly, no examples of *beul* + VN either.

⁴⁰⁴ I.e. *some things that are about to be forgotten*.

⁴⁰⁵ *Teachd* was an alternative form of *tighinn*.

⁴⁰⁶ See Section 4.6.

4.9 Tense and aspect: Ingressive / inceptive aspect

1. Introduction⁴⁰⁷

The ingressive aspect indicates the beginning of an action, cf. English: *he began to walk*.⁴⁰⁸ In Gaelic, it can be expressed by a number of verbs (listed in the table below) as well as by certain expressions or verb forms that may be interpreted as conveying or implying that meaning.

Although the ingressive is referred to as an ‘aspect’ here, ingressive expressions can be both perfective and imperfective, cf. *Thòisich i air bruidhinn* (§400046) vs. *tha iad mar thà a’ tòiseachadh air a dhol an sàs annta* (§329); and also: *Bha e cuideachd a’ tòiseachadh air a bhith a’ faireachadh cianalas airson na làithean a dh’fhalbh* (§400170).

The verbs that express the ingressive in Gaelic usually govern a prepositional phrase that may include a small clause. The following table contains these verbs along with their meanings and the prepositions that they govern, as found in four Gaelic dictionaries.

	AW	CM	FB	D
<i>tòisich</i>	<i>air/ri/a’</i> (begin, start, commence) ⁴⁰⁹	<i>air/ri/a’</i> (begin, start, commence) ⁴¹⁰	<i>air/ri</i> ⁴¹¹ (begin, start, commence)	<i>air</i> (begin, commence, fall to)
<i>teann</i>	<i>ri</i> (begin, start, set to/about)	<i>ri</i> (begin, start, commence)	<i>air/ri</i> ⁴¹² (begin, start, commence)	<i>ri</i> (fall to, begin)
<i>teannaich</i>			<i>ri</i> (start) ⁴¹³	
<i>sìn</i>		<i>ri</i> (begin, start)	<i>air/ri</i> ⁴¹⁴ (begin, start)	(begin, commence)
<i>siùd</i>		(= <i>siùdain</i>)	<i>air</i> (commence, start)	(fall to)
<i>siùdain</i>		<i>air</i>		

⁴⁰⁷ AW – Angus Watson; CM – Colin Mark; FB – *Am Faclair Beag*; D – Dwelly; § – examples from *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

⁴⁰⁸ The inceptive indicates the beginning of an accomplishment (a telic process), which might not differ from the ingressive in Gaelic, as far as the ways of expressing them are concerned.

⁴⁰⁹ According to AW, the use of prepositions here is more traditional than the use of the particle *a’*.

⁴¹⁰ According to CM, the verb *tòisich* ‘may be accompanied by **air** + *vn*, **ri** + *vn* or simply by the *vn* used as an *inf* or a *pres part* thus: *thòisich e air seinn / thòisich e ri seinn / thòisich e a’ seinn* may all be used in different areas for ‘he started to sing / he started singing’, though the usage with *air* seems to be most common’.

⁴¹¹ There is also an example of *tòisich* + *VN* (see §2).

⁴¹² There is only one example of *teann air* in FB (see §3).

⁴¹³ This only occurs in one example sentence (see §3).

⁴¹⁴ There is only one example of *sìn ri* in FB (see §4).

		(begin, commence, fall to)		(= <i>siùd</i>)
<i>siùdaich</i>			<i>siùdaich</i> (commence, start)	

The prepositions can govern a noun phrase or a small clause. The noun phrase can contain an indefinite noun, a definite noun, or a pronoun, as in the examples below. The noun phrase is understood, in this context, as referring to an action that is not mentioned explicitly, e.g. (*tòisich*) *air òran* = *air òran a ghabhail/sheinn*.

- *Rinn e suas inntinn gum faigheadh e obair ri coillteireachd agus **thòisich** e air cùrsa ann an Oilthigh Dhun Eideann (§400129); Nuair a **thòisich** sinn air taighean ùra b' fheudar dhuinn an stuth aisig a-null air eathar le màs còmhnard (§400135);*
- *Chuir i air an coire agus **thòisich** i air a' bhraiceist (§400126); **Thòisich** i air an òran a b' àbhaist a bhith aice (§400133);*
- *Rinn mi 'n uairsin dà bhliadhna ann an Oilthigh Strathclyde a' deanamh Mateamataic(s), ach 'se lagh a bha fa-near dhomh, agus nuair fhuair mi an cothrom, **thòisich** mi air an seo (§400093).⁴¹⁵*

Small clauses contain a verbal noun, such as:

- ***Thòisich** na daimh air langanaich... (§400096); **Thòisich** am bòrd air gluasad 's air éirigh sìos is suas, a-null 's a nall (§400086); **Thòisich** e air brúadar mu dheidhinn o chionn bhliadhnaichean (§400123); **Thòisich** e air suiridhe rithe (§400127).*

The direct object can precede the verbal noun (OBJ a^L VN) or follow it (VN OBJ^{GEN}). Pronominal objects are expressed by possessives.

- ***Thòisich** iad air òl an uisge-bheatha... (§400072); **Thòisich** e air diogladh nan cluasan a rithist (§400103); **thòisich** e air togail chlachan... (§400110);*
- ***Thòisich** sibh air salm a sheinn (§400070); Fhuair Flòraidh saorsa mhòr bhon **thòisich** Calum air companach a dhèanamh dhi (§400132); **thòisich** móran eileanach air an dùthaich seo fhàgail (§400092);*
- ***Thòisich** e air mo cheasnachadh mu Andra Noble... (§400085); ...agus **thòisich** e air an ithe (§400105).⁴¹⁶*

⁴¹⁵ I.e. *I started it here*, or *I started this* (?).

⁴¹⁶ I.e. *it started to eat them*.

2. *Tòisich*

As expected, this verb is very well attested in the corpus. The preposition *air* is the most common in this context, whilst *ri* appears to have been more frequent in the past. Conversely, the particle *a'* occurs rarely in this context in early texts: *Thòisich i a' pògadh Naoise* (§81006); but it becomes more frequent from the mid-20th century onwards.

- *tòisich air seinn* (begin/start to sing) (AW); *tòisich air mionnachadh do Chalum* (start swearing at Calum) (FB); *thòisich e air seinn* (he started to sing / he started singing) (CM); *thòisich mi air diùltadh* (I began to object) (FB); *thòisich e air stàireachd* (he started pacing) (FB); *thòisich rudan air a dhol ceàrr orra* (things started to go wrong for them) (FB); *an do thòisich thu air sineadh?* (have you started ploughing?) (FB);⁴¹⁷ *'s beag nach tòisicheadh e air gul* (he'd nearly start to cry) (FB); *Thòisich mi air tilleadh gu Glaschu a h-uile seachdain* (§400077);
- *tòisich ri seinn* (begin/start to sing) (AW); *tòisich ri treabhadh* (commence ploughing) (AW); *tòisich ri sàbhadh* (start/begin with sawing) (FB); *tòisich ri iongrachadh* (start to ulcerate/suppurate) (FB); *thòisich e ri seinn* (he started to sing / he started singing) (CM); *tha cnàmhan Chalum a' tòiseachadh ri dìobairt* (Calum's bones are starting to creak, fig.) (FB); *Thòisich dà chirc ri sabaid anns an t-sitig* (§43);
- *tòisich a' seinn* (begin/start singing) (AW); *tòisich a' treabhadh* (commence ploughing) (AW); *thòisich e a' seinn* (he started to sing / he started singing) (CM); *Thòisich iad a' danns* (§202); *Thòisich an dithis aca a' gàireachdainn anns an t-solus bhuidhe* (§204); *Thòisich a' bhaintighearna a' fàs iomagaineach* (§210).

In the following examples, the verb *tòisich* governs a bare verbal noun.

- *thòisich na caileagan an-sin dol ann cuideachd* (then the girls started going too) (FB); and also: *Ach co-dhiù 's co-dhà, thòisich an gille a dhol a mach a shealgair eachd* (§400050); *Thòisich sinn a dhol do'n sgoil* (§400096).

Note the position of the direct object of the verbal noun:

- *thòisich iad air na feusgain a bhuain* (they began to gather the mussels) (CM); *th[òisich] iad air cuid de'n t-sluagh a bhualadh agus a mharbhadh* (they began to smite and kill some of the people) (D); *Tha a nis còrr is dà cheud bliadhna bho thòisich na Gàidheil air imrich a dheanamh gu na bailtean-móra thar sàile* (§400077);
- *Thòisich esan ri dhèineir a ghabhail* (§400050);
- *Chaidh e 's thòisich e air gabhail a dhèineir* (§400050);
- *Ach chuir e beagan eagail orm fhéin 's thòisich mi ri deasachadh an teine* (§400006);
- *nuair a thòisich e air do chàineadh* (when you begin to be reviled) (CM); *Ann an tiotan phaisg e gu bhroilleach i agus thòisich e air a pògadh gu dian* (§400127);
- *Thòisich e a' cur im air pìos arain* (§205);
- *'S thòisich e ga sgioblachadh* (§400140).

The prepositional phrase governed by the verb can contain an indefinite noun, as in:

⁴¹⁷ [Sic!] Should this be *air treabhadh*?

- *tòisich air geasagan* (start a [magic] spell) (FB); *tòisich air obagan* (start an incantation) (FB); *nuair a thòisich mi fhìn air bàrdachd, 'se Mac Codrum a bha mi (...) a' leantail as a' ghnothach...* (§400130);
- *tòisich ri sgeul* (start telling a story) (FB); *Dh'fhàs Gille a' Chochuill-chraicinn nas fheàrr, is thòisich e ri sealg* (§400015).

Definite nouns (including verbal nouns) are also found in the same context.

- *tòisich air an obair* (commence work) (AW); *tòisich air an treabhadh* (commence ploughing) (AW); *tòisich air an fhuineadh* (begin with the baking) (FB); *tòisichidh sinn air an treabhadh a-màireach* (we'll make a start at the ploughing tomorrow) (AW); *an comharra gus tòiseachadh air an deuchainn* (the signal to start the exam) (FB); *cha mhòr gun do thòisich mi air an obair nuair a nochd iad* (I had hardly started on the job when they showed up) (CM); *Uill a Mhòrag tha greiseag o'n a thòisich mi air an litir so* (§400055);
- *tòisich ris an treabhadh* (commence ploughing) (AW); *'s iomadh tasdan geal a fhuair mi uaibh bho na thòisich mi ris a' bheairt* (§401011).

The verb *tòisich* can take the direct object, as in:

- *'s dòcha gur e rud beag a thòisich an teine* (perhaps it was the small thing which started the fire) (CM); *Bheil thusa airson blàr a thòiseachadh?* (§400168).

3. Teann

This verb occurs much less commonly than *tòisich* in the corpus although it is not rare. Both prepositions, *air* and *ri*, have been attested in the texts.

- *tha Calum a' teannadh air treabhadh* (Calum is starting to plough) (FB); *theann iad air falbh a dheanamh cath* (§218004);
- *teann ri bruidhinn* (start chatting) (FB); *teann ri tighinn beò* (begin to revive / rouse / come round) (FB); *theann e ri sreap* (he began / started / set about climbing) (AW); *theann na cuileagan ri laighe air an uisge* (the flies began to land on the water) (CM); *th[teann] iad ri falbh* (they began to move off) (D); *th[teann] iad ri treabhadh* (they commenced ploughing) (D); *tha a' ghrian a' teannadh ri cromadh* (the sun is beginning to set) (FB); *Theann am feasgar ri ciaradh* (§400154).

The particle *a'* too has been attested in this context in the corpus although this does not seem to be common.

- *bha mi toilichte nuair a theann iad a' bruidhinn air ceòl a rithist* (§400017); *Theann a chasan a' dol ma seach* (§400109).

Cf. an example of the verb *teann* followed by a bare verbal noun:

- *Mar theann uair na meadhon-oidhche theann iomagain dhaoine dhol am meud* (§313).

As expected, the direct object of the verbal noun occurs in the same positions as with the verb *tòisich*.

- *Cha robh e ach glé òg an uair a theann e air luinneagan a chur r'a chéile* (§45);
- *teann ris an teas fhaireachadh* (start to feel the heat) (FB); *bha e a' teannadh ris an fhuachd fhaireachadh tron chòta* (he was beginning to feel the cold through the coat) (CM); *dh'fheumadh e teannadh ri a theachd-an-tìr a chosnadh* (he had to start to earn his livelihood) (CM); *Theann feadhainn ri bonnach arain a chur air tobhtaichean nan taighean agus bhiodh na bonnaich air falbh 'sa' mhaduinn* (§31);
- *Aon oidhche 's mi air chéilidh theann gille òg air seinn òran nach robh mi air a chluinntinn a riamh* (§400005); *Theann na féidh air ith a' choirce* (§400087);
- *th[ean] i ri lasadh a' chrùisgein* (she proceeded to light the lamp) (D); *Shuidh e 's theann e ri bleoghan nan caorach 's gobhair nam meigead...* (§267); *theann iad ri crathadh an sgiathan* (§400061).

Nouns (indefinite or definite) and pronouns can occur in the prepositional phrase, as in:

- *Agus theann i air òraid-molaidh ma na daoine a bhuineadh dhi...* (§336);
- *Se a thachair gu'n do theann iad am mach air an turus dh'ionnsuidh an Eilein Fhada...* (§218004); *Bha bean Dhòmhnail agus a clann cho math rithe, sàsta gu leòr leis an tigh gus an do theann na coimhearsnaich air an obair* (§400052); *...cionnas a bha iad o theann iad air an turus?* (§142);
- *Bho 'n a theann sinn ris a' chlò, Gun cuir sinn dòigh is rian air, Is ni sinn deis' o cheann gu shàil, Do Theàrlach Bàn mar b' fhiach dhuinn* (§83); *Thatar a' cur air Diuc Atholl gu'm b' e theann ris an obair an-iochdmhor sin an toiseach* (§81011);
- *t[ean] ris* (begin it) (D).

Cf. also: *teannaich ris an àiteach* (start the spring work) (FB).⁴¹⁸

4. *Sìn*

This verb is much less frequent in the corpus than either *tòisich* or *teann*.

- *sìn air fighe* (start knitting, start to knit) (FB); *sìn air rùsgadh* (start shearing) (FB); *sìn air seinn* (begin to sing) (FB); *tha am flùr a' sineadh air cleòcadh* (the flower is starting to wilt) (FB); *shìn e air obair 's air bruidhinn* (§302);
- *shìn e ri direadh*⁴¹⁹ *chun a' mhullaich* (he began to climb to the summit) (CM); *shìn e ri fuineadh* (he began to bake) (FB); *shìn mi ri guidh' air na diathan gu léir* (§267).

Note the position of the direct object of the verbal noun in the following examples.

- *Ghlan e an làrach agus lìon e e, agus an sin shìn e air na ballachan a thogail de na bleocaichean sement agus gainmheach* (§400055);

⁴¹⁸ No examples of *teannaich* meaning 'begin; start' have been found in the corpus.

⁴¹⁹ Recte: *shìn... direadh*.

- *shìn iad ri cheann's a ghuailean a phògadh le gaolachadh furain (§267); Shìn iad ris a' choille a ghearradh as a bonn, is bothan a thogail (§400001);*
- *Dh'fhàiltich bean-an-taighe e le mór thruas, is shìn i gun dàil air fuine bonnaich (§302);*
- *Shìn iad ri toirt iasaid air an iasad... (§303).*

Cf. also the different positions in: *shìn iad air deasachadh dinneir dhaibh fhéin 's fìon lasrach a mheasgadh (§267).*

The prepositional phrase can contain an indefinite noun or a definite (verbal) noun.

- *tha beul-aithris ann gun robh i 'na meadhon aois mun do shìn i air bàrdachd (§315);*
- *An uair a fhuair na h-Eilthirich buaidh air a' choille, is a thog iad bothan no dhà, shìn iad ris an àiteach (§400001).*

5. Siùd

This appears to be rare. Only one possible example has been found in the corpus. No examples of *siùdaich* or *siùdain*, meaning ‘begin; start’, have been found.

- *siùd air an fhuineadh* (commence with the baking) (FB);
- *Cha robh fios aca de a' mhionaid a shiùdadh e leis na gunnathan air tilgeil nan tighean mu'n chuasan (§54).*

6. Rach an ceann

This is not very frequent in the corpus either and is normally followed by nouns such as *obair*, *dleastanas*, *dreuchd*, *seirbheis*, in this sense.

- *chaidh mi an ceann na h-oibre* (I set about the work) (D); *Cha b' ann air an aon dòigh a chaidh iad an ceann na h-obair* (§212002); *mu mheadhon an Oig-mhìos chaidh mi an ceann na h-obrach a chum a' dol mi gu ruig so* (§400002); *b' ann ris a' Ghàidhlig a thionndaidh e an uair a chaidh e an ceann dreuchd mar chléireach do Chomunn Fòghlum Eaglais na h-Albann* (§400016); possibly also: *Rinn na h-eòin beic eile don Bhaintighearna an comain na beice comaine – agus chaidh iad an sin an ceann gnothaich* (§48).

Examples such as the following appear to be exceptionally rare.

- *rach an ceann fuineadh arain* (start making bread) (FB);
- *Cha robh mi latha riamh o'n a chaidh mi ann an ceann togail teaghlaich cho math air mo dhoigh 's a tha mi 'n diugh* (§81010).

7. *Tha toiseach aig* NP air VN

Few examples of this construction occur in the corpus, mainly in early texts. The logical subject is expressed by a noun phrase introduced by the preposition *aig*.

- *bha toiseach aig an tarmac air bogachadh* (the tarmac had begun/started to soften) (FB); *tha toiseach air* [sic!] *an iasg air gabhail* (the fish are beginning to take) (FB); *Tha toiseach aig an iasg air gabhail, smaointich an Ridire* (§68); *Bha toiseach aig an fheasgar air ciaradh* (§130); *Ann an ceann ùine bheag bha toiseach aig m' inntinn air socrachadh* (§135); *Bha toiseach aig Raitean air fàs sgìth dhe'n t-seòrsa ceisteireachd ud* (§68); *Bha toiseach aig a h-aodan air dubhadh, is aig truimead na suain ri iathadh mu léirsinn* (§68);⁴²⁰ *Thug Cailean an aire gun ghuth a ràdh gu'n robh toiseach aig Calum air géilleadh* (§42); *Cha robh, mar sin, ach toiseach aig a' ghréin air cur roimhpe, nuair a bhual na coigrich lamairig* (§68);
- *tha toiseach aice air taigh a thogail* (she has begun to build a house) (FB); *Tha e ri aithris mu'n daingneach so, gu'n robh toiseach aig na saighdearan Spàineach air suidheachadh freiceadain a dheanamh ann 'san àm* (§68);
- *Bha toiseach aig a' bhan-usal air a tharruing gu taobh* (§68).

Cf. the following example in which the preposition *air* is absent: *As an am ud bha toiseach aig na speuran a bhith fàs salach* (§400003).

8. *Bi/thig/cuir* (V)N air

These constructions often express the beginning of a new state, i.e. they are *inchoative* rather than ingressive or inceptive. The expressions that contain the verb *cuir* are also causative.

- *tha garadh air an aodach* (the clothes are beginning to dry) (FB);
- *thàinig goil air a' bhrot* (the soup began to boil) (FB); *thàinig dìobhairt air Calum* (Calum started to vomit) (FB); *thàinig lionnadh air a chas* (his foot has begun to suppurate) (FB); *tha tolladh a' tighinn air mo bhrògan* (my shoes are starting to have holes) (FB); *Ach nuair a thàinig goil air a' bhùrn 'san umha neo-thruaillte, shuidhich i 'n amar mi...* (§267); *thànaig lionnadh mór air mo làimh ré an t-samhraidh* (§318);
- *chuir e béill air* (he started to pout) (FB).

In certain cases, a different preposition or verb may be used, as in:

- *thàinig sìleadh 'na shùilean* (his eyes started to water) (FB);
- *dh'èirich greann air a' chù* (the dog's hair started bristling) (FB).

Some expressions contain 'ordinary' nouns, cf. *béill* and *greann* above, and the following:

- *tha dìtheanan a' tighinn air* (it's starting to flower) (FB); *Nuair sin thug i an aire do fhear an tagsaidh agus thàinig greann air a h-aghaidh* (§400193).

⁴²⁰ Note the second clause, with the preposition *ri*: *is aig truimead na suain ri iathadh mu léirsinn*.

The noun (including verbal nouns) can be definite, as in: *thàinig an tilgeil air* (he started to vomit) (FB); *Dh'fhairich mi an dìobhairt a' tighinn orm* (§400039).⁴²¹

Similar but different constructions are exemplified by: *rach air chrith* (start to shiver) (AW); *B' e duan a bha aice, a guth ag éirigh 's a' dol air chrith* (§400036); cf. also: *Bha ainglean dorcha 'na sùilean, 's thòisich e dol air chrith mar chraobh ann an stoirm* (§205); and: *bha an duine cho trom agus bha e a' cur an tigh air chrith uile* (§400026).

9. Simple verb tenses

Simple tense forms can express perfectivity, which can be interpreted as the ingressive aspect in certain contexts.

- *leum mo shròn orm* (my nose started to bleed) (FB);
- *bha i aimsirean mus do sheinn i* (she didn't start singing for a long time) (FB); *do sgrios mus truagh leam do chàradh* (may you die before I start pitying you) (FB).

Cf. also the following expressions:

- *bris air a' ghal* (start crying) (FB); *dh'fheuch e gun a dhèanamh, ach bhris air a ghàire* (he tried not to, but he started laughing) (FB); *bhris do ghàire ort* (you started to laugh) (FB); also: *bris air do ghàire* (burst out laughing) (FB); *bris air gàire* (burst out laughing) (FB).

10. Start (*transitive*)

The following expressions can be interpreted as causatives whose result is the beginning of an action or state.

- *cuir inneal a dhol* (start a machine) (FB); *Chuir iad an einnsean a dhol* (§400167); *Nuair a bha gach nì air bòrd, chuir Uilleam a dhol an t-inneal...* (§400181); *Cha robh fhios agam gun do chuir Domhnall alarm a' ghloc a dhol* (§400001);
- *cuir gu dol* (get started/going) (FB); *cuir gu dol saothair-chloinne* (induce labour) (FB);
- *leig air shiubhal an t-einnsean* (start up the engine) (FB); *Leig e 'n sin am muileann air shiubhal...* (§207003);
- *bha i a-riamh togarrach air seisean a chur air chois* (she was always willing to start a session) (FB); *Chaidh Comunn Ghàidhlig Cheap Breatunn a chur air chois bho chionn trì bliadhna* (§400077).

⁴²¹ This is the same as *thàinig an cnatan air* (he caught a cold, i.e. he started to have a cold) or *thàinig an t-acras air* (he became hungry, i.e. started to feel hungry).

Sources:

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4.10 Tense and aspect: terminative aspect

1. Introduction⁴²²

The terminative (or egressive, or cessative) aspect indicates the end of an action, cf. English *he stopped singing*. The following verbs and expressions that indicate the completion of an action have been found in Gaelic dictionaries:

- *sguir/stad/tog (de)*
- *leig dhìot*
- *leig seachad*
- *crìochnaich*
- *cuir crìoch/stad (air)*
- *thoir gu crìch/stad*
- *bi ullamh/deiseil (de)*

They, however, express the terminative aspect only indirectly or marginally in certain contexts, i.e. when they govern a noun phrase, rather than a small clause. In fact, some of them never govern small clauses and might be irrelevant here.⁴²³

The end of a state can be expressed as a change of state (i.e. the beginning of a different state), using a different verb, e.g. *dùisg* = *sguir de chadal*, or *èirich (nad sheasamh)* = *sguir de shuidhe / laighe*.

2. *Sguir de*

This expression introduces either a noun that describes an action or a small clause that contains a verbal noun. Other arguments may be present. In this context, *de* is normally reduced to *a*, which can be absorbed by a neighbouring vowel.

- *tha mi a' sguir de smocadh* (I'm stopping smoking) (AW); *b'eudar dhaibh sguir de chluiche* (they had to stop playing) (CM); *sguir a throd!* (stop arguing, bickering!) (FB); *sguir na gunnachan a losgadh* (the guns stopped firing) (CM); *thuir an dotair ris gum bu chòir dha sguir a dh'obair* (the doctor said to him that he ought to stop working) (CM); *sguir a mhionnan* (stop swearing!) (FB); *sguir a mhionnachadh* (stop swearing!)

⁴²² AW – Angus Watson; CM – Colin Mark; FB – *Am Faclair Beag*; D – Dwelly; § – examples from *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

⁴²³ In this section, the term *noun phrase* refers to phrases headed by nouns that are not derived from verbs, by definite verbal nouns, and by pronouns. The term *small clause* refers to indefinite verbal nouns, which act as infinitives or gerunds and can be accompanied by various arguments.

(FB); *sguir a ghuidheachdainn* (stop cursing!) (FB); *gabh thugad a bàs cho mór is gun sguir thu a dh'ithe* (take her death to heart so much that you stop eating!) (FB); *'S fhada nis o sguir i dh'fhàs* (§204);

- *sguir a throd rium!* (stop nagging me!) (FB); *an sguir thu a throd rium?* (will you stop nagging me?) (CM); *nach sguir thu a phèirceanachd ri d' fhalt?* (will you stop trying to get your hair totally perfect?) (FB); *sguir a ghuradh air d' athair* (stop niggling your father!) (FB); *sguir a dh'obair orm!* (stop annoying me, stop teasing me!) (FB); *sguir a thutanadh timcheall air* (stop fussing around/about him) (FB); *Cha do sguir i a-riamh a bhruidhinn air: Uilleam a bràthair* (§11).

If present, the direct object follows the verbal noun, i.e. there is no object inversion.

- *Sguir mi a dh'ith buntàt'... rudan milis* (§11); *Nach iongantach gun tàinig an sgeama seo, a bha a' dol a dhèanamh cùisean furasda do dhaoine aig an robh crodh, goirid mun àm anns an do sguir daoine a chumail cruaidh* (§309); *Is sguir e dh'innse na sgeulachdan ud* (§205); *Sguir an greusaiche de tharruing na sreinge gun an greim a theannachadh* (§217004);
- *sguir a dhèanamh sin* (stop doing that) (CM); *“Tha thu a' toirt cuibhreann do neo-dhiadhaire,” ars esan, “agus nan sguireadh tu a phàigheadh sin, thigeadh e gu chiall.”* (§2).

But note: *Bha cladh air an Eilean Tioram, aig ceann Loch Nibheis, agus nuair a sguir iad de sin a chur gu feum, chaidh na daoine adhlacadh ann am Mòrair* (§400173).

The direct object can be expressed by possessive pronouns merged with *de*,⁴²⁴ as follows:

- *sguir 'gam bhuaireadh!* (stop bothering me, get off my back!) (FB); *Cha d' sguir iad 'ga mo bhrosnachadh* (§300); *Nuair a dh'fhaighnicheadh Jenkins càil dha, bha e cho fada gun freagairt 's gun sguir e mu dheireadh ga cheasnachadh* (§205); *Cha do sguir mi a-riamh gan ith* (§11).

Cf. some examples that include progressive constructions:

- *Ged a bha 'n Rìgh daonnan a' cur ìmpidh oirre fois a ghabhail agus foidhidinn a chleachdadh, cha do sguir e riamh de bhi nochdadh dhi gu pearsanta gach caoimhneas agus deagh-ghean* (§217001);
- *Cha mhaith leò riamh leannail oirre car uair, agus, an sin, sguir de bhi ga cur an àird, mar a tha sinne tuilleadh is deas gu dèanamh* (§217001).

The expression *sguir de* can govern a definite (verbal) noun, as in:

- *sguir e dhen chaoineadh* (he stopped crying) (FB); *sguir dhen dol a-mach agad!* (stop your nonsense!) (FB); *sguir dhe do thraoghaidean* (stop your antics, quite these silly games!) (FB); *Feumaidh tu sguir dhen iasgach agus gabhail air do shocair aig an taigh o seo a-mach* (§14); *Sguir de'n amaideas seo* (§198); *Sguir sinn dhe ar cuid obrach* (§251); *A Shìne sguir dhe d' ghearradh shùrdagan ort!* (§305).

⁴²⁴ *De/do m(o) > dha'm/gha'm > gam*, etc.

When the action is previously mentioned or known from the context, it can be referred to by a demonstrative or by the form *dheth*, or not referred to at all.

- *Chleachd mi a bhith toirt obair dhachaidh leam às an sgoil, 's ag ullachadh leasanan son an ath latha – sguir mi dhen a sin (§11); Chleachd e airson greiseig a bhith a' dol a-mach air eathar a dh'iasgach ach sguir e de'n sin (§198);*
- *sguir dheth! (stop it!) (AW); thuirt e gum fònadh e chun a' phoileis mura sguireadh iad dheth (he said that he would phone the police if they didn't stop it) (CM); An déidh Baile Bhóid bha Sruighlea agus fhuair mi a' cheud duais air son leughadh agus aithris. Fhuair mi duais an leughaidh a' bhliadhna roimhe sin agus sguir mi dheth an déidh Shruighlea (§400002); Ach sguiridh tu dheth, cha dean thu tuilleadh e (§46);*
- *sguir sinn aig meadhan-latha (we stopped at noon) (AW); ann an tiota sguir e (in an instant he stopped) (CM); Nach sguir thu, dhuine! (§11).*

This verb can also express the cessation of an activity, an event or a phenomenon, denoted by a noun that acts as the verb's subject, e.g.

- *an do sguir an t-uisge? (has the rain stopped?) (CM); Sguir an t-uisge. Thàinig fiath. Bha am muir sèimh socair (§400189); Nuair a sguir iasgach an t-samhraidh, sheòl 'Reul na Maidne' (...) gu Grabhair, agus fhuair an sgiobadh seachdain no dhà aig an taigh (§14); Cha robh fhios am biodh bucas eile ann. Nan sguireadh an cogadh, cha bhiodh bucais ann. Dé dhèanadh e an uairsin? (§400085).*

3. Stad de

This expression appears to govern the same types of complements as *sguir de*, but it is much less frequent in the corpus.

- *stad iad a dh'iomradh le chèile (they both stopped rowing) (CM); bha i air stad a chur (it had stopped snowing) (CM); Stad an fhaoileag de sgiamhail 's dh'èisd iad san t-sàmhchar, 'nan seasamh mar ìomhaighean (§400177); An ceann trì latha, nuair a thàinig a' ghaoth a-nuas 's a stad am bàt' a bhocadaich, dhìrich iad gu h-àrd... (§311); Stad Seumas a bhruidhinn an uair sin, ach cha b' urrainn dhomh dad a ràdh ris car greise (§317); Chan aithne dhomh cuin a stad Alasdair de obair ann an Townsville... (§400189);⁴²⁵*
- *Cha do stad i de sheinn an òrain gus an rann mu dheireadh (§401011).*

Note the following example, with the particle *a'* instead of the preposition *de*.

- *Agus thuirt e an sin gun do stad an eanchainn aice a' fàs nuair a bha i cheithir bliadhna deug a dh'aois (§244).*

The (verbal) noun can be definite:

⁴²⁵ I.e. *stopped working*.

- *stad i den ghàireachdaich* (she stopped laughing) (CM); *stad dhen t-seinn* (stop singing!) (FB); *Stad e dhen obair is thug e sùil gheur air Seumas* (§400119).

4. Tog de

This seems to have a very limited use:

- *tog dheth!* (stop it) (FB); *Tog dheth 'ille, is stad ded' ghlagaireachd...* (§102001); *So tog dheth Anna!* (§401007).

5. Leig dhìot

This expression appears to correspond to English ‘give up’ and usually governs a noun (often *obair* or *dreuchd*), or a progressive verbal noun expression (*a bhith a’ VN*), or the construction *a bhith na N*, describing an occupation.

- *leig am bodadh dheth an obair* (the old fellow gave up his job) (AW); *leig i dhith an obair* (she stopped work/working) (AW); *leig i dhith a h-obair* (she stopped work/working) (AW); *Mus do leig mi dhìom mo chuid obrach o chionn còig bliadhna bha mi a’ meòrachadh air ciamar a chuirinn seachad mo chuid ùine agus gun char agam ri dèanamh* (§400176);
- *leig e dheth bhith a’ cur dragh orra* (he ceased / stopped / gave up bothering them) (CM); *Bha bodach an Uibhist agus an uair a leig e dheth a bhith strì ri muir thòisich a’ chlann air trod ach cò am fear aca a chasadh àite athar agus a bhiodh ’na sgiobair* (§400169);
- *Bha mar an ceudna tart orm riamh gu eòlas fhaotainn agus cha do leig mi dhìom a bhith sireadh eòlais an sgoil-latha agus an sgoil-oidhche agus an dèidh sin le cùrsa foghlaim tre’n phost a bha cuimseachadh air inbhe starsach na Colaiste* (§400105); *Thoir an aire nach leig Dia dheth ’bhith ’g ad bheathachadh-sa* (§112001);
- *leig e dheth a bhith ’na thaillear* (§294); *Leig e dheth a bhi ’na mhinistear agus thòisich e air ceòl fhòghlum...* (§401004).

Examples such as the following do not seem to occur in the corpus.

- *leig dhìot sùil a chumail air Murchadh* (stop keeping an eye on Murdo!) (FB); *cha do leig iad dhiubh sùil fhaiceallach a chumail air a’ Ghàidhealtachd* (they didn’t stop keeping a watchful eye on the Highlands) (CM).

6. Leig seachad

This also appears to correspond usually to English ‘give up’ rather than ‘stop’, cf.

- *Leig iad seachad na dreuchdan a bha aca ann an Glaschu gus am faigheadh iad sìth bhon t-saoghal ann san robh iad beò* (§334);

- *leig mi seachad smocadh* (I've given up smoking) (AW); *tha mi a' leigeil seachad smocadh* (I'm stopping smoking) (AW);
- *Agus thachair e mu'n àm so le ro-lionmhoireachd nan còmhragan a measg nan ceann-feadhna gu'n do leig daoine seachad a bhi saothreachadh na talmhainn...* (§106).

However, note the following:

- *Bhruidhinn an teaghlach rim athair, a' faighneachd an cuireadh e an t-euslainteach a Steòrnabhagh sa' chàr. Leig e seachad na bha e a' dèanamh, agus dh'aontaich e air ball* (§400189).

7. Cuir crìoch/stad air

These two expressions normally govern a noun phrase, as in:

- *cuir stad air rudeigin* (put a stop to something) (AW, cf. CM); *Chuir an Cogadh Mòr stad air an iasgach* (§400154);
- *Ach mu dheireadh thall chuir Seònaid crìoch air a sgeul agus air an tì* (§313); *chuir i crìoch air an nobhail aice a-raoir* (she finished her novel last night) (AW).

The head of the phrase can be a definite verbal noun, e.g.

- *Bha e a' fhuasgladh strapaichean na cèise (...)* *Chuir e crìoch air an fhuasgladh is dh'fhosgail e 'n cèis* (§400143); *Bha Sandra a' sgrìobhadh 's ag aomadh a cinn fhad 's a bha Teàrlach a' bruidhinn. An uair a sguir e, chuir i crìoch air an sgrìobhadh agus choimhead i orra le chèile* (§400189).

Examples of the expression *cuir crìoch air* governing a small clause are found in the corpus, but they are rare and somewhat more common in older texts. Note the position of the object in some of the examples.

- *Dh'èirich Iain Og bhon bhòrd a' mhionaid a chuir e crìoch air ithe* (§316);
- *Agus an uair a chuir Solamh crìoch air an urnuigh so uile a dheanamh ris an Tighearn (...)* *dh'èirich e o bheulaibh altarach an Tighearna...* (§160002);
- *...agus chuir Hiram crìoch air deanamh na h-oibre uile a rinn e do rìgh Solamh air son tighe an Tighearna* (§160002); *Mu'n do chuir mi crìoch air leughadh an leabhair, bha m' fhuil air ghoil am chuislean...* (§199); *An uair (...)* *a chuir mise crìoch air seinn òrain air an robh déidh mhór agam anns an àm (...)* *Thàinig seann duine liath a steach do'n t-seòmar...* (§54).

8. Bi deiseil/ullamh de

These expressions can govern a noun phrase, as in:

- *chan eil iad deiseil den fòn* (they haven't finished with the phone) (AW, cf. CM); *Bha mise deiseil de m' bhiadh fada roimh chàch* (§400044); *A bheil thu deiseil de'n sgialachd?* *Oir tha an latha a' fàs fada 's feumaidh mi bhith a' togail orm* (§400083);
- *Bidh mi ullamh dhen tàillearachd mu uairean beaga na maduinn agus bidh mi 'deanamh air a' mhonadh a màireach o nach eil teaghlach eile 'sa' sgrì seo 'ga m' iarraidh* (§31).

There are a few examples of small clauses in this context, more frequently with the adjective *ullamh*. Note the position of the direct object in some of the examples.

- *Bha iad a' gabhail an leabhair, agus chan éisdeadh fear-an-tighe ris an nighinn gus an robh e ullamh de leughadh* (§400041);
- *Bha e dìreach an dèidh a bhith deiseil de sgioblachadh na bùtha agus a' dèanamh ullachaidh airson a làmhan is a aodann a nighe an uair a ghabh e a leithid de bhriosgadh le iollaich àird a chuala e* (§400113); *An uair a bha e deiseil dhe bhith leughadh na h-aithisg chuir Teàrlach ann an cèis i, dhùin e a' chèis agus thug e sìos dhan oifis aig Sandra i* (§400189);
- *nuair a bha e ullamh a (= de) sgrìobhadh an leabhair* (when he was finished writing the book) (CM); *'Se duine anabarrach sàmhach a bh' ann, agus cha robh mòran agamsa ri ràdh aig an àm cuideachd, agus nuair a bha sinn ullamh de chàineadh na sìde, thuit sàmhchair eadarainn* (§400136); *Tha mòran dhaoine gun bhith ullamh de chur an t-sìl fhathast* (§81004);
- *bha am poileas ullamh de cheasnachadh* (the police had finished questioning him) (AW).⁴²⁶

9. Other

The verb *criochnaich* (end, finish) (AW) and the expressions *thoir gu crìch* (end) (AW, CM) and *thoir gu stad* (end) (AW) only appear to govern noun phrases.

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⁴²⁶ Presumably, *de [a] cheasnachadh*.

4.11 Tense and aspect: *buin*, *bean*

Source: 20th-century texts, *Corpas na Gàidhlig* (<https://dasg.ac.uk/corpus>).

1. Bean / buin (achievement)

Meaning: 1. touch; 2. meddle with; 3. interfere with; 4. touch upon, address (a topic); 5. deal with; 6. treat; 7. affect; 8. harm/hurt.

Generally, *buin* seems to be more common than *bean*. *Bean* often means ‘touch’ or ‘meddle’. The preposition *ri* is used frequently with these verbs, but *do* appears to be common especially when the verb means ‘touch’. *Air* occurs in very few examples.

[IMP]

- *Sguir a nis. Na bean dha* ‘Stop now. Don’t touch it’ (§286); *Na bean do ’n lot le do làimh idir* ‘Do not touch the wound with your hand at all’ (§53); *Na bean ri rud nach buin riut* ‘Don’t touch (or meddle with) something that is not your concern’ (§197);⁴²⁷
- *Na buin ri rud nach buin riut* (§197); *A’ rud nach buin riut, Alasdair, na buin dhà* ‘Don’t meddle with what is not your concern, Alasdair’ (§30);⁴²⁸ *Na buin do nì ach tog leat d’ anorac* ‘Don’t touch anything but take your anorak away’ (§400141).

[FUT]

- *Beanaidh mi ris le m’ mheòir is mi ’nam shuain* ‘I will touch it with my finger while I am asleep’ (§15); *Latha Fheill-Brighde, thig an rìbhinn as an toll; cha bhean mise do ’n rìbhinn, ’s cha bhean an rìbhinn rium* ‘On St Brigit’s Day, the maiden⁴²⁹ will come out of the hole; I will not touch the maiden and the maiden will not touch me’ (§401010) [cf. *ris an rìbhinn* (§55)]; *Cha bhean mi dhut* ‘I will not touch/hurt you’ (§318); *Ach ma bhuaidhaicheas an diadhachd air a’ chridhe beanaidh i ris an sporan mar an ceudna!* ‘But if the divinity/theology wins the heart, it will likewise affect (§43); *Cha bhean mi ’ach ri argumaid no dhà* ‘I will only touch upon a few arguments’ (§401003); *Ach nuair a bheanas tu idir le d’ làmh an a’ chuan fhìon-dhatht’* ‘But as soon as you touch the dry land with your hands, take the kerchief off and throw it far away from the land into the wine-coloured ocean’ (§267);

⁴²⁷ Cf. *buin* ‘concern’ in the same sentence.

⁴²⁸ Cf. *buin ri* ‘concern’ vs. *buin do* ‘touch, meddle’ in this example.

⁴²⁹ This refers to a snake or an adder. Note also *bean ri* and *do* in the same sentence.

- **Buinidh** a' Chomhairle mar an ceudna ri gnothach sònraichte sam bith a dh'fhaodas éirigh 'The Council will likewise deal with any special issue that may arise' (§200); *Chan eil fios có e a b' athair dha; ach cha ruig sinn a leas an còrr a ràdh mu 'n phuing so aig an àm. **Buinidh** mi rithe, mu 'n tig crìoch air a' bheachd-oidhirp so* 'No one knows who his father was; but we do not need to say anything else about this point at the time. I will address it before this essay comes to an end' (§217001); *Feumaidh mi crìoch a chur air a' chùis air neo **buinidh** i ri mo chiall* 'I will have to finalise the matter or else it will affect my senses' (§400158); *Dè feum a tha anns na dolairean **ma bhuineas** iad ri reusan?* 'What is the use of the dollars if they interfere with reason?' (§400159).

[COND]

- **Bheanadh** cuideigin do dh'aon chaoran fhad 's a bha Dòmhnall a-muigh 's nuair a thilleadh e dh'innseadh e dhuinn dè 'n caoran 'Someone would touch one peat while Donald was out and when he returned he would tell us which peat [it was]' (§400107); *Agus cha robh e buileach làn: bhiodh pìos air fhàgail falamh aig bàrr an uisge 's **nach beanadh** am fàinne dha 'n uisge* 'And it was not completely full: a bit would be left empty at the surface of the water so that the ring did not touch the water' (§318); *Nan coisriginn mo spiorad dhuit, **nam beanadh** ri do bhil' mo bhile, ghlanainn Dè o choire beatha, bhithinn nas fheàrr, nas òige, ciùine* 'If I dedicated my spirit to you; if my lip touched yours...' (§15); *Thàinig saighdearan gu 'n sgapadh, ach **cha bheanadh** claidheamh no peilear riutha* 'Soldiers came to disperse them but neither a sword nor a bullet would touch/hurt/harm them' (§217003);
- *Cha do bhuin mi ri Silis. Có **bhuineadh** rithe, a bha cho meall-shuileach?* 'I did not touch Sileas. Who would touch her who had such alluring eyes?' (§400103).

[PST]

- **Bhean** e do laimh fhiabhresaich an leanaibh 'He touched the child's feverish hand' (§234001); ***Cha do bhean** e ri slait no lìon ach thill e gu doras an dùin agus, a' togail leis na ciosaich, chaidh e às mo shealladh* 'He did not touch the rod or the net but he returned to the door of the fort, and taking the carcass with him, he went out of my sight' (§313); *Bha pàipearan agam ri lìonadh ach **cha do bhean** mi dhaibh* 'I had some papers to fill out but I did not touch them' (§400045); *Sin agad, a leughadair shuairce, beagan mu dheidhinn nam fiadh bho àm breith gu àm bàis. Ghabhadh mòran sgrìobhadh umpa air nach do bhean mise; agus nach freagarrach briathran Dhonnchaidh Bhàin a chodhùnadh a' bheachd-oidhirp ghoirid so...* 'Here, kind reader, is a little about the deer from birth to death. Much could be written about them that I have not touched upon; and aren't Duncan Bàn's words suitable to conclude this short essay' (§291);
- *Leis an t-slataig òir **bhuin** e ri clàr-aodainn a' chodalaiche, agus a rithis thainig fiamh ghàire air a ghnùis* 'With the golden wand, he touched the sleeper's forehead, and a smile came to his face again' (§234001); ***Bhuin** rudeigin r' a guala, is thog i a ceann* 'Something touched her shoulder, and she lifted her head' (§341); *Bha Calum riùm, ach **cha do bhuin** mise dha. An rud nach buin dhuit na buin dhà* 'Calum was at me, but I

did not touch him. Do not touch/meddle with what does not touch/concern you’ (§60); **Cha do bhuin mi ri Sìlis.** *Có bhuineadh rithe, a bha cho meall-shuileach?* ‘I did not touch Sìleas. Who would touch her, with such round eyes?’ (§400103); **Bhuin an Rìgh uamhasach càirdeil rium** ‘The king treated me very kindly’ (§302); *Is iomadh car a chuir e dheth mun do ghlais an là agus is iomadh uair a chuimhnich e mar a bhuin an saoghal cho cruaidh ris* ‘A lot happened to him before the day ended and he remembered again and again how hard the life had treated him’ (§400020); *Ged a fhuair an sgioba gu tìr anns na bàtaichean-beaga, bhuin na Spàinntich gu neo-coibhneil riu, airson dhol air tìr gun chead, agus chuir siad iad ann an daingneach Chorùna* ‘Although the crew got to the land in small boats, the Spanish treated them unkindly, for having landed without permission, and they put them in the prison/fort of A Coruña’ (§400111); **Bhuin a’ chùis cho goirt ri Uilleam Ros is gu bheil a bhàrdachd bho ’n uair sin a-mach a’ cur an céill dhuinn gun do dh fhàilnich gu tur a chridhe ’s a shlàinte** ‘The issue affected William Ross so badly that, since then, his poetry has been telling us that his heart and his health have failed completely’ (§400058); *Bha mise fortanach nach do bhuin beud no easlaint rium* ‘I was fortunate that neither loss nor illness had affected me’ (§35).

[PROG]

- *An àite dhol na b’ fhaig air a’ chùis-uamhais ’s ann a thar mi as dachaidh, ’s cha bu ruith leam ach leum: mi ga ’m fhaireachadh fèin cho aotrom ’s gu ’n saoilinn nach robh mo chasan ach gann a’ beantainn do ’n talamh* ‘Instead of going closer to the terrible thing, I ran away from home, not running but leaping: feeling so light that I would think that my feet were not touching the ground but slightly’ (§217004); *Mu ’n àm so bha móran marbhadh ga dhèanamh air saighdearan an U.S. le Co-mhaoinich de mhuintir na Roinn a Deas – cha robhas a’ beantainn do dhuine eile* ‘About that time, many US soldiers were being killed by the Communists from the north – nobody else was touched/hurt/harmed’ (§400057); **Cha robh cadal idir a’ beantainn ris, a thaobh bodhaig na inntinn** ‘Sleep did not affect him at all, in terms of body or mind’ (§400119); **Tha na h-atharraichidhean sin a’ beantainn ris an t-sluagh air a leithid a dhòigh ’s gu bheil iad a’ cur às do ’n fheadhainn nach fàs suas riutha** ‘Those changes affect the people in such a way that they are eliminating those that do not adapt to them’ (§33); *Feumaidh an S.N.P. dà rud àraidh a dhearbhadh: ’s e sin gu bheil Riaghladh Bhreatainn air a bhith beantainn ri Alba an dòigh neo-chothromach, agus gun cuir bristeadh air falbh o Shasuinn so ceart* ‘The SNP have to prove two particular things: that the British Government has been treating Scotland unfairly and that a separation from England will put that right’ (§400065); *Anns na làithean so, cha mhór na galaran ris am bìtear a’ beantainn aig an tigh* ‘Nowadays, there are few diseases that are treated at home’ (§53);
- *Bha casan Aonghais, ged as e duine mòr a bha ann, a’ leum o bhacan gu bacan mar nach robh iad cha mhòr a’ buntainn ri talamh idir ’s Alasdair a’ dèanamh spàirn chruaidh airson cumail suas ris* ‘Angus’ feet, although he was a big man, were leaping from one obstacle to another as if they were barely touching the ground and Alasdair was struggling greatly to keep up with him’ (§16); **Cha robhas a’ buntainn dhan an**

sgadan ach gun cuireadh iadsan salainn air mar a bha e tighinn a-steach, agus cha robh an còrr ri dol air anns na bucais, gu 'n tugar a-mach fear mu seach iad 'The herring was not touched except that they would put salt on it as it was coming in, and nothing else was going on it in the boxes, until they are taken out one by one' (§250); *Ann a bhi 'feoraich dé a dh'aobharaich an t-atharrachadh so, tha mi a' buntainn ri cuspairean a tha cudthromach agus iongantach* 'In asking what caused this change, I address issues/topics that are important and surprising' (§217004); *Tha a bhàrdachd a' buntainn ri móran chuspairean* 'His poetry deals with many topics' (§307); *Ciod a tha bacadh Gàidheil Chanada o bhi buntainn r' an cànnain féin mar a tha shuagh eile a' deanamh air sgath an teangannan-ne?* 'What is preventing Canadian Gaels from treating their own language as other people are doing for their own languages?' (§218004).

[PERF]

- *Thuirt e rinn gu robh lagh aig na h-eileanaich, nam faigheadh iad grèim air eilthreach a bha air beantainn do thè dha na mnathan, gun toireadh iad e gu àite iomallach agus gum briseadh iad a bhroilleach fon sàilean* 'He told us that the islanders had a law, if they caught an outsider who had touched one of the women, they would take him to a remote place and break his chest under their heels' (§27).

[VN]

- *Chaidh e mun cuairt uair no dhà, shìn e làmh mar gum biodh e dol a bheantainn riutha 's an sin ghrad tharraing e air ais* 'He went around a few times, he stretched his arm as if he was going to touch them and then he suddely pulled it back' (§313); *Am faca sibh duine a' beantainn ris a' mhaor anns a' bhàta?* 'Did you see anyone touching the factor/officer in the boat?' (§42); *Gun teagamh bha bocsa-airgid aice shuas 'na seòmar-leapa, ach bha 'n t-airgead sin air a chuir air leth airson an ám anns nach biodh i air chothrom cosnadh a dhèanamh. Cha robh math dhi beantail dha* 'Without doubt, she had a money box up in her bedroom, but that money was put aside for the time she would not have a chance to make money. She had better not touch it' (§43); *Mar a bhà, thug e fad iomadh latha (a) bha e an athar na giollachd a fhuair e, ach cha robh chridhe beantainn do 'n Iarla gus an d' thug e droch ionnsaidh air aon de na h-uaislean; an sin chaidh a bhinn a thoirt a mach agus peilear a chur ann* 'As it was, it was many days that he felt the effects of the treatment that the got, but no one would dare to touch the Earl until he attacked one of the nobles badly; then his sentence was passed and a bullet was put into him' (§199);
- *Mhathaich i rudeiginn a' buntainn dith* 'She felt something touching her' (§341); *Ach, mu 'n téid agam air buntainn ris a' choltas so a th' air a' chùis, bidh cho math duinn agus an grunn d a ghart-ghlanadh rud beag air ar son féin le bhi toirt fa near ainmean nam morairean sin ás nach eil na sloinntearan idir an-earbsach* 'But, before I manage to tackle the matter as it appears to be, we had better clear the ground for ourselves a bit by considering the names of those lords of whom the genealogists are not suspicious at all' (§217001); *Chaidh buntainn rithe air dòigh nach robh gu cliù nan Sasunnach* 'She was treated in a way that was not to the credit of the English' (§291).

2. Bean / buin (state)

Meaning: 1. concern; 2. be relevant to; 3. pertain to; 4. refer to; 5. apply to.

The verb *buin* is much more common in this context, as is the preposition *ri*.

Both simple and progressive tenses occur but there seems to be some overlap in the way they are used. The simple forms might reflect earlier usage in some contexts, whilst the progressive may be more innovative.

[FUT]

- *Cha 'n iad seann sgeòil a chaidh innseadh dhuinn fichead uair thairis a tha 'dhìth oirnn, ach nithean beòtha – biodh iad sean no òg – a bheanas do bheatha nan Gàidheal air an là- 'n-diugh* ‘It is not the old stories that were told us twenty times over that we need, but things that are alive – be they old or young – that are relevant to the life of the Gaels today’ (§401001); *Cha dèan mi iomradh ach air na bheanas ri m' bheatha fhéin* ‘I will only mention what concerns my own life’ (§40); *Chan 'eil nì anns an Achd so, no an an Achd sam bith eile, a bheanas ri Eaglais na h-Alba, a sheasas anns an rathad air a bhi toirt gnùis do Eaglais sam bith eile ann an Alba, mar Eaglais Chrìosdail, fo dhion an lagha ann a bhi coimhlionadh a dreuchdan spioradail* ‘There is nothing in this Act, or in any other Act that concerns the Church of Scotland, that will stand in the way of supporting any other Church in Scotland, as a Christian Church, under protection of the law in performing its spiritual duties’ (§292);
- *Na bean ri rud nach buin riut* ‘Don’t touch (or meddle with) something that is not your concern’ (§197); *Na buin ri rud nach buin riut* (§197); *A' rud nach buin riut, Alasdair, na buin dhà* (§30); “*Chan eil càil aig d' eachdraidh ri dhèanamh ri gu bheil thu air bòrd na soithich-sa gun chead.*” “*Buinidh m' eachdraidh ris mar seo,*” *arsa mise* ‘Your story has nothing to do with the fact that you were on board this ship without permission. My story is relevant to that this way, said I’ (§27); *Tha mu cheud duilleag de nòtaichean aig an fhear-deasachaidh, anns a bheil mòran fiosrachaidh air iomadach cuspair – uaireannan cuspairean nach buin ro fhaisg ris na sgeulachdan* ‘The editor has about a hundred pages of notes, in which there is much information on many subjects – sometimes topics that do not relate closely to the stories’ (§400053); *Anns an dòigh sin agus an dòighean eile buinidh an leabhar gu mór ris na bliadhnachan 1930 – 1960, crìoch a t-seann-saoghail agus fosgladh an t-saoghail ùir ann an Leódhas, Na Hearadh 's Glaschu* ‘In that and other ways, the book pertains greatly to the years 1930-1960, the end of the old world and the opening of the new world in Lewis, Harris and Glasgow’ (§400083); *Cha 'n 'eil sinn a' gabhail gnothuich thall no bhos ri càil a bhuineas do riaghladh rioghachd* ‘We are not at all interfering with anything that concerns ruling a kingdom’ (§401001); *Seallaidh tu thairis air gach nì eadhon nithean nach eil sgrìobhte air an duilleig seo idir; nithean a bhuineas ri riaghladh mo thaighe 's mo theaghlaich, agus sin gu glic caomhntach fhads a bhios mise air falbh* ‘You will look through everything, even things that are not written on this page/sheet at all, things that concern managing my house and my family, and that wisely and frugally whilst I am away’ (§400122); *'S dòcha gun tog sinn cuspair no dhà eile an deidh seo, agus 'se*

ar dòchas 's ar guidhe ma thig faclan eile thugaibh fhéin a bhuineas ris na cuspairean sin (no ri cuspairean sam bith eile) gun leig sibh fios dhuinn ‘Perhaps we will address a few other topics after this, and it is our hope and our wish, if you get any other words that concern these topics (or any other topics) that you let us know’ (§400096); *Tha e fìor gu bheil Hay a’ togail bho chainnt nan daoine – gu h-àraidh bho Ghàidhlig Cheann a-deas Earra Ghàidheal – caochladh fhacal a bhuineas ri marachd no ri caitheamh-beatha an iasgair* ‘It is true that Hay is collecting, from the people’s speech – especially from Gaelic of South Argyll – various words that pertain to horsemanship or fishing lifestyle’ (§400136); **Buinidh an dearbh rud ris an roinn air ‘Irregular Verbs’ far nach eil ach seachd air an ainmeachadh** ‘The same applies to the section on Irregular Verbs, where only seven are mentioned’ (§400109).

[COND]

- *Ghléidh sinn buadhan àraidh a bhuineadh do 'n chorp* ‘We kept certain traits that pertain to the body’ (§400034);⁴³⁰ *Aon uair 's gu robh e soilleir gu robh cumhachd an S.N.P. a’ fàs agus a’ sìor fhàs thòisich na pàipearan-naidheachd a’ gabhail barrachd ùidh ann agus anns gach nì a bhuineadh ri nàiseantachd na h-Albann* ‘Once it was clear that the SNP’s power was growing constantly, the newspapers started showing more interest in it and in everything that concerned Scottish nationhood’ (§400066).

[PROG]

- *Tha Uilleam MacMhathain a’ faicinn na fàisneachd seo, chan ann mar bhriathran a tha a’ beantainn ri àm ri teachd, ach mar bhriathran a tha a’ beantainn ri rud a dh’fhaodadh a bhith air tachairt ann an eachdraidh* ‘William Matheson sees this prophecy not as words that are concerned with the future but as words concerned with something that could have happened in the past’ (§210); *Co-dhiù, 's iongantach mur ann ri Clann Choinnich, no ri ball den chinneadh, a bha an fhàisneachd a’ beantainn* ‘However, it is probably the Mackenzies or a member of the clan that the prophecy referred to’ (§210); *...ach tha amharras aig mòran gur ann a’ beantainn ri obair an luchd-turais a tha a’ mhór-chuid de na tha aig a’ Bhòrd anns an amharc – agus chan eil mise idir toilichte leis a sin* ‘...but many suspect that most of what the Board have in sight is concerned with tourism – and I am not happy about that at all’ (§400058); *B’ e facal a’ mhinisteir am facal mu dheireadh air nì diamhair no cudthromach sam bith a bha beantainn ri beatha an t-sluaigh* ‘The minister’s word was the final word on any confidential or important issue that was relevant for the life of the people’ (§400181); *Bha beagan min-fhiosrachaidh eile aig Iain a thuilleadh air a seo ach 's e sin na bha beantainn ri Seumas* ‘Iain had little other detail apart from this but that is what had to do with James’ (§14); **Chan eil riaghailtean nàdair daonna a’ beantainn ri mac an duine.** *Is tric a bhris thu fhèin iad nuair a chasg thu am bàs air leabaidh an tinneis* ‘Rules of nature do not always apply to human beings. You often broke them yourself when you stopped death on the sickbed’ (§210); *Ged a tha seann chogaidhean, an aobhar 's an gnè, eucolach ri cogaidhean ar latha-ne, tha an samhla a tha san inntinn,*

⁴³⁰ Or: *belong to the body?* See §3 below.

air cothachadh is buaidh, air gaisge 's air ìobairt, air an lasadh suas an làmhnan sgrìobhaichean chumhachdaich; tha na samhlaichean sin a' beantainn ri féin-dhìon is féin-ghleidheadh is féin-agairt – ris a' ghleidhidh-bheatha a tha 'na phàirt mòr de Nàduir fhéin ‘...those images relate to self-defence and self-preservation, and self-assertion – of the preservation of life that is a large part of the Nature herself’ (§400083).

- *Tha Dorian (1985, 35-36) ag innseadh mun obair a bha a' buntainn ri smocadh an èisg ann an Eurabal, agus mar a bhite a' cleachdadh dhurcan* ‘Dorian (1985, 35-36) tells about the work that had to do with smoking fish in Eriboll, and how they used to use cones’ (§197); *Deochan-slàinte tradiseanta a tha 'buntainn ris a' Challainn* ‘Traditional toasts that have to do with the New Year’s Day’ (§197); *Airson nithean nach robh a' buntainn ri ar beatha anns an àite againn fhéin, cha robh Gàidhlig againn* ‘For things that were not relevant to our life in our own place, we did not have a Gaelic expression’ (§400082); *“Seall, tha riaghailtean glé phongail againn, gun a bhith a' seachnadh cuspairean poiliticeach. An cóigeamh, Na marbh; an seachdamh, Na goid.”* “Co ris tha sin a' buntainn?” dh'fhaighnich Biondo ann an guth diamhair “Look, we have precise rules, not avoiding political topics. The fifth one, Do not kill; the seventh, Do not steal” “Who does that apply to?” asked Biondo in a confidential voice’ (§400051); *Bha Frangan MacBheathain 'na fhear-rannsachaidh air na Sgoiltean Gàidhlig, agus bha an riaghailt mu shearmonachadh a' buntainn ris-san cuideachd* ‘Francis Macbean was a researcher of the Gaelic Schools, and the rule about preaching applied to him too’ (§400117).

3. Buin (state)

Meaning: 1. belong; 2. originate, be/come from.

The preposition *do* normally occurs in this context.

Only simple verb forms (usually the future and the conditional) are used in this context.

- [FUT] *A réir Kuno Meyer, buinidh a' chainnt anns an deachaidh an dàn so a sgrìobhadh do 'n deicheamh linn* ‘According to Kuno Meyer, the language in which the poem was written belongs to the tenth century’ (§217001); *Ach a' bharrachd air so, buinidh am fearann gu firinneach do 'n Stàid* ‘But in addition to this, the land truly belongs to the State’ (§218004); *Buinidh an sgeulachd do Bheàrnaraidh Bheag an Leódhas, is tha i air bilean an t-sluaigh fhathast* ‘The story belongs to Little Bernera in Lewis, and it is still on the lips of the people’ (§400002); *Buinidh am fiteach, agus trì eòin eile, an ròcas, an starrag agus a' chathag (daw), a tha fuireach no a' tadhal san eilean, do theaghlach na feannaig (crow)* ‘The raven, along with three other birds that visit or live in the island: the rook, the hooded crow and the daw, belongs to the crow family’ (§400012); *Buinidh ùghdar an sgeòil so do Ghleann-dail anns an Eilean Sgiathanach* ‘The author of the story belongs to Glendale in the Isle of Skye’ (§400026); *Buinidh Ailean, fear na bainnse, do Bheàrnaraigh na Hearadh far an robh mi naodh bliadhna deug 'nam mhinistear* ‘Alan, the bridegroom, belongs to Bernera (Harris), where I was

a minister for 19 years' (§400180); **Buinidh** Iain do Chlann Mhic Coinnich 'Iain belongs to Clan Mackenzie' (§400129); Cò dha a bhuineas tu? 'Who do you belong to?' [*lit.*] (§197);

- [COND] *An déidh seo b' e fear Alasdair Dòmhnallach bho Heisgeir a bhuineadh do Chlann Uisdein a fhuair an tac* 'After that, it was one Alasdair Macdonald from Heisgir, who belonged to Macdonalds of Sleat, that got the tack' (§26); **Bhuineadh** mo sheanmhair Thàboist do Shiadair 'My Habost grandmother belonged to Shader' (§35); **Bhuineadh** an t-soitheach a dh'ainmich mi cheana do Mhgr. Pagan, marsanta a Grianaig 'The vessel that I have already mentioned belonged to Mr. Pagan, a merchant from Greenock' (§400031).

Note a rare example of the verb *bean* in this context:

- *Ceart gu leòr 's e àirneis a bheanadh dhan t-seachdamh linn deug a bha ann* 'Surely that was furniture that belonged to the 17th century' (§400172).

A few past tense examples have been found:

- *Bha 'athair 'na dhuin'-uasal o Gh Galicia, agus bhuin a mhàthair dha 'n dùthaich cheudna* 'His father was a nobleman from Galicia and his mother belonged to the same country' (§218002); *Thug mi a' phìob a-steach don taigh agus chuir mi i air bòrd beag ann an oisinn còmhla ri soithichean a bhuin do dh'Alasdair Crom romhamsa* 'I took the pipe into the house and I put it on a small table in a corner along with some dishes that belonged to Alasdair Crom before me' (§400109); **Cha bhuin** iad do Ghaidhlig cheart 'na bheachd-san 'They [=the words] did not belong to correct Gaelic, in his opinion' (§401003).

There are very few examples of progressive forms:

- *Tiodhlaicear mi ann an uaigh nach eil 'buntainn dhomh* 'I will be buried in a grave that does not belong to me' (§15); **Tha** 51 muillean eile **a' buntainn do threubhan Slàbhach eile** (*Ucrainich, FionnRuisianich* 7c.) 'Other 51 million [people] belong to other Slavic tribes (Ukrainians, Belorussians etc.)' (§400045); **Tha** na trì òrain anns a bheil MacDhùnlèibhe fàilteachadh Comunn nam Fineachan Gàidhealach an Glaschu **a' buntainn do linn eile...** 'The three songs in which Dunlevy salutes the Society of Highland Clans in Glasgow belong to another century/era...' (§400139).

4. Other

Buin bho 'take from'

- *B' ann air éiginn a fhuair i a chead gu dol am mach a chum St. Pierre-le-Moutier a bhuntainn o làmhnan nan naimhdean* 'With difficulty, she got his permission to go out to St. Pierre-le-Moutier to take it from the hands of the enemy' (§217001).

Bi buntainn aig... ri ‘be concerned with’

- *Cha bhi buntainn aig a’ Chomunn ri nithean pobullach no creidmheach* ‘The Society is not concerned with matters of people or religion’ (§200).

Dlùth-bheantainn / dlùth-bhuntainn

- *’Se sgìreachdan sgapte ar breith ’s ar dùthchais a chaidh a chur fo ’n ùghdarras airson ath-chumadh: tha dlùth-bheantainn aig na nì iad a nise agus an dòigh san dean iad e ris gach duine againn* ‘It is the dispersed areas of our birth and home country that were put in their power in order to be reshaped: what they will do now and the way in which they will do it is highly relevant to every single one of us’ (§400058);
- *Tha rud eile ann a tha a’ dlùth-bhuntainn ri nàdur nan luibhean flùranach agus ’se sin mar a tha na measan a’ fàs* ‘There is another thing that is very relevant to the nature of flowering plants and that is how the fruit grows’ (§33).

5. Etymology

bean < Old Irish *benaid* (strike, beat, cut, reap, etc.)

buin < under the influence of Old Irish *boingid* (strike, break, cut, reap)? According to eDIL, *boingid* influenced some forms of *benaid* later on (*boin-*, *bain-*). This makes sense especially with the meaning ‘tear away’. However, MacBain claims that *buin* developed from *bean* under the influence of *bun* (stock), which makes sense given the meanings ‘belong’ and ‘come from’.

4.12 Tense and aspect: simple forms of *caidil*

Simple forms of the verb *caidil* can be interpreted as describing either a state (durative) (*sleep*) or an achievement (ingressive) (*fall asleep*, or *go to sleep*), depending on context. The meaning ‘fall asleep’ is found, for example, in expressions such as: *cho luath ’s a chaidleas x* ‘as soon as x falls asleep’ and often *mus caidleas / chaidil x* ‘before x falls / fell asleep’, etc. The meaning ‘sleep’ occurs with expressions of duration (e.g. *dhà latha*, *car greis*), adverbs that describe the state of being asleep (e.g. *gu ciùin*, *gu trom*), expressions introduced by *gus* ‘until’ and *mus/mun* ‘before’, etc. In other words, the latter refers to a bounded state.

Examples⁴³¹

1. Future tense

FALL ASLEEP; GO TO SLEEP

- *Bha e feitheamh gus an cluinneadh e a’ fuaim a dhèanadh am bucas, ach thainig fuaim eile – dorus a’ fosgladh – agus dhùisg e. “Seo,” arsa Nellie. “Fàg a-sin e.” “Chan fhàg. Caidlidh-tu. Siuthad, suidh an àirde.” Chaidh e air uilinn agus ghabh e an copan bhuaipe ‘He was waiting until he would hear the sound that the box but another noise came – a door opening – and he woke up. “Here”, said Neillie. “Leave it there.” “No. You’ll fall asleep. Go on, sit up.” He got up onto his elbow and took the cup from her.’ (§30); *Feumaidh sinn nis éirigh a dh’aona luath ’s a chaidleas am fòmhar. Agus feumaidh sinn togail rithe no marbhaidh e thu mun tig a’ mhaduinn ‘We have to get up now as soon as the giant falls asleep. And we have to leave or he will kill you before the morning comes’ (§400050); *Dh’fhàg thu mi gun deoch-an-doruis a ghabhail leam; agus imiridh tu òl orm a rithis mu ’n caidil thu ‘You left me without having one for the door with me; and you will have to drink for me again before you go to sleep’ (§234002); *Tha e ’na fhasan aige a bhith a’ ruith thairis ’na inntinn, a h-uile h-oidhche anns an leabaidh mus caidil e, air ùrlar pìobaireachd ‘He has the habit to go over the theme of the tune in his mind, every night in bed before he falls asleep’ (§400036).****

SLEEP

- *Theid e [=the bear] ceum no dhà anull bho bheul an tuill agus ma chì e fhaileas féin, tillidh e asteach agus caidlidh e ochd seachdainean eile, ach mur am faic e fhaileas, fuirichidh e amuigh ‘It takes a few steps out of the den and if it sees its own shadow, it goes back in and sleeps for eight more weeks, but if it does not see its shadow, it stays*

⁴³¹ Source: *Corpas na Gàidhlig* (<https://dasg.ac.uk/corpus>).

outside’ (§400018); *Cha bhi (...) Aislingean neònach agam... gu h-àraid ma chaidleas mi troimh ’n latha* ‘I will not have weird dreams... especially if I sleep during the day’ (§30); *Ged chaidleas sinn car ùine bhos, Gun dùisgear sin à suain Nuair sheinnear leis an trompaid ud Le sgal às ùr ro chruaidh – Nach ann a bhios a’ ghaoir an sin...* ‘If we sleep for a while, Till we are woken up from slumber...’ (§50);

- *Sin thu a nis Iain, bheir mi dhiot do bhrògan agus caidlidh tu gu snog. Cha chuir duine dragh ort* ‘There Iain, I will take your shoes off and you will sleep nicely. Nobody will disturb you’ (§42); *Cha chreid mi gun caidil mi ceart fo-rùm idir* ‘I don’t think that I’ll sleep right below deck at all’ (§306); *Cha tharraing an astar so ach mu uair a thìde gu leth, ach glé thrì bithidh am fear-siubhail cho sgìth claidhte mu ’n àm so agus gun caidil e mòran nas fheàrr na nì e anns na deich uairean eadar Glaschu agus Lunnainn* ‘...but very often, the traveller will be so tired and exhausted about that time that he will sleep much better than he does in the ten hours between Glasgow and London’ (§400035);
- *C’ àite an caidil mo nìonag a nochd? C’ àite an caidil mo nìonag? Far an caidil luaidh mo chrìdh’ Is truagh nach robh mi fhìn ann* ‘Where will my wee lass sleep tonight? Where will my wee lass sleep? Where the love of my heart sleeps, It is a pity that I was not there’ (§315).

AMBIGUOUS

In the following examples, *caidil* means ‘sleep’ but it could also be interpreted as ‘go to sleep’ or ‘fall asleep’.

- *“Leabaidh na mallachd,” ars esan, “cha do chuir mise seachad riamh oidhche cho fìor olc ris a raoir; aisligean, bruaillean, cadal, dùsgadh, ’s fad na h-ùine mi faireachadh gu robh rudeigin na cuideigin ag èaladh mun cuairt sa leapa.” Thug e sùil air mo mhàthair; “Caidlidh mis ri bruthaichean na tràghad ud shìos, mun cuir mi ceann air cluasaig sa’ leabaidh ud tuilleadh.”* ““That bloody bed”, he said, “I have never spent such a really bad night as last night; dreams, annoyance, falling asleep, waking up, and all the time I felt like something or someone was creeping about the bed.” He looked at my mother; “I will sleep / go to sleep at the slopes of that beach down there, before I put my head on a pillow in that bed ever again.”⁴³² (§36); *Ma chaidleas tu an dràsda cha chaidil thu a nochd* ‘If you sleep now, you won’t sleep tonight’ (§306); *Chan éirich an dràsda... ’s maite gun caidil sinn a nochd. Mur a caidil ni sinn coffee* ‘Not now... perhaps we won’t sleep tonight. If we don’t sleep, we’ll make coffee’ (§306).

2. Conditional

FALL ASLEEP; GO TO SLEEP

- [HABITUAL] *Landaig mi ann an Texas agus thug mi iomadach oidhche mus do chaidil mi ceart. Cho luath ’s a chaidlinn dheidhinn chon an aon rud ’nam aisling* ‘I ended up

⁴³² The sense of the last sentence is: I’d rather sleep on the beach than in that bed.

in Texas and it took me many nights until I slept properly. As soon as I would fall asleep I would go to the same thing in my dream...’ (§27);

- [CONDITIONAL] *Ach co-dhiubh air eagal ’s gum faodadh beathaichean fiadhaich tighinn air **nan caidleadh** e, dhìrich e suas ann an craobh mhór* ‘Anyway, for fear that wild beasts might attack him if he fell asleep, he climbed up into a big tree’ (§318); *Dhùraiginn m’ anail a leigeil far an robh mi: ach nan rachainn tacan am shìneadh air an t-sneachd b’ e an cunnart **gun caidlinn** ’s nach dùisginn tuilleadh* ‘I wanted to take a rest where I was: but if I stretched myself on the snow for a while, the risk was that I would fall asleep and that I would not wake up ever again’ (§400177).

SLEEP

- [HABITUAL] *’S an oidhche **chaidleadh** an teaghlach air leabaichean fraoich, an cadal suaimhneach, domhainn sin a bha ri fhaotainn anns an àille ghlan a measg nam beanntan* ‘In the night, the family would sleep on heather beds, that deep peaceful sleep that could be had in the pure beauty among the mountains’ (§401007);
- [CONDITIONAL] *Tha e cadal fad a’ gheamhraidh, ’s **ged a chaidleadh e fad an t-samhraidh, seadh, ’s fad an fhoghair ’na dheigh sin, so am fear nach cuireadh ionndrainn air*** ‘He sleeps all winter, and even if he slept all summer and, yes, all autumn after that, this is the one that would not be missed’ (§199);
- [PAST FUTURE] *Fhreagair an gille gu robh i dhàsan cho seasgair tlàth ri leabaidh anns an dùthaich; oir, leis mar bhà e air a chlaoidh le obair an latha, **gun caidleadh e gu suaimhneach ré na h-oidhche eadhon ged b’ i a’ chlach a bhitheadh fo a cheann*** ‘The lad replied that, for him, it was as snug and soft as a bed in the country; because – with how exhausted he was by the day’s work – he would sleep peacefully all night even if he had a stone for a pillow’ (§400012); ***Chaidleadh a manach bochd an oidhch’ ud*** ‘The poor monk would sleep that night’⁴³³ (§400181); *Dh’fhan mi ’nam chaithris oidhche Shatharna air eagal **gun caidlinn ro-fhada nan caidlinn idir*** ‘I stayed awake on Saturday night for fear that I would sleep too long if I slept at all’ (§400177).

AMBIGUOUS

- [HABITUAL] *Bha an seirbhiseach a’ dol a-mach a h-uile madainn agus bioran beag maide aige ’na dhòrn. Stobadh e am bioran dha ’n talamh agus an uair sin chuireadh e ri shròin e. Thilleadh e stigh. Shìneadh e e fhéin suas ri taobh an teine agus **chaidleadh e*** ‘...he would stretch himself at the side of the fire and sleep / fall asleep (§311); *Bha aon aislig na fìor dhroch throm-laighe fhìn a h’ uile turas **a chaidlinn*** ‘One dream was a really bad nightmare whenever I would sleep / go to sleep (§34);
- [CONDITIONAL] *Dh’fhan mi ’nam chaithris oidhche Shatharna air eagal gun caidlinn ro-fhada **nan caidlinn idir*** ‘I stayed awake on Saturday night for fear that I would sleep too long if I slept / fell asleep at all’ (§400177); *Sin thusa thu fhéin anns an oisean sin agus caidil agus ’nuair a dhuisgeas thu gheibh thu.....tea.... (...)* ***Chaidlinn fhìn nam bitheadh sibh sàmhach*** ‘Stretch yourself in that corner and sleep and when you wake up you will get... tea... (...) I would sleep / fall asleep if you were quiet’ (§42);

⁴³³ He would sleep because he knew that there were not going to be any Viking raids.

- [PAST FUTURE] *An oidhche ud fhéin chaidleadh mac an ròin ri bus Uamh an Oir, agus eadar a bhruadair aosda bheireadh e glòmadh air a shùilean cianail* ‘That very night, the seal’s son would sleep / fall asleep at the opening of the Cave of Gold, and between his old dreams, it would bring twilight on his weary eyes’ (§217001).

3. Imperative

SLEEP / GO TO SLEEP

- “*Caidil thus*,” as ise “‘Sleep you”, she said’ (§31); *Uisd a nise. Caidil greiseag eile* ‘Quiet now. Sleep another while’ (§42); *Caidil, a luaidh, caidil* ‘Sleep, darling, sleep’ (§44); *Is caidil gu ciùin* ‘And sleep peacefully’ (§48); *Sìn thusa thu fhéin anns an oisean sin agus caidil agus ’nuair a dhuisgeas thu gheibh thu.....tea* ‘Stretch yourself in that corner and sleep and when you wake up you will get... tea’ (§42); *Nise na caidlibh tuilleadh an dùsal suaimhneach* ‘Now don’t sleep the peaceful slumber anymore’ (§267).

4. Past tense

FALL ASLEEP; GO TO SLEEP

- “*A Dhiarmaid! am bheil thu ’nad dhùsgadh?*” “*Tha mise ’nam dhùisg,*” arsa Diarmaid. “*C’ à ’m b’ fhearr leat a bhi agad air a thogail an aona chaisteal bu bhreagha chunnaic thu riamh?*” “*Suas os cionn Beinn Eudainn, nam faighinn mo roghainn.*” ***Chaidil*** Diarmaid, ‘*s cha duirt ise tuilleadh ris* “‘Diarmaid, are you awake?’ “I am awake”, said Diarmaid. “Where would you prefer to have the very most beautiful castle built that you have ever seen?” “Up above Beinn Eudainn⁴³⁴, if I can choose.” Diarmaid fell asleep and she did not talk to him anymore’ (§217001); *Dhùin mi ’n doras is chuir mi fàd ri cùl an teine. Dhùin a ghalla a sùilean is chaidil mise.* “*Chaidil mi, ach tha mi ’m beachd nach d’ rinn mi ach cadal goirid nuair a dhùisg guth m’ athar a-rithist mi* ‘I closed the door and put a peat at the back of the fire. The bitch closed its eyes and I fell asleep...’ (§316); *S’ iomadh smaointinn a ruith an ceann an Rosaich mu ’n do chaidil e* ‘Many thoughts ran through the Ross-shire man’s head before he fell asleep’ (§341).

SLEEP

- “*’N d’fhuair thu cadal? Na chaidil thu?*” “***Chaidil.*** *Fhuair.*” “‘Have you got any sleep? Have you slept?’ “Yes. I have.” (§11); *Tharraing Cairstìona na cùrtearan. Bhris an t-suaile air a’ chladach le brag. Laigh mi fon a’ chuibhrig, agus dhùin mi mo shùilean. Cha do chaidil mi idir. Cha b’ urrainn dhomh* ‘Cairstìona pulled the curtains. The swell broke on the beach with a crash. I lay under the bedcover and closed my eyes. I did not sleep at all. I was not able to’ (§11); *An ath mhadainn bha Alasdair a’ dùrachdainn*

⁴³⁴ The Hill of Howth, Ireland.

*nach robh e air a bhith cho cabhagach. **Cha do chaidil e ro mhath.** Fad na h-oidhche bha duine oillteill ann an trusgan uaine agus le currac uaine air a cheann an tòir air ‘Next morning Alasdair wished that he had not been that abrupt. He did not sleep too well. Throughout the night, a terrible man in green attire with a green cap on his head was chasing him’ (§16); *Choisich sinn tràth air a’ mhadainn gu ruigeadh Valhoum, mu naoi mìle air falbh agus tuath. Chuir sinn seachad an latha ’n so. **Chaidil sinn ann an sgoil bhig ann am meadhoin a’ bhaile** ‘We walked early in the morning as far as Valhoum, about nine miles away to the north. We spent the day there. We slept in a small school in the town centre’ (§201); *Landaig mi ann an Texas agus thug mi iomadach oidhche **mus do chaidil mi ceart*** ‘I ended up in Texas and it took me many nights before I slept properly’ (§27); *Agus an deidh dhaibh ith, shuidh e-fhéin agus Teàrlach mu choinneamh an teine. Chaidh a’ mhaduinn seachad gun fhios dha. **Cha do chaidil e idir*** ‘And after they had eaten, he and Charles sat opposite the fire. The morning went by without him noticing. He did not sleep at all’ (§30); ***Cha do chaidil mi a-raoir ged a bha mo shùilean dùinte*** ‘I did not sleep last night although my eyes were closed’ (§316).**

AMBIGUOUS

- *Ré an latha bha am Prionnsa am folach anns a’ mhonadh faisg air Cnòideart agus gle theann air na saighdearan dearga. **Chaidil e uair no dhà feadh ’s a bha dithis d’ a chàirdean a’ faire, agus dithis eile air falbh an tòir air lòn** ‘During the day the Prince was hiding in the mountain near Knoydart and very close to the redcoats. He slept / fell asleep a few times whilst two of his friends were keeping watch and two others away to look for a meal’ (§234001); *Ach bha i fhéin ’s Siùsan air an cois gle anmoch, mar a bhitheas càirdean nach fhaca a chéile o chionn fada, agus nuair a chaidh i do ’n leabaidh **chaidil i gu trom*** ‘But she and Susan were up very late, as friends who have not seen each other for a long time do, and when she went to bed she slept soundly / fell into a deep sleep’ (§305); *Cha do dhùin a sùil ann an cadal, is nuair a dh’èigh Sìneag leis an trom-laighe b’ e a làmh-se a chaidh oirre ga ciùineachadh **gus an do chaidil ise mar a nì an òige*** ‘She did not sleep at all, and little Joan shouted because of a nightmare it was her hand that went to calm her down until she slept / fell asleep as youths do’ (§316); *Dhùin mi ’n doras is chuir mi fàd ri cùl an teine. Dhùin a ghalla a sùilean is chaidil mise. “**Chaidil mi, ach tha mi ’m beachd nach d’ rinn mi ach cadal goirid nuair a dhùisg guth m’ athar a-rithist mi** ‘I closed the door and put a peat at the back of the fire. The bitch closed its eyes and I fell asleep. “I slept / fell asleep but I think that I slept only for a short while when my father’s voice woke me up again”’ (§316); *Choisich iad an uairsin, am baile uile, agus beagan a bharrachd, sìos air madainn fhrasaich chun a’ chladh, a’ ghainmheach a’ sìobadh agus lòn air an t-slighe, is thill iad dhachaigh, ’s ghabh iad dram, ’s **chaidil iad*** ‘They walked then, the whole village, and a bit more, on a showery morning down to the graveyard, the sand drifting and puddles on the path, and they returned home, and had a dram, and slept / went to sleep’ (§400108).**

5. Various

This contains a few different verb forms:

- *Nuair a thàinig àm dol a chadal, dh'fhoighneachd Gruagach a' Bhruit Ghuirm càit an caidleadh Mac Rìgh Lochlann a nochd. "Caidlidh mo leanabh ann am achlais far am minig a chaidil e," orsa Gruagach a' Bhruit Uaine 'When the time came to go to sleep, the Blue-Cloaked Maid asked where the Son of the King of Lochlann would sleep that night. "My child will sleep in my arms where he often slept", said the Green-Cloaked Maid' (§51).*

6. Verbal noun

This can be interpreted either as 'fall(ing) asleep' or 'sleep(ing)'.

- *"Leabaidh na mallachd," ars esan, "cha do chuir mise seachad riamh oidhche cho fìor olc ris a raoir; aisligean, bruillean, cadal, dùsgadh, 's fad na h-ùine mi faireachadh gu robh rudeigin na cuideigin ag èaladh mun cuairt sa leapa." Thug e sùil air mo mhàthair; "Caidlidh mis ri bruthaichean na tràghad ud shìos, mun cuir mi ceann air chuasaig sa 'leabaidh ud tuilleadh." "That bloody bed", he said, "I have never spent such a really bad night as last night; dreams, confusion, sleeping, waking, and all the time I felt like something or someone was creeping about the bed..." (§36);*
- *Rinn mi beagan norradaich greiseag ach, och, cha b' urrainn dhomh cadal dòigheil 'I had a snooze for a wee while, but, ach, I couldn't sleep fine' (§310).*

7. Dèan cadal

Few examples have been found in the corpus. They describe sleeping as a state.

- *Dhèanainn cadal airson mìos, ach thig mi còmhla ruibh! 'I could sleep for a month but I'll come with you!' (§16); Chaidil mi, ach tha mi 'm beachd nach d' rinn mi ach cadal goirid nuair a dhùisg guth m' athar a-rithist mi 'I slept / fell asleep but I think that I slept only for a short while when my father's voice woke me up again' (§316).*

5. Motion towards & beneficiary

5.1 Motion towards & beneficiary: Motional adverbs

1. Introduction

The motional adverbs are shown in the following table.

Adverb	Meaning	
<i>suas</i>	up	away from the referent
<i>sìos</i>	down	away from the referent
<i>a-nuas</i>	down / up	towards the referent
<i>a-nìos</i>	up	towards the referent
<i>a-null (a-nunn)</i>	over [there]	away from the referent
<i>a-nall</i>	over [here]	towards the referent
<i>a-mach</i>	out	---
<i>a-steach (a-staigh)</i>	in	---

The adverbs *suas* and *sìos* can refer to the cardinal points. According to Dwelly (*s. v. sìos*), in W Ross, *sìos* means westwards, i.e. down the course of the streams, and *suas* means eastwards. In Perthshire, however, *sìos* meant eastwards. In Gairloch, *shìos* and *suas* mean ‘north’ and ‘south’ respectively.

The variants *a-suas* and *a-sìos* (for *suas* and *sìos*) have also been recorded, e.g. *Chaidh Eóghann is Coinneach a suas* (§217004); *Thog iad orra an sin a-sìos an t-sràid chun an talla san robh a’ cho-labhairt* (§400161).

The adverb *a-nuas* can mean both ‘down’ and ‘up’ in some dialects, i.e. it has replaced the word *a-nìos*, which is considerably rare in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*. The adverb *a-staigh* is used instead of *a-steach* in certain dialects.

The adverb (*a-*)*bhàn* (or *a-bhàin*, *a-mhàn*) is used in certain dialects instead of *sìos*. The adverb *a-stàn* expresses either the same or the opposite meaning in some dialects. Both are rare in the corpus.

Adverbs that imply motion to or away from the referent occur more frequently with verbs that describe the same direction of motion, e.g. *thig a-nuas / a-nall*; *thèid suas / sìos / a-null*. Verbs that do not express motion relative to the speaker (e.g. *ruith*, *liùg*, *snàmh*, *cuir*, *tilg*, *tarraing*) can occur with any of these adverbs. Similarly, the adverbs can be combined with prepositions, whereby the direction of motion implied by the adverb corresponds to the meaning of the preposition (goal/origin, point/space, etc.), e.g. *suas gu/do*, *a-steach do*, *a-nuas bho*, *a-mach à*,

etc. These, however, are not firm rules and there are numerous exceptions. Cf. also *a' tighinn a mach fo 'n leabaidh* 'coming out from under the bed' (§46).

Certain adverb-preposition combinations are much more frequent than others and some appear to be more common in earlier texts.

Some of these adverbs (especially *suas*) can act as part of phrasal verbs, e.g. *cuir suas* 'put up, build, erect'; *cùm suas* 'keep up'; *dèan suas* 'make up'; *coimhead sìos air* 'look down on', etc. *Suas* can also express completeness of an event, e.g. *tàth suas* 'join up, weld'; *las suas* 'light up', *lìon suas* 'fill up'. Cf. also *éirich suas* 'get up', *suidh sìos* 'sit down'.⁴³⁵

The following examples come from 20th-century texts published in *Gairm*, available in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

2. Prepositional use

Most of these adverbs can function as prepositions, in which usage they govern the nominative case. There are numerous examples of *suas* and *sìos* in this context in the corpus. *A-nuas* and *a-nìos* are much less frequent, whilst *a-null* and *a-nall* are rare.

- [SUAS] *Ghlaic mi i [=my knife] 's ghabh mi suas an crann* 'went up the mast' (§400011); *a' coiseachd suas an t-sràid* (§400004); *'ga putadh suas an staighre le neart a chinn* (§400015); *a' coiseachd suas taobh na mara* (§400058); *Sheòl iad suas Loch Sìphort gu faisg air Airigh-bhruach* (§400096); *a' streap suas cladach creagach Shùlasgeir* (§400002);⁴³⁶ *ghabh e suas am bruthach* (§400012); *feumar leum air tìr air taobh sear an eilein agus an t-eathar (...) a shlaodadh suas aghaidh na creige* (§400025); *a bha dol suas an sgìre* (§400007);
- [SÌOS] *a' dol sìos an abhainn* (§400004); *thòisich mi air cuibhleadh sìos an gleann* (§400010); *Mar a bha mi 'coiseachd sìos an rathad ...* (§400004); *chaidh an duine aice sìos an staidhre* (§400013); *falas a' sruthadh sìos aodann* 'down his face' (§400001); *feuch nach tuit e sìos cùl an t-sòfa* (§400010); *Bha e dol sìos an leathad* (§400018); *Lean sinn sgoltaidhean-gleanntach sìos taobh deas nam beann* (§400015); *gu robh an tractor a bha ag obair aige-san an là ud ri dol sìos an sgìre* (§400018);
- [A-NUAS] *a' tighinn a-nuas an rathad* (§400001); *ruith e nuas an staidhre* (§400013); *thàinig iad a-nuas am machaire* (§400103); *thàinig e a nuas an taobh eile de 'n chaisteal* (§400015);
- [A-NÌOS] *'S mi tighinn a nìos an Gallowgate* (§400094); *a' tighinn a-nìos an rathad bho Loch Raonasa* (§400125); *tainig an duine aice a nìos an staidhre* (§400013);
- [A-NULL] *Bha mi air a chuile ceum a choiseachd, cha mhór, a-mach air ceann an starain, a-null an rathad mór ...* (§400038);

⁴³⁵ Many are calques on English.

⁴³⁶ This verb might be transitive, cf. *a' streupadh suas na creige* (§400044).

- [A-NALL] *Bha iad uile tighinn còmhladh nall cùl na h-iodhlainn* (§400024); cf. also: *a inntinn mar chù a' ruith choinein a null 's a nall an rathad-mòr agus a mach 's a stigh mu na digean* (§400008).

Cf. the following:

- [SUAS] *Theid mi fhìn is Coinneach suas am baile, is ceannaichidh mi pint dha* (§400054);⁴³⁷
- [SÌOS] *chaidh sinn sìos am baile airson dìneir 'downtown'* (§400002).

Sometimes, no verb of motion is present.

- *Theireadh cuid gu robh sinn suas a' Mhaoil, 's cuid eile gu robh sinn amuigh anns a' Chuan Siar* (§400016).⁴³⁸

Note also: *suas agus sìos*.

- *tha carbad aca gus ruith suas is sìos an gleann* (§400010).

3. Preposition *gu*

This preposition is often combined with *suas* and *sìos*. The other combinations are less common. The object of *gu* often describes a point in space.

- [SUAS] *stiùir balach òg e suas gu oifis* (§400108); *chaidh mi suas gu bocsa nan teiceid* (§400005); *chum sinn suas gu doras a' Chaisteil* (§400005); *Chuidich sinn suas gu druim an rathaid e* (§400007); *a' toirt sgrìob suas gu Cnoc nan Gobhar* (§400027); *choisich e gu mall suas gu fosglachadh Queen's Park* (§400108); *dol seachad air an leabaidh aice suas gu leabaidh Nighean Eachainn* (§400009); *Chuir i a làmh suas gu a ceann* (§400044); *Lìon am muga suas gu bheil* (§400056); *nan tarraingeadh e a ghlùinean suas gu a bhroilleach...* (§400085); *Shlaod mi m' eallach suas gu 'n lobhta* (§400069); *a dhol suas gun an tigh-eiridinn* (§400091); *le seacaid ghoirid agus sgiorta chaol gun pleat, a' dol suas gu na glùinean* (§400041); *chaidh iarraidh oirnn a dhol suas chon na Shipping Office* (§400005); *Chaidh dithis de na h-eildearan suas chun na cùbaid* (§400022); *ruith an Sasunnach suas chun an sgiobair* (§400027); *le a ghàirdeanan a shìneadh gu buadhail suas chun an speur* (§400046); *Choisich mi suas chun a' champa* (§400058); *thog e air suas chon a' bhaile* (§400104); and: *Ghabh e suas far an robh Catriana chon na leapadh aice* (§400009); *Chaidh Dòmhnall suas thuige* (§400032); *thàinig i suas thuige* (§400039);
- [SÌOS] *Chaidh Calum sìos gu oisinn na sràide* (§400005); *'gan toirt leatha le neart an t-srutha sìos gu bun na h-aibhne* (§400014); *Tha e a' dol sìos gu doimhne an eu-dòchais* (§400006); *gum bheil a h-aodach gu bhith sìos gu leth a' chalpa* (§400005); *choisich mi sìos gu tigh mo sheanar* (§400007); *chaidh e sìos gu 'n deireadh* (§400011); *Chaidh sinn sìos chon an trèana* (§400028); *Ach tilg thusa do chòta mu do cheann agus*

⁴³⁷ It is unclear whether the entire motion takes place within the town. Cf. *chaidh mi suas do 'n bhaile* (§400054).

⁴³⁸ It may be that *suas* is used instead of *shuas* here, i.e. that no motion is implied.

thugainn sìos chun an tìghe còmhlà riumsa (§400001); Bha allt mór ris an abrar Linne Dhubh a' dortadh a chuid uisge sìos chun na mara (§400005); ghabh e sìos chun a' chladaich (§400015); Bha na beathaichean a bha dol dhachaidh r' an cur sìos chun an eathair's amach do 'n bhàta (§400016);

- [A-BHÀN] *gum bi i dol a bhàn gu Lunnainn (§400044);*
- [A-NUAS] *thainig mi nuas gu mo bhracaist (§400017); Thàinig am Fear Ruadh air a shocair a-nuas chun an taigh-chuibhle (§400039); nan tigeadh té dhiubh a-nuas chon na talmhainn so (§400061); Bha an t-eathar-adhair a' tighinn a-nuas gu talamh ann an Tahiti (§40080); sgeulachdan, òrain agus duain, a chaidh aiseag a nuas thugainn troimh na linn-tean le aithris-bedil ar n-athraichean agus ar seanairean (§400006);*
- [A-NÌOS] *air tighinn a nìos gu prìomh bhaile na dùthcha (§401015);*
- [A-NULL] *gus an cur a null gu Uilleam Dubh san Fhraing (§400009); gus an toirt a null gu bean a mhinistir (§400001); an uair a thug mi ceum a null gu tigh Iain Mhóir (§400003); Is ann a leum i null gu bothan na banntaich (§400018); chaidh mi null chun na stàile agam fhéin (§400001); tharruing i chun na stàlla i (§400013); chaidh i null chun na leapa is shuidh i (§400031); leum i a-null chun a' bhùird (§400046);*
- [A-NALL] *Tha e coltach gun tàinig a sheanair a-nall gu Alba (§400198); thig thusa nall chon an àit' agamsa (§400065); Ach co fhios nach gabh thu cuairt eile a-nall thugainn an ath-bhliadhna? (§400054);*
- [A-MACH] *chaidh i mach gu cladach Dhìbeadail (§400031); airson a dhol a-mach gu na bùthainnean (§400054); airson dol a-mach gu dannsa (§400058); Chuir an Comann litrichean a-mach gu ministearan-sgìre (§400114); Cha ruith mi mach chun na sràid 'nam aodach oidhche (§400054);*
- [A-STEACH] *Chaidh iad a steach gu seòmar aoigheachd mór (§400032); feumaidh sibh tighinn a steach gu biadh (§400031); a' tighinn a-steach chun a' chidhe (§400162).*

The object of *gu* can refer to a point in time.

- [SUAS] *Cha do thachair – suas gu so fhéin (§400003); Bha beagan shaighdearan air an cumail sa' Ghearasdan suas gu meadhon na naoidheamh linn deug (§400008);*
- [SÌOS] *Tha mi a' leughadh gun deach a' Phàirc gu léir a leigeil air mhàil (...) sìos gus a' bhliadhna 1842 (§400023);*
- [A-NUAS] *a leantainn beatha Eisenhower a nuas chun an latha 'n diugh (§400001).*

Note also: *bho*... ADV + *gu*.

- [SUAS] *Bha nis da-fhichead ceann anns an ruim aig a' mhaighstir bho aona-bliadhna-deug suas gu ceithir-deug (§400020);*
- [SÌOS] *gach aon diubh a' sìneadh bho 'n mhonadh am meadhon an eilein sìos gus an fhairge (§400018); Dà mhìle bliadhna air ais bha a' chlann Ghreugach a' riasladh ri an aibideil fhéin bho alpha sìos gu omega (§400040);*
- [A-NUAS] *bho 'n uair sin a-nuas gus an là an diugh (§400049).*

4. Preposition *do*

This preposition often occurs in association with *suas*, *a-null* and *a-steach*. The expression *suas do* seems to be less common than *suas gu*, whilst *a-steach do* is much more common than *suas do*.

The object of *do* describes various types of spatial destinations.

- [SUAS] *air tilgeil cnap mòr iarruinn suas dha 'n adhar* (§400004); *bha trì beanntan Hiorta ri togail an cinn àrda suas do 'n iarmailt ghuirm* (§400033); *a' cur smùid shocair suas dha na speuran* (§400101); *chuir iad suas a Chanada e gu ruig Montreal* (§400047); *a dol suas dha 'n Ghàidhealtachd airson mìos* (§400037); *tha e a' deanamh a shlighe troimh Muile 's troimh I, troimh Rùm is troimh Eige agus suas do 'n Eilean Sgitheanach* (§400014); *chaidh mi suas do 'n bhaile* (§400054); *théid sinn suas do 'n chrò a dh'fhaicinn a' chosgoraidh* (§400024); *chaidh i suas do 'n leabaidh* (§400040);⁴³⁹ *Tha leth a tuath an eilein 'na mhòintich thioraim, dorcha le fraoch, ag éirigh suas do 'n bheinn as àirde anns an eilean* (§400017); *thòisich sinn a' togail a chéile suas a mhullach an tighe* (§400010); *Shreap i suas do 'n bhus* (§400024); *mun rachamaid suas do 'n choinnimh-ùrnuigh* (§400009);
- [SÌOS] *chaidh mi sìos dh'an cheann shìos* (§400001); *Thug e Cuileag bhochd sìos do 'n bhaile* (§400005); *Chaidh mi sìos dha 'n sgoil 'sa mhaduinn* (§400005); *Shlaod mi fhéin Alasdair sìos do Thalla Cheilbhin* (§400006); *ghiùlain e gu grad sìos do 'n bhàta i* (§400024); *bha e air a' toirt sìos do 'n uaigh* (§400004);
- [A-BHÀN] *chaidh sinn a bhàn do seòmar na(n) leabhraichean* (§400012);
- [A-NUAS] *Theàrnaich na bràithrean a-nuas dha 'n ghleann* (§400056); *a' bruidhinn air tighinn a-nuas dha 'n bhùthaidh* (§400103);
- [A-NULL] *chaidh am mac so a null do Chanada* (§400014); *'gan aiseag a null do na Stàitean Aonaichte* (§400034); *gu feumadh i falbh comhla ris null a dh'Eirisgeidh* (§400009); *a bhith dol a null a thigh Iain* (§400003); *choisich e a-null do 'n uinneig* (§400047);
- [A-NALL] *Thàinig Dòmhnall Aonghuis Buachaille an turus so a nall do Steòrnabhagh* (§400017); *air tighinn a-nall do Ruma airson latha no dhà* (§400174);
- [A-MACH] *chaidh i a-mach do sheòmar eile* (§400072); *chaidh sinn a mach do 'n Eaglais Mhór* (§400012); *Chaidh sinn a mach do 'n chladh* (§400012);
- [A-STEACH] *thàinig soitheach a steach do Loch Bhraoin* (§400031); *Chaidh e a-steach do 'n loch* (§400056); *thainig fear air each a steach do 'n bhuaile* (§400014).

The following expressions denote the recipient.

- [SUAS] *Agus shìnte cabar an deoghaidh cabair suas dha 'n fhear a bha gu h-àrd 'na sheasamh air planga na sparra-gaoitheadh* (§400020);
- [SÌOS] *Shad e iad sìos do na fir* (§400015);

⁴³⁹ Cf. *dol seachad air an leabaidh aice suas gu leabaidh Nighean Eachainn* (§400009), 'up to the bed' rather than 'up to bed'.

- [A-NALL] *Thoir a-nall dhomh an stòl sin, a Mhàiri* (§400046).

Note also: *à*... ADV + *do*.

- *A Peairt suas a dh'Obar-Dheadhainn* [up = north?] (§400024).

The preposition *do* can introduce the object of looking (rare) whereby the adverb describes the direction.

- *nuair a choimhead e suas dha 'n a' chraoibh* (§400059).

5. Preposition *ri*

In its spatial sense, *suas ri* very often refers to a motion up a declivity or upstream.⁴⁴⁰ Both *suas* and *ri* alone can express the same meaning: *suas am bruthach, ris a' bhruthach*.

- *Chan fhaigh iad chuige ach suas ri aghaidh carraig chais shleamhainn...* (§400017); *Ghabh sinn an t-ath-ghoirid gu Cachaileith Bhealaich, thar Sruthan an Uruisg 's a suas ri Druim Dubh* (§400018); *Dh'aithnich sinn nach bu chreutair talmhaidh e agus, gun fhacal a ràdh ri chéile, thill sinn air ais agus thog sinn suas ri cnocan beag cas* (§400018); *dhìrich sinn suas ri Maol nan Damh* (400023).

It can also refer to the point/area of attachment or contact.

- *Bha bratach gach buidheann air am bualadh suas ris a' bhalla air an taobh fhéin* (§400035); *a' cumail mo dhà làimh, ceangailte mar a bhà iad, suas ri m' aodann* 'holding my hands up against my face' (§400040); *Aig a sin ghlac e mo làmh agus thog e suas i r' a ghualainn* (§400042).

Ri indicates closeness (English 'by' or 'along') in the following examples.

- [SUAS] *ghabh sinn ceum socair suas ri bruaich na h-aibhne* (§400154);
- [SÌOS] *Choisich iad air an socair sìos ri bruaich a' chladaich* (§400023); *ghabh Eoghann Cléireach 's mi fhéin sìos ri bruaich cladaich Smercleit* (§400002); and: *A' suidhe sìos ri oisein an teine...* (§400010);
- [A-NUAS] *dé cho fuar 's a tha an sruth a tha tighinn a-nuas ri cladaich Labrador* (§400087); *Chunnaic e eathar a-nuas ris a' chladaich agus dithis 'ga h-iomradh* (§400038);
- [A-NULL] *Dh'fhalbh e 'na leum (...) a-null ri oir a' bhaigh* (§400044); *Thug sruth siar an làin a null ri cladaich i, 's thog an sruth sear i mach air a' Bhéist* (§400016);
- [A-STEACH] *Theann na balaich a-steach ri chèile a-rithist* (§400122).

Cf. also: ADV + *ri taobh*.

⁴⁴⁰ The opposite meaning is expressed by *sìos le* (see §6). However, cf. *theann na deòir a' ruith sìos ri ghruaidh* (§400059).

- [SUAS] *Air madainn àraidh aig deiread an earraich tharraing dà bhirlinn dhusan-ràmhach suas ri taobh a chéile aig Ob na Hearadh (§400033); Thàinig duine mór suas ri taobh gun fhios dhi (§400097);*
- [SÌOS] *Shuidh e sìos ri taobh sìdh-bhrugh a leigeil anail (§400015); tharraing i sìos ri taobh e (§400023);*
- [A-NULL] *bheir e null ri taobh an locha sinn (§400040);*
- [A-NALL] *tharraing Parlann a' chathair bu shocraiche san t-seomar a-nall ri taobh àite suidhe féin (§400042); 'S ann a thàinig i nall ri mo thaobh (§400001);*
- [A-STEACH] *thàinig cuideigin eile steach ri mo thaobh (§400150).*

Very frequently, *suas ri* introduces an expression of quantity (English ‘up to’).

- *Tha Sùlasgeir suas ri dà fhichead mìle tuath is an ear-thuath air Rubha Robhanais (§400002); Ann an siorrachd Inbhirnis tha suas ri trì fichead neach a rugadh an Ruisia (§400007); Tha suas ris an àireamh sin de chlàir [=records] aige cuideachd (§400015).*

The preposition *ri* can introduce the object of looking.

- [SUAS] *a' coimhead suas ri aodann a' Chaiptein (§400005); Chunna mi anns a' bhùrn aodann m' athar 's e a' coimhead suas rium gun fiamh air bith (§400045); Sheall an dithis againn suas ris a' bhealach (§400047);*
- [SÌOS] *Sheall i sìos ri a gàirdean ceàrr (§400039).*

Note also the expression *suas ri chèile* ‘going out with one another’.

6. Preposition *le*

The expression *sìos le* is the opposite of *suas ri* ‘up’. It is considerably rare in the corpus. The same meaning can be expressed by either *sìos* or *le* alone.

- *dh'èigh e, 's na deòir a' ruith sìos le ghruaidh (§400175); Nise bha 'n tobar astar math sìos le bruthaich fo 'n taigh (§401013).⁴⁴¹*

7. Preposition *air*

This describes motion onto a (horizontal or vertical) surface or on top of an object.

- [SUAS] *an eathraichean a tharraing suas air a' mhol (§400002); far na tharraing sinn an t-eathar suas air an lic (§400016); ruith Murchadh suas air bòrd an t-soithich (§400072); air a chur suas air a' bhalla aca fhéin ‘to put it [=the flag] on their own wall’ (§400035); dhìrich fear suas air an tughadh ‘up on the thatch’ (§400010); dhìrich i suas air a' chraoibh (§400011); Bithear 'gan nighe [=the shirts] a h-uile h-oidhche*

⁴⁴¹ Note that there are no verbs of motion in the latter example.

agus 'gan cur suas air maide-crochaidh (§400016); *a' leum suas air a' chreig* (§400046); *leum e [=the dog] suas orm* (§400058);

- [SÌOS] *shuidh mi sìos air dos fraoich* (§400003); *air a bhualadh sìos air làr criadh* (§400003); *leig i i fhéin sìos air a glùinean* (§400023); *Bheirinn-sa ùine mhór a' cur sìos air paipear gach dreuchd is inbhe anns an d' rinn Iain MacNeachdainn seirbhis d' a luchd-dùthcha* (§400013); *thog iad orra sìos air chéilidh air Tormod Ruadh* (§400003);⁴⁴²
- [A-NUAS] *Bha falt dubh a' tighinn a nuas air a chluais fo bhonn a bhonaid* (§400004); *dheàrrs a solus [=of the moon] a-nuas air a' bhàgh* (§400044);
- [A-MACH] *shnàmh i mach air a' mhuir* (§400076).

The expressions *a-null / a-nall air* can correspond to English 'past; over; across'.

- [A-NULL] *Faodaidh neach coiseachd a null oirre ri muir-tràigh* (§400003); *cha deachaidh i null air a' Chaolas gu Barraidh riamh* (§400009); *chan fhaigheadh e null air an drochaid* (§400029);
- [A-NALL] *Thig e nall air a' chaolas cinnteach gu leòir* (§400005); *An uair a thainig iad a nall air an allt an Ceann a' Bhàigh...* (§400017).

Similarly, *sìos air* seems to mean 'further down than' in the following example.

- *Cha deach i riamh sìos air Dalabrog* (§400009).

Note the expressions *a-mach / a-steach air (doras/uinneig)*.

- [A-MACH] *'s e dol a-mach air an doras* (§400068);
- [A-STEACH] *Thàinig e steach air an uinneig* (§400011).

The preposition *air* often indicates the object of looking (common with *suas*).⁴⁴³

- [SUAS] *Sheall i suas air an speur* (§400013); *Sheall i suas air a h-athair an uair a bha 'n ùrnuigh ullamh* (§400023); *Thug mi sùil air ais suas air a' bheinn* (§400047); *Sheall mi suas air a' bheinn* (§400047);
- [SÌOS] *thug e sùil sìos air a' bhlàr shnèap mu choinneamh an tighe* (§400001); *Tha An Caolas Mór cas, coillteach, a' coimhead sìos air Seanntraig mar iolair...* (§400001); *A' coimhead sìos oirne á beanntan na Pàirce tha Sithean an Airgid* (§400017);
- [A-NUAS] *bha trì beathaichean mart ag amharc a-nuas oirnn bho mhullach an tighe* (§400063);
- [A-NULL] *Thug mi sùil a-null air Seòras beag* (§400042);
- [A-MACH] *Thug e sùil a mach air an uinneig* (§400035).

⁴⁴² *Air chéilidh* might be a set expression.

⁴⁴³ This is a property of the verbs *seall* and *coimhead*: they take the preposition *air*, apparently, in many dialects and *ri* is used elsewhere.

8. Preposition *an*

This preposition appears rarely to indicate destination in this context. In a few examples, it has a spatial meaning. It can also introduce the object of looking (into).

- [SUAS] *Chaith e suas anns na speuran na seachd sleaghan diag* (§400015); *Cha teid agamsa air dol suas sa' chraoibh* (§400050); and also: *sheall i suas 'nam aodann* (§400005);
- [SÌOS] *chaidh duslach a' bhoireannaich a chur sìos an ùir Hiort fada o chladh a daoine* (§400027).

9. Preposition *mu*

The preposition *mu* seldom occurs in this context. It can refer to space, time and quantity.

- [SUAS] *tharrainn i aodach na leapa suas m' a cluasan* (§400054); *agus suas mu dheich uairean, no eadar a deich agus aon uair diag, bha an dà chaillich 'nan suidhe taobh an t-simileir* 'up until about 10 o'clock' (§400009); *Bidh suas mu dhà cheud duine ag obair ann* (§400085);
- [SÌOS] *leig i leis an fhalt fhada bhàn tuiteam sìos mu guaillean* (§400120);
- [A-NUAS] *Bhris an crann agus thàinig an seòl a-nuas mu chlaigheann an luchd-siubhail* (§400130).

10. Preposition *gu ruige*

The preposition *gu ruige* very rarely occurs in this context. Its object describes a point in space (with *suas/sìos*) or in time (with *a-nuas*).

- [SUAS] *agus sruth fuar na fadhlach suas gu ruige a smigead* 'up to his chin' (§400010); *ghabh mi suas gu ruig tigh Alasdair Uisdein* (§400063);
- [SÌOS] *Latha no dhà an déigh sin dh'fhalbh i sìos gu ruige Lunnainn* (§400080);
- [A-NUAS] *Sin a nise cunntas goirid air na ceàrdaidhean a-nuas gu ruig an t-àm a th' againn an diugh* (§400049);
- [A-NULL] *a dhol null gu ruig an Stac air an ròp* (§400014);
- [A-MACH] *Chaidh Donnchadh a mach gu ruige Glaschu* (§400010).

11. Preposition *a dh'ionnsaigh*

The preposition *a dh'ionnsaigh* is also very rarely found in this context.

- [SUAS] *Leum Diarmaid gu tìr agus thug e roid suas a dh'ionnsaigh an taighe* (§400142);
- [SÌOS] *an t-athair 'dol sìos dh'ionnsaigh a' chladaich ...* (§400020);
- [A-NUAS] *thàinig gille òg a nuas a dh'ionnsaigh a' bhàta* (§400005);

- [A-NULL] *Dh'èirich e às a chathair 's thug e ceum a-null da h-ionnsaigh* (§400143);
- [A-NALL] *thainig e a-nall g' ar n-ionnsaigh le pìos de ròpa 'na làimh* (§400040);
- [A-MACH] *Thàinig Aonghus a mach a dh'ionnsaigh an doruis mhóir* (§400010);
- [A-STEACH] *Tha Loch Badhasdail, Loch Aoineart, Loch Sgiobart, agus Loch a' Chàrnain a' sìneadh a-steach dh'ionnsaigh nan cnoc so* (§400059).

12. Preposition *bho*

Many examples include the adverbs *a-nuas* and *a-mach*, whilst the other combinations are less frequent.

- [SUAS] *am feadh ghreas an gille an tractor suas bho 'n chladach* (§400054); *Bha iad a' coiseachd suas bho 'n chladach* (§400069); cf. also: *chaidh an àireamh suas o 'n 30 duine bh' ann os deidh na brice gu 88 mu dheich bliadhna fichead os deidh sin* 'the number went up from the 30 people who were there after the smallpox to 88 about thirty years after that' (§400094);
- [SÌOS] *Nuair a bha mi 'nam bhalach leum mi sìos bho chreig àird a' creidsinn ann an cumhachd mi-nàdurach "Minjustsu", agus le mór iongnadh na bha an làthair ràinig mi bonn na creige le craiceann slàn* (§400041);
- [A-NUAS] *Nochd an tòrradh a nuas o thaigh Eachainn* (§400002); *thèarnaich mi nuas bho 'n chùbaid* (§400057); *cuihne air criomag ghliocais a thàinig a nuas bho 'n athraichean* (§400003);
- [A-NÌOS] *an turas a bh' aige a-nìos o 'n ghleann* (§400054); *Thàinig an smuain sin a-nìos bho dhoimhneachd na h-inntinn aige* (§400123);
- [A-NULL] *shàth e null bhuidhe i [=the glass] tarsainn a' bhùird* (§400037);
- [A-NALL] *Gheibh i càr a-nall bho Rinn Eanaigh* (§400054); *am fùdar ceart a thoirt a-nall bho 'n Ghearmailt* (§400038);
- [A-MACH] *a' tighinn a-mach bho Lunnainn* (§400049); *Tha rathaidean-iaruinn a' sìneadh a-mach bho Pheairt air gach taobh* (§400063); *a' leum a-mach bho chùl creige agus a' mort duine bochd sam bith a bha mì-fhortanach gu leòr tighinn 'na lùib* (§400079);
- [A-STEACH] *'s fheudar gur i 'm pleun a tharraing na bàtaichean a-steach bho chuan* (§400177).

Note also: ADV + *bho... gu*.

- [SÌOS] *Tha còrr agus sia ceud ceum a' dol sìos bho mhullach a' bhràighe chun an tìghe* (§400001);
- [A-NUAS] *thig iad a nuas o na cnuic 's na monaidhean chon na h-ìsle, nan croitean 's nan tràighean 'nan sgaothan móra* (§400013);
- [A-NALL] *Dh'iarr i a corp a chur a nall o Eirisgeidh gu Uibhist* (§400009).

13. Preposition à

There are numerous examples of *a-mach à*, but the other combinations are much less common, especially those that involve *suas*, *sìos*, *a-null* and *a-steach*.

- [SUAS] *air a' chraimhneach oillteil a bha a' sìr-éirigh suas ás an uaigh fhuair neo-choisrigte* (§400092);
- [SÌOS] *Carson a bha i gun sguir 'ga shlaodadh sìos as an adhar àrd ud?* (§400025);
- [A-NUAS] *tha e a' tuiteam a nuas as an speur* (§400013); *a sgiùrrsadh nan caorach a nuas as na mullaichean* (§400016); *Thainig esan a-nuas á Obar-Dheadhain* (§400036); *Thainig e nuas ás an diollaid* (§400075);
- [A-NÌOS] *dìreach a' tighinn a-nìos ás a' chùlaisd* (§400037); *dh'éirich e a-nìos ás a' chathair* (§400056);
- [A-NULL] *tha còrr is ceud gu leth bliadhna bho chaidh na daoine aca null á Albainn* [=from Scotland to Nova Scotia] (§400074);
- [A-NALL] *a' tighinn a nall a* [=from] *Ameireaga* (§400004); *a thàinig a nall as a' Mhorbhairne* (§400004);
- [A-MACH] *Choisich e mach ás a' bhàta* (§400046); *far na robh e ruith a-mach ás an uaimh* (§400047); *air a ghearradh a-mach ás a' chloich* (§400056);
- [A-STEACH] *a' tighinn dìreach a-steach às a' chuan* (§400169).

Note also: ADV + *à... gu*.

- *B' ann an curach a thàinig Calum-cille agus an dusan companach aige a nall á Eirinn gu Eilean Idhe* (§400006).

14. Preposition far

The preposition *far* is considerably rare in this context.

- [SUAS] *Thug Anna i fhèin suas far a h-uilne is las a sùilean* (§400121);
- [SÌOS] *feumar rudan a thoirt sìos far na h-àirigh* (§400028);
- [A-NUAS] *bheireadh i* [=the dog] *nuas far ròp na gàrradh gach bad aodaich air an laigheadh fiacail* (§400114);
- [A-STEACH] *a' ghaoth bhlàth a' tighinn a-steach far na locha* (§400145).

15. Prepositions thar and tarsainn

These prepositions occur with *a-null* and *a-nall*.

- [A-NULL] *Air ais do na carbaidean leinn uile agus a-mach á so air sreath a chéile a-null thar mòinteach Bharbhais a Steòrnabhagh* (§400037); *leum Lachlainn a-null tarsainn a' ghàrraidh* (§400044);

- [A-NALL] *thug mi fa-near do choltas fìor-eun mór ag iathadh a nall thar mullach Beanntan Chorobheinn* (§400003); *a' tighinn a-nall tarsainn a' mhonaidh thugam* (§400041).

Sources:

Corpas na Gàidhlig (<https://dasg.ac.uk/corpus>).

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5.2 Motion towards & beneficiary: *ri*

1. Introduction

Generally, the preposition *ri* seems to express a type of directionality, not necessarily involving motion. When it indicates spatial relations, one entity (usually represented either by the subject or by the object of a verb) is facing, or opposed to, or moving towards, or exposed to whatever is denoted by the object of the preposition. In other words, this preposition does not express the goal of motion as the prepositions *do* or *gu* do. Additionally, it has other (often more abstract) meanings and functions, which seem to be ultimately derived from its spatial meaning(s).⁴⁴⁴

2. Spatial relations

The preposition *ri* describes a spatial relation of one entity to another whereby the two entities are facing or are directed towards each other in a way. This can, but does not necessarily, involve motion or physical contact. In this usage, the word *ri* often corresponds to English ‘against’.

Static and dynamic, involving contact:

- *bha mo dhruim ris a’ bhalla* (AW); *bha mi nam sheasamh ri seann chraoibh* (CM);
- *tha a’ chlàimh a’ faireachdainn tais agus maoth ri do chraiceann* (CM);
- *chuir iad bùird ri uinneagan an t-seann taighe* (§368,viii,b); *nach cuir thu peann ri pàipear!* (RC §368,viii,c); *nach cuir sinn an t-airgead seo ris a’ phoit?* (RC §368,viii,c); also: *cuir teine ri* (set fire to) (FB);
- *bha uisge nan seachd sian a’ stairirich ris an uinneag* (CM); *bhuail e a chas ri chloich* (he dashed his foot against a stone) (D); *shuath Iain a làmh cheàrr ri (a) bhriogais* (RC §368,viii,d).

Static, no physical contact:

- *tha aghaidh an taighe ris an àirde deas* (faces south) (CM);
- *tionndaidh ri* (turn to) (FB).

Dynamic, (possibly) no physical contact:

- *tharraing iad uile ri chèile* (RC §368,viii,j);
- *till ri* (return to) (FB).

⁴⁴⁴ Abbreviations: AW – Angus Watson; CM – Colin Mark; D – Dwelly; FB – *Am Faclair Beag*; RC – Richard Cox.

The following examples illustrate similar meanings, some of which are more abstract. In these cases, *ri*-phrases function as complements of various verbs.

- 's ann *a chuir an luchd-tadhail ri ar sòlas an oidhche ud* (RC §368,viii,c);
- *nuair a bha mi a' dol dhachaigh, thachair bodach beag rium* (as I was going home, I met a little old man) (CM); *an do thachair thu ris an dotair ùr fhathast?* (RC §368,viii,l); *choinnich sinn ri chèile an-uiridh* (RC §368,viii,l); *choinnichidh an saoghal riut fhathast* (RC §368,viii,l).

Similar meanings occur in a number of set expressions, compound prepositions and adverbial expressions.

- *bha iad na suidhe aghaidh ri aghaidh* (RC §368,x); *taobh ri taobh* (AW);
- *nach suidh thu rim taobh-sa!* (RC §368,ix,a); *ri 'làimh* (at his hand) (D); *tha connadh gu leòr ri làimh ma bhios feum againn air* (RC §368,ix,a);⁴⁴⁵
- *beul ri trì mìosan* (nearly three months) (D);
- *cha bhi mionaid nach bi am fòn-làimhe làimh rithe* (ri taobh) (RC §368,ix,b);
- *còmhla rium / cuide rium / mar rium* (AW);⁴⁴⁶ *chaidh an dithis chun an dannsa còmhla ri chèile* (RC §368,ix,b);⁴⁴⁷
- *dlùth ri a bhràthair* (faisg air) (RC §368,ix,b);
- *thuirt a' chompanaidh gun obraicheadh i an co-bhuinn ris a' chomhairle* (RC §368,ix,b);⁴⁴⁸
- *cha do dh'fhuing sinn dad an taca riuthasan* (RC §368,ix,b); *an tacsas ri craobh* (AW); *bha am bodach na sheasamh an tacsas ris an doras* (RC §368,ix,b);
- *tha e an urra riut fhèin dè nì thu nad bheatha* (RC §368,ix,b).⁴⁴⁹

In the following examples, the preposition *ri* expresses either position or motion in relation to something, involving a degree of effort or difficulty.

- *ri bruthach* (ascending the acclivity) (D); *chaidh na ruitheadairean ris a' bhruthach* (RC §368,viii,o); *chaidh i ris an t-sruth* (upstream / against the current) (AW); *ris a' gaoith* (AW); *'s ann a chuir sinn ar n-aghaidh ris a' ghaoith* (RC §368,viii,e); *mar dhuilleig ri doinnean* (like a leaf in the blast) (D).⁴⁵⁰

In a similar, more abstract, sense, *ri* can indicate opposition, mainly in association with verbs that describe conflict or struggle, e.g.

⁴⁴⁵ Cox includes this expression among compound prepositions (*roimhearan fillte*) although it acts as an adverb in this particular example.

⁴⁴⁶ The word *còmhla* comes from *comh-làimh*.

⁴⁴⁷ Also *maille ri*, *cuide ri*.

⁴⁴⁸ Also (*ann*) *an co-bhann ri* (FB). The meaning of this expression might have been derived from that described in §3.

⁴⁴⁹ This might belong to §6 (experiencer).

⁴⁵⁰ Moving in the same direction as the current or wind, or down a slope, would be described by the preposition *le*. The last example (*ri doinnean*) could also be interpreted as expressing exposure (see §4 below).

- *a' cogadh ri gaisgeach* (fighting with a hero) (D); *ghleac iad ri tonnan a' Chuain Sgith* (CM); *na bi a' trod ris!* (RC §368,viii,1); *bha iad a' trod ri chèile* (AW);⁴⁵¹ *seas ri* (confront) (FB); and also: *thàinig e ri a bheatha fhéin* (he took his own life) (D); and possibly also: *gèill ri* (comply with).

3. Attachment

The preposition *ri* can introduce a noun phrase describing a type of attachment. This can involve physical contact, or be more abstract or metaphorical, e.g.

- *bha a' bhò ceangailte ri ròpa* (RC §368,viii,c); *thèid esan* [i.e. the bull] *na dheann-ruith, agus iadsan a' slaodadh ris* (RC §368,viii,e),⁴⁵²
- *croch ri* (hang from) (CM);
- *lean ri* (adhere; follow) (FB);
- *cùm ris!* (RC §368,viii,c);
- *buin ri* (belong to; be concerned with) (FB);
- *tha i pòsta rim cho-ogha ann an Obar Dheathain* (RC §368,viii,1);
- *càirdeach ri* (related to) (FB);
- *bithear cleachdte ris na seann dòighean* (RC §368,viii,1).

This might also include the following examples:

- *gabh ri* (accept) (CM); *cha do ghabh mi ris an argamaid sin* (RC §368,viii,1);
- *aontaich ri* (consent to) (FB).

These meanings are related to some of those described in §2.

4. Exposure

The expression (*bi*) *ris* can mean 'be exposed/visible', e.g. *bha a h-uileann ris* (her elbow was showing/bared) (AW); *bha a druim ris* (her back was bare) (CM); *tog do bhriogais – tha do thòn ris!* (RC §368,viii,n); *a bheil a' ghealach ris a-nochd?* (RC §368,viii,n); cf. also: *'s gun ris dheth ach an ceann is an amhach...* (CM). The expression *leig ris* means 'disclose' (CM), e.g. *chaidh rùn an riaghaltais a leigeil ris sna pàipearan-naidheachd* (RC §368,viii,n).

Cf. also: *ris a' ghrèin* (exposed to the sun) (AW);⁴⁵³ *tha an cidsin ris a' ghrèin* (RC §368,viii,n); *bha iad air an tiormachadh ris a' ghrèin* (CM); *ri solas an latha* (RC §368,viii,n); *ri teine* (over a fire, i.e. exposed to fire) (FB); *cuir ri theine* (set on fire) (FB); also: *(a') nochdadh ri beanntan na Hearadh* (coming in sight of the mountains of Harris) (AW); and similarly: *ri fasgadh* (sheltering); *suidh ri fasgadh na creige* (sit in the shelter of the rock) (FB).

⁴⁵¹ There are very few examples of the expression *a' trod ri* in the corpus and they mostly mean 'scold', rather than 'fight'.

⁴⁵² They are tied to the bull's tail and will be dragged after it when the bull starts running.

⁴⁵³ Dwelly: *ri gréine*.

This meaning of *ri* is close to that of, for example, *ris a' ghaoith* in §2.

5. Addressee

The term *addressee* refers to the recipient of a message, which can be either verbal or non-verbal. In the context of certain verbs, the addressee is indicated by the preposition *ri*, e.g.

- *thuirt e ris* (CM); *na abair sin rium!* (RC §368,viii,l); and also: *bha duine ann ris an abradh iad* ‘an Caiptean’ (whom they called) (CM);
- *bhruidhinn i rinn an-diugh* (RC §368,viii,l);
- *bha mi a' labhairt ri saighdear an-dè* (RC §368,viii,l);
- *chuala e guth ag èigheachd ris* (CM); *dh'èigh mi rithe* (RC §368,viii,c);
- *dèan conaltradh ri Màiri* (communicate with Mairi) (FB); and also: *bhathas ann an conaltradh rium an-dè mu dheidhinn* (RC §368,viii,l);
- *crath/smèid ri* (wave to) (FB);
- *guidh ri Dia* (pray to God) (FB);
- *grìos ri* (implore) (FB);
- *rinn i gàire rithe fhèin* (RC §368,viii,j).

Cf. also: *an dèidh deasbad ris na pàrantan* (CM); *bha sinn a' deasbad na ceiste ri chèile* (RC §368,viii,l), which can also be interpreted as expressing opposition, cf. *a' trod ri* in §2.

6. Beneficiary/maleficiary and experiencer

Experiencer is an entity on which the situation described by the predicate has a certain effect (positive, negative, or neutral). Beneficiary/maleficiary is usually an animate participant that is affected (dis)advantageously by the action, situation, or similar. In some contexts, these roles are indicated by the preposition *ri*, e.g.

- *tha do làmhan cho salach – dè dh'èirich riut?* (RC §368,viii,g);
- *ciamar a bhiodh tusa a' dèiligeadh ris a' cheist seo?* (RC §368,viii,l);
- *cha bhean sin riut* (RC §368,viii,d);
- *'s ann a bha iad ag eudach riut* (RC §368,viii,d);
- *chòrd an cèilidh ri mo mhàthair* (RC §368,viii,g);
- *tha a' bhriogais ùr a' tighinn riut gu math* (RC §368,viii,g).

The following examples might belong here too:

- *tha bàidh agam ris a' chaillich ud* (RC §368,viii,m); *'s ann a tha truas agam riutha* (RC §368,viii,m);
- *dèan iochd ris* (show him mercy) (FB);
- *tha an dithis nàbaidh an gruaim ri chèile* (RC §368,viii,e);
- *ghabh e an cuthach ris a' ghnothach* (RC §368,viii,e);

- *bha Anna aoi^gheil ris na h-uile* (CM); *bha na banaltraman gu math coibhneil ri^{te}* (RC §368,viii,m); *bidh i an-còmhnaidh càirdeil ri^{um} nuair a ch^ì mi i* (RC §368,viii,m); *sguir a bhith cho feargach ri^{um}!* (RC §368,viii,e).

Cf. Section 5.4, §5.

7. Object of attention (verbs of perception)

The preposition *ri* introduces the object of verbs such as *listen* or *look/watch* (which express intentional perception), e.g. *bha m'athair a' sealltainn ris a' phàipear* (RC §368,viii,c); *a bheil thu gu bhith ag èisteachd ris na naidheachdan?* (RC §368,viii,c); *dh'èist sinn ris 's e a' labhairt nam briathran atmh^{or} sin* (CM).

Cf. also: *mar gum faiceadh tu fear-bùtha a' feuchainn ri rud a reic riut* (RC §368,viii,i), which belongs to a different semantic category now although the original meaning of *feuch* seems to have been 'look at; observe'.⁴⁵⁴

8. Object of attention (expectation or hope)

This includes various expressions of expectation or hope, e.g. *fuirich/feith ri* (wait for) (CM); *tha fiughair agam ris a' chloinn a-màireach* (RC §368,viii,k); *nach bochd nach tig thu – bha mi a' gabhail fadachd rid fhaicinn* (RC §368,viii,k); *tha mi an dùil ri tuarasdal nas àirde an ath-bhliadhna* (RC §368,viii,k); *gun dùil ri tilleadh* (without hope of returning) (D).

The attention is directed towards something that is coming or might come/happen, i.e. this sense of *ri* is related to some of those in §2 or §4.

9. Time expressions

The preposition *ri* can be combined with nouns that denote periods of time to indicate that something is contemporaneous or simultaneous with what is expressed by that noun.

- *ri linn Thèarlaich* (in the days of Prince Charles) (D); *ri linn mo sheanar* (AW; RC §368,viii,p);⁴⁵⁵
- *ri mo latha* (CM); *rim bheò* (RC §368,viii,p);
- *ri latha gaoithe* (on a windy day) (D);
- *gheibh sinn ri tìde e* (in due course / eventually) (AW); *'s dòcha gun tig gliocas thuige ri ùine* (RC §368,viii,p).

In some cases, the noun describes a situation or circumstances that characterise a certain period of time. These expressions are semantically close to those described in §4.

⁴⁵⁴ Note also *rud a reic riut* in this example (indicating recipient). This should perhaps be *dhut*.

⁴⁵⁵ The expression *ri linn* acts as a compound preposition here.

- *na caomhaich ri sìth* (the friends in peace) (D);⁴⁵⁶
- *ri aimsir fhuair / bhlàith / reòta* (CM); *ri droch aimsir* (CM); *ri droch thìde* (RC §368,viii,p).⁴⁵⁷

10. Comparison

The preposition *ri* is used in expressions of comparison, usually in equative constructions, to introduce the standard of comparison, e.g.

- *cho mìn ri miniceann* (as soft as kid-skin) (D); *cho ciùin ri aiteal* (as mild as a breath of wind) (D); *cho seang ri seangan* (AW); *bha na sùilean aice cho dubh ris na h-àirneagan* (CM); *tha e cho fuar ris a' phuinnsean* (RC §368,viii,a); *bha e a cheart cho blasta ri sin* (RC §368,viii,a);
- *coltach ri chèile* (AW); *coltach ri gàire nan amadan* (CM);
- *bha an dithis bhràthair ud cho coltach ri chèile ri dà sgadan* (RC §368,ix,b);⁴⁵⁸
- *co-ionann ri* (RC §368,ix,b);
- *buinidh e don aon teaghlach ris a' choileach-ruadh* (CM); *bha e fuireach air an aon rathad rium fhìn* (RC §368,viii,a);
- *uibhir ri càch* (as much as the rest) (D); *cha d'fhuair sinn a uimhir ri sin* (RC §368,viii,a);⁴⁵⁹
- *tha na beanntan a dhà àirdead ris na beanntan ann an Alba* (CM);⁴⁶⁰
- *tha Dòmhnall gu math beag an coimeas ri a bhràthair* (RC §368,ix,b).

11. Obligation, necessity, possibility and purpose

The construction composed of the preposition *ri* followed by a (transitive) verbal noun modified by a possessive can express possibility, purpose, necessity, obligation, and similar.⁴⁶¹

- *bhiodh sgadan ri (a) fhaotainn gach seachdain bhon an uair ud* (RC §368,viii,h)
- *tha mi ag iarraidh rudeigin ri (a) dhèanamh* (RC §368,viii,h); *...ma tha gu leòr ann ri ìtheadh is ri òl* (CM); *tha rudeigin agam ri ràdh* (CM); *tha na rudan seo math ri an ìthe* (CM)
- *ri reic* (for sale) (CM); *tha an taigh sin ri reic* (that house is for sale) (AW)
- *tha mòran agam ri dhèanamh* (AW); *tha an obair agad ri (a) moladh* (RC §368,viii,h); *tha iad rim moladh* (they deserve to be praised) (AW)
- *tha na ceistean ri am freagairt (ann) an Gàidhlig* (CM)

⁴⁵⁶ I.e. in times of peace.

⁴⁵⁷ This should probably by *ri droch shìde*.

⁴⁵⁸ A combination of the two previous constructions: *cho [coltach ri chèile] ri dà sgadan*.

⁴⁵⁹ See more examples in Section 2.8.

⁴⁶⁰ The same type of construction as *(a) uimhir ri*, cf. *a dhà uimhir ri* 'twice as many/much as'.

⁴⁶¹ See more in Section 4.6.

The possessive is not used with intransitive verbal nouns, e.g. *bha e ri tighinn* (he was to come) (D); *an t-àm ri teachd* (the future) (CM); *san àm ri teachd* (RC §368,viii,k).⁴⁶² However, lenited *ri tighinn* is also heard since the verbal noun *tighinn* is normally preceded by the leniting particle *a* when acting like the infinitive in certain dialects (cf. also: *a dhol, a bhith*).

The construction *bi aig X ri + VN* corresponds to English ‘have to + INF’, e.g. *chan eil againn ri dol nas fhaide* (we have not to go any further) (D); *tha agam ri falbh* (RC §368,viii,r); *nach eil agad ri greastainn ort?* (RC §368,viii,i); *aig deireadh an latha bha aice ris an còrr (a) fhàgail gu làrna-mhàireach* (RC §368,viii,r); *tha agam ri sìol a cheannach* (CM); *bha againn ris a’ chàr a reic* (CM).⁴⁶³

12. Engagement in an activity

The preposition *ri* governing a (verbal) noun can express engagement in an activity and other types of involvement, e.g.

- *ri saorsainneachd* (employed as a carpenter) (D); *tha iad ris an iasgach* (AW); *tha Seumas a-nis ri maorach* (CM); *a bheil thu ri bàrdachd fhathast?* (AW); *tha i ri sgrìobhadh nobhailean an-dràsta* (RC §368,viii,f); *bu chòir dhut a bhith ri do leasan* (CM);
- *bha an rìgh òg ri mòran àbhachd* (the young king was at much pleasure) (D);
- *thàinig e gu aois dol ri ceàird* (he came of age to learn a trade) (D);
- *bha làn fhios aig na h-ùghdarasan air na bha iad ris* (up to) (CM); *dè tha sibh ris?* (AW); *cò ris a bhios tu a-màireach?* (RC §368,viii,f);
- *a bheil thu riutha?* (do you smoke? – when offering cigarettes) (CM); *cha robh inntese ach a’ bhana-Ghall nach robh a’ tuigsinn a-riamh mun deoch ’s an dòigh sam biodh iad rithe a-bhos seo* (RC §368,viii,f);
- *tha an truaghan ris a’ bhàs aig an àm seo* (RC §368,viii,f).

Cf. also: *an raineach ri turram sa ghaoithe* (the fern whistling in the wind) (D); *ri sgéith* (flying) (FB).

Cf. also the following idiomatic expression: *bidh mo mhàthair riut ma nì thu sin tuilleadh* (will give you a telling-of) (CM); *...no bithidh mise riut!* (...or you’ll get it from me!) (CM).

In certain dialects, the preposition *ri* is used instead of *ag/a’* in the formation of progressive tenses. This probably developed from the usage described here, cf. *tha i ri sgrìobhadh nobhailean an-dràsta* (RC §368,viii,f).⁴⁶⁴

13. Other examples

⁴⁶² *Teachd* was an alternative form of *tighinn*.

⁴⁶³ This should probably be *ris an càr a reic*, cf. *bha aca ris am bàta thogail a mach on chidhe* (#31); *thuir e rium gu robh agam ris an t-each a chumail air cùrsa gu’n ear-thuath* (#27).

⁴⁶⁴ See more examples in Section 4.6.

Certain examples do not fit unambiguously into any of the categories described so far.

- *bhite a' caomhnadh airgead ri latha èiginne* (RC §368,viii,e);⁴⁶⁵
- *doirbh/furasta ri* + VN (difficult/easy to INF) (FB);
- *dhealaich sinn riutha* (we parted from them) (AW); *dhealaich iad ri chèile* (RC §368,viii,q);⁴⁶⁶
- *com-pàirtich ri* (share with) (FB); *pàirtich seòmar ri do bhràthair* (share a room with your brother) (FB);⁴⁶⁷
- *chan eil gnothach agad ris* (RC §368,viii,d);⁴⁶⁸
- *thuislich e ri linn 's nach robh an cabhsair còmhnaid* (because) (RC §368,ix,a).⁴⁶⁹

The following expressions might be calques of English 'up to' (with two different meanings), especially the second one:

- *bha iad a' cosg suas ri ceud nota am fear* (RC §368,viii,j);
- *chan eil i suas ris* (up to that) (RC §368,ix,b).

Sources:

Am Faclair Beag (<https://www.faclair.com>).

Corpas na Gàidhlig (<https://dasg.ac.uk/corpus>).

Cox, Richard (2017) *Geàrr-Ghràmar na Gàidhlig*. Brig o' Turk, Perthshire: Clann Tuirc.

Dwelly-d: Faclair Dwelly air Loidhne (<https://www.dwelly.info>).

Mark, Colin (2004) *The Gaelic-English Dictionary*. London: Routledge.

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⁴⁶⁵ Indicating purpose? (See §11.) This is the only such example found in the sources.

⁴⁶⁶ Related to expressions such as *tarraing ri chèile*? Cf. the relationship between *sabaid ri* and *gèill ri*.

⁴⁶⁷ Beneficiary? (See §6).

⁴⁶⁸ Indicating engagement in an activity? (See §12).

⁴⁶⁹ Mistakenly included among compound prepositions (*roimhearán fillte*). Perhaps derived from *ri linn* (during) (see §9)?

5.3 Motion towards & beneficiary: *gu, chun*

1. Introduction⁴⁷⁰

The basic meaning of the preposition *gu* corresponds, more or less, to that of English ‘(up) to’, whilst its other meanings appear to be derived from that. It can also function as a conjunction that introduces certain types of subordinate clauses. The form used before the definite article is either *gu* or *gus*, presumably depending on the dialect: ***gun (a’) chrìch / gus a’ chrìoch*** (RC, §360,ii); ***gus a’ chlach*** (D); and the unrelated form *chun* is found in some dialects: ***chun na crìche*** (RC, §360,ii).

The preposition *gu* governs the dative case in an indefinite noun: ***gu crìch*** (RC, §360,i); ***gu cloich*** (§69). On the other hand, according to Dwelly (*s.v. gu, gus*) and CM (p. 683), the form *gus* governs the nominative, cf. also ***gus a’ chrìoch*** (vs. ***gun chrìch***) (RC); however, cf. ***gus a’ chrìch*** (§112004); *Thàinig e gus an uinneig* (§206001); and also: *...a chaidh a chur gu ’n mhnaoi uasail* (§341). The form *chun* governs the genitive: ***chun na cloiche*** (§35).⁴⁷¹

Any of the four forms can be used before a demonstrative, as follows: ***gu seo*** (RC, §210,ii,c); ***gus/chun/gun a seo*** (RC, §210,iii).⁴⁷² The forms *gus* and *chun* occur before the adverbs that start with *a(n)*: ***gus a-màireach*** (§311); ***chun a-màireach*** (§317). Cf. also: ***gus a h-uile h-àm ’san oidhche*** (§341); ***chun a h-uile àrd-sgoil*** (§24). Either *gu* or *gus* can be used before the word *gach*: ***gu gach taigh*** (§28); ***gus gach taobh*** (§81006). The forms *gu* and *gus* are used before the relative particles (RC, §360,vi), although examples of *chun* too are found in this context in *Corpas na Gàidhlig: air na coinneamhan chun an robh mi dol* (§333).⁴⁷³

The form *gu* is normally used before the possessive pronouns: ***gu mo...*** (RC, §360,iii); and there are contractions: ***gum, gud, gu, gar, gur, gun*** (RC, §360,iii); also: ***ga*** (CM). Apparently, *gus* (RC, 360,iii) and *chun* occur in this context too: *O chùl do chinn gus do shàiltean* (§104); ***chun mo mhic*** (for my sons [sic!]) (D); *An do sgrìobh thu litir chun do mhic?* (sg.) (§286); *Aithrisidh mi sgeul bheag a thainig chun mo chuimhne* (§401011).⁴⁷⁴

The pronominal forms are: ***thugam, thugad, thuige, thuice, thugainn, thugaibh, thuca*** (older ***chugam***, etc.) (RC, §360,iv). Forms lacking the initial consonant have been attested too.

⁴⁷⁰ Abbreviations: AW – Angus Watson; CM – Colin Mark; D – Dwelly; RC – Richard Cox; § – examples from *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

⁴⁷¹ Dwelly notes a few examples of *chun* followed by indefinite nouns: ***chun cogaidh*** (for war); ***chun éirigh*** (on the eve of rising), but this usage seems to be rare or obsolete.

⁴⁷² The form *gun* is seldom found in this context in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

⁴⁷³ The form *chun* seems to be more common with demonstratives, but fairly rare in the other contexts mentioned in this passage.

⁴⁷⁴ Very few examples are found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*, most of them in early texts.

It may be that some dialects use both *gus* and *chun*, but in different contexts. AW has separate entries for *gu*¹ (*chun*) and *gu*² (*gus*).

The compound preposition *gu ruige*, which has a similar meaning, ‘up to’, ‘as far as’, will also be addressed here.

2. Spatial relations

2.1. End point and extent

The preposition *gu* can indicate the extent of something or the end point of motion. In the first sense, it refers to the point in space to which something extends: *bha falt donn oirre gu a guailnean* (to her shoulders) (CM); *chun nan glùinean ann an eabar* (up to the knees in mud) (CM); *Tha a’ mhòinteach gu bun na beinne* (§400052). In the second sense, it refers to the point at which the process expressed by the verb (usually a verb of motion) ends: *chaidh sinn gu ceann an rathaid* (RC, §360,vii,a); *thill i chun an dorais* (RC, §360,vii,a); *chun na mara* (to the sea) (CM); *dhìrich sinn an àird gu mullach a’ chnuic* (up to the top) (CM); *thuit e gu h-aotrom gu talamh* (to earth) (CM); *thuit mi gu bonn na creige* (§43); *a’ phlanaid gus am / gu ’m bithear a’ siubhal* (RC, §360,vi); *cha robh fuaim a’ tilleadh thuige ach a ghuth fhèin* (to him) (CM). A noun that denotes a person can, in fact, refer to this person’s location, place of residence, or similar, as the end point of motion: *Feumaidh mi a dhol gu Niall* (§44); *a dhol (...) gu Bàn-rìgh Eilean nam Muc* (§302). There are various other metaphorical meanings, i.e. which are not literally spatial: *tha sùil againn tilleadh chun a’ chuspair seo* (CM); *na co-dhùnaidhean chun an tàinig an Coimisean* (which the Commission reached) (CM). The verb (presumably, *a’ tighinn*) is not expressed in the following (elliptical) sentence: *Chì thu chugad e, ’s cha’n fheàrrd thu agad e* (you’ll see it coming to you, and you’ll be none the better when you have got it) (D). The verbs that occur in this context usually describe motion, e.g. *rach*, *falbh*, *thig*, *till*, *coisich*, *ruith*, *snàmh*, *dìrich*, *teirinn*, *tuit*, but not necessarily, cf. *leughaidh mi gu deireadh na caibideil a-nochd* (RC, §360,vii,a). Cf. also the causative: *Tha sin ga mo thoirt air ais gu Gàidhlig* (§333).

Verbs of motion can be modified by *gu*-phrases that include nouns denoting parts of the body to express assuming a position: *dh’èirich e gu a chasan* (to his feet) (CM); *èirich gu do chasan!* (RC, §360,vii,a); or causing somebody to assume a position: *bheir eagal duine gu a ghlùinean* (fear will bring a man to his knees) (CM); *thug gnogadh aig an doras gu a casan i* (brought her to her feet) (CM). Obviously, the parts of the body belong to the verb’s subject or, in causative expressions, to its object.⁴⁷⁵

Gu-phrases can also modify nouns denoting something that extends, leads or transports (people, objects) to a place: *bha sinn air an t-slighe gu I* [sic!] *agus Staffa* (to Iona and Staffa) (CM); *an sean rathad gu Cille-chuimein* (§234001); *an e seo am bus gu Steòrnabhagh?* (the bus for Stornoway) (CM); *air an trànan gu baile mòr Lunnainn* (§28).

⁴⁷⁵ There may be similar expressions that refer to parts of inanimate objects, but no such examples have been found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

Cf. also: *chun na crìche sin* (thitherto) (CM); and phrases that contain demonstratives: *gus an seo* (as far as this) (D); *chun a sin* (thither) (CM); *gu sin / thuige sin / gun a sin* (RC, §360,v);⁴⁷⁶ and also: *thuige is bhuaithe* (off and on) (CM); *chuige is uaithe* (to and fro) (D).

In some of these senses, *gu*-phrases can be combined with expressions that denote the starting point: *o thaigh gu taigh* (CM); *o bheul gu beul* (CM); *Ghluais e bho thaobh gu taobh e gus an robh am feur air a phronnadh, dorch* (§39); *Cha robh bileag fheoir ri fhaicinn o bhonn gu mullach na beinne* (§232002); ...*bho mhullach gu bonn, bha mi air mo ghànrachadh le eabar bog, breun* (§35). They are also often combined with adverbs of direction such as *sìos, suas, a-nuas, a-null*: *chaidh i suas chun an Taigh Mhòir* (up to the Big House) (CM); *Chaidh i null gu ciste mhòr a bha 'n oisean an t-seomair* (§218004).

It may be worth comparing the meaning of the preposition *gu* with that of *do* (or *dha, a*), which can occur in similar contexts. When modifying verbs of motion, *do*-phrases describe the end point (or destination) of motion as being within the boundaries of what is expressed by the noun phrase, cf. *An uair a dh'fhàg i an sgoil chaidh i a Ghlaschu a dh'ionnsachadh a bhith 'na nurs* (§245). *Gu*-phrases, on the other hand, describe it merely as the end point of the motion process, whereby the process is normally understood as ending at the boundary or periphery of what is denoted by the complement of the preposition, cf. *Chaidh e leatha chun a' chaisteil* (§217001). In this example, the subject is understood to have walked up to the walls of the castle or to its immediate vicinity.

The preposition *gu*, however, does not necessarily imply that the motion process ends at the boundary of the area described by the noun phrase (i.e. without entering it), as in: *chaidh e gu Glaschu* (he went to [i.e. to the outskirts of] Glasgow) (AW). There are examples in *Corpas na Gàidhlig* in which *gu* could probably be replaced by *do* without much change in meaning: *Ghabh mi an tréine gu Pol-a'-Ghriùthain agus nuair nach do lorg mi càil an sin, chaidh mi gu Glaschu* (35). Cf. also: *bha agam ri bus eile a ghlacadh gus faighinn gu Peairt* (to get to Perth) (CM), which is probably a calque of the English phrase.

Meanings similar to those discussed above can also be expressed by the compound preposition *gu ruige*:⁴⁷⁷ *gu ruige Èirinn* (as far as Ireland) (CM); *chaidh iad romhpa gu ruige an druim* (as far as the ridge) (AW); *thàinig na tuiltean gu ruige an taigh* (right up to the house) (AW); *choisich sinn gu ruige balla a' chaisteil* (RC, §360,viii); *Bha bàtaichean an uair sin a' tighinn a Èirinn gu ruige Loch Aoineort a staigh a cheannach bhuntàta* (§46); ...*chiteadh balaich (...)* *is bòtainnean gu ruig an glùintean* (§234001); and also: *bho cheann-feadhna gu ruige sgalag* (from chief to servant) (CM); *bho'n uachdaran gu ruig an tràill* (§401006); *Bithidh uachdaranachd aige o fhairge gu fairge, agus on abhainn gu ruig crìochaibh na talmhainn* (§48).

⁴⁷⁶ Presumably, these can also have a temporal meaning, see §6 below.

⁴⁷⁷ Also *gu ruig* (D).

2.2. Direction

The preposition *gu* can indicate direction, not necessarily implying reaching the destination: *chaidh e chun a' bhaile* (to/towards the town) (AW); *bha i a' tarraing a h-uile duine thuice* (she attracted everyone to her) (CM);⁴⁷⁸ *Shìn e a làmh a-null gu Aonghas* (§16); *threòraich e mi gu bun na frìthe* (§108); *tha mi dol gu deas* (to the south) (D); *chaidh iad suas gu deas air an latha agus sìos gu tuath air an oidhche* (RC, §360,vii,a); *thog i a sùilean gu nèamh* (RC, §360,vii,a); *bha e a' cromadh thuige* (descending towards him) (CM); cf. also: *bha sreath de bheanntan àrda a' ruith on tuath gus an àirde deas* (from the north to the south) (CM).

2.3. Purpose

Some spatial meanings include a connotation of purpose, i.e. the destination is either a social event or a place at which specific activities are understood to take place, e.g.

- *thug e athair gu biadh* (§39);⁴⁷⁹ *thàinig e dhachaigh gu 'bhiadh* (to eat) (AW);
- *a dhol gu òinneir* (§302); *chaidh sinn gu cèilidh* (to a ceilidh) (CM); *cò am partaidh gus an / gu 'n deach thu a-raoir?* (RC, §360,vi); *gu seilg nan sliabh* (to the mountain-chase) (D);
- *chaidh sinn chun na h-àirigh* (to the shieling) (CM); *Chaidh e gu muir nuair a bha e glé òg* (§400005).

In the latter two examples, the words *an àirigh* and *muir* do not refer merely to places but rather to specific activities that are performed there: respectively, tending cattle and being a sailor (or similar).

3. Recipient and addressee

In association with certain verbs, the preposition *gu* can indicate the recipient or the addressee. This meaning seems to be derived from the spatial meaning indicating destination.

- sending (to): *chuir e pasgan thugainn* (he sent a parcel to us) (CM); *cuiridh mi leabhar thuice* (I'll send a book to her) (AW); *cuiridh mi litir chugad* (I will send a letter to you) (D); *cò thuige a chuir thu an litir ud?* (RC, §360,iv);
- informing: *nach cuir thu fios thugam?* (RC, §360,vii,a);
- telephoning:⁴⁸⁰ *Fònaibh gu Niall Mòr!* (§321); *Chuir am ministear fòn gu polasman òg ann an Glaschu* (§400149);

⁴⁷⁸ These two examples may, in fact, imply reaching the destination, in which case they would belong to §2.1.

⁴⁷⁹ I.e. 'for a meal'.

⁴⁸⁰ Semantically, *cuir fios* is not unlike phrases such as *cuir litir/pasgan* (i.e. literally 'send information'); and *cuir fòn* is a metaphorical extension of that.

- writing (to):⁴⁸¹ *sgrìobh e litir ghoirid gu caraid dha* (to a friend of his) (CM); *sgrìobh e litir chun a' Bh.B.C.* (CM); *sgrìobh e thugam* (CM); *sgrìobhaidh mi thuca nuair a bheir mi mionaid* (RC, §360,vii,a);
- taking/bringing (to): *cha thug thu iomradh air dè bheireadh a-màireach thugad* (what the morrow would bring [to you]) (CM);
- carrying (to): *air son toradh an eilein a ghiùlan chun an uachdarain* (§54);
- throwing (to): *an gille a thilg mi am ball thuige* or *an gille gu 'n do thilg mi am ball* (§360,iv).

With certain verbs, the recipient and the addressee are indicated by other prepositions, e.g. *thoir do* (give), *innis do* (tell); but *bruidhinn ri* (speak to), *can/their ri* (say).⁴⁸² In a way, the *gu*-phrases in the above expressions seem to describe the recipient as the end point of motion.

4. Idiomatic expressions

There are many idiomatic expressions that include the preposition *gu*. Some are metaphorical, whilst others have fairly concrete or literal meanings. In any case, the meanings of *gu*-phrases in these expressions are related to those discussed so far.

Some of them indicate extent: *bha botal uisge-bheatha air òl gu a leth* (a half-drunk bottle) (CM); *bha e na shaighdear gu a chùl* (RC, §360,vii,b); *gu ìre mhòir* (RC, §360,vii,b); *Tha an t-àite an diugh gu ìre bhig gun iasg, gun eathar* (§35).

Others are semantically closer to the expressions of the end point of motion: *air dol gu neo-ni* (gone to nothing) (D);⁴⁸³ *thàinig e gu bith* (RC, §360,vii,b); *thàinig a' choinneamh gu crìch aig ochd uairean* (came to an end) (CM);⁴⁸⁴ *thàinig mi thugam fhèin* (I revived / came to) (CM); *thàinig e thuige fhèin* (he came to himself) (CM); *thàinig e thuige an dèidh dha a mhothachadh a chall* (RC, §360,vii,b); *ma thig cùisean gu h-aon is gu dhà* (RC, §360,vii,b); cf. also: *Fàilte gu Alba* (RC, §360,vii,e).⁴⁸⁵

Cf. also similar causative expressions generally conveying the sense of ‘bring to a condition or state’, but not exclusively: *cuir gu bàs* (put to death, execute) (CM); *cuir gu cabhaig* (fluster) (CM); *cuir gu deuchainn* (test) (CM); *cuir gu obair* (put to work) (CM); *chuir seo gu rannsachadh mi* (this set me searching) (CM); *thoir gu buil* (accomplish; complete) (CM); *is esan a thug sin gu teachd* (who brought that about) (CM); *feumaidh sinn ciorraman na cloinne a thoirt gu aire nam pàrantan* (bring... to the attention) (CM); *...airson na molaidhean sin a thoirt gu bith* (to bring these recommendations into being) (CM); *fhuair e a' phìob gu dol* (he got the pipe going) (CM);⁴⁸⁶ cf. also: *cha robh an teine air a chur thuige* (the fire wasn't kindled)

⁴⁸¹ This implies sending what is written, so it is semantically related to *cuir gu*.

⁴⁸² See Sections 5.2 and 5.4.

⁴⁸³ But cf. *dol a dholaidh* (§102002), with *do*. The phrase *gu neoni* also occurs with other verbs (e.g. *thig*, *thoir*, *cuir*, *crìon*, etc.) in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

⁴⁸⁴ This could be interpreted as an expression of time (see §6).

⁴⁸⁵ This is commonly seen on road signs, although *do* would be used traditionally: *fàilte a dh'Alba*.

⁴⁸⁶ Possibly a calque of the English expression.

(CM); ...*a chuireadh thuige an teine dhi* (which would kindle the fire for her) (CM); *Chuir i an teine thuige* (RC, §240,i); *chuir i thuige an teine* (RC, §360,vii,b); *dè chuir thuige e gus a' bhàrdachd seo a sgrìobhadh?* (what activated him to write this poetry?) (CM); *dè chuir thuige thu gus a' bhàrdachd seo a dhealbhadh?* (CM).

Certain constructions that convey the meanings of English ‘become’, ‘turn into’, ‘make X be’, and similar, can be included here. These contain the phrase *gu bhith an* + POSS + N, governed by verbs such as *thig, faigh, fàs, èirich, thèid, tionndaidh*;⁴⁸⁷ and, in causative expressions, *cuir, tionndaidh*, etc.

- *San linn seo fhèin, thàinig Eideard VIII gu bhith na rìgh an dèidh bàs athar* (§210); ...*agus fhuair e gu bhith na Chardineal air ball* (§218003); *Dh'èirich e ceum air cheum gu bhith na oifigeach àrd agus measail* (§81012); *tha e air fàs gu bhith na phrìomh ionad son tasgadh is mìneachadh dualchas nan Gàidheal an Albainn Nuadh* (§333); *Dh'fhàs Eoghainn suas gu bhith na ghille òg...* (§81008);⁴⁸⁸ *'S dòcha gun deigheadh e air ais gu bhith na fhear-naidheachd* (§337); *An robh e duilich dhuibh a dhol air ais gu bhith nur n-oileanaich an uair sin?* (§400105); cf. also: ...*san eaglais, far an robh Domhnull an fhìdhleir agus Màiri Nèill bhàin a dol a thionndadh o bhith na'n dìthis gu bhith na'n aon* (§81011);
- *Na dheigh sin, chaidh Mac-a-Rùsgaich a chuir gu bhith na ghille aig famhair, a bha dona ri a sheirbheisich* (§206002); *Oran a rinn am bard air do Shir Dòmhnall Mac-Pharlain a bhith air a thaghadh gu bhith na' Fhear-Pàrlamaid air son Earraghaidheal* (§76002); *'S e an dòigh as fheàrr air dèiligeadh ri nàmhaid a thionndadh gu bhith na charaid* (§2).

These and similar meanings can also be expressed, more simply, using the preposition *gu* and a noun: *Tha a' chamhanaich a' fàs gu latha*; *an t-earrach ag abachadh gu samhradh*; *sruthan ag at gu aibhnicibh*; *aibhnichean a' leudachadh gus an cuan*; *gucagan a' fàs gu blàthaibh agus blàthan gu measaibh*; *fiùrain a' fàs gu craobhaibh, clann gu daoine agus aon gu cinneach* (§212001); *Thionndaidh a' Chailleach gu cloich* (§69); *Chaidh an tionndadh gu cloich* (§69); *air an tionndadh gu Beurla* (i.e. translated) (§400003).

Certain idiomatic phrases resemble expressions of purpose: *cha robh e gu mòran feuma / gu feum sam bith* (RC, §360,vii,f); *chuir ise gu feum math iad* (she put them to good use) (CM); *cuir gu feum* (put to use) (CM); *cuir gu ath-feum* (re-use) (CM).

Some include the recipient or a similar semantic role: *chuir e gu fìor-eòlaiche mi* (referred me to a specialist) (CM); *feuch gun cuir thu fios thugam* (please let me know) (CM).

Cf. also: *thug iad gu seinn is gu dannsadh* (they took to singing and dancing) (CM); which is, possibly, a calque of the English phrase.

⁴⁸⁷ *Thig* appears to be the most common verb in this construction, judging by the examples found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

⁴⁸⁸ This is somewhat different since it means ‘he grew up to be’ rather than ‘he came to be’ or similar.

The expression *gu leth*, as in: *bliadhna gu leth* (a year and a half) (D), contains a (diachronically) different preposition – Early Gaelic *co^N* ‘with’.

5. Expressions of quantity and measure

These expressions are semantically close to those of extent, although in some cases (depending on the verb) the *gu*-phrase can indicate the end point of a motion-like process: *gu fichead* (to twenty) (D); *cunnt gu còig!* (RC, §360,vii,c); *thèid iad suas gu £1,000* (RC, §360,vii,c); cf. also: *tha e fichead mionaid gu còig uairean* (RC, §360,vii,d).⁴⁸⁹

6. Expressions of time

In temporal expressions, the preposition *gu(s)* indicates extent, i.e. the point in time at which a process or situation ends. It corresponds to English ‘till’, ‘until’, ‘up to’, ‘before’.⁴⁹⁰

- *chan eil ann ach fuireach far a bheil sinn gu latha* (until day) (CM); *Thug mis’ an oidhche gu latha / Ri sior ol an uisge-beatha* (§284); *bha ceòl agus aighearachd ann gu madainn* (until morning) (CM); *cha till i gu feasgar* (RC, §360,vii,a); *tha aig luchd-leughaidh gu deireadh a’ mhìos seo gu bhith a’ ghabhail compàirt anns a’ cho-fharpais* (readers have until the end of the month to participate in the competition) (CM); *cha do thòisich iad air an obair gu toiseach na [sic!] Lùnastail* (until the beginning of August) (CM); *gu crìch mo shaoghail* (to my life’s end) (D); *gu là bràth* (forever) (D); *bha iad sona gu aon latha nuair a...* (until one day) (CM); *fanaidh sinn gu sia uairean* (till six o’clock) (AW); and also: *gu sìorraidh* (RC, §360,vii,d);⁴⁹¹
- *cha robh an eaglais air a togail gu timcheall air ceud bliadhna an dèidh sin* (until about a hundred years after that) (CM); *cha robh sgeul air gu o chionn ghoirid* (until recently) (CM);
- *nuas gus an ochdamh linn deug* (up to the 18th century) (CM); *gus an àm seo an ath bhliadhna* (till this time next year) (D); *Nise, suas chun an ama seo, cha robh gainne bidhe de sheòrsa sam bith oirnn* (§400128); *Tha an leabhar (...) a leantainn beatha Eisenhower a nuas chun an latha ’n diugh* (§400001);
- *gus a-màireach* (CM); *chan uarrainn dhomh a ghleidheadh gus a-màireach* (until tomorrow) (AW); *seachdainn gus an-dé* (yesterday se’ennight) (D);⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁹ Obviously, the latter is also an expression of time (see §6).

⁴⁹⁰ Numerous examples can be found in Section 4.7, §13.

⁴⁹¹ The example *nach fhuirich thu gu do bhiadh a-nochd?* (RC, §360,vii,d) belongs here (i.e. ‘won’t you wait till your meal tonight?’, rather than ‘for your meal’). All examples of *fuirich gu* found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig* include either an expression of time or an adverb of manner (*gu foighidneach / sìobhalta / socrach*). The former, however, do not necessarily contain a word that refers unambiguously to time, cf. *b’ fheudar fuireach gu solus latha* (§42), i.e. ‘to wait till daylight’ (rather than ‘for daylight’).

⁴⁹² Cf. also: *nach fhàg sinn gu a-màireach e?* (RC, §360,vii,d). However, no similar examples have been found in *Corpas na Gàidhlig* – the form *gus* is normally used before the adverbs that start with unstressed *a(n)*. A handful of examples of the preposition *chun* governing these adverbs have been found in the corpus, all in very recent texts: *chun a-màireach* (§317); *chun an-diugh* (§311).

- *faodar a ràdh nach robh a leithid ann gu seo* (until now) (CM); *cha do thachair e chun a seo* (up to now, until now) (AW); *thuige seo* (so far) (CM); and also: *chan fhad' thuige a-nis* (it won't be long now) (AW);
- *Mar bu mhotha a dheanadh tu tàmh 's ann bu motha a bha e a' cur an t-sneachda, o latha gu latha, o oidhche gu oidhche, o seachdain [sic!] gu seachdain* (§302).

Similar expressions can be interpreted as indicating, metaphorically, the end point of motion: *Chaidh a smuaintean air ais chun na h-oidhche ud...* (§400048); *chaidh m' inntinn air ais gu Oidhche Shamhna mòran bhliadhnachan air ais* (back to a Halloween night) (CM).

The compound preposition *gu ruige* can occur in these contexts with a similar meaning:⁴⁹³ *bidh sinn trang gu ruige a' Bhliadhna Ùr* (until / right up to the New Year) (AD); *Chithear dà chàrn chloiche gu ruig an latha diugh a-muigh anns a' mhonadh* (§400055); *gu ruige seo* (until now) (CM); *cha do rinn sinn mearachdan gu ruige seo* (up to now, so far) (AD); *uaithe sin gu ruige seo* (from then till now) (CM).

The word *gus* can function as a conjunction that introduces a temporal clause. In this usage, it is followed by the particles *an* and *nach*, and the dependent form of the verb:⁴⁹⁴ *gus an till iad* (until they return) (D); *gus am faic mi thu* (D); *gus an do chaill sinn cliù na rìoghachd* (until we lost the kingdom's honour) (D); *Chaidh am biadh an gainnead gus nach robh aca mu dheireadh ach min choirce is sàile* (#234001). The form *gu* can occur instead of *gus*, but that appears to be less common: *fuirichidh sinn gu'n / gus an till iad* (RC, §360,ix); *Chan eil do chas a' falbh a seo gu'n cluinn mi fear eile* (§310); *Chan fhaigh mise norradh cadail gu'n till sibh co-dhiùbh* (§400027); *lean iad orra gu(s) nach robh càil air fhàgail dhith* (RC, §360,ix); *Ach cha tug e càil a bharrachd air uair a thìde gu nach robh càil ann dhith (=of the ship) ach an dà chrann* (§248).

7. Expressions of intention and purpose

These expressions are represented by two types of final clauses: (1) small clauses that contain a verbal noun governed by the preposition *gu(s)*, and (2) clauses introduced by the conjunction *gus* followed by the particles *an/nach* and the dependent form of the verb. The expression *gu(s)* (*an/nach*) corresponds to English 'to', 'in order to', 'with the purpose of', 'so that'.⁴⁹⁵

In the first type, the preposition is followed by a verbal noun. The object (if present) is inserted between the two words and the verbal noun is then preceded by the leniting particle *a*.

- *Dh'fhalbh e do Eirinn gus a bhith am measg a' chogaidh* (§294); *tha iad air tabhartas fhaighinn gus cuideachadh leis an obair* (to help with the work) (CM); *bha agam ri bus*

⁴⁹³ Cf. §2.1.

⁴⁹⁴ See more examples in Section 4.7, §14.

⁴⁹⁵ Other conjunctions or connectors occur in this type of clauses too, such as *a-chum* (AW), *airson* (RC, §253). *Gu(s)*, however, does not appear to be used in consecutive clauses, such as 'It rained constantly for two months, so that the whole area was flooded', cf. *Bha ceann feadhna Shrathghlais air éideadh o bhàrr gu 'bhonn le lùirich lannaich, clogaid, agus ceann-bheart, air chor 's nach ruigeadh saighead air a leonadh* (§401011).

eile a ghlacadh gus faighinn gu Peairt (to get to Perth) (CM); cf. also: *cheannaich mi tiocaid airson/gus a dhol dhachaigh* (RC, §253,viii);

- *chaidh iad don bhaile gus oidhirp a dhèanamh gus cuideachadh fhaighinn* (to attempt to obtain help) (CM); *chaidh iad don bhaile gus oidhirp a dhèanamh gus cuideachadh fhaighinn* (CM); *bha iad air am misneachadh gus pàirt a ghabhail anns na cluichean* (encouraged to take part) (CM); *bha i air a fàgail gus sùil a chumail oirnn* (left to keep an eye on us) (CM); *cheannaich i sguab gus an taigh a ghlanadh* (AW); *feumar barrachd airgid gus an drochaid ùr a thogail* (RC, §360,x); *nì sinn na 's urrainn dhuinn gus na gnothaichean uile seo a chur air adhart* (RC, §360,x); *sheinn a' phìob gus na daoine a bhrosnachadh* (RC, §360,x); *gus sgeul fada a chur an giorrad* (RC, §360,x).

The form *gu* has been attested in some examples: *Chaidh e do Ghlaschu an 1808 gu bhith na chléireach* (§81011); *chrom e gu pìos pàipear a thogail bhon làr* (to pick up) (CM); *Tha iad uile deas gu clach a thilgeadh air na creutairean beaga gun lochd* (§81009).

The second type is represented by subordinate clauses syntactically identical to the clauses of time mentioned in §6, except in that only the future and the conditional occur in them, in accordance with the sequence of tenses.

- *seo an seòladh againn gus an urrainn dhut an taigh a lorg* (AW); *tha mi a' dol a-steach gus am faigh mi cuidhteas na cuileagan seo* (RC, §335,iii,a); *fosgail an doras gu 'n / gus an cluinn sinn iad!* (RC, §360,ix); *Thig an so, gu 'm faic thu na cearcan briagha a th' agamsa!* (§400053); *ghabhaidh mi ri obair eile gu 'm bi barrachd airgid againn* (RC, §335,iii,a); *tha cliathaichean a' bhàta air an lìonadh le àirc gus nach tèid i fodha* (so that she will not sink) (CM); *Cuir clàr air a' chiste gus nach fhaod duine a fosgladh* (§2);
- *fhuair e obair bheag gus am biodh airgead-pòcaid aige* (AW); *thug a màthair pìos dhi gus nach bhiodh an t-acras oirre* (AW); *...agus gus an seasadh e a còir* (so that he might stand up for her right) (CM); *cheangail mi am post le còrd làidir gus am fuiricheadh e dìreach* (CM); *gus am b' fheàrr dhomh* (D); *gus nach cluinnte e* (so that it could not be heard) (D); *gus nach digeadh e staigh* (so that he could not come in) (D); *chuir mi dheth e gus nach fhaicinn e!* (RC, §335,iii,a).

Instead of personal pronouns, possessives are used to express the object of a verbal noun in the first type of final clauses. The pronoun either follows the word *gu(s)* or is merged with it.

- *cha togadh e làmh riumsa gus mo bhualadh* (§46); *'S tha na ràimh againn gus ar cumail am bàrr* (§400121); cf. also: *cheannaich mi maidhcreasgop airson/gus an sgrùdadh* (RC, §253,viii);
- *thug Mìcheal còir putadh dhom gu mo dhùsgadh* (§81010); *rug e air a làimh air gu a thogail* (§302); *Cha mhór a nì iad sin gu ar cumail beò, a màthair* (§42);
- *thog e am bata gum bhualadh* (to strike me) (CM); *'S an cuir iad ri'n gualainn an gunna gu'm bhualadh* (§307); *thog e a chas ga bhreabadh* (to kick him) (CM); *thug e sgaile air a' phàipear ga dhèanamh cothrom* (to make it even) (CM); *...agus chuir i san àmhainn e ga fhuineadh* (to bake) (CM); *Thug mi dha na leabhraichean aig Tom*

Paine gu'n leughadh (§112004); *bhiodh e a' toirt dha leabhraichean gan leughadh* (to read) (CM).⁴⁹⁶

The following examples may reflect a different construction, in which the particle *a* (originally, the preposition *do*) is used when the object is not expressed by a possessive. This construction normally follows verbs of motion, as in: *cha robh mise a' dol a cheannach dad de'n treallaich ud* (§400001). Although some dictionaries give examples of *gu*, *gum*, etc. in this context, the vowel *a* seems to occur in both the merged and unmerged forms in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.⁴⁹⁷

- *thig gam* (for *gu mo*) *fhaicinn* (to see me) (AW); *thàinig e air adhart gum phutadh* (to push me) (CM); *thig iad gu do chuideachadh* (CM); *bha iad a' tighinn ga shàbhaladh* (CM); *a bheil thu a' dol ga cuideachadh?* (CM);⁴⁹⁸
- *Sgrìobh thugam no thig gam fhaicinn* (§313); *Bha 'ad 'dol 'ga mo mharbhadh* (§30); *Ma thig duine gad iarraidh...* (§2); *Théid mi ghràidh 'ga do shireadh* (§56); *thainig aon latha dà mhinistear g'ar cluinntinn a' leughadh* (§400082); *...a' tighinn a-nall a Mhacedonia ga ar cuideachadh-ne* (§11); *'S ma theid mi ga ur n-àireamh...* (§83).

On the other hand, according to Dwelly, the preposition *gu* is used in Sutherland instead of *a* in expressions such as: *gu àrach an anma* (to nourish their souls) (D).

Tentatively, examples such as the following might be interpreted as expressing either purpose or intention: *tha aig luchd-leughaidh gu deireadh a' mhìos seo gu bhith a' gabhail compàirt anns a' cho-fharpais* (readers have until the end of the month to participate in the competition) (CM); *Nuair a bha e deiseil gus falbh...* (§400115); *Bha thu ullamh gu coibhneas a dhèanamh rium* (§43); and also: *Tha mo sgoileirean ullamh gu blàr* (§240).

8. Prospective aspect

The construction *bi gu(s) + VN* expresses the prospective aspect, which describes processes that occur subsequent to the time of reference, especially when there is evidence for their realisation. In other words, it expresses something that is predicted, expected, or planned. Some prospective expressions can be understood as involving a sense of temporal restriction, i.e. as describing a process that is to occur shortly.⁴⁹⁹

- (PROSP) *tha thu gu bhith sgìth* (RC, §360,x); *tha thu gu bhith sgìth a-nochd* (RC, §299,vii); *tha i gu (a) dhèanamh* (RC, §299,vii); *mura robh muinntir a' bhaile gu bhith a' faighinn buannachd às* (unless the townspeople were to be benefitting from it) (CM);
- (RESTR) *tha mi gu bhith deiseil* (almost ready) (AW, CM); *tha sinn gu falbh* (about to go) (AW); *bha e gu toirt thairis* (on the point of giving up) (CM); *bha i gu fannachadh leis an teas* (almost fainting) (CM);

⁴⁹⁶ The form *gan* (instead of *gun*) in this example might reflect reduced pronunciation.

⁴⁹⁷ Except in *gur* (from *ga ur*): *Thàinig mi g'ur cur fo gheasaibh* (§101).

⁴⁹⁸ CM's examples are listed in the entry for *gu*.

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. English 'almost', 'about to', 'on the point of'.

- (PROSP) *gus a bhith deiseil* (CM); *tha thu gus a bhith sgìth* (RC, §360,x); *Tha dinneir gus a bhith againn do na seann daoine* (#43); *thathas gus a bhith a' cur suas talla ùr* (RC, §299,vii); *tha mi gus bàsachadh leis an acras* (RC, §299,vii); *bha e gus òran a sheinn* (RC, §299,vii); *tha mi gus an doras a dhùnadh* (RC, §299,vii); *Chaidh sinn sìos chon na trèana a bha gus ar toirt air ais ma thuath* (§400028);
- (RESTR) *bha eagal mòr orm gun robh e gus a dhol a-mach orra* (on the point of falling out with them) (CM); *tha mi gus mo chiall a chall* (I am about to lose my senses) (CM); *bha e gus a mhùn a chall* ag èisteachd riutha (nearly wetting himself) (AW).

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5.4 Motion towards & beneficiary: *do*

1. Introduction⁵⁰⁰

The primary meaning of the preposition *do* is spatial: it indicates the goal of motion (destination) and corresponds to English ‘(in)to’, i.e. the goal is usually the interior of something. It also has a grammatical (syntactic) function: expressing various types of indirect object, and in that sense it often corresponds to English ‘to’ or ‘for’.

The preposition *do* governs the dative case. It lenites the following word (where applicable) and usually prefixes *dh’* to words that start in a vowel: *an tug thu preusant do Mhàiri an-dè?* (RC, §356,i,a); *tha sinn a’ dol do dh’Inbhir Nis* (or *do Inbhir Nis*) (CM). Some speakers use the variant *dha* (AW), which does not lenite: *dha Mòraig*, *dha Calum*, *dha muinntir an ath bhaile* (RC, §356,i,b).⁵⁰¹ Very often, especially when used in its spatial sense, *do* is reduced to *a*: *an tig thu a dh’Èirinn còmhla rium?* (RC, §356,i,a); also: *thug mi a dh’Iain e* (CM). According to Dwelly, this can be omitted entirely: *Chaidh e (do/a) dh’Èirinn* (D).

Do is combined with the definite article as follows: *don*, *do na*, or *dhan*, *dha na*.⁵⁰² The article can be repeated after *don/dhan*.⁵⁰³ *dhan a’ Ghàidhlig* (for Gaelic) (CM); *ruith i dhan (a’) bhùth* (RC, §356,ii). Various forms are used before demonstratives (to form adverbs): *do/dha/a sin*, *dhan a sin* (RC, §356,vi). The same applies to *a h-uile*: *Ìocshlaint do a h-uile creutair* (§3);⁵⁰⁴ *do h-uile neach* (§197); *don a h-uile duine* (§23); *dhan a h-uile baraill* (§250). The forms *do* and *dha* are used before the word *gach*: *do/dha gach duine* (RC, §356,iii); and before the relative *na*: *thug e rabhadh do/dha na bha ann* (RC, §356,iii). The forms *do*, *dha*, and rarely, *da*, are used before the relative particles *an/am* and *nach*, whereby *an/am* undergoes elision: *rubha don ainm Rinn Thoirbheis* (§400198); *cò an duine dhan do dh’innis thu na breugan sin?* (RC, §356,vii); *ge bith cò iad no an tìr dham buineadh iad* (whoever they are or whatever the land to which they belong) (CM); *Bha fios agam nach robh neach ann dam b’ urrainn domh innse mar a rinn mi* (§400110); cf. also: *dha bheil iad a’ toirt maoin* (to which they give funds) (CM); *dè an aois a tha a’ chlann dha bheil i a’ leughadh?* (RC, §356,vii); *B’ e seo nì do nach tug mi an aire* (§400077); *na daoine dha nach aithne Gàidhlig* (§400082); *an fheadhainn da nach b’ aithne an ràdh...* (§400081).

⁵⁰⁰ Abbreviations: AW – Angus Watson; CM – Colin Mark; FB – *Am Faclair Beag*; D – Dwelly; RC – Richard Cox. Most examples adduced here come from these sources and the rest are from *Corpas na Gàidhlig*.

⁵⁰¹ Most of the examples adduced by RC involve words that start with *d*: *thug mi dha Dòmhnall e*, *dha duine a tha air a bhith na dhùisg fad na h-oidhche*, etc. This may be a coincidence.

⁵⁰² The older spelling: *do’n*, *dha’n*: *do’n duine* (D).

⁵⁰³ The origin of this could also be epenthesis, as in the prefixes such as *bana-*.

⁵⁰⁴ This is an octosyllabic line from a poem. The particle *a* is normally elided after *do*.

The forms *do* and *dha* occur before possessives: ***do mo mhàthair*** (RC, §356,iv); ***do mo réir-sa*** (according to my views) (D); ***taitneach dha do chridhe*** (§400115); and the two words can merge into one: ***dom, dod, da, dar, dur, dan/dam*** (CM); also ***dor*** and ***don*** for *dar* and *dan* respectively (RC, §356,iv); ***do'n*** (to their) (D): ***dom mhàthair*** (RC, §356,iv); cf. also: ***do d' mhàthair*** (to thy mother) (D). These contractions can be lenited: ***dham...*** (CM; RC, §356,iv).

The pronominal forms are: ***dhomh, dhu(i)t, dha, dhi, dhuinn, dhuibh, dhaibh*** (AW, CM; RC, §356,v); also: ***dhoibh*** (to them) (§36); rarely not lenited: ***domh, duit...*** (D; RC, §356,v). Cf. ***cò dha a rinn thu sin?*** (RC, §240,i,a).

NOTE: In the following analysis, no distinction is made between the contexts in which the use of the preposition *do* is obligatory and those in which it is not. For example, the verb *innis* takes the indirect object expressed by a *do*-phrase, and so does the verb *buin* (which, however, can also take *ri*-phrases). The indirect object of the verb *thoir* is expressed by a *do*-phrase when the meaning of the verb is ‘give’, which also applies to various expressions that include this verb, such as *thoir gaol do X* (love X). In these and other similar cases, the use of *do* can be described as obligatory. In expressions such as *tog taigh do X* (build a house for X), however, a *do*-phrase is not obligatory, i.e. its absence does not affect the meaning or the completeness of the rest of the expression.

2. Expressions of goal

The preposition *do* can indicate the goal of motion, which is usually (in) the interior of what is denoted by its object. In this sense, it corresponds to English ‘(in)to’, i.e. ‘to and into’ (CM); cf. also the Gaelic paraphrase ‘a-steach ann’ (RC, §356,viii,a).⁵⁰⁵ As such, it most commonly occurs with verbs of motion, such as *thèid, thig, falbh, ruith, leum, sreap, tuit*, etc.

- *tha sinn a' dol do/a dh'Inbhir Nis* (CM); *a' dol do/a Ghlaschu* (to Glasgow) (AW); *thèid i a Ghlaschu* (to Glasgow) (AW); *chaidh e a Chanada* (CM); *chaidh iad nan eilthirich a Chanada* (RC, §356,viii,a); *chaidh iad (a) Phort-rìgh* (D); *tha sinn an dùil a dhol dhan Fhraing am-bliadhna* (RC, §356,viii,a); *a' dol dhan bhùth* (to the shop) (AW); *an tèid thu dhan bhùth?* (RC, §356,viii,a);
- *an tig thu a dh'Èirinn còmhla rium?* (RC, §356,i,a);
- *fhalbh a dh'àiteigin eile!* (RC, §356,viii,a); *tha na h-òganaich a' fàgail na tuatha agus a' falbh do na bailtean móra* (§400018);
- *Tha na laoigh a' ruith do'n bhuaile* (§102003);
- *Leum e dhan chairt* (§400104);
- *Thilg e smugaid mun do shreap e gu slaodach don chàr...* (§313);
- *thuit e dhan abhainn* (RC, §356,viii,a); *thèarn iad caora a bha air tuiteam dhan mhuir* (§8).

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. the preposition *gu*, which does not include the connotation of entering.

The goal (destination) can also be an institution, an event, an organisation, etc. No difference is made in Gaelic between expressions such as English ‘go to the school’ and ‘go to school’.

- *chaidh a’ chlann dhan sgoil gu math tràth an-diugh* (RC, §356,viii,a); *thèid sinn dhan eaglais feasgar* (RC, §356,viii,a); *thèid mi don/dhan eaglais* (to church) (AW);
- *nach tèid iad don chèilidh?* (to the ceilidh) (CM);
- *leapannan (...) nach fhaca sinn o thàinig sinn dhan arm* (§19).

Cf. also: *Tiugainn leam a suas do’n Cheilidh* (§58).⁵⁰⁶

Some expressions lack a verb of motion, but motion is implied otherwise: *leigidh e an dara rud a-steach do’n chealla* [i.e. dol a-steach] *agus cumaidh e rud eile a-mach* (§33); *...a tha an dùil fiachainn a-steach do’n Phàrlamaid aig an ath thaghadh* (§400045).

The verb can have an inherent causative meaning, i.e. describe an action that causes or results in motion, e.g. *cuir, thoir, tog, giùlain, tilg*, etc.

- *cuir màileid dhan chàr* (in the car) (AW); *Chan urrainn dhaibh [i.e. do shnàigearan craoibhe ‘treecreepers’] am fiodh a shnaidheadh ach bithidh iad a’ cur an guib chaola, chrom a-steach do na tuill agus tha seo ag obair mar ghreimiche dhaibh* (§252); *chaidh mo chur dhan Arm* (§251);
- *thug e na caoraich dhan mhòintich sa bhan* (RC, §356,viii,a); *Thug iad a-steach do’n bhaile sinn* (§35); *’S e na Bucaich bu mhotha bha toirt an sgadain a-steach do Shealltainn* (§250); *Air an ath Shàbaid, thairg e nighean a bhràthar a thoirt leis do’n eaglais chum éisdeachd ris a mhinisdear a labhair ris* (§112001);
- *agus an t-aon ghille a th’ aice air a thogail air falbh do’n arm* (§400001);
- *sheas mi-fhein agus Calum Ruadh an sin gus an d’thainig carbad-eich a’ mhuilleir airson ar giulan do Steornabhagh* (§57);
- *tilg clach dhan loch* (into the loch) (AW);
- *...ged a stiùir e mi gu socair a-steach do’n sgoil* (§400041);
- *chaidh an sguabadh air falbh do’n chuan* (§234001).

In the following examples, *do*-phrases occur after the verb *fuirich*. These phrases, however, are governed by the verbs of motion that occur in the main clause. Such examples are frequent in the corpus, although there are a few exceptions.

- *thàinig an teaghlach a dh’fhuireach a dh’Albainn bho chionn dà bhliadhna* (RC, §356,viii,a);⁵⁰⁷ *Aon latha, thàinig aonaran a dh’fhuireach do’n bhail’ againn* (§198); *chaidh e a dh’fhuireach do lùchairt mhór a sheanar* (§217004); *An sin chaidh Fionn a dh’fhuireach do thigh Airc mhic Donaich mhic Lir* (§102004); cf. also: *Shaoilinn nach iarradh neach fon ghréin a dhol a dh’fhuireach gu àite cho fìor iomallach* (§28);⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁶ If the destination is an event, however, it is more commonly indicated by the preposition *gu*. See Section 5.3, §2.3.

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. English ‘came to live in Scotland’, not ‘**came to live to Scotland’.

⁵⁰⁸ Note the use and meaning of *gu* here.

- *Nuair a chrìochnaich mi ann an Dun Eideann thàinig mi air ais a dh'fhuireach anns a' bhaile* (§198); *A bheil thu dol a dh'fhuireach anns a' bhaile?* (§304).⁵⁰⁹

Do-phrases can indicate extent rather than the goal of motion: *leanaidh an rathad seo sìos don ghleann* (RC, §356,viii,a); *Tha an rathad-mór a tha a' ruith do Ghlinn-Eilge a' dol astar mór throimh Shiorrachd Rois* (§400006).

Do-phrases can be accompanied by other adverbials that denote goal or direction:⁵¹⁰

- *chaidh aige a dhol a-steach don taigh...* (CM); *chaidh iad a-steach don uaimh* (they went into the cave) (CM); *gabh a-steach do sheòmar an dannsa* (§400039); *air dhaibh leum a thoirt a-steach do thè de na geòlaichean a bha ri taobh an t-soithich...* (§197); *tha e nas fhasa dhaibh faighean a-steach do sgorran no fon talamh airson iad fhèin a dhìon* (§252); *Cha robh e duilich dhà bristeadh a-steach do bhùth thall 's a-bhos 's na cistean airgid a spùilleadh* (§313);
- *leanaidh an rathad seo sìos don ghleann* (RC, §356,viii,a); *bidh mi a' cromadh sìos dhan an tràigh* (§11); *An cuala tu gun do dh'fhalbh Mórags sìos a Shasainn a rithist* (§198);
- *chaidh i suas do a seòmar fhèin* (up to her own room) (CM); *chaidh mi suas do'n bhaile a dh'òl* (§400054); *Chaidh e suas do'n chidsin a bha cho glan ri prìne* (§304); cf. also: *Tha mi dol suas do'n chrann air a' mhionaid a chumail sùil mun cuairt airson greise* (§310);
- *Bheir sinn a' chuid as fheàrr dhiubh seo a nunn do'n Mhansa* (§42); *...agus ghluais iad air falbh a-null a Bharraigh* (§28);
- *chaidh an sguabadh air falbh do'n chuan* (§234001); *bhiodh an gual air a lodadh air na soithichean a bhiodh 'g a ghiùlan air falbh a dhùthchannan céine* (§302);
- *is duilich leam do dhol air ais a dh'Eirinn* (to Ireland) (AW); *thèid mi air ais don talla* (CM); *Greas air ais do'n leabaidh* (§232003); *bha mi nist' (...) air mo chiad sgrìob a thoirt air ais dha'n Eilean* (§400058); *Dh'iarr e orm a thoirt air ais don a' bhàta gun dàil* (§400132).⁵¹¹

Do-phrases are used with the verbs *seall* and *coimhead* when the object of looking is the interior of something: *Sheall e dhan a bheul aige* (§30);⁵¹² *Chaidh iad far an robh i, agus iad airson sealltainn dhan taigh feuch an robh dad feumail ann a thoireadh iad leotha* (§317); or they can express the direction of looking (or its 'goal'): *thug iad greis mhór sàmhach a' coimhead dha'n teine* (§30); *a' coimhead suas do'n adhar* (§400097); *Anns a' chathair ud bhiodh mo bhean a' suidhe a' sealltainn a-steach do'n teine* (§198); *Nuair a sheall e suas, bha e mar gu robh e sealltainn sìos a bhroinn birlinn* (§203); *Sheall Abraham timcheall air is suas do'n adhar...* (§205); and similarly: *Agus mise call an fhradhairc a' coimhead dha'n a h-uile h-àird ach far*

⁵⁰⁹ The last example may not belong here since [*a'*] *dol* could be an auxiliary verb, i.e. 'are you going to live' = 'do you plan/intend to live'.

⁵¹⁰ Note the additional verbs of motion in the following examples: *gabh*, *thoir leum*, *faigh*, *gluais*, *greas* and *crom*. The phrase *brist a-steach (do)* (break into) is probably idiomatic.

⁵¹¹ I.e. 'to take him back to the boat'.

⁵¹² I.e. to see whether it had teeth.

an robh thu! (§400103). Cf. also: *tha an dorus aige* [i.e. of the house] *fhathast a' coimhead do'n àirde an iar a riamh o thog mi e* (§400050).⁵¹³

Do-phrases can modify nouns whose meaning includes or implies motion or extent, or similar: *sgrìob do/dha na h-eileanan* (to the islands) (AW); *an rathad a Steòrnabhagh* (the road to S.) (CM); *An rathad a-steach do'n bhaile* (§400036). Cf. also: *fàilte oirbh dhan dùthaich!* (RC, §356,viii,b), which implies the addressees' arrival.

A type of extent or measure is implied by the following expression: *tha e goirid do Ghlaschu* (RC, §356,viii,b); *Goirid do'n àite 'san robh e (...)* *bha tigh Màiri Dhuibh...* (§217001).

3. Recipient

The preposition *do* marks the recipient when used with verbs such as: *thoir, sìn, tairg, reic, fàg, tiomain*, etc. In this sense, it normally corresponds to English 'to'.⁵¹⁴

- *an tug thu preusant do Mhàiri an-dè?* (RC, §356,i,a); *nach toir thu do Sheonaig e?* (RC, §356,viii,b); *thoir do dh'Iain e* (to Iain) (AW); *thug mi dha Dòmhnall e* (RC, §356,i,b); *thug mi a dh'Iain e* (CM); *thug e an sgian dheàlach ùr don bhalach* (to the boy) (CM); *thug e leabhar dhomh* (CM); *thug mi dhi e* (CM); *thoir dha e* (CM); *Thoir dha sin* (give that to him) (D); *Cò dha a bheir sinn an seann taigh-doileig?* (RC, §356,v); *dha bheil iad a' toirt maoin* (to which they give funds) (CM); and also: *thoir tiotal don sgeulachd* (give the story a title) (CM);
- *Chaidh an t-ultach a shìneadh do Chalum an làthair an sgiobair* (§70);
- *tha làn dùil againn gum bi taic o'n Stàit air a thairgsinn do luchd-sgrìobhaidh na Gàidhlig agus do luchd clò-bhualaidh na Gàidhlig* (§400061);
- *Chaith iad an cuid a' feuchainn ri cumail suas ris na Sasunnaich, agus b' éiginn dhaibh an oighreachdan a reic do'n choigreach* (§218004);
- *Feumaidh sinn beagan fhàgail do chàch* (§400158);
- *Tha an t-Ollamh Goldwin Smith an deidh 'eanachainn a thiomnadh do Oil-thigh Chornell* (§81011).

Verbs such as *thoir* or *fàg* also occur in idiomatic expressions, some of which may correspond to single verbs in English.

- *dh'iarr Calum air Seòras còig ceud not a thoirt dha air iasad* (to lend) (CM); *Air do bheatha na toir thusa dad air iasad dhan a' bhoireannach ud tuilleadh* (§36);
- *Fhuair Seumas Ruadh còir air an eilean às dèidh sin ach mu dheireadh chaidh a thoirt air ais do chroitearan Bhaltois* (§400185); *Tha iad ag iarraidh [sic!] am fearann sin a thoirt air ais don t-sluagh* (§81001);⁵¹⁵

⁵¹³ I.e. the door of the house faces west.

⁵¹⁴ Or, in certain contexts, to no preposition at all (cf. *give me that*). RC (§356,viii,b) paraphrases it as 'gu' in this context, which does not look quite accurate.

⁵¹⁵ I.e. 'give back', 'return'.

- *Na h-òrain bhlasda phrìseil sin / A dh'fhàg na bàird mar dhùleab dhuinn (§222); b' e fhéin (...) a dh'fhàg e 'na thiomnadh do'n Bheilg (§400033).⁵¹⁶*

Do-phrases also denote the recipient in expressions such as: *Seo dhuibh. Tha mi'n dòchas gun còrd e ruibh* (§42); *Sin dhuibh mar dh'innseadh dhòmhsa...* (§400142);⁵¹⁷ *seo dhut!* (CM, RC, §356,viii,b).⁵¹⁸

4. Addressee

In this context, the term *addressee* refers to the recipient of a message, expressed by the indirect object of verbs such as *innis*, *aithris*, *mìnich*, *soilleirich*, *ionnsaich*, *nochd* (show), *seall* (show), *dearbh*, *geall*, *òrdaich*, etc.⁵¹⁹ Although most of these are verbs of speaking, not all of them are, since the message is not necessarily verbal. The preposition *do* corresponds either to English 'to' or to no preposition in this context (cf. §3).

- *innis do Mhàiri e* (to Mary) (AW); *làrna-mhàireach chaidh Coinneach suas gu taigh a sheanar gus an innseadh e dha sheanmhair dè bha a' cur dragh air* (RC, §356,i,b);⁵²⁰ *dh'innis a sheanair do Dhòmhnall mun chòmhradh seo* (§14); *ciamar a dh'innseas mi seo dha?* (CM); *nach innis thu do naidheachd dhuinn?* (RC, §356,viii,b);
- *bhite ag aithris naidheachdan beaga dha chèile mu thaibhsean is mu na sithichean* (RC, §356,viii,b); *dh'aithris mi dhi mar thachair air an ath chuairt eadar mi fhìn agus Tiac* (§400128); *thill iad chun a' bhàta (...) a dh'aithris don companaich mu na sabaidean air tìr* (§400133);⁵²¹
- *leughaidh mi sgeulachd dhut, ma ghreasas tu ort* (RC, §356,viii,b);
- *Mhìnich mo charaid dhuinn gu soilleir na laghannan...* (§401002); *'S iomadh smuain a thug an luchd-sgrùdaidh às an inntinnean airson sin a mhèineachadh do'n t-sluagh* (§205);
- *tha e a' soilleireachadh dhuinn mar a bha a' choimhearsnachd fharsaing ud air a co-nasgadh ri chèile...* (§400113);
- *Trobhad, a mhic, agus ionnsaichidh mi dhut an aibidil* (§400188); *Cha'n urrainn mise Gàidhlig ionnsachadh do'n chloinn; dh'fhairtlich iad orm* (§401012);
- *Tha an leabhar so a' nochdadh do choigrich ciod e gnè is inbhe nan ùghdar Gàidhlig nar latha* (§217004); *Mur faca thu e idir, nochdaidh mise dhut a nis e!* (§400045);⁵²²

⁵¹⁶ The verb *fàg* can also take the preposition *aig*, e.g. *dh'fhàg e mìle not mar dhùleab aig Comann nan Sgoiltean Gàidhlig* (§400114).

⁵¹⁷ Concluding a story. The word *dhuibh* has a pragmatic or expressive role in this example and should probably not be described as (true) recipient.

⁵¹⁸ CM: there you are (=I told you so, I knew that would happen etc.). See the previous note.

⁵¹⁹ The other meaning of this term (irrelevant here) is the participant(s) of a conversation referred to by the second-person verb forms or pronouns (*you*), or by the vocative case.

⁵²⁰ I.e. 'to his grandmother'.

⁵²¹ But cf. *Feumar coimhead air na chaidh aithris ri muinntir Coimisean Napier gus faicinn dé thachair* (§26).

⁵²² But note: *bha e (...) daonnan deas gu caoimhneas a nochdadh ri bochd no ri beartach* (§81012). Cf. also: *An uair a nochd iad ri Caolas Tharasaidh...* (i.e. came in sight of) (§400169).

- *seall dhomh do làmh* (show mi your hands) (CM); *Seall dhomh càite a bheil i matà* (§16); *Smaoinich am fleasgach do'm buineadh am beathach, gun rachadh e ga shealltainn do'n bhoireannach cheudna* (§400063);
- *Dh'fhaodadh nach teid agam air a chur an céill dhuibh, ach 'se mo chuid mo dhìcheall a dhèanamh* (§400006);
- *Dhearbh so do na croitearan an luach a bh' ann an leasachadh innis* (§400035); *cha robh e fada a' dearbhadh do Chalum gu'n tachradh gach nì a réir a mhiann* (§42);⁵²³
- *tha mi a' gealltainn sin dhut* (I promise you that) (CM); *geallaidh mise sin dhut* (I'll guarantee you that) (CM); *Ach gheall e dhomh gun d' rachadh e dhan dotair a-màireach* (§16);
- *an d' rinn thu mar a dh'ordaich mi dhut?* (§81009); *dh'ordaich e dha a dhol air thoir an lighiche* (§232001);⁵²⁴
- *Sheall i air ais, smèid i dha gun faite is dh'fhalbh i* (§400109); *Bha mi a' smèideadh do'n fheadhainn a bh' air a' chladach* (§400044).⁵²⁵

The verb *faighnich* (*do*) may be included here, but it is also likely that the preposition *do* has the meaning of *de* in this context: *dh'fhaighnich mi dha Calum Iain* (RC, §356,i,b); *faighnich dhomh latha eile!* (RC, §356,viii,b).

Do-phrases denoting the addressee occur in various expressions that include such verbs as *innis*, *dèan*, *thoir*, *cuir*, *leig*, etc. Some of these expressions correspond to single verbs in English.

- *Am faod e bhi gu'n d' innis mi breug do mo charaid?* (§112004); *chan eil mi ag innse breug dhut* (§27); *Tha Diana ag innse bhreugan do Sheòras* (§400122);
- *Bha fios aige nach ann gun aobhar a rinn e breug dha* (§81009);⁵²⁶
- *An uair a choisich a' bhean uasal a dh'ionnsaigh na langasaid (...) ghrad dh'eirich e, agus rinn e beic dhi* (§81007); *Dh'eirich na h-eòin uile 'nan seasamh, agus rinn iad beic don Bhaintighearna* (§48);⁵²⁷
- *thoir freagairt do* (answer, reply to) (CM); *Cha tug e freagairt di* (§224); *a bhith a' toirt freagairt do Mhr Iain* (§79); cf. also: *Freagairt do'n Oigear Aineolach* (§81010);⁵²⁸
- *Bu mhath leam taing a thoirt don a h-uile duine as aithne dhomh ann an Eilean Thiriodh* (§23);
- *thug i an gealladh do Theàrlach* (§400118); *thug i dha an gealladh a bha e a' sireadh* (§4000196);
- *thug iad rabhadh dhomh* (warned/alerted me) (AW); *tha mi a' thoirt an rabhaidh mu dheireadh dhuibh* (CM); *thug i rabhadh do na h-eileanaich* (§400138); cf. also: *mar rabhadh do chàch* (to others) (CM);

⁵²³ This is also experiencer (see §5), since it implies an influence on / a change of 'experience'.

⁵²⁴ But cf. *dh'òrdaich e mi dhol a-mach dha'n taigh sgoile* (§35); *dh'òrdaich e na gillean sin a-mach air an ùrlar* (§400141).

⁵²⁵ The preposition *do* seldom occurs with this verb in the corpus. Cf. *thàinig Harris gu taobh a muigh an doruis agus smèid e ris* (§304); *Mhòthaich e dhomh fhéin agus smèid e orm* (§133001).

⁵²⁶ But cf. *air eagal gun dèanainn breug riut* (§29).

⁵²⁷ But cf. *bha am Buachaille a' deanadh beic ris an Rìgh* (§102005).

⁵²⁸ The verb *freagair* takes the direct object in this sense: *Sheall e rium ach cha do fhreagair e mi* (§198).

- *leig na sìdhichean a thuigsinn dha nach biodh an t-oighre a bha e a' sìor-iarraidh 'n a chridhe, fada gun a thighinn* (§302);
- *chuir am poileas air shùilibh dhomh gur h-e rathad aon-slighe a bh' ann* (RC, §356,viii,b); *Ciamar a chuirear air shùilibh dhàsan mar a bhà* (§400088);
- *nach cuir thu air chuimhne dhomh nuair a dh'fheumas sinn falbh?* (RC, §356,viii,b).

The role of addressee can be indicated by other prepositions, usually *ri*, *gu*, and *air*, depending on the governing verb or expression: *abair*, *bruidhinn*, *labhair*, *èigh*, *gàir*, *dèan breug*, *smèid*, *dèan bèic (ri)*; *sgrìobh*, (*cuir*) *fòn (gu)*; *smèid (air)*, etc. With certain verbs, the addressee is expressed by the direct object: *freagair*, etc.

5. Beneficiary/maleficiary and experiencer

The preposition *do* can indicate an entity on which the situation described by the predicate has a certain effect (positive, negative, or neutral). This role can be described as *beneficiary*.⁵²⁹ Since it can overlap, to a certain degree, with the role of *experiencer*, both are discussed together here. *Do* corresponds to English ‘to’ or ‘for’ in this context; cf. also the Gaelic paraphrases ‘air sgàth, airson’ (RC, §356,viii,c).

Beneficiary/maleficiary is usually an animate participant that is affected (dis)advantageously by the action, situation, or similar.⁵³⁰

- *b' ann sa bhliadhna 1701 a bha tràill Innseanach a' cladhach dha mhaighstir ann an ceàrn de na h-Innseachan* (RC, §356,i,b); *Dh'fhigh mi a' chiad phaidhir do fhear an tighe...* (§400008); *Thionndaidh e airson an doras fhosgladh do Alasdair...* (§16); *Chan urrainn dhaibh [=snàigearan craoibhe ‘treecreepers’] am fiodh a shnaidheadh ach bithidh iad a' cur an guib chaola, chrom a-steach do na tuill agus tha seo ag obair mar ghreimiche dhaibh* (§252); *gur e dhùisg mo sheanchas dhomh...* (what caused my muse to awake is...) (D); *cheannaich mi dhomh fhìn e* (RC, §356,viii,c); *Cha do choisinn Uilleam Moireach riamh dha fhéin ach meas is deagh-ghean a-measg a chuid choimhearsnach* (§400068); *Seo, cùm sin dhut fhèin airson a bhith nad bhalach math* (§400197);
- *bha esan ann bliadhna no corr a' frithealadh do sheann duine* (§31); “*caraid an rìgh,*” *mar a theirear (...)* *ris an neach a tha 'frithealadh do'n rìgh* (§112001); *Bha am bodach Sasannach leis an robh a' bhùth a' frithealadh do Mhàiri Anna* (§305);⁵³¹
- *co dha a thug e aoigheachd?* (to whom did he give hospitality?) (CM);⁵³²
- *Thug an Comunn sin cuideachadh do'n fhoillsichear* (§248); *tha iad cuideachd nan cuideachadh do thuathanaich* (§252); *Cha'n 'eil e ro-dhaor, agus cha bheag an*

⁵²⁹ Or as *maleficiary* (if experiencing disadvantage). For simplicity's sake, these are treated as a single role here.

⁵³⁰ Some of the following examples include the role of experiencer, or even recipient or possessor (see §3 and §6) and could probably be further classified into a number of subgroups.

⁵³¹ Cf. also: *bha mo mhàthair a' frithealadh rithe* (§400009); *Bhiodh an aon nighean so a' frithealadh oirnn gun sgar* (§400056).

⁵³² The indirect object of the expressions that include the verb *thoir (do)* can also be interpreted as recipient.

cuideachadh do aobhar na Gàidhlig gu'm biodh e air a dheagh sgeadachadh (§401002);⁵³³

- *thug i cothrom dhi a h-inntinn a nochdadh air a socair (§400099);*
- *O, tha mi cinnteach (...) gun ceadaich mi sin dhut (§318); and also: Tha mi a' toirt a' chead sin dhut (§335); cf. leig dhomh (permit me) (D); Leugh àrd do chinn e (...) ma leigeas do nàire sin dhut (§400030); and also: leig dhomh (let me alone) (D); leig dha (let it alone) (D);⁵³⁴*
- *math dhuinn ar peacaidhean (forgive us our sins) (CM); ...gu'm mathadh e dhuibh ur peacannan (§72); chaidh sin a mhathadh dha (§209);*
- *'S gu dé feum a rinn sin dhut? (§318); Ma gheibh am Prionnsa crùn a shinnsir, ni e feum do'r Gàidhealtachd (§401013); and also: chan 'eil iad gu móran feum do dhuine sam bith tuilleadh (§42); ...na h-uile nì a bhiodh feumail do mhac duine (§249);*
- *cha dean e móran stà do dhaoine an sùilean a dhùnadh an uair a bhios cunnart 'gan cuartachadh (§401012); ...gu'n robh ar cànan (...) gun stà sam bith duinn féin agus do neach-eigin eile (§218004);*
- *cha do rinn mi cron do dhuine riamh (§27); cha chreid mi gun do rinn e coire do neach riamh (§28);⁵³⁵ and also: Chuala mi gu minig Goill a' faotainn coire do na Gàidheil... (§400057);*
- *Chuir e às dhan radan a bha san stòr (RC, §356,viii,e); chuir an duine bochd às dha fhèin (RC, §356,viii,e);*
- *Tha iomadach nì ann a tha 'na uallach do iasgair... (§400078); Cha'n eil modh na uallach trom do neach sam bith (§81010);⁵³⁶*
- *...air nithean a bh' air an toirmeasg dhomh (§400017);*
- *Diùlt e cuideachadh do na creutairean bochda a bha 'na feum (§400137); Chaidh so a dhiùltadh dhi (§291); b' fheudar an duais a dhiùltadh dha a réir nan riaghailtean (§400008);*
- *an urrainn duit ceann a thoirt dhaibh? (are you able to vanquish them? / are you able to face them?) (D);*
- *bhiodh an àireamh diom-buan doibh (their number would soon be reduced for them) (D);*
- *theirig gual domh (my coal has given out) (D); cha'n e am bòrd a theirig dhuìt, ach am beagan fearainn (it is not the plough that failed you, but that there was not enough land) (D);*
- *rugadh dithis chloinne dhaibh (born to them) (CM); rugadh nighean do dh'Anna a-raoir (RC, §356,viii,c);*

⁵³³ The verb *cuidich*, however, is either transitive or it takes the preposition *le*, cf. *Cha do chuidich an "Toirmeasg dibhe" i (§297); Dh'fhaodadh na sgìrean sin a ràdh gu'n do chuidich iad féin le Breatann agus Breatann leò-san (§62).*

⁵³⁴ Also: *leig leam/leis* (D).

⁵³⁵ Cf. *is urrainn mi a ràdh le firinn nach d' rinn mi cron air neach riamh (§112001).*

⁵³⁶ Cf. *b' fheudar dha fàgail mum bitheadh e 'na uallach air càch (§400082).*

- *tha an ad sin a' tighinn dhut gu math* (that hat suits you well) (CM);⁵³⁷ *Is math a tha 'n t-seacaid ùr a' tighinn dhut* (§400093); *'S math thig dhuibh na breacain / Air am pasgadh ann féile* (§157); *freagraidh a' bhriogais ùr dhut* (RC, §356,viii,b);⁵³⁸
- *dé mar a tha am baile mór a' tighinn dhut?* (§400056);⁵³⁹ *cha'n abair iad ach an rud a fhreagras dhoibh féin aig an am* (§401008); *cha fhreagradh do Sheumas obair fhàgail* (it wouldn't have suited James) (CM);⁵⁴⁰ *agus gach craobh anns an duilleach as fheàrr a fhreagras dhi* (and each tree in the foliage which best suits it) (CM); cf. also: *Bhiodh an té mhór* [i.e. boat] *freagarrach do Sheonaidh air son tarraing tothair* (§242);
- *tha sin glè mhath dhuibh* (that's very good for you) (CM); *tha e math is tha e math dhut!* (RC, §356,viii,c); *chan eil e math do dhuine a bhith a' smaoineachadh air rudan mar sin* (it's not good for a person...) (CM); *'s ann a bha bàthadh tuilleadh is math dha* (drowning was too good for him) (CM); *B' fheàrr do neach duine eòlach a bhith ri thaobh* (§400113); cf. also: *cha bhiodh siud ro mhath dha do shlàinte* (RC, §356,viii,c); cf. *nach math dha!* (isn't he fortunate) (CM); and also: *nach buidhe dha* (CM); *nach buidhe dhut!* (RC, §356,viii,f);
- *is maith dhomhsa a bhi sean, ach bha e dona do Sholamh* (§112004); *[tha] cus biadh gu dona dha duine* (RC, §356,i,b); *tha an Riaghaltas cho dona dhaibh* (§400052); *bha i (...)* *anbarrach dona do na daltaichean* (§102004);
- *bha e comasach do mhuinntir nam bailtean iad féin fhailceadh an sàile* (§401001);
- *Cha robh e duilich dhà bristeadh a-steach do bhùth thall 's a-bhos 's na cistean airgid a spùilleadh* (§313); *bha e doirbh do Iain a shùilean a thoirt dhith* (§400196);
- *Cha'n ionann do fhear na neasgaid, agus do fhear 'g a fàsgadh* (It is not the same to have a boil and to squeeze it) (§92);
- *Tha e cleachdta le càirdean 'na leithid so de dh'àm a chéile fhàilteachadh, agus "bliadhna mhaith ùr" a ghuidhe d'a chéile* (§117013); *bu mhath leamsa gach soirbheachadh a ghuidhe dhaibh* (§400051); cf. also: *Mo ghuidhe dhuibh, a chlann mo rùin* (§56);
- *'S e dùrachd mhath do chàirdean* (§298); *Dùrachd mo chridhe dhut* (§102004); *latha math dhuibh* (CM);⁵⁴¹ *"Feasgar math dhut, a Mhuruchaidh. "Mar sin dhuibh fhein, a Dhomhnuill," arsa Muruchadh* (§81008); *Nollaig Chridheil agus Bliadhna Mhath Ur dhuibh!* (...) *Mar sin dhuibh fhéin agus móran diubh* (§401015).

The following examples may be interpreted as expressing a type of beneficiary/maleficiary that also includes the idea of purpose and recipient.⁵⁴²

- *bha litir aig a' phosta do a mhàthair* (for his mother) (CM); *tha litir agam an seo agus 's ann dhutsa a tha i* (it's for you) (CM); *chan eil càil an seo dhomhsa* (there is nothing for me here) (CM);

⁵³⁷ Also: *riut* (CM).

⁵³⁸ Cf. §8.

⁵³⁹ Cf. also: *An robh an leann a' tighinn riut idir?* (§400126).

⁵⁴⁰ Also: *air/ri* (CM). Cf. *...san àm sam bith a fhreagras orra fhèin* (§400058).

⁵⁴¹ Also: *leibh* (CM). Cf. *Soiridh leibh is oidhche mhath leibh* (§400011).

⁵⁴² In fact, it is not clear whether 'purpose and recipient' is the appropriate term for this – it describes someone for whom something is intended.

- *So cothrom nan cothrom do gach tè a tha rùnach air a cànan a chumail beò* (§400018);
- *ma's e bàs dhomh gu ma h-e dhuit e!* (if it be a case of death for me may it be so to you!) (D);
- *bu lìonmhoire dhuit 'shracadh ann, na cùntas shlat an cliabh* (you could find more rents in it than withies in a basket) (D).⁵⁴³

The role of experiencer may be more prominent in the following examples.

- *Bha seo soilleir do Chaluum a' chiad latha...* (§400096); *Bha mo chionta follaiseach do'n t-saoghal* (§135);
- *an e rùn mort a dhèanamh an aon dòigh a bha taitmeach dha do chridhe* (§400115);
- *cha tig às dhomh gun aontachadh ris na tha thu ag iarraidh* (I cannot but agree to...) (CM);
- *cha robh ann dhaibh ach a h-uile duine air a shon fhèin* (RC, §356,viii,c);
- *cha'n 'eil dhomh ach...* (all that is necessary for me is...) (D).⁵⁴⁴

The *do*-phrases may express a type of experiencer in the following examples too, with the last one also including the role of addressee.

- *bha e fa-near dhi an taigh a sgioblachadh rud beag* (it was on her mind to tidy the house a wee bit) (AW); *bha e soilleir gu leòr dè bha fa-near dha* (what he had in mind) (CM); *dè bu chòir a bhith fa-near dhaibh?* (what ought they to be taking into consideration?) (CM);
- *bidh tu tighinn fa-near dhomh* (you come into my thoughts) (AW); *bha eilean a bhreith a' tighinn fa-near dha iomadh uair* (entered his thoughts) (CM);
- *bha iad a' feuchainn ri rudeigin a thoirt fa-near dhuinn* (to our attention) (CM).

With verbs such as *dèan*, *tachair*, *èirich*, or *rach*, a *do*-phrase can express either the beneficiary (or maleficiary) or the experiencer, or the patient, depending on the context.

- *cò dha a rinn thu sin?* (RC, §240,i,a); *seall na rinn e dhomh!* (RC, §356,viii,b);⁵⁴⁵ *nì mi sin dhut* (I'll do that for you) (AW); *tha mi taingeil airson na tha thu a' dèanamh dhomh* (for what you are doing for me) (CM);
- *dè a thachair dhut?* (what happened to you?) (AW); *agus seo mar a thachair dha* (and that's what happened to him) (CM); *gu h-àiridh an dèidh na thachair d(h)a Dòmhnall air na rigichean* (RC, §356,i,b); *dé 'dh'èirich dhuit?* (what has befallen thee?) (D); *dè a dh'èirich dha?* (what happened to him? what became of him?) (AW); *nach ann domh a dh'èirich!* (to me what evil has befallen) (D); *nuair a dh'èirich an aimlisg dhomh...* (when the calamity befell me) (CM); *nan èireadh càil dhomh* (if anything should happen to me) (CM); *Chunnaic sibh mar a dh'èirich do'n mhaor* (§42);
- *ciamar a dh'èirich dhuibh/dhaibh?* (how did you/they get on?) (AW); *'s math a dh'èireas dha mura tèid a mharbhadh* (he'll be lucky if he isn't killed) (AW);

⁵⁴³ The word *dhuit* may also be interpreted as having an expressive or pragmatic role here.

⁵⁴⁴ These three examples can also be interpreted as expressing purpose/recipient.

⁵⁴⁵ For example, depending on context, this sentence can probably be interpreted as 'look what he did for me' (e.g. helped me clean my house – beneficiary); 'look what he made for me' (e.g. a new desk – beneficiary, connotation of recipient); 'look what he did to me' (e.g. he tore my book – maleficiary; or he punched me – patient).

- *ciamar a chaidh dhuibh?* (how did you get on?) (AW); *cha deach dhaibh na b' fheàrr an sin* (it didn't go any better for them there) (CM); *an toiseach chaidh dhomh gu math* (at first it went well for me) (CM); *tha cùisean air a dhol nas miosa dhaibh bhon uairsin* (CM).⁵⁴⁶

As is evident from some of the examples, the role of experiencer can also be indicated by other prepositions, such as *ri*, *le*, or *air*, cf. *chòrd sin ris a' chloinn* (§304); *Ach bu mhath le Ruaraidh fhéin sùil a thoirt oirre* (§40); cf. also §10. The preposition *air* often expresses a negative experience or attitude and can convey the connotation of maleficiary.

6. Expressions of relation and possession

Do-phrases are used instead of the other possessive constructions with indefinite kinship terms and nouns such as *caraid*, *nàmhaid*, *nàbaidh*, etc.

- *fhuaire mi fios bho phiuthar dhomh* (I got word from a sister of mine) (D); *Bha piuthar do Chalum Mac Leòid pòsda ri fear de Chloinn Mhic Fhionghain* (§234001); *Alasdair, mac peathar do bhean a' mhinisteir* (§400010); *tha bràthair dhomh na thàmh an Ameireagaidh* (RC, §356,viii,d); *bràthair do Mhac 'Ic Ailein* (§81003); *'s e ogha do Sheumas Beag a tha ann an Tòmas* (a grandson of Little James) (CM); *co-ogha dhomh* (a cousin of mine) (AW);
- *tha e na charaid dhomh* (he is a friend/relative of mine) (CM); *tha e na dheagh charaid dhomh* (he's a good friend of mine) (AW); *chuala mi an t-òran sin aig caraid domh* (I heard that song being sung by a friend of mine) (D); *a bheil thu nad charaid dhi?* (RC, §356,viii,d);
- *nàbaidh do Dhomhnull Mor* (§81010); *Co thàinig a stigh ach Iain Mac Alasdair, coimhearsnach agus caraid do Dhòmhnall* (§228);
- *bha e na fhìor nàmhaid do Chalum* (he was a real enemy of Calum) (CM); cf. also: *bha gach fear coimh-shreip a bh' ann 'na nàmhaid do dh'Albainn agus 'na charaid do Shasunn* (§218003).

Similarly, *do*-phrases function as the complement of the adjective *càirdeach*: *tha sinn càirdeach dha chèile* (RC, §356,viii,d).

In certain expressions, the *do*-phrase can be interpreted as expressing the possessor.

- *bu phaillinn dha* (his pavillion was)... (D);⁵⁴⁷
- *is pailte brù na biadh dha* (said to a glutton) (D);
- *is dithis duinn sin, mu 'n dubhairt an fheannaig mu a casan* (they're a pair, as the crow said of her legs) (D);⁵⁴⁸
- *rubha don ainm Rinn Thoirbheis* (§400198);

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. also: *Chaidh gu math le muinntir Mhalta fo bhratach Bhreatainn...* (§400176). Cf. *shoirbhich leotha gu glan* (§302); *chaidh aca air an sàbhaladh* (§400184).

⁵⁴⁷ This construction is probably obsolete in present-day Gaelic.

⁵⁴⁸ The word *duinn* might have an expressive or pragmatic role here rather than indicate the possessor.

- 's àbhaist **dhan phost** tighinn mun àm seo fhèin (RC, §356,viii,f);
- is dual **dha** a bhith anmoch (RC, §310,i); is dual **dha na h-eòin** dùsgadh tràth (RC, §356,viii,f);
- **bha e mar rùn dhomh** a dhol ann an-diugh (RC, §356,viii,c);
- **chuir am poileas air shùilibh dhomh** gur h-e rathad aon-slighe a bh' ann (RC, §356,viii,b); *Ciamar a chuirear air shùilibh dhàsan mar a bhà* (§400088);⁵⁴⁹
- *nach cuir thu air chuimhne dhomh nuair a dh'fheumas sinn falbh?* (RC, §356,viii,b);
- *a réir fios domh* (as far as I know) (D);⁵⁵⁰
- *'nuair dhùisgear ascaoin duit* (when your anger be awakened) (D);⁵⁵¹
- *Chuala mi gu minig Goill a' faotainn coire do na Gàidheil...* (§400057).

In association with the verb *buin* (belong; be related), the preposition *do* can indicate the possessor, or imply a type or relationship: *bhuineadh an taigh ud dham sheanmhair uair* (RC, §356,viii,d); *cò dha a bhuineas tu? tha do Choinneach Màiri* (RC, §356,viii,d); *ge bith cò iad no an tìr dham buineadh iad* (whoever they are or whatever the land to which they belong) (CM); *bha e a' sgrìobhadh chun na h-eaglaise dham buineadh e* (RC, §200,i,b); *an e sin an club a bhuineas tu dha? / dham buin thu?* (RC, §356,v); *Cha bhuin an t-ainm do'n taobh seo riamh* (§400093).⁵⁵²

7. Stimulus

In certain expressions, the semantic role of the *do*-phrase is more abstract and difficult to define. The term *stimulus* refers to an entity, or an event or a situation, that can be perceived as eliciting a certain response or a reaction. The predicate expresses the response/reaction and the *do*-phrase denotes the stimulus. This, however, is a special type of stimulus because the reaction is also directed at it, which is otherwise not necessarily the case. This meaning, therefore, includes the connotation of directionality and appears to be derived from the primary, spatial meaning of the preposition *do*.

- *Tha na laoigh a' ruith do'n bhuaile / A' freagradh do nuallan nam bò* (§102003);
- *anns a' fhreagairt a thug e do'n cheist mu chisean na Ròimhe* (§400061); *MacNeacail a' toirt freagairt do na chuir mi an "Gairm" a 7, mu'n bhana-bhàrd* (§400010); *cha robh freagairtean aca do na ceistean sin* (CM); *'S chan eil duine a' freagairt do litrichean* (§400140);
- *a' geilltinn do a reachd* (submitting to his law) (CM);⁵⁵³ *tha móran dhiu air géilleadh do amaideas is ana-miann* (§35); *Chuir e a ghuala ris air ball, ach bha 'n claimhean ro làidir, 's cha do ghéill e dha air tùs* (§401013); and also: *cha robh e a' toirt géill don*

⁵⁴⁹ This and the following example can also be interpreted as expressing the addressee (see §4).

⁵⁵⁰ This can be interpreted as also denoting the experiencer (see §5).

⁵⁵¹ This and the following example can also be interpreted as beneficiary/maleficiary (see §5).

⁵⁵² This verb also means 'touch', cf. *Cuir do làmh os an cionn, ach na buin do'n tòrr* (§400096). Also: *buin ri* and *bean do/ri* (see Section 4.11).

⁵⁵³ Also: *ri* (CM). Cf. *cha do ghéill mise smid rìthe, a dh'aindeoin dè cho deamhnaidh is innleachdach a bha i* (§400193).

amaideas sin (he didn't believe that nonsense) (CM); *Nuair a bheir iad géill do'n nàmhaid* (...) *leagaidh iad a' bhratach bho àird a' chruinn* (§40);

- *mothaich mi dha* (I noticed it/him) (AW); *mhothaich e da ged a bha e uaigneach* (he perceived it though it was in secret) (D); *thòisich e a' mothachadh do na bha a' dol mun cuairt air* (he began to be aware of what was going on around him) (CM);
- *cha tug e an aire don chàr* (he paid no attention to the car / he didn't notice the car) (AW); *thoir an aire dhut fhèin* (watch yourself) (CM);⁵⁵⁴ *thug e aire shònraichte do na nithean sin* (he gave special attention to those things) (CM); *thug i an aire do ghobhar* (noticed) (CM); *thugadh an aire do na freagairtean a fhuaras do ar ceistean* (account has been taken of the responses received to our questions) (CM); *thoir an aire dhomh!* (RC, §356,viii,b); and also: *tharraing e an aire do neul mòr ceòtha* (he drew their attention to a great cloud of smoke) (CM);⁵⁵⁵
- *cha bhiodh diù aig duine dhe leithid do dhuine sam bith eile* (a man like that wouldn't care about anybody else) (CM); *Chan eil diù a' choin aca do Cheit* (§400176);
- *tha gràdh agam dha* (RC, §356,viii,c); *chan urrainn iad àicheadh gu bheil gràdh aca 'nan cridhe do Dhia* (§241);⁵⁵⁶
- *cho dìleas ri cù dha mhaighstir* (RC, §356,viii,b); *feumaidh sinn a bhith dìleas do na geallaidhean a thug sinn* (faithful to) (CM);
- *tha mi fìor thaingeil dhuibh uile airson na rinn sibh* (RC, §356,viii,b); *tha sinn buidheach do gach duine a thàinig* (RC, §356,viii,b).

8. Standard of assessment

In expressions of assessment, the preposition *do* can indicate the entity in relation to which a certain value is determined or defined.

- *do dhuine cho beag ris-san, tha seasamh gu math àrd aige am measg a chomhaoisean* (RC, §356,viii,b); *do dh'eilean bheag tha mòran de bhàrdachd a' tighinn às* (for a little island, a lot of poetry comes out of it) (CM); *tha an leabhar seo anabarrach saor dha mheudachd* (awfully cheap for its size) (CM); *gùr pailt liagh do na ràmhnan na lùnn* (the blades of the oars are too big for the oars) (D).

And also:

- *chan ann dhuinn a thig e a bhith bruidhinn air dìoghaltas* (it does not become us) (CM); *Thig e do gach neach a bhi daonnan ag altrum speis do na daoine...* (§81006);
- *Tha na leabhraichean sgoile ri bhi air an atharrachadh (...) gu fàs iad [i.e. children] suas anns a' ghliocas 's an eòlas a fhreagras do'n t-saoghal nuadh* (§401014);⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁴ Also: *ort fhèin* (CM).

⁵⁵⁵ Also: *chaidh aige a dhol a-steach don taigh gun cus aire a tharraing air fhèin* (CM); *bha rudeigin a' tarraing m' aire thuige* (CM).

⁵⁵⁶ Also: *Bha bròn trom air Pàdruig, oir bha gràdh aige air a cho-alta* (§400125).

⁵⁵⁷ Also: *air*. Cf. ...*le cainnt a fhreagras air aois nan còig bliadhna* (§400024).

- *ann an dòigh a tha freagarrach do chloinn* (CM).⁵⁵⁸

The following example illustrates a type of equative expression, which is semantically close to the above examples: *Cha'n 'eil againn facal anns a' Ghaidhlig a fhreagras do'n fhacal Bhéurla, Patriotism* (§401010).

The expression *mar a chìthear dha* (as circumstances may warrant) (D) too may belong to this category if its literal meaning is 'as it appears according to it', although it also seems to be related to the meanings discussed in §7.

9. Infinitive-like expressions

The term *infinitive-like expressions* refers to verbal nouns that occur in contexts in which the infinitive is normally used in, for example, English.⁵⁵⁹ Some of the verbs and other expressions that govern such verbal nouns can also take an argument (usually the indirect object) expressed by a *do*-phrase. The preposition *do* may indicate the addressee, beneficiary/maleficiary, experiencer, patient, etc. in this context, but its object can also be interpreted as the (semantic) subject of the verbal noun. Cf. the following examples.

- *dh'ordaich e dha a dhol air thoir an lighiche* (§232001);
- *Thug muinntir a' bhaile gu lèir cuideachadh do Chloinn Mhurchaidh am balla seo a thogail* (§400148);⁵⁶⁰
- *cha leig i dhomh tighinn* (RC, §356,viii,b); *airson leigeil do dhamh à Siadar mo bhriogais ithe* (§27); *Tha iad a' leigeil do fhalt an cinn fas gu craobhach, tiugh, fada* (§81007);
- *tha lagh Dhé is dhaoine a' toirmeasg do phiuthar 's do bhràthair pòsadh* (§400068);
- *tha e cho math dhomh dèanamh air an taigh* (it is as well for me to make for the house) (CM); *bu cho math dha fhàgail aig na daoine a tha eòlach air na cùisean seo* (he would be just as well to leave it) (CM); *tha e a cheart cho math dhuinn falbh* (RC, §356,viii,c); *bha e cho math dhise dol a thadhall aig Peigi Ruadh* (§244);
- *chan eil e math dhomhsa bhith...* (it's no good my being...) (CM); *chan eil e gu math dhut a bhith a' gearan* (there's no point in complaining) (CM); *chan eil math sam bith dhomh sin a dhèanamh* (there's no point in my doing that) (CM); *cha robh càil a mhath dhomh cuideachadh iarraidh air Calum* (there wasn't a bit of good asking help from Calum) (CM); *dè am math dhut a thighinn an seo?* (what's the good of you coming here?) (CM).

In certain examples, the (syntactic) object of the preposition *do* appears to function only as the (semantic) subject of the verbal noun (i.e. of the small clause) and does not seem to have a role

⁵⁵⁸ Also: *air* (CM). Cf. *Bha an dithis freagarrach air a chéile* (§400068).

⁵⁵⁹ English too uses verbal nouns in some of these contexts, at least optionally.

⁵⁶⁰ The verb *cuidich* takes the preposition *le*: *Chuidich e le Teàrlach éideadh a mhùthadh* (§234001). The following example contains a clause of purpose: *a' toirt cuideachadh do dhaoine gus tighean a thogail* (§400033).

associated with the predicate of the main clause.⁵⁶¹ Cf. the following clauses introduced by the verb *tachair*.

- *Thachair gu'm bheil mo phiuthar pòsda aig clachair...* (§38); *Thachair gun tàinig iad a-measg nam bradan...* (§400167);
- *Thachair do Mhurchadh Mac Mhathain a bhith ann an Tigh Ghlinne Comhann air an dara latha deug de'n Fhaoilleach...* (§400009); *thachair do theaghlach cheàrdairean tighinn do'n dùthaich* (§400047).

The latter two sentences are about 'what happened', rather than about what happened to Murdo Matheson or to a family of tinkers. In that sense, either phrase represents the semantic subject of the following verbal noun. Cf. also: *thachair don mhinistear a bhith a' tadhal oirnn* (the minister happened to be visiting us) (CM); *thachair dhomh a bhith nam sheasamh aig an doras* (I happened to be standing at the door) (CM); *Ach cha do thachair do chùisean a bhi mar sin* (§77). In the first two sentences, however, the semantic subject of the subordinate clause (*mo phiuthar* and *iad* respectively) is also expressed as such syntactically.

10. Copular expressions

These expressions are composed of a copular predicate (*is* + N/ADJ) and a *do*-phrase that is governed by the predicate. The predicate is impersonal, at least syntactically. Some of these expressions correspond to English modal verbs. The semantic role expressed by the *do*-phrase is not always easy to determine, but with animate objects, it is often beneficiary/maleficiary or experiencer, or sometimes possessor. The preposition *do*, however, (nearly) always implies that the situation described by the predicate does not depend on the opinion, attitude or intentions of the object of *do*.⁵⁶²

- *is math dhomh sin* (that is well (good) for me) (D); *cha mhath dhut sin òl cuideachd* (RC, §310,i);
- *is fheàrr dhut falbh a-nise* (you had better leave now) (CM); *'s fheàrr dhut barrachd cùram a ghabhail* (RC, §356,viii,f); *chan fheàrr dhuinn fuireach fada* (RC, §310,i);
- *is dona an ceann sin dhuit* (that is against your health) (D);
- *Is aithne dhomh sin* (I know that) (D); *an aithne dhut e?* (RC, §310,i); *nach aithne dhut e?* (RC, §356,viii,f); *ged as aithne dhomh sibh, cha chuimhnich mi air ur n-ainm* (RC, §310,i); *cha b' aithne dha i* (he didn't know her) (AW);
- *Cha b' fhios da riamh dè an taobh a ghabhadh e* (§48);
- *is léir dhomh* (I can see) (D);
- *is urrainn do Chalum beag leughadh a-nise* (RC, §310,i); *an urrainn dhi snàmh?* (RC, §356,viii,f); *an urrainn dhaibh a dhèanamh?* (can they do it?) (AW); *chan e galar a th' ann as urrainn dhut a leigheas* (RC, §310,i);

⁵⁶¹ This is sometimes described as *raising*, i.e. the 'movement' of an argument (the subject) from the subordinate clause to the structure of the main clause.

⁵⁶² On the other hand, the preposition *le* is used in expressions of 'attitude' (e.g. *is toil leam, bu mhath leam*) and the preposition *air* can be used in expressions of negative attitude (e.g. *is beag/lugha orm*).

- *b' fheudar do Sheumas falbh* (James had to leave) (AW);
- *b' èiginn dhi a dhol innte* (RC, §356,viii,f);
- *bu chòir dhut sgur dheth* (RC, §356,viii,f);
- *chan fhuilear dhut a chur air falbh fhathast* (RC, §310,i);
- *chan fhiach dhomh a dhol ann* (RC, §356,viii,f); *nach fhiach dhuinn a dhol ann?* (RC, §310,i);
- *'s àbhaist dhan phost tighinn mun àm seo fhèin* (RC, §356,viii,f);
- *is dual dha a bhith anmoch* (RC, §310,i); *is dual dha na h-eòin dùsgadh tràth* (RC, §356,viii,f);
- *ma's fìor daibh féin* (if they may be believed) (D);
- *dè as chiall dha?* (what does it mean?) (CM);
- *dè as adhbhar dha sin?* (RC, §356,viii,f);⁵⁶³
- *is dithis duinn sin, mu 'n dubhairt an fheannaig mu a casan* (they're a pair, as the crow said of her legs) (D);
- *cia as duit?* (whence have you come? / where was your birth-place?) (D);
- *chan e sin dhòmhsa e* (RC, §356,viii,c).

Many of these can govern infinitive-like expressions (see §9).

11. Clauses of time

The preposition *do* indicates the subject of a small clause introduced by the conjunctions *air* and *an dèidh*.

- *air dhaibh pòsadh, chaidh iad a dh'fhuireach dhan Chuimrigh* (RC, §356,viii,g); *Air do'n ùine mhór ud dol seachad, co-dhiù, faodaidh gun deach dìochuimhn air a' mhanadh...* (§400057); *air dha am bealach a ruigsinn...* (on reaching / when he reached the pass) (AW); *air dhan ghille am ball a bhreabadh, ruith e air falbh* (RC, §356,viii,g); *air do'n mhinistear fàilte a chur air an Iarla agus aoigheachd a thoirt dha, dh'iarr e air a thurus a leigeil dheth gus an ath là agus aoradh a dhèanamh anns an eaglais* (§400031);
- *an déidh dhomh falbh* (after I had gone) (D); *Is e aon sùil a thug Mairead air an deaghaidh do chàch falbh...* (§245); *an dèidh dhomh mo shùilean a dhùnadh* (after I (had) closed my eyes) (AW); *...cha robh iad air càirdeas sa bith a chumail a' dol às dèidh do dh'Eilidh a h-obair fhàgail* (§400194).

Do-phrases expressing the subject have been attested in certain other types of small clauses of time, but these do not appear to be common in the modern language.

- *roimh tighinn dhuinn* (before we came) (D); *ri teachd dhomh* (just as I was arriving) (D); *a' falbh á Loch-nam-madadh dhuinn* (when we, going from Loch Maddy) (D); *an dùsgadh no an cadal duinn* (both when we are asleep and awake) (D);

⁵⁶³ This indicates the result, which is related to the role of possessor (see §6).

- *an àm dhomh dol sìos* (when I go down) (D); *oidhche dhomh 'sa bheinn-sheilg* (I being one night in the hunting mountain) (D).

12. Clauses of intention and purpose

The particle *a*, which evolved from the preposition *do*, introduces a verbal noun in expressions of intention or purpose, especially (but not exclusively) following verbs of motion.⁵⁶⁴

- *tha mi a' dol a shnàmh* (to swim) (AW);⁵⁶⁵
- *air dhaibh pòsadh, chaidh iad a dh'fhuireach dhan Chuimrigh* (RC, §356,viii,g); *thàinig e a shealltainn orm* (to see me) (CM);
- *cuir a dh'iarraidh* (send for) (AW); *chuir iad a dh'iarraidh cuideachadh* (§26);
- *thug e a chreidsinn orm gun robh an cnatan air* (RC, §356,xiii,d);
- *'s ann ormsa a bha am fadal a dh'fhaicinn mo rùin* (RC, §356,xiii,a);
- *cha ruigear a leas ceistear no sgrùdair a dh'fhaicinn nach eil nam ùrnaigh a' Ghairm Èifeachdach no an Dùrachd* (RC, §356,xiii,a); *a dh'innse na firinne, chruinnich an Rìgh 's a chuid ghillean 's a mhuinntir a dh'fhaicinn a' bhàta iongantaich a bh' ann an sheo* (RC, §356,xiii,a); *mun seòladh iad, bha aca ri bhith an làthair a dh'fhaicinn triùir den companaich dh'leas a' dol gu bàs – no air am mort* (RC, §356,xiii,a).⁵⁶⁶

The particle *a* is combined with the possessives (expressing the object of the verbal noun) as follows: *gam, gad, ga, gar, gur, gan/gam* (RC, §356,xii); or *dham/gham*... in older texts (RC, §356,xiii,a).⁵⁶⁷

- *tha i a' dol ga phòsadh anns a' Mhàrt* (RC, §356,xiii,a); *tha iad a' tighinn ga dhèanamh an-dràsta fhèin* (RC, §356,xiii,a); *thèid sinn gan ceannach a-màireach* (RC, §356,xiii,a);
- *Hugainn dha'm faicinn, ma thà* (§46); *thig an duine dall gham shaoradh* (§336);
- *d'a shaoradh* (to deliver him) (D).

13. The particle *a* in infinitive-like constructions

The particle *a* links the verbal noun to its object in infinitive-like constructions such as: *cha bu chòir dhut do bhràthair a bhualadh* (to hit your brother) (AW); *feumaidh sinn na soithichean a nighe* (RC, §356,xii).

It links the verbal noun to its semantic subject in similar constructions, as follows:

- *mhol an neach-teagaisg mi a dhol air adhart chun na h-ath ìre* (RC, §356,xiii,b); *chuir e dhachaigh iad, agus dh'iarr e iad a dhèanamh roghainn de mhuinntir eile* (RC,

⁵⁶⁴ AW refers to this as the infinitive.

⁵⁶⁵ Corresponding to the 'going to' future in English.

⁵⁶⁶ The preposition (or conjunction, or particle) *gu(s)* is often used in similar contexts (see Section 5.3).

⁵⁶⁷ The initial *g-* in these contractions can be explained as due to the influence of those that involve the preposition (or particle) *ag*, as in: *Bha mi 'gam fhaicinn fhìn* (§400037).

§356,xiii,b); *thuir an dotair ris an duine e dh'ithe a bhiadh na bu shlaodaiche* (RC, §339,ii); *thug mi rabhadh dha e a dh'fhàgail an taighe tràth* (RC, §253,viii,b); *b' fheàrr leotha e a thilleadh a-nochd* (RC, §253,viii,b);

- o *dh'iarr e orra iad ga leantuinn do'n choille* (§133001).

These constructions are formally identical to the expressions of purpose (see §12). It is possible that at least some of them can be replaced by the type described in §9 without much difference in meaning.

A similar construction is used in optative expressions such as: *Dia a chuidheachadh rium!* (RC, §356,xiii,c); *Dia gar n-altram!* (RC, §356,xiii,c); *Dia gad shabhaladh!* (RC, §434,iii); *Dia gar beannachadh!* (RC, §434,iii).

14. Compound prepositions and adverbs

The particle (or preposition) *a* functions as part of various compound prepositions:⁵⁶⁸ *a chionn*, *a dh'ionnsaigh*, *a rèir*, *a thaobh*, *a dhìth*, *a dh'aindeoin*; and also: *a bharrachd/thuilleadh air*, *a thoradh air* (RC, §356,ix). It also occurs in a number of adverbial expressions: *a-ghnàth*, *a dh'oidhche is a latha*, *a chlisg*, *a dh'aon ghnothach*, *a theagamh* (RC, §356,x); *a dh'olc no a dh'eiginn / a chòir no a dh'eucoir / a dheòin no a dh'aindeoin* (somehow or other, by hook or by crook, willy nilly) (D).

According to RC, the preposition merges with the possessives as follows: *dham aindeoin*; *dhad dhìth*; *dha chionn-san*; *dhar taobh-ne* (RC, §356,ix,a). Different forms are possible with the expression *a dhìth*, e.g. *ga dhìth*, *do'r dìth* (RC, §356,ix,a).⁵⁶⁹ As expected, Dwelly provides more conservative forms: *do m' ionnsuidh*; *do m' réir* (D); but cf. *g'ad' aindeòin* (in spite of you) (D). Cf. also: *dha h-ionnsaigh* (towards her) (AW); *'gam/'gad/'ga... ionnsaigh*; *dèan 'ga réir* (reciprocate!); but note: *dha réir* (accordingly) (FB); *dom* or *am ionnsaigh*; *da rèir* (according to it); but cf. *dèan ga rèir* (reciprocate); *dha taobh* (with regard to her); *dham* or *gam aindeoin* (CM).⁵⁷⁰ Cf. the following examples from the corpus: *Tha fear a' tighinn gu tuisleach a nuas an rathad ga'n ionnsaigh* (§44); *Mus b' urrainn do dhuine stad a chur air ghabh e null dhan ionnsaigh* (§16); *chunnaic iad duine anabarrach mòr a' tighinn dan ionnsaigh* (§400175); *...a bha tighinn don ionnsaigh* (§400109).

⁵⁶⁸ In some of them, in fact, it might have evolved from the preposition *de*.

⁵⁶⁹ RC seems to refer only to the expression *a dhìth* here.

⁵⁷⁰ CM describes the form *gam* as older, but it is probably the most innovative form in this context, influenced by *gam*, from *ag + mo*.

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6. Proper names

6.1 Proper names: Lenition of names in genitive contexts

1. Introduction

The main research question: Are names of organisations, administrative bodies, documents, creative works, events (i.e. names that are neither toponyms nor anthroponyms) lenited in genitive contexts?

Additional questions: Is there a difference between simple and compound names, i.e. between single-word names and definite phrases used as names? Could lenition or the absence thereof depend on the morphology of the preceding noun or on the type of word or phrase that governs it (noun, verbal noun, preposition, etc.)?

The examples that were used in this analysis come from post-1900 texts available in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*. All examples are listed in the tables in the Appendix.

Examples of compound names have been identified mainly by searching for nouns that were expected to act as the initial elements of such names. In some cases, nouns that were expected frequently to be modified by certain types of compound names were searched for (e.g. the noun *ùghdar*, expecting that it would often be followed by titles of creative works). Where multiple variants of the same noun were known/expected to occur in texts (e.g. *cònradh*, *connradh*, *cùnnradh*, etc.) each variant was searched for separately. Length marks and lenition were usually ignored in the search, in order to find both the unlenited and lenited variants, as well as those with various length marks or without them (e.g. *Dùn Dé/Dè*, *Dun Dé* etc.).

2. Place names

Although not part of this research, certain types of place names have been considered for the sake of comparison, to determine whether any differences may exist between toponyms and the other types of (non-personal) names.

Names of settlements, regardless of their structure, tend to be lenited in the genitive: *Glaschu* (Tab. 1), *Sruighlea* (Tab. 2), *Peairt* (Tab. 3); *Dùn Dè* (Tab. 8), *Bàgh a' Chaisteil* (Tab. 9), *Ceann a' Bhàigh* (Tab. 10), *Cinn Chàrdainn* (Tab. 10), and *baile*-names: *Baile Chaolais*, *Baile na Creige*, etc. (Tab. 7). Very few unlenited examples have been found and the lack of lenition in them seems to be coincidental, rather than conditioned by the structure of the phrase or the properties of the preceding word. The absence of lenition in expressions such as *Baile Ghlaschu*

(e.g. *Banc Baile Ghlasgo*), however, can be explained by them not being true compound names (Tab. 7).

Island names also tend to be lenited, e.g. *Barraigh* (Tab. 4), *Muile* (Tab. 5), *Tiriodh* (Tab. 6), with few exceptions. Examples such as *Caol Muile* could be explained, perhaps, as established compound place names, coined at the time when the genitive noun would not have been lenited after a masculine nominative singular noun (cf. compounds such as *ceann-cinnidh*).

River names are less consistent in this respect. Most examples of the name of the River Clyde (*Cluaidh*) are lenited (Tab. 14). The name of the River Tay (*Tatha*), however, is almost never lenited (Tab. 16). This might be the consequence of the influence of the word combinations in which delenition used to occur historically, e.g. *Srath Tatha*, *Gleann Tatha*, *abhainn Tatha*, or *bruachan Tatha*. Few examples have been found for the name of the River Forth (*Foirthe*), all either unlenited or preceded by the definite article (Tab. 15). The situation is unclear in the other river names that are attested in genitive contexts in the corpus: *Balgaidh*, *Carrann*, *Comhann*, *Deathan*, *Farar*, *Fèisidh*, *Garadh*, *Gruinneart*, *Seile*, *Teimheil*, *Tuaidh*, *Uisge Dhè* (Tab. 17), due to the paucity of examples. Additionally, many of the examples are part of compound place names and are probably irrelevant here since they may not reflect the modern rules of genitive phrase formation. In certain cases, lenition seems to be avoided with names that start with *t* and *s*, perhaps due to historical delenition, e.g. *Gleann Teimheil/Seile*, but it seems to be more common following a feminine noun, cf. *Linne Fharair* vs. *Srath Farair*.⁵⁷¹

A considerable number of both lenited and unlenited examples of *bàgh*-names have been found in the corpus (Tab. 9). Some of the unlenited examples seem to refer to actual sea (or loch) bays, e.g. *Bàgh Hudson*, whilst the lenited ones refer to settlements, e.g. *Bàgh a' Chaisteil*.

Ceann/cinn-names seem to be predominantly lenited in the genitive, regardless of the feature they refer to (Tabs 10-11), e.g. *Cinn-Tìre*.

Names of elevations with the generic element *beinn* are almost never lenited in the genitive (Tab. 12). *Cnoc*-names, on the other hand, are often lenited (Tab. 13). Some of the lenited *cnoc*-names are names of settlements or settled areas, e.g. *Cnoc Iòrdain*.

3. Names of administrative units (regions)

Names of administrative territories are semantically close to place names. The only lenitable generic element that was sufficiently well attested in the genitive contexts in the corpus is the word *siorrachd* and it tends to be unlenited (Tab. 18). Additionally, a single genitive example that includes the noun *paraiste*, and two that include the noun *poblachd*, have been found (Tabs 19-20). Only one of these is lenited: *do shluagh Phoblachd Khmer*.

⁵⁷¹ River names often occur with the generics *abhainn* and *uisge*, which seem to be followed by the genitive, cf. *Abhainn Chluaidh* (very well attested), *Uisge Charrainn*, *Uisge Dhè* (this may have been interpreted as ‘God’s water’ although its true etymology is different). On the other hand, some of these expressions occur with the definite article, which is not expected with genitive phrases: *an abhainn Tuaidh*, even *na h-aibhne Chluaidh*. These may be due to hypercorrection.

4. Names of administrative bodies, organisations, institutions, etc.

Compound names that start with the following nouns have been searched for in the corpus: *banc(a)*, *bòrd*, *buidheann*, *bun-sgoil*, *coimisean*, *colaiste*, *comann*, *comataidh*, *comhairle* and *cònradh/cunnradh*. Unlenited examples prevail in this group: few instances of lenition have been found for the nouns *coimisean* (Tab. 21), *comann* (Tab. 22) and *comhairle* (Tab. 23), whilst the rest are consistently unlenited (Tab. 24). No examples of the nouns *bun-sgoil* and *cònradh/cunnradh* have been found in genitive contexts.

Additional similar examples have been searched for using the noun *ball (buill)* (Tab. 25). Judging by the corpus data, however, this noun is usually not followed by the genitive, but rather by prepositional phrases introduced by the preposition *de* (or *do*), e.g. *mar bhall de Phàrlamaid na h-Alba*. There are few examples of the genitive, all following pl. *buill*, e.g. *buill Chomann Hiort*. Some of them are lenited, possibly under the influence of the compounds such as *buill-phàrlamaid*, whose second element is expected to be lenited after a plural form ending with a palatalised consonant.⁵⁷² Genitive (i.e. prepositionless) constructions seem to be more common with names that start with the definite article, such as *buill nan Seirbheisean Pearsanta*, which are irrelevant here.

5. Names of clans

Clan names have been considered here for the sake of comparison. Clan can be understood as a traditional institution, but clan names seem to be formally close to personal names and genealogies (*sloinnidhean*). Clan names in genitive contexts were searched for using the nouns *ceann-cinnidh*, *ceann-feadhna* and *triath*, on the assumption that these would often be followed by a clan name in the genitive. All examples obtained this way start with the noun *clann*, apart from one starting in *sìol* (Tab. 26). In most examples, the word *clann* is lenited and can also occur in its (shortened) genitive form *cloinn* or *clainn*, even though it is followed by another genitive noun. Some examples also include a place name in the genitive, the chief's territorial designation: *Triath Chlann Dòmhnail Shlèibhte*. In this respect, these examples differ in structure from the other names discussed here and are closer to traditional *sloinnidhean*, with their conservative properties such as serial genitive forms, uncommon elsewhere in modern Scottish Gaelic.

Occasionally, the head of the phrase is not followed by the genitive, but rather by a prepositional phrase introduced by *aig*, *air* or *de*. This seems to occur only or mainly when the noun is indefinite: *bha X na cheann-cinnidh air...*, or following an ordinal number (*an siathamh/deicheamh ceann-cinnidh aig/air...*), or in more complex examples (*triath mu dheireadh de Chloinn Dòmhnail nan Eilean*, §400107).

⁵⁷² On the other hand, there are examples such as *buill Pàrlamaid* (§400087, §400098, §400114, §400168, etc.) which may be perceived as two separate words (hence no lenition) rather than compounds.

6. Titles of documents

The following nouns have been searched for in the corpus as the possible initial elements of the titles of various documents: *cùmhnant*, *cumha*, *còrdadh*, *co-chòrdadh*, *cùnnatas*, *bun-reachd*, *bun-stèidh*, *foirgheall*, *dearbhadh*. Only a few genitive examples have been found, containing the words *cùmhnant*, *cumha* (treaty) and *cùnnatas* (report) (Tab. 27). None of these are lenited. The noun *cùnnatas* occurs in its genitive form (*cùnnatais*) once, which is unusual and can probably be ascribed to hypercorrection.

7. Titles of publications

For the sake of comparison, simple titles have been considered, namely *Gairm*, *Mac-Talla*, and *Soillse*. No suitable examples of *Soillse* were found in the corpus and there was just one of *Mac-Talla* (and it is lenited: *An togalach Mhac-Talla*, §81011). There were, however, many returns for *Gairm*, so only those from text 400 were taken into account (Tab. 28). A great majority of these lack lenition in genitive contexts regardless of the gender and form of the preceding noun. Additional examples were searched for using the nouns *deasaiche*, *neach-deasachaidh*, *fear-deasachaidh*, *tè-deasachaidh*. Only a few examples of *fear-deasachaidh G(h)airm* have been found that way and most of them lack lenition.

8. Titles of creative works

A few relevant examples have been found using the nouns: *cumha*, *dàn*, *duan*, *duanag* and *moladh*. There were no titles starting with the noun *marbhrann* in genitive contexts. None of the examples were lenited and some may not even be genitive, e.g. *leabhar “Dàin do Eimhir”* (Tab. 29). Some examples have been found which were introduced by the nouns *ùghdar* (Tab. 30), and *seinn*, *sreathan* and *ùrlar* (Tab. 31), all unlenited. There were no examples following the nouns *sgrìobhadair*, *foillsichear*, *bàrd* or *rannan*. It appears that any morphological changes to titles tend to be avoided (by some speakers at least), but note: *Ughdar an “Eileanaich”*. Note also the two definite articles in the example *an t-ùghdar An Rathad Cian*.

9. Names of events and similar

The corpus contains names of various battles that start with the noun *blàr* and traditional names of years inspired by significant persons: in this case *am Prìonnsa* and *Teàrlach* (Tab. 32). None of the genitive examples of these expressions were lenited.

10. Conclusions

Generally speaking, it appears that both simple and compound names which are not toponyms or anthroponyms tend to be unlenited in the genitive. In the case of simple names, like *Gairm*, the reason for this could be the fact that these are actually common nouns (*gairm*), which are unlenited in these contexts. The lack of lenition in compound names might be due to analogy with syntactically similar or identical expressions which are not names, such as *ball bòrd na sgoile* or *mullach togalach na sgoile*. The tendency to avoid lenition can also be observed in some compound place names (e.g. *beinn*-names). This is contrasted by (masculine) personal names, clan names, simple place names (e.g. *Glaschu*, *Barraigh*, *Cluaidh*) and by compound names of settlements, where lenition seems to be regular in the genitive. River names in *t* or *s* seem to be exceptional in this respect since they are not lenited regularly. Morphological and syntactic properties of the genitive phrase head seems to be irrelevant for lenition, except (perhaps) within certain old place names which may reflect old (now defunct) phrase formation rules.

Appendix

Table 1: *Glaschu*⁵⁷³

Lenited	Unlenited
<p>hooligans bheaga Ghlaschu (11), ann am baile mòr Ghlaschu (11), àireamh chlann dhìolain Ghlaschu (11), muinntir Ghlaschu (15, 218004, 251), an dual-chainnt Ghlaschu (16), prìomh-chonstabal Ghlaschu (16 x3), poilis Ghlaschu (16, x2), port-adhair Ghlaschu (16), Oilthigh Ghlaschu (197, 202, 203, 234002, 244 x5, 251, 257), taobh Ghlaschu (198), baile mòr Ghlaschu (19, 28), baile Ghlaschu (201, 218002, 234001, 253), maithean Ghlaschu (217004), drochaid mhor Ghlaschu (218001), Oil-thaigh Ghlaschu (218004), Ard-Easbuig Ghlaschu (218004), sluagh Ghlaschu (218004), Mòd Ghlaschu (21, x2), sràid Ghlaschu (229, x2), do shràid Ghlaschu (229), air an t-slighe Ghlaschu (244), sgoiltean Ghlaschu (244, 28), Eaglais Chalum Chille Ghlaschu (244), sùilean beaga piante Ghlaschu (253), Sìthichean Ghlaschu (253), meadhon Ghlaschu (253), còmhradh Ghlaschu (253 x2), sràidean Ghlaschu (253), taighean mòra Ghlaschu (255), pàipear-naidheachd Ghlaschu (26), bho mhuinntir Ghlaschu (27), mun cuairt Ghlaschu (28), a mhuinntir Ghlaschu (28), baile mór Ghlaschu (28), eucoraich Ghlaschu (28), air feadh Ghlaschu (313), a' fàgail Ghlaschu (313), am measg Gàidheil Ghlaschu (315), a dh'ionnsaigh Ghlaschu (400042), airson Ghlaschu (400094), a' toirt Ghlaschu oirre (57)</p> <p>Etc.</p>	<p>Oil-thigh Glaschu (234002, x2), air Taobh Siar Glaschu (335), slumaichean Glaschu (400017), a' toirt Glaschu 'nam chuimhne (400050), air son Glaschu (401002), oil-thaigh Glascho (400167).</p>

⁵⁷³ And Glascho, Glasgo, Glasgu.

Table 2: *Sruighlea*

Lenited	Unlenited
rathad mòr Shruighlea (317), Siorrachd Shruighlea (333), sgìre Shruighlea (337), an déidh Shruighlea (400002), Mòd Shruighlea (400002), an déidh Drochaid Shruighlea (400033), caisteal Shruighlea (400033, 400181, 400184 x2, 62, 66), margaidhean Shruighlea (400059), Oilthigh Shruighlea (400072, 400131, 400156, 400174), Oilthighean Chill Rìmhinn is Shruighlea (400104), Blàr Drochaid Shruighlea (400184 x2, 47), do Chaisteal Shruighlea (400184), muinntir siorramachd Shruighlea (401012), aig Drochaid Shruighlea (401015).	

Table 3: *Peairt*

Lenited	Unlenited
Siorrachd Pheairt (249), Baile Pheairt (294), de fhrithéan Pheairt (291), Co-chòrdadh Pheairt (400020), de bheanntan Pheairt (400024), iomall Pheairt (400049), os cionn Pheairt (400061) Etc.	Siorrachd Peairt (400080).

Table 4: *Bharraigh*

Lenited	Unlenited
Eilean Bharraigh (197, 19, 21 x3,), MacNéill Bharraigh (210 x2, 26), bho Cheann Bharraigh (250), Ceann Bharraigh (25 x2), iasgach Bharraigh (250 x2), Clann Néill Bharraigh (26), do Chlann Néill Bharraigh (26), do MhacNéill (26), de mhuinntir Bharraigh (26), bho coitearan Bharraigh (26), coitearan Bharraigh (26), ceann a tuath Bharraigh (28), Gàidhlig Bharraigh (28 x2), muinntir Bharraigh (28), a' fàgail Bharraigh (28), air feadh sgoiltean Bharraigh (28), creagan corrach glasa	

Bharraigh (28), oighreachdan Bheinn na Fadhlá, Uibhist a Deas agus Bharraigh (333) Etc.	
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Table 5: Muile

Lenited	Unlenited
Eilean Mhuile (201 x3, 249 x2, 334, 400060, 400160, 400198), bho Eilein Mhuile (401014), Caol Mhuile (311, 400013), troimh Chaol Mhuile (315, 400006), Tro Chaol Mhuile (3), Cath Caol Mhuile (400007), Caol Mhuile (400081, 401014), Caolas Mhuile (400084), Ceann a Tuath Mhuile (54), taobh an iar Mhuile (400037), cùl Mhuile (401001, 69), o ghualainn thall Mhuile (48), bho chladach Mhuile (289), bho chladaichean Mhuile (400180), thar cnuic Mhuile (70), raointean Mhuile (400168), stùcan àluinn Mhuile (341), dà chloich Mhuile (70), muinntir Mhuile (199, 400013, 400050 x2, 400110), de mhuinntir Mhuile (234002), a mhuinntir Mhuile (293, 400008, 400016, 400042, 46, 48), pàrantan Mhuile (400109), de dh'àrmainn Mhuile (29), Cléir Mhuile (234002 x2, 400008, 400026, 400117), o Chlèir Mhuile (400184), cruinneachadh bliadhnaile Chomuinn Mhuile agus Idhe (400019), Clann GhilleEathain Mhuile (400157), Clann 'IcCarraig Mhuile (400038), Gàidhlig Mhuile (333, 400016).	troimh Chaol Muile (25), thar Chaol Muile (341), Caol Muile (400051, 70), os cionn Chaol Muile (48), Tre Chaol Muile (48).
a' fàgail Mhuile (31, 400056).	
feadh Mhuile (400008), air feadh Mhuile (400027), airson Mhuile (400019), air cùlaibh Mhuile (47), mu choinneamh Mhuile (57).	mu dheidhinn Muile (400140).

Table 6: *Tiriodh*⁵⁷⁴

Lenited	Unlenited
Eilean Thiriodh (234002, 23 x5, 325, 400054 x3, 400057, 400061 x4, 400171, 400190), eilein Thiridhe (400056), muinntir Thiriodh (23, 400015), croitearan Thiriodh (26, 400057, 400180), croitearan Thiridhe (400033), laoich Thiriodh (325), ceann-suidhe meur Thiriodh (26), maor-sìth Thiriodh (400180), Land League Thiriodh (26, 400117), taighean-tugha Thiriodh (23), tacannan Thiriodh (26), mu bhailtean Thiriodh (325), còrsachan Thiriodh (400061), ionadan iomallach Thiriodh (400069), cala Thiridhe (400056), ochd tùir Thiridhe (400067), Ard-Sgoil Thiriodh (325), aimhreit Thiriodh (26 x2), eachdraidh Thiriodh (400015), freumh-fhachlach Thiriodh (400088).	
	airson Tiriodh (400148).

Table 7: *Baile*

Lenited	Unlenited
de dh'Fhear Bhaile-Chaolais (218001), Tighearna Bhaile Chaisteil/-chaisteil (x7 218004), mar mhinistear Bhaile na Creige (400008), Bàrd Bhaile-Mhàrtainn (x4, 26), sluagh Bhaile Dhubhthaich (197), sluagh Bhaile a' Chnuic (x2, 197), sluagh Bhaile an Todhair (x2, 197), iasgairan Bhaile a' Chnuic (197), croitearan Bhaile-phuill (26), Cléir Bhaile Dhubhthaich (249); bàgh Bhaile an Todhair (197), lòn Bhaile a' Chnuic (197), Tràigh Bhaile na Cille (210), Sliabh Bhaile Phuill (x2, 23), ceann a tuath Bhaile a' Chnuic (197); Eaglais Ghàidhlig Bhaile Bhòid (239), Port Bhaile a' Todhair (x3, 197), cladh Bhaile-chaisteil (x2, 218001), Sgìre Bhaile Dhuthaich (249); beul-aithris Bhaile a' Chnuic (197),	Banc Baile Ghlasgo (112003); rathad Baile a' Bhealaidh (197); air uachdar Baile a' Chnuic (197); aig beulaibh Baile a' Bhealaidh (197), muinntir Baile Chlaidheimh (217003), Ard-Easbuig Baile 'n-Rìgh (218001), Comhairle Baile Steòrnabhaigh (248); ann an teis meadhoin Baile Bhatarsaigh (26); taobh an ear Baile Ghlaschu (315), eaglais Baile a' Chùirn (321), coimhthional Baile-na-Cille (35), Caisteal/bonaid Baile Mhoireil (35), mnathan Baile nam Muileann (400001), muinntir Baile Eirisgeidh (400003).

⁵⁷⁴ Tìreadh, Tìridhe.

sgeulachd Bhaile na Cille (210), eachdraidh Bhaile Ràghnaill (26); a bhith tadhal Bhaile nan Aighean (316); os cionn cladh Bhaile na Cille (210), a thaobh Bhaile nan Aighean (316). Etc.	
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Table 8: Dùn Dè⁵⁷⁵

Lenited	Unlenited
a' moladh Dhun Deagh (400161), muinntir Dhun Deagh (400161) Etc.	

Table 9: Bàgh

Lenited	Unlenited
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> sgoil Bhagh a' Chaisteil (19), Sgoil Bhàgh a' Chaisteil (28 x2, 400113 x2), Ard-sgoil Bhàgh a' Chaisteil (28), Talla Bhàgh a' Chaisteil (400153, 400192), mun cuairt cladach Bhàgh a' Chaisteil (400154), muinntir Bhàgh a' Chaisteil (26, 28, 57), coitearan Bhàgh a' Chaisteil (26), laimrigean Bhàgh a' Chaisteil (400059), fèath Bhàgh a' Chaisteil (21) fir Bhàgh a' Chàise (251), muinntir Bhàgh a' Chàise (251) stéisean beag Bhagh-a-chaolais (400080) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> slugan Bàgh a' Chaisteil (400192), acarsaid Bagh a' Chaisteil (57), ceadha meadhonach Bagh a' Chaisteil (57), tigh-osda Bagh a' Chaisteil (57) do Chomunn Bàgh Hudson (218003) bial Bàgh Steòrnabhaigh (248) bial Bàgh Marluaig (3) beul Bàigh Phòil (400024) còrsachan Bàgh Delagòa (299) taobh eile Bàgh Tairbeart (400173) fhasgadh Bàgh Phort Rìgh (400176) bun Bàgh Liathadail (47)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a' fàgail Bàgh Chòrnaig (217003)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> mu thimchioll Bàgh-an-Eilean (217003), Timchioll Bàgh-an-Eilean (217003) tarsainn Bàgh-Bhiscaidh (400020) á fianuis Bàgh a' Bhaile (400104), os cionn Bàgh a' Bhaile (400174) os cionn Bàgh nan Long (400154 x2)

⁵⁷⁵ Also: Dùn-Dè, Dùn(-)Dèagh.

Table 10: Ceann / Cinn

Lenited	Unlenited
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tighearna Ile agus Chinn-tìre (400007), sluagh Ile, Chinn-tìre... (234002), riochdairean Cléire Chinn Tìre (249), mòinteach Chinn-tìre (255), o chainnt Chinn-tìre (400047), taobh Chinn-tìre (400177) • Maol Chinn-tìre (218004), Maol Chinn-tìre (400046), Maoil Chinn-tìre (400114), timcheall Maol Chinn Tìre (400168), thar Maol Chinn-tìre (54) • tràigh Chlaonaig Chinn-tìre (400144) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • air son Ceann-tìre (218004)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prìosan Cheann-Phàdruig (246), prìosan Cheann Phàdraig (400124), o thaobh Cheann Phàdruig (400035), cleachdadh Chinn Phàdraig (400156) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prìosan Ceann-Phàdruig (35)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • monaidhean Chinn a' Gearrloch (218003) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • beanntan mòra Ceann a' Gheàrrloch (400193)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beàrnaraigh Cheann Bharraigh (28 x4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bho charan Ceann Bharraidh (400042)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clann MhicRath Chinn t-Sàile (210), Clann MhicRath Chinn t-Sàile (315), Clann MhicRath Chinn t-Sàile (400040), de Chlann MhicRath Chinn t-Sàile (400111), Chlann 'ic (...) Rath Chinn t-Sàile (400150), air Cloinn Mhic Coinnich Chinn-t-Sàile (68); MacCoinnich Chinn-tàile (218004), Mac Coinnich òg Chinn-t-sàile (234002), do Mhac Coinnich Chinn-tàile (218004 x2), MhicCoinnich Chinn-tàile (218004), Mac Coinnich Chinn-t-Sàile (68), do Mhac Coinnich Chinn-t-Sàile (68), Baran MacCoinnich Chinn-tàile (335), Donnchadh Mór Chinn-t-sàile (400011), fear Cheann t-Sàile (400114), Fear Chinn-t-sàile (234002 x4), do Fhear Chinn-t-sàile (234002), fir Chinn-Taile (217003), mu Fhiosaiche Chinn t-Sàile (210), Maor-mór Chinn-t-Sàile (68 x2), mac Maor-mór Chinn-t-Sàile (68), Morair òg Chinn-t-Sàile (68), bodach Chinn Tàile (329), òigeir Chinn-t-Sàile 	

<p>(68), Muinntir Chinn t-Sàile (400043), a mhuinntir Chinn t-Sàile (400009), a mhuinntir Chinn-t-sàile (400098), mu bhuidsichean Chinn t-Sàile (400035); Tigh Chinn-t-sàile (234002 x3), do Thigh Chinn-t-sàile (234002), Caisteal Chinn t-Sàile (62), a Chrò Chinn Tàile (329), Chrò Chinn-t-sàile (48, 54), Crò Chinn t-Sàile (50), sgòrr-bheanntan Chinn t-Sàile (3), beanntan Chinn t-Sàile (400119), linne Chinn-t-Sàile (68), làthaich Chinn-t-sàile (62), Sgìre Chinn t-Sàile (249), Sgìre Chinn t-Sàil (400043), Sgìr Chinn-tàile (400046), Sgìr Chinn t-Sàile (400050)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • siorramachd Chinn Chàirdinn (217002), Siorramachd Chinn-Chàrdain (400004), sgìre Chinn Chàrdain (400150), Baile Chinn Chàrdainn (400093), pàipear-aidheachd Chinn Chàrdainn (400195) • Abhainn mhór Cheann Rèasort (400017), rathad Cheann Rèasort (400017), luchd àiteachadh Chinn Rèasort (400017) • Sgoil Cheann a' Bhàigh (310, 333 x15, 400055), Sgoil Cheann-a-Bhàigh (400188), maighstir-sgoile ùr Cheann a' Bhàigh (333), Dùn Cheann a' Bhàigh (325), sgoilearan Cheann a' Bhàigh (333), taobh Cheann a' Bhàigh (336), mu Thigh Dubh Ceann a' Bhàigh (400030), tè Ceann-a'-Bhàigh (400039), abhainn Cheann a' Bhàigh (400175), Tòb Cheann a' Bhàigh (400146) • sgoil Chinn-a'-ghiùthsaidh (400013), Sgoil Chinn a' Ghiùthsaidh (400166), do dh'Àrd-Sgoil Chinn a' Ghiùthsaidh (310), Ard-sgoil Chinn a' Ghiùthsaidh (400066), ministear Chinn a' Ghiùthsaidh (401008), Ministear Chinn a Ghiuthais (401011) • do bheinn Cheann-a-Bhara (400057), Beinn Chinn a' Bhara (325 x2, 400163), gualann Chinn a' Bhara (325), taobh a 	
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<p>deas Chinn a' Bhara (325), uinneagan gruamach, aosda Chinn-a-Bhara (400163), de mhòralachd Chinn a' Bhara (400163), maise Chinn a' Bhara (400163)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • seann eaglais Cheann Langabhat (400017) • Siorrachd Cheann-rois (400063) • Siorrachd Pheairt is Chinn-Rois (400063) • Baile-Chinn-Leirg (35) • Iaimhrig Chinn Arcaig (62) • sgoil Cheann Drochaid (26) • Iubhar Chinn-trágha (400019 x5) • Chnoc Chinn-alla (400061) • Caisteal Chinn-cliaithain (400061) • choithional Cheann na Creige (50) • os cionn Cheann-na-Caradh (26), geamair Cheann-na-Caradh (26) • Uamh Cheann-a-Chara (400057) • Cù Mór Cheann an t-Sruthain (36 x4), geata Cheann-an-t-Sruthain (36) • blàr Cheann-a'-chnocain (70) 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bothan Ceann-na-Coille (201), bothan beag Ceann na Coille (400052) • taigh tearmainn Ceann-na-Seabhaig (35) • Tobar Ceann a' Mhorghain (217004), Tobair Ceann a' Mhorghan (400195) • a dh'ionnsuidh Ceann a' Chreagain (400024) • Tigh Ceann a' Chlamhain (400057) • de chaileagan Ceann a' Chlachain (400189) • timchioll Ceann-an-Tobha (57)

Table 11: Ceann and loch

Lenited	Unlenited
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • de dh'uisge-beatha Cheann-locha (199 x2), Caisteal Cheann Locha (400174 x2), trusadh Cheann-Loch (68), ceann stàile Chinn Loch (400001) • frìth Cheann Loch-móir (291) 	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • coimhthional Cheann a' Loch (249), coimhthional Cheann-a'-Loch (249), Eaglais Cheann a Loch (313), òrdaighean Cheann a' Loch (330), Eaglais Cheann a Loch (400032), abhainn Cheann a' Loch (400087), Abhainn Cheann an Loch (400163) • Raonull òg Cheann-locha-Mùideart (234001 x2), Raonull Dòmhnallach Cheann Loch Mùideart (234002), Fear Cheann-locha-Mùideart (234001), do dh'Fhear Cheann-Locha-Mùideart (234001), do Fhear Cheann-locha-Mùideart (234001), brathair Fir Cheann-Loch-Mùideart (234002), de thuath Cheann Loch Mùideart (312) • Ard-sgoil Cheann Loch Ghileab (400179), sgoil Cheann-loch-gilb (42) • a dh'Abhainn Cheann Loch Odhairn (14) • Bàrd Cheann Loch Iùbh' (294) • còsan Cheann-Loch-nan-Uamh (234002) • sgoil Cheann Loch a' Ghobhail (335 x2) • rathad Chinn-loch-a-Lathaich (218001) 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • baile Cheann Loch Cille Chiarain (400051) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Baile Ceann Loch Chille Chiarain (400083) • factoraidh Ceann Loch Raineach (400032)

Table 12: Beinn

	Lenition	No lenition
Inhabitant or similar	Cailleach Bheinn Chruachain (69)	Cailleach Beinn-a-Bhric (69)
Part or side	achlais Bheinn Tianabhaig (400054); firichean Bheinn Dòrain (218002); gualainn Bheinn Ime (218001); iomall Bheinn Chruachain (3)	achlais Beinn Phabuil (300); achlais Beinn an Tuaim (400154); aodann Beinn Ime (288); aodann Beinn 'Aird (400054); mu bhàrr Beinn Edra (400060); bonn Beinn an Tairbeirt (327); bonn Beinn Edra (400075x4); bonn Beinn Eadarainn (400049); bonn Beinn-na-ranaich (43x2); air bruaich Beinn nan crann-olaidh (112002); bruachan Beinn Lì

		<p>(26); bho bhun Beinn Dòbhrain (400020); mu cheann Beinn Dianabhaig (201); ceann Beinn Edra (400079); ceann Beinn Coraraidh (54); cliathaich Beinn-a-chàrnain (43x2); air chùl Beinn na Glais (400026); Cùl Beinn a' Chaolais (400026); cùl Beinn na Staing (400115); gob Beinn an Taobh Tuath (251); mu ghuailean Beinn Dòrain (218002); gualainn Beinn Eadarra (400044); gualainn Beinn a' Chlochain (400055); mu ghualainn Beinn a' Fhraoich (400085); air lethtaobh Beinn Eudainn (217001); mulach Beinn-Guilibean (218001x2); bho Mhullach Beinn Airigh a' Charr (294); mullach Beinn Sìthean na Rapaiche (294); mullach Beinn Labhar (29); mullach Beinn Nimheis (317); mullach Beinn Eòlagaraidh (327); mullach Beinn Bhuirgh (35); mullach Beinn an Oir (400010); mullach Beinn Oyama (400041); fìor mhullach Beinn Edra (400040); mullach Beinn Silais (69); sàiltean Beinn Lì (26); sàil Beinn Muic Duibhe (315); sàil Beinn nan Caorach (400026); sàil Beinn na Coille (45); slinnein Beinn Dòrain (315); slios Beinn Inealt (400018); slios Beinn na Feàrna (200025); Taobh Beinn Lì (201); tarsainn taobh tuath Beinn Bhuirgh (400026); taobh Beinn Iomhair (400055); taobh a tuath Beinn Laoigh (400061); taobh an ear Beinn Laomainn (400061); taobh Beinn Gulbann (51); taobh deisearach Beinn Eilde (69)</p>
Natural or human-made feature	feurach Bheinn Lì (26); Pàirc Bheinn na Dròbh (309); Caisteal Bheinn Eadair (400030); monaidhean fada rèidh Bheinn Dòrainn (400109)	bho Chreag Mhór Beinn na Corairigh (301); sléibhteann aonaranach Beinn Dòbhrainn (400073); sliabh Beinn an Oir (54x2); Tobar Cùl Beinn an Oib (327); Tobar Beinn Ghòit (327);

		Uamh Beinn an Oir (54); airighean Beinn Mhòclaid (57)
Name of related event		sabaid Beinn Li (210); an dèidh Blàr Beinn a' Chuilthionn (400124)
Other nouns	fo fhasgadh Bheinn Dòrain (239); maise Bheinn-Dòrain (290)	àirde Beinn Nibheis (38); sgàile Beinn Roinebhal (36); sgàil Beinn Mhàrtainn (400008); sgàil Beinn Scarbaraig (400171); sneachda Beinn a' Chlachain (400092); spreadhadh Beinn Hekla (400165)
Verbal noun		Moladh Beinn Dòrain (218002); a' dìreadh Beinn an Easa (316); dìreadh Beinn Shioin (400036)
Preposition		tarsainn Beinn na h-Ob (28); tarsainn Beinn Tangabhal (28); tarsainn Beinn Loisgeineir (400020); os cionn Beinn Eudainn (217001); os cionn Beinn Bheithir (69)

Table 13: Cnoc

	Lenition	No lenition
Owner or inhabitant	Tuathanach Mór Chnoc-nan-sgrath (43); Fear Chnoc-nan-sgrath (x2, 43); Fear Chnoc-nan-sgrath (43); Calum Mór Chnoc-nan-leacan (301); Calum Mór Chnoc-na-Leacan (400044); Uilleam MacCoinnich Chnoc Chùsbaig (x2, 400065, 400068)	fear Cnoc a' Choilich (400007)
Population	de mhuinntir Chnoc an t-Solais (400143); a mhuinntir Chnoc Cruim (54)	
Part or side	mullach Chnoc-nan-Gobhair (400096); cùl Chnoc an t-Sagairt (317); ìochdar Chnoc Hàllainn (3); taobh Chnoc na Croiche (400157)	mullach Cnoc Fhaireil (210); air mullach Cnoc nam Meallan (217002); mullach Cnoc Mhitchell (400109); mullach Cnoc-an-t-solais (x2, 400117); mullach Cnoc na Cloiche Mòire (400164); mullach Cnoc-nan(-)Curran (x2, 68); cliathach Cnoc Uisdein (317, 400103); tarsainn guallain Cnoc a'

		Gheòidh (400104); air cùl Cnoc na h-Airigh (400147); air cùl Cnoc an Fhithich (400154); cùl Cnoc Bheiceapuill (54)
Natural or human-made feature	bho shliabh Chnoc Eothail (210); cladach Chnoc a Linn (400059); Càmpa Chnoc-Moire (26); mu thaca Chnoc-nan-Gobhair (400096)	sabhal Cnoc an Lios (294)
(official) name of institution, road, park	Colaisde Chnoc Iòrdain (14, 24, 400009, 400136); bho Cholaisde Chnoc Iòrdain (257); Colaisd Chnoc Iordain (400025); Colaisde Chnoc-Iordain (42); Colaisde Foghlaim Chnoc Iòrdain (24); Roinn Cruinn-Eòlas Colaiste Chnoc Iòrdain (257); sgoil Chnoc-Iain-Duibh (400042); Sgoil Chnoc na Mònadh (500001x2; 500002, 500004); ospadal Chnoc an t-Solais (400143); Rathad Chnoc nan Gobhar (400144); Pàirc Chnoc nan Gobhar (400147, 400153)	sgoil Cnoc na h-Aoighe (307)
Other nouns	Féill Chnoc an Fhaoineis (246); sìochaint sìth Chnoc Hàllainn (3); rann Chnoc an t-Sabhail (400051)	piòb shith Cnoc nan Daoine Beaga (218001); piòb shìthe Cnoc nan Daoine Beaga (288)
Verbal noun	a' dìreadh Chnoc an Tuairneir (317); dìreadh Chnoc Healoir (400036)	a' dìreadh Cnoc-an-dùin (400108)
Prepositions and similar		leithid Cnoc a' Choilich (400082); tarsuinn Cnoc na h-Uamhadh (31); timcheall Cnoc an Eadraiginn (42)

Table 14: Cluaidh

Lenited	Unlenited
bruthach Chluaidh (25), bruachan Chluaidh (56), bruaichean Chluaidh (29, 335, 400200), mu bhruaichean Chluaidh (14), gàrraidhean Chluaidh (307, 312), gàrraidhean-iarainn Chluaidh (311), cùl-sràidean salach Chluaidh (311), Urras Chluaidh (333), Slios Chluaidh (35), inbhir Chluaidh (35), bòrdair Chluaidh (400006), uisge-beatha Chluaidh (400006), Caolas Chluaidh (400063, 400163), air taobh	air chùl Cluaidh (307), am fìor mheadhon Cluaidh (400084), air cladaichean Cluaidh (400148), air bruaichean Cluaidh (400200), a' tadhail Cluaidh (40)

Chluaidh (400111, 400144), de chidheachan Chluaidh (400133), rathad Chluaidh (400166), Slighe rathad Chluaidh (400134), Slighe Chabhadh Chluaidh (400134), bàtaichean Chluaidh (400148, 400191, 42), uisg' odhar Chluaidh (401008), cladach Chluaidh (401015), air còrsa Chluaidh (47), air àrainn Chluaidh (47), bàghan Chluaidh (217001 x3), baile Chluaidh (246, 400080 x2), gun 'Chlub Chluaidh' (19), Rèidio Chluaidh (29), taobh thall Chluaidh (217004, 41), fàgail Chluaidh (201, 333), a' cur Chluaidh (217004)	
Linne Chluaidh (401014) san Linne Chluaidh (400084)	
Bruaich Chluaidh (14, 400001), Bruach-Chluaidh (400148), air Bruaich Chluaidh (400180)	
Srath Chluaidh (201, 217003 x3, 400077, 401014, 401017), Luchd-siubhail Shrath Chluaidh (220), Roinn Srath Chluaidh (32 x2, 400088, 400175 x2), Roinn Strath Chluaidh (400164), Roinn Sòisealachd Shrath Chluaidh (11), Oilthigh Srath Chluaidh (333, 335), Oilthigh Srath-Chluaidh (400069), Oilthigh Shrath Chluaidh (400157), Comhairle Shrath Chluaidh (335), bho Bhreatannaich Shrath Chluaidh (400017), seann rìoghachdan (...) Shrath Chluaidh (400104), beul-aithris Strath Chluaidh (400181), mór-roinn shrath Chluaidh (401017), rìoghachd bheag Shrath Chluaidh (66)	
abhainn Chluaidh (15, 217004, 26, 27, 31, 334 x2, 335 x4, 400001 x2, 400002, 400005, 400006, 400017 x2, 400022, 400025, 400028, 400055, 400065, 400108 x2, 400111 x2, 400133 x3, 400134 x3, 400148, 400167, 400168, 400179, 400180 x3, 400184 x3, 400198 x2, 401014, 41, 47 x5)	Abhainn Cluaidh (335 x2, 400111) air bòrd an “Abhainn Cluaidh” (400111) ⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁷ The name of a ship, used with the article. In the genitive but not inflected.

o bhruach na h-aibhne Chluaidh (400084) ⁵⁷⁶	
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Table 15: *Foirthe/Foirbhe/Foir*

It occurs with and without the article in the nominative and the dative.

The article	Without the article
cinn-uisge na Foirthe (400061) còmhnard na Foirthe (400061) Caolas na Foirthe (400063)	canàl Foir is Cluaidh (400200)
	san Linne Foirthe (400084)
	abhainn Foirthe (33, 400061, 400076)

Table 16: *Tatha*

This river name also occurs with the definite article: an Tatha (400063, etc.) and *gen.* Beul na Tàtha (400028 x3), Drochaid na Tàtha (400028), drochaid mhór na Tàtha (400028).

Lenited	Unlenited
Drochaid Thàtha (400003)	bruachan Tatha (217003), uisgeachan Tatha (400061), leas-shruthan Tatha (400061), Drochaid Tatha (31, 69), Roinn Bruaich Tatha (400088), Srath Tatha (400117), Taobh Tatha (400175), Gleann Tatha (401015)
	Abhainn Tatha (400061 x5, 401015), amhainn Tatha (401013), Amhann Tatha (401014) An Abhainn Tàtha (400028, 400161) de'n Abhainn Tatha (400061)

Table 17: Other rivers

	Lenited	Unlenited
Balgaidh (Bogie)	Srath Bhalgaidh (217003)	
Carrann	de uisge Charrainn (66)	
Comhann	Gleann(a)/Glinne-Comhann (x n)	
Deathan	Obar-Dheathain (x n) Strath Dheathain (400158)	
Farar	Linne Fharair (337 x2) Inbhear-Fharair (400071)	Gleann Srath Farar (400023) Gleann Srath-Fharair (400071)

⁵⁷⁶ The article and the genitive form *aibhne* here.

		mu dheidhinn Abhainn Farar (400023)
Fèisidh (Feshie)	Inbhir Fheisidh (338)	Gleann Feisidh (338), Gleanna Feisidh (400099) o bhun Feisidh (338)
Garadh (Garry)	Gleann a' Gharaidh (400179)	an Abhainn Garaidh (400061) Gleann Garaidh (400058, 400061 etc.), Gleann-a-Garaidh (401015) Gleann(a)/Glinne Garadh (400107 etc.)
Gruinneart (Gruinart)	Blàr Tràigh Ghruinneart (234002, 315); Ceann Tràigh Ghruinneart (400118)	
Seile (Shiel)		Gleann-Seile (234001), Gleann Seile (333, 400050, 400055, 400064, 400065, 400086, 400087 etc.), cath Ghlinn Seile (400009)
Teimheil (Tummel)		Gleann Teimheil (400061 x2) an abhainn Teimheil (400019, 400061 x2)
Tuaidh		as an Abhainn Tuaidh (51)
Uisge Dhè (Dee)	ri taobh Uisge Dhé (65)	

Table 18: Siorrachd

Lenition	Unlenited
Comhairle Shiorrachd Inbhirnis (26); Comhairle Shiorrachd Inbhirnis (400079); Comhairle bheag fhaiceallach Shiorrachd Inbhirnis (400079); Cunntas Comhairle Shiorrachd Rois ⁵⁷⁸ (400086); Clèireach Shiorrachd Earra-Ghaidheil (400086); cunntas Shiorrachd Rois (x2, 400086); sgrùdadh Shiorrachd Rois (400086); Ard-chrìochan Shiorrachd Obair Dheadhain (400022); taobh tuath Shiorrachd Pheairt (400125); à taobh siar Shiorrachd Rois (400129).	air Comhairle Siorrachd Inbhir Nis (26); Comhairle Siorrachd Earraghaidheal (400006); Comhairle Siorrachd Bhòid (400006); mar bhall de Chomhairle Siorrachd Earraghaidheal (400013); le Comhairle Siorrachd Shealtainn (400017); de Chomhairle Siorrachd Inbhir-nis (400032); Ceann-suidhe Comhairle Siorrachd Rois (400001); Ceann-suidhe Comhairle Fòghluim Siorrachd Rois (400013); seòmraichean Comhairle Siorrachd Shealtainn (400017); fo iùil Comhairle siorrachd Dyfed (400149); fo ùghdarras Ard-chomhairle Siorrachd Pheairt agus Ard-chomhairle Siorrachd Cheann-rois

⁵⁷⁸ *Comhairle* not lenited!

	<p>(400063); Fear-Pàrlamaid Siorrachd Inbhir-Nis (400006); fear Siorrachd Rois (400040); fear-labhairt Siorrachd Rois (400086); de mhinisteirean Siorrachd Rois (249); muinntir Siorrachd Inbhir Nis (400045); aig muinntir Siorrachd Rois (400077); muinntir Siorrachd Bhanbh (400180); Gaidheil Siorrachd Rois (400121); sgoiltean Siorrachd Rois (400057); bun-sgoiltean Siorrachd Inbhir Nis (400136); Gàidhlig Siorrachd Pheairt (400025); Gàidhlig Siorrachd Obar Dheadhain (400125); clann Ghàidhlig Siorrachd Inbhir-Nis⁵⁷⁹ (400044); Gaidh-(...)ealtachd Siorrachd Pheairt (400154); fearannn [sic!] Siorrachd Pheairt (400061); air feadh bailtean iasgaich Siorrachd Mhoireibh⁵⁸⁰ (400180); thar monaidhean Siorrachd York⁵⁸¹ (112004); còmhnard siorrachd Air (305); eileanan Siorrachd Inbhirnis (400007); air tìr-mór Siorrachd Rois (400012); air tìr-mór Siorrachd Inbhirnis (400065); garbh-chrìochan Siorrachd Rois an Iar (400018); cuid de ghleanntan Siorrachd Aonghais (400092); air oirthir Siorrachd Mhoireibh (400180); taobh sear Siorrachd Rois (201; 400028; 400058; 400089); taobh sear siorrachd Rois (400077); taobh-sear Siorrachd Pheairt (400143); do thaobh an ear Siorrachd Rois (400180); Gàidhlig taobh sear Siorrachd Rois (400127); taobh siar Siorrachd Rois (400007; 400031; 400035; 400084); Taobh Siar Siorrachd Rois (400058); taobh an iar Siorrachd Rois (400031); taobh an iar siorrachd Rois (400044); feabhas Taobh a Siar Siorrachd Rois (400058); taobh tuath Siorrachd (...) Erraghaidheal (218003); ceann a tuath Siorrachd Peairt (400006); ceann a deas siorrachd Caernarvon (400086); cor</p>
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⁵⁷⁹ *Ghàidhlig* lenited, perhaps because *clann* is feminine?

⁵⁸⁰ *Bailtean* not lenited despite being a plural noun in a genitive context.

⁵⁸¹ *Monaidhean* not lenited, although it is a plural noun in a genitive context.

	Siorrachd Gallaibh (400006); a' ceangal Siorrachd Aonghuis (200028); air feadh Siorrachd Pheairt (400061); air feadh Siorrachd Inbhir-nis (400078).
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Table 19: *Paraiste*

Lenited	Unlenited
	aig crìch paraiste Hoghmòir (311)

Table 20: *Poblachd*

Lenited	Unlenited
do shluagh Phoblachd Khmer (400090)	Arm Poblachd Eirinn (400079)

Table 21: *Coimisean*

Lenited	Unlenited
obair Choimisean nan Croitearan (311)	cean-suidhe Coimisean nan Croitearan (400074), muinntir Coimisean Napier (26), oifis Coimisean nan Croitearan (400013), coire Coimisean nan Croitearan (400041), dleasdanas Coimisean nan Croitearan (400041), obair Coimisean nan Croitearan (400041), gun chead Coimisean nan Croitearan (400059), Leabhraichean Fianais agus Tuairsgeal Coimisean nan Croitearan (26); co-dhùnaidhean Coimisean Napier (335), o àm Cunntais Coimisean Napier (400058); obair Coimisean na Coille (400008); rùnaire Coimisean Ath-bheothachaidh na Gàidhlig (400028); cìs Coimisean an Fhearainn (400066); Fear Coimisean-na-Tìre (42), Fear-Gaidhlig Coimisean na Tìre (42 x2)
	a' riochdachadh Coimisean nan Croitearan (400017)
air beulaibh Choimisean Napier (400041)	a réir Coimisean nan Croitearan (400010); o linn Coimisean Napier (400008)

Table 22: Comann

Lenited	Unlenited
aig Mòd Chomainn na Gàidhlig (21); le buill Chomann Hiort (400138).	Rùnaire Comann nan Seumasach (400121); do fhear-chathrach Comann Ball-coise an Taobh Siar (400153); Colaiste Comann nam Miseanaraidhean (400180); leabhraichean Comann Gàidhlig Inbhir Nis (400143); ann a leabhraichean Comann Gàidhlig Inbhir Nis (400150); aig coinneamh Comann Gàidhlig Inbhir Nis (400147); air saothair Comann nan Sgoiltean Gàidhlig (400117); mu obair Comann nam Miseanaraidhean (400180); a thaobh Comann na Gàidhlig (500005).

Table 23: Comhairle

Lenited	Unlenited
togalach Chomhairle nan Eilean (11); do mhuinntir Chomhairle nan Leabhraichean (203).	Stiùiriche Leasachadh Eaconomaiceach agus Dealbhadh Comhairle nan Eilean (18); An [sic!] Stiùiriche Comhairle nan Eilean (18); Fear Gairme Comhairle an Ionmhais (200); Ceann-suidhe Comhairle Siorrachd Rois (400001); Ceann-suidhe Comhairle an Fhoghlaim (400001); Ceann-suidhe Comhairle an Fhòghluim Siorrachd Rois (400013); Iar-Cheann-suidhe Comhairle na Siorrachd (400001); Fear-gairme Comhairle a' Mhòid 's a' Chiùil (400040); luchd-riochdachaidh Comhairle a' Mhoid is a' Chiùil (200); eadartheangairean Comhairle nan Eilean (32); muinntir Comhairle nan Eilean (32); aon de bhuill Comhairle Riaghlaidh Chataibh (400032); de luchd-dreuchd Comhairle nan Eilean (400123); Coimitidh Albannach Comhairle nan Ealdhan (400056); Roinn Foghlaim Comhairle nan Eilean (400156); fear de thighean Comhairle na Siorrachd (245); ann an seòmraichean Comhairle Siorrachd Shealtainn (400017); oifigean Comhairle nan Eilean (400134); treallaichean Comhairle an Ealdhain 's a' Ghnìomhachais (400036); a' cur an aghaidh iartas

	<p>Comhairle Earraghaidheal (400006); a réir earailean Comhairle Mhic-an-tàilleir (400041); earailean Comhairle-rannsachaidh (400041); earailean Comhairle-rannsachaidh a' Mhorair Napier (400041); obair Comhairle an Fhoghlum (400041); seirbheisean Comhairle nan Eilean (x 2, 400164); co-fharpaisean Comhairle Ealdhain Bhreatainn (42); Cunntas Comhairle Shiorrachd Rois (400068); Aithisg Bhliadhnail Comhairle Nàiseanta a' Chraobh-Sgaoilidh (400090); tritheamh earrainn Comhairle a' Bhaile (400068); gu riarachadh Comhairle a' Mhòid is a' Chiuil (200); a' cuideachadh Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich (400141); fo chùram Comhairle nan Eilean (28); fo riaghladh Comhairle Foghlum Rois (400006); fo iùil Comhairle siorrachd Dyfed (400149); air ceann Comhairle an Fhoghlum (400006); fa chomar Comhairle an Ionmhais (200); fa chomhair Comhairle na Siorrachd (400068); mu dheidhinn Comhairle nan Eilean (2); A thaobh Comhairle nan Eilean (32).</p>
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Table 24: Banca, bòrd, buidheann, colaiste, comataidh

Banca
luchd-riaghlaidh Banca Ghlasgo (102006); òr Banca Shasainn (256); a thaobh Banca Mhontreal (81011).
Bòrd
Rùnaire Bòrd Iasgaich Alba (250); ceann-suidhe Bòrd na Sgoile (400042); Ceannard Bòrd Leasaichaidh na Gaidhealtachd (400058); ùghdarras Bòrd-na-sgoile (218004); comhairle Bòrd Comhairleachaidh na Gàidhlig (5); oifigich Bòrd a' Chuspainn (301, 400049); luchd riaghlaidh Bòrd na Coille an Albainn (400001); Luchd-lagha Bòrd an Fhearainn (400021); a dh'urrachan móra Bòrd nan Tighean-soluis (400029); buill Bòrd Sgoile na Sgìreachd (400053); muinntir Bòrd an Sgadain (42); Iomradh Bliadhnail Bòrd Leasachaidh na Gàidhealtachd agus nan Eilean (400077); sgeim Bòrd Leasachaidh na Gàidhealtachd (400082); obair Bòrd Leasachaidh na Gaidhealtachd 's nan Eilean (400058); obraichean Bòrd an Dealain (400063); ordugh Bòrd an Fhoghlum (217002); grantaichean iasad Bòrd an Fhearainn (400134); càin-aisneis Bòrd na Sgoile (400179); aire Bòrd Leasachaidh na Gaidhealtachd (400078); ann an seirbhis Bòrd an Aiteachais (x2, 400013); fo uachdranachd Bòrd an Fhearainn (57); le còmhnadh Bòrd an Fhearainn (400039); le cuideachadh Bòrd an

Iasgaich (400059); an inntinn Bòrd a’ Chuspainn (301, 400029); air ceann Bòrd na Sgoile (400043, 400048); os cionn Bòrd na Slàinte (330); a réir Bòrd an Iasgaich (400048); a thaobh Bòrd Leasadhaidh na Gàidhealtachd ’s nan Eileanan (400055); ri leithid Bòrd na Gàidhealtachd (32); leithid Bòrd Leasachaidh na Gàidhealtachd (32); leithid Bòrd na Cànain an Lochlainn (32); leithid Bòrd na Slàinte (400153); Sàcramaid Bòrd ⁵⁸² an Tighearna (48).
<u>As part of a larger genitive phrase:</u> a réir riaghailtean Bòrd a’ Chuspainn (301, 400029); fo stiùireadh comhairle Bòrd an Fhòghluim (400103).
<u>With a preposed adjective:</u> an àite seann Bhòrd nan Sgìreachdan Dùmhlaichte (315) – no lenition in <i>seann!</i>
Buidheann
Ceann-suidhe Buidheann Comhairle na Rìoghachd (212002); Comhairle Albannach Buidheann Bhreatannach a’ Chraobh-sgaolaidh (400017); aonta Buidheann Gnìomh na h-Alba (5).
Colaiste
Roinn Cruinn-Eòlas Colaiste Cnoc Iòrdain (257); ann an leabhar-lann Colaiste na Trianaid (400021, 57); air suidheachadh Colaisde Obar-Dheadhan (32); toiseach tòiseachaidh Colaisde Caisteal Steòrnabhaigh (40006); ann an obair Colaisde a’ Chaisteil (400006); air ceann Colaisde na Pìobaireachd (400022); air ceann Colaisde na h-Eaglais Shaoir (400082); còmhlan-phioba Colaisde na Gàidhlig (400179); airson Teisteanas Colaisde Thidsearan nan Dall (4). ⁵⁸³
Comataidh
mar fhear-cathrach Comataidh Brosnachaidh a’ Chànain (332), air beulaibh Comataidh an Fhoghlaim (335), ceist Comataidh no Fo-chomataidh Sheasmhach Ghàidhlig (5)

Table 25: Ball

	Lenited	Unlenited
Gen. indef.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> b(h)uill Chéilidh nan Gaidheal (401001x2), buill Chomann Hiort (400138), mar bhuill Phàrlamaid Shasuinn (218004) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ball Pàrlamaide na h-Albann Nuaidhe (302), Ball Pàrlamaid nan Eilean⁵⁸⁴ (248) buill Bòrd Sgoile na Sgìreachd (400035), de bhuill Comhairle Riaghlaidh Chataibh (400032), buill comhairle Siorramachd (400009), de bhuill Comunn Gaidhealach Chillemhoadain (401004), Buill Pàrlamaid Albannach (400011)

⁵⁸² Literally: table.

⁵⁸³ Lenition in *thidsearan* (gen. pl.) followed by another (definite) genitive noun!

⁵⁸⁴ However, this might refer to an MP from the Western Isles (?).

Gen. def.	buill na Comhairle Sònraichte (220), buill nan Seirbheisean Pearsanta (20), etc.
Prep.	mar bhall den Taigh nan Cumantan (220); mar bhall de Phàrlamaid na h-Alba (220), nam buill de'n Ard-Sheanadh (249), etc.

Table 26: *Ceann-cinnidh / ceann-feadhna / triath*

Lenited	Unlenited
seann cheann-cinnidh Chloinn Fhionghain (234001); ceann-cinnidh Chloinn-Donnachaidh (401011); ceann-feadhna Chloinn 'ic Choinnich (400014); Ceann-feadhna Chloinn 'Ic Aoidh (400114); ceann-feadhna Chloinn-an-Tòisich (401009); Triath Chloinn Leòid (400004, 400027); Triath Chloinn Raghnaill (400133); Ceann-cinnidh Chlainn an Tòisich (400064); Ceann-cinnidh Chlainn Aoidh (234002)	
ceann-cinnidh Chlann an Tòisich (218004); ceann-cinnidh Chlann Raghail (57); ceann-feadhna Chlann Laman (400054); Ceann-feadhna Chlann 'ic Phàrlain (400062); do Cheann-feadhna Chlann Raghnaill (400157); ceann-feadhna Chlann Raonuill (401012); ceann-feadhna Chlann an Aba (41); triath Chlann Raonuill (234001); triath Chlann 'ic Ailein (311); triath Chlann Raghnaill (311x18); ⁵⁸⁵ triath Chlann Ghill-Eain (315); Triath Chlann Choinnich (400008); Triath Chlann Mhathain (400009); dàrna triath deug Chlann Iain Abraich (400140)	ceann-cinnidh Clann MhicLeòid (400138); ceann-cinnidh Clann 'ic an Stràcair (400139); Ceann-Feadhna Clann an Tòisich (400096)
Triath Chlann Dòmhnail Shlèibhte (400129)	do cheann-feadhna Clann Nèill Bharraigh (400114)
ceann-feadhna Shìl Leòid (68)	

⁵⁸⁵ All preceded by ordinal numbers, including examples such as *ochdamh triath deug Chlann Raghnaill*.

Table 27: Cùmhnant, cumha, cùntas

	Unlenited
Cùmhnant	Comunn Cùmhnant an Atlantaich (400066), feachdan Comunn Cùmhnant Warsaw (400066), stàitean Comunn Cùmhnant Warsaw (400066)
Cumha	a rèir Cumha Aix-la-Chapelle (218003)
Cùntas	o àm Cunntais ⁵⁸⁶ Coimisean Napier (400058)

Table 28: Gairm

	Lenited	Unlenited
Nom. sg. m.	luchd-leughaidh Ghairm	Clas Gàidhlig Gairm (x2); luchd-leughaidh Gairm (x7); beachd Gairm; luchd deasachaidh Gairm; luchd Gairm
Nom. sg. f.	eachdraidh Ghairm	oifis Gairm; Seacaid Gairm
Gen. sg. m.	misneach muinntir Ghairm	airson luchd-leughadh Gairm; dùrachd uile luchd-leughaidh ‘Gairm’
Dat. sg.	de luchd-leughaidh Ghairm	ann an co-fharpais Gairm; aig luchd-deasachaidh Gairm; ri luchd-leughaidh Gairm; le (...) oifis Gairm; fo’n ainm Gairm; air bonnach bangaid Gairm; de luchd-leughaidh Gairm; de luchd-leughaidh Gairm (x4); am meadhon Gairm; air seacaid Gairm; ag altramas Gairm; an an oifis Gairm; bho charaid Gairm; bho Oifis Gairm; ri luchd-leughaidh Gairm; air luchd-leughaidh Gairm; aig luchd-leughaidh Gairm; le fear-deasachaidh Gairm; do luchd-leughaidh Gairm
v. n.		a leughadh Gairm; a’ cumail Gairm (x2); a’ cur Gairm; a’ ceannachd Gairm; a’ deasachadh Gairm; ag ullachadh Gairm; a’ leughadh Gairm (x6); càineadh Gairm
prep.	a thaobh Ghairm	às leth Gairm; ri linn Gairm; airson Gairm (x2); ri taobh Gairm; a réir Gairm; leithid ⁵⁸⁷ Gairm (x2)

⁵⁸⁶ Genitive – palatalised at the end.

⁵⁸⁷ This may be perceived as a preposition now, although it is a noun originally.

Nom. pl.	fir-deasachaidh Ghairm (x2); leabhraichean Ghairm; fir- dheasachaidh Ghairm	clasaichean Gàidhlig Gairm; clasaichean Gairm; cùisean airigid Gairm; Clò-bhualaidhean Gairm (x4); Clo-bhualaidhean Gairm (x4); fir- deasachaidh Gairm
Gen. pl.	as leth boireannaich Ghairm; a’ lorg beachdan fir-deasachaidh Ghairm; airson duilleagan shunndach Ghairm	uile dhuilleagan Gairm ⁵⁸⁸
Dat. pl.		le leasanan Gairm; aig fir- deasachaidh Gairm; gu leughadairean Gairm; de leughadairean Gairm; gu fir-deasachaidh Gairm; do leughadairean Gairm; ann an reviews Gairm; ri Clò-bhualaidhean Gairm; à Clò-bhualaidhean Gairm

Table 29: *Cumha, moladh, dàn, duan, duanag*

	Unlenited
Cumha	sreathan fada ‘Cumha Sheathain’ (400141); ùrlar “Cumha Phadraig Oig” (400079); am pongan “Cumha Iain Ghairbh Mhic Gille Chaluim, Ràarsaigh” (400160); a’ seinn “Cumha Mhic-Criomainn” (401007); leithid Cumha Mhaighstir Eachainn MhicPhàil (400121); leithid “Cumha Phàdraig Oig” (400160); leithid “Cumha na Cloinne” (400160)
Dàn	leabhar “Dàin do Eimhir” (41)
Duan	leithid ‘Duan na Ceàrdaich’ (400056); a’ meas Duan na Bannse (400129), a’ gabhail Duan na Calluinn (400193)
Duanag	leithid Duanag Bleoghain (400084)
Moladh	ceòl-mòr ‘Moladh Mòraig’ (400141); leithid Moladh Mòraig (400154); Air-son “Moladh Moire” (298), Air-son “Moladh a’ Chuil agus Diomaladh a’ Chladaich” (298), Air-son “Moladh a’ Chladaich” (298)

Table 30: *Ùghdar*

Unlenited
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ùghdar “Caraid a Pheacaidh” (112004); ùghdar Turus a’ Chrìosduidh (112004); ùghdar Coire Cheartaich (218002); ùghdar Caraid nan Gàidheal (218003); ùghdar Creachadh na Clàrsaich (400159); ùghdar Clarsach an Doire (81005); ùghdar ‘Coire-cheathaich’ (81006); ùghdar “Dain a Chomhnadh Crabhaidh” (81006); ùghdar “Taigh na Coille” (81008) • ùghdar ‘Fionnaghala NicDhòmhnaill’ (400182)

⁵⁸⁸ Meaning: all of Gairm’s pages?

- an t-ùghdar An Rathad Cian (400082)
- Ughdar an “Eileanaich” (81006)

Table 31: Seinn, sreathan, ùrlar

	Unlenited
Seinn	a’ seinn “Milleadh nam Bràithrean (204), seinn “Port Raoghail Uidhir (218004), a’ seinn “Catriona Mhór nan Sùil” (400004), a’ seinn “Buain na Rainich” (400031), a’ seinn “Piobaireachd Dhòmhnail Duibh” (400181), ’seinn “Crodh Chailein” (401012)
Sreathan	na sreathan “Caithris nam Bodach” (400106)
Ùrlar	(?) le ùrlar, “Bodaich nam Briogaisean” (288)

Table 32: Blàr, Bliadhna

Blàr
às dèidh Blàr Aboukir Bay (500004), an déidh Blàr Allt a’ Bhàn-chnoic (217004); an déidh Blar Uillt a Bhàn-chnuic ⁵⁸⁹ (66); Latha Blàr a’ Chéidhe (74003), an dèidh Blàr Beinn a’ Chuilthionn (400124), ri linn Blàr a’ Bhonnaich (400149), an déigh Blàr na Buinne (218003); an déigh Blàr Chul-fhodair (218003), an déigh Blàr Chùil-fhodair (218003), an déidh Blàr Chuil-lodair (315, 400053), an dèidh Blàr Chuil Lodair (400130), an dèidh Blàr Chuil-lodair (400150), an déidh Blàr Chulodair (54), as deidh Blàr Chuil-lodair (400086), às dèidh Blàr Chuil-lodair (400146x2), aig àm Blàr Chùil-lodair (400144), an déidh Blàr a’ Chumhaing (26x3), an déidh Blar a’ Chumhaing (26), buaidh Blàr a’ Chumhaing (400166), Oran Blàr na h-Eaglais Brice (291), Latha Blàr na Féitheadh (74003), an déidh Blàr na Leargaidh Ghallda (40006), Là Blàr na Léine (74003), an déidh Blàr Shléibh-an-t-siorraim (217002), an deidh Blàr Sliabh an t-Siorraim (400009), oidhche Blàr Sliabh an t-Siorraim (311), Latha Blàr Sliabh an t-Siorraim (311), aig toiseach Blàr Shunadail (61), raon Blàr an Tronnga (21), aig àm Blàr Waterloo (400026), mu ám Blàr Waterloo (54).
Bliadhna
eachdraidh Bliadhna a’ Phrionnsa (2x2), an deidh Bliadhna Thearlaich (400008), an deidh Bliadhna Theàrlaich (400008x2), an déidh Bliadhna Theàrlaich (400024, 400053, 69), an dèidh Bliadhna Theàrlaich (400121, 400147, 400168, 400172), an dèidh Bliadhna Thearlaich (400121), an déidh Bliadhna Thearlaich (42), an déigh Bliadhna Theàrlaich (69), rè Bliadhna Theàrlaich (400009), eachdraidh Bliadhna Theàrlaich (400034, 68), ri linn Bliadhna Thearlaich (54).

⁵⁸⁹ Two genitive forms in the same phrase!

6.2. Proper names: Lenition in female names

Source:

Corpas na Gàidhlig (<https://dasg.ac.uk/corpus>).

Female names:

- *Moire/Muire*
- *Barabal, Beathag, Catrìona, Dearbhail, Gormshuil,*⁵⁹⁰ *Fionnghal,*⁵⁹¹ *Flòraidh, Mairead,*⁵⁹² *Màiri,*⁵⁹³ *Marsaili,*⁵⁹⁴ *Mòrag, Peigi,*⁵⁹⁵ *Seonag, Seònaid, Sìne.*

The name *Moire/Muire* seems to be often lenited in fixed expressions and in place names. This could be explained as archaism or, in place names, as the result of analogy with the dative case (historically, causing lenition in the complement that follows the noun).

The other names⁵⁹⁶ are usually unlenited in the genitive. For some of them, a large number of unlenited examples have been found and only a few are listed in the tables below (indicated by *etc.*). In most cases, however, a considerable number of lenited examples have also been attested. This difference could perhaps be attributed to the author's dialect since no other reason can be defined for the presence or absence of lenition in these examples.

The names that end with a consonant which can be palatalised sometimes lack palatalisation in the genitive, but this seems to be less common. Such examples have been listed separately.

Table 1: *Moire, Muire*

	Lenited	Unlenited
General	An ainm Mhoire Mhathar (199), an ainm Dhè agus Mhoire (217001),	aodach Moire (15), an ainm Moire is a Mic (217003), maorach-Moire

⁵⁹⁰ Also Gormu(i)l, Gormu(i)ll, Gorma(i)l, Gorma(i)ll.

⁵⁹¹ Also Fionnghalla.

⁵⁹² Also Maighread, Mairearad, Mairghead, Margharad.

⁵⁹³ Also Màiridh.

⁵⁹⁴ Also Marsailidh.

⁵⁹⁵ Also Peigidh.

⁵⁹⁶ Not all of the aforementioned names have been found in genitive contexts in the corpus.

	Beannachd Dhia 's Mhoire (217003), Cuilidh Mhoire (217003), a' cuile Mhuire (400054), a' Chonair-Mhoire (218002), iomhaigh Mhoire bheannaichte (21), faire Mhoire (400014), òran Mhoire (400081), air àrainn Mhoire (400187), ban-chuideachaidh Mhoire (57), Mac Mhuire (218002), Teampull Mhuire (400095)	(218001), [a'] truailleadh Moire Mhàthair (21), Fios freagairt Moire (298), Moladh Moire (298), uiseag dhonn riabhach Moire (311), Caibeal Moire (327), Àirne Moire (333), ann am bùth Moire Ruaidhe (400023), croisean Moire (400108), uiseag Moire (400113), Laoidhean Moire (400139), tunnag bhàn Moire (401002), beannachadh Moire (72), eadarghuidhe Moire (72), Turus Moire (72) Mac Muire (315)
Fèill		Là-féill-Moire (199), Làtha feill Muire (401010)
Òigh, naomh		ìomhaigh na h-òighe Moire (15), Eaglais Ban-naoimh Moire (218003), dealbh naomh Moire (400108)
Place names	Cille-Mhoire (201, 234002, 249, 310, etc.), Cille Mhuire (249), Tobar Mhoire (294, 302, 317, 327, etc.), Tobar Mhuire (249), Peighinn Mhoire (333), Peighinn-Mhuire (400186), Cladh Mhoire (400018), Cladh Mhuire (400055), Sgìre Mhoire (400058), Sgìr Mhuire (400011), Eilean Mhoire (400167), Eilean Mhuire (400146), Aird-Mhoire (57)	Tobar Moire (218001), Càmpa Chnoc-Moire (26), Tiobar Moire (400061)

Table 2: *Beathag*

Lenited	Unlenited
	tigh / guth / briathran Beathaig (305), seann mhart / mart Beathaig (400006), air gnùis / air cluasan Beathaig (400021), aig Sìne Beathaig (401011)

Table 3: *Catriona*

Lenited	Unlenited
nighean Chatriona (30), athair Chatrìona (30), beul / aodann Chatrìona (313, 39), Aisling Chatrìona (329, 336, 44), cidsin	airson / a choinneachadh / aodann / gu dachaigh / athair / mu dheidhinn / air sgàth / a shireadh / làmh / aghaidh / gaoirdean / a

<p>sglobalta Chatrìona (331), gu màs taigh Chatrìona (335), a rèir Chatrìona Parsons (335), ag altraim Chatrìona (335), Dodo Chatrìona (336), sùilean Chatrìona Dhùghaill / lasair shùilean Chatrìona / Oran Chatrìona (400004), eachdraidh Chatrìona (400030), gu cuimhne Chatrìona (400035), leithid Chatrìona NicGumaraid / Aisling Chatrìona (400157), guth / aodann / os cionn làimh / cùbhraidheachd Chatrìona (400159), do thaigh Chatrìona (400167), àireamh fòn Chatrìona (400196), ri briathran brioghmhoir Chatrìona Ghrannnd (401009)</p>	<p>dh'ionnsaigh / air guaillean / aodach / mu ghuailllean Catrìona (16), Mac Catrìona (201), dichioll Catrìona Bige (217003), mu dheidhinn / taigh Catrìona (321), seann geansaidh Catrìona (331), bràthair Catrìona (335), dìleab Catrìona (400005), Urras Catrìona NicCaoig (400013), tigh Catrìona Ghrannnd (400017), ann an cuideachd / air tigh Catrìona (400038), fo chomhair Catrìona (400122), cridhe / aghaidh Catrìona (400140), leithid Catrìona NicGumaraid⁵⁹⁷ (400157), leabhraichean Catrìona NicNèill (400162), ri meadhan Catrìona (400166), piuthar màthar Catrìona (400167), màthair / athair / do theaghlach Catrìona (400176), gruaidhean Catrìona (43), taigh Catrìona (45)</p>
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Table 4: *Fionnghal*

Lenited	Unlenited
<p>mu dheidhinn Fhionnghail (205), oide / thar ghuailllean / ùine / banais Fhionnghail (400004), Cuach Fhionnghail NicDhòmhnail (400015), seacaid-bheag Fhionnghail NicDhòmhnail (400040)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • an aghaidh / mu dheidhinn (x3) / aodann Fionnghail (205), air amhlacadh / air cloich-chuimhne Fionnghail (400031) • do chainnt / bho bhriathran / mu mhuineal Fionnghal (401013), àite breith Fionnghal (54), tobhta tigh / a thaobh Fionnghal (57)

Table 5: *Flòraidh*

Lenited	Unlenited
	<p>ciad thuineadh Flòraidh (21), Taigh Flòraidh (23), guth Flòraidh (310, 313, 317, 400084), athair (x2) / cuislean / beatha / màthair / oide / cuid / cliù / eachdraidh Flòraidh (400083), seanair Flòraidh (400124)</p>
	<p>Tobar Flòraidh (45), Tobhta Flòraidh (54)</p>

⁵⁹⁷ There is another, unlenited example in the same text. It is interesting that the unlenited example is followed by other names that are not usually, or cannot be, lenited (*leithid Catrìona NicGumaraid, Meg Bateman fhèin, is Anna Frater*), unlike the lenited example, which is followed by male names in the genitive (*leithid Chatrìona NicGumaraid, Aonghais MhicNeacail, Mhaoilios Chaimbeul agus Fhearghais MhicFhionnlaigh*).

Table 6: *Mai(gh)read, Mairearad*

Lenited	Unlenited
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> troimh inntinn Mhairearaid (68) do dh'fheallsanachd Mhairead Thatcher (337), làmh / inntinn Mhairead (400120), bho theachd Mhairead (401017); teachd / bho linn Mhairearad (401017) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> mu bheatha Maireid (202), àite / dorus tigh Maireid (245), piuthar Maireid (251), còta Maireid (310), mu dheidhinn Maireid (317), bràthair / beul Maireid (400021), àite Maireid (400038), tigh Maireid (400046, 400054), inntinn / cuimhne / gnùis / copan bròin Maireid (400068), às deaghaidh Maireid (400199); as leth / de bhàrdachd / de dhàin / cadal / seanmhair / air cridhe / de rannan / air facail Mairearaid (315), gàirdeanan Mairearaid (400111), buadhan Mairearaid (68) sgairtean Mairead (245), barail Mairead NicDhòmhnaill (400017), dreuchd Mairead NicAsgaill (400057), còta Mairead (400106), airson Mairead (400159, 400183), [a'] faicinn Mairead (400167), inntinn / àite / slàinte Mairead (43); buadhan Maighread Òig (3); a dh'ionnsaigh / leisgial Mairearad (68)

Table 7: *Màiri*

Lenited	Unlenited
<p>Fàinne Mhàiri (246, 400138), naidheachd Mhàiri Nic an Rothaich (289), bàrdachd Mhàiri Mhòr nan Oran (324), uaigh Mhàiri (334 x2), sùilean Mhàiri Magdalena (336), guth Mhàiri-Anna (39), amhaich Mhàiri-Anna (39), ri taobh Mhairi-Anna (39), leth-cheann Mhairi-Anna (39), mu dheighinn Mhàiri (400012), a' ceasnachadh Mhàiri (400028), slàinte Mhàiri (400032), fo rian Mhàiri (400037), naidheachd réitich Mhàiri Ruaidh agus Chaluim Fhionnlaigh (400052), athair Mhàiri (400052), deoch-shlàinte Mhàiri (400052), ciste Mhàiri Ruadh (400061), sliasaidean Mhàiri (400085, 400122), taigh Mhàiri (400126), mu dheidhinn Mhàiri (400137), òran Mhàiri</p>	<p>Orain Màiri Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh (11), an aghaidh Màiri (14), Bàrdachd Màiri (201), làmhan Màiri (205), tigh Màiri Dhuibh (217001), a thaobh Màiri (217003), uaireadair Màiri Mhurchaidh (217004), bràthair Màiri (218004), piuthar Màiri (234001), sròn Màiri Bhig (244), dorus Màiri Anna (248), etc.</p>

Challard (400142), tigh Mhàiri is Thormoid (40), mac Mhàiri Chaluum (500005 x2)	
Beinn Mhàiri (319)	Baile Màiri (400008, 400014, 400058, 400079, 400102), Cnoc Màiri (400045)

Table 8: Marsaili

Lenited	Unlenited
	uaigh agus leac Marsaili Nic Ualraig-Friseal (400007), obair Marsaili NicUalraig-Friseal (400011), airson Marsaili (400143); am fianuis Marsailidh (42)

Table 9: Mòrag

Lenited	Unlenited
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • iomhaigh Mhóraig (244), bàrdachd Mhóraig (400092), comhairle Mhòraig (40), o làimh Mhóraig fhéin (62) • eathar Mhòrag (400171), dearbh bhriathran Mhorag fhein (40) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cridhe Moraig (217001, 313), òr-fhalt boidheach Mòraig (218004), gràdh Mòraig (244), Moladh Móraig (291, 400025), leithid Móraig (310), seanair Móraig (310), ìomhaigh Mòraig (313), inntinn Mòraig (400009), etc. • guthan Móraig Eachainn agus Tormod⁵⁹⁸ a' Mhaighstir (245)
	Cill Móraig (400065)

Table 10: Peigi(dh)

Lenited	Unlenited
còmhlachadh Pheigi Anna (2), sconaichean / aodann Pheigi (39), màthair Pheigi (400032, 400044), a-rèir Pheigi (400164)	màthair / gàirdean Peigi (202), aodan Peigi (205 x2), aig ceann tigh Peigi bhàin (217004), dorus / cridhe / fo thagradh Peigi (234001), taigh Peigi (23, 317, 321), mac Peigi (289 x2), màthair / gàire Peigi (301), dealbh Peigi (313), màthair Peigi (400009), tigh Peigi (400027), gàire Peigi (400044), etc.

⁵⁹⁸ The nominative form after *agus*!

Table 11: Seonag

Lenited	Unlenited
guidheachdan Sheonaig (329), air glùin Sheonaig (400089), màthair Sheonaig (400143)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> màthair / bàs Seonaig (14), a thigh / a dh'iarraidh / a' ceasnachadh Seonaig (204), rathad / mu chridhe / gu cluasan Seonaig (244, 313, 400023), 'n cuideachd / ceann / an aghaidh Seonaig (400080), an inntinn / smuaintean / misneach / aodann / earbsa Seonaig (43) pàrantan / do thigh / mu dheidhinn / air athair Seonag (198), as aonais / air sgàth Seonag (204), leithid Seonag (333), achlais Seonag (400072)

Table 12: Seònaid

Lenited	Unlenited
iomhaigh Sheònaid (217003, 401011), ìomhaigh Sheònaid (400160), pòca Sheònaid (302), buille Sheònaid (334), Murchadh Sheònaid (39), teas-sgaoileir Sheònaid (400062), fàinneachan Sheònaid (400145), cruth / reidhlic Sheonaid (401011)	màthair Seònaid (14), cruth Seònaid (217003), naidheachdan Seonaid (244), do thigh Seònaid (244), gnogadh Seònaid Uilleim (245, 313, 400054), air cùlaibh / gu tigh / air aodann Seònaid (245, 313, 400054), athair Seònaid (310, 400109), briathran Seònaid (313, 400032, 400036), laige gaol Seònaid (400042), taigh Seònaid (400186), bràthair Seònaid (42), cridhe / cluasag Seònaid (43), banais Seonaid (57), leithid / lachan / sgaiteachd / naidheachd Seònaid (64), bruthach Seònaid (68)

Table 13: Sìne

Lenited	Unlenited
aig banais Shìne (39), fiabhras Shìne (400099), cridhe Shìne (400143), a' sireadh làimh / mu dheidhinn Shìne (400164), guala Shìne (400170), ri inntinn Shìne (40), an ceann / mu dheidhinn / ag iarraidh Shìne (42)	guth / màthair Sìne (245), sùilean / air aghaidh / athair / coire / an inntinn / mac-meanmna / air spiorad / an coinneamh / cridhe / aodann / gnùis Sìne (305), aodann / gruidhean / air sgàth / malaidh / guth / trioblaidean / gualainn / às deghaidh / cuimhne Sìne (321), an ceann Sìne (400005), air tigh Sìne (400035), athair Sìne (400135), màthair / casan / a' sìor mholadh Sìne (400143), sùilean / cridhe Sìne (43),

	beachd / aonaranachd / aodann / air ceann Sìne (57), ri glùn / air tigh / sùil Sìne (69), etc.
	Bothag Sìne (400027)

7. Compound words

7.1 Compound words: Types of compounds in Gaelic and hyphenation and lenition in Gaelic compounds

1. Introduction: types of compound words

Compound words can be divided into two main groups, according to the position of the head vs. modifier (or the generic vs. specific element).

- left-branching (modifier (M) + head (H)), e.g. *mòrchuis, coilean, ro-ràdh, ath-leasaich*;
- right-branching (head (H) + modifier (M)), e.g. *tìr-mòr, taigh-seinnse*.

These can be further divided into sub-groups depending on (1) type of modifier and (2) stress pattern, which is addressed further below.⁵⁹⁹

Yet another way of classifying compounds is according to word class:

- nouns, e.g. *àrd-sgoil, taigh-òsta*;
- adjectives, e.g. *uile-chumhachdach, bàrr-bhuidhe*;
- verbs, e.g. *ath-leasaich, eadar-theangaich*.

Certain noun compounds act as part of compound prepositions or adverbial expressions, e.g. *a dh'aindeoin; a dh'aithghearr, an ath-bhliadhna*.

* * * * *

The following discussion is primarily based on an analysis of compounds and syntactic phrases read for that purpose by a native traditional Gaelic speaker and on other relevant information obtained from the same informant. Its overall aim is to understand compound formation better and to make recommendations for use of hyphens in modern Scottish Gaelic orthography. More precisely, the following four points have been addressed:

⁵⁹⁹ Certain compounds belong to both groups depending on the speaker or dialect, cf. pl. *dealbhan-cluiche* 'plays' (right-branching) and *dealbh-chluichean* (left-branching). See also §5.

1. Distinguishing between left-branching compounds and syntactic phrases, e.g. *fiorghlan* vs. *fior ghlan*;
2. Hyphenation vs. spelling of left-branching compounds as one word, e.g. *mì-chiatach* vs. *mìchiatach*;
3. Distinguishing between right-branching compounds (which should be hyphenated) and syntactic phrases, e.g. *taigh-beag* vs. *taigh beag*;
4. Lenition in right-branching compounds.⁶⁰⁰

The analysis focuses on phonological and phonetic properties of compounds (in comparison to syntactic phrases) and on their morpho-syntactic behaviour, with the aim of revealing regularities that could form the basis for recommendations for a straightforward set of rules for hyphenation in Gaelic. Following is a summary of the parts of Gaelic Orthographic Conventions (GOC) dedicated to compound words and hyphenation.

2. Gaelic Orthographic Conventions (GOC)

According to GOC, ‘compounds are generally hyphenated if they are regarded as constituting a unit’ – for example, if the paired words cannot be divided by an adjective. GOC gives lists of words that should be followed by a hyphen:⁶⁰¹

1. the nouns *àite*, *ball*, *bàta*, *ceann*, *clàr*, *còir*, *cùirt*, *culaidh*, *inneal*, *ionad*, *obair*, *rùm*, *seòmar*, *taigh* and *uidheam*, when preceding a noun in the genitive case (e.g. *àite-fuirich*, *taigh-bìdh*); but not the nouns *aithisg*, *comhairle*, *greis*, *iomairt*, *oifigeach*, *oifigear*, *òrdugh*, *plana*, *roinn* etc. (e.g. *comhairle baile*, *òrdugh cùirte*);
2. nouns denoting persons or groups: *bean*, *buidheann*, *fear*, *luchd*, *neach*, *sgioba*, *tè*, when followed by a common noun⁶⁰² (e.g. *luchd-eòlais*);
3. the prefix *ban(a)* when the stress is on the following word (e.g. *bana-phrionnsa*), but not if the stress is on the first syllable, when the compound is spelled as a single word (e.g. *banacharaid*);
4. nouns prefixed to other nouns (e.g. *bròn-chluich*);
5. adjectives prefixed to nouns (e.g. *dubh-fhacal*), but not adjectives that normally precede nouns (e.g. *iomadh oidhche*);
6. adjectives prefixed to other adjectives (e.g. *uile-chumhachdach*); with some exceptions stressed on the first element, which are spelled as single words (e.g. *mòrchuisseach*);
7. the word *fèin* prefixed to other words (e.g. *fèin-mheas*; *fèin-mhothachail*);
8. the word *ath* in adverbial expressions (e.g. *an-ath-bhliadhna* ‘next year’, but not *an ath bhliadhna* ‘the next year’);
9. suffixed emphatic particles (e.g. *mo leabhar-sa*), except with pronouns (e.g. *dhutsa*, but *leis-san*, to avoid *ss*);

⁶⁰⁰ Point 4 has been addressed only briefly.

⁶⁰¹ Paraphrased from: GOC, §5, pp. 7–8, and §10, pp. 14–15.

⁶⁰² Presumably also in the genitive, but GOC does not specify that.

10. most adverbs of time and place (e.g. *a-nochd*, *an-dè*, *a-mach*; but not *an seo/sin/siud*).

The following word combinations should not be hyphenated:

1. expressions with initial stress (e.g. *banrigh*, *aodomhainn*);
2. nouns separated by the article (e.g. *rùm na cloinne*);
3. noun + proper noun (e.g. *bàta Mhalaig*);
4. compound prepositions (e.g. *a rèir*, *ri taobh*, *os cionn*; but *airson*, and *carson*, *ciamar*);
5. compounds ending with *-eigin* (e.g. *cuideigin*; but *tè-eigin*, to avoid *èe*).

The numbers 11-19 and 50 are hyphenated, e.g. *aon-deug*, *dhà-dheug*, *leth-cheud*.⁶⁰³

Place-names are hyphenated only if they contain an element that has become obscure, e.g. *Earra-Ghàidheal*.⁶⁰⁴

However, groups 1 and 2 above contain numerous expressions which are ambiguous in terms of whether they should be hyphenated or not, e.g. *craobh dharaich*. Similarly, it is not always clear whether certain expressions found in groups 3 to 6 should be written as single words, or hyphenated, or written as two separate words, e.g. *mì-mhodh*, *leth-shùil*, *droch-shùil*.

3. Left-branching compounds

In this type of compound words, the modifier precedes the head. The modifier can be:

- a prefix: *eucoitach*, *co-ogha*;
- a preposition: *ro-innleachd*;
- a preposed adjective: *deagh-ghean*;
- other (noun, adjective, pronoun): *sluagh-ghairm*, *mòrchuis*, *fèin-mhothachail*.

According to stress pattern, left-branching compounds belong to one of the following four types:

1. primary stress + no stress ('MH);
2. primary stress + secondary stress ('M,H);
3. equal stress on both elements ('M'H);
4. primary stress on the second element (head) (,M'H or M'H).⁶⁰⁵

The less prominent part of the compound can undergo a degree of reduction, usually manifested as (at least partial) shortening of long vowels, centralisation of short(ened) vowels and loss of svarabhakti intonation. These and other properties of each type are discussed in §3.1–3.5.

⁶⁰³ GOC, §11a, p. 16.

⁶⁰⁴ GOC, §11f, p. 18.

⁶⁰⁵ The second element (modifier) can either bear secondary stress or be unstressed in this type. The latter might be just a variant pronunciation of the former in faster, less careful speech.

Certain compounds can belong to more than one stress pattern type, possibly depending on the dialect, but also on the speaker's familiarity with a particular compound. There also seems to exist free variation in individual speakers' realisations, for pragmatic and other reasons. Cf. the three different realisations of the word *mòr-dhàil* obtained from the same informant: 'mo:r,ɣal / 'mo:r,ɣa:l / 'mo:r'ɣa:l.⁶⁰⁶

If possible, the initial consonant of the head element is lenited in left-branching compounds.

3.1. Type 1 ('MH)

The initial syllable of the compound bears primary stress and the head element is unstressed. The originally stressed vowel of the head element can be heavily reduced, to the degree that it merges with [ə].⁶⁰⁷ Long vowels undergo complete shortening in this position.

Head with original short vowel:⁶⁰⁸

- [an]⁶⁰⁹ 'anaɪvɪŋ (*anfainn*), 'an^hɔχkið^j (*anshocair*); [ao] 'u:kələχ (*aocoltach*); [ban] 'banabi (*banabaidh*); [eu] 'e:gəɾəχ (*eucoireach*); [mì] 'mi:vΛɣ (*mì-mhodh*), 'mi:vəɣal (*mì-mhodhail*); [neo] 'nɔχɔð^jəχ (*neochoireach*), 'nɔ:ɣlan (*neòghlan*), 'nɔçɪəðəχ (*neoichiontach*);
- [far] 'fareɲem (*far-ainm*);
- [ath] ə'ɣaçaɾ (*a dh'aithghearr*); [deagh] 'dʒo:jən (*deagh-ghean*); [fior] 'fiəɾɣlan (*fiorghlan*);
- [àrd] 'a:ʃskəl (*àrd-sgoil*); [bròn] 'brɔ:nɣɪuç (*bròn-chluich*); [geur] 'g^jiərlən (*geur-lean*); [leabhar] 'lɛa-uɪtɛɲ (*leabharlann*); [leth] 'lɛç^jãɲ (*lethcheann*), 'lɛ-ɾð^jəχ (*lethoireach*); [oil] 'ɔlhɪj (*oilthigh*); [obair] 'obɪð^jɪtɛɲ (*obair-lann*); [speur] 'spe:rven (*speur-bhean*).

Head with original long vowel:

- [ais] 'aʃið^ji (*aiseirigh*);⁶¹⁰ [an] ə'ɣaɲaɲ (*a dh'aindeoin*), 'aɲɔɪ (*aineol*), 'aɲɔləχ / 'aɲaləχ (*aineolach*);⁶¹¹ [ao] 'u:dʒɪɲəχ (*aoidionach*); [as] 'asvɪŋ (*asbhuan*), 'askɪŋ (*ascaoin*); [bith] 'bivɪɲ (*bith-bhuan*); [co] 'kɔɣɔnəɣ (*codhunadh*), 'kɔləɲtə (*coileanta*), 'kɔləðəð^j (*coluadar*), 'kɔ:ɣal / 'kɔ:-al / 'kɔ:ð^o-al (*comh-dhail*), 'kɔ:ɾəɣ (*comhradh*); [eas] 'esəɲdəs

⁶⁰⁶ The informant was not sure of the meaning of *mòr-dhàil* and interpreted it as meaning 'great delay', rather than 'congress, parliament'.

⁶⁰⁷ It must be borne in mind that /ə/ has multiple realisations in Gaelic dialects, such as [Λ ə ɪ̃ ĩ], depending on phonetic environment.

⁶⁰⁸ This includes vowels followed by syllable-final *m*, *l* and *rr*, although some compounds may have been coined after the lengthening had already been carried through in this context.

⁶⁰⁹ Also: *ana-* and *ain-*. Similar variants exist in other suffixes: *ao(i)-*, *ban(a)-/bain-*, *neo(i)-*, *co(i)-/co(i)mh-*, etc.

⁶¹⁰ Or: aʃeð^ji.

⁶¹¹ The latter realisation is characteristic of the informant's dialect.

(*easaontas*); [eu] 'e:gɔr (*eucoir* ‘wrong’), 'esʎɲdʒəχ (*euslainteach*); [eil] 'elɪð'əχ (*eilthireach*); [mì] 'mi:ç'ɪdəχ (*mì-chiatach*);⁶¹² [so] 'sɔʃk'at (*soisgeul*);

- [far] 'færχ'əʃ (*farchluais*);
- [ath] 'ahadəχ (*athaodach*), ə'ɲaflaɲə (*an athbhliadhna*), ə'ɲãhɪç (*an ath-oidhch*); [droch] əɲ'drɔχɛr (*an Droch-fhear* ‘Devil’);
- [barr] 'barət (*barrall*), 'bærəd (*barrfhad*); [iòc] 'iəχk'ɪɲʃ (*iòcshlaint*); [leth] 'leçɪd (*leth-cheud*), 'leç'ɪləχ (*lethchiallach*), 'leχɾɔn (*leth-chrun*), 'leɪɪɪ (*leth-mhùle*); 'lehuɪ (*leth-shùil*); [moch] 'mɔχeð'i (*mocheirigh*); [mòr] 'mo:rχuʃ (*mòrchuis*).

These compounds are perceived as single words and many, but not all, are spelled as such (e.g. *soisgeul*, *mocheirigh* vs. *ath-oidhch*, *leth-chrun*).

Additionally, the spelling of the head element has been modified in some cases, to reflect its current pronunciation (e.g. *barrad* < *barr+fhad*; *barral* < *barr+iall*, *coilean* < *co+lìon*, *coitheanal* < *co+thional*). More often, the original spelling has been maintained, with only the length mark omitted where applicable (e.g. *aidionach*, *aindeoin*, *ascaoin*).

3.2. Type 2 ('M, H)

The modifying element bears primary stress and the head bears secondary stress. The originally stressed vowel of the head element preserves its original quality, but long vowels and diphthongs can undergo either partial or complete shortening.

Head with original short vowel:

- [an] 'ana,kərəm (*anacothrom*); [ao] 'u: ,do-ɲ (*aodomhainn*); [ban] 'bana,χarɪç (*banacharaid*);
- [deagh] 'dʒo: ,jɛn (*deagh-ghean*); [fior] 'fiəɾ,ɪʃk'ɪ (*fior-uisge*);
- [àrd] 'a:ʃ,dərəs (*àrdoras*);⁶¹³ 'a:ʃd,ɛspɪç (*àrd-easbaig*); [beò] 'bɛo: ,χɪɲɲɪ'χ (*beò-ghainmheach*); [dubh] 'du,çæɲəχ (*dubh-cheannach*), 'du,çɛʃʃ (*dubh-cheist*), 'du,əχkət (*dubh-fhacal*); [leth] 'le,vð'e (*leth-bhreith*), 'le,χar (*lethchar*), 'le,χɔlɛr (*leth-dholar*); [liath] 'liə,rə-əχ (*liath-reothadh*); [long] 'lɔuŋ,vð'ɪʃəχ (*long-bhriseadh*); [meanbh] 'mɪnə,χulag (*meanbh-chuileag*);⁶¹⁴ [mìn] 'mi:n,vð'ɪəχk (*mìn-bhreac*); [mòr] 'mo:r,χɪɪ (*mòr-choille*); [sluagh] 'sluə,χɪɾð'ɪɲm (*sluagh-ghairm*); [trom] 'trɪum,χadət (*trom-chadal*).

Head with original long vowel (preserved):

⁶¹² Meaning: outrageous, scandalous, disgraceful.

⁶¹³ The informant would spell this *àrd-doras* (probably because of two d's).

⁶¹⁴ In fact, *miona-chuileag*?

- [an] 'a:n, dʒə:nəx (*aindeonach*);⁶¹⁵ [bith] 'bi, ɛə:ləs (*bith-eòlas*); [comh] 'kɔ: ɤa: (*còmhrath*); [mì] 'mi: ɤa:lər (*mì-chàilear*), 'mi: ɤiə'təx (*mì-chiatach*);
- [fior] 'fiər, ian (*fìor-eun*); [prìomh] 'pɔ'ĩäv, valı (*prìomh bhaile*), 'pɔ'ĩäv, viniʃfið (*Prìomh Mhinistear*); [seann] 'ʃɛũə, duɤı (*seann duine*); [sìor] 'ʃiər, vɛə: (*sìor-bheò*), 'ʃiər, uaɤı (*sìor-uaine*);⁶¹⁶
- [àrd] 'a:ʃd, ɤu:ʃʃ (*àrd-chùirt*); [cas / cois] 'kas, ɤe:m (*cas-cheum*), 'kɔʃ, ɤuəɤ (*cois-shluagh*); [caol] 'ku:l, ra:dʒ (*caol-shràid*); [cìs] 'kʲi:ʃ, vũ:r (*cìs-mhaor*); [cuairt] 'kuəʃ, ɤu: (*cuairt-ghaath*); [eàrr] 'ɛaɤ ɤa: (*eàrr-ràdh*); [fèin] 'fe:n, ɛə:ləs (*fèin-eòlas*); [glòir] 'glɔ ɔ' dʲ, vĩäəx (*glòir-mhiannach*); [iomadh] 'iməɤ, i:ɤtʲı (*iomadh-fhillte*); [lèigh] 'le: ɤäũə (*lèigh-lann*); [leth] 'le, ɤɤuəʃ (*leth-chluais*), 'le, ɤuəʃʃ (*leth-chuairt*), 'le, fi:ɤtʲ (*leth-phinnt*); [letheach] 'le-əx, ɤä:n (*letheach-làn*); [meadhan] 'me-an, u:ʃən (*Meadhan-Aoisean*); [meadh] 'meɤ, vɤa: (*meadh-bhlàth*); [mòr] 'mo:r, ɤa:l (*mòr-dhàil*), 'mo:r, ɤuəɤ (*mòr-shluagh*); [muc] 'muçkʲ, ə'l (*muicfheòil*); [òg] 'ɔ:g, vĩəs (*Òg-mhìos*); [uan] 'uən, ɛə'l (*uanfheòil*).

Head with original long vowel (shortened):

- [ban] 'bana, ɤ' a'ʃd (*banacheard*); [fiar] 'fiəɤ, uləx (*fiar-shuileach*); [iom] 'imə, ɤu (*ioma-ghaath*); [moch] 'mɔx, rʰa-a-x (*mochthrathach*); [mòr] 'mo:r, ɤal (*mòr-dhail*), 'mo:r, ɤuʃəx (*mòrchuiseach*).

If the head element is monosyllabic and its vowel is either originally short (as in *àrd-sgoil*) or fully shortened (as in *mòrchuis*), it is often difficult to say whether it bears secondary stress or no stress at all. In other words, it is not always clear whether a compound belongs to Type 1 or Type 2. This is further complicated (1) by the realisation of certain vowels – e.g. original [i e a ə iə ia] – which can be barely (if at all) distinguishable from [ə] in this context, and (2) by the word rhythm, which can depend on the number of syllables in both elements, the presence or absence of length, etc.

3.3. Type 3 ('M'H)

Both parts of the compound bear equal stress.

- [an] 'an' a'biç (*an-abaich*); [ban] 'ba:n' edəɤdʒəx (*ban-Eadailteach*), 'ba:n' dʒiə (*bandia*), 'ba:n' dʒu:ɤk (*ban-diùc*), 'ba:n' iə'ɤə (*ban-iarla*), 'bau' əo-ə (*ban-ogha*); [sinn] 'ʃi: ʃɛnɛɤvəð' (*sinn-seanmhair*);
- [ath] 'a' βɛə-əxəɤ (*ath-bheothachadh*), 'a' a:s (*ath-fhàs*), 'a' i:ʃı (*ath-innse*), 'a' lesəxəɤ (*ath-leasachadh*); [droch] 'drɔx' ske:ɤ (*droch-sgeul*); [sìor] 'ʃiər' βuəɤ (*sìor-bhuain*), 'ʃiər' vað' əəx (*sìor-mhaireannach*); [seann] 'ʃɛũ' ven (*seann bhean*), 'ʃɛũə' duɤı (*seann*).

⁶¹⁵ Also spelled *ain-deònach*.

⁶¹⁶ Some of these examples are probably not 'true' compounds (see §3.5).

duine), 'ʃɛ̃ũɲ 'dwi:ɲi (x2, *seann daoine*), 'ʃɛ̃ũɲ 'asəndə (*seann-fhasanta*); 'ʃɛ̃ũɲ 'ɛr (*seann fhear* 'a new one'), 'ʃɛ̃ũ 'ɣlas (*seann-ghlas*);⁶¹⁷

- [aon] 'pi:bið'i əɲ 'ũnu 'fuʃʃ (*pìobaire an aon-phuirt*); [beag] 'beɣ 'χudʒ (*beag-chuid*); [brath] 'bra 'nɛ-əχk (*brath-naidheachd*); [bun] 'bun 'ɪaχk (*bun-reachd*); [ceithir] 'kʲe-ɪð'i 'χasəχ (*ceithir-chasach*); [craobh] 'krɯv 'sku:l (*craobh-sgaoil*); [cruaidh] 'krɯəj 'χa:s (*cruaidh-chàs*); [fad] 'fad 'uʃɲəχ (*fad-fhulaingeach*); [fèin] 'fɛ:n 'võhəχal (*fèin-mhothachail*); [geàrr] 'gʲa:ɾ 'χu 'ndəs (*geàrr-chunntas*); [làn] 'lã:n 'ɛ:ɔ:ləχ (*làn-eòlach*), 'lã:n 'u:ɲi (*làn-ùine*); [lèigh] 'lɛ: 'ɛ:ɔ:ləs (*lèigh-eòlas*); [leth] 'lɛ: 'lã:n (*leth-làn*), 'lɛ: 'hasnəχ (*leth-Shasannach*); [mòr] 'mo:r 'χudʒ (*mòr-chuid*); 'mo:r 'ɣa:l (*mòr-dhail*), 'mo:r 'rɔjɲ (*mòr-roinn*).

Type 3 might not be an independent stress pattern type, but rather a variant realisation of either Type 2 or Type 4, influenced by sentence intonation, pragmatic factors and similar,⁶¹⁸ cf. 'krɯv 'sku:l (*craobh-sgaoil*), with a stressed but fully shortened vowel, and krɯv 'sku:ləɣ (*craobh-sgaoileadh*) in §3.4.

3.4. Type 4 (,M'H / M'H)

The head element of the compound bears primary stress and the modifier either bears secondary stress or is unstressed. The head can undergo a degree of reduction, whereby long vowels are (partially) shortened but their quality is preserved.

- [an] ,ana 'kãĩdʒ (*ana-cainnt*), ,ana 'mĩãɲ (*ana-miann*); [ban] ,bana 'va:ʃd (*bana-bhàrd*), ,bana 'bɯdʃəχ [sic! no lenition] (*bana-bhuidseach*), ,bana 'vã-ɪʃt'ið'i (*banamhaighstir*), ,bana 'fð'iũ:sə (*bana-phrìonnsa*); [bith] ,bi 'vɛ:ɔ (*bith-bheò*);⁶¹⁹ ,bi 'vu:ən (*bith-bhuan*); [co] ,kə 'ɛmɛjʃið'jæl (*co-aimsireil*), ,kə 'u:ndiç (*co-aontaich*), ,kə 'vaundəχk (*co-bhanntachd*), ,kə 'çã-al (*co-cheangail*), ,kə 'χoməɲ (*co-chomann*), ,kə 'χu:ɲ (*co-dhùin*), ,kə 'χu:nəɣ (x2, *co-dhùnadh*), ,kə 'χaltə (*co-dhalta*), ,kə 'lɛhəs (*Co-fhlaitheas*), ,kə 'ɪəɲ (*co-ionann*), ,kə 'ɪəɲəχk (*co-ionannachd*), ,kə 'o-ə (*co-ogha*); ,kəm 'pa:ʃdʒ (*com-pàirt*), ,kəm 'pa:ʃdʒiç (*com-pàirtich*); [do] də 'jĩãndə (*do-dhèanta*); [eas] e 'su:ntə (*eas-aonta*), e 'ũ:ləχk (*eas-ùmhlaichd*); [iar] ,iər 'çɛ:mnɪçɪ (*iar-cheumnaiche*), ,iər 'çəɲ'suɲi (*iar-cheann-suidhe*); [iom] ,ɪmə 'çɔrəs (*ioma-dhoras*); [mì] ,mi: 'çl'u: (*mì-chliù*), ,mi: 'χð:ʃdal (*mì-chofhurtail*), ,mi: 'atəɲ (*mì-fhallain*), ,mi: 'nã:dərəχ (*mì-nàdarrach*), ,mi 'frə 'fɛʃəntə (*mì-phroifeiseanta*), ,mi: 'ru:n (*mì-rùn*); [neo] ,nə 'ɛʃɪmɪləχ (*neo-eisimeileach*), ,nə 'ɾð'ɲmal (*neo-fhoirmeil*), ,nə 'lɔχkəχ (*neo-lochdach*); [os] ,ɔs 'nã:dərəχ (*os-nàdarrach*); [so] ,sə 'jĩãndə (*so-dhèanta*);

⁶¹⁷ Some of these examples are probably not 'true' compounds (see §3.5).

⁶¹⁸ In this case, it might be a consequence of the 'list effect': the informant was reading from a list of words, which might have affected the intonation of certain words.

⁶¹⁹ According to the informant, *bith beò* would normally be expected here.

- **[eadar]** ˌɛdər'aum (*eadar-àm*), ˌɛdər'amal (*eadar-amail*), ˌɛdər'jaɦɪçdʒɪ (*eadar-dhealaichte*), ˌɛdər'lĩã:n (*Eadar-lìon*), ˌɛdər'vĩ:jɪɲɪç (*eadar-mhìnich*); ˌɛdər'hɛəŋgəxəy (*eadar-theangachadh*); **[ro]** ˌɹɔ'ĩ:ləxk (*ro-innleachd*);
- **[deagh]** ˌdʒo:'çl'iu: (*deagh-chliù*), ɛrdə'jʰo'γð:j (*air do dheagh-dhòigh*), ˌdʒø:'yʉ:rəxk (*deagh-dhùrachd*), ˌdʒø:'na:dər (*deagh-nàdar*), ˌdʒø:'ru:n (*deagh-rùn*); **[droch]** ˌdrəx'ʌŋɛɪm (*droch ainm*), əndrəx'a:ʃɪ (*an droch-àite* 'Hell'), ˌdrəx'kãĩɲtʲ (*droch cainnt*), ˌdrəx'aɲkət (*droch fhacal* 'abuse'), ˌdrəx'ɣatər (*droch ghalar* 'suffering'), ˌdrəx'nã:dərəx (*droch-nàdarrach*), ˌdrəx'hʉ:l (*droch-shùil*);⁶²⁰
- **[àrd]** ˌɑ:'ʃd' yʉ:-əx [sic! long u] (*àrd-ghuthach*), ˌɑ:'ʃd'i:ð'ɪ (*àrd-ìre*), ˌɑ:'ʃd'u'lar (*àrd-ùrlar*); **[beag]** ˌbɛg'fɛ:m (*beag-feum*), ˌbɛg'ʃɲɪ (*beag-seagh*); **[ceann]** ˌkĩã'ũ'la-ə (*ceann-latha*); **[ceart]** ˌkʲa'ʃt'çã:'nəx (*ceart-cheàrnach*); **[clò]** ˌklə'vuələy (*clò-bhualadh*);⁶²¹ **[coin]** ˌkɔɲ'iəxkəl (*coin-fhiacail*); **[craobh]** ˌkrʉv'sku:ləy (*craobh-sgaoileadh*); **[cuairt]** ˌkuə'ʃ'lihʃið' (*cuairt-litir*); **[cùl]** ˌku'ʰɲa:ɲəy (*cùl-chàineadh*), ˌku'ʰlɛũɲɪç (*cùl-shleamhnaich*); **[gnàth]** ˌɡna:'ɪsəxk (*gnàth-fhiosachd*); **[iomadh]** ˌimə'yɑ-əx (*iomadhathach*), ˌim'i:lʰɪ (*iom-fhillte*); **[làn]** ˌlã:n'çi:ɲʃəx (*làn-chinntech*), ˌlã:n'çɔ:'ɪ (*làn-chòir*), ˌlã:n'çɔ'ʃɪɲ (*làn-choisinn*), ˌlã:n'hi:dʒɪ (*làn-thìde*); **[mion]** ˌmin'skru:d (*mion-sgrùd*); **[muir]** muð'ĩã:n (*muir-làn*), mu'ʃ'ʃiãxk (*muir-tiachd*); **[trom]** ˌtrɔm'ʰɛ-ə (*trom-laighe*); **[uile]** ulə'xũ-əxkəx (*uile-chumhachdach*).

A large number of these compounds seem to contain a prefixal modifier and many are verbs (or verbal nouns). The head element is often polysyllabic. Prefixes and prepositions tend to be weakly stressed or completely unstressed, especially in verbs.⁶²²

3.5. Left-branching compounds vs. syntactic phrases

Differentiating between left-branching compounds and syntactic phrases generally does not present a problem – prefixal modifiers cannot function as independent words and most of the other morphemes that occur in this context cannot act as modifiers in left-branching syntactic phrases. Prepositions and numbers, which precede the head of the phrase, do not present a problem either since it is fairly clear that expressions such as *ceithir-chasach* or *ro-innleachd* are compounds, especially in context, cf. *fo-thiotal* (subtitle) vs. *fo thiotal* (under a title). Expressions that contain preposed adjectives, however, can be ambiguous.

Preposed adjectives can modify nouns (*deagh charaid*), other adjectives (*fìor mhath*) and verbs (*sìor fhàs*). This also means that they sometimes function as adverbs. Many such expressions are perceived as compounds, which is reflected in how they are spelled, e.g. *seannfhacal*,

⁶²⁰ Some of these examples are probably not 'true' compounds (see §3.5).

⁶²¹ *Clò*- almost completely unstressed here.

⁶²² On the other hand, intensifiers and similar (*fìor*, *sìor*) tend to be more prominent and are more common in types 2 and 3 (see §3.5). See Veronika Csonka (2019) The conceptualising function of Scottish Gaelic preposed adjectives. *Acta Linguistica Academica* 66/1, 31–68.

fiorghlan, deagh-ghean, sìor-mhaireannach. In some cases, however, it is not clear whether an expression should be considered a compound or a phrase.

This question can be resolved using criteria related to:

- word formation;
- syntax;
- morpho-phonology;
- stress pattern types;
- semantics.

3.5.a. Word formation

Some compound adjectives have been derived by suffixation from pre-existing expressions. The modifiers, therefore, cannot be regarded as separate words in the following examples:

- ,drəχ' nã:dərəχ (*droch-nàdarrach*) < [*droch nàdar*]+*ach*;
- 'ʃɛũ̃n' asəndə (*seann-fhasanta*) < [*seann fhasan*]+*ta*;
- 'ʃiər' vað'ə̃nəχ (*sìor-mhaireannach*) < [*sìor mhaireann*]+*ach*.

In terms of word formation, these do not differ from examples such as *mòrchuisseach*.

3.5.b. Syntax

Syntactic criteria include the 'constituent omission in coordination' test: when two expressions that occur in a coordinate structure contain an identical constituent, it is expected that this element can be omitted from one of the expressions, at least in certain contexts.

Neither of the two constituents, however, can be omitted from singular expressions.

- *deagh naidheachd agus droch naidheachd* 'good (news) and bad news';
- *seann chù agus seann chat* 'an old dog and (an old) cat';
- **deagh agus droch naidheachd*;
- **seann chù agus c(h)at*.

The modifier (but not the head) can be omitted when both expressions are plural.

- *seann choin is (seann) chait* 'old dogs and (old) cats';
- *deagh dhaoine is droch dhaoine* 'good people and bad people';
- **deagh is droch dhaoine*.

Additionally, an expression that can be modified by another preposed adjective as a single whole is more likely to be a compound.⁶²³

- 'kɛs, fð̃iãv, ,viniʃʃið̃j (leas Phrìomh Mhinistear).⁶²⁴

If *leas* is interpreted as a prefix, this example definitely is a compound since *leas* does not modify only the adjective (cf. 4.1.h).

3.5.c. Morpho-phonology

A relevant morpho-phonological feature is delentition of *c* after *droch* in certain expressions, which does not seem to be productive anymore.

- ,drɔχ'kãĩnt̪ (droch cainnt);
- ,drɔχ'kɔɲu (droch coinneamh);⁶²⁵
- ,drɔχ'kɔləs (droch coltas).⁶²⁶

Also: *droch cleachdadh*.

Cf. *droch chù / chat / chàise / chomhairle*, etc.

On the other hand, some of these expressions might still be syntactic phrases, and the absence of lenition may merely represent an old feature preserved in set expressions, cf. *Millidh droch coluadar deagh bheusan*.

3.5.d. Stress pattern types

Type 1 is the only pattern that includes compounds alone, while the other three types include both compounds and syntactic phrases. It is clear, therefore, from the stress pattern alone, that the first expression in each row below is a compound, whilst the interpretation of the other ones depends on other criteria.

- 'mo:rɣuʃ (mòrchuis) vs. 'mo:r'ɣudʒ (mòr-chuid);
- 'kɔ̃:(ɣ)al (còmhdhail) vs. 'mo:r, ɣa:l / 'mo:r, ɣal (mòr-dhàil);
- 'kɛhul (leth-shùil) vs. 'kɛ, ɣtuəʃ (leth-chluais);
- 'fiərɣlan (fìorghlan ‘pure’) vs. 'fiər, ɣlan (fìor ghlan ‘really clean’);

⁶²³ Tertiary stress indicated by , , .

⁶²⁴ The use of the hyphen in Gaelic is probably partially influenced by the practices adopted in English, e.g. *Prìomh Mhinistear* ‘Prime Minister’. According to the informant, this is a newly-coined expression, the older word being *prìomhaire*.

⁶²⁵ As in the curse: *droch coinneamh air!*

⁶²⁶ As in: *Tha droch coltas oirre* (referring to weather).

- 'fiəryɫan (*fiorghlan*) vs. 'fiər,vã (*fior mhath*);
- əɲ'drɔχɛr (*an Droch-fhear* 'Devil') vs. əɲ'drɔχ'ɣuɾɲɪ (*an droch dhuine* 'the bad man');
- ə'ɲafləɲ (*an athbhliadhna* 'next year') vs. ə'ɲa'vliəɲ (*an ath bhliadhna* 'the next year').

Cf. also: *tro mhì-chliù agus dheagh-chliù* 'through evil report and good report' (2 Cor. 6:8), both with initial stress, unlike e.g. *deagh chliù*, *deagh dhùrachd*, *deagh nàdar*, *deagh rùn*, which are all stressed on the head element.⁶²⁷

3.5.e. Semantics

Expressions whose meanings do not follow directly from the meanings of their constituent parts are more likely to be compounds.

- əɲ'drɔχ'hu:l (*an droch-shùil* 'evil eye') vs. ,drɔχ'hi:dʒɪ (*droch shìde*);
- əɲdrɔχ'a:ʃɪ (*an droch-àite* 'Hell') vs. əɲ'drɔχ'a:ʃɪ (*an droch àite* 'the bad place').

This may also be true of expressions that have a more specific meaning.

- 'pɔ'ĩäv, valɪ (*prìomh bhaile* 'capital city');
- 'pɔ'ĩäv, viniʃʃɪð' (*Prìomh Mhinistear*).⁶²⁸

* * * * *

When all these criteria are considered, it seems that the following expressions can be regarded as syntactic phrases:

- [seann] 'ʃɛ̃ɲɲ, duɾɲɪ (*seann duine*), 'ʃɛ̃ɲɲ'duɾɲɪ (*seann daoine*);
- [deagh] ,dʒo:'çɪ'u: (*deagh chliù*), ,dʒø:'ɣu:rəχk (*deagh dhùrachd*), ,dʒø:'na:dər (*deagh nàdar*), ,dʒø:'ru:n (*deagh rùn*);
- [droch] ,drɔχ' [aɲɛ]m (*droch ainm*).

The following ones, for example, could perhaps be treated as compounds since they have more specific meanings.

- [deagh] ɛrdə, j'ə'ɣɔ:j (*air do dheagh-dhòigh*);
- [droch] ,drɔχ'aχkəɫ (*droch-fhacal* 'abuse'), ,drɔχ'ɣaɫər (*droch-ghalar* 'suffering').

⁶²⁷ The informant does not perceive the latter expressions as compounds but merely as combinations of an adjective and a noun.

⁶²⁸ Cf. §3.5.b.

There are indications, however, that all expressions that contain a preposed adjective are, in fact, (loose/marginal) compounds. This may be implied, for example, by the above-mentioned ‘constituent omission in coordination’ test, which mainly yields ungrammatical expressions in this case. In any case, if all such expressions are interpreted as a type of compound, it also becomes clear why they cannot be modified by intensifiers such as *glè* or *ro*, which modify only adjectives, whilst they can be modified by intensifiers such as *fìor*, which (also) modify nouns, cf.

- 'fìər ɣrɔχ, nã:dər (*fìor dhroch nàdar*);
- 'glè: ɣrɔχ, nã:dərɔχ (*glè dhroch-nàdarrach*);
- **glè dhroch nàdar*.

Additionally, when a preposed adjective functions as an adverb modifying a verb / verbal noun, the whole expression acts as a compound: the modifier regularly precedes the verb / verbal noun, whereby both words follow aspect particles (*ag*, *air*), pronoun objects (*gam*, *gad* etc.) and inverted objects, and the modifier is lenited in the past tense, e.g.

- ə'fìər, ɣɔt ə'fʰo-əs (*a' sìor dhol am feabhas*);
- ə'fìər, vɔlɔɣ (*bha Seumas a' sìor mholadh a bhràthar*);
- ga' hìər, vɔlɔɣ (*bha e ga shìor mholadh*);
- 'ɣrad' hɔɪɪɪɪ (*ghrad tharraing Seumas thuige an ròpa*);
- ə'ɣrad' hɔɪɪɪɪ (*bha e ag iarraidh an ròpa a ghrad tharraing thuige*);
- ə'ɣrad' hɔɪɪɪɪ (*bha Seumas air an ròpa a ghrad tharraing thuige*);
- eð'ɪ, ɣrɔχ' l'ɔ:n (*air a dhroch leòn*);
- eð'ɪ, j'ɔ: 'βlathɔɣɔɣ [sic! short a] (*air a dheagh bhlàthachadh*).

Such constructions, however, appear to be compounds chiefly in terms of syntax, as shown, whereas semantically, they are closer to phrases since their meaning follows from the meanings of their constituent elements. They are ambiguous in terms of stress: many belong to Type 4, but those that contain an intensifier tend to belong to types 2 and 3.⁶²⁹

4. Right-branching compounds

In right-branching compounds, the head element is always a noun and the modifier can be one of the following:

- a genitive noun: *luchd-obrach*, *maighstir-sgoile*;

⁶²⁹ Both elements are more or less equally prominent in all these examples, but the modifiers appear slightly more prominent in some.

- an adjective: *taigh-beag*, *tìr-mòr*;
- an adverbial expression (rare), e.g. *cur-seachad*, *ar-a-mach*.

All right-branching compounds are nouns. In the vast majority of examples, it is the head element that inflects for case and number (but cf. *cur-seachadan*, with an adverb as modifier). If the modifier is an adjective it agrees morphologically with the head.⁶³⁰ Regarding stress patterns, these compounds mainly belong to Type 4, although Type 3 realisations have also been attested (see §4.1.a).

4.1. Right-branching compounds vs. syntactic phrases

Unlike the left-branching structures discussed in §3.5, right-branching expressions are often ambiguous in terms of whether they are to be interpreted as compounds or as syntactic phrases. This can depend on how well-established an expression is in the language. Many such expressions are newly-coined terms that refer to governing and administration, e.g. governing bodies, groups, job titles and roles, documents, etc. Some refer to modern facilities, institutions, organisations, events, etc. These can be unknown to traditional speakers and, consequently, perceived as syntactic phrases when encountered. Many were calqued on corresponding English expressions. Others may not necessarily be of recent origin but they still tend to be perceived as phrases rather than compounds. Their modifiers are either descriptive or restrictive and can refer to the material, origin, function, purpose, or another property of what is denoted by the head noun.

In many cases, the head noun can refer to a part or section of what is denoted by the modifying noun (e.g. *mullach beinne*) or it can provide a singulative meaning when the modifying noun is collective (e.g. *duine cloinne*).

The following criteria can help determine whether an expression is a compound or a syntactic phrase.

- stress pattern types;
- hypernymy;
- head- or modifier-omission in coordination;
- position of determiners;
- position of adjectives;
- pluralisation of the modifier;
- use of the genitive;
- use of preposed adjectives.

⁶³⁰ For lenition in the modifier, see §7.

4.1.a. Stress pattern types

Right-branching compounds mainly belong to Type 3. Even in careful speech, the head element can undergo a degree of reduction, which may involve vowel shortening and centralisation, contraction of hiatus syllables and loss of svarabhakti intonation. In some older compounds, the head has been changed beyond recognition, e.g. ,arə'maχ (*ar-a-mach*, possibly from *èirigh a-mach*).

Presumably, the degree of reduction depends on how well-established a compound is in the language, on its frequency in everyday communication, on the properties of the first element (chiefly its length) and on speaking rate. This means that reduction may be less considerable in long words (which includes most plural forms) and in less frequently used expressions or those of a more recent origin. At least in older and more frequent compounds, however, the head element is expected to be relatively more prominent than in similar syntactic phrases.

On the other hand, Type 4 realisations have also been attested in compounds. They are believed to arise as a consequence of sentence intonation and pragmatic factors.

Examples of **short vowel reduction**:

- tə'beg (*taigh-beag* 'toilet'), bərə'kuilɾy (*bara-cuibhleadh*).

The entire first element was almost completely devoiced in the latter example. Also: barə'kuilɾ (*bara-cuibhle*). This type of reduction has not been noted in other examples:

- 'maχk'mənɛmnə (*mac-meanmna*);
- ,bagə'guəɫɾɪ (*baga-guailne*), ,binə'skudɪl (*biona-sgudail*), ,bɔgsə'li:tð'ɪçɪn [sic! long i] (*bogsa-litrichean*), ,bɔhən'a:ð'i (*bothan-àirigh*), ,kaɟʰət'grɾɲɛ'ɪç (*caisteal-gainmhich*), 'klaxən'mɛɫɾɲ (*clachan-meallain*), ,k'ɪjɪ'ɟɲaχkə (*cuithe-sneachda*), ,ɟɛɟɪ'èðjəm (*deise-airm*), ,ɟɛɟɪ'snə:v (*deise-snà(i)mh*), ,dɔrəs'ɾjɪ (*doras-aghaidh*), ,ɪɲət'k'jɪ:ɪ (*inneal-ciùil*), ,ɪɲət'ɲi'dəð'ɛχk (*inneal-nigheadaireachd*), ,inəd'slɑ:ɲd'ɪ (*ionad-slàinte*), ,uɟɪm'gɫani (*uidheam-glanaidh*);
- ,kaɫəχən'du-ə (*cailleachan-dubha*), ,kaɫəχən'ɔɟɪ (*cailleachan-oidhche*), 'madɪjɪm'alɪ (*madaidhean-allaidh*).

Examples of **vowel shortening**:

- ,ɾvər'g'ɛrɾɲ / ,ɾ^vər'g'ɛrɾɲ (*adhbhar-gearain*);
- ɫem'adə (*leum-fhada*);
- maɟɟɪð'ɪ'skɔɪɪ (*maighstir-sgoile*), skɪnən'arɾɲ (*sgianan-arain*);⁶³¹
- ɟəmər'ɫa^hɾɪɟ (*seòmar-leapadh*).

Also: 'ɟəmər'ɫa^hɾə (*seòmar-leapa*).

⁶³¹ Unless this represents an alternative plural form: *sginean*.

In some examples, the head is fairly prominent although its vowel was shortened, possibly due to the ‘list effect’.

- 'bɔːfˠ tʰuːðʲi (bòrd-stiùiridh), 'kʉnəɲtˠ obrəχ (cùmhnant-obrach).

Length was preserved in other examples:

- ,aːfʲiˠ fahɨç (àite-falaich), ,kuːnɲdəsˠ sʲtuəj (cunntas-sluaigh), ,dãũsəˠ kʲeːm (dannsa-ceum), 'dɔːjˠ bəhə (dòigh-beatha), 'lʲuːnˠ du (leann-dubh), ,tʲlumˠ kɔnɨfʲkʲ (tom-conaisg), ,skɨənˠ arəɲ (sgian-arain);
- ,mʲaɨdʒɨnənˠ pɔːsɨ (maighdinnean-pòsaidh),⁶³² 'maɨfʲɨðʲmˠ skɔlɨ (maighstirean-sgoile).

Examples of **syllable contraction**:

- ,braˠðʲiˠ mahər [sic! short a]⁶³³ (bràthair-màthar); ,maˠðʲiˠ çeːlɨ (x2, màthair-chèile);
- ,lɔːɨˠ fə-ə (leabhar-latha),⁶³⁴ ,rʲadˠ moːɨ (rathad-mòr ‘highway’);
- ,tʲæˠnˠ bəgə (taighean-beaga ‘toilets’);
- 'rʲaˠdʒmˠ moːrə (rathaidean-mòra).

But: 'tʲæˠnˠ ɔːstə (taighean-òsta).

Loss of **svrabhakti intonation**:

- ,ɛɲmˠ aːfʲi (ainm-àite).

The **relative lack of prominence** of the head element in comparison to similar syntactic phrases.⁶³⁵

- təˠ bəg (taigh-beag ‘toilet’) vs. 'təjˠ bəg (taigh beag ‘a little house’);
- ,tʲæˠnˠ bəgə (taighean-beaga ‘toilets’) vs. 'tʲe-mˠ bəgə (taighean beaga ‘little houses’);
- duɲˠ uəsəl (duine-uasal) vs. 'duɲɨˠ fəːdʒɨðʲ (duine làidir);
- ,rʲadˠ moːɨ (rathad-mòr ‘highway’) vs. 'rʲa-ədˠ moːɨ (rathad mòr ‘a big road’);
- maragˠ ɣu (marag dhubh) vs. 'tʲunagˠ ɣu (tunnag dhubh).

However, no clear prosodic difference has been noted in the following expressions:

- ,aranˠ kɔɣkə (aran-coirce) vs. ,aranˠ bləstə (aran blasta);
- 'bɔnədʒˠ ʃɔːlədæðʲ / 'bɔnədʲiˠ hʲɔːlədæðʲ (bonaid s(h)eòladair ‘a sailor hat’ vs. ‘a sailor’s hat’);
- 'gʲlʲəɲəχənˠ fianə (glainneachan fiona ‘wine glasses’ vs. ‘glasses of wine’);
- 'duːɲˠ uəʃlɨ (daoine-uaisle) vs. 'duːɲɨˠ fəːdʒɨðʲ (daoine làidir);

⁶³² Also: mʲaɨdʲəɲən (maighdeannan).

⁶³³ Perhaps understood as bràthair m’ athar.

⁶³⁴ Cf. 'lʲa-ɔːlʲaɲ (leabharlann).

⁶³⁵ It has to be noted, however, that some of the following phrases had an unnaturally prominent stress on the head element, presumably to emphasise the contrast to the preceding compound.

- 'baːtʃɪnˈaʃɪgʲ (bàtaichean-aiseig) vs. 'baːtʃɪnˈgʲalə (bàtaichean geala);
- 'tɛɛnˈkləˌçɪ (taighean cloiche) vs. 'tɛɛnˈuːrə (taighean ùra).⁶³⁶

NB: On the other hand, reduction also occurs in double-barrelled personal names, which are not compounds and where one name does not modify the other.

- *Dòmhnall Iain* /dɔ̃lˈiəɲ/.

4.1.b. Hypernymy

One possible criterion for an expression to be a compound is that its head element cannot act as hypernym⁶³⁷ in subsequent references to it. For example, the expressions *taigh-beag*, *taigh-òsta* and *taigh-seinnse* are compounds since they cannot be replaced by the word *taigh*; that is, for example, a toilet or a pub cannot be referred to as just *taigh* in any context. On the other hand, *bòrd-stiùiridh* appears to be a syntactic phrase, since a management board can be referred to as *bòrd* in certain contexts.

On the other hand, this is not always reliable, since the difference described above is based on semantics, and not on syntax. The meanings of the first three examples do not follow from the meanings of their constituent parts: a toilet is not a house, nor would a hotel or a pub normally be described as a house nowadays, but a management board *is* a board. This does not necessarily mean that *bòrd-stiùiridh* is not a compound. Other such examples are *bàt'-aiseig*, *rathad-mòr* and *sgian-arain*, which are normally regarded as compounds.

Additionally, some nouns that function as the heads of compounds are rarely (if ever) used as independent words now, at least in their original meanings, e.g. *luchd* ‘people’ or *bean* ‘woman’ (rather than ‘wife’). That is one of the reasons that workers (*luchd-obrach*) or a midwife (*bean-ghlùine*) are not referred to, respectively, as only *luchd* or *bean* in any context.

4.1.c. Head or modifier omission in coordination

When two syntactic phrases that share one of the two elements occur in a coordinate structure, the shared element cannot be omitted if each phrase refers to a different entity.

- *craobh dharaich agus craobh ghiuthais* ‘an oak tree and a pine tree’;
- *mullach cnuic agus mullach beinne* ‘a hilltop and a mountain top’;
- **craobh dharaich agus ghiuthais*;

⁶³⁶ These expressions, however, might all be syntactic phrases, except *duine-uaisle* and, probably, *aran-coirce* and *bàtaichean-aiseig*.

⁶³⁷ A hypernym is a word whose meaning includes the meanings of a set of other words, e.g. the noun *animal* is the hypernym of the nouns *dog*, *cat*, *cow*, *sheep*, *fox*, *lion*, *giraffe*, etc.

- **mullach cnuic agus beinne*.

When two phrases refer to the same entity, omission is possible. It also makes sense to regard these examples as single phrases with multiple modifiers.

- *taigh fiodha agus cloiche* ‘a house made of wood and stone’;
- *plana leasachaidh agus gnothaich* ‘a development and business plan’ (a single plan);
- *cion bìdh is dighe* ‘lack of food and drink’.

Head omission is always possible with plural expressions. Modifiers are pluralised if they refer to more specific entities (cf. §4.1.f).

- *taighean fiodha agus cloiche* ‘houses of wood and of stone’;
- *craobhan giuthais agus daraich* ‘pine trees and oak trees’;
- *òrain luaidh agus tàlaidh* ‘waulking songs and lullabies’;
- *uighean chearc is thunnagan* ‘chicken and duck eggs’;
- *mullaichean chnoc agus bheanntan* ‘hilltops and mountain tops’.

Such omission appears to be impossible in singular and collective compounds, although it is acceptable in some plural examples.

Singular (countable and mass nouns):

- **taigh-òsta agus bìdh* ‘a hotel and a restaurant’;
- **feòil-caorach agus mairt* ‘mutton and beef’.

Collective:

- **luchd-lagha agus smàlaidh* ‘lawyers and firemen’;
- **luchd-iùil agus turais* ‘guides and tourists’.

Plural:

- *taighean-seinnse ’s bìdh* ‘pubs and restaurants’;
- *bàtaichean-aiseig is teasairginn* ‘ferries and lifeboats’;
- *maragan-dubha ’s geala* ‘black and white puddings’;
- **madaidhean ruadha ’s allaidh* ‘foxes and wolves’.⁶³⁸

The same applies to modifier omission in the following expressions:

- **fear- agus bean-taighe*;
- **fear agus bean an taighe* ‘the man and woman of the house’.

This can be compared to the issue of hypernymy (see §4.1.b).

⁶³⁸ According to the informant, the adjective *allaidh* might seem to refer to the foxes in this example.

Cf. also the following:

- *piuthar athar is piuthar màthar* ‘a paternal aunt and a maternal aunt’;
- *piuthar m’ athar is piuthar mo mhàthar* ‘my paternal aunt and my maternal aunt’;
- **piuthar athar is màthar* (vs. *bàs athar is màthar*);
- *bràitheran athar is màthar* ‘paternal and maternal uncles’.

4.1.d. Position of determiners

Regardless of whether an expression is a compound or a syntactic phrase, the definite article tends to precede it if its modifying element has either a descriptive or a generic meaning.

- *an luchd-obrach*;
- *an sgian-arain*;
- *a’ chraobh dharaich*;
- *am bòrd-stiùiridh*;
- *am plana leasachaidh*.

This, however, is not the case if the modifier has a specific meaning, i.e. if it refers to a particular entity, e.g.

- *bean an taighe* (the specific house);
- *comhairle a’ bhaile* (the specific town/city);
- (?) *a’ chomhairle baile*.

Note that there are expressions that may be semantically indefinite although they contain the definite article, e.g. *dallag an fhraoich*, *car a’ mhuiltein*.⁶³⁹

The same applies to possessives, cf.

- *m’ eachdraidh-beatha* ‘my biography’;
- *eachdraidh mo bheatha* ‘the history of my life’ (i.e. ‘my history’).

The modifier *beatha* has a generic meaning in the former example and a specific meaning in the latter.

Since compounds are single lexemes, whose constituent elements cannot be separated by other words, it makes sense to interpret all expressions with an intervening determiner as phrases. On the other hand, not all expressions with a preposed determiner are compounds, e.g. *a’ chraobh ghiuthais* (cf. §4.1.e).

⁶³⁹ Cf. also simple nouns such as *am bradan* ‘salmon (in general)’.

Additionally, certain expressions tend to act as syntactic phrases when a determiner is present, since their modifiers are treated as referring to specific entities in that context:

- *piuthar mo mhàthar* ‘my (maternal) aunt’ (lit. ‘my mother’s sister’).

However, they act as compounds when indefinite. In the following examples, the words *dhomh* and *eile* modify the whole expression, not just the preceding noun.

- *piuthar-màthar dhomh*;⁶⁴⁰
- *bràthair-athar eile dhomh*.

Similarly, they can act as compounds even when definite, as in the following examples:

- *am bràthair-màthar eile* ‘the other (maternal) uncle’;
- *am bràthair-athar as òige* ‘the youngest (paternal) uncle’;
- *mo bhràthair-athar eile* ‘my other (paternal) uncle’;
- *mo bhràthair-athar as òige* ‘my younger/youngest uncle’;
- *mo bhràthair-athar a tha nas òige* ‘my younger uncle’.

Similarly:

- *bean an taighe*;
- *bean-taighe òg*;
- *mullach an taighe*;
- *mullach-taighe ùr*;
- **mullach ùr taighe*.

The following expressions are syntactic phrases:

- *meadhan na h-oidhche*;
- *beul an latha*;
- **am meadhan-oidhche*;
- **am beul-latha*.

Cf. also: *deireadh na seachdain* (traditional) and *an deireadh-seachdain* (presumably calqued on English ‘weekend’).

The expression *co-là breith* seems to be a compound: *mo cho-là breith*.⁶⁴¹

4.1.e. Position of adjectives

⁶⁴⁰ NB: The word *màthar* is never lenited in this expression (cf. §7).

⁶⁴¹ This is not a traditional expression, according to the informant.

Since compounds are single lexemes, adjectives that modify a compound are expected to follow the whole expression:

- marag' yu' v̩lastə (*marag-dhubh bhlasta*);
- **marag bhlasta dhubh*.

Expressions whose constituent parts can be separated by adjectives should probably be regarded as syntactic phrases.

- 'gɑ:ɾə' k̩l̩t̩t̩ɾ̩' fadə (*gàrradh cloiche fada* 'a long stone wall');
- 'gɑ:ɾəy' fadə' k̩l̩t̩t̩ɾ̩ (*gàrradh fada cloiche* 'a long wall, made of stone').

All three words have more or less equal stress and pitch. The fact that the wall is made of stone is more important in the first example. Similarly, depending on which modifier is perceived as more essential:

- *taigh fiodha mòr* 'a big wooden house';
- *taigh mòr fiodha* 'a big house made of wood';
- *craobh ghiuthais mhòr*;
- *craobh mhòr ghiuthais*;
- *tom conaisg beag*;
- *tom beag conaisg*.

However, some expressions act as compounds when indefinite and as phrases when definite (cf. §4.1.d).

- 'k̩ð:¹ʎ̩' bal̩' u:r (*comhairle baile ùr*);
- **comhairle ùr baile*;
- 'k̩ð:¹ʎ̩' val̩ (*comhairle a' bhaile*) (the specific town).

Similarly:

- *mullach taighe ùr* 'a new roof';
- **mullach ùr taighe*;
- *mullach ùr an taighe* 'the new roof' (the specific house).

Cf. also the following example, with hiatus reduction in the first element:

- ,a' ʃk̩¹' k̩ð:¹ʎ̩ɾ̩' adə (*aithisg comhairleachaidh fhada*);
- *aithisg fhada comhairleachaidh* (the fact that it is long is emphasised).

4.1.f. Pluralisation of the modifier

When the modifier is a genitive noun that has a generic meaning, it does not have to agree with the head noun in number.

- *cèis-litreach*;
- *cèisean-litreach*.

Similarly: *mnàthan-taighe* ‘housewives’, *deiridhean-seachdain* ‘weekends’.⁶⁴²

When the modifier refers to entities that are more specific, it is normally pluralised if the head noun is plural.

- *mullaichean bheanntan* ‘mountaintops’;
- *mullaichean thaighean* ‘roofs’.

The same expressions can be interrupted by modifiers (see §4.1.d).

4.1.g. Use of the genitive

If the modifier is a noun, its genitive form is expected to occur in a compound, e.g. *sgian-arain*, *luchd-obrach*. In syntactic phrases, however, the nominative form has become more common, e.g. *blas aran*. This is especially true of singular masculine nouns and, according to the informant, *blas aran* feels more natural now than *blas arain*. Similarly, *glainne fìon* is more common than *glainne fiona*, even when its meaning is ‘wine glass’ (cf. also §4.1.a).⁶⁴³

Genitive forms of feminine nouns appear to be more common, even in syntactic phrases, e.g. *mullach beinne* (also nom. *mullach beinn*), especially with definite nouns: *mullach na beinne*.

4.1.h. Use of preposed adjectives

Most preposed adjectives occur with both compounds and syntactic phrases, cf. *seann taigh-bheag* ‘an old toilet’ and *seann taigh beag* ‘a little old house’.

However, while intensifiers such as *fìor* normally modify compounds, they seem to occur very rarely with phrases (*Corpas na Gàidhlig* examples).

- *fìor bhean-taighe* ‘a real housewife’ (§400022);
- *fìor dhuine-usal* ‘a real nobleman’ (§400031).

Similar expressions that involve syntactic phrases are rare in *Corpas na Gàidhlig*, although the informant finds such examples acceptable.

⁶⁴² These are not traditional expressions, according to the informant.

⁶⁴³ The variant *glainne-fhiona* ‘wine glass’ has been obtained from another source.

- *fìor* [sgoilean Gàidhlig] ‘real Gaelic schools’ (§400022);
- *fìor* [bhodach dòigheil] ‘really decent old man’ (§400036).

5. Exocentric compounds

There are compounds that are difficult to classify into either of the two main divisions discussed above. They function primarily as adjectives, but some are nouns derived from adjectives by conversion. In terms of stress, they belong to Types 1 and 2.

- 'bɑ:ɤβujɪ (*bàrr-bhuidhe* ‘yellow-topped’);
- 'tʁuɤ.jɑɫ (*tonn-gheal* ‘white-waved’);
- 'bru: jɪɛraɪg (*brù-dhearg* ‘red-bellied; robin’).

In terms of syntax, they look like right-branching structures, cf. *brù dhearg* ‘red belly’ and *brù-dhearg* ‘red-bellied’. This seems to be supported by semantics too, since the colour adjective describes the preceding noun. On the other hand, the second element is lenited regularly in these expressions, which is typical of left-branching structures, e.g. *bàrr-bhuidhe*. Cf. also the variant plural forms *brùthan-dearga* ‘robins’ (which looks like a right-branching structure)⁶⁴⁴ and *brù-dheargan* ‘robins’ (seemingly left-branching).⁶⁴⁵

In fact, these compounds can be described as exocentric, i.e. lacking a head. Note, for example, that the noun *brù* is feminine, whilst *brù-dhearg* ‘robin’ is masculine (possibly derived from *eun brù-dhearg*). This means that *brù* cannot be the head of the compound.

Although they may be ambiguous in terms of classification, it is clear that these expressions are compounds and, as such, they should be hyphenated.

6. Expressions comprised of multiple elements

There are compounds that consist of three elements, e.g.

- ,iəɾ çɑɤ'suɪjɪ (*iar-cheann-suidhe*);
- 'lɛs, fð'ĩäv , ,viniʃfið' (*leas Phrìomh Mhinistear*).⁶⁴⁶

In the first example, the right-branching compound *ceann-suidhe* acts as the head of a larger compound which is modified by the prefix *iar-*. The head of the second expression is the left-branching structure *Prìomh Mhinistear*. This appears to be a compound too since the modifier *leas* refers to it as a single whole (cf. §3.5.b).

⁶⁴⁴ Robertson, B. & I. MacDonald (2010) *Essential Gaelic Dictionary*. London: Teach Yourself.

⁶⁴⁵ Watson, A. (2011) *The Essential Gaelic-English / English-Gaelic Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

⁶⁴⁶ The double secondary stress mark indicates tertiary stress here.

Cf. also examples such as *neach-pàighidh cìse* ‘taxpayer’, where the expression *pàigheadh cìse* ‘tax-paying’ acts as the modifier and should hence be interpreted as a compound.

7. Lenition

Modifiers of right-branching compounds are expected to be lenited in leniting environments, where applicable. However, that does not seem to always be the case.

Genitive nouns modifying feminine nominative singular nouns in right-branching compounds are normally lenited, but there are exceptions, cf.

- *bean-ghlùine*;
- *sgoil-dhannsa*, *sgoil-dhubh*;
- *feòil-chaorach* vs. *feòil-muice*;⁶⁴⁷
- *leum-f(h)ada*;⁶⁴⁸
- *cairt-creideis*, *carragh-cuimhne*, *m’ eachdraidh-beatha*, *min-sàibh*.

Cf. also *tìr-mòr* (f.) which used to be neuter in Early Gaelic.

Cf. also *seacaid chlà* and *craobh dharaich*, which are probably not compounds.

Similarly, lenition can be absent after a plural noun that ends with a slender consonant.

- *cinn-suidhe* vs. *cinn-chinnidh*;
- *fir-glanaidh*;
- *fir-pàighidh*.

However, the modifier tends to be lenited more regularly after a genitive masculine noun:

- *doras an taigh-sheinnse*;
- *ainm a’ chinn-chinnidh*;
- *tìotal an òrain t(h)àlaidh*.

The expression *òran tàlaidh* seems to be a syntactic phrase, rather than a compound.

The same applies to dative case forms.

- *air a’ chairt-chreideis*;
- *anns an fheòil-mhuice*;
- *anns an eachdraidh-bheatha*;
- *anns an taigh-sheinnse*.

⁶⁴⁷ *Chaorach* could be genitive plural here!

⁶⁴⁸ This, however, may depend on which gender the word *leum* is in a particular dialect.

8. Conclusions

According to the relative position of the head and modifier, Scottish Gaelic compound words can be divided into two groups: left-branching compounds (modifier+head) (e.g. *mòrchuis*, *ro-ràdh*) and right-branching compounds (head+modifier) (e.g. *fear-lagha*).

Left-branching compounds belong to one of four stress pattern types. Prosodically, Type 1 compounds behave as single words (initial stress, no secondary stress) and should be written as single words (e.g. *mòrchuis*, *neòghlan*). Compounds that belong to Types 3 and 4 should be hyphenated (e.g. *ban-iarla*, *craobh-sgaoil*, *mì-nàdarrach*). Type 2 compounds (primary stress+secondary stress) can be difficult to distinguish from Type 1 ones so it might be advisable to write them as single words too (e.g. *lethchluais*, not *leth-chluais*).

Left-branching expressions consisting of a preposed adjective and a noun can be ambiguous in terms of whether they should be considered ‘true’ compounds or not. Those that belong to Stress pattern type 1 can be considered as such and written as single words (e.g. *fiorghlan*).⁶⁴⁹ Otherwise, expressions that have metaphorical or more specific meanings are likely to be compounds and should be hyphenated (e.g. *droch-shùil*).

All right-branching compounds are nouns that belong to stress pattern types 3 and 4. In many cases, however, it is unclear whether such an expression is a compound or a syntactic phrase (e.g. *bòrd stiùiridh*, *craobh ghiuthais*, *bràthair màthar*). Compounds (which should be hyphenated) can be identified using the following criteria: (1) The head element of a compound can undergo a significant degree of reduction. (2) The head of a compound cannot act as a hypernym in subsequent references to what is denoted by the compound. However, the converse is not true of phrases. (3) The omission of constituents is not allowed with singular, collective and some plural compounds. (4) The two parts of a compound cannot be separated by determiners or adjectives. However, some compounds act as phrases when definite (*comhairle a’ bhaile*, *piuthar m’ athar*). (5) Noun modifiers of compounds are never pluralised. (6) Noun modifiers of compounds are in the genitive case, whilst the nominative is common in phrases. (7) Unlike compounds, phrases are rarely modified by preposed intensifiers.

Lenition is not completely regular in right-branching compounds and unlenited modifiers often occur in leniting contexts. This irregularity may be less common in the genitive (masculine) and dative (both genders) singular.

⁶⁴⁹ But *deagh-ghean* (to avoid *ghgh*).

7.2 Recommendations from a purely linguistic point of view

In view of what has been said thus far, the following recommendations can be made:

- Left-branching compounds belonging to Stress pattern type 1, which act as single words prosodically, morpho-syntactically and semantically, should be spelled as single words, e.g. *mòrchuis*, *lethcheud*.
- Other left-branching compounds should be hyphenated, e.g. *ro-ràdh*, *ath-leasaich*.
- Left-branching expressions whose modifiers are preposed adjectives should be treated as ‘true’ compounds and written accordingly:
 - (a) they belong to Stress pattern type 1, e.g. *fiorghlan*;
 - (b) if their meaning does not follow strictly from the meanings of their constituent parts, e.g. *an droch-shùil*.
- Other left-branching expressions whose modifiers are preposed adjectives should be written as separate words, e.g. *droch shìde*, *deagh nàdar*, *sìor fhàs*.
- Right-branching expressions that are not compounds should be written as separate words. These function as groups of separate lexemes, both morpho-syntactically and semantically, e.g. *craobh ghiuthais*, *taigh fiodha*.
- Right-branching compound words, which act as single lexemes in every respect, should be hyphenated, e.g. *luchd-obrach*, *taigh-beag*.
- Right-branching expressions that behave like phrases in certain contexts and like compounds in others, should perhaps be hyphenated in the latter case, e.g. *piuthar d’athar* ‘your aunt’ vs. *a’ phiuthar-athar eile* ‘the other aunt’.

An alternative solution would be to follow the practices used in Irish, i.e. (a) writing all left-branching expressions as single words, with the hyphen used only to avoid sequences of two identical letters or lenited consonants; and (b) writing all right-branching expressions as two separate words.

Notes on symbolisation

Vowels

/a a:/ tend to be slightly retracted [ɑ̃ ɑ:] in certain contexts (next to rʲ, ɫ, ɲ, when nasalised).

/ə/ can be slightly centralised [ɔ̃] (possibly next to dentals).

/u u:/ are normally centralised [ü ü:] in most contexts (not next to velar(ised) sounds).

/u̯ u̯: ʏ ʏ:/ are centralised: [ü̯ ü̯: ʏ̯ ʏ̯:].

/ɤu/ usually has a lower onset – close to [Λu].

/iə uə/ can be realised as [ia ua] in some contexts (before *n ch*).

Schwa has various realisations depending on context – transcribed [ə] in most cases. It appears to be lower and slightly retracted before /ɲ ɫ ɣ/. Next to a slender consonant, it is /i̯/ – transcribed /ɪ/ here.

Originally stressed vowels undergo reduction in the unstressed or more weakly stressed part of a compound, whereby they still seem to retain some of their original quality. Short vowels are centralised to a degree in this context and are often difficult to distinguish from the realisations of [ə], e.g. *o* sounds like /Λ/ in *mìmhodh*, *eucoir*, *àrdoras* (the realisation of *schwa* could be a higher sound?). Long vowels and diphthongs can be shortened fully or partially. Fully shortened realisations can also be difficult to distinguish from [ə], e.g. *ia* sounds like /ʲΛ/ or /ʲɤ/ in *mìchiatach*, *lethchiallach*, possibly *lethcheud*, while *schwa* would be realised as /i̯/ (?).

Short onglides/offglides that sometimes occur between a slender consonant and a back vowel have been largely ignored in the transcription.

Phonetic glottal stop can occur initially before a vowel: 'ʔa-'ʔa:s (*ath-fhàs*). This was omitted from the transcription.

Consonants

Orthographical *p t c* are aspirated word-initially – transcribed /p t tʰ k kʰ/ here. Preaspiration occurs immediately following a stressed short vowel. Weaker preaspiration seems to occur after a stressed long vowel or diphthong. Elsewhere *p t c* do not seem to differ from *b d g*.

Orthographical *b d g* are more or less voiceless word-initially and word-finally – transcribed here /b d d̥ g g̊/. They can be (partially) voiced when between voiced segments, especially after nasals.

Slender *t d* are palatalised affricates /tʰ d̥ʲ/ – transcribed /tʰ d̥ʲ/ here. After /ɫ n/, they can be closer to palatal stops – transcribed /tʲ dʲ/ here.

Broad *l* is velarised /ɫ/. Unlenited slender *l* is palatal /ʎ/. Its lenited counterpart sounds slightly palatalised /lʲ/ – transcribed /l/ here.

Slender *r* is realised as palatalised dental approximant – transcribed /ðʲ/ here.

Initial broad *r* is realised as /r̥/ – transcribed /r/ – and it lenites to /r̥/.

Before dentals, *r* and *rr* are both realised as /r̥/ which can rhotacise the preceding vowel partially. Retracted/velarised /ʃ/ is inserted between *r* and *t/d*. Before *d*, it is faint and the preceding vowel is rhotacised in the final phase. /ʃ/ is slightly voiced before *d*, but *d* itself is voiceless. Before *t*, *r* is either absent or very faint, with some rhotacisation in the final phase of the preceding vowel.

The difference between *r* and *rr* is not completely clear in the recordings – transcribed /r̥ r̥/.

Hiatus

It is usually faint but still clear when stressed. It is not always clear in unstressed contexts.

Epenthesis

It is not always obvious in less stressed position.

Stress and pitch

NB: Since the informant was reading from a list of words, the intonation of many words differs from that expected both in isolation or in connected speech.

The words tended to start with high pitch even when the initial element was weakly stressed or unstressed. This influenced the relative loudness of such elements.

At least in some cases, however, weaker stress was reflected as some form of reduction (vowel shortening, contraction, etc.).

The words tended to end with a rising or high pitch, in anticipation of the following word. This added prominence to the final element of some compounds which might normally be less prominent.

Where consecutive words differed in one of the two elements (e.g. *mòrchuis*, *mòrchuid*) the different element was sometimes emphasised in the second word, which may not reflect the natural pronunciation.

Pitch is closely related to stress in Gaelic. Stressed syllables are normally louder and higher-pitched, but syllables bearing secondary stress can be higher-pitched than the stressed syllable in the recording due to ‘list intonation’.

Originally stressed vowels in the prosodically weaker part of a compound appear to be more prominent than *schwa* even if they are short. This creates the impression of secondary stress. This is especially true of the third syllable (*anacothrom*) or the first syllable of a polysyllabic first element (*eadar-mhìnich*). Polysyllabic elements generally tend to bear either primary or secondary stress.

Long and half-long vowels are more prominent than short vowels in the same contexts.