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 *Dictationariolum*. 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 entered as responses. Considering that only a century earlier Bishop Phillips had been able to translate the Book of Common Prayer without resource 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, shée, leena* (all etymologically long), *laustah* (open-syllable lengthening), *krah, eendoog* (long by crasis); *phoor, poodregh, jooblins, boord*, four examples of *moor, yyun* (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 *muar*, 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. bŸn* is usually *ben*, but once *behen*; *miol* is *mihil*; *kyhi* and *fyhðr* are disyllables with silent -th- and -gh- respectively, and might imply a continuing hiatus; *maith* is sometimes *mai*, but generally *maihi, moithi*, which accords well with the Manx [ai] 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) *flächr, bale, ståpel, jooblins, lóchi* seem to be examples of the lengthening of a and o in stressed open syllables in disyllabic words, producing [ɑː] and [ɔː], in the case of G. *dealan* through the rounding influence of l; åt, gät, 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 *böch* (with loss of -t), *jöch, tchats, gläs, kääs, jäs*. In *phöllen, dörus, göbag, mélys, männan, mënnele, shårus, spörnan* 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. suipèar, 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 kâbun, trênsbwr, both with final stress; marâw and tarâw, both with initial stress; skadân, yîân in which the accented vowel is neither long nor stressed; and wyûtê, ûtê, gortê, stragê, in which the accent appears to be used only to mark -ê as a syllable (but why -êê?).

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: alyn, bashiel, bedes, benge (voicing of bench), plade (b-), boudt, breckwas (breakfast), brest, button, kapten, clow[r], kodlin, krém, chîwk, chorreckiwn, chîwsyn (all three with lenition of k-), kyver, kreovel, kîlyr (colour), dybled, ekîps, gôl (gall), glás, harti, ley (lazy), marbl, mery, name/name (uncle), nût (n-aunt), nevy (nephew), nîs (niece), fîlîrs (lenition of p-), pitty, poynt, pûr, pydîng/pudîng, quil, quir (quire), rûa, rum, rûst, shrug (shrug ‘undergrowth’), shoór (shore), smel, snayl, snêg, snuff, sor (sore), stablyl, stûck, tást, tike (ticking), tyn, voîs.

2. A third group shows inflection; all are plural nouns, verbal adjectives, or verbal nouns: bakyt, bellusan, bloyt, britchin, broyltyt, creadyt, dotôt, dremal, faintal, fîghtel, fryt, furnishel, bookyn, klespyn, lothyt, manneryn, mîncyt, mistakyt, nsyrel, repental, singel, snyfferin, steûyt, stûpel. (The verb-noun endings are written el or al but only in dotôt [dote, be senile] is there a possible indication that -el is the stressed form and -al the unstressed; this accords with other evidence for dotôt and dremal, but singel and stûpel, 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 [a] in alyn, stablyl, and second y of kîlyr; for [a] in kyver, dybled, shrug, snyfferin, and the first y in kîlyr, and perhaps pydîng; for [i] in tyn, and perhaps ley, mery, nevy, pilory, pitty, but harti (if these spellings are not purely English); and for [i:] in nîs; w for [u:] in bashiel, button (retaining the rounded vowel), kiwk, pûr, puûdîng, rûa, rum, snuff (with rounded vowel), stûck, but not in bookyn, and surprisingly not in kousyn, which if not simply following the English spelling may indicate a diphthong perhaps similar to those in bowlt, clow[r]; ô in gôl, nût must be long open o while rûst, and perhaps shoór at this date, are presumably close; ô is an unlikely symbol for [e:] in tást, but cf. bakyt, creadyt, mistakyt, all firmly English-based. Generally speaking, the English loans are too much under the influence of their orthography of their source language to give much information.

4. The native vocabulary, free from such associations, proves more consistently informative. Gaelic â (including, in Manx, some unroundings of ô 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,
6. There is some evidence here for a different distribution of an and a in the standard orthography:
a corresponds to later o: badgjol/bodjal, kloch etc.; klaRgh, kalvachi/colbagh, kallach/collagh, falom/follym, galry/gorley, mala/molle, alalolay, alalol, amuydach/ommiagh, raden/roddan, shagyl/shogyl, salen/sollan; reversed in sonnashannish or /sonnish. The o development is explicit in joolin, moiden, olach and probably mawda, gen., modi, later moidyn, ollagh, moddey.
a varies with or corresponds to e: ban(n), ben-, bennibhen, breck 'mackerel, trout' and brêk 'smallox/breck, breck according to sense, brendan/broddan, anallennal, far, ferferfar-, ganiach/genniagh jergjiarg (and also kiark!),
‘tìhalkfiolìg, kàllach/kèllagh, pàghlepecch, Phillips pecky, skàdan/skèddan.

In the i-diphthongs the spelling is consistently ai, ei: ‘kleig, leigh, maistyr (later mainsther, with nasalisation), mai etc., sail, saildy (later sailfy, with explicit palatal quality), seil[-]sy/-le, taitleigh, 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: àunlàn, g-àustrynach, giewshiwn, djewsh, ‘laur, rowr, but rounding in ñbòor, ñyor, astal, g-orus, and some uncertainty about shauk, saults. The later spellings are awin, gonsynnee, jenshan, jenish, liauyr, foaur, loor, oyst, ourys (diphthong), shauk, soults. Before unlenited -m in monosyllables there is diphthonging in ‘yawn, kaun, 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 iæ; there are also some less common developments.


(b) buel ‘mouth‘, ien- ‘bird‘, giech, jiach ‘look‘, kiach ‘handle (of plough)‘, niel ‘fit‘, swoon‘.

In final syllables: (stressed) bod[li] ‘bottle‘, minèr ‘my dinner‘, (unstressed) mannal, mònnel, monnel, (len.) wannal ‘neck‘. Before d: ydach ‘clothing‘, adyn, edyn ‘face‘, ydronym ‘light‘, ydronymgh ‘lightness‘, tjàd ‘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 deánanbh, i.e. jene, genow are unrevealing, and gnwùw must involve some miscopying. The spelling kè ‘mix‘, can hardly represent cèo, but may derive from the stem ceath- of cìth ‘shower‘.

8. Gaelic ea, ei are generally represented by e, ei: krec ‘sell‘, kreg ‘rock‘, kregyl ‘cliff‘, (cf. later creggan), ed ‘nest‘, (n- lost to the article), fedjeg ‘feather‘, tzèr ‘allow‘, (later geirr), desh, len. iesit ‘fair, right‘, gen. leisa ‘hip‘, legorus ‘half-door‘, meil ‘lip‘, mèl coll. ‘reapers‘, shèè ‘hide‘, sheleigh ‘spittle‘, sheboch ‘company‘, tzeirach ‘plough-(team)‘. A few examples seem to imply a instead of e: alyn ‘island‘, (later ellan), maisti ‘drunkenness‘, (later mesh Mey), maraister ‘beaver‘ (if this really is a compound with -fheascar), shialien ‘bee‘; with i instead of e: chinedgi ‘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 peachtach 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‘, dynétrough ‘widower‘. In the standard spelling
maairderys, -eird- appears to fall in with the fronting of ë, as does maarligh above, but here the spellings manlyns (for -dryys, -dryi?) and merlych suggest different developments. The adverb noir ‘east’ presents a difficulty in comparison with later niar (and similarly sbiar, SG ear, on ear) and with Phillips vei yn gniarr ‘from the east’.


16. Gaelic u is frequently represented by y: *hlýgan ‘ball’, *dyv ‘black’ (also *du), *lych ‘mouse’, *lyrge ‘shin’, *lys ‘herb, leek’, *myck ‘hog’ (also *mucc), *myllach ‘roof, top’, *yrrn ‘turn’ (also *turrn), *trytal ‘trust’, *tynnagh ‘funnel’, and from a disyllable with lost -th-, *kbyi ‘wild’; but also by w (as above) in *muckdale[ch] ‘pigsty’, *smog ‘snot’, *strían ‘stream’, and probably *kisog ‘cuckoo’, for *kwog. An exception is *bonnarn ‘sheaf of corn’, later *bunney arroo, with o, and similarly *kornacht ‘wheat’ (by metathesis from *cruthmeacht).

17. Gaelic ui appears also chieffy 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 *buddleigh ‘blow, stroke’, *-góisidh ‘together’, *kwynachdan ‘remember’, y *kurichan ‘the feast’, gen. *muyn-dereth, *dere ‘kindred’, *phüid, *fiul ‘blood’, *purpl ‘purple’, *gwurín ‘pimple’, *wystée,
The occurrences in two or three words of **yv** for Gaelic **ui** or **u** may give rise to a reasonable suspicion that the digraph should be **uy**. *krywagin* = *maggots*, later **croog**, **sywdi**; and **krywck** = *pail*, later **cruck**; with the long vowel **dryucht** = *dew* also, but probably not **glywn** = *knee* in view of the standard spelling **glown** (though Phillips **glwyn** shows no trace of palatalisation).

Vocalisation of consonants produces lengthening in **wyl**, **pl. wulan** = *apple* (= **ubhal**); with **-crh**, **kleigh** = *play*, later **croie**; with **-dh-, bwyn**, **bwoalley** = *pleased, content*; later **b(w)ooiagh**; with **-th-**, **re(suw)** = *flee*, later **roie erosoul**.

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* (= broalley = *strike*), and perhaps **khr** = *coat* normally **coaon** in **bu**, **bivu** (len.) **vivab**, **vuvab** = *cow*, **phvver** = *cold*, **ffwplyt** = *loose*, **fsuy** = *hatted*; in **ktan** = *sea*, **keit** = *coal* normally **gaeryl**; and in **krich** = *stack*, **yyn**, **yyyn** = *lamb*, **fjir**, **fjyr** = *cold*, **fch(=)** = *loose*, **skyb** = *broom*; **fsayl** and **fsayr** each appear in two forms. Similarly with **uai**: **buyni** = *reap*, **krwy** = *hard*, **lwi** = *lead*, **twy** = *north*; **kllys**, **klus** = *ear* (the later **cleesb** = acc/dat. **cluais**), **yni** = *green*; **leigb** = *ashes* (cf. **leigb** = *law*); **ri** = *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 **yː** or **iː** conveyed by writing **y** or **e**.

20. Gaelic **aor(i)** exhibits a similar range of spellings to those for **ua(i)**. For **aor**: **plist** = *shell*, normally **bleya**; **fy** = *lime*, **ylee**, **yleigh** = *mud, dung*, **gydin** = *get* (cf. **fedyn**, **SG faaimein**), **kyrry** = *sheep*, **gir** = *wind*, **gesia** = *windy*; **frew** = *heather*, **kwil** = *slander*; **kunach** = *moss* (Welsh **w**); and for **aor**: **folyn** = *seagull*, **kwyorr** = *weep*; **leig** = *call* (**Manx** = **laoig**), **deien** = *worm* (= **daoi + an**, normally **dhiane**); **yrge** = *height* (also **arge** = **aorinde**, **arinde**). In an unstressed syllable, **annan**, later **unnane**, **nane**.

21. Vowels of final open unstressed syllables. There are three possibilities here, **a**, **[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**, **bhiannoo**, **sharroo**, **thalloo**, **tageglm**; -**w** in **marroo** and **tarroroo**; -**w** and -**ow** in **jannoo**. The only odd case is **smarw**, 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 -**er**, there is a clear preference for -**i**, as **casaghtee**, **corree**, **doilleer**, **fuiinne** (gen. of **fuiney**), **garaaghtee**, **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 [a] after a palatal consonant, as bainney, dooinney, fabney, cayney, maidjey, melshey, neary, trimshey.

(c) for [a] 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, eayney, maidjey, meshtey, nearey, trimshey); -y is far less frequent, and generally, though not invariably, occurs after palatals, e.g. aigney, balley, billey, cheerey (gen. of cheer), dooinney, eayney, freenee, lhiggey, keayney, lheiney, meilley, mooinjerey (gen.), tidey, tilgey, soilshey, straidjey, syrjey, treiney, ushtey; -a is always after non-palatal consonants except in the combination -ia in the gen. of theb: examples are aarey, boggey, braarey (gen.), chengey, chiassaghey (and some other verb-nouns of this type - chirmaghey, chymaghey, gortaghey, ynsaghey), cloagey, dooinney, dorraghey, drommey (gen. of dreeym), garey, giarrey, lhie-hoalley, lhongey, ollay, moddey, mynthey, poagey; for the appearance of lheeannee, 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 [a], as asney, bainney, boandey, builley, cadley, coyrle (see Morphology), eoylley, 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 -un, -ail, -og, -air, 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 -an, abane (which is re-formed on this pattern), calmane, ahane, fabhane, grooane, matrane, unnane, of which the first five are written with -en (which sufficiently shows the development of Gaelic d), and the last two have -an (in which the accent reinforces the evidence afforded by the signs of weakening in the first syllable). Examples of -ail are few: dotel, paralleled by the -al of the loanwords bode[1], kornel. The suffix -og is more productive: brugelg, phasieog (with implied reduction of the first syllable from -ea-), fisieg (the alternative phweig is presumably for phineig), golag, gylag (-ig is exceptional and should probably be -eg; the first vowel is again reduced from G. gabhil), imleig, flesieg, ardleg (reduced from ord-), cyleg, cyllag (reduced from riad-). Examples of -air are also few: kanlier, y[n]iesteri. Less common endings are -oon in yunun (= an(a)bhaun), with which kàbun, prise, reson coincide; -(o)oil in gresail (= anbhaoil); -oor in soijer, trienshur, -oob in manvach, stranvach (= -fadbach); -en in berin (= bair[i]ghean), buelin, ennient lenaenleaneen (= in[i]ghean); -eel in monil (= muin(i)chille); and -aid in ficed.
24. Final unstressed syllables.

Here will be found the unstressed reflexes of Gaelic -án, -áil, -ág, -áir, -amhail. For -án in the transcription -an is far from dominant: bluckan, corran, croaghan, dollan, famman, lhiannan, mannan, ollan, ommydan, sporran; -en in buinnican, cappan, crackan, follan, kishan, marthlan, partan, quallian, roddan, shlingan, sollan; and -en in shellan; -yn appears inellan, foillan, jiargan; -on is found in caston (for cassan), and -iun in jeuhan. For G. -áil chiefly in verb nouns, -al occurs in dreamal, ennul, fiantal, muannel, repental, against -el in ®ghtal, furnishal, muannel, nursal, singal, sthappal, and the otherwise unrecorded brwgel (for broo). For -ág the usual -ag appears in crooag, duillag, gobbag, uinnag, with -eg in badlag, ellag, fedjag, lhiattag, thunnag, and -og in scarrog, soddag, as well as in mumig 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 suYx -yn appears in several forms: -an in clagh, ooyl, and cuirraghyn; -en in stock, puddin, speeineig, and sheeintyn; -in in beisht, breech, greeshyn, snuVer, and crooag; -on in jeess, 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 rougerys; with loss of the vowel in mansdyys (for mardyys?), and as -ys in ynnicks.

(b) Other final syllables are less readily tied to grammatical categories or derivation. There is a large class of such syllables consisting of [a] + 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, shoggyl, staabyl, taster, trustyr; gorrym and orrym appear without the svarabhakti vowel as gorm, arm; -a is written in astyl, -e in immyr, moidyn, pishyr, shibber, yngyn; no vowel is written in shamyr and marble, and the English convention is followed in esyl; in follym exceptionally -om is used. The spelling arin 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 suYxes -agh, -aght: only -ach is found for the former in booaagh, beishtagh, brooillagh, bwaagh, cabbagh, colbagh, collagh, cornielagh, crooobagh, easiagh, kellagh, keyrragh (gen.), moyrnagh, mullagh, muaagh, 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 mucklauweck; in feeagh the spelling is fieech.

In hannaght, curnaght, keeaght the ending is -acht; in cooidjagh used as an adverb the -t is lost, and rightly so in shesheraght 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 -gb 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 [trɔɻ] influenced the recorder’s choice of spelling.


(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-* and *ch-* (once); in addition to words of this kind it occurs, with its variants, for Gaelic palatal *t-* in *kere*, *kiebbey*, *kione*; while *chymsaghey* is written with *k-* and *chiarn* (perhaps through recognition of a likeness to W. *teyrn*) as *tyrn*, and *jesh* as *desh*. Similarly with *j-* and *g-* in *geayl* and *geirr*, as well as in *tzeirach*. One might expect from a Welsh recorder some confusion of these unfamiliar a V ericates 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*, *golee*, *sooree*, *spur*, and *tidyn* for *kereyn* (= *cÖrean*) 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*, *goun-stynee*, *maunshter*, in which *n* is originally an indication of nasal quality which has developed into a real consonant, but it is less easily explicable in *eridiare* for *aanrit* (= anairt), *kail* for *cainle* (= coinneal, but *kanlier* for *cainleyr*), *lenni* for *lbenen*, *lbenyn* (= *lêamann*), *not* for *naunt*, *servat*, *serväd* for *shvauant*, and perhaps -*aty* for *aittin*; *mëg* ‘*nir*’ for *snieng*, however, is SG *snig* and this word and *sniengan* ‘*ant*’ (= *seangan*) have affected each other. In *inchel* for *injil* (= *iséal*) 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 aíne, and more surprisingly in the stressed syllable of bodh for bodail. Medially it is lacking in isisey/seisey for solisbey, though present in the unsyncopated solus for sollys.

(f) Final excrescent -t occurs in kloynt for clouan, 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. bogh); it occurs in the loan-word neinfan 'infant', and in modern times is common in final -st, -sh. The only evidence of the latter context is in tai nòt for thie-oes, and in another loanword brecwst, but not in Krèist. In billestist 'cherry-tree' a -t appears which is absent from the dictionaries of Kelly (Triglott) and Creggeen, besides being etymologically unjustified.

(g) Medial and final [d], 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 syrer, yrjed (with additional suffix), and in bregel, cf. participle broojit (double suffix, brúite + -eitch(e)); simple j in maji for maidjey, amyjagh for 'ommijey, dy in fadje (e) citeag, but already voiced in Phillips), amydjab for 'ommijeg, dg in chinedgj; djg in badgol for bodjal; without explicit sign of palatalisation are amwydach for omnijagh (but cf. the non-palatal d in ommydan), mwynderab, -der for moojirey (gen.) with voicing after n already present in Phillips, and saildy for sailje (participle) with voicing after l.

(h) Medial and final Gaelic sc, still sk in Phillips, appear here as st for the first time: ko[v]ninastan (= eascann), plist for blasty (= blosc, pl.), (n)est for eyst (= éasca), iest for east (= iasc) and similarly (g)iestach, (n)est, just cf. SG diog (but these spellings imply short io), laastab for lhiastey (cf. leasc), loistag for loste, maitstey for mehtstey, taster for taster (SG tajtar). The change is not complete: a following stress allows the group to be treated as if initial, as asked (= neascóid), and the preposition mastey 'among' retains the form maske during part of the eighteenth century; the only example is -egyd for ygd (e) iscosaid).

(i) Medial rs assimilated to s but could be restored by analogy, as in Phillips' dossyn, pl. of dorrys (as well as dorrys, dorryssyn). The clearest case here is kíos for coarse (Phillips knys, kus); in word-groups it occurs i resul for roie erooyl, brey swthleigh for braar 'iy Leigh, and fiorsor 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 knup), kreww, kreww6 (Phillips knaw, knef), krò 'nut', and krock (Phillips knock). The appearance of the nasalisation in kramp but not in krock for crónk 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 aarit (always -t in Phillips); agret for argid (both -d and -t in Phillips); basket for baksad (-d in Phillips as well as bastag with metathesis); dybled 'doublet', cf. Welsh doubled, dybled; fused for fisaid 'faucet'; (len.) fflaget for poggaid 'pocket'; slisit for slhecayst, slheasid 'thigh' – the former is the normal usage of the
One of the consonant changes which has taken place since Manx spelling gives the latter as gen., which is sometimes true, but when it occurs in the Bible (Gen. 52, Num. 5, Rev. 19) it functions for all cases; tager for taggd ‘pin’. In slaayst (= sluasaid), which might be expected to be parallel to sbheaayst above, the spelling is sly 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 fricatives, e.g. a change such as p to b, and k to g, sometimes s to f, and similarly with the continuants, [ʃ] to become [ʂ] and proceed to [ʃ] or zero, as [ɾ] for trisbaighth, [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 lbuisbah ‘blanket’ in which -sh- represents [ʃ] which is both the voicing of [ʃ] and, as in this case, the decaffication of [k]. Gaelic luideag. The present list provides little new information on this phenomenon: mynda ‘mint’, sàidh ‘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. cinntach is Phillips kinjagb (with different sense) but non-palatal ciontach is still Phillips kientagh, later kyndagh, and G. iongantais is ientys (once -nd-) but here eendough (sic) and later yindy, and similarly G. teampall is Phillips chiampyl, later chi-amble. Phillips still has p(p) in cappan (here caben and capen) and in shibber, but both p and b in cabyl (here kably), k in cloagey and poagey, with which we may join *speeigaagyn ‘icicles’ (cf. G. spáce). The double shift from p to v seems to occur in kalvach ‘heifer’, G. colpach, normally colbagh, and in avyrn ‘apron’, usually apyrn. The meaning of págh (for peccab), Phillips peky = peacahd) is uncertain since elsewhere gh is silent; the use of peccagh ‘sinner’ as an indefinite pronoun, now written peisagh, pyagh and implying the change [k] to [g] to [ŋ] 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 couyrat ‘recover, get well’), and kisag is easily corrected to kwag. In honnellskleiviad, later tha nel schle ayd, the value of vi is uncertain; it can hardly be the verbnoun ve. In Phillips in monosyllables final palatal bh, mb 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 scriu ‘to write’, later scriu/screau, both of which have non-palatal bh. Eov 7.32 ‘egg’ is probably to be corrected from its neighbours 7.31, 7.34 to 66. Lyv, otherwise liegh, for beeth (G. liath), is impossible, and a miscopying for lyg seems likely; lyh, though given as a response to ‘patience’
22.97, has probably been misplaced and should be referred to 22.96 ‘rash’, standard spelling leab (G. luath). JlavÔg is an illustration of the situation in which medial [v] does survive, i.e. immediately before the stress, but the normal spelling is lëvbhag (G. leadbhóg), and v here, if not a mishearing, is an example of the phenomenon discussed in (l) above. On fôvryn 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, shovil an eil, treach an our, farteigh ein tae; the lenitions in tae na chhuk, tae na wärge 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 dorun y vackside, madleg y laeigh, bann y tae, hammer y dorun, tidyn y challach, mûnne y late (permissible in Manx fem. nouns which have no distinct gen. form), myllach y tae, ruw e ville, shinden e vëh (the informant does not use the gen. ny baa), ta buyny e talu, furnishal e tae, phineg e twl, kornel e twl, benn e Vôsi, krywck a vanni. In dyne fôusi, seise têv, 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 drýmma, krew n bërge.

(b) In the fem. sg. gen. and in the pl. nom. and gen. the article is ny (ny h- before vowels, ny + nas. in the gen. pl.): sg. fe[r]na maisti, lowt na treach, tae na h-aglys, kyver ne lywrach, quit ne labach, tikne labach, ne quilach (no headword); pl. na bestin; gen. bochely na gyrrach, fer na mreg, tae na galmenan, — ni golmen, tae na myck, kimsa(n)cha na ni [e]son, (fer ta[g]unuv na bydinen, fer ta kreck ne lawrach, golag ne(s)tri mûr, 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 acc./dat. The collection provides few plurals: by attenuation, barni, modi, lôch; with suffix -yn, see 25(a) for examples. Genitive by attenuation: benn e fûusi, tai fûn, galdy scaldi (all gen. of the verb-noun), and gloch’ar’n (if this is for kloch barni), and ‘ekhym (if later king, G. cin). by use of the suffix -ey: bran, chide, lesia, muwynderab, -dere, drymma, stråg, snà (G. màtha); with the suffix -agb: 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, fîl vëck (not mûickey), wëb vëwab, shinden e vëwab (not bæs), foan treigh a chas (not c choshey), lige fûl (not folley), casten 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.: gaustrynach, later gounstyrnee; liena, later lheeannee; mala, later mollee, and perhaps labgh/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[ar]chhi, kloch veg, engr vòor, fili vuck, — vart, — vol, ganiach vòo (in ganiach garw /g/ probably stands for [g] as occasionally elsewhere), gaawr verin, lar wy, law ieist, — chihr, lwi ven (but also lwi jerg), ýchch vai, myck werin, bass vòor, sail vuck, muckle[ch]vuck, uh vuah, pôdes vanni, servat[siambr ven (ms vel)] e ffwoi, pudding vòor, — güg[b], ryllag hollus. The masc. are: arb myck, aran sÁwr, bit beg, bi melys, billan labach, ñillist, arget bio, byga moor, bógh brist, balli chiide, ffn jerg, — marù, lwyt peg, mir men, — beg, ien dýw, ʾest saltýd, keel bîô, — marù, mâle banni, tyrn moithi, smel bryñ, — melys, snachty garw, teigb beg, tai ffwoi, teigar moithi, ʾtrênbwur kornelach.

(b) by mutation after the article, explicit or suppressed. Lenition in the nom. suggests a fem.: yn venge, [ʔy]vreck, [ʔy]chrosh, [ʔy]chat (sic), [ʔy]chir, yn ffîlory. In the gen. lenition is more ambiguous; it may indicate a masc. or an uninfluenced fem. (for which cf. 27 (a) mônñel y law, shinden e víabh, kornel e tïô); masc. are kiryn (ms tidýn) y chailach, treach an owr, kreù n dyrmma, and (with correction of ms na to an) tai an chûk, tai an vârge.

(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 arw) n[ar]hasw ʾstanding corn', which shows arroo 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, siambr my labach, perhaps mo wereigh (my warrei, or just muwarrei?); before vowels, m-agne, m-isôg, press m-ydach, m-eglan, m-inôr; before n-, mon nevy, mon nys. In contrast to these unstressed forms there occurs in Section xxiii a spelling mo[iði]: moiði vommog, moi vymog, moi chousyn, moiði name, moi nót.

2 sg. dy (to distinguish it from the prep. dy): dy wannal, dy chlus, drym dy law (also bass—, ardeg—, aphen—), kawn dy leia; unvoiced after -s, cas ty labach; before vowels, t-agne, lwik t-esgyd; in syllabic form, klûr 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 moiði faintal awl, ta moiði repentay y, ta mi egó moithi libertye hîu: tam wns hwp (contracted, or inflected?).

2 sg. oo: tow (ta + oo) dotêl, dow fier drowsy; *too survived in Phillips in the future, -îdth tú, writen -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. eb: ta moih repental y, stol as casson agh; emph. eshy: eshy na buynie 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, sien de fil vuck hirin, swil de snèd, troop de kably (absence of lenition in feiill 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’aÈul, pi d-wlan, tawn d’wystè; 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).

mgeaynt ‘round’: bedes mgeayn 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 hÅu.

ays ‘in’: wns hwp, os niel; with sg. art.: brey[r] sw thleigh, — sw leigh, sarge us a tai, yn a cholege, laby cy gara; with 2sg. possessive, òften dy chlus; 3 sg. masc. ar(o) hassw, fem. ben ne leigh hola.

er ‘on’: da lowt er yrge.

son ‘out of’ (with article): pricker sa ma chlyss, — sa m-eglan.

as ‘out of’ (with art.): igus a chaben (igus must be corrupt, standard in as y chappan)

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

dy (+ adj.): loi de shir (ms shin).

(b) Pronominal prepositions:

ee ‘at’: 1 sg. aym: [ta]ficy agh m orts, i.e. ta feoh aym ort’s.

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

er ‘on’: 1 sg. orryn: ta na bestin orm, ta mien orm.

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

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

lesh ‘with’: 1 sg. lbiam: s-toli-lern, b-al-lim (standard baillym, treated as a unit).

(c) Verbal forms:

Substantive verb, present: ta na bestin orm, ta moïr chion shin, ta mien orm, da n g rien ‘alyn; relative, fer ta kreck ne lewarch, eshy na buynie talw, papyr de blotyt, far te gimbly; with pronoun subject, 1 sg. ta moih repental, ta mi eg(o) moihi libertye hù, tan wns hwp; 3 pl. tadr bolon.

dependent present: hon nel skleiviad.

future, 1 sg.: bym revenge a gort

Copula, present: s-toli-lern, s-leneg (?).

preterite: b-al-lim.

pres. subjunctive: gra moih, norw mài ad (standard, gura, narra).
Jannoo ‘do’: future, ni.
conditional, 1 sg.: bo dgera moihi (leg. dgena, later jinnagh; analytic for
standard cha jinmin).
Geddyn ‘get’: future, 2 sg., you dw reward.

(d) Miscellaneous items:

as ‘and’: hookyn ys kleppyn, stol as casson agh, achous as doian dw.
cha ‘not’: bo dgera moihi, bon nel skleiviad
un ‘one’: un swil
daa ‘two’: da lowt er yrge
three ‘three’: golag ne(s) tri mèr
(y) chied ‘first’: [y] hied obius
(y) nah ‘second’: [y] na chius

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 exam-

ples here is notable; ballim a lliey shin (with palatal -d assimilated to
following sb-), stoli len heg shin e genow (beg 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.

ynnjd, older ynnch ‘place’, as conjunction ‘where’: byner tadr bolon (on
the doubtful assumption that this corresponds to (yn) ynnjd taddy
bivally ayn ‘the place that they thresh in it’, which leaves h- unex-
plained, though there are parallels here for unhistorical -r, e.g. fliscfh
for flasghy).
Ballabeg, Isle of Man