

EDWARD LHUYD'S 'GEIRIEU MANAWEG' II

IN publishing in *Studia Celtica* xiv/xv (1979–80) 130–167 the list of Manx words from the National Library of Wales MS 13,234A, pp. 73–128 in the hand of William Jones, one of Lhuyd's assistants, I reserved some questions of interpretation, the implications of the spelling and the contribution the collection can make to our knowledge of Manx at the beginning of the eighteenth century, for treatment at a later date. As James Carney and David Greene were the editors of the volume of essays in memory of Angus Matheson in 1969 in which an earlier discussion of Lhuyd's Manx material appeared, it is perhaps not unfitting that the subject should be resumed, in the light of the fuller information now available, in this volume of *Celtica* dedicated to Professor Carney. By kind invitation of Professor D. Simon Evans I was able in a public lecture at St David's University College, Lampeter, in April 1980, to make some general points about the falsification of apparently reasonable conclusions drawn from scanty evidence (the Manx words in *Archaeologia Britannica* 290–98) by the discovery, by Mr Dafydd Ifans in the National Library of Wales, of the fuller collection of material from which it had been extracted; but the discussion of the details was unsuitable material for a lecture.

Lhuyd used as his questionnaire the classified vocabulary known as Ray's *Dictionariolum*. The parallel collection made by Lhuyd in person in Gaelic Scotland (published in 1963 by Dr J.L. Campbell and Professor Derick Thomson) is the author's autograph, but the Manx collection survives only in a copy which, though made by the supposed collector, is not free from the suspicion of copyist's errors. The response to the questionnaire in Man was less satisfactory than in Scotland; about 960 questions were answered out of some 2400 up to the point in section XXVIII where the collection breaks off. The quality of the response also leaves a good deal to be desired: apart from the omission of many terms which are known to have been current, and the failure, noted in Scotland also, to answer the question in the form it should have elicited, there is a surprisingly large proportion of English words offered as responses. Considering that only a century earlier Bishop Phillips had been able to translate the Book of Common Prayer without recourse to new borrowings, and the clergy in 1707 were able to translate Bishop Wilson's greatly expanded version of the Catechism (the first printed book in Manx), it seems that either the fieldworker had not been very discriminating in his choice of informants or else that it was difficult to find someone whose English was good enough to understand the questions and who nevertheless had a full command of the vocabulary of Manx. If we were to take the responses to the questionnaire at face value we should be obliged to regard Manx at this time as more impoverished and loan-ridden than the evidence of the writing during the rest of the eighteenth century shows it to have been. The nature of the questionnaire limits the information it can provide in another way: it is predominantly a list of nouns, and so provides little in the way of morphology or syntax except incidentally. Its major contribution, therefore, must be to pronunciation and vocabulary. The latter has perhaps been sufficiently dealt with by publishing the text with some notes, and so it is to pronunciation, orthography and morphology that I now turn.

Lhuyd was clearly aware of the differing orthographic conventions of the languages he handled and was ready to criticise them in themselves quite apart from appreciating the possibilities of misapprehension they might give rise to in the inexpert reader. Hence both his proposals for the reform of Welsh spelling and his modification of Irish orthography in the sections dealing with comparative etymology. He did not, however, develop a thoroughgoing phonetic alphabet independent of the orthography of natural languages, but in taking down pronunciations of other tongues mostly applied the conventions of his native Welsh. This method has its limitations in such matters as the indication of the quality of consonants in Gaelic, and the Welsh rules of vowel quantity and the position of the accent cannot be applied to such transcriptions. Lhuyd's remarks on seeing printed Manx in 1707 suggest that he had not previously seen the language written, though he was aware of the existence of Phillips' translation. It is even less likely that William Jones was equipped for his first encounter with the language, and he seems to have followed much the same methods as his principal.

Accordingly quantity in vowels is generally not indicated. There is occasional marking of length by doubling: *daanah*, *shèe*, *lèena* (all etymologically long), *laastah* (open-syllable lengthening), *kraà*, *eendoug* (long by crasis); *phòor*, *poondregh*, *jòdlin*, *boord*, four examples of *moòr*, *yynn* (the first by crasis, the second, fifth and sixth etymologically long, the third open-syllable lengthening, the fourth before *-rd*); despite the similarity of *moor* to the later *mooar*, and the earlier evidence for *mwar*, this spelling must indicate long *o*, probably open; the exceptional spelling *mar*, if correct, is puzzling. An alternative and rarer method is the use of intervocalic *h*: G. *bán* is usually *ben*, but once *behen*; *miol* is *mihil*; *kyhi* and *fybùr* are disyllables with silent *-th-* and *-gh-* respectively, and might imply a continuing hiatus; *maith* is sometimes *mai*, but generally *maihi*, *moihi*, which accords well with the Manx [a:i] diphthong with its long first element.

The two accents used are the grave (frequently, over 180 examples) and the circumflex (rarely, a dozen examples). There is some consistency in the use of the accent when the same word recurs. Approximately half the occurrences of the grave accent (a) are found on vowels which are etymologically or otherwise long; (b) approaching 40 more examples are found over vowels (usually long) in syllables other than the first, which bear the stress, either in single words, or in word groups written separately or as one; (c) the handful of examples of the circumflex also generally coincide with length; and (d) in the 20 or so examples of the grave on vocalic digraphs and trigraphs the intention may be to indicate the most prominent element in the sequence.

There are, however, a few instances which seem to run counter to these generalisations. In (a) *flàchr*, *bàle*, *stàpel*, *jòdlin*, *lòchi* seem to be examples of the lengthening of *a* and *o* in stressed open syllables in disyllabic words, producing [a:] and [ɔ:], in the case of G. *dealan* through the rounding influence of *l*; *àt*, *gàt*, on the other hand, have no reason for lengthening. Somewhat similar, but in monosyllables and therefore presumably associated with the nature of the final consonant, is the lengthening implied in the spelling *bòch* (with loss of *-t*), *jòch*, *tchàs*, *glàs*, *kàss*, *jàsh*. In *phòllen*, *dòrus*, *gòbag*, *mèlys*, *mànnan*, *mònnel*, *shàru*, *spòrran* the vowel is not long and indication of the stress is superfluous. In (b) the

indication of stress, if that is the intention, is almost invariably correct, but note *sibèr* where, despite G. *suipeár*, there is no Manx evidence that the final syllable was long and attracted the stress, unlike the parallel *jinnair*, which did; in PB none of the occurrences of *shibber* is accented. Other cases in which the accent may be misleading are *kàbwn*, *trènshwr*, both with final stress; *marù* and *tarù*, both with initial stress; *skadàn*, *ylàn* in which the accented vowel is neither long nor stressed; and *wystèe*, *tidè*, *ylèe*, *gortè*, *stragè*, in which the accent appears to be used only to mark -è as a syllable (but why -èe?).

Stressed vowels

1. The spelling of English loanwords may give some guidance here. Some were obviously recognised and spelt in the English fashion: *backside*, *basket*, *basin*, *belt*, *bit*, etc. Others are slightly modified: *alym*, *bashfwl*, *bedes*, *benge* (voicing of *bench*), *plade* (*b-*), *bowlt*, *breckwas* (breakfast), *brést*, *button*, *kaptén*, *clow[t]*, *kodlin*, *krèm*, *chùk*, *chorrecksìwn*, *chousyn* (all three with lenition of *k-*), *kyver*, *krewel*, *kylyr* (colour), *dybled*, *eklips*, *gòl* (gall), *glàs*, *harti*, *lesy* (lazy), *marbl*, *mery*, *name/nàme* (uncle), *nòt* (n-aunt), *nevy* (nephew), *nys* (niece), *ffilory* (lenition of *p-*), *pitty*, *poynnt*, *pùr*, *pyding/pwding*, *quil*, *quir* (quire), *rwé*, *rwé*, *ròst*, *shryg* (shrug 'undergrowth'), *shoor* (shore), *smel*, *snayl*, *snèg*, *snwff*, *sor* (sore), *stabyl*, *stuck*, *tàst*, *tike* (ticking), *tyn*, *voiss*.
2. A third group shows inflection; all are plural nouns, verbal adjectives, or verbal nouns: *bakyt*, *bellusan*, *bloty*, *britchin*, *broylyt*, *creadyt*, *dotèl*, *dremal*, *faintal*, *fightel*, *fryet*, *furnishel*, *hookyn*, *klespyn*, *lohyt*, *manneryn*, *mincyt*, *mistakyt*, *nyrsel*, *repental*, *singel*, *snyffèrin*, *stewyt*, *stàpel*. (The verbnoun endings are written *el* or *al* but only in *dotèl* [dote, be senile] is there a possible indication that *-el* is the stressed form and *-al* the unstressed; this accords with other evidence for *dotèl* and *dremal*, but *singel* and *stàpel*, the only two to occur in later records, should in that case have *-al*).
3. These examples introduce us to some of the features of this Welsh-based transcription: *y* for [ə] in *alym*, *stabyl*, and second *y* of *kylyr*; for [ʌ] in *kyver*, *dybled*, *shryg*, *snyffèrin*, and the first *y* in *kylyr*, and perhaps *pyding*; for [ɪ] in *tyn*, and perhaps *lesy*, *mery*, *nevy*, *pilory*, *pitty*, but *harti* (if these spellings are not purely English); and for [i:] in *nys*; *w* for [u(:)] in *bashfwl*, *button* (retaining the rounded vowel), *kùk*, *pùr*, *pwding*, *rwé*, *rwé*, *snwff* (with rounded vowel), *stuck*, but not in *hookyn*, and surprisingly not in *kousyn*, which if not simply following the English spelling may indicate a diphthong perhaps similar to those in *bowlt*, *clow[t]*; *ò* in *gòl*, *nòt* must be long open *o* while *ròst*, and perhaps *shoor* at this date, are presumably close; *â* is an unlikely symbol for [e:] in *tàst*, but cf. *bakyt*, *creadyt*, *mistakyt*, all firmly English-based. Generally speaking, the English loans are too much under the influence of the orthography of their source language to give much information.
4. The native vocabulary, free from such associations, proves more consistently informative. Gaelic *á* (including, in Manx, some unroundings of *ó* and lengthening of short *a* by loss of a following intervocalic spirant and before unlenited *r*). Phillips generally has some variant of *a*, and the later orthography *a*, *aa*,

a-e, but the sound is long open *e* (or an even closer *e*, except before *r*, in recent pronunciation). Phillips may have had [a:] in these words, not [ɑ:], but Lhuyd has unmistakable evidence of the fronting and raising in his use of *e* for this phoneme: *eèr* 'gold', *ben* 'white', *brèg* 'shoe', *breyr* 'brother', *klèr* 'platter', *kren* 'ague', *ffène* 'ring', *gerachdi* 'laughter', *greswl* 'gracious', *'igèch* 'smoke', *lèr* 'mare', *neeri* 'shame', *snèd* 'needle', *spèn* 'spoon', *steèlyn* 'steel', *strèd* 'street', *treach/treiach* 'hay'. A few bases vary between *e* and *a*: *aritleirid* 'linen'; *breyr* but gen. *brara* 'brother'; *klèr* but *klâr-* in a phrase; beside *greswl* the simplex *gràs* 'grace', and derivative *grazwlach*; and *larwÿ* beside *lair* 'floor', which can hardly be meant as a diphthong. Many words, however, continue to appear with *a*: *alyn* 'fair', *aàn* 'liver', *ààra* 'kidney', *àg* 'young', *ballim* 'I wish', *barni* 'limpets', *kàg* 'jackdaw', *cardus* 'relationship', *kasy* 'cheese', *kraa* 'tremble', *da(a)nab* 'bold', *gàre/gara* 'garden', *granegh* 'ugly', *gàr* 'short', *kiàr* 'left(hand)', *laiegh* 'day', *làn* 'great quantity', *pa* 'thirst', *snà* gen. of *snai* 'thread'.

5. Gaelic *a* (including, in Manx, some occurrences of the unrounding of *o*, and of *e* before a non-palatal consonant): *achyres* 'hunger', *na haglys* 'of the church', *achlyss* 'armpit', *agne* 'mind, affection', *anym* 'soul', *arget* 'silver', *ark* 'piglet', *aran* 'bread', *arw* 'corn', *arim* 'respect', (MS *-in*), *asneigh* 'rib', *àt* 'swell', *bannieigh/banni* 'milk', *bàle/balli* 'town', *balw* 'dumb', *banacht* 'blessing', *bass* 'palm', *badgjol* 'cloud', *kab* 'jaw', *kabach* 'stammering', *kabyl* 'horse', *kadlagh* 'sleep', *kage* 'war', *kaistal* 'castle', *kass* 'foot', *kassachdi* 'cough', *caston* (with intrusive *-t-*) 'path', *'ichàs/chàsh* 'heat', *'ichiasycha* 'fever', *'ichania* 'tongue', *klagyn* 'skull', *klashtyn* 'hear', *kalwach* 'heifer', *kallach* 'boar', *kragen* 'skin', *kramp* 'plague', *aleg* 'hiccough', *anal* 'breath', *billefarnach* 'alder', *fàni* 'wart', *faman* 'tail', *flachr* (sic) 'rain', *falom* 'empty', *f[r]as* 'shower', *garw* 'rough, coarse', *ganiach* 'sand', *gàt* 'gate', *glass* 'lock', *glass* adj. 'blue', *galdy* (for *galry*, metathesis of *gallradh*) 'disease', *jargyn* 'flea', *jàsh* 'south', *'shalk* 'prickle', *chat* (len.) 'cat', *kalk* 'chalk', *kallach* 'cock', *kadip* 'hemp', *laby*, gen. *labach* 'bed', *lananshi* 'nightmare', *[l]anw* 'child', *laastah* 'negligent', *ladeglladdeg/ladheg* 'side', *lass* 'step-', *mack/mac* 'son', *majil/maji*, pl. *majìn* 'stick', *mànnan* 'kid', *màrge* 'market', *marù* 'dead', *mart* 'beeve', *mala* 'eyebrow', *na* 'second', *ala* 'swan', *alys* 'sweat', *amwydach* 'foolish', *amydan* 'fool', *parten* 'crab', *pàghe* 'sin', *rass* 'seed', *raden* 'rat', *skadog* 'ray (fish)' later *scarrag*, *shap* 'shop', *shàrw* 'bitter', *shassw* 'stand', *shagyl* 'rye', *skadàn* 'herring', *slat* 'rod', *smàrw* 'grease', *snachdy* 'snow', *salen* 'salt', *tarnach* 'thunder', *tagylw* 'speak', *tachus* 'itch', *tarw* 'bull', *tash* 'moist', *tastyr* 'thresher', *talw* 'earth', *tanagh* 'thin'.
6. There is some evidence here for a different distribution of *a/o* and *a/e* from the standard orthography:

a corresponds to later *o*: *badgjol/bodjal*, *kloch* etc./*clàdigh*, *kalwach/collbagh*, *kallach/collagh*, *falom/follym*, *galry/gorley*, *malal/mollee*, *ala/ollay*, *alys/ollish*, *amwydach/lommijagh*, *raden/roddan*, *shagyl/shoggyl*, *salen/sollan*; reversed in *sonash/sannish* or *sonnish*. The *o* development is explicit in *jòdlin*, *moiden*, *olach* and probably *mawda*, gen. *modi*, later *moidyn*, *ollagh*, *moddey*.

a varies with or corresponds to *e*: *ban(n)*, *ben-*, *benn/ben*, *breck* 'mackerel, trout' and *brèck* 'smallpox'/*brack*, *breck* according to sense, *bredan/braddan*, *anallennal*, *far*, *fer/fer far-*, *ganiach/genniagh jerg/jiarg* (and also *kiark!*),

'shalk/jiolg, kallach/kellagh, pàghel/peccab, Phillips pecky, skadàn/skeddan.

In the *i*-diphthongs the spelling is consistently *ai, ei*: *kleigh, leigh, maistyr* (later *mainshter*, with nasalisation), *mai* etc., *sail, saildy* (later *sailjey*, with explicit palatal quality), *sei*[L]sy/-se, *tailteigh, treigh* (later *trie*); *bry* 'malt' seems to have an English use of *y*.

In the *u*-diphthongs there is a variation between diphthonging and rounding-with-lengthening: *àwn/làon, g-awstrynach, giewshiwn, djewesh, 'lawr, rowor*, but rounding in *phòor, lyor, ostal, g-orus*, and some uncertainty about *shawk, sault*. The later spellings are *awin, gounstyrnee, jeushan, jouish, liauyr, foawr, lioar, ostyl, ourys* (diphthong), *shawk, soalt*. Before unlenited *-nn* in monosyllables there is diphthonging in *'yawn, kawn*, but the former is later *joan*, and the latter alternates with *kion* later *kione*. In such cases the standard orthography often chooses arbitrarily between alternatives and both rounded and diphthongal pronunciations are recorded in modern times.

7. Gaelic *éa, eu* divides in Manx as elsewhere, (a) partly preserving the original sound (as *éi* always does), and (b) partly breaking into a diphthong identical with *ia*; there are also some less common developments.

(a) *bestin* 'toothache' (lit. 'beasts'), *breinn* 'stinking', *brèg* 'a lie', *'tchè, chè* 'hot', *kre* 'clay', [y]n *èst, est* 'moon', *phèr* 'grass', *phèe* 'sinew', *gèr* 'sour', *dhjierg* 'alms', *lèena* 'meadow', *lène* 'shirt', *lemi*[n] 'moth', *merlych* 'thief', *mer, mèr,* 'finger', (unstressed *mir-* in *mirmèn, mir beg, mar-* in *maràn*), *mèn, men* 'mine'.

(b) *buel* 'mouth', *ien-* 'bird', *giech, jiach* 'look', *kiacht* 'handle (of plough)', *niel* 'fit, swoon'.

In final syllables: (stressed) *bodè*[L] 'bottle', *minèr* 'my dinner', (unstressed) *mannel, mònnel, monnel*, (len.) *wannal* 'neck'. Before *d*: *ydach* 'clothing', *adyn, edyn* 'face', *ydrym* 'light', *ydrymagh* 'lightness', *tjyd* 'halter', like SG *aodach, aotrom, taod*, but instead of *aodann* we seem to have shortening as in later *eddin*. Against modern *jannoo*, which points to shortening, the spellings here for *déanamh*, i.e. *jene, genow* are unrevealing, and *gwnw* must involve some miscopying. The spelling *kè* 'mist', can hardly represent *ceo*, but may derive from the stem *ceath-* of *cith* 'shower'.

8. Gaelic *ea, ei* are generally represented by *e, ei*: *reck* 'sell', *kreig* 'rock', *cregyl* 'cliff', (cf. later *creggan*), *ed* 'nest', (*n-* lost to the article), *fedjeg* 'feather', *'tzèr* 'tal-low', (later *geirr*), *desh*, len. *ieist* 'fair, right', gen. *lesia* 'hip', *legorus* 'half-door', *meil* 'lip', *mèl* coll. 'reapers', *shèe* 'hide', *sheleigh* 'spittle', *sheshoch* 'company', *'zeirach* 'plough(-team)'. A few examples seem to imply *a* instead of *e*: *alyn* 'island', (later *ellan*), *maisti* 'drunkenness', (later *meshtey*), *maraiister* 'beaver' (if this really is a compound with *-fheascar*), *shialien* 'bee'; with *i* instead of *e*: *chinedgì* 'ringworm' (but the first element may be *tine* rather than *teine*, and it does not bear the main stress), *'chipe* 'spade', *ri* 'ram', possibly also *piach* 'person', but the loss of the medial consonant of *peacthach* is hardly expected so early and it does not accord with the modern pronunciation. Lengthening by loss of medial *dh* is probable in *mèg* 'whey' and *mèn* 'middle'. Vocalisation of *-bh-* appears in *bentraugh* 'widow', *dynetrough* 'widower'. In the standard spelling

- maarderys*, *-eirdr-* appears to fall in with the fronting of *á*, as does *maarliagh* above, but here the spellings *mandrys* (for *-dyrys*, *-drys*?) and *merlych* suggest different developments. The adverb *noir* 'east' presents a difficulty in comparison with later *niar* (and similarly *shiar*, SG *ear*, *òn ear*) and with Phillips *vei yn gniarr* 'from the east'.
9. Gaelic *í*, *ío* is represented by *i*: *bì*, *bi* 'food', gen. *chìde* 'of country' (= *tìre*), *Krìst* 'Christ', *ìk* 'pay', *ìi* 'suet', *im* 'butter' (lengthening before unlenited *m*), *fìer*, *phìer* 'very', *fìen*, *fìn*, *ffìn* 'wine', *fìrìne* 'pin', *incheil* 'low', *kych* 'pap', *chìr* (len.?), *ìshìr* 'comb', *lìn* 'flax', *lìen* 'net', *mìhil* 'louse', *nì* 'will do', *prìs* 'price', *quìl*, gen. *-ach*, pl. *-yn* 'wheel', *rì* 'king', *scrìv-* 'write', *shìn* (= *sìr* 'long'), *shìnuhìn* 'stretch thyself', *strìbach* 'bawd', *tìdyn* (= *cìrean*, 'cockscorb'), and as a suffix, *bwìlin* 'loaf'. English spelling comes through in *gresìn* 'stair' and *shee*, *shèe* 'peace', later *greeshyn*, *shee*. The occurrences of *ie* are before non-palatal consonants, though the converse is not true.
10. Gaelic *i*, *io* is generally represented by *i*: *bìlle* 'tree', *brìst* 'broken', *brìstach* 'brittle', *ìchin*, *-shìn* 'sick', *ìchìnes*, *chìn's-* 'sickness', *kìms(an)acha* (sic) 'gather', *kri*, *krì* 'heart', (long by crasis), *drìlyn* 'spark', *phrìgen* 'bristle', *gìbyhyw* 'chilblain', *ìchìlkych* 'broom (plant)', *gìmbyl* 'brewing', *ìmmèr* 'ridge', *jìdjeg*, *diseg*, *hìswèck* (len.), *disack*, *-isag* (len.) 'father', *kìsen* 'hive', *lìge* 'let', *pìc* 'pitch', *pìser* 'peas', *rì* 'arm', (long by crasis), *sìjeh* 'silk', *shìnden* 'teats', *sìllist* 'cherry', *sìlig* 'shell', *sìngan* 'shoulderblade', *tìlge* 'throw', *gìnsacha* 'teaching'; occasionally, before a non-palatal consonant *y* is found (as in the later spelling): *byrr* 'spit', *jyst* 'dish', *mynda* 'mint', *smyrr* 'marrow'. In a few words the pronunciation is indicated by *e*: *chebyr* 'well', *cherymacha* 'dry up', *shyrim*, *hìrin* (len.), *cherym* 'dry', *engen* 'nail, hoof', *mèl* 'honey', *mèlys*, *melys* 'sweet' (these two perhaps not entirely free of Welsh influence), *snèg* 'nit', [*y*] *nìenreg(r)ys* 'the uprightness' (later *ynrickys*), *esgyd* 'ham'; *eendoug* (sic) 'wonder' (= *tontas* by syncope from *ìongan-tas*, later *yìndys*) has English *ee*. With vocalisation of palatal *gh*: *rìne* 'toughness', *tyrn* 'lord' (same spelling as English loan 'turn') lacks any indication of palatal *t-* or of the shift from *tiarn* to **tearn*, later *chiarn*. With vocalisation of *mh*, *bh*, *f* and *gh* treated as *bh*: *brìyw* 'judge', *chew*, *ìchiew* 'thick', *nìwlyn* 'hell', ordinarily *nìurin*, *sewyn* 'rush', later *shune*, *shìoon*, *shuin*. The spelling *brèmys*, later *brìunys*, is clearly miscopied.
11. Gaelic *ia* can appropriately be dealt with here since in late Manx pronunciation it is often smoothed to *ío*. The favourite transcription is with *ie*: *krier* 'sieve', *iest* 'fish', *giestach* 'fishing', [*y*] *nìestdèr* 'the fisherman', *fìech* 'raven', *fìeigh* 'deer', *grien*, *gryen* 'sun', *jies* 'ear of corn', *liegh* 'grey', *mien* 'desire', *nier* '(from) the west', *slien* 'goad', *skien* 'wing', *slièsit* 'thigh', with variants *kliah* 'harrow', *struan* 'bridle' (later *streean*) presumably with Welsh *u*. Monophthongs occur in *phègil*, pl. *phèglan* 'tooth', *ji* 'god' (already in Phillips), *kil* 'cheek' (if = *giall*), *skìn* 'knife'. With vocalised *bh* the *u*-diphthong is written *jewl* 'devil', *slièw* 'mountain'.
12. Gaelic *-ó*, *eó*: *klòga* 'cloak', *kordet* 'agreed', *krò* 'nut', *krochan* 'drone', *krò* 'sheepfold', *balfòren* 'mole' (cf. SG *ball-dòrain*) later *fabrane*, *moor*, *mòor* 'great', *mowereigh* 'grandmother', later *mwarree*, *onyt* 'innocence', *osryn* 'stockings', *tai nòs* 'inn', *poga* 'wallet', *poondregh* 'beans', *skornach* 'throat', *stòl* 'stool, chair', *stroan*, *stron* 'nose'; but *pust* 'married', gen. of vbn. *e ffuwi* 'of the marriage'.

- With vocalisation of *mb*: *ffòwr* 'harvest, autumn'. The stress in *eo* is always on the second element: *bèo*, *bio* 'alive', *pheol* 'flesh' (but usually *phil*, *ffil*, standard *feill*), *giori* 'guest, stranger', later *joarree*, *joch* 'drink', *awchyr* 'key', *siombr* 'chamber' (but also *siambr*), exceptionally *biw* 'alive', *rèw* 'frost' (in which Welsh influence cannot be excluded).
13. Gaelic *o* is generally *o*: *bog* 'soft', *bolg* 'belly', *konyn* 'rabbit', *corp* 'body', *korran* 'sickle', *korri* 'anger', *krock* 'hill', [*y*]*chrosh* 'the cross' (and doublet *kroish* 'reel'), *doli* 'difficult', *dollan* 'winnowing fan', *doracha* 'dark', *dòrus*, *dorus* 'door', *fol* 'hair', *gob* 'beak', *gòbag* 'dogfish', *gorm* 'blue', *gortacha* 'injure', *dhonga* 'meal' (for *l*), *lomyr* 'fleece', *loistagh* 'burn', *molt* 'wether', *olk* adj. 'bad', noun 'offence', *onorach* 'honest', *osnagh* 'sigh', *podes* 'pottage', *ffòget* (len.) 'pocket', *sodhog* 'cake', *solus* adj. 'blazing', noun 'light', *spòrran* 'purse', *ystocken* 'the stocks', *tonneg* 'duck'; the only example in which G. *oi* has a distinct development is (len.) *verin*, *werin* 'female'. Other reflexes are: *a*, when unstressed, *drach*- 'bad', *ardèg*, *ardeg* 'thumb, big toe'; *y* (cf. Gaelic *u*), *bygah* 'joy' later *boggey*, *kyper* 'copper', *lyng* 'ship', *ylàn* 'wool', and before *-rn*, *kyrn* 'tankard', *djyryn* 'fist'; exceptionally *w*, *lwch* 'lake', later *logh*, *lwck*- 'hollow', later *lagg*, *burd* 'table' (once).
14. With vocalised consonants: *bh*, in *gàawr* 'goat', *klow* 'pair of tongs', *ob*, *eov* 'egg', *boowr* 'deaf', (*dh* treated as *bh*); palatal *ch*, *gh*, *kreigh* 'gallows' (acc/dat. *croich* = **craigh*), [*y*]*n eiry* 'the heir', *fyhùr* 'sound', (= *foghar*, but later *feiyr* implies **faighear*); *mh*, in *dyón* 'deep', while in *korliegh* 'counsel', Phillips *korliy*, but later *coyrle*, the consonant contributes only length; as usual, *f* develops like *bh*, in *lòwt*, *lowt* 'loft, upper storey'. With unlenited *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*: *powl* 'pool', *lùm* 'bald', *trwm* 'heavy', *bown* 'heel', *tawn* 'wave', with diphthonging or raising, whereas the later spellings, *poyll*, *lhome*, *trome*, *boyn*, *tonn*, generally suggest lengthening. Cases of *-orr* are lacking unless *koninasten*, glossed 'curlew' corresponds to *coayr ny hastan* 'crane', lit. 'eel-heron', but this and *korvèr* 'forefinger' would not be fully stressed.
15. Gaelic *ú*, *úi*: the normal transcription is *w*: *brwgel* 'bruise', *bruylach* 'crumb' (of a loaf as opposed to crust), *klwi* 'hair, fur, plumage', (len.) *-chùs* 'course', *krwbach* 'lame', *drywcht* 'dew', *flùr* 'flour', *glywn* 'knee', *gùn* 'gown', *gùt* 'gout', *gwren* 'gills', (later *grooane*, SG *giùran*), *mùn* 'urine', *wb(vwah)* 'udder (of a cow)', *rust* 'fruit', (usually 'bark'), *sywr* 'sister', *sùil* 'soot', *sùil*, *sùil*, *swil*, *e tìul* 'eye', *sust* 'flail', *yspùd* 'spur' (for *-ur*), *stut* 'valiant', *tùr* 'tower'.
16. Gaelic *u* is frequently represented by *y*: *blygan* 'ball', *dyy* 'black' (also *dw*), *lych* 'mouse', *lyrge* 'shin', *lyss* 'herb, leek', *myck* 'hog', (also *mwuck*), *myllach* 'roof, top', *tyrn* 'turn' (also *twrn*), *trystal* 'trust', *tynnagh* 'funnel', and from a disyllable with lost *-th-*, *kyhi* 'wild'; but also by *w* (as above) in *mwuckla[ch]* 'pigsty', *smwug* 'snot', *strúan* 'stream', and probably *kivag* 'cuckoo', for *kwag*. An exception is *bonnarw* 'sheaf of corn', later *bunney arroo*, with *o*, and similarly *kornacht* 'wheat' (by metathesis from *cruithneacht*).
17. Gaelic *ui* appears also chiefly as *w* and *y*, and these may indicate a distinction according as the first or the second element is dominant, though in view of the spellings under Gaelic *u*, this is doubtful. With *w* are *bwlleigh* 'blow, stroke', *-ggydiach* 'together', *kwynachdan* 'remember', *y kwrichan* 'the feast', gen. *mwyn-derah*, *-dere* 'kindred', *phùl*, *fùl* 'blood', *purpl* 'purple', *gwrin* 'pimple', *wystèe*,

wystee ‘water’; and with *y* are *byg[e]* ‘softness’, *kyslin* ‘vein’, *dyny*, *dyne*, *dynne* ‘man’, *drym* ‘back’, *dyllag*, *dilag* ‘leaf’, gen. *ffyni* ‘of baking’, *myllen* ‘mill’, *mym-mog* ‘mother’, *trymsi* ‘grief’, *ylin* ‘elbow’, *ynag* ‘window’, but unmistakably *i* in *kip(p)* ‘whip’, *sibèr* ‘supper’, *trimsach* ‘sad’. Occasional variants are *mommog*, *mammog* ‘mother’, *mournach* ‘proud’.

18. In a few cases the *u*-element becomes consonantal after [b] and [k]: *byyì* ‘yellow’, later *buigh/bwee*, *bwyn[e]gen* ‘yolk’, *quidd* ‘stuff’ (= *cuid*), *qualen* ‘whelp’ (SG *cuilean*); hence the loanword ‘witch’ appears delenited as *bwytch*.

The occurrences in two or three words of *yw* for Gaelic *ui* or *u* may give rise to a reasonable suspicion that the digraph should be *wy*: *krywagin* ‘maggots’, later *crooag*, *sywidi* ‘woo’, later *sooree*, and perhaps *krywck* ‘pail’, later *cruick*; with the long vowel *drywcht* ‘dew’ also, but probably not *glywn* ‘knee’ in view of the standard spelling *glioan* (though Phillips *glwyn* shows no trace of palatalisation).

Vocalisation of consonants produces lengthening in *wl*, pl. *wlan* ‘apple’ (= *ubhal*); with *-ch-*, *kleigh* ‘play’, later *cloie*; with *-dh-*, *bwiyach* ‘pleased, content’, later *b(w)ooiagh*; with *-th-*, *re(swl)* ‘flee’, later *roie ersooyl*.

19. Gaelic *ua* and *uai* are notable in Manx for the variety of their reflexes, and the same variety is observable in this material. There are at least four reflexes of *ua*: in *bochely* ‘shepherd’ and *-bolon* ‘thresh’ (= *bwoalley* ‘strike’), and perhaps *kòt* ‘coat’ normally *cooat*; in *bu*, *bùa*, (len.) *vùah*, *vwah* ‘cow’, *phìwer* ‘cold’, *ffuyslyt* ‘loose’, *fwy* ‘hatred’; in *kèan* ‘sea’, *keèl* ‘coal’ normally *geayl*; and in *krych* ‘stack’, *yyn*, *yynn* ‘lamb’, *fjìr*, *fjìr* ‘cold’, *fie(r)slit* ‘loose’, *skjyb* ‘broom’; *feayslit* and *feayr* each appear in two forms. Similarly with *uai*: *bwyni-* ‘reap’, *krwyì* ‘hard’, *lwi* ‘lead’, *twy* ‘north’; *klyss*, *klus* ‘ear’ (the later *cleaysh* = acc/dat. *cluais*), *yini* ‘green’; *leigh* ‘ashes’ (cf. *leigh* ‘law’); *rì* ‘brown’ (Manx = *ruaidh*). The alternative developments appear to include retention of *ua*, reduction of *uai* to *ui*, and reduction of *uai* to *ai*, as well something like [y:] or [i:] conveyed by writing *y* or *e*.

20. Gaelic *ao(i)* exhibits a similar range of spellings to those for *ua(i)*. For *ao*: *plis* ‘shell’, normally *bleayst*; *yl* ‘lime’, *ylèe*, *yleigh* ‘mud, dung’, *gydin* ‘get’ (cf. *feddyn*, SG *faotainn*), *kyrri* ‘sheep’; *gèe* ‘wind’, *geiach* ‘windy’; *frwch* ‘heather’, *kùl* ‘slender’; *kunach* ‘moss’ (Welsh *u?*); and for *aoi*: *folyn* ‘seagull’; *kywne* ‘weep’; *leigh* ‘calf’ (Manx = *laoigh*), *deien* ‘worm’ (= *daoi* + *án*, normally *dhiane*); *yрге* ‘height’ (also *arge* = *aoirde*, *áirde*). In an unstressed syllable, *annàn*, later *unnane*, *nane*.

21. Vowels of final open unstressed syllables. There are three possibilities here, [ə], [i], and [u]:

(a) all the few cases of [u], standard *-oo* (there are no examples here after a palatal consonant), are unambiguous, e.g. *-w* in *Balloo*, *garroo*, *lhiannoo*, *sharroo*, *thalloo*, *taggloo*; *-ù* in *marroo* and *tarroo*; *-w* and *-ow* in *jannoo*. The only odd case is *smàrw*, standard *smarrey* ‘fat, grease’, Gaelic *smearadh*, but it is unusual for *-adh* to become other than *-a* in Manx, though *-amb* is common enough elsewhere.

(b) in the case of the much commoner [i], standard *-ee*, there is a clear preference for *-i*, as *cassaghtee*, *corree*, *doillee*, *fuinnee* (gen. of *fuinney*), *garaghtee*, *joarree*,

lughee (gen. of *lugh*), *moddee* (gen. of *moddey*), *poosee* (gen. of *poosey*), *sooree*, and probably the pl. *kirree*. The same spelling, however, is sometimes used for [ə] after a palatal consonant, as *bainney*, *dooinney*, *fahney*, *eayney*, *maidjey*, *meshtey*, *nearey*, *trimshey*.

- (c) for [ə] the practice is less consistent: *-e* is common after both non-palatal consonants (e.g. *caggey*, *garey*, *giarey*, *gortey*, *kiebbey*, *lurgey*, *margey*, *peccah*) and palatals (e.g. *aigney*, *balley*, *billey*, *cheerey* (gen. of *cheer*), *dooinney*, *fainey*, *freeney*, *lhiggey*, *keayney*, *lheiney*, *meilley*, *mooinjerey* (gen.), *tidey*, *tilgey*, *soilshey*, *straidjey*, *syrjey*, *treiney*, *ushtey*); *-y* is far less frequent, and generally, though not invariably, occurs after palatals, e.g. *bochilley*, *caashey*, *dooinney*, *eirey*, *gorley*, *sniaghtey*, *sailjey*, *soilshey*; for *lhiabbee* with this spelling, see Morphology below. A third possibility is *-a*, always after non-palatals except in the combination *-ia* in the gen. of *llesh*: examples are *aarey*, *boggey*, *braarey* (gen.), *chengey*, *chiassaghey* (and some other verbnouns of this type - *chirmaghey*, *chymysaghey*, *gortaghey*, *ynsaghey*), *cloagey*, *dooinney*, *dorragey*, *drommey* (gen. of *dreeym*), *garey*, *giarrey*, *lhie-hoalley*, *lhongey*, *ollay*, *moddey*, *mynthey*, *poagey*; for the appearance of *lheennee*, *mollee*, in this group, see Morphology below.
- (d) following English conventions *-gh* is silent after *-i-* and *-a-*, and this device is sometimes used for [ə], as *asney*, *bainney*, *boandey*, *builley*, *cadley*, *coyrle* (see Morphology), *eoyley*, *feoh*, *graney*, *laa*, *lostey*, *meilley*, *osney*, *poanrey*, *thanney*, *thunney*, as well as *-ah* in *daney*, *-mooinjerey*, *lhiastey*, and *-eh* in *sheeidey*.

22. Vowels of final closed syllables. Such syllables may be stressed or unstressed, and their vowels may be etymologically long or short. Those with long vowels include certain derivative suffixes such as Gaelic *-án*, *-áil*, *-óg*, *-óir*, and these have a double development, either retaining the length and attracting the stress, or losing it and remaining unstressed. In other cases the length is produced by the vocalisation of spirants rendered intervocalic by the introduction of svarabhakti vowels, and this type, together with Anglo-Norman loanwords, seems invariably to attract the stress.
23. Stressed syllables: with *-án*, *abane* (which is re-formed on this pattern), *calmane*, *dhiane*, *fahrane*, *grooane*, *mairane*, *unnane*, of which the first five are written with *-en* (which sufficiently shows the development of Gaelic *á*), and the last two have *-àn* (in which the accent reinforces the evidence afforded by the signs of weakening in the first syllable). Examples of *-áil* are few: *dotèl*, paralleled by the *-éal* of the loanwords *bodè[l]*, *kornel*. The suffix *-óg* is more productive: *brwylèg*, *phassèg* (with implied reduction of the first syllable from *-éa-*), *finèg* (the alternative *phwèg* is presumably for *phinèg*), *golag*, *gylig* (*-ig* is exceptional and should probably be *-eg*; the first vowel is again reduced from G. *gabhl-*), *imlèg*, *flavèg*, *ardèg* (reduced from *ord-*), *rylàg*, *ryllag* (reduced from *réad-*). Examples of *-óir* are also few: *kanlier*, [y]n *iestdèr*. Less common endings are *-oon* in *ynwn* (= *an(a)bhann*), with which *kàbwn*, *priswñ*, *reswn* coincide; *-(o)oil* in *greswl* (= *-amhail*); *-oor* in *sojeur*, *trènschw*; *-oogh* in *manwàch*, *stranwch* (= *-fadhach*); *-een* in *berin* (= *bair[i]ghean*), *bwlin*, *ennienlennianlennean* (= *in[i]ghean*); *-eel* in *monil* (= *muin(i)chille*); and *-aid* in *fused*.

24. Final unstressed syllables.

Here will be found the unstressed reflexes of Gaelic *-án*, *-áil*, *-óg*, *-óir*, *-amhail*. For *-án* the transcription *-an* is far from dominant: *bluckan*, *corrán*, *croaghan*, *dollan*, *famman*, *lhiannan-*, *mannan*, *ollan*, *ommydan*, *skeddán*, *sporrán*; *-en* in *bwinnican*, *cappán*, *crackán*, *follán*, *kishán*, *martlhan*, *partán*, *quallian*, *roddán*, *shlingán*, *sollán*; and *-ien* in *shellán*; *-yn* appears in *ellán*, *foillán*, *jiargán*; *-on* is found in *caston* (for *cassán*), and *-iwn* in *jeushán*. For G. *-áill* chiefly in verb-nouns, *-al* occurs in *dreamal*, *ennal*, *faintal*, *mwannal*, *repental*, against *-el* in *fightal*, *furnishal*, *mwannal*, *nursal*, *singal*, *sthappal*, and the otherwise unrecorded *brugel* (for *broo*). For *-óg* the usual *-ag* appears in *crooag*, *duillag*, *gobbag*, *uinnag*, with *-eg* in *badlag*, *ellag*, *fedjag*, *lhiattag*, *thunnag*, and *-og* in *scarrag*, *soddag*, as well as in *mummig* which certainly belongs in this group as, in all probability, does *jishig* (variously spelt in modern times) which exhibits a variety of endings, *-ag*, *-eg*, *-ack*, *-wck*.

25. Other final syllables.

- (a) The plural suffix *-yn* appears in several forms: *-an* in *clagh*, *ooyl*, and *cuir-raghyn*; *-en* in *stock*, *puddin*, *speeineig*, and *sheeintyn*; *-in* in *beisht*, *breech*, *greeshyn*, *snuffer*, and *crooag*; *-on* in *jeeass*, *cass*; *-yn* in *clesp*, *hook*, and with syncope in *oashyr*. The noun suffix *-ys* appears as *-es* in *accyrys*, *chingys*; as *-us* in *caardys*, *dorrys*, *ourys*, *sollys*, and *taghys*; as *-ish* in *roguerys*; with loss of the vowel in *mardys* (for *mardrys?*), and as *-ys* in *ynrickys*.
- (b) Other final syllables are less readily tied to grammatical categories or derivation. There is a large class of such syllables consisting of [ə] + l, m, n, r, in which the standard orthography uses *y*: the same convention is adopted here in *eddrym*, *emshyr*, *hibbyn*, *imbyl*, *mainshter*, *ogher*, *pabyr*, *raistyl*, *shog-gyl*, *staabyl*, *taster*, *trustyr*; *gorrym* and *orrym* appear without the svarabhakti vowel as *gorm*, *orm*; *-a-* is written in *ostyl*, *-e-* in *immyr*, *moidyn*, *pishyr*, *shibber*, *ynngyn*; no vowel is written in *shamyr* and *marble*, and the English convention is followed in *essyl*; in *follym* exceptionally *-om* is used. The spelling *arín* for *arrym* requires correction, either to *arm* (cf. *gorrym* above, though in this case the vowel is historical) or to *arim*.
- (c) In contrast to this variety there is a very high degree of uniformity in writing the derivative suffixes *-agh*, *-aght*: only *-ach* is found for the former in *booiagh*, *beishtagh*, *brooillagh*, *bwaagh*, *cabbagh*, *colbagh*, *collagh*, *corneilagh*, *croobagh*, *eeastagh*, *kellagh*, *keyrragh* (gen.), *moyrnagh*, *mullagh*, *mwaagh*, *ollagh*, *ommijagh*, *onneragh*, *saagh*, *scoarnagh*, *streebagh*, *taarnagh*, *traagh*, *undaagagh*, *yiarnagh*. In *guilcagh* the ending is *-ych*, recalling the variation between *-agh* and *-ygh* in Phillips; in *mucklagh* the final consonant is lost in the pleonastic compound *mucklavwck*; in *feeagh* the spelling is *fiech*. In *bannaght*, *curnaght*, *keeaght* the ending is *-acht*; in *cooidjagh* used as an adverb the *-t* is lost, and rightly so in *sheshraght* where it is unhistorical, but not so in *sheshaght*, where the ending is written *-och*. It is odd that *ben-treoghe*, *dooinney-*, are written *-traugh*; *-trough*, since *-gh* is elsewhere always silent, whereas the suffix represents *treabh(th)ach*, and [x] is still

pronounced; possibly familiarity with a conservative or dialectal English pronunciation of *trough* as [trɔx] influenced the recorder's choice of spelling.

26. Consonants.

- (a) The symbols used in recording the consonant sounds are, as might be expected, somewhat less ambiguous than those used for the vowels. The unexpected forms may sometimes be the result of mishearing or miscopying. Among the former are perhaps initial *p*- in *blade* and *bleayst*, initial *f*- (= [v]? in lenition) in *boggey*, initial *g*- in *corwhaillag*, *clagh-haarnee*, *cooidjagh*, a superfluous initial *s*- prefixed to *cass* and *fe* (perhaps through a faulty analysis of a phrase), *sh*- as the initial consonant of *ching*, *chirrym*, loss of *-t* from *clout* before *j*- in a compound, initial *k*- in *geayl*, initial *b*- in *prash*, and the like. These are isolated cases but a few small groups emerge:
- (b) initial *ch*-, Gaelic palatal *t*-, is usually so written but also *'ch* (frequently), *tsh* (once); in addition to words of this kind it occurs, with its variants, for Gaelic palatal *c*-, in *kere*, *kiebbey*, *kione*, while *chymaghey* is written with *k*-, and *chiarn* (perhaps through recognition of a likeness to W. *teyrn*) as *tyrn*, and *jesh* as *desh*. Similarly with *j*-, Gaelic palatal *d*-, so written, with variants *'g*, *g*, *dhj*, *'sh*, *'sy*, *dj*, which appears for Gaelic palatal *g*- in *'jiare* for *giarrey* and *'tzèr* for *geirr*, as well as in *'zeirach* (= an *t*-seisreach). One might expect from a Welsh recorder some confusion of these unfamiliar affricates and sibilants and there is indeed some blurring of the distinction between palatal and non-palatal *s* in these transcriptions; *s* alone is written in *brisht*, *brishtagh*, *cashtal*, *cuishlin*, *greeshyn*, *kishan*, *oghrish*, *ollish* (etymologically non-palatal), *prash*, *shune*, *shuyr*, *trimshey*, while *sh* occurs in *chiass*, *jiass*, *roguerys*; a similar lack of regular discrimination was apparent in Phillips.
- (c) Another group is formed by the dental consonants *d*, *l*, *n*, *r*: *d* occurs for *r* in gen. *cheerey*, *gorley* (in the unmetathesised form *galdy*), *sooree*, *spur*, and *tidyn* for *kereyn* (= *círean*) with *t*- for *c*. The competing spellings *crearyt*, *creadyt* seem to show this tendency in reverse. *l* for *n* occurs in *kregyl* for *creggan* and twice in *ben-y-phoosee*, with the converse *n* for *l* in *tegan* for *toiggal* (with the further alternative *teigar*). *l* for *r* is found in *niwlyn* for *niurin*, and *d* for *l* in *dhonga-* for *lhongey*.
- (d) In a few cases an expected *n* is lacking; this is not surprising in *cronk*, *gounstyrnee*, *mainshter*, in which *n* is originally an indication of nasal quality which has developed into a real consonant, but it is less easily explicable in *erid/aret* for *aanrit* (= *anairt*), *kail* for *cainle* (= *coinneal*, but *kanlier* for *cainleyr*), *lemi* for *lhemeen*, *lhemyn* (= *léamann*), *nòt* for *naunt*, *servat*, *servàd* for *sharvaant*, and perhaps *-aty* for *aittin*; *snèg* 'nit' for *snieng*, however, is SG *snig* and this word and *sniengan* 'ant' (= *seangan*) have affected each other. In *inchel* for *injil* (= *iseal*) Lhuyd records for the first time the appearance of the *-n-*, which is of obscure origin since there is no obvious ground for nasalisation and it is absent in Phillips from the simplex and all its derivatives.

- (e) Final *-l* seems not to have been heard in *ange* for *ainle*, and more surprisingly in the stressed syllable of *bodè* for *bodeil*. Medially it is lacking in *seisy/seise-* for *soilsbey*, though present in the unsynopated *solus* for *sollys*.
- (f) Final excrescent *-t* occurs in *kloynt* for *cloan*, *law ieist* for *laue yesh*, and in *sault* (= *sabhall*), but in this case *-t* is already present in Phillips. For loss of *-t* in *-acht*, see above (and also in the adj. *boght*); it occurs in the loanword *neinfan* ‘infant’, and in modern times is common in final *-st*, *-sht*. The only evidence of the latter context is in *tai nòs* for *thie-oast*, and in another loanword *breckwas*, but not in *Kríst*. In *billesillist* ‘cherry-tree’ a *-t* appears which is absent from the dictionaries of Kelly (Triglott) and Cregeen, besides being etymologically unjustified.
- (g) Medial and final [dʒ], Gaelic palatal *d*, is variously expressed: in final position it occurs only in *benge* (with silent *-e*) from English *bench*, though Phillips did not hesitate to use *dg* and *dj* in this position. In medial position simple *g* occurs in cpv. *sarge*, noun *yrge* for *syrjey*, *yrjid* (with additional suffix), and in *brugel*, cf. participle *broojit* (double suffix, brúite + *-ight(e)*); simple *j* in *majt* for *maidjey*, *amyjagh* for **ommijey*; *dj* in *fedjeg* (= *eiteag*, but already voiced in Phillips), *amydjah* for **ommijey*; *dg* in *chinedgè*; *djg* in *badgjol* for *bodjal*; without explicit sign of palatalisation are *amwydach* for *ommijagh* (but cf. the non-palatal *d* in *ommydan*), *mwynderah*, *-dere* for *mooinjerey* (gen.) with voicing after *n* already present in Phillips, and *saildy* for *sailjey* (participle) with voicing after *l*.
- (h) Medial and final Gaelic *sc*, still *sk* in Phillips, appear here as *st* for the first time: *ko[r]ninastan* (= *eascann*), *plis* for *bleayst* (= *blaosc*, pl-), *(n)est* for *eyast* (= *éasca*), *iest* for *eeast* (= *iasc*) and similarly *(g)iestach*, *(n)iestdèr*, *jyst*, *just* cf. SG *diosg* (but these spellings imply short *io*), *laastah* for *lhiastey* (cf. *leasc*), *loistagh* for *lostey*, *maisti* for *meshtey*, *tastyr* for *taster* (SG *tasgair*). The change is not complete: a following stress allows the group to be treated as if initial, as *askaid* (= *neascóid*), and the preposition *mastey* ‘among’ retains the form *maskey* during part of the eighteenth century; the only example is *-esgyd* for *yskid* (= *ioscaid*).
- (i) Medial *rs* assimilated to *ss* but could be restored by analogy, as in Phillips’ *dossyn*, pl. of *dorrys* (as well as *dorsyn*, *dorrysyn*). The clearest case here is *kùs* for *coorse* (Phillips *kuys*, *kus*); in word-groups it occurs in *reswl* for *roie ersooyl*, *brey suthleigh* for *braar ’sy leigh*, and *fiesor* for *feer sore*, in which the *-r* of *feer* is lost before *s-* but not before other consonants, contrary to later spoken usage.
- (j) Initial Gaelic *cn-* appears as *kramp* (Phillips *knap*), *kreu*, *kreyb* (Phillips *knaw*, *kneef-*), *krò* ‘nut’, and *krock* (Phillips *knock*). The appearance of the nasalisation in *kramp* but not in *krock* for *cronk* is inconsistent. No examples of the rare *gn-*, *tn-* were included in the collection.
- (k) There is some variation between final *-d* and *-t*: *aret*, *erid-* for *aanrit* (always *-t* in Phillips); *arget* for *argid* (both *-d* and *-t* in Phillips); *basket* for *baskad* (*-d* in Phillips as well as *bastayg* with metathesis); *dybled* ‘doublet’, cf. Welsh *dwbled*, *dybled*; *fused* for *fosaid* ‘faucet’; (len.) *ffogget* for *poggaid* ‘pocket’; *sliesit* for *slheeyast*, *slheeadid* ‘thigh’ – the former is the normal usage of the

Manx Bible, perhaps a back-formation from the syncopated plural – Cregeen gives the latter as gen., which is sometimes true, but when it occurs in the Bible (Gen. 32, Num. 5, Rev. 19) it functions for all cases; *taget* for *taggad* ‘pin, peg’. In *sleayst* (= *sluasaid*), which might be expected to be parallel to *slbeeayst* above, the spelling is *slys* with loss of *-t* after *s*; the equivalent of Gaelic *slios*, on the other hand, usually has excrescent *-t*, *slyst*.

- (l) One of the consonant changes which has taken place since Manx spelling became reasonably stable early in the eighteenth century is the tendency of medial or intervocalic voiceless consonants to become voiced and the originally voiced ones to become fricatives, e.g. a change such as *p* to *b*, and *b* to *v*, sometimes *p* to *v*, and similarly with the continuants, [f] to become [ɣ] and proceed to [j] or zero, as [tɔjax] for *toshiaght*, [kaban] or [kavan] for *cappan*. The standard orthography gives no clue to this except for sub-literary words first written down after the change had taken place, e.g. *liggar* for ‘liquor’, or *lhuishag* ‘blanket’ in which *-sh-* represents [ɣ] which is both the voicing of [f] and, as in this case, the deaffrication of [ɸ], Gaelic *luideag*. The present list provides little new information on this phenomenon: *mynda* ‘mint’, *sailyd* ‘salted’, and pl. *shinden* ‘teats’ show the normal voicing of *-t-* after *n* and *l*, which is a separate combinative change recognised by the standard spelling though later than Phillips and therefore probably occurring in the second half of the seventeenth century. In palatal *-nt-* G. *cinnteach* is Phillips *kinjagh* (with different sense) but non-palatal *ciontach* is still Phillips *kientagh*, later *kyndagh*, and G. *iongantais* is *ientys* (once *-nd-*) but here *eendoug* (sic) and later *yindyis*; and similarly G. *teampall* is Phillips *chiampyl*, later *chiamble*. Phillips still has *p(p)* in *cappan* (here *caben* and *capen*) and in *shibber*, but both *p* and *b* in *cabbyl* (here *kabyl*), *k* in *cloagey* and *poagey*, with which we may join **speeigaagyn* ‘icicles’ (cf. G. *spice*). The double shift from *p* to *v* seems to occur in *kalvach* ‘heifer’, G. *colpach*, normally *colbagh*, and in *avyrn* ‘apron’, usually *apryn*. The meaning of *pàghe* (for *peccab*, Phillips *peky* = *peacadh*) is uncertain since elsewhere *gh* is silent; the use of *peccagh* ‘sinner’ as an indefinite pronoun, now written *peiagh*, *py’agh* and implying the change [k] to [g] to [ɣ] to zero, appears here as *piach*, but in this case there was a motive for distinguishing the two senses and the result gives no sure guidance for fixing the normal chronology.
- (m) Another odd feature here is the apparent survival of [v] in places where the normal spelling has no use for it. *Kyver* is an unassimilated loan-word (the cognate verb gives *couyral* ‘recover, get well’), and *kivag* is easily corrected to *kwag*. In *honnelskleiviad*, later *cha nel schlei ayd*, the value of *vi* is uncertain; it can hardly be the verb-noun *ve*. In Phillips in monosyllables final palatal *bh*, *mh* survive, but are vocalised when non-palatal, e.g. sg. *dow*, pl. *deyf* ‘ox’, but this will not serve to explain *ien dyv* ‘black bird’ (usually *dw* here, but *dyv* may be for *dyw* representing the diphthongal pronunciations which Phillips writes *dow*), or *dy scriv* ‘to write’, later *scrieu/screeu*, both of which have non-palatal *bh*. *Eov* 7.32 ‘egg’ is probably to be corrected from its neighbours 7.31, 7.34 to *ob*. *Lyv*, otherwise *liegh*, for *lheeah* (G. *liath*), is impossible, and a miscopying for *lya* seems likely; *lyah*, though given as a response to ‘patience’

22.97, has probably been misplaced and should be referred to 22.96 ‘rash’, standard spelling *leah* (G. *luath*). *Jlavèg* is an illustration of the situation in which medial [v] does survive, i.e. immediately before the stress, but the normal spelling is *liehbage* (G. *leadhbóg*), and *v* here, if not a mishearing, is an example of the phenomenon discussed in (l) above. On *favyryn* see the text, note 104.

27. Morphology.

It is not in the nature of such a listing as Ray’s to include function-words such as the article, possessives, prepositions, pronouns, conjunctions, or any information about inflections, but a limited amount of such information can be gleaned from some of the Manx responses.

- (a) The singular article (apart from the fem. gen.) has the full form *yn*, and two reduced forms, *’n* (after a vowel) and *y* (between consonants). Occurrences of the full form are not frequent here: *yn venge, gob yn nien, spinegen en o6, shovel an eil, treach an ovr, farteigh ein tai*; the lenitions in *tai na chùk, tai na vàrge* show that we should read *yn* or *’n*, but it is difficult to emend *lomyr yn kyrri* (we should expect the genitive sg. or pl. *ny keyrragh, ny geyrragh* in later spelling). The reduced form between consonants occurs in *dorus y vackside, madleg y laeigh, bann y tai, hammer y dorus, tidyn y challach, mònnel y law* (permissible in Manx fem. nouns which have no distinct gen. form), *myllach y tai, rwyt e ville, shinden e vùah* (the informant does not use the gen. *ny baa*), *ta bwyni e talu, furnishal e tai, phineg e twl, kornel e tùl, benn e ffusi, krywck a vanni*. In *dyne ffusi, seise tùl*, this form of the article is absorbed in the final vowel of the preceding word, so that the consonantal form is attested only in *krew n drymma, krew n lyrge*.
- (b) In the fem. sg. gen. and in the pl. nom. and gen. the article is *ny* (*ny* before vowels, *ny + nas.* in the gen. pl.): sg. *fe[r]na maisti, lowt na treach, tai na h-aghys, kyver ne lywrach, ladbeg ne lywrach, quilt ne labach, tike ne labach, ne quilach* (no headword); pl. *na bestin*; gen. *bochely na gyrrach, fer na mreg, tai na galmenan, — ni golmen, tai na myck, kimsa(na)cha na ni[e]son, [fer ta]gwnu na bydinen, fer ta kreck ne lawrach, golag ne(s)tri mèr, ko[r]ni nasten*.

28. Case-forms in nouns.

The Manx norm is two forms, a singular and a plural, with a limited number of nouns, mostly feminine, having a distinct gen. sg. The sg. generally represents the historic nom. but, particularly in consonant-stems, it may be the historic acc./dat. The collection provides few plurals: by attenuation, *barni, modi, lòchi*; with suffix *-yn*, see 25(a) for examples. Genitive by attenuation: *benn e ffusi, tai ffyni, galdy scaldi* (all gen. of the verbnoun), and *gloch’ar’n* (if this is for *kloch barni*), and *’tchynn* (if later *king*, G. *cinn*); by use of the suffix *-ey*: *brara, chide, lesia, mwynderah, -dere, drymma, stragè, snà* (G. *snátha*); with the suffix *-agh*: *kyrrach* (sg. and pl.), *labach, lywrach/lew-* (sg. and pl.), *quilach*; for gen. pl. identical with nom. sg. see 27 (b). In several instances a genitive exists which is not used here: *ark myck, ffil vwck* (not *muickey*), *wh vwah, shinden e vwah* (not *baa*), *foon treigh a chass* (not *e choshey*), *lige fiùl* (not *folley*), *caston y grien* (not *ny greiney*).

In a few cases we seem to have the old nominative preserved where it is usually replaced by the acc./dat.: *gawstyrnach*, later *gounstyrnee*; *lèena*, later *lheenannee*; *mala*, later *mollee*, and perhaps *labygh/laby-*, later *lhiabbee*.

29. Indications of gender.

(a) by mutation: the commonest case is where either an adjective or an indefinite noun used as a qualifier follows a noun and is lenited after a fem. sg. but not after a masc. sg. On the whole, mutation is probably a more reliable indicator than non-mutation, and the nouns classed as fem. on this ground are listed first: *àwn veg*, *benn riallt* (though it may be doubted whether the mutation was recognised here), *bw[a]chyhi*, *kloch veg*, *emsysr vòor*, *ffil vwck*, — *vart*, — *volt*, *ganiach vèo* (in *ganiach garw* /g/ probably stands for [ɣ] as occasionally elsewhere), *gaawr verin*, *lar wj*, *law ieist*, — *chiàr*, *lwi ven* (but also *lwi jerg*), *jòch vai*, *myck werin*, *stron vòor*, *sail vwck*, *mwckla[ch]vwck*, *wh vwah*, *podes vannì*, *servat/siambv ven* (MS *vel*) *e ffusi*, *pwding voor*, — *gùg[h]*, *ryllag hollus*. The masc. are: *ark myck*, *aran sùr*, *bit beg*, *bi melys*, *bille farnach*, — *sillist*, *arget bio*, *byga moor*, *bolg brist*, *balli chide*, *ffin jerg*, — *marw*, *lòwt peg*, *mir men*, — *beg*, *ien dyv*, *’iest saildy*, *keèl bi6*, — *marw*, *mèle banni*, *tyrn maihi*, *smel bryn*, — *melys*, *snachty garu*, *teigh beg*, *tai ffuni*, *teigar moihi*, *trènswhr kornelach*.

(b) by mutation after the article, explicit or suppressed. Lenition in the nom. suggests a fem.: *yn venge*, [y]vreck, [y]chrosh, [y]chat (sic), [y]chir, *yn ffilory*. In the gen. lenition is more ambiguous; it may indicate a masc. or an uninflected fem. (for which cf. 27 (a) *mònnel y lau*, *shinden e vùah*, *kornel e tùl*); masc. are *kiryv* (MS *tidyn*) *y challach*, *treach an our*, *krew n drymma*, and (with correction of MS *na* to *an*) *tai an chwck*, *tai an vàrge*.

(c) by the form of the article in fem. gen. sg., see 27 (b).

(d) an isolated case is agreement in the possessive, *aro* (otherwise always *aru*) *n[a]hassw* ‘standing corn’, which shows *aroo* is masc.

30. In some responses the answer is a phrase and this may be personalised, giving incidental information about possessives and personal pronouns.

(a) Possessives: 1 sg. *my*: *ma wrara*, *ma chlyss*, *my gynni mwynderah*, *siambv my labach*, perhaps *mo wereigh* (*my warree*, or just *muwarree?*); before vowels, *m-agne*, *m-isèg*, *press m-ydach*, *m-eglan*, *m-inèr*; before *n-*, *mon nevy*, *mon nys*. In contrast to these unstressed forms there occurs in Section xxiii a spelling *moi(hi)*: *moihi vommog*, *moi vymmog*, *moi chousyn*, *moihi name*, *moi nòt*.

2 sg. *dty* (to distinguish it from the prep. *dy*): *dy wannal*, *dy chlus*, *drym dy law* (also *bass—*, *ardeg—*, *aphen—*), *kawn dy lesia*; unvoiced after *-s*, *cass ty labach*; before vowels, *t-agne*, *lwck t-esgyd*; in syllabic form, *klàr yt edyn*.

3 sg. masc. *e* (to distinguish it from the reduced form of the article): *a chass*.

(b) Personal pronouns: 1 sg. *mee*: *ta moihi faintal aswl*, *ta moihi repental y*, *ta mi eg(o) moihi libertye hū*: *tam wns hwp* (contracted, or inflected?).

2 sg. *oo*: *tow* (*ta + oo*) *dotèl*, *dow fier drowsy*; **too* survived in Phillips in the future, *-idh tú*, written *-yt w*, voiced in *you dw reward* (analogically since the verb in this case has no final dental). Simple pronoun in *shin w hin*.

3 sg. masc. *eh*: *ta moihi repental y, stol as casson agh*; emph. *eshyn*: *eshyn ta bwynie talw*.

31. Other occasional items are:

(a) Prepositions, only a few of which are recorded here:

dy (len.) 'of': *gwren de niest, sheet dy phapyr, fineg de phiser, slien de fil vwck hirim, swil de sned, troop de kabyl* (absence of lenition in *feill* is not unexpected but there is no obvious explanation of it in *cabbyl*); before a vowel, *bit beg d-àran, grein d-arw, blash d'atil, pi d-wlan, tawn d'wystèe*; unvoiced after *-s*, *f[r]as ti liachr*.

dy (len.) 'to': *boord dy scriv er*.

gyn/dyn 'without': *cab din eglan* (still leniting at this date).

mygeayrt 'round': *bedes megyrt dy wannal*.

fò 'under' (with article): *foon treigh a chass* (the art. is superfluous and *a chass* is perhaps an afterthought).

eg 'at': *ta mi eg(o) moihi libertye hū*.

ayns 'in': *wns hwp, os niel*; with sg. art.: *brey[r] sw thleigh, — sw leigh, sarge us a tai, yn a cholège, laby sy gara*; with 2sg. possessive, *ffenus dy chlus*; 3 sg. masc. *aro n[a]hassw*, fem. *ben ne leigh hola*.

er 'on': *da lowt er yrge*.

son 'for': *pricker sa ma chlyss, — sa m-eglan*.

ass 'out of' (with art.): *igus a chaben* (*igus* must be corrupt, standard *iu ass y chappan*)

er (perfective): with 3 sg. masc. obj. *er na gydin, ana gydin*.

dy (+ adj.): *loi de shir* (MS *shin*).

(b) Pronominal prepositions:

ec 'at': 1 sg. *aym*: *[ta]fwy agh m orts*, i.e. *ta feoh aym ort's*.

2 sg. *ayd*: *norw mài ad, hon nel sklel (vi) ad*.

er 'on': 1 sg. *orrym*: *ta na bestin orm, ta mien orm*.

2 sg. *ort*: *bym revenge a g ort* (leg. *revengeyt?*); emph. *ort's*: *[ta]fwy agh m orts*.

3 sg. masc. *er*: *boord dy scriv er*.

lesh 'with': 1 sg. *lhiam*: *s-toli-lem, b-al-lim* (standard *baillym*, treated as a unit).

(c) Verbal forms:

Substantive verb, present: *ta na bestin orm, ta moi chion shin, ta mien orm, da n grien 'alyn*; relative, *fer ta kreck ne lewrach, eshyn ta bwynie talw, papyr de blotyt, far te gimbyl*; with pronoun subject, 1 sg. *ta moihi faintal, ta mi eg(o) moihi libertye hū, tam wns hwp*; 3 pl. *tadr bolon*.

dependent present: *hon nel skleiviad*.

future, 1 sg.: *bym revenge a gort*

Copula, present: *s-tolilem, s-lenegog* (?).

preterite: *b-allim*.

pres. subjunctive: *gra moihi, norw mài ad* (standard, *gura, narra*).

Jannoo 'do': future, *ni*.

conditional, 1 sg.: *ho dgera moihi* (leg. *dgena*, later *jinnagh*; analytic for standard *cha jinnin*).

Geddyn 'get': future, 2 sg., *you dw reward*.

(d) Miscellaneous items:

as 'and': *hookyn ys klespyn, stol as casson agh, achous as doian dw*.

cha 'not': *ho dgera moihi, hon nel skeiviad*

un 'one': *un swil*

daa 'two': *da lowt er yrge*

three 'three': *golag ne(s) tri mèr*

(y) *chied* 'first': [y] *hied ohùs*

(y) *nah* 'second': [y] *na chùs*

lheid 'such': the early construction is *e lheid shen* 'the like of that' but the 3 sg. possessive is lost quickly so that its survival in one of the examples here is notable; *ballim a lliey shin* (with palatal *-d* assimilated to following *sh-*), *stoli lem heg shin e genow* (*heg* a miscopying for *lie(d)g*). *shen*, demonstrative 'that': *shin* (see under *lheid*)

y, particle before the vbn in included object construction: *e genow* (see under *lheid*); the absence of lenition in *genow* is surprising.

ynnyd, older *ynney* 'place', as conjunction 'where': *hynyr tadr bolon* (on the doubtful assumption that this corresponds to (yn) *ynnyd taddy* *bwoalley ayn* 'the place that they thresh in it', which leaves *b-* unexplained, though there are parallels here for unhistorical *-r*, e.g. *fliachr* for *fliaghey*).

32. In consequence of the foregoing review of the evidence the following additions to the Index of words at the end of the published text, pp. 160–167, can now be made:

article: <i>yn</i> 1.1, 7.18, 34, 49, 18.29, 34, 36, 38, 99, 23.69, 24.66, 27.60	<i>ayns</i> 14.94, 17.21, 18.13, 52, 64, 21.93, 27.78
<i>y</i> 1.10, 16, 4.6, 8.82, 9.14, 12.40, 42, 44, 96, 16.26, 18.64, 84, 89, 102, 19.36, 23.70, 24.2–3, 36	<i>beeim</i> 21.91
<i>'n</i> 2.44, 12.73, 85	<i>cam</i> 13.32
<i>ny</i> 8.44, 14.55, 22.30, 24.92–3, 112, 25.9, 15, 17, 23, 27.62, 67	<i>cha</i> 21.67–8
<i>ny h-</i> 18.15	<i>daa</i> 18.114
<i>ny n-</i> 8.89, 9.17, 24, 15.84, 18.51, 22.129, 27.33	<i>dty</i> 12.79, 83, 101–2, 109–11, 17.21–2, 21.76, 24.84
<i>as</i> 13.4, 14.1, 17.56, 24.8	<i>dy</i> (of) 2.20, 34, 61, 4.30, 7.4, 15.28, 89–90, 17.32, 24.81, 109, 25.26–7, 27.52, 28.11
<i>ass</i> 16.26	<i>dy</i> (to) 25.13
<i>ayd</i> 21.67, 22.142	<i>dy</i> (+ adj.) 14.48
<i>aym</i> 21.79	<i>ec</i> 21.75
<i>ayn</i> 27.46	<i>er</i> 18.114, 25.13
	<i>er</i> (+ vbn.) 19.22
	<i>eshyn</i> 27.76

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three 27.67
un 13.21
y (+ vbn.) 21.86
ynyd 27.46.

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