BUCHREIHE DER
ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR CELTISCHE PHILOLOGIE

GEORGE BRODERICK

A HANDBOOK OF
LATE SPOKEN MANX

VOL. 3

PHONOLOGY

DAUESYN SHEN REN CHYMSAGHEY JEELYM YN GHAILCK

C O N T E N T S

Vowels

A. Stressed Vowels

INTRODUCTION

This phonology of Late Spoken Manx (herinafter usually referred
to as LSM) forms the third volume of A HANDBOOK OF LATE SPOKEN
MANX (Niemeyer, Tübingen 1984), and is divided into two parts -
the first dealing with a synchronic, the second a diachronic
study. In the first part I have attempted to describe, so far
as is possible (v. below), the sound system of the remnants of
native Manx Gaelic speech as recorded (either on sound-record-
ings or in phonetic script) from the last generation of native
speakers; the recordings used span a period from August 1909 to
August 1972. Details of the recordings can be found in the
Introduction to Vol. 1. The second part attempts to show how
each of the sounds of 'Common Gaelic' developed in LSM; the
starting point taken is the end of the 'Common Gaelic' period
(c. 1250AD) before the break-up into the three Gaelic languages
of Modern Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx.[1] In this respect I
follow Jackson who used the same starting point in his 'Con-
tributions' (1955). Before discussing some of the problems
encountered particularly when making the synchronic study, some
details as to how the material was gathered and some observ-
ations made by the collectors could perhaps be looked at. There
then follows an assessment of the material used.

The first ever sound-recordings of LSM, so far as is known, were
made by Dr. Rudolf Trebitsch of the Österreichische Akademie der
Wissenschaften, Vienna, from 5th - 8th August 1909. Trebitsch's
visit to Man formed part of a survey by the Akademie of recording
extant Celtic languages around that time. The Manx sound-record-
ings are to be found on ten phonograph cylinders (nos. 1072,

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1. v. Jackson (1951).

1088-96) and are housed in the above Akademie. They were made of four speakers (v. Vol. 1:xv, xvi).

The first extensive sound-recording of native Manx Gaelic speech was made on 48 phonograph cylinders by Prof. Carl Marstrander, Dept. of Celtic Studies, University of Oslo, Norway, in late January/early February 1933 (v. Vol. 1: xvi, xvii). Information regarding his three visits to Man (in 1929, 1930, 1933) is almost exclusively to be found in a contemporary diary forming part of the contents of Vol. 5 of his Manx material now in the Manx Museum.[2] The diary is in Norwegian and was recently translated by Knut Janson of Dublin.

According to the diary, Marstrander's first (and most extensive) visit took place from mid-June to the second week in September 1929. Having arrived in Man via Newcastle, London, and Liverpool (stopping off in London to see the scholar Robin Flower), he began making a tour of the island on bicycle in a clockwise direction starting from Douglas. He would stop at various places on the way and enquire of the local people about Manx and who, if anyone, still spoke it or could remember some of it. He would either be told of the best person or persons to go to for material, or be informed that no one in the district spoke Manx at all. Sometimes those asked might say that their parents or grandparents spoke it, but that they did not. In this way Marstrander was able to build up a fairly accurate picture of the distribution of Manx speakers, or of those that had some Manx, in the island at that time.

One of the persons recommended to him was Thomas Taggart of Grenaby, Malew, whom he (first) visited on 16th June 1929. Of him he says (Di.:16) 'Thomas Taggart turned out to be a jolly old man with a great apostolic beard, and quite a talkative man with a brilliant sense of humour. His pronunciation appears to me to

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2. cf. Vol. 1: xvi, xvii.

be inarticulate, not only in Manx but also in English (which,
however, doesn't say much, because my knowledge of Manx is
practically nil).[3] He lisps a little bit; certainly he doesn't
have all his teeth, and some of the words appear to stick in
his beard. But as far as I can see his Manx is impeccable. He
told me that he also knew several Manx songs of the sort you
couldn't tell in public.[4] I'm quite sure I can use the man; I
have to keep him in mind, but at the moment I have to carry on
my round'.[5] It was also during this initial cuairt that he came
into contact with Harry Kelly, Joseph Woodworth, and Thomas
Crebbin, all of whom he later visited and obtained material
from (v. Texts).

Marstrander, as we have seen on his own admission, had little or
no Manx when he came to the island, and on his circuit he was
looking for someone with whom he could work regularly to learn
from and question. He found his ideal person on 21st June in
Thomas Christian of College Street, Ramsey, whom he describes
(Di.:47-8) as 'an excellent old man, a Nordic type through and
through. Here I seem finally to have found the man to work with.
His pronunciation is clear, the man is intelligent, patient, and
understands that he can be of great service to scholarship by
making himself available. He answers small test samples quickly
and idiomatically'.[6] Marstrander arranged to visit Christian on
a regular basis to learn Manx from him, and he began his lessons
with him the following Tuesday (25th June). He tells us (Di.:54)
that he would work with him from ca. 10-12 in the morning and
from 2-4pm in the afternoon and adds 'Christian without doubt
knows a lot of Manx. But it is quite clear that even he is a
long time without practice at speaking the language. He often

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3. Until he had (later on) learned Manx he judged the accuracy
   of the answers people gave him to his test questions from
   his knowledge of Modern Irish.
4. For one of them v. Vol. 1: 390.
5. In fact he went back to Taggart during his second visit.
6. Potential informants would first be asked to translate simple
   sentences into Manx, then, if they were able, more difficult
   ones. One of Marstrander's favourite test questions to elicit
   the use of the conditional/past subjunctive in unreal condit-
   ional clauses was 'I would not have beaten him, had he not
   been a bad man'.

neglects the ordinary rules of mutation (aspiration [i.e. lenition], eclipsis), but maybe that is part of the development of the dialect he is speaking'.[7] Marstrander apparently worked regularly with Christian till just prior to his departure in September.

Marstrander returned to Man the following summer, arriving (via Newcastle, London, and Liverpool - the route he took on all three visits) at the beginning of August. The purpose of his visit on that occasion was, acc. to his diary (p. 64), to investigate the southern dialect which he regarded (correctly) as differing 'to a significantly greater degree than what is generally thought from that in the northern part of the island'.[8] During that second visit he worked mainly with Thomas Taggart, Grenaby; Edward Kennah, Ballaclery; Joseph Woodworth, Port Erin; Thomas Crebbin, Bradda; Harry Kelly, Cregneash, and from Peel with William Quane (Marstrander's main informant for the northern dialect, Thomas Christian, had died on 21st Feb. 1930). He found Taggart a difficult subject to deal with - 'First of all he is deaf and a continuous conversation with him is almost impossible. His memory is also weakened to a considerable degree. ...Yesterday we were shouting for a full four and a half hours, which I'm sure could be heard all over the parish - and we were both completely knackered when we were finished' (Di.:70-1). He regarded Kennah (Di.:68) as a trustworthy man, but noted that he did not speak Manx with ease. Better he found was Jos. Woodworth whom he noted (Di.:68) 'was clear and certain, and his Manx seems to be with him something more than just memories'. His best informant from the south, however, was Harry Kelly who (Di.:72)'appears to have an extraordinarily good knowledge of

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7. Abandonment of mutation is a feature quite prevalent in LSM; v. Vol. 1 §§7-27.
8. As well as investigating the southern dialect it was also Marstrander's intention (Di.:64) to excavate an old 'keeill' (church) site 'in a very Norse district, and perhaps find a few runic crosses'. Marstrander was an acknowledged expert on Old Norse runic inscriptions. Bearing in mind that Man once formed (a major) part of the 'Norse' kingdom of Sodor (Man and the Hebrides)(till 1266) Marstrander's interest in Manx and his occasional outbursts of Norwegian/Nordic chauvanism (Di.:6, 47) have to be seen in this light.

Manx. I've still not been able to get to know him very well,
but it would not surprise me that of all the speakers I have
met he is the one who speaks best and most idiomatically.[9]
Made him tell me his "Life" in English; I'll take it down in
Manx tomorrow morning [31.08.1930] at 9 o'clock'. Marstrander,
however, experienced some difficulty at getting Kelly (initial-
ly) to honour his arrangements, for he noted (Di.:73) '..he is
a difficult man to handle. When I called in this morning at
9 o'clock as we had agreed he had no time to spare. I'll have
to come to a permanent arrangement with him'. He managed to get
his vita (plus other information relating to fishing and farming
customs and practices) from him nevertheless; v. Vol. 1: 324ff.

Marstrander returned a little over 16 months later (in mid-Jan.
1933) to Man, this time with a phonograph cylinder recorder and
a graph to 'determine the sonority, nasality, consonant and
vowel sounds, pitch' (Di.:82). Neither machine was evidently
working satisfactorily. There was something wrong with the
stylus on the phonograph recorder which meant that at least
1/5 of the wax cylinder could not be used (Di.:81). In addition
the machine could not be used when the temperature was less than
20 degrees centigrade, which in the Isle of Man in January was
(at that time) difficult to attain, even indoors. Regarding the
graph it was apparently difficult to get the oscillations to
show on the paper, and thought he could improve things if he
changed the nibs. At any rate, he admitted (Di.:82) that the
machine could not be compared with the French one he had used
previously in Brittany.

Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties, Harry Kelly was
evidently to be his star performer. He made contact with him
on 24th January, and began recording him at the Station Hotel,
Port Erin (to where he brought him) on the 25th. He made 29
cylinder recordings of Kelly (Di.:83) and finished work with
him on 30th January 1933. He regarded the recordings, however,
as being rather uneven. 'Kelly's voice is somewhat hoarse, is

9. An observation he confirmed when he met him the following
   day.

a bit squeaky and not very sonorous, but the result improves
when he speaks relatively softly and has his mouth well close
to the horn'.[10] He had some success also with the graph, the
main result being (Di.:83) 'faintly voiced media in dorcha
are voiced; p, t, k considerably weaker aspiration than in
Norwegian; [aun'] 'river', [daun'] 'deep' have a non-nasal
vowel'. Before returning to Norway on 5th Feb. 1933 he made
several (five) cylinder recordings in Peel of Quane and two
of Cashen, two of Fayle[11] and the last two of John Cain of Jurby.
Of the latter Marstrander noted (Di.:85) 'John Cain confirmed
completely the good impression I got of him in 1929. ...It is
a pity I hadn't met him before. He would have been one of my
main informants together with Christian, Woodworth, and Kelly'.

From his diary we also learn that Marstrander had a fetish for
acquiring old Manx Bibles and prayerbooks, whether he bought
them or had his informants part with them, and would be put out
if an informant didn't want to sell it! The regularity with
which he mentions his acquisition of such books suggests that
they were as important to him as the Manx he was eliciting from
his informants. One example will suffice to show this: (Di.:28)
'Harry Kelly, 77 yrs. old, who lives at the bottom of the village
on the right hand (south) side of the road. A nice old man with
a clear pronunciation. The few sentences I gave to him to
translate - they were quite simple - he managed without any
difficulty. His father spoke practically only Manx. Kelly has a
Manx Bible which Karran [also from Cregneash] has (he's the
oldest of them), but none of them wanted to part with it. Taggart

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10. Di.:81-2; of the 29 cyl. recordings made of Harry Kelly
    only 23 have (so far) survived, v. Vol. 1: xvi.
11. '..an impossible subject, hoarse and had a squeaky voice;
    and barked the words into the horn' (Di.:84). He noted
    also (Di.:83) that 'Quane's voice didn't turn out to be
    very good either for the recordings, and his knowledge of
    Manx is probably rather limited. He is not like Kelly and
    Cashen born with Manx, but has learned it, as he says him-
    self, by listening to the old people when he was a boy.
    His pronunciation often varies for the same words, it seems
    to me'[29.01.33].

in Grenaby also has a Bible from 1819...'.[12]

Marstrander's main contacts in the Isle of Man during his visits
were William Cubbon, then librarian at the Manx Museum, and
J.J. Kneen, the Manx scholar.[13] On 13th June 1929 the day after
his arrival on his first visit Marstrander recalls in his diary
(p. 6ff) 'Kneen's information about the conditions under which
scholarly work is carried out here was particularly sad to hear.
The English [i.e. Manx] Government couldn't care less. Kneen's
own work is on a part-time basis', but recognized that his work
on placenames was 'so important from a Norwegian point of view
that it would be reasonable if the Nansen Fund acknowledged his
work with a grant of a hundred pounds towards further collection
of material'. On two other occasions Marstrander urged that Kneen
be granted an award to allow him to complete his work on Manx
placenames, e.g. (Di.:64) 'We ought to get Kneen a grant for two
years, so that he can continue recording the placenames. This
work has to be done within the next few years, because it would
not be possible to obtain the Celtic pronunciation in a few
years' time'.[14] Kneen by profession was a sugar-boiler, a maker
of Manx (mint) rock, who worked in his small business concern in
Douglas. As Marstrander put it (Di.:52-3) 'Kneen has a small
sweetshop in Douglas. He sits in a small room at the back of the

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12. Marstrander, it seems, also liked to indulge in some mild
    boyish mischief. While at Kirk Michael on his cycle tour in
    1929 he found the flat surface of a gatepost much too irres-
    istable and carved on it in runes "I Carl erected this
    stone" (Di.:35). He hoped that no one would find it and
    take it seriously!
13. For a list of his publications v. Wm. Cubbon A Bibliography
    of the Literature of the Isle of Man 2 vols. (OUP 1933 and
    1939). One of his main works is his Placenames of the Isle
    of Man in 6 parts (Douglas 1925-28), which Marstrander
    praised highly. For a critique of this work v. C.J.S. Mar-
    strander 'Remarks on the Placenames of the Isle of Man'
    NTS vii (1934).
14. This perhaps was unduly pessimistic for that time, since
    there would have been a fair number of people around with a
    knowledge of the old placenames and an accurate pronunciat-
    ion of them, even if they couldn't speak Manx. Marstrander's
    comments here would be more applicable today, when there is
    a dearth of old Manx people with a knowledge of such names
    living on the land.

shop, which has to do as his dining room, and makes sugar-sticks (Manx rock). The man who ought to be a professor in Manx at a university. Life is very hard for some'.[15]

Although in 1934 Marstrander regarded (incorrectly) that at that time there was only one person in Man who could properly be described as a native speaker,[16] it was as a result of his visits, it seems, and the publicity they received in Man at the time that Manx Gaelic enthusiasts began combing the countryside in search of surviving native speakers. In consequence a Welsh visitor, Mr A.S.B. Davies of Moelfre, Colwyn Bay, using their discoveries was able to announce in the <u>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</u> XII 1946 (1948) 89ff. the names and addresses of twenty people who had spoken Manx from infancy. For reference they were:

1. Wilfred Wade, Sandygate, Jurby [also visited by Marstrander]
2. Charles Kneale, Ballagarrett, Bride
3. Mrs. [Annie] Kneale (his wife), Ballagarrett, Bride
4. John Tom Kaighin, Ballagarrett, Bride
5. John Kneen [The Gaaue], Lhen Mooar, Andreas
6. Robert Fayle, Ramsey
7. Capt. James Kinley, Peel [thought by Lewis Crellin of Peel not to have been a native speaker]; orig. from Ballafesson
8. Mrs Clague, Dalby, Patrick
9. Miss Kaye, Onchan (of Glen Maye, Patrick)
10. Harry Boyde, Ballaugh
11. Edward [Ned] Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen
12. John Maddrell (his brother), Port St. Mary
13. Mrs. [Eleanor] Karran, Cregneash, Rushen
14. Mr. Crebbin, Cregneash, Rushen
15. James Karran [bro. of Mrs. Karran], Cregneash, Rushen
16. Mrs. [Emily] Lowey, Kirkill, Rushen

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15. This, perhaps, epitomizes the attitude (even today) of the Manx Establishment towards Manx Gaelic. Although official attitudes today regarding Manx are a lot better, particularly in the schools, than they evidently were in Marstrander's time, nevertheless (except for some superficial use of the language) there is at the time of writing, so far as is known, no real overall coherent positive policy on the part of the Manx Government or Establishment to promote or use Manx Gaelic at any level, academic or otherwise.
16. i.e. Harry Kelly; v. <u>NTS</u> vii (1934) 292.

17. Thomas Leece, Moaney Mooar, Malew

18. John Kinvig, Ronague, Arbory

19. Mrs. [Sage] Kinvig (his wife), Ronague, Arbory

20. Mrs. [Catherine] Watterson, Colby, Arbory [orig. of
    Glenchass]

Some years ago (1977) the late Çhalse Craine of Mwyllin Squeen,
Ballaugh, - one of the Manx Gaelic enthusiasts - was telling me
that he discovered John Tom Kaighin, John Kneen (The Gaaue), and
Harry Boyde by accident when he was a bank official at the Isle
of Man Bank in Ramsey during the mid-thirties. The above gentle-
men, he was saying, used to come in once a week to his bank, and
he had a notion that they might be native Manx speakers because
of their age. On one occasion he chanced to speak to them in
Manx, upon which his suspicions were confirmed. Mr. Craine also
told me that The Gaaue was already in his eighties when he first
met him in 1936, and that he had never seen a man so old. John
Kneen, born in Nov. 1852, died in June 1958 aged 105 years.

So far as is known, Marstrander did not return to Man again till
1965, shortly before his death later that same year, on a private
visit. For some reason he chose not to work on his Manx collect-
ion, but had it bound and donated it to the Manx Museum.[17] It was
not till 1948 that the next systematic sound-recording of Manx
Gaelic was made.

On 23rd July 1947 Éamon de Valéra, then Taoiseach of Éire, paid
an official one-day state visit to the Isle of Man,[18] during
which he was escorted to various places in the island by the then
Director of the Manx Museum, Mr. Basil Megaw, and Mr. Ramsey B.
Moore (then Attorney-General).[19] One of the places visited by

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17. on 2nd July 1951; v. also Vol. 1: xvi, xvii.

18. The main purpose of the visit was apparently cultural, and
    later (when opposition leader in Dáil Éireann) he made
    similar visits to Wales and Scotland.

19. Basil Megaw: personal communication 10.12.1976; v. also
    the Annual Report of the Manx Museum and Ancient Monument
    Trustees for the year ended 31st March 1948, p. 2.

de Valéra and his party was the recently reopened (in 1946) open-air folk museum at Cregneash (in the very south of the island), whose curator was Ned Maddrell, a native Manx Gaelic speaker.[20] De Valéra, according to the Manx Museum's Annual Report (31.03.1948), was much impressed by the Cregneash folk museum, and when he was told[21] that no really adequate sound-recording had been made of the few surviving native speakers of Manx Gaelic,[22] he said that, if it would be helpful, he would be glad to ensure that the best technical facilities and 'know-how' were made available for the purpose. After consultation with officials of Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh (the Manx Language Society) this offer was warmly accepted by the Manx Museum Trustees.[23] In consequence de Valéra approached Prof. Séamas Ó Duilearga, Director of the Irish Folklore Commission (IFC), to arrange for the Commission to visit Man to make sound-record-ings of the native Manx speakers that were then living. In an interview with Dr. Caoimhîn Ó Danachair on this subject (27.05.1981) I learned from him that de Valéra was told that the Commission had no sound-recording unit at all. De Valéra ordered that one be obtained, and on 21st April 1948 Dr. Ó Danachair was sent on his own with the van containing the recording unit to Man on board the B & I cattleboat SS. Longford.

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20. As it later turned out he was the last native Manx speaker (d. 27.12.1974). De Valéra and Ned Maddrell evidently got on very well together, and each began talking to the other in his own Gaelic language. Maddrell told me on the only occasion that I visited him (v. below) on 17.08.1972 that he began reciting the Lord's Prayer in Manx and de Valéra joined him in Irish about half-way through. He said also that Mr. de Valéra's visit on him was the one he cherished most.
21. Some believe that it was Ned Maddrell himself who urged de Valéra to do something about the precarious position of Manx in which it then was. This is possible, since Maddrell was away at sea at the time of Marstrander's visits.
22. Marstrander's phonographic recordings had presumably been forgotten about. In fact (23 of) the orig. cylinders were not rediscovered till 1976 (Magne Oftedal: personal comm-unication, April 1978).
23. MM. Annual Report (31.03.1948) p. 2.

The boat arrived at the Battery Pier, Douglas, at about 6am on the morning of 22nd April 1948 and was met by Basil Megaw. The van had been placed in the ship's hold, and when it was winched out it was found, according to Ó Danachair, that the roof of it was completely covered in cowdung! Once on the quayside, he said, they drove via the back streets of Douglas to the Manx Museum where it was hosed down and cleaned.

The machinery his van contained included two recording decks set on a table immediately behind the front seats and powered by batteries recharged each night at the Museum. When out on field-work, said Ó Danachair, care was taken to park the van on level ground. The microphone was then positioned according to the requirements, depending on whether the interview was to be con-ducted indoors or not. The sound-levels would then be checked, and when all was correct the recording would begin. The sounds would be monitored through headphones. The second deck would be put into operation as the disc on the first deck was coming to an end. The recording arm would work from the centre outwards. In this way between 22nd April and 5th May 1948 the Irish Folk-lore Commission was able to collect on twenty six 12-inch double-sided discs just over four hours of recorded material.[24] The original disc recordings are housed in the archives of the old Irish Folklore Commission, now the Dept. of Irish Folklore, University College, Dublin. Copy-tapes, as well as the 35mm negatives of the photos of the informants were later forwarded to the Manx Museum. The IFC recordings were done with the active help of the Manx Museum Director Basil Megaw, the Museum staff, and members of Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh (YCG), especially Chalse Craine, John Gell, William Radcliffe, Leslie Quirk, Eric Cregeen, Shiela Cregeen, Mark Braide, Tom Braide, J.D. Qualtrough (Speaker of the House of Keys), and Arthur Karran. Dr. Ó Danach-air returned to Dublin via Liverpool.[25]

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24. For details v. Vol. 1: xviii.
25. Ó Danachair interview 27.05.1981.

As a direct result of the IFC's visit to Man, the staff of the Manx Museum's Folklife Survey(MM)[26] set about making their own collection of native Manx speech on paper tapes (provided by Prof. Francis J. Carmody, University of California, Berkeley, in July 1949) between early 1950 and autumn 1952.[27] According to Basil Megaw,[28] the first set of tapes were made by YCG volunteers Wm. Radcliffe, Charles Clarke, Walter Clarke, Leslie Quirk for the Folklife Survey on a machine borrowed from Prof. Carmody. The Museum was then later equipped with a tape recorder provided by one of the Friends of the Manx Museum to make recordings for preservation in the Folklife Survey archives.[29]

Also following on from the example of the IFC Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh began making its own series of sound-recordings on paper tapes from late 1951 to ?mid 1953 (v. Vol. 1: xix). Those mostly involved with interviewing the speakers and recording them were: Douglas C. Faragher, Walter Clarke, Wm. Radcliffe, Leslie Quirk, John Gell, and Charles Clarke. The recording machine used, a "Soundmirror", was bought and provided by John Gell,[30] and the recording sessions would take place usually on a Sunday afternoon. The recordings of John Kneen were usually undertaken in Wm. Radcliffe's house in Ramsey, as Kneen had no electricity in his own house out at Ballaugh Curraghs. The recordings of Harry Boyde were made at the Mannin Infirmary, Braddan, where he spent the last few years of his life (d. 02. 02.1953). In most cases speakers were interviewed individually in their own homes, usually by two or more interviewers. On one occasion (09.10.1952) three speakers, viz. Tommy Leece, Ned Maddrell, Mrs. Sage Kinvig, gathered in the house of Tommy Leece at Kerrookeil, Malew, with five interviewers, viz. Walter Clarke, Doug. Faragher, Tom Braide, John Gell, and Robert L. Thomson, and the rapport and excitement engendered by all present produced some very interesting material.

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26. The Manx Folklife Survey was set up in May 1948 and put into operation some six months later on the appointment (on 01.10.48) of Eric Cregeen; v. MM Ann. Rep.31.03.1949.
27. v. Vol. 1:xviii-xix. 28. Pers. comm. 29.04.1976. 29. ibid.
30. The Manx Museum apparently refused permission sought by YCG volunteers to use its machine.

Apart from a few private recordings (v. Vol. 1: xx), no further systematic sound-recordings of native Manx speech, so far as is known, were made before August 1972 when Prof. Kenneth Jackson, Dept. of Celtic, University of Edinburgh, sent David Clement of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (Gaelic section)(LSS) to Man to see what he could get from Ned Maddrell, then the only sur-viving native speaker,[31] and also from Ewan Christian of Peel, a semi-native speaker.[32] Clement came again in August of the following year, but found that Ned Maddrell's hearing had det-eriorated to such an extent, that he was unable to elicit any information at all from him, even though Maddrell himself was willing enough to give it.

In addition to the sound-recordings of native Manx Gaelic speech, as outlined above, recordings in phonetic script were made by Sir John Rhys (between 1886 and 1893)[33] and Marstrander (1929-1933)(v. below) and later by Francis J. Carmody, Heinrich Wagner and Kenneth Jackson (v. below).

On 27th December 1974 Ned Maddrell, the last reputed native speaker of Manx Gaelic, died and now lies buried in the grave-yard of Rushen parish church. As with other members of Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh I attended his funeral service, at which not a word of Manx was uttered or sung. This, I understand, was the wish of his immediate family, though I suspect not his. On Ned Maddrell's death native Manx Gaelic speech passed into history.

Assessment of the material used

1. The Vienna Recordings

These recordings are very scratchy, and were they not accompan-ied by texts provided by the informants themselves (though

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31. His predecessor Mrs. Sage Kinvig having died on 13th April 1962.
32. For details of these recordings v. Vol. 1: xix, xx. For details about Ewan Christian v. below.
33. Published in his 'Outlines of Manx Phonology' in Manx Soc. xxxiii (1894); also published separately the same year. It has not been used here owing to difficulties of interpret-ation.

written out in Trebitsch's own hand) of their own material they
would be very difficult to make out. My phonetic renderings of
the passages used are therefore tentative at best. In addition
there is no connected speech on them, only read or recited
material, and consequently they have been used sparingly. For
details of the material not used v. Vol. 1: xxii footnote 11.

2. The Marstrander Recordings and Collection

The 23 surviving wax cylinders[34] from an original total of 48
(v. Vol. 1: xvi) are also scratchy, but are much more intellig-
ible than the Vienna Recordings. However, even here some parts
are quite difficult or well nigh impossible to make out, and
Marstrander's own phonetic version of these have been most
helpful. Because of the faulty equipment he was evidently using
(v. above) the material sought is elicited in separate sentence
form, each sentence being repeated on average three or four
times. Consequently the overall presentation is somewhat jirky
with little flow, and therefore not a good example of natural
connected speech. Nevertheless from the point of view of pro-
nunciation the material is useful.

By far the greater part of Marstrander's recordings exist in
phonetic script contained in four[35] ms. volumes spanning some
2635 pages. Vol. 1 contains some 725 pages of material mostly
from Thomas Christian. With the exception of one or two rhymes
the material consists of readings from the Biblical books of
Jonah, Proverbs, Lamentations, Jeremiah, Song of Solomon, Joel,
from two manuscript sermons, from A.W. Moore's Folklore of the
Isle of Man (London 1891) and Carvallyn Gailckagh (Douglas 1891),
and the tract Carrey yn Pheccagh. The same volume also contains
the phonetic transcriptions of the phonographic cylinders made
of Harry Kelly. The bulk of the contents in vol. 2 (containing
c. 760 pages) includes the original material from Thomas
Christian printed in the Texts of Vol. 1 of the 'Handbook',
plus more readings from the Manx Bible. Vol. 3 (containing

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34. 22 of Harry Kelly, 1 of J.J. Kneen (not a native Manx
    speaker, therefore not used).
35. For details of these and the contents of the fifth volume
    v. Vol. 1: xvi, xvii.

c. 710 pages) concentrates on material gathered from Joseph
Woodworth, Harry Kelly, much of which is original; there is
also some Bible reading from Woodworth. The rest of the volume
is taken up with phonological notes of Kelly's and Christian's
Manx. Vol. 4 (made up of c. 440 pages) contains mainly original
material from Thomas Taggart, Edward Kennah, Thomas Crebbin,
William Quane, Caesar Cashen, Mr. Fayle (Sulby), Thomas Quayle,
and John Cain, with Bible readings, recitations or readings
from some of Aesop's Fables from Taggart and Quane.

The volumes themselves are made up of a series of exercise books
containing the material in phonetic script, usually written
(either in ink or in pencil) on the right hand page, the left
hand page usually given over to notes on the speaker's pronun-
ciation, lexical items used, etc. However, when gathering the
books for binding (for presentation to the Manx Museum)
Marstrander (or whoever) grouped them more according to the
speaker, rather than having regard to the chronological order.
Thus, for example, his taking down of Harry Kelly's vita (which
from his diary (p. 73) took place on 31.08.1930) appears in
vol. 3, while the transcriptions of the phonograph cylinders of
the various speakers (made in late Jan./early Feb. 1933; v.
above) appear in vol. 1.

The phonetic transcription of Christian's original and more
informal contributions in vol. 2 appears to be slightly less
settled than that of his Bible readings in vol. 1, particularly
for the vowels[36] (though this may reflect the variance of pro-
nunciation on the part of the speaker which Marstrander had
noted elsewhere; cf. for Quane above), e.g. he writes [ɑ],
sometimes [ę] or [ɛ] to represent [ɛ] (also long varieties of
the same). Occasionally [ɑ] may represent [æ] to judge from
phonetic renditions of the same words elsewhere, e.g. ta 'is,
exists' always appears as [tɑ], [tɑ̄], which could represent
[tæ(:)] or [tɛ(:)] (or [ta(:)]). However, [ɑ] in Marstrander
mostly represents [ɛ] and has been transcribed as such in
every case in the 'Handbook'.

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36. For an analysis and discussion of Marstrander's phonetic
    system v. R.L. Thomson (1976: 255-63).

It is clear from the material collected by Marstrander that his
informants, such as Thomas Christian and Harry Kelly, had a
firmer command of the language, with a wider knowledge of idiom,
than had later speakers recorded by IFC, MM, YCG, though even
with Marstrander's informants the abandonment of lenition, for
example, was not so uncommon (as Marstrander himself had noted;
v. above). It is clear also from the material that his informants
were much more in contact with the old traditions and folklore
of the Isle of Man (as witnessed in the Texts) than later
speakers, which suggests that in the forty years or so between
the earliest informant recorded (and used in the corpus), i.e.
Thomas Moore (b. 1835/6) and the latest, i.e. Ned Maddrell (b.
1877) the old traditions and lore (as well as the language)
were becoming lost and forgotten.[37]

3. The Irish Folklore Commission, Manx Museum, and Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh Recordings

The IFC recorded material comprises some sixty different items
ranging from long conversations to stories, recitations (from
memory) of some song fragments, one or two hymns, to versions
of the Lord's Prayer. The speakers involved in the conversations
were (from the North) John Kneen and Harry Boyde, John Kneen and
John Tom Kaighin, and (from the South) Ned Maddrell and Tommy
Leece.[38] The speakers would be brought together for the purpose
of the recording, and some interesting material from this inter-
action was collected. However, the distance between the various
speakers' homes was in most cases sufficiently far enough away
to prevent ordinary day-to-day contact which would have produced
a different sort of relationship between them (i.e. one of more
familiarity), rather than one of formality on the occasion(s) of
the recordings. That is to say, that had the speakers been on
more familiar terms with each other, more idiom and Umgangssprache
would probably have been elicited than (at times) the somewhat
stilted and more reserved speech actually recorded; in the case

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37. It is the writer's intention to investigate the social and
economic factors, etc, which led to the decline of Manx
Gaelic with a view to publication at a later date.
38. Also Ned Maddrell and Emily Lowey on PR. 1 recorded by a
Mr. Gelling of Liverpool (c. 1947).

of the Kneen-Kaighin conversations there is an almost total domination of the scene by John Tom Kaighin! However, given the scarcity of speakers living at the time nothing else could have been done. One result of such encounters was that Ned Maddrell and Tommy Leece apparently met each other fairly regularly afterwards, so that at the only get-together of speakers record-ed by YCG (on 09.10.1952; YCG.32-33) the atmosphere was one of informality. The Manx Museum recordings are similar to those of IFC with the exception that they lack recordings of conversations between speakers.

By the very nature of the work of the Irish Folklore Commission and the Manx Museum their recordings of native Manx speech are of necessity geared to the collection of folkloristic and folk-life material. Therefore, any linguistic approach designed to obtain a phonology of the language simply did not apply. That was undertaken by others.

As can be seen above, many of the volunteers involved with the various sound-recordings were the same people - members of Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh. The policy with the IFC and MM was to let the native speakers themselves talk, and the interviewers only to come in either to prompt the speaker whenever he/she would get stuck or to lead the speaker(s) on to another topic. It is unfortunately the case, however, on some of the YCG recordings that the interviewers have allowed themselves a little too much tape-recording time!

The material recorded by YCG is similar to that of IFC and MM, but there is much more of it - in fact roughly twice as much as the IFC and MM collections put together. The interviewers here had the advantage of knowing the speakers much better, and some speakers, such as John Kneen and Ned Maddrell, became their friends and would be visited a lot more often without a tape recorder. This contact enabled the interviwers to get to know the reservoir of material the speakers had, e.g. anecdotes, stories, folklife information, etc, and so when the recording sessions would take place the interviewers knew what to elicit. In this way they were quite successful, so that in the case of John Kneen, for example, they were able to obtain extensive

information about such things as smithing, farming, turf-cutting, building sod-houses, as well as his fund of stories and anecdotes. The IFC, MM, and YCG recordings, in spite of some short-comings, provide by far the major part of the sound-record collection of native Manx Gaelic speech that we possess. It is due to their foresight at a time when native Manx speakers were thin on the ground that we are greatly indebted to them for preserving on record the remnants of Chengey ny Mayrey Ellan Vannin.

4. The Carmody, Wagner, and Jackson Collections

In July 1949 Prof. Francis J. Carmody visited the Isle of Man and recorded on tape material from five native speakers (v. Vol. 1: xxi), on the basis of which he published an article entitled 'Spoken Manx' in ZCP xxiv (1954):58-80. The article takes the form mainly of a brief overview of the morphology of LSM, and the examples he cites are given in his own brand of phonetics and accompanied by a version in standard Manx orthography. In addition to the five native speakers he also makes use of a Captain Kinley who apparently was not a native Manx speaker (v. p. xviii above), and whose Manx at times is suspect, e.g. cha b'leayrym 'I don't (can't) see/couldn't see',usu. cha b'leayr dou (cf. ScG. cha bu léir dhomh) lit.'it was not clear to me' (unless the phrase has become verbalized, cf. vollym (cf. ScG. ba mhath leam) in Dictionary); dooyrt eh mish 'he told me' for dooyrt eh rhym's indicates (unless it is a slip) that he was unaware of the normal form (exx. on p. 67). Leaving aside Kinley's contributions the material, so far as it goes, gives a fairly accurate rendering of LSM as it then was. As Carmody's informants are also those of Wagner and Jackson (and mostly of the IFC, MM, YCG), there is nothing new in his material that is not in these collections. For this reason I have not used the article.

From the information provided in A.S.B. Davies's list of speakers (v. p. xviii/xix above) in BBCS Dr. (now Prof.) Heinrich Wagner of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies spent three weeks in the Isle of Man (two of them with Miles Dillon) during the summer of 1950. Like Marstrander he too

noticed distinct differences between the northern and southern
dialects and he classified his material thus (v. Wagner (1958:
Vol. 1; 1969: Vol. 4)). Contrary to the general layout of the
Atlas, in which the material gathered from the various points
is arranged according to a 1175-item questionnaire (with or with-
out additional vocabulary and texts), the Manx material (point
88) appears in alphabetical order under English headwords.
Wagner told me that this arrangement was decided upon, as he
had difficulty applying the questionnaire owing to the imperfect
memory of his informants. The material is presented in sentence
form, thus giving the realization of each word as it naturally
appears in connected speech. But the individual lexical items
have to be marshalled into some sort of order before any phono-
logical study can be made of them. There are one or two puzzling
phrases in the collection that deviate from the norm, e.g.
[tɑ lɑːm ɪʹeʃ ɛrə ˈvɑːnjə]N 'there's a lot of froth on the milk'.
[lɑːm] is normally [rɑːm], [rəm] ram 'a lot' and [ɪʹeʃ] 'froth'
is probably kesh [keʃ], with [ɪʹ] influenced likely from [ɪ] in
[lɑːm], or (as Wagner put it in the Introduction to vol. 1 of
LASID, p.xxii) 'an accurate acoustic reception was seldom forth-
coming'. Nevertheless, in spite of some odd forms, Wagner's
material contains vocabulary and idiom not encountered on the
sound-recordings, or even in other collections, and therefore
provides an added value to our understanding of Late Spoken Manx.

For a period of a fortnight during the Christmas/New Year of
1950/51 Prof. Kenneth Jackson collected material in Man from
Wagner's informants plus Tommy Leece (v. Vol. 1: xxii) and
published it in his Contributions (1955). His material largely
consists of individual lexical items drawn up under various
phonological headings, thus giving the development of a partic-
ular sound in 'Common Gaelic' into its Manx reflex. But the lack
of prose pieces makes it difficult to assess the realization of
each lexical item as it occurs in connected speech. His organ-
ization of the material is in fact the opposite to that of
Wagner. In view of the abundance of material of native Manx
speech now available, Jackson's view (1955:4) that claims for
North/South dialectal differences do not stand up to examination
cannot be endorsed.

The timing of his visit to Man over the Christmas period when people visit each other and when bad weather may prevent accessibility to remoter areas, and the fact that probably his best informant Ned Maddrell was indisposed (in hospital) till the last day of his visit (Jackson (1955:v, vi)) was perhaps not conducive to a satisfactory collection of material as one would have hoped for. It is unfortunate that Jackson was not able to return to Man shortly after, even if only to work through the questionnaire with Ned Maddrell.

Jackson's main informant, as he himself admits (1955:2), was Mrs. Eleanor Karran of Cregneash, with whom he worked right through the questionnaire. For one reason or another he was not able to do the same with his other informants, consequently they only play a supporting role with the relatively small amount of information that they provide. His phonology, therefore, is essentially descriptive of the southern (Cregneash) dialect with additional information from other parts. In so far as it goes Jackson's phonology of Manx, nevertheless, provides a valuable insight into the sound system of LSM.

5. The Linguistic Survey of Scotland Recordings

The material collected by the LSS exists on four polyethylene tapes (v. Vol. 1: xix, xx) recorded on an Uher (Report 4000) machine. The first recording session took place on Thursday, 17th August 1972 in Ned Maddrell's house in Glenchass, near Port St. Mary. Present at the recording session were David Clement of the LSS, Walter Clarke of the Manx Museum, and myself. Our visit took place three days before Maddrell's 95th birthday, and on this the only occasion I met him he had white hair and a short white beard, and had some difficulty in seeing. His diction was perfectly clear, and he was more than willing to help us. The information elicited included a number of lexical items sought through a questionnaire similar to that used by Jackson more than twenty years before. Some short stories and anecdotes were also collected. It is clear from the material elicited that Maddrell knew (a lot) more Manx than the IFC, MM, YCG recordings imply (even though there Maddrell is alert and fluent). Had he been systematically worked on at a much earlier date, it is very

probable that much more material from him would have been
available to us for analysis. Clement returned to Ned Maddrell
the following day on his own and obtained additional material,
some of it in English.[39]

The other informant recorded by the LSS was Ewan Christian of
Peel, an energetic 65-year old. The first recording session
took place in his house at 58 Patrick Street, Peel, on Thursday,
24th August 1972, with David Clement, Lewis Crellin (a close
friend of Christian's) of Peel, and myself. Ewan Christian was
chosen as a subject, as (Ned Maddrell apart) he was the only
other man in the Isle of Man, so far as we knew, who had learned
Manx at an early date. He told us he first learned Manx from two
old ladies in the same street when he was about five years old,
and later from farmers and fishermen in and around Peel. In the
recording sessions Jackson's questionnaire as such was not used,
but stante pede he would reel off the Manx names of various
birds and fish, sometimes giving the Peel variant. The informat-
ion was elicited mainly by Lewis Crellin who knew what Christian
could offer. Without being asked Christian would relate a couple
of stories in Manx about incidents in and around Peel. Ewan
Christian was literate in Manx and could recite long tracts
from the Manx Bible. One suspects that some of his vocabulary
was derived from literary sources, and at times his grammar was
a bit shaky (probably from lack of practice). But nevertheless,
it was quite clear from his pronunciation that he had learned
the language from native speakers at an early date in his life,
and in that respect his contribution is valuable. He was apparent-
ly great friends with Ned Maddrell, and they would visit each
other fairly regularly.

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39. Ned Maddrell was by far the 'youngest' of the native
    speakers recorded, and he was exceptional in that most of
    his contemporaries of his generation were brought up with-
    out Manx. Maddrell was born at Corvalley, near Cregneash,
    and because of the size of his family he was farmed out to
    relatives when he was about two and a half years' old. In
    fact he was brought up in Cregneash by an old aunt, Paaie
    Humman (Margaret Taubman) who had little or no English.

I myself made some private recordings of Ewan Christian in May
and August 1978, and visited him on occasion after that (without
a recording machine) till 1983. The material collected was sim-
ilar to that of the LSS, with additional vocabulary plus some
traditional songs and chants in English. Ewan Christian died in
Douglas in mid-January 1985.

In preparing the synchronic section of this phonology certain
difficulties were encountered right from the very start. One
was the very nature of the corpus itself. With the exception of
the small collections made by Jackson and Clement (where the
questionnaire adopted was geared specifically for a (diachronic)
phonological analysis), the remaining collections (in transcript-
ion)[40], from a linguist's point of view, can only be regarded
as a mass of phonetic data, which has to be 'processed', i.e.
put into some sort of order, before any phonological sense can
be made of it. In 'normal' circumstances, i.e. when one's
informants are still living, one can go back to these people in
order to have any doubts over interpretation cleared up, or gaps
in the phonological data filled. However, in the case of LSM,
since a) all the informants have now died, and b) the material
had already been collected before the present writer (except
for the LSS collection) had started work, the corpus, finite as
it is, has to be dealt with as it stands, whether the data be

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40. It is clear from reading Marstrander's diary that the
    purpose of his visits was to collect as much data as
    possible to gain a fairly accurate idea of the pronun-
    ciation and sound system of LSM. However, it is also
    clear from looking at the material that from a phonolog-
    ical point of view the system he used, i.e. having his
    informants read or recite large tracts of Manx, or supply
    original material (stories, etc), was somewhat haphazard.
    There seems to have been no questionnaire used to obtain
    examples of the various sounds of LSM. Although, as we
    have seen above, he made extensive notes (in vol. 3 of his
    coll.) on the sounds of Christian's and Kelly's Manx, his
    thoughts here seem only to have been tentative; and when
    he had committed them to print (v. Marstrander (1932)) it
    is noticeable that his transcription is broad, at times
    too broad, the analysis is limited in scope, and the com-
    parisons are made with Norwegian phonemes which, as
    Jackson had already experienced (1955:5), restricted its
    usefulness.

complete or not. In this regard this phonology could therefore be looked on, and perhaps better described as "Additional Contributions to the Study of Manx Phonology".

Another problem encountered was the heterogenity of the corpus, drawn as it is from several sources and containing in the final analysis four different phonetic transcription systems: namely, those of Marstrander, Wagner, Jackson, and Broderick. Although every attempt has been made to regularize them to conform to the phonetic system as outlined in Ch. 1 of Vol. 1 of the HANDBOOK (qv), nevertheless the interpretation has led, perhaps, to an unusually high number for the realizations (particularly) of the various vowel phonemes, ~ realizations which in all probability would have been much lower in number had one person alone been responsible for the entire phonetic transcription.

An additional problem was the situation regarding the native speakers themselves. With perhaps the exceptions of John Tom Kaighin and Mrs. Annie Kneale who both lived (in different houses) on the quarterland of Ballagarrett in Bride,[41] the other speakers, even in Marstrander's time, were not living in communities where Manx was the everyday language, but isolated from one another like scattered rocks surrounded by a sea of English.[42] The natural result was that they became more proficient in English and less so in Manx, and though they would be native speakers of Manx (brought up with the language in an all-Manx speaking environment), not living in a vibrant Manx speaking community anymore they would (in Manx Gaelic terms) be living in a vacuum, speaking only to themselves. Not having anyone close by to speak Manx to on a regular basis (with the exception of occasional language enthusiasts) they would of necessity lose that natural correcting mechanism from others whenever they would make a mistake, say, in pronunciation or

41. Though to judge from Mrs. Kneale's Manx it is quite clear that she had been without practice for quite some time, and probably would have spoken to Kaighin in English, whenever she met him.
42. The last all-Manx speaking community in the Isle of Man, according to local knowledge, was apparently Cregneash, surviving as such till the 1920s.

grammar. In consequence their uncertainty of the normal pro-
nunciation(s) of a particular lexical item - i.e. normal in the
context of their community when it would have been all-Manx
speaking - would result in a widening of the (hitherto) accepted
range of possibilities for the pronunciation or the articulation
of a given sound, or set of sounds or utterances. For example,
noght 'tonight' may have a restricted range of realizations
centring, perhaps, around [nɔ:x]. The fact that we have a range
from [nɑ̞:x]S (i.e. with an /a:/ phoneme (qv)) and [nɔ:x]S (with
an /o:/ phoneme (qv)) from the same area (i.e. around Port Erin/
Port St. Mary) suggests that here the range of possibilities for
an accepted pronunciation has become wider.[43] This widening of
the band may also manifest itself in varying vowel quality for
the same utterance in the same area, e.g. anmagh 'late' [Imnax]N,
[o̞nmɑx]N, [ɛmnɑx]N; the range here involves overlapping of the
realizations of three separate vowel segments, viz. /i/, /u/,
/e/, in the same (nasal) environment.[44]

The situation regarding the consonants is a lot more stable,
especially in initial and final positions, but intervocally
instability (or variation) can take place, e.g. shassoo
'standing' [nə'hə:su]N, [sə:zu]N, [ʃa:ðu]N, [ʃa:ḏðu]N, [sə:ḏu]S.
Here it will be noticed that the realizations of /s/, viz. [s],
[z], [ð], can also overlap with those for /d/, viz. [ḏ], [ḏð],
[ð]. Similarly in the same village (Cregneash) there can be
different pronunciations for the same word, e.g. cabbal 'chapel'
[kabal]HK, [kaval]NM (the difference in the age of the two
speakers here being about 25 years), or differing pronunciations
of the same word by the same speaker, e.g. cabbyl 'horse'
[k'a:bəl], [k'a:vəl]JK.[45] In some cases an English rendering
can directly interfere with the usual Manx form, e.g. glion

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43. unless the differences reflect very localized dialectal
    variations. It is the intention of the writer to go into
    greater detail on several problems arising out of this
    phonology in a series of forthcoming articles.
44. For notes on the metathesis of NM v. II:§90.5.
45. For a list of the native speakers v. Vol. 1: xxvii, xxviii.

'glen' [gl'aun], [gl'ɔdn]; also [glə̣n] with the Eng. value of
the vowel, cf. E. 'glen' [glɛn].

In circumstances such as these, where variation is more often
the rule than the exception, a classical phonemic analysis as
seen in Ternes (1973) is not really applicable to LSM, and it
has either to be adapted or considerably modified, or abandoned
altogether and something else put in its place, to make some
sense of the messy picture of LSM. The spread of phonetic
realizations arising from different fieldworkers and the break-
down of communicative competence means that a satisfactory
assignment of particular sounds to appropriate phonological
units is difficult and has given rise to a number of instances
of overlapping realizations (as seen above) which may be more
apparent than real. A "phonemic" analysis is therefore perhaps
not the best description for the synchronic section of this
phonology, but a grouping together of "phonological units".
If on occasion I have resorted to using historical information
to set up the phonological units, it is because I feel the very
nature of LSM has dictated it. This phonology, therefore, may
perhaps be regarded as a diachronic analysis with a synchronic
prefix attached to it.

The phonetic system used in this work is based on the IPA with
certain modifications of the sort used regularly by Celticists
(v. also Vol. 1, Ch. 1). However, because of the lack of a
couple of symbols on the phonetic golfball-head used for this
work, one or two additional modifications also appear, viz.
for [ï] I write [ï], for the open diacritic ̦ I use ̦. In the
diachronic section I regularly use the phonemic rendering of
the vowels in the rubrics, rather than clutter up the page with
the plethora of their phonetic realizations. I take this course
purely in the interests of typographical simplicity.

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Seminar für Allgemeine Linguistik   GB.
der Universität Mannheim,
Laa Luanistyn, 1986.

PART ONE

A SYNCHRONIC STUDY

PHONOLOGY

STRESS

§1. A general overview of the situation regarding stress in LSM
is given here. A fuller discussion on the intricacies and the
historicity of stress in LSM can be found in Part Two.

The normal position for the main stress is on the first syllable
in words that can be stressed[1]. However, in certain circumstances
the main stress falls other than on the first syllable:

1. Derivative suffixes containing long vowels can take the
   stress, e.g. (nouns) -ane /o:n/, -aag, -age /e:g/, -eyr
   /e:r/, (verb-nouns) -ail, -eil /e:l´/. However, when the
   vowel of the suffix is short, e.g. -an /an/, -ag /ag/, -al
   /al/, then the main stress remains on the initial syllable.

2. The prefixes aa- /a:/ 're-', mee- /mi:/, neu- /n´u:/ 'not,
   un-' can attract the main stress to them, e.g. aa-loayrt
   'keep on telling' /'a: lo:rt/, aa-lhieeney 'refilling'
   /a:'liənə/ (Note here equal stress on the prefix and on
   word initial syllable), mee-hushtagh 'not understanding'
   /mi:'hus´t´ax/, /'mi: hus´t´ax/, neu-follan 'unhealthy'
   /n´u:'folan/, neu-deyr 'cheap' /'n´u: de:r/.

3. The vocalization of labial spirants in medial position
   producing long vowels by crasis in (originally) unstressed
   syllables take the main stress, e.g. tarroogh 'busy'
   /ta'ru:x/ Ir. tairbheach.

4. Loan-words, in the first instance from Anglo-Norman/Middle
   English, show final stress associated with length, e.g.
   bodeil 'bottle' /bo'de:l´/, A.Norm. boteille. Forward
   stress is also seen in the loan-word tombagey /tom'ba:gə/
   'tobacco'.

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1. Certain lexical items, such as particles, etc, are invariably
   unstressed.

CONSONANTS

§2. The consonant phonemes of LSM may be illustrated as follows:

	lab	dent/ alv	palat	palat/ vel	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p	t	t´	k´	k	
voiced stops	b	d	d´	g´	g	
nasals	m	n	n´		ŋ	
laterals		l	l´			
vibrant		r				
voiceless fricatives	f	s	s´	(x´)	x	h
voiced fricative	v					
semivowels	w		j			

§3. Minimal or near minimal pairs. N = Northside; S = Southside.

p - t   /pe:l/S 'sheepfold' : /te:l/S 'adze'

t - t´   /te:/N 'tea' : /t´e:/N 'hot'

t´- k´   /t´au/N/S 'side' : /k´au/N/S 'throw'

k´- k   /k´u:n´/S 'calm' : /ku:n/N 'narrow'

b - d   /bauər/S 'deaf' : /dauər/S 'unhappy'

d - d´   /derə/N 'second' : /d´erə/N 'end'

d´- g´   /d´u:/N/S 'today' : /g´u:/N 'drinking'

g´- g   /g´ol/N/S 'bright' : /gol/N/S 'going'

m - n   /ma:/N 'field' : /na:/S 'second'

n - n´   /ni:/S 'nine' : /n´i:/S 'thing'

n´- ŋ   /d´in´/N/S 'of us' : /t´iŋ/N/S 'sick'

l - l´   /s´o:l/S 'sail' : /s´o:l´/S 'sails'

f - s   /fe:s/N 'weak' : /se:s/N 'method'

s - s´   /su:l´/N/S 'eye' : /s´u:l/N/S 'walking'

    (s´- x´ /s´uːr/N/S 'sister' : /mə x´uːr/S 'my sister')
     s´- x   /d´iːs´/N 'two people' : /d´iːx/N/S 'look!'
     s - h   /s´il´ə/N/S 'sight' : /də hil´ə/N 'your sight'

     p - b   /peːs/S 'thirst' : /beːs/N/S 'death'
     b - m   /buːə/N/S 'cow' : /muːə/N/S 'great'
     m - f   /moːdə/N 'dog' : /foːdə/N 'far'
     f - v   /fei/N 'wild' : /vei/N 'from'

     t - d   /tuːt/S 'fool' : /duːt/S 'said'
     d - n   /duːn/N 'shut!' : /nuːn/S 'thither'
     n - l   /nuː/S 'holy' : /luː/N/S 'oath'
     l - r   /leːd/S 'load' : /reːd/S 'road'
     r - s   /rei/N 'running' : /sei/N 'sufficiency'

     t´- d´ /t´aːs/S 'heat' : /d´aːs/S 'south'
     d´- n´ /d´iː/N/S 'God' : /n´iː/N/S 'washing'
     n´- l´ /baːn´ə/S 'milk' : /baːl´ə/S 'farm, town'
     l´- s´ /l´eː/N 'half' : /s´eː/N 'six'
     s´- j   /s´arax/N/S 'foal' : /jarax/N/S 'would say'

     k´- g´ /k´oːl/N 'music' : /g´oːl/N 'security, bail'

     k - g   /koːl/S 'losing' : /goːl/S 'crutch'
     g - ŋ   /l´ig/N/S 'let!' : /l´iŋ/S 'lhing' (fish)
     ŋ - x   /kriŋ/N 'Kneen' (pers. name) : /krix/N
                                              'stack'

     gw - g´ /gwiː/S 'cursing' : /g´iː/N 'eating'
     kw - k /kwiŋ/N 'yoke' : /kiŋ/S 'heads'
     mw - m /mwaːx/N 'hare' : /maːx/N/S 'out'

PHONETIC REALIZATION OF THE PHONEMES

The Stops

§4. /p/ 1. /p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop. It is articulated
         with a degree of post-aspiration and is phonetically
         realized as [pʰ]. It is found as such initially and
         finally, and occasionally in intervocalic position.

             paart 'some' /[pʰ]eːt/
             punt 'pound' /[pʰ]unt/

kipp 'strap' /ki[pʰ]/

tappee 'quick' /ta[pʰ]i/; v. also §4 below.

2. In the consonant cluster /sp(r)/, whether initially
   or medially, there is no noticeable post-aspiration
   of /p/, as is to be expected. I therefore do not
   mark it.

   spein 'spoon' /s[p]e:dn/

   spret 'struggle' /s[p]ret/

   aspick 'bishop' /a:s[p]it/

   But in /p/ + C there can be devoicing of the first
   part of the consonant.

   plaggad 'oats' /[pʲļ]agad/

   pleadeil 'speaking' /[pʲļ]əˈdʹe:l/

   praaseyn 'potatoes' /[pɽ̥r]e:sən/

3. In intervocalic position and in external sandhi
   /p/ may be realized as a geminate (with post-
   aspiration), viz. [p:ʰ].

   croppyn 'crops' (fr. E) /kro[p:ʰ]ən/

   freayll shapp ayn 'keeping a shop there'
           /frilʹˈsʹa[p:ʰ]u:n/

4. In intervocalic position /p/ may vary with /b/ and
   /v/, i.e. the realizations of the segment overlap
   with those for /b/ and /v/.

   tappee 'quick' /ta[pʰ]i/, /ta:[v]i/

   scapail 'escaping' /skəˈ[pʰ]e:lʹ/, /skəˈ[β]e:lʹ/,
           /skəˈ[v]e:lʹ/.

§5. /t/   1. /t/ is a voiceless dental stop. In initial position
          and to a lesser extent medially and finally /t/ is
          heavily aspirated, viz. [t̪θ]. There is no noticeable
          velarization or labialization of /t/,

       a. Initially
          tarroo 'bull' /[t̪θ]aru/
          thie 'house' /[t̪θ]ai/

<u>strulley</u> 'rinsing' /s[ţ^θ]rolə/

<u>sterrym</u> 'storm' /s[ţ^θ]irəm/

<u>sthie</u> 'inside' /s[ţ^θ]ai/

b. Initially in proclitics

 <u>dty warree</u> 'your grandmother' /[ţ^θ]ə wa:ri/

 <u>dty vummig</u> 'your mother' /[ţ^θ]ə vumig/

c. Medially

 <u>brattag</u> 'flag, rag' /bra[ţ^θ]ag/; v. also §2.

 <u>coontey</u> 'thinking' /ku:n[ţ^θ]ə/

d. In medial position /t/ can be realized as [θ̞]
 after /s/.

 <u>Sostyn</u> 'England' /sa:s[ţ^θ]ən/, /sa:s[θ]ən/

 <u>fastee</u> 'shelter' /fa:s[ţ^θ]i/, /fa:s[θ]i/

e. Finally

 <u>brat</u> 'mat' /bra[ţ^θ]/

 <u>kayt</u> 'cat' /ke[ţ^θ]/

f. Finally after /l√/, /n/, /r/

 <u>loayrt</u> 'speaking' /lo:(r)[ţ^θ]/

 <u>mohlt</u> 'wether' /mol[ţ^θ]/

 <u>punt</u> 'pound' /pun[ţ^θ]/

g. Medially and finally after /x/. Often /t/ is not
 realized after /x/; v. also II:The Dentals.

 <u>briaght</u> 'asking' /braiax[ţ^θ]/, /braiax/

 <u>cooinaghtyn</u> 'remembering' /ku:nʹax[ţ^θ]ən/,
    /ku:nʹaxən/

2. Intervocally /t/ may vary allophonically with /d/

 <u>brattag</u> 'flag, rag' /bra[ţ^θ]ag/, /bra[d̜^ð]ag/,
    /bra[ð]ag/

 <u>lhiattee</u> 'side' /lʹa[ţ^θ]i/, /lʹa[d̜^ð]i/, /lʹa[ð]i/

§6. /tʹ/ 1. /tʹ/ is a voiceless affricate. It is phonetically
  realized as a single unit containing a palatalized
  [tʹ] and [ʃ] in combination, viz. [tʹʃ]. It is
  found initially and medially, sometimes finally -
  usually in loanwords.

a. In initial position

çheet 'coming' /[t′ʃ]it/

çhiass 'heat' /[t′ʃ]a:s/

çhaglym 'gathering' /[t′ʃ]agləm/

b. Internally in intervocalic position

atçhim 'fear' /a[t′ʃ]im/

litçheragh 'lazy' /li[t′ʃ]ərax/

mitçhooragh 'mischievous' /mi'[t′ʃ]u:rax/

c. Internally with a consonant

palçhey 'plenty' /pa:l[t′ʃ]ə/

berçhagh 'rich' /bər[t′ʃ]ax/

d. Finally

sorçh 'sort, kind' /so r[t′ʃ]/ (fr. E.)

2. /t′/ without affrication, viz. [t′], is found internally and finally, rarely initially.

a. Intervocally and after /l/

faitagh 'shy' /fe[t′]əx/; also /fo[t′ʃ]ax/

geayltyn 'shoulders' /gil[t′]ən/

b. Internally before /n′/

taitnys 'delight' /ta[t′]n′əs/

c. Internally after /s′/

clashtyn 'hearing' /klas′[t′]ən/

cashtal 'castle' /kas′[t′]al/

geaishtagh 'listening' /ge:s′[t′]ax/

But note with bashtey 'baptizing' /ba s′[t̪θ]ə/ with non-palatalized /t/.

d. Finally after a vowel; here it can sometimes be realized with weak affrication, viz. [t͡ʃ].

thooit 'thatched' /tu:[t′]/, /tu:[t͡ʃ]/

ceaut 'thrown' /k′au[t′]/, /k′au[t͡ʃ]/

e. Finally after /l/ or /l′/

caillt 'lost' /kel′[t′]/

bwoaillt 'struck' /bul′[t′]/, /bul[t͡ʃ]/

f. Finally after /n/ or /n´/
buinnt 'reaped' /bon[t´]/
jeant 'done' /d´en´[t´]/; also /d´en[t̪θ]/

g: Initially, with or without weak affrication.
traaue 'ploughing' /[t´]reu/, /[t´ʃ]re:u/; usu.
/[t̪θ]re:u/. Here [t´] might be regarded as a free
variation of /t/, since original palat. TR in Late
Manx had become depalatalized; cf. also II: The
Dentals.

h. Initially following /s/ or /s´/.
stiagh 'into' /s[t´]ax/ /s´[t´]a:x/

§7. /k´/ 1. /k´/ is a voiceless palato-velar stop. It is articul-
ated with noticeable aspiration and is phonetically
realized as [k´ˤ]. The relative presence of a
voiced palat. off-glide is naturally more obvious
(i.e. longer) before a back than before a front
vowel. I therefore do not indicate it. /k´/ is
found in all positions.

keeill 'church' /[k´ˤ]il´/; v. also §2 below.
kiart 'right' /[k´ˤ]a:t/
kiune 'calm' /[k´ˤ]u:n´/
markiaght 'riding' /ma:[k´ˤ]ax/; v. also §2 below.
Gaelg 'Manx Gaelic' /gil´[k´ˤ]/; v. also §2 below.

2. /k´/ varying freely with /k/
keeill 'church' /[k´ˤ]il´/, /[kh]il´/
cass 'foot' /[k´ˤ]a:s/, /[kh]a:s/
cadley 'sleep' /[k´ˤ]adlə/, /[kh]adlə/
cabbyl 'horse' /[k´ˤ]a:bəl/, /[kh]a:bəl/
markiagh 'riding' /ma:[k´ˤ]ax/, /ma:[kh]ax/
Gaelg 'Manx Gaelic' /gil´[k´ˤ]/, /gil[kh]/

§8. /k/ 1. /k/ is a voiceless velar stop. It is articulated with
a noticeable degree of post-aspiration (except with
consonants; v. below) and is phonetically realized as
[kh]. It is found as such initially, medially, and

finally. There is no distinct velarization, though
naturally before back vowels the point of artic-
ulation would be further back than before front
vowels.

coontey 'thinking' /[kʰ]uːndə/
curnaght 'wheat' /[kʰ]oːnax/
anker 'anchor' /əŋ[kʰ]ə/
muck 'pig' /mu[kʰ]/
olk 'bad' /ol[kʰ]/

2. In /k/ + C there can be devoicing of the first
part of the consonant.

creagh 'stack' /[k̥r]iəx/
clag 'bell' /[k̥l]əg/
feeakleyn 'teeth' /fiː[k̥l]ən/
fockleyn 'words' /foː[k̥l]ən/

3. The realization of the segment /k/ in intervocalic
position shows a range of phonetic values apparent-
ly in free variation, viz. [g], [ɣ], [x]. To this
extent the realizations of the segment overlap with
those for /g/ and /x/.

feeackle 'tooth' /fiː[kʰ]əl/, /fiː[g]əl/,
         /fiː[ɣ]əl/
blockan 'coalfish' /bloː[kʰ]ən/, /bloː[x]ən/,
         /bloː[ɣ]ən/

For /k/ varying with /kʹ/, s.v. /kʹ/.

§9. /b/ 1. /b/ is a voiced bilabial stop. It is phonetically
realized as [b] and is found initially and medially,
sometimes finally.

a. In initial position
   boayl 'place' /[b]oːl/
   braew 'fine' /[b]rau/
   bleayst 'shell' /[b]liːəst/

b. Medially in intervocalic position

 cabbal 'chapel' /ka[b]al/

 gobbyr 'working' /go[b]ə/

 kiebbey 'spade' /k'e[b]ə/

c. Medially after liquids

 colbagh 'heifer' /kol[b]əx/

 carbad 'bier' /ka:r[b]əd/

d. Finally

 abb 'abbot' /a[b]/

2. Initially and finally /b/ may be realized as a geminate, viz. [b:].

 ben 'woman' /[b:]en/; also /[b]en/

 baghey 'living' /[b:]e:/; also /[b]e:/

 bleb 'fool' /ble[b:]/

3. Initially and medially /b/ may sometimes be realized as the voiced bilabial fricative [β] or the voiced labio-dental [v] apparently in free allophonic variation.

 bleayst 'shell' /[β]li:s/, /[b]li:əst/

 chibbyrt 'well' /t'u[b]ərt/, /t'i[β]ərt/, /t'i[v]ət/

4. In initial position /b/ may very occasionally be realized in a weak palatalized form, viz. [b'], articulated with spread lips.

 blein 'year' /[b']l'in/; also /[b]l'in/

 beggan 'a little' /[b']egan/; also /[b]egan/

/b/ may also be realized with a palatalized off-glide, viz. [bʲ].

 bio 'alive' /[bʲ]o:/; also /[b']l'o:/

§10. /d/ 1. /d/ is a voiced dental stop and is phonetically realized as such, viz. [d̪]. In initial position before a vowel it is also realized with voiced affrication, viz. [d̪ð] or a voiced dental fricative,

viz. [ð]. Before /r/ initially and medially /d/ is regularly realized as [d̪ð]. There is no noticeable velarization of /d/.

a. Initially before a vowel

dorrys 'door' /[d̪]orəs/, /[d̪ð]orəs/

dhoo 'black' /[d̪]u:/, /[d̪ð]u:/, /[ð]u:/

b. Initially before /r/

droghad 'bridge' /[d̪ð]ro:d/

dreeym 'back' /[d̪ð]ri:m/

c. In pretonics realized as [d̪] or [ð].

dy mie 'well' /[d̪]ə məi/

dy liooar 'enough' /[d̪]ə l'u:ə/, /[ð]ə l'u:ə/

2. In intervocalic position /d/ is usually realized as [ð] or [d̪ð] (or [d̪]); in medial clusters there is usually [d̪] (sometimes [d̪ð] or [ð]). Intervocally /d/ can occasionally be realized as a geminate, viz. [d̪:] or [ð:].

a. In intervocalic position

eddin 'face' /e[ð]ən/, /e[d̪ð]ən/

baatey 'boat' /be:[ð]ə/, /be:[d̪ð]ə/, /be:[d̪]ə/

b. In medial clusters

Boaldyn 'May' /bo:l[d̪]ən/

keirdee 'smithy' /k'e:r[d̪]i/

cadley 'sleep' /kə[d̪]lə/

boandyrys 'nursing' /bo:n[d̪]ərəs/, /bo:n[d̪ð]ərəs/, /bun[ð]rəs/

c. In intervocalic position as geminates

soddyn 'turf sods' /so[d̪:]ən/, /so[ð:]ən/

snaidyn 'needles' /sne[d̪:]ən/; also /sne[ð]ən/

3. In final position /d/ is usually realized as [d̪], though occasionally after vowels in unstressed words there may be [ð]. There can also be [d̪:] after /e/ (and /u/) in stressed syllables.

raad 'road' /re:[d̪]/

ad 'they, them' /a[d̲]/, /a[ð]/(unstressed)

mayd 'we' /ma[d̲]/, /ma[ð]/(unstressed)

kied 'permission' /k'e[d̲]/, /k'e[d̲:]/(stressed)

snaid 'needle' /sne[d̲]/, /sne[d̲:]/(stressed)

jarrood 'forgetting' /d'aˈruː[d̲]/, /d'aˈruː[d̲:]/

4. /d/ varying with /d´/

feed 'twenty' /fi[d̲]/, /fi[d´]/

argid 'money' /eːgə[d̲]/, /eːgi[d´]/, /aːgi[d´ʒ]/

§11. /d´/ 1. /d´/ is a voiced affricate. It is phonetically realized as a single unit containing a palatalized [d´] and the voiced sibilant [ʒ] in combination, viz. [d´ʒ]. It is found initially, medially, and finally.

jannoo 'doing' /[d´ʒ]enu/

jough 'ale' /[d´ʒ]ox/; v. also §2 below.

maidjey 'stick' /maː[d´ʒ]ə/; v. also §2 below.

baljyn 'towns' /baːlˈ[d´ʒ]ən/

mooinjer 'relatives, folks' /mun[d´ʒ]ə/

cooid 'stock, store' /ku[d´ʒ]/

2. In all positions the first element of the phoneme, viz. [d´], can appear separately with or without a sibilant off-glide, viz. [d´ʒ]. The second element, viz. [ʒ] with or without a depalatalized and weakened on-glide, viz. [ᵈʒ], appears separately only intervocally. In this position /d´/ can vary with /j/.

dirree 'arose' /[d´]ɪri/

jough 'ale' /[d´ʒ]ox/

maidjey 'stick' /maː[d´ʒ]ə/, /maː[d´]ə/, /maː[ᵈʒ]ə/, /maː[ʒ]ə/, /maː[j]ɪ/

sleityn 'mountains' /slˈeː[d´ʒ]ən/, /slˈeː[d´]ən/, /sleː[ᵈʒ]ən/, /slˈeː[ʒ]ən/

geid 'stealing' /ge[d´]/, /g'iː[d´ʒ]/

3. /d´/ varying with /g´/ or /g/

       caigney, caignagh 'chewing' /ka[d´]n´ə/,
              /ka[g´]nax/, /ka[g]n´ə/

       aigney 'mind' /a[d´]n´ə/, /a[g´]n´ə/, /a:[g]n´ə/

§12. /g´/ 1. /g´/ is a voiced palato-velar stop. It is articulated
          with no noticeable aspiration and is phonetically
          realized as [g´]. The relative presence of the pal-
          atalized off-glide [ʲ] is, as with /k´/, naturally
          more obvious before a back than before a front
          vowel. I therefore do not mark it. /g´/ is usually
          found initially.

       gial 'bright' /[g´]ol/
       giu 'drinking' /[g´]u:/
       geurey 'winter' /[g´]əurə/
       gee 'eating' /[g´]i:/

      2. In all positions /g´/ may vary with /g/
       gaaue 'smith' /[g´]au/, /[g]au/
       geddyn 'getting' /[g´]ədən/, /[g]ədin/
       ginsh 'telling' /[g´]i:ns´/, /[g]ins´/
       toiggal 'understanding' /ti[g´]al/, /ti[g]al/
       jishig 'father' /d´is´i[g´]/, /d´is´i[g]/

§13. /g/ 1. /g/ is a voiced velar stop. It is realized phonet-
          ically as [g] and is found in all positions.

       goll 'going' /[g]ol/
       glenney 'cleaning' /[g]lenə/
       gra 'saying' /[g]re:/
       argid 'money' /a:r[g]id/
       chaglym 'gathering' /t´a[g]ləm/
       bolg 'belly' /bol[g]/
       beg 'little' /be[g]/

      2. In intervocalic position /g/ is realized either
          as [g] or [ɣ].

       ruggit 'born' /ru[g]ət/, /ro[ɣ]ət/
       fakin 'seeing' /fa:[g]in´/ /fa:[ɣ]in´/

tombagey 'tobacco' /təmˈbaː[g]ə/, /tomˈbaː[ɣ]ə/

3. In final position /g/ after front vowels can be
    realized as a geminate, viz. [gː]. Note here that
    the monosyllablic exx. are usually stressed.

    clag 'bell' /klə[g]/, /klə[gː]/
    beg 'little' /be[g]/, /be[gː]/
    cabbag 'dockweed' /kaba[g]/, /kaba[gː]/
    queig 'five' /kwø[g]/, /kwø[gː]/

    For /g/ varying with /gʹ/, s.v. /gʹ/.

The Nasals

§14. /m/ 1. /m/ is a bilabial nasal. It is realized as [m]
           in all positions.

    mac 'son' /[m]ak/
    millish 'sweet' /[m]iliʃʹ/
    mraane 'women' /[m]reːn/
    gamman 'sport' /ga[m]an/
    trimshagh 'melancholic' /tri[m]sʹax/
    follym 'empty' /folə[m]/
    cam 'crooked' /ka[m]/; v. also §3 below.

   2a. A weak palatalized variety of /m/, viz. [mʹ],
        articulated with spread lips, is found occasionally.

    millt 'spoiled' /[mʹ]ilʹtʹ/
    kione emshyr 'broken rainbow' /kʹoun ˈi[mʹ]dʹə/

    b. /m/ can also be realized with a following palatal-
        ized off-glide, viz. [mʲ].

    miolagh 'temptation' /[mʲ]oːlax/
    meeowal 'mewing' /[mʲ]eual/

   3. Medially and finally /m/ may be realized as a
       geminate, viz. [mː].
    chymney 'will, testament' /tʹi[m]nə/, /tʹi[mː]nə/
    cam 'crooked' /ka[m]/, /ka[mː]/

   4. Medial /ms/ can be realized as [md],[mð]; v.§22.2.

§15. /n/ 1. /n/ is an alveolar nasal. It is realized as [n] in all positions. /n/ is not noticeably velarized.

noa 'new' /[n]o:/
nearey 'shame' /[n]e:rə/
monney 'much, any' /mo[n]ə/
fondagh 'certain' /fo[n]dax/
bane 'white' /be:[n]/
creen 'ripe' /kri:[n]/

2. In medial and final position and in external sandhi /n/ can be realized as a geminate, viz. [n:].

Manninagh 'Manxman' /ma:[n:]ax/; also /ma[n]i[n]ax/[2]
shen 'that' /s′e[n:]/(usu. when stressed); also /s′e[n]/
ben 'woman' /be[n:]/; also /be[n]/
yn arroo 'the corn' /ə′[n:]a:ro/

§16. /n′/ 1. /n′/ is a palatalized dental nasal. It is usually realized with a palatalized off-glide, viz. [n′ʲ] and is found in all positions. In final position particularly, but also occasionally initially and medially, /n′/ may vary with /n/. The breakdown of the contrast suggests that the function of /n′/ as a separate phoneme is limited, and in reality becomes an allophone of /n/; the same in fact could be said of /k/ vis-à-vis /k′/ and /g/ vis-à-vis /g′/. However, in the following examples /n′/ only is found.

a. niart 'strength' /[n′ʲ]a:t/
niau 'heaven' /[n′ʲ]əu/
dooinney 'man' /du[n′ʲ]ə/
chengey 'tongue' /t′i[n′ʲ]ə/
Nherin 'Ireland' /[n′ʲ]e:ri[n′ʲ]/

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2. The geminate here is obviously created by syncope of the medial syllable.

Before other (palatalized) consonants the palat.
off-glide in /n'/ is not realized.

<u>jeant</u> 'done' /d'e[n']t'/

  b. /n'/ varying with /n/

<u>niee</u> 'washing' /[n'ʲ]i:/, /[n]i:/
<u>meinn</u> 'meal' /me:[n'ʲ]/, /me:[n]/

2. In initial position or in initial clusters there
can be gemination of /n/, viz. [n'ʲ:].

<u>Nherin</u> 'Ireland' /[n'ʲ:]e:ri[n'ʲ:]/, /[n'ʲ]e:ri[n'ʲ]/
<u>Sniaul</u> 'Snaefell' /s'[n'ʲ:]e:l/, /s'[n'ʲ]i:l/

§17. /ŋ/ 1. /ŋ/ is a velarized nasal. It is realized phonetic-
ally as [ŋ] and is found in medial and final position
only. /ŋ/ is quite often found in association with
/g/ and /k/, and could be interpreted as a realization
of /n/ before them.

<u>shinyn</u> 'we, us'(emph.) /s'i[ŋ]ən/
<u>dooinyn</u> 'to us'(emph.) /di[ŋ]ən/
<u>ainyn</u> 'at us, our' (emph.) /i[ŋ]ən/
<u>bangan</u> 'branch' /bə[ŋ]ən/, /bə[ŋ]gən/
<u>ching</u> 'sick' /t'i[ŋ]/, /t'i[ŋ]g/; v. also below.
<u>bink</u> 'bench' /bi[ŋ]k/; v. also below.

2. After front vowels /ŋ/ may be realized in a fronted
(i.e. palato-) velar form, viz. [ŋ']. In the few
attested examples non-fronted variants are also found.

<u>ching</u> 'sick' /t'i[ŋ']/, /t'i[ŋ]/
<u>bink</u> 'bench' /bi[ŋ']k'/, /bi[ŋ]k/
<u>kiangley</u> 'binding' /ki:[ŋ']l'i/, /k'e:[ŋ]li/

The Liquids

§18. /l/ 1. /l/ is an alveolar lateral before and after both
front and back vowels. It is realized as [l] and
is found in all positions. It is normally not
noticeably velarized (but v. below).

luss 'herb' /[l]us/

slaynt 'health' /s[l]ant/

mullagh 'summit' /mu[l]əx/

bolgum 'mouthful' /bo[l]gum/

boayl 'place' /bo:[l]/

gial 'bright' /g´a[l]/; v. also §3 below.

2. /1/ may sometimes be realized weakly velarized, viz.
[ɫ], in all positions.

laare 'floor' /[ɫ]e:r/, /[l]e:r/

jurlan 'darnel' /d´e:[ɫ]in´/

aail 'litter, brood' /e:[ɫ]/, /e:[l]/

3. In final position /1/ may sometimes be realized as a
geminate, viz. [l:].

gennal 'happy' /g´ena[l:]/

gial 'bright' /g´o[l:]/, /g´a[l]/

4. In all positions /1/ can sometimes be realized as a
dental, viz. [l̪]; it may also vary with /1´/.[3]

leih 'forgiving' /[l̪]ei/, /[l]ei/, /[l´ʲ]ei/

chimlee 'chimney' /t´im[l̪]i/, /t´im[l]i/

keeill 'church' /ki[l̪]/, /k´i[l]/, /k´i[l´ʲ]/

§19. /1´/ 1. /1´/ is a palatalized alveolar lateral. As with /n´/
it is phonetically realized with a palatalized off-
glide, viz. [l´ʲ], with vowels; with consonants the
off-glide is not realized. As a separate phoneme its
functions are limited (v. also II: L), and performs
mostly as an allophone of /1/. In the following exx.
/1´/ only is attested.

lheid 'like, sort' /[l´ʲ]id/

3. Originally in all positions a phonemic contrast between /1/
and /1´/ would probably have existed. In LSM this contrast
is realized only in medial and final positions, and to a
limited extent at that, e.g. /mi:lə/ 'soft', /mi:l´ə/ 'mile';
/s´o:l/ 'sail', /s´o:l´/ 'sails'.

lheim 'jump' /[ı'ʲ]em/

lhiantyn 'sticking' /[ı'ʲ]antən/

lhiggey 'letting' /[ı'ʲ]igə/

lhiurid 'length' /[ı'ʲ]uːrid'/

billey 'tree' /bi[ı'ʲ]ə/; but /bi[ı]dę̧n/ (pl.)

duillag 'leaf' /du[ı'ʲ]ag/

shiauill 'sails' /s'oː[ı'ʲ]/

soilshey 'light' /sai[ı']s'ə/

§20. /r/ 1. /r/ is an alveolar flap usually articulated with one, or two flaps at most. It is realized as [r] initially and medially.

ram 'a lot' /[r]əm/

ribbey 'snare' /[r]ibə/

creen 'ripe' /k[r]iːn/

arran 'bread' /a[r]an/

thurran 'cornstack' /tu[r]an/

boandrys 'nursing' /bund[r]əs/

2. /r/ may also be realized as a weak alveolar fricative, viz. [ɹ], especially before consonants and in final position. After a vowel /r/ may be much reduced.[4] In such circumstances /r/ may vary with /ə/.

ayrn 'share' /aː[ɹ]n/, /aːn/

barnagh 'limpet' /bə[ɹ]nax/

oarn 'barley' /oː[ɹ]n/, /oː[ə]n/

mooar 'big' /muː[r]/, /muː[ɹ]/, /muː[ə]/, /muː/

feayr 'cold' /fuː[r]/, /fiː[ɹ]/, /fiːə[ɹ]/, /fiː[ə]/, /fiː/

3. In intervocalic position /r/ may be realized as [ð] (v. also II: R).

mairagh 'tomorrow' /me[ð]ax/ /meː[r]ax/

___

4. Or not realized at all; v. also II: R.

4. In final position, and in initial clusters, /r/ can
   be realized strongly trilled, viz. [r:].

   cuir 'casting' /kw·i[r:]/
   broie 'boiling' /bə[r:]i:/

5. In initial position only /r/ may very occasionally be
   realized 'palatalized', viz. [r'], i.e. the tongue
   tip is near the dental aperture.[5] Here /r/ may also
   be realized with a palatalized off-glide, viz. [rʲ].

   rio 'frost' /[r']o:/, /[rʲ]o:/, /[r]o:/
   rieau 'ever' /[r']u:/, /[rʲ]u:/, /[r]u:/
   red 'thing' /[r']ed/, /[r]ed/

6. After /n/ /r/ may vary with /s/, or the cluster /nr/
   may be realized as [ndr], [nzr].

   poanrey 'beans' /po:n[s]ə/
   maynrys 'happiness' /me[ndr]əs/
   oanraghyn 'petticoats' /u[nzr]əxən/

The Fricatives

§21. /f/ 1. /f/ is a voiceless labio-dental fricative. It is
           realized as [f] and is found in initial position,
           and in final position only in loanwords.

           fastyr 'evening' /[f]a:stə/
           fer 'man' /[f]er/
           floagey 'grinding to atoms' /[f]lugə/
           frugh 'misty' /[f]rux/
           quoif 'flaxen cap' /kwai[f]/ (fr. E.)

      2. In initial position only /f/ can occasionally be
         realized in a 'palatalized' form, viz. [f'], i.e.
         articulated with spread lips and with no palatalized
         off-glide.

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5. There is also a degree of friction.

fliaghey 'rain' /[f´]ı´a:xə/, /[f]ı´a:xə/

faagail 'leaving' /[f´]e:gəı/, /[f]e:geı´/

3. In initial position /f/ can be realized with a palatalized off-glide, viz. [fʲ].

feeu 'worth' /[fʲ]u:/

§22. /s/   1. /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative. It is phonet-
ically realized as [s] and is found initially and
finally, sometimes internally. Quite often /s/ is
realized with lower dental articulation, i.e. the
tongue tip can be behind the bottom teeth, with the
blade of the tongue as the active articulator.

sourey 'summer' /[s]aurə/

scaddan 'herring' /[s]kədan/

dorrys 'door' /dorə[s]/

bunnys 'almost'/bunə[s]/

cassid 'accusation' /ka:[s]əd´/

caslys 'likeness' /ka:[s]ıəs/

2. In intervocalic position /s/ is often realized as
[z] or [ð]. After /l/, /m/, /n/ it is realized as [s]
or [z]; after /m/, /n/ there may also be [ð], [d].

praaseyn 'potatoes' /pre:[s]ən/, /pre:[z]ən/,
      /pre:[ð]ən/

poosit 'married' /pu:[z]it´/, /pu:[ð]it´/

foalsey 'false' /fo:l[s]ə/, /fo:l[z]ə/

Rhumsaa 'Ramsey' /rum¹[s]e:/, /rum¹[z]e:/

gynsagh(ey) 'learning' /gen[z]ax/, /gin[ð]ax/

chymsagh 'collecting' /t´em[s]ax/, /t´im[d]ax/,
   /t´im[ð]ax/

3. Internally /s/ may also be realized as [d̠ð].

shassoo 'standing' /s´a:[ð]u/, /sa:[d̠ð]u/

gynsagh(ey) 'learning' /gin[ð]ax/, /gin[d̠ð]axə/

4. For the realization of /rs/ as [s̠] or [z̠], v.
II: S §6.

§23. /s´/ 1. /s´/ is a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative. It is
realized phonetically as [ʃ] and is found mostly
initially and finally. /s´/ like /s/ can be realized
with lower dental articulation.

shiaghtin 'week' /[ʃ]aːxtən/

shliawin 'slippery' /[ʃ]lˈaun/

stiagh 'into' /[ʃ]tˈɑːx/; note also /[s]tˈeᵃx/
though this may be an idiosyncratic form.

nish 'now' /ni[ʃ]/

fegooish 'without' /fəˈguː[ʃ]/

2. Intervocally /s´/ gives [ʃ], [ʒ], sometimes [dˈʒ], [ð]
or is lost, or it may vary with /j/. Medially with
consonants there is usu.[ʃ], [ʒ]; v. also II: §93.

shlissag 'slice' /s´lˈi[ʃ]ag/, /s´lˈi[ʒ]ag/,
/s´lˈe[ð]ag/

cleayshyn 'ears' /kleː[ʃ]ən/, /kli[ʒ]ən/, /kleː[j]ən/,
/kleːən/, /kliːn/

toshiaght 'beginning' /toː[ʃ]ə/, /to[ʒ]ax/,
/to[dˈʒ]ax/, /ta[j]ax/

trimshey 'sadness' /trim[ʃ]ə/ /trim[ʒ]ə/

aghterbee 'anyway' /əː[ʃ]əˈbiː/

3. /s´/ may also vary with /s/.

sheese 'downwards' /[ʃ]iːs/, /[s]iːs/, /[ʃ]iː[ʃ]/

sniaghtey 'snow' /[ʃ]nˈaxtə/, /[s]nˈaːxtə/

§24. /x/ 1. /x/ is a voiceless velar fricative. It is realized
as [x] and is found mostly in final position. Here
there may occasionally be a loss of friction, viz.
[ɣ].

jinnagh 'would do' /dˈina[x]/

jough 'ale' /dˈo[x]/

colbagh 'heifer' /koːlba[x]/, /koːlba[ɣ]/

2. In medial position with a consonant /x/ is realized
as [x].

smaghtey 'controlling' /sma:[x]tə/

shiaghtin 'week' /sʻa:[x]tən/. Note also /tʻa:n/
  (i.e. a reduced form of /ən tʻa:xtən/) with non-
  realization of the cluster /xt/.

3. Initially /x/ may vary with /h/, /k/, /kʻ/, or is
   not realized at all.

   cha 'not' /[x]ə/, /[h]ə/, /ə/

   cheayll 'heard' /[x]i:l/, /[kʰ]il/

   chaie 'went, past' /[x]ai/, /[kʰ]ai/, /[kʻʕ]ai/

   chraa 'shook' /[x]re:/, /[kʰ]re:/

4. Intervocally /x/ may vary with /h/, /g/, /gʻ/, or
   may not be realized at all.

   dorraghys 'darkness' /doro[x]əs/, /dora[ɣ]əs/

   laghyn 'days' /le:[x]ən/, /la:[ɣ]ən/, /le:[h]ən/,
        /le:ən/

   jeeaghyn 'looking' /dʻi[x]ən/, /dʻi[ɣ]ən/,
        /dʻi:[g]ən/, /dʻi:[gʻ]ən/

5. In final position /x/ may vary with /s/ or /sʻ/.

   agh 'but' /a[x]/, /a[s]/

   aght 'method' /a:[x]/, /a:[ʃ]/

6. In word-final position /x/ may be realized as a
   geminate, viz. [x:].

   fliugh 'wet' /flʻu[x:]/, /flʻu[x]/

   frough 'mist' /fru[x:]/, /fru[x]/

   The above exx. are from one speaker only.

7. In final position /x/ may be realized as a voiceless
   palato-velar fricative, viz. [xʻ].

   keeaght 'plough' /kʻi:ə[x]/, /kʻi:[xʻ]/

§25. (/xʻ/) /xʻ/ is a voiceless palato-velar fricative. It is
     realized as [xʻ] and is found in initial position
     as a lenited form of /sʻ/, /kʻ/, /tʻ/. The occur-
     rence is very rare.

<u>my huyr</u> 'my sister' /mə [xˊ]uːr/; len. of /sˊ/.

<u>my chione</u> 'my head' /mə [xˊ]oːn/; len. of /kˊ/.

   Note also /mə [kˊʕ]oːn/.

<u>O Hiarn</u> 'O Lord' /o ˈ[xˊ]aːn/; len. of /tˊ/.

/xˊ/ is found in initial position in the phrase <u>da cheilley</u> 'to each other' /də [xˊ]elə/. But note that in the phrase <u>ry cheilley</u> 'together' /re keːlˊə/ there is not only non-palatalization, but also non-spirantization.

Except as an occasional realization of /x/ the segment /xˊ/ appears only under mutation. This raises the question of the status of /xˊ/ as a phoneme. For this reason I place it in brackets. For a discussion on this question, cf. Hamp (1951) and Oftedal (1962).

§26. /h/ 1. /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative when it occurs initially in a word produced in isolation. Intervocally and across word boundaries /h/ is usually voiced. I write its phonetic realization here as [ɦ]. Its occurrence in base forms is rare.

   <u>hoght</u> 'eight' /[ɦ]oːx]/

   <u>Jeheiney</u> 'Friday' /dˊəˈ[ɦ]e nˊə/. As /h/ here comes under primary stress it could well be considered initial.

2. Initially and medially /h/ may vary with /x/; s.v. /x/ §§3, 4.

3. /h/ can occur finally; cf. <u>boght</u> 'poor' /bo[ɦ]/

§27. /v/ 1. /v/ is a voiced labio-dental fricative. It is realized as [v] and is found mainly in initial position in secondary forms only. It represent lenited /b/ and /m/ (for this v. Initial Mutations below).

2. Intervocally /v/ can be a realization of /b/ (qv).

3. Very occasionally /v/ may be realized in a 'palatal-
   ized' form, viz. [v´], i.e. articulated with spread
   lips.

   vlein 'year' /[v´]l´in/ /[v]l´in/; rad. blein.

4. In initial position /v/ may vary allophonically with
   /w/.

   veih 'from' /[v]ei/, /[w]ei/[6]
   voish 'from' /[v]ois´/, /[w]us´/[6]
   y vooa 'the cow' /ə [v]u:/, /ə [w]u:/; rad. booa.
   vooar 'big' /[v]u:r/, /[w]u:r/; rad. mooar.

The Semivowels

§28. /w/ 1. /w/ is the frictionless bilabial glide [w]. It occurs
         in initial position only as the second element in
         (initial) consonant clusters giving the first element
         a bilabial or rounded quality.

   mwaagh 'hare' /m[w]a:x/
   mwannal 'neck' /m[w]anəl/; also /monal/
   purt 'harbour' /p[w]ət/; also /pət/
   quaagh 'strange' /k[w]a:x/
   queeyl 'wheel' /k[w]i:l´/
   guee 'imploring' /g[w]i:/
   whilleen 'as many' /h[w]ilən/
   wheesh 'amount' /h[w]is´/ /k[w]i:s´/

         2. For the function of /w/ as the lenited form of /b/
         and /m/ s.v. Initial Mutations below.

§29. /j/ 1. /j/ is the palatal semivowel [j]. It is quite often
         found initially before front vowels and in intervoc-
         alic position.

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  6. Variants of the same preposition.

<u>yeealley</u> 'beating' /[j]ɪlə/

<u>eeastagh</u> 'fishing' /[j]istəx/

<u>yiarn</u> 'iron' /[j]a:n/

<u>sheshaght</u> 'company' /s´a[j]ax/

<u>niaght</u> 'news' /na[j]ax/

2. For /j/ varying with /s´/ in this environment, s.v. /s´/ above.

CONSONANT SEQUENCES

§30. In LSM consonants may occur in sequences of two or three members. These sequences fall into three groups: initial, medial, final. Some sequences may be found in more than one group. The consonant sequences in word-initial position are as follows (lenited forms appear in brackets):

1. /sp-   spr-
           spw-
     sk-   skr-
     sr-   skj-
     st-   str-   s´t´-
     sl-   sl´-   s´l´-   (x´l-   tl´-   kl´-)
     sm-
     sn-   sn´-   s´n´-
     pl-
     pr-
     pw-
     tr-   (xr-)
     kl-   kl´-
     kr-
     kw-   (hw- xw- w̥-)
     bl-   (vl-) bl´- (vl´-)
     br-
     bj-
     bw-

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          dr-
          gr-
          gw-
          fl-  fl´-
          fr-
          fj-
          fw- (hw-)
          mr-
          mj-
          mw- /
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Examples: <u>spein</u> 'spoon' /spe:n/, <u>sproghil</u> 'dewlap' /spro:xəl/, <u>spoiy</u> 'castrating' /spwi:/, <u>skee</u> 'tired' /ski:/, <u>screeu</u> 'writing' /skru:/, <u>sroin</u> 'nose' /srən/ (v. also below), <u>skeouw</u> 'pruning' /skjau/, <u>staillin</u> 'steel' /stelən´/, <u>stroin</u> 'nose' /stro:n/, <u>stiagh</u> 'into' /s´t´a:x/, <u>sleih</u> 'people' /slei/, <u>slieau</u> 'mountain' /sl´u:/, /s´l´u:/, <u>smarrey</u> 'grease' /sma:rə/, <u>snaue</u> 'swimming' /snau/, <u>sniaghtey</u> 'snow' /sn´a:xtə/, /s´n´a:xtə/, <u>plaggad</u> 'oats' /plagad/, <u>praaseyn</u> 'potatoes' /pre:sən/, <u>purt</u> 'harbour' /pwət/, <u>troggal</u> 'lifting' /trogal/, <u>clouw</u> 'tongs' /klau/, <u>cliwe</u> 'sword' /kl´u:/, <u>creck</u> 'selling' /krek/, <u>queeyl</u> 'wheel' /kwi:l´/, <u>blaa</u> 'flower' /ble:/, <u>blein</u> 'year' /bl´in/, <u>bree</u> 'vigour' /bri:/, <u>bio</u> 'alive' /bjo:/, <u>booise</u> 'thanks' /bwi:s/, <u>dree</u> 'tedious' /dri:/, <u>grayse</u> 'grace' /gre:s/, <u>gwee</u> 'curse' /gwi:/, <u>flooyr</u> 'flour' /flu:r/, <u>fliaghey</u> 'rain' /fl´a:xə/, <u>frass</u> 'shower' /fras/, <u>feeu</u> 'worth' /fju:/, <u>fuill</u> 'blood' /fwil´/, <u>mraane</u> 'women' /mre:n/, <u>miolagh</u> 'temptation' /mjo:lax/, <u>mwannal</u> 'neck' /mwanəl/.

2. The consonant sequences in medial position are:

```
    / -sp-, -sk-, -st-, -s´t´-, (-s´t-)⁷, -sl-, -s´l-, -sn-
      -tl-
      -kl-, -ks-
      -bd-
      -dl-
      -gl-, -gn-, -gn´- 
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7. Only in <u>bashtey</u> 'baptizing' /ba:s´tə/.

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        -mb-, -mn-, -ms´-
        -nd-, -ŋ'(g)-, -ŋk-, -nl-, -nm-, -nr-, -ns´-, -nd´-, -nt-,
         -ntr-, -nv-
        -rt-, -rd´-, -rk-, -rb-, -rd-, -rg-, -rm-, -rn-, -rl-,
         -rl´-
        -lt-, -l´t´-, -lb-, -l´d´-, -lg-, -ls-, -l´s´-, -lt-
        -xl-, -xt- /
```

Examples: aspick 'bishop' /a:spit´/, baskad 'basket' /baskad/,
lhiasstid 'slothfulness' /l´a:stəd´/, loshtey 'burning' /lo:s´t´ə/,
fosley 'opening' /fo:slə/, foshlit 'opened' /fo:s´lit/, cosney
'earning' /ko:snə/, chattlynyn 'chattels' /t´atlənən/, fockleyn
'words' /fo:klən/, Laksa 'Laxey' /laksa/, cabdil 'chapter' /kabdəl/,
cadley 'sleep' /kadlə/, chaglym 'gathering' /t´agləm/, caigney
'chewing' /kagn´ə/, sthambey 'treading' /stambə/, chymney 'will,
testament' /t´imnə/, cumrail 'hindering' /kom're:l´/, trimshey
'sorrow' /trims´ə/, coontey 'thinking, considering' /ku:ndə/,
bangan 'branch' /baŋan/, /baŋgan/, cronkyn 'hills' /kreŋkən/
(usu. pl. crink), cainley 'candle' /kainlə/, anmagh 'Late'
/anmax/, ynrick 'honest, upright, decent' /inrək´/, /jinrik´/,
sonsheragh 'whisper' /sons´ərax/, banjagh 'lealand' /band´ax/,
drogh-yantagh 'wastrel' /drox'jentax/, contraie 'neaptide'
/kon'trei/, convayrt 'carrion' /kon'va:t/, gortey 'famine' /go:rtə/,
yrjid 'height' /ərd´əd´/, corkey 'oats' /korkə/, Jurby (placename)
/d´ərbi/, keirdee 'smithy' /k´a:rdi/, margey 'market' /mərgə/,
chirmagh 'drying' /t´ermax/, baarney 'gap' /bernə/, urley 'eagle'
/ərlə/, coyrlagh 'advising' /ko:rl´ax/, oltaghey-bea 'greeting'
/oltaxə'be:/, palchey 'plenty' /pal´t´ə/, colbagh 'heifer' /kolbax/,
soilsheeyn 'lights' /sail´d´iən/, bolgum 'mouthful' /bolgum/,
foalsey 'false' /fo:lsə/, soilshey 'light' /sail´s´ə/, palchys
'abundance' /pa:ltis/, caghlaa 'changing' /kox'le:/, smooinaghtyn
'thinking' /smun´axtən/.

It will be noticed that in many of the above exx. the vowel follow-
ing the medial sequence is /ə/.

   3. The consonant sequences in word-final position are as
follows:

        /-st, -s´t´

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-rp, -rt, -rt´, -rk, -rd, -rg, -rn
-lt, -lk, -lg
-xt
-ŋ(g), -nt, -ns, -ns´/
```

Examples: lhiasst 'lazy' /lˊa:st/, rooisht 'naked' /ru:sˊt´/,
corp 'body' /korp/, bart 'load' /ba:rt/, sorch 'kind, sort'
/sərt´/, eairk 'horn' /e:rk/, coard 'rope' /ko:rd/, s'merg 'woe
is me!' /smərg/, cayrn 'trumpet' /ka:rn/, folt 'hair' /folt/,
olk 'bad' /olk/, colg 'chaff' /kolg/, briaght 'asking' /braiaxt/,
ching 'sick' /t´iŋ/, /t´iŋg/, jeant 'done' /d´ent/, shiartanse
'several' /sˊertəns/, scansh 'importance' /skansˊ/.

CONSONANT LENGTH

§31. In LSM there are a number of environments in which consonants
are lengthened automatically beyond their usual duration in other
circumstances. Most affected are /d/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/, /x/
in final position following a short vowel in monosyllables or
disyllables. The affected element can bear primary or secondary
stress and occurs usually (though not always) at the end of a
phrase or in external sandhi.

1. shen yn chied traa 'that's the first time' /sˊen in kˊe[d:]
      'tre:/
   ec tree er y clag 'at three o'clock' /eg tri: erə 'kla[g:]/
   duillagyn cabbag 'dockleaves' /dulˊagən 'kˊa,ba[g:]/
   goll cam 'going wrong' /gol 'kˊe[m:]/
   ec y traa shen 'at that time' /egə 'tre: ,sˊe[n:]/
   Ollick Gennal 'Happy Christmas' /olik 'gˊena[l:]/
   ro gial 'too bright' /ro:'gˊo[l:]/
   ta'n aer ooilley ayns frugh 'the sky is all in mist' /tan
      'na: olˊu əs 'fru[x:]/

2. Geminate /r/, viz. [r:] - i.e. strongly trilled, is very
   rarely found.

   sheign dooin traaue yn thalloo as cuir yn arroo ayn 'we'll
   have to plough the land and sow the corn' /sain dinˊ 'tre:u
   in tolu as kwi[r:] ən 'a:ru o:n/

3. /b/ in initial position in consecutive words in a phrase is
   sometimes found geminated. The following is taken from a
   story and is therefore probably stylistic.

   va ben baghey ayns Balley ny Loghey 'there was a woman
   living in Ballaugh' /va '[b:]en '[b:]e: us [b:]alə'la:/

4. Geminate /g/ may also be found intervocally, viz. cleighyn
   'hedges' /kle[g:]ən/

5. In the cluster /mn/ or /m/ + stop in medial position the
   first element may be lengthened.

   chymney 'testament' /t´i[m:]nə/, /t´i[m]nə/; v. also §14.3.
   chymsagh 'collecting' /t´i[m:]dax/, /t´i[m]dax/

6. In words borrowed from English intervocalic /p/ and /d/ may
   show lengthening.
   croppyn 'crops' /kro[p:]ən/
   soddyn 'turf-sods' /so[d:]ən/, /so[ð:]ən/

7. /n/ may be found lengthened intervocally in an (original)
   trisyllable reduced to a disyllable through syncope resulting
   in the fusion of the preceding and following /n/ of the
   syncopated syllable with free lengthening (so often found in
   Manx) of the stressed syllable.

   Manninagh 'Manxman' /maninax/, /ma:[n:]ax/; also /ma:nax/

SEQUENCE REDUCTION

§32. In rapid speech some consonant clusters, notably /xt/, in
intervocalic position outside the main stress can be reduced or
not realized at all.

   cooinaghtyn 'remembering' /ku:n´axtən/, /ku:n´axən/,
      /ku:n´an/
   smooinaghtyn 'thinking' /smu:n´axtən/, /smin´axən/,
      /smun´a:n̩/

PREOCCLUSION

§33. In LSM there can occur usually in stressed monosyllables (but
also in stressed final syllables of disyllables and stressed medial

syllables followed by a short monosyllabic unstressed suffix - whether the stressed syllable be long or short) ending in a nasal or lateral a development known as preocclusion. That is to say, that just prior to the articulation of the nasal or lateral the corresponding (voiced)[8] stop is realized, but with nasal or lateral release, i.e. [bᴺ] before /m/, [dᴺ] before /n/, [gᴺ] before /ŋ/, [dᴸ] before /l/.[9]

1. /[bᴺ]m/ in stressed monosyllables.
   <u>cam</u> 'crooked' /kʼam/, /kʼa[bᴺ]m/
   <u>dreeym</u> 'back' /drim/, /driːm/, /dri[bᴺ]m/, /driː[bᴺ]m/
   <u>eeym</u> 'butter' /im/ /iː[bᴺ]m/
   <u>trome</u> 'heavy' /troːm/, /troː[bᴺ]m/, /tro[bᴺ]m/

2a. /[dᴺ]n/ (or /[dʼᴺ]nʼ/)in stressed monosyllables.
   <u>bane</u> 'white' /beːn/, /beː[dᴺ]n/, /be[dᴺ]n/
   <u>slane</u> 'full' /slen/, /sle[dᴺ]n/
   <u>kione</u> 'head' /kʼaun/, /kʼoːn/, /kʼo[dᴺ]n/, /kʼoː[dᴺ]n/
   <u>oarn</u> 'barley' /ər[dᴺ]n/, /oː[dᴺ]n/
   <u>shen</u> 'that' /sʼen/, /sʼe[dᴺ]n/
   <u>lane</u> 'full' /le[dᴺ]n/
   <u>keayn</u> 'sea' /ki[dᴺ]n/
   <u>eean</u>, pl. <u>ein</u> 'chick, bird' /jiː[dᴺ]n/, pl. /e[dᴺ]n/
        /eː[dʼᴺ]nʼ/
   <u>lhune</u> 'ale' /lʼu[dᴺ]n/

b. /[dᴺ]n/ (or /[dʼᴺ]nʼ/) in disyllables with final stress.
   <u>Jeleyn</u> 'Monday' /dʼeˈliən/, /dʼaˈlʼenʼ/, /dʼeˈli[dᴺ]n/,
        /dʼeˈleː[dᴺ]n/, /dʼəˈlʼe[dʼᴺ]nʼ/
   <u>suggane</u> 'strawrope' /səˈgaːn/, /səˈgaː[dᴺ]n/
   <u>drollane</u> 'useless sort of person' /droˈleː[dᴺ]n/

c. /[dᴺ]n/ (or /[dʼᴺ]nʼ/) in intervocalic position or followed by an unstressed monosyllabic suffix.
   <u>brynnagh</u> 'flattering' /bre[dʼᴺ]nʼəx/
   <u>lieenyn</u> 'nets' /lʼi[dᴺ]nən/

---

8. Nasals and laterals are only found voiced in LSM.
9. Here ɴ = nasally released, L = laterally released.

3. /[gᴺ]ŋ/ in stressed monosyllables. The following is the
    only attested example.
    lhong 'ship' /loŋ/, /lo[gᴺ]ŋ/, /lu[gᴺ]ŋ/

4. /[dᴸ]l⁽ˈ⁾/ in stressed monosyllables.
    shooyll 'walking' /sˈuːl/, /sˈuː[dᴸ]l/
    Baarle 'English Lang.' /bərl/, /bəl/, /bə[dᴸ]l/
    keeill 'church' /kˈiːlˈ/, /kˈiːl/, /kˈi[dᴸ]l/

§34. Two questions need to be asked regarding preocclusion in
LSM: 1) is it to be regarded as allophonic or phonemic, and 2)
does preocclusion render an additional syllable to the word so
affected?

1. In the above examples we see that the preocclusive elements,
realized with nasal or lateral release in association with their
homorganic nasals or laterals, i.e. /[bᴺ]m/, /[dᴺ]n/, /[gᴺ]ŋ/,
/[dᴸ]l/, have been noticed earlier in our survey as the phonemes
/b/, /d/, /g/ articulated with full oral release. We could
therefore reach the conclusion that once elements have already
been established as phonemes, any difference in their articulation
(whatever that might be) would not alter their status as phonemes,
and that their association with their corresponding homorganic
nasals or laterals in this respect would, or could, suggest that
the clusters were biphonemic varying freely with a monophonemic
(nasal or lateral) segment.

However, another view of the matter could be taken. The nasally or
laterally released elements, viz. [bᴺ], [dᴺ], [gᴺ], [dᴸ], occur only
in association with their homorganic nasals or laterals, viz. /m/,
/n/, /ŋ/, /l/ (i.e. [bm], [dn], [gŋ], [dl]) in a particular set of
circumstances (as outlined above), and not otherwise. That is to
say, that in such circumstances the phonemes /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /l/
can be realized in a particular sort of way. It is noticeable that,
except in a few cases,[10] the items containing a preocclusive

---

10. In such cases (mostly featuring [dn]) either the variant
    without preocclusion has not been recorded, or in those part-
    icular exx. it had fallen out of use. If the latter is the
    case (and exx. such as keayn and lane are found frequently in
    the corpus always with preoccl.), then this may suggest that
    preocclusion has been in the language for some time.

element also have counterparts that do not, which indicates that
these given set of circumstances do not result in the automatic
application of such realizations. It is also noticeable that no
minimal pairs can be formed with the preocclusive element to show
opposition of meaning, i.e. [bun] and [budn] both mean 'base,
bottom', [tro:m] and [tro:bm] both mean 'heavy', [ʃu:l] and
[ʃu:dl] both mean 'walking', etc. That is to say, that in this
respect at any rate there is no phonemic opposition between [m]
and [bm], or between [n] and [dn], [ŋ] and [gŋ], or [l] and [dl].
In addition, particularly in the sequence [dn], palat. variants
(viz. [d′n′]) are noted by Marstrander side by side in the same
lexical item (obtained from different speakers, but from the same
area), e.g. (leaving aside differences in vowel quality) <u>Jerdein</u>
'Thursday' [d′ʒør'død′n′]N, [d′ʒę'deidn]N. Also (from the same
speaker) the preocclusive element may or may not be found palat.
in the same word, e.g. <u>Jeleyn</u> 'Monday' [d′ʒę'lę:d′n′]S, [d′ʒę
'łe:dn̦']S. It is clear from this that the preocclusive element
can appear palat. and non-palat., as can the whole cluster, with-
out any phonemic significance or significance of meaning, and that
the presence of palatalization (here at any rate) plays no role
whatever in the meaning or the import the speaker wishes to
convey. The palat. variants can therefore only be interpreted as
occurring in free allophonic variation with the non-palat. forms.
It is my view that the same applies in the case of preocclusion,
i.e. that though in a given set of circumstances preocclusion can
take place, nevertheless reflexes containing no preocclusion (in
most cases) also occur, thus indicating that preocclusion plays
no role whatever in the context of meaning and import. That is to
say, that the preocclusive forms [bm], [dn], [gŋ], [dl] are
special realizations of the corresponding phonemes (/m/, /n/, /ŋ/,
/l/), and in this regard I would view preocclusion in LSM as
having allophonic rather than phonemic status.

On the other hand, it may be noticed that in his phonetic corpus
of LSM Marstrander sometimes renders the preocclusive dental as a
spirant, viz. /[ð]n/, which suggests that it was becoming separated
from its homorganic nasal and the whole unit was developing into
[ðən], as in [bę:ðən] 'boats'. Indeed he sometimes writes as if

the unit had already developed a centralized vowel, e.g. (without spirantization of the dental) [ʃedən] 'that', usu. [ʃen]. That is to say, that the dental was now being released orally instead of nasally, i.e. as a separate segment. In other words a process of phonemicization was taking (or had taken) place.

2. We now turn to the question as to whether preocclusion renders an additional syllable to the word in which it occurs, i.e. it makes a disyllable. out of a monosyllable, or a trisyllable of a disyllable, etc, or whether it merely forms part of the syllable in which it is found (as its variant without preocclusion does), and is regarded as an extension of it. To gain a better perspective of the situation we may look at the following: baatyn 'boats' /be:[d̪ð]ən/ and bane 'white' /be:[dᴺ]n/. In the first example the /d/ is orally released, thus producing a centralized vowel between it and the nasal; in the second the nasally released /d/ produces no centralized vowel, but that /n/ could be regarded as syllabic. The latter may be compared with the usual English pronunciation of button, viz. [bʌtən] [bʌtn̩], where in the second example the /n/ is syllabic.[11]

If we look at the situation in Manx verse, we find that those items containing preocclusion occupy (as is to be expected) a stressed position in the line and have the equivalent of a long syllable.[12]

In the following examples the stressed elements are marked long. It will be noticed that shortening of stressed elements can be made up by additional (hypermetric) syllables which are bracketed.

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11. It is likely that no one would argue here that the word has become monosyllabic because nasal plosion is found. But it must be noted that the pronunciation can shorten the second syllable in this particular word that is recognized as being disyllabic.
12. i.e. they are long by position, even if not long by nature.

1. (Vol. 1: 338).

```
              ‒ ˅   ˅ ǀ  ‒   ˅
  ['arax ðə'sn'a:xtə

         ˅  ǀ ‒ ˅   ˅ ǀ ‒
  (as) 'darax ðə'rjǫ:

        ˅   ˅ ǀ ‒    ˅  ˅ǀ ‒ ˅
  (vẹ nə) 'ʃedn kïri 'maru

        ˅    ˅ ǀ ‒    ˅  ˅ ǀ  ‒
  (as nə) 'ẹ:dn bẹɣə'βl'ǫ:]
```

Metre: (mainly) dactylic

2. (Vol. 1: 320). The same last two lines from a different
   source.

```
            ˅   ˅  ǀ ‒   ˅  ˅ ǀ ‒ ˅
  [(va nə) 'ʃan: kiri 'maru

            ˅   ˅ ǀ ‒    ˅  ˅ ǀ  ‒
  (as nə) 'i.dn ve:ɣə 'bjo:]
```

Note the secondary lengthening of the first syllable in
veggey.

3. (Vol. 1: 352).

```
             ˅     ‒ ǀ ˅      ‒ ǀ ˅   ‒ ǀ˅      ‒
  [b'l'in' 'ha:x kid ǀ ᵈʒeg gai 'jeg as 'dɑid'ʒ

      ˅    ‒ ǀ˅    ‒ ǀ ˅    ‒ ǀ ˅      ‒
  in 'at'ʃim 'ʃǫ: nəx 'bɑn dən' 'l'ẹd'ʒ

        ˅    ‒  ǀ   ˅    ‒ ǀ ˅    ‒  ǀ ˅      ‒
  d'ʒai 'de:n'(ə) as 'fid də 'd'ʒidn va 'sᶵθreit'ʃ

       ˅   ‒  ǀ ˅      ‒ǀ ˅  ‒  ǀ   ˅     ‒
  l'eʃ 'ɑïl' as 'pʰu:ðə 'fi:(ə) dɪl'tat'ʃ]
```

Metre: iambic

If we look at the word [ʃedṇ] 'old' (Vs..1, li. 3)[13] and its
variant [ʃan:](Vs. 2, li. 1) (usu. [ʃa:n]), we note that (in
the second case), although the vowel is short, the syllable is
long because of the geminated nasal; the syllable is clearly
long in the more usual variant (above). In vs. 1 we see that
[ʃedṇ] has the same quantity as its counterpart in verse 2. The

13 . For a translation of these verses v. Vol. 1: 461, 456, 465.

vowel in [ʃedn̩] is short, and bearing in mind that in Manx verse
a long syllable has the value of two short syllables, the second
short syllable here is, therefore, made up by the preocclusive
element plus the nasal plosion. We can see the same in [dʒidn̩]
'eager' (here 'sudden') in vs. 3, li. 3, which occupies a pos-
ition of stress and therefore (in metrical terms) can have a
long or two short syllables. In this instance the vowel is short,
indicating that two short syllables are required to make up the
quantity. The short vowel contributes to the first short syllable;
the second is therefore made up by the preocclusive element plus
the nasal plosive. That is to say, that (in Manx verse terms at
any rate) preocclusion renders an additional syllable to the
word (here a stressed monosyllable) so affected.[14] It will be
noticed that in other examples of verse in the corpus (v. Vol. 1)
stressed monosyllables (whether the vowel be long or short) con-
taining preocclusion occur (as mentioned earlier) only in stressed
position in the line, i.e. they have the equivalent of one long
or two short syllables. It is my view that the same applies in
ordinary speech, i.e. that preocclusion renders a (stressed)
monosyllabe disyllabic, and a disyllable trisyllabic.

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14. In [ẹ:dn̩] 'lambs' (Vs. 1, li. 4) and its variant [i.dn̩]
    (Vs. 2, li. 2), however, we have a long (or half-long)
    syllable as well as preocclusion. That is to say (if we
    accept that preocclusion contributes to an additional
    syllable), we have in the first case a long and a short
    syllable, or in metrical terms three short syllables - i.e.
    one syllable too many for the metre. The same applies in
    the second case, except for the fact that the additional
    syllable goes half way to compensate for the reduction in
    vowel length.

VOWELS

A. Short Vowels

§35. In LSM there are six short oral[1] vowel phonemes. They are:

	front			back
high	i			u
mid		e	ə	o
low		a		

§36. Minimal or near minimal pairs.

i - e   /kʹid/N/S 'hundred' : /kʹed/N/S 'permission'

e - a   /mek/N/S 'sons' : /mak/N/S 'son'

u - o   /kunə/N/S 'help' : /konə/N 'gorse'

o - a   /monə/N/S 'much, any' : /mana/N 'unless'

ə - i   /nə/N/S 'the' (pl.) : /ni/N/S 'will do'

i - u   /snig/N 'latch' : /snug/N 'a nod'

e - o   /ben/S 'woman' : /bon/N 'rim of wheel'

i - a   /snip/N 'clout' : /snap/Ṇ 'snack'

u - e   /bun/S 'base' : /ben/S 'woman'

u - a   /muk/N 'pig' : /mak/N/S 'son'

u - o   /mulag/N 'cask' : /molag/N 'buoy'

PHONETIC REALIZATION OF THE PHONEMES

§37. /i/ 1. /i/ is an unrounded high front vowel. In stressed
       monosyllables it is realized phonetically as [i],
       [I], [ï], sometimes [ę] in free variation.

       çheet 'coming' /tʹ[i]t/, /tʹ[I]t/, /tʹ[ï]t/

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1. There is no opposition between orality and nasality in
   vowels in LSM. For the occurrence of nasality in vowels,
   v. II: Nasality.

<u>rish</u> 'to, towards' /r[i]s'/, /r[I]s'/, /r[ï]s'/

<u>ghreim</u> 'gripped' /gr[i]m/, /gr[ẹ]m/

2. In closed initial stressed syllables of polysyllables
   /i/ is realized as [i], [I], [ï], sometimes [ẹ] in
   free variation.

   <u>chymney</u> 'testament' /t'[i]mnə/, /t'[I]mnə/,
       /t'[ï]mnə/

   <u>bleeaney</u> 'years' /bl'[i]nə/, /bl'[ẹ]nə/

3. In initial closed unstressed syllables /i/ is realized
   as [i], [I], [ï], [ẹ] in free variation.

   <u>jinneyr</u> 'dinner' /d'[i]'ne:r/, /d'[I]'ne:ə/,
       /d'[ï]'ne:ə/

   <u>Jedoonee</u> 'Sunday' /d'[ẹ]'du:ni/; v. also §9a below.

4. In initial open stressed syllables /i/ is realized as
   [i], [I], [ï], sometimes [ẹ] in free variation.

   <u>earish</u> 'weather' /[i]ris'/, /[I]ris'/

   <u>imbagh</u> 'season' /[ï]mbax/, /[I]mbax/

   <u>earroo</u> 'number' /[I]ru/, /[ẹ]ru/

5. In initial open unstressed syllables /i/ is realized
   as [ï] or [ẹ]. Note that the environment here is nasal.

   <u>imnea</u> 'anxiety' [ï]m'ne:/

   <u>imraa</u> 'mention' [ẹ]m're:/

6. In medial position /i/ is realized as [i] or [I].
   The environment here is also nasal.

   <u>niurinagh</u> 'hellish' /n'u:r[i]n'əx/

   <u>firrinagh</u> 'true' /fir[I]n'əx/

7. In final closed unstressed syllables /i/ is realized
   as [i], [I], [ï] in free variation.

   <u>aalin</u> 'fair' /e:l[i]n'/

   <u>argid</u> 'money' /e g[i]d/, /e:g[I]d/

   <u>fakin</u> 'seeing' /fa:g[i]n'/, /fa:g[ï]n'/

8. In final open unstressed syllables /i/ is realized
    as [ı].

    irree 'arise' /ir[ı]/
    foddee 'perhaps' /fod[ı]/
    immee "go!' /im[ı]/
    nurree 'last year' /nur[ı]/

9a. In stressed monosyllables or initial stressed syll-
    ables of polysyllables /i/ may vary freely with /i:/,
    /e(:)/, /u(:)/, /o/, /ə/, /a/.

    cleayshyn 'ears' /kl[I]s'ən/, /kl[I:]s'ən/
    cleaysh 'ear' /kl[i]s'/, /kl[ö:]s'/, /kl[e:]s'/
    chirrym 'dry' /t'[I]rəm/, /t'[e]rəm/
    cheet 'coming' /t'[i]t/, /t'[ɛ]t/, /t'[e]t/, /t'[ø]t/
    chibbyrt 'well' /t'[I]vət/, /t'[o̞]vət/, /t'[ɔ]bərt/
    greimey 'gripping' /gr[I]mə/, /gr[i:]mə/, /gr[ə]mə/

 b. In initial unstressed syllables /i/ may vary (allo-
    phonically) with /ə/, sometimes with /e/, /o/.

    mitchooragh 'mischievous' /m[I]'t'u:rəx/,
        /m[ə]'t'u:rəx/
    Jedoonee 'Sunday' /d'[e̞]'du:ni/, /d'[ə]'du:ni/,
        /d'[ɛ]'duni/, /d'[o̞]'duni/

 c. In final stressed syllables /i/ may vary with /u/ or
    /i:/.

    mygeayrt 'around' /mə'g[i]t/, /mə'g[ü]t/, /mə'g[I:]t/

 d. In final unstressed syllables /i/ may vary freely with
    /ə/ before a nasal.

    awin 'river' /au[I]n'/, /au[ə]n'/
    fakin 'seeing' /fa:g[i]n'/, /fa:g[ə]n'/
    dorrin 'storm' /dor[i]n'/, /dor[ə]n'/

 e. Medially /i/ may vary freely with /ə/ before a nasal.

    conningyn 'rabbits' /kor[I]nən/, /kur[ə]n'ən/
    firrinagh 'true' /fir[I]n'ax/, /fir[ə]n'ax/

§38. /e/ 1. /e/ is an unrounded front vowel. In stressed mono-
syllables or in stressed initial syllables of poly-
syllables (whether the syllables are open or closed)
/e/ can be realized as [e], [ẹ], [ɛ], or sometimes
rounded as [ø] before dentals.

 breck 'mackerel' /br[e]k/, /br[ẹ]k/

 ben 'woman' /b[e]n/, /b[ẹ]n/, /b[ɛ]n/

 ellan 'island' /[e]lˊan/, /[ẹ]lˊan/, /[ɛ]lˊan/

 feddyn 'finding' /f[e]dən/, /f[ø]dən/

 eddyr oc 'between them' /[e]dərok/, /[ø]dərok/

2. In unstressed initial syllables /e/ is realized as
[e], [ẹ], [ɛ].

 er-meshtey 'drunk' /[e]ˈme:sˊtˊə/, /[ẹ]rˈmesˊtˊə/

 erskyn 'above' /[ẹ]rˈskin/, /[ɛ]ˈskI:n/

3. In stressed medial syllables /e/ is realized as [ẹ],
though the examples are rare.[2]

 myrgeddin 'also' /mərˈg[ẹ]dən/; v. also §4a below.

4a Initially and medially /e/ may vary freely with /a/
or /i/.

 bentyn 'touching' /b[ẹ]ntən/, /b[a]ntən/

 cam 'crooked' /kˊ[e]m/, /kˊ[ɒ]m/

 ennym 'name' /[ẹ]nəm/, /[I]nəm/

 Gaelg 'Manx Gaelic' /g[e]lk/, /g[i]lk/

 myrgeddin 'also' /mərˈg[ẹ]dən/, /məˈg[i]dən/

 b Occasionally in initial position /e/ may also vary
freely with /u/ or /ə/, or /e:/.

 jannoo 'doing' /dˊ[ẹ]nu/, /dˊ[I]nu/, /dˊ[a]nu/,
  /dˊ[ʊ]nu/

 keird 'trade' /kˊ[e]d/, /kˊ[ö]d/

_____

2. As /e/ follows the stress the syllable may be considered
initial, cf. Ir. mar an gcéadna. The same, perhaps, could
be said for mygeayrt (Ir. mar gcuairt) in §37.9c above.

quoi 'who' /kw[e]/, /kw[e:]/

§39. /a/ 1. /a/ is an unrounded low front vowel. In stressed
monosyllables it is realized as [a] or [æ], or
further back in articulation as [ɒ].

ad 'they, them' /[a]d/, /[ɒ]d/
ram 'a lot' /r[a]m/, /r[ɒ]m/
chiass 'heat' /t'[a]s/, /t'[æ]s/
glass 'grey' /gl[a]s/, /gl[æ]s/

2. It is realized as [a], [æ], [ɒ] in initial stressed
syllables in polysyllables, and as [a], [ɒ] in pre-
stressed syllables.

braddagh 'thievish' /br[a]dəx/, /br[ɒ]dəx/
marroo 'dead' /m[a]ru/, /m[æ]ru/
annoon 'weak' /[a]'nu:n/
abbane 'ankle' /h[ɒ]'be:n/

3. In unstressed medial syllables before /x/, /l/, /n/
it is realized as [a] or [ɒ].

dorraghys 'darkness' /dor[a]xəs/, /dor[ɒ]xəs/
arryltagh 'willing' /ar[a]ltax/
barrantys 'warranty' /bar[ɒ]ntəs/

4. In final unstressed syllables /a/ is realized as [a],
[ɒ] before /x/, /g/, /l/, /n/. In final stressed
syllables it is realized as [a] or [æ].

arragh 'spring' /ar[a]x/, /ar[ɒ]x/
bollag 'skull' /bol[a]g/, /bol[ɒ]g/
coghal 'coughing' /ko:x[a]l/, /ko:x[ɒ]l/
beggan 'a little' /beg[a]n/, /beg[ɒ]n/
arran 'bread' /ar[a]n/; also /a'r[a]n/
cre'n aght 'how' /k'en'[æ]x/

5a In initial syllables (stressed or unstressed) /a/
may vary allophonically with /o/, sometimes with /e/,
/i/, or /ə/, especially in the environment of /l/ or

of nasals, or sometimes before /x/. There may also
be free variation between /a/ and /a:/.

<u>çhiollagh</u> 'hearth' /t′[ə]lax/, /t′[ɒ]lax:/

<u>claddagh</u> 'grassland by river' /kl[a]dax/,
/kl[ɒ]dax/

<u>dollan</u> 'wight, peck' /d[a]lən/, /d[ɑ]lən/,
/d[ɔ]lən/

<u>anmagh</u> 'late' /[ə]mənax/, /[I]mnax/, /[ɛ]mnax/[3]

<u>fammyragh</u> 'seaweed' /f[æ]mərax/, /f[ö]mərax/

<u>danjeyragh</u> 'dangerous' /d[a]n′d′irax/,
/d[ɒ]n′d′i:rax/

<u>caghlaa</u> 'changing' /k[a]x′le:/, /k[ɔ]x′le:/

<u>clashtyn</u> 'hearing' /kl[ɒ]s′t′ən/, /kl[a:]s′t′ən/

b. In medial syllables /a/ may vary freely with /o/.

<u>dorraghey</u> 'dark' /dor[ɒ]xə/, /dor[ɒ]xəx/ <u>sic</u>

c. In final syllables /a/ may vary freely with /ə/ or
/o/.

<u>credjal</u> 'believing' /krɛd′[ɒ]l/, /krɛd′[ə]l/

<u>famman</u> 'seaweed' /fam[a]n/, /fom[ə]n/; v. also
<u>fammyragh</u> above.[4]

<u>follan</u> 'healthy' /fol[ɒ]n/, /fol[ɑ]n/

§40. /o/ 1. /o/ is a (partially) rounded back vowel. In
stressed monosyllables and in initial stressed
syllables in polysyllables /o/ can be realized
as [o], [ǫ], [ɔ], [ǫ], [ɷ], or as unrounded [ɑ],
rarely [ʌ].

<u>goll</u> 'going' /g[o]l/, /g[ǫ]l/, /g[ɔ]l/, /g[ɷ]l/

<u>son</u> 'for' /s[o]n/, /s[ǫ]n/, /s[ɔ]n/, /s[ʒ]n/,
/s[ɷ]n/, /s[ɑ]n/

<u>gollrish</u> 'like' /g[o]ris′/, /g[ǫ]ris′/,
/g[ɔ]ris′/

_____

3. For the metathesis of NM here, v. II: N-Groups.
4. v. also II: §90.4 for dissimilation.

conney 'gorse' /k[o]nə/, /k[ǫ]nə/, /k[ɔ]nə/

lurg 'after' /l[ʌ]g/; for other forms v. Dictionary

2. In initial unstressed syllables /o/ is realized as
    [o], [ǫ], [ɔ], [ɋ], [ɑ], very occasionally as [ɤ];
    s.v. also /u/.

    buggane 'sprite' /b[o]ˈgeːn/, /b[ɔ]ˈgeːn/
    caghlaa 'changing' /k[ɔ]xˈleː/, /k[ɋ]xˈleː/
    aggairagh 'wrong' /[ɑ]ˈgeːrəx/
    gollage 'fork' /g[ǫ]ˈleːg/, /g[ɔ]ˈleg/
    cocaslys 'picture' /k[o]ˈkaːslˈəs/, /k[ɤ]ˈkaːsələs/

3. In stressed medial syllables /o/ can be realized as
    [ǫ], [ɔ], [ɑ].

    re-hollys 'moonlight' /reːˈh[ǫ]ləs/, /roːˈh[ɔ]ləs/[5]
    cummaltee 'dwellers' /kəˈm[ɑ]lti/
    doaltattym 'suddenly' /doːlˈt[ɑ]dˈəm/

4. In closed stressed final syllables /o/ is realized
    as [ɔ]; there are only two exx. - variants of the
    same interrogative pronoun.

    cre hon 'why' /kəˈh[ɔ]n/
    cre son 'why' /krəˈs[ɔ]n/

5a. In initial position /o/ may vary freely (allophonic-
    ally) with /u/, sometimes with /a/, /i/, /e/, /oː/.

    gorrym 'blue' /g[ɔ]rəm/, /g[ʁ]rəm/, /g[ʁ:]rəm/
    cooidjagh 'together' /k[o]dˈax/, /k[ʁ]dˈax/
    fod 'can' /f[ǫ]d/, /f[ɛ]d/, /f[ɪ]d/
    cronk 'hill' /kr[ʁ]ŋk/, /kr[ǫ]ŋk/, /kr[ø]ŋk/
    thalloo 'land' /t[ɔ]lu/, /t[ɋ]lu/

  b. In medial position /o/ can be realized as [ǫ̣].

    dy chooilley 'every' /də x[ɔ]lɪˈu/, /də x[ǫ̣]lɪˈə/

5. This is classed as a medial syllable, as the word is found
   only in this phrase.

§41. /u/ 1. /u/ is a high back vowel. In any position, particul-
arly initially and medially, it is normally advanced
and poorly rounded in its articulation and is phonet-
ically realized as [ʉ], which for convenience sake I
write here as [u]. In stressed monosyllables /u/ is
realized as [u] or as [ǫ]; sometimes there is [ü] (in
Southern Manx mainly), also [o̩] [ɤ]. Occasionally
there is close /u/, viz. [ʉ].

    punt 'pound' /p[u]nt/, /p[ǫ]nt/
    gunn 'gun' /g[u]n/, /g[ü]n/, /g[ǫ]n/, /g[ɤ]n/
    sluight 'progeny' /s′ı′[ǫ]xt/, /s′ı′[ü]x/
    muck 'pig' /m[u]k/, /m[ǫ]k/, /m[ʉ]k/

2. In initial stressed syllables in polysyllables /u/ is
realized as [u], [o̩], [ü], occasionally [ǫ].

    fuirraght 'waiting' /f[u]rax/, /f[ǫ]rax/
    sluggey 'swallowing' /sı[u]gə/, /sı[ǫ]gə/, /sı[ü]gə/
    mullagh 'top' /m[u]lax/, /m[ǫ]lax/

3. In initial unstressed syllables /u/ is realized as [u],
[o̩], [ü].

    aynshoh 'here' /[u]n's′o:/, /[ǫ]'so:/
    croagane 'hook' /kr[u]'ge:n/, /kr[ǫ]'ge:n/
    munlaa 'midday' /m[ü]n'le:/, /'m[u]nle:/. Note the
      initial stress in the last example.

4. In medial unstressed syllables /u/ is usually realized
[u], sometimes [ü].

    earrooagh 'numerous' /er[u]ax/
    credjuagh 'a believer' /kred′[ü]ax/

5. In final unstressed (open and closed) syllables /u/ is
usually realized as [u]; in final stressed closed
syllables it is also realized as [u].

    aarloo 'ready' /e:l[u]/
    garroo 'rough' /gar[u]/
    bunnys 'almost' /bun[u]s/; v. also §6 below.

barroose 'bus' /bə'r[u]s/

6a. Before velars, labials, and /r/ there may be a lowering to /o/. There may sometimes be /e/ or /i/.

lugh 'mouse' /l[u]x/, /l[o̞]x/, /l[ɔ]x/
ruggit 'born' /r[u]gət'/, /r[o̞]git'/, /r[ɔ]gət'/
hug 'towards' /h[u]g/, /h[ï]g/
dubbey 'pool' /d[u]bə/, /d[o]bə/
cur 'putting, giving' /k[u]r/,/k[o̞]r/, /k[o]r/
guirr 'hatching' /g[ü]r/, /g[o̞]r/, /g[ø]r/

b. /u/ may also vary freely with /u:/.

lhiurid 'length' /l'[u]rid'/, /l'[u:]rid'/

c. In final position /u/ may vary allophonically with /o/ or /ə/, especially in the environment of /r/, /s/.

arroo 'corn' /a:r[u]/, /a:r[o]/
orroo 'on them' /or[u]/, /ər[o]/
shassoo 'standing' /s'a:s[u]/, /sə:s[o]/
bunnys 'almost' /bun[u]s/, /bun[ə]s/

In one or two cases the lowering to /o/ after /r/ may also be influenced by the preceding /a/. The /o/-forms are Northern Manx.

§42. /ə/ 1. /ə/ is a centralized vowel. It is almost always found in unstressed[6] position, whether in mono-syllables or in proclitics, or in all positions in polysyllables. It is realized phonetically as [ə].

dyn 'without' /d[ə]n/
ny smoo 'greater' /n[ə]'smu:/
carrane 'sandal' /k[ə]'re:n/

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6. Though cf. barrant 'warrant' /bərant/, kynnys 'how' /k'ənəs/.

dunveragh 'murderous' /dunv[ə]rax/

bishaghey 'prospering' /bis'ax[ə]/

chaglym 'gathering' /t'agl[ə]m/

2. Sometimes /ə/ may be realized as [ɩ] (i.e. a little higher and more advanced, and articulated with a degree of lip-spreading) after /l'/, /n'/ (or before /n/ or /n'/ in the sg. def. art.), after other palatalized consonants, and after /d/ in proclitics.

balley 'town' /ba:l'[ɩ]/, /ba:l'[ə]/

shilley 'sight' /s'il'[ɩ]/, /s'il'[ə]/

bainney 'milk' /ba:n'[ɩ]/, /ba:n'[ə]/

dooinney 'man' /dun'[ɩ]/, /dun'[ə]/

yn arragh 'the spring' /[ɩ]n''arax/, /[ə]n''arax/

Yn Owe 'The Howe' /[ɩ]n'eu/, /[ə]n'eu/

soilshey 'light' /sail's'[ɩ]/, /sail's'[ə]/[7]

dy liooar 'enough' /d[ɩ]'l'u:r/, /d[ə]'l'u:r/

3. /ə/ may also vary freely with other vowel phonemes.[8]

argid 'money' /a:rg[ə]d'/, /a:rg[ɩ]d/

faasaag 'beard' /f[ə]'se:g/, /f[ɛ]'se:g/

faagail 'leaving' /f[ə]'ga:l/, /f[a]'ga:l/

buggane 'sprite' /b[ə]'ga:n/, /b[o]'ge:n/, /b[ɔ]'ge:n/

§43. /ə/ as [ö] or [ö:]

In certain circumstances /ə/ can be realized as [ö] or [ö:] (i.e. articulated with a degree of retraction and lip-rounding). It is the result of retraction or advancing of the other vowel phonemes, particularly /e/ or /e:/, especially in the environment of /r/ (even though /r/ on occasion may not be realized),

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7. For [ɩ] after a depalat. consonant cf. Jackson (1955:56) er y cherrey 'on the sheep' /erə'ker[ɩ]/, Oie Hauney 'Hallowe'en' /i:'haun[ɩ]/.

8. Note that in most cases the variation (as perhaps is to be expected) occurs in unstressed syllables.

but to a lesser extent in the environment of /1/,
/s/ and /s´/, /t/ and /d/, /m/ and /n/, also /x/,
/g/,/b/. It is attested mainly in stressed mono-
syllables, or in stressed initial syllables of
polysyllables, sometimes in initial unstressed
syllables, rarely in stressed final syllables. In
initial unstressed syllables and in unstressed
monosyllables there may also be [ə].

1.   In the environment of /r/

 a)   as a retraction of /i/ (after /r/)

     red 'thing' /r[ï]d/, /r[I]d/, /r[ö]d/; also
          /red/, /rud/
     trimmid 'weight' /tr[ï]məd/, /tr[ö]mid´/

 b)   as a retraction of /e/, /e:/ (before /r/)

     Baarle 'English Lang.' /b[ę:]rI/, /b[ö:]rI/,
          /b[ö:]I/
     bayr 'road' /b[ę:]r/, /b[ö:]/
     jiarg 'red' /d´[e]g/, /d´[ø]rg/, /d´[ö]rg/,
          /d´[ö:]g/; also /d´a:rg/

 c)   as a retraction (or raising) of /a/, /a:/ (bef./r/)

     ard 'high' /[a:]d/, /[ö:]d/; also /e:d/, /ird/
     jargan 'flea' /d´[ǫ:]rgan/, /d´[ö]rgan/,
          /d´[ö:]rgan/
     tayrtyn 'catching' /t[a:]rtən/, /t[ö:]rtən/,
          /t[ö:]tən/

 d)   as an advancing of /o/, /o:/ (before /r/)

     doarlish 'gap' /d[ǫ:]rləs´/, /d[ö:]ləs´/
     oarn 'barley' /[o:]rn/, /[ɔ:]rn/, /[ö:]rn/, /[ö:]n/

 e)   as an advancing of /u/ (before /r/)

     lurg 'after' /I[u]g/, /I[ö]rg/

2.   In the environment of /1/

a) /i/, /i:/

cleaysh 'ear' /kl[ı]s´/, /kl[ö:]s´/; also /kle:s´/

geayl 'coal' /g[i]l/, /g[i:]l/, /g[ö:]l/; also
  /gu:l/

b) /e/, /e:/

taal 'adze' /t[ẹ]l/, /t[ɛ:]l/, /t[ö]l:/

blebban 'fool' /bl[ẹ]bən/, /bl[ö]bən/

aalin 'fine' /[ɛ:]lin´/, /[ö:]lin/; also /o:lən´/

seihll 'world' /s[ẹ:]l/, /s[ö:]l/

faayl 'turf-spade' /f[ɛ:]l´/, /f[ö]l´:/; also
  /fa:l´/

For /a(:)/, /o(:)/, /u(:)/ v. above exx.

3. In the environment of /s/, /s´/

a) /i/, (/i:/)[9]

cleaysh 'ear' /kl[ı]s´/ /kl[ö:]s´/; also /kle:s´/

b) (/e/), /e:/

foast 'yet' /hw[ɛ:]s/, /hw[ö:]st/, /x[ö]s/; also
  /fo:s/

d) (/o/), /o:/

seose 'upwards' /s[ɔ:]s/, /s[ö:]s/; also /se:s/,
  /su:s/

e) /u/, /u:/

ushag 'bird' /[ọ]s´ag/, /[ö]s´ag/

seose 'upwards' v. d) above.

4. In the environment of /t/, /d/

a) /i/, (/i:/)

red 'thing' /r[I]d/, /r[ö]d/; also /red/, /rud/

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9. Brackets indicate that the same could apply also, but that
   no examples are to hand.

b) /e/, (/e:/)

    eddyr oc 'between them' /[ø]dərok/, /[e]dərok/,
    /[ö]dərok/

d) /o/, (/o:/)

    roddag 'creel' /r[ɑ]dag/, /r[ö]dag/; also /radag/
    The advancement here may also be due to the /r/.
    thoin 'bottom' /t[o]n/, /t[ǫ]n/, /t[ö]n'/; also
    /ten/, /tun/

    For /a(:)/, /u(:)/ v. above exx.

5. Before /m/, /n/

a) /i/, (/i:/)

    myn 'small' /m[i]n/, /m[ö]n/; also /men/
    trimmid 'weight' /tr[ï]məd/, /tr[ö]mid'/

b) /e/, (/e:/)

    cre'n aght 'how' /k'[e]n'a xt/, /k[ö]'as'/
    Retraction here may also be due to non-stress.

6. Before /x/, /g/, /b/

b) (/e/), /e:/

    caagh 'wild' /k[ø:]x/, /k[ö:]x/
    veggey (len.) 'little' /v[ǫ:]gə/, /v[ö:]gə/
    caabyl 'cable' /k[e:]bəl/, /k[ö:]bəl/. The
    retraction here in fact may be due to the /l/ in
    the final syllable.

7. In stressed final syllables

    stundayrt 'yard (measure)' /stun'd[ə:]t/,
    /stun'd[ö:]t/

8. In unstressed initial syllables

    pryssoon 'prison' /pr[ï]'su:n/, /pr[ö]'su:ni/
    'prisoners'.

ry fakin 'to be seen' /r[ẹ]'fa:gin/, /r[ö]'fa:gən/
doarnaig 'handle' /d[ø]'ne:g/, /d[ö]'ne:g/ .

9. Realized as [ə] in unstressed monosyllables and in initial unstressed syllables of polysyllables.

dys 'to, towards' /d[ə]s/, /d[ö]s/; also /dus/
dyn 'without' /d[ə]n/, /d[ö]n/
pryssoon 'prison' /pr[ə]'su:n/, /pr[ö]'su:ni/
'prisoners'.

B. Long Vowels

§44. In LSM there are long counterparts to all the short vowels with the exception of /ə/[10].

Minimal or near minimal pairs

1. Opposition of quantity

i - i: /min´/S 'small' : /mi:n´/S 'mild'
u - u: /dun´/N 'to us' : /du:n/N 'shut!'
e - e: /ben/S 'woman' : /be:n/S 'white'
o - o: /olax/S 'cattle' : /o:lax/S 'acquainted'
a - a: /talu/S 'land' : /ta:lu/S 'talking'

2. Opposition of quality

i: - u: /ki:l/S 'sense' : /ku:l/S 'back'
e: - o: /gle:r/S 'language' : /glo:r/S 'glory'
i: - e: /ri:/N/S 'king' : /re:/S 'smooth'
e: - a: /ble:/S 'flower' : /bla:/S 'warm'
u: - o: /ru:/S 'ever' : /ro:/S 'frost'
o: - a: /no:/S 'new' : /na:/S 'second'

PHONETIC REALIZATION OF THE PHONEMES

§45. /i:/ 1.   /i:/ is an unrounded high front vowel. In stressed monosyllables or in the initial stressed syllable

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10. For the realization of /ə/ as [ö:] v. §43 above.

of polysyllables it is realized as [i:], sometimes
[I:].

cheer 'country' /t´[i:]r/
freayll 'keeping' /fr[i:]l´/, /fr[I:]l´/
jeeaghyn 'looking' /d´[i:]xən/, /d´[I:]xən/

2. In unstressed initial syllables of polysyllables or
   phrases /i:/ is realized as [i:].

   sheelnaue 'mankind' /s´[i:]l'neu/
   mee-reiltagh 'irregular' /m[i:]'re:l´təx/

3. In stressed medial syllables of polysyllables or
   phrases /i:/ is realized as [i:].

   chelleeragh 'quick(ly)' /t´ə'l[i:]rəx/
   saveenagh 'sleepy' /sə'v[i:]nəx/
   er-beealloo 'in front of' /er'b[i:]lu/

4. In stressed final syllables /i:/ is realized as
   [i:], sometimes [I:].

   berreen 'cake' /bə'r[i:]n/
   fer-lhee 'doctor' /fer'l´[i:]/
   mygeayrt 'around' /mə'g[i:]t/, /ma'g[I:]t/

5. In any stressed position /i:/ may be realized
   half-long, viz. [i·].

   grian 'sun' /gr[i:]n/, /gr[i·]n/
   mleeaney 'this year' /mə'l´[i:]nə/, /mə'l´[i·]nə/

6a. In stressed monosyllables or in stressed initial
    syllables of polysyllables /i:/ can vary freely
    with /i/, /ə/, /e:/, /u:/, /ei/, /ai/, /iə/.

    earish 'weather' /[i:]ris´/, /[I]ris´/
    eeym 'butter' /[i:]m/, /[i]m/
    eaghtyr 'surface' /[i:]xtər/, /[e:]xtər/
    geayl 'coal' /g[i:]l/, /g[i]l/, /g[I:]l/, /g[I]l/,
      /g[y:]l/, /g[ö:]l/, /g[u:]l/
    cloie 'playing' /kl[i:]/, /kl[εi]/, /kl[ai]/

beeal 'mouth' /b[i:]l/, /b[iə]l/

  b. In final stressed syllables /i:/ may vary freely
     with /e:/.

  cha nee 'it is not' /hə'n[i:]/, /hə'n[e:]/[11]

§46. /e:/ 1. /e:/ is an unrounded front vowel. In stressed mono-
              syllables or in stressed initial syllables of poly-
              syllables /e:/ is realized as follows:[12]

   a) as [ẹ:], [e:]
   b) as [ẹ:], [e:], [ę:]
   c) as [ẹ:], [e:], [ę:], [ε:]
   d) as [e:], [ę:], [ε:]
   e) as [ę:], [ε:]
   f) sometimes as the rounded forms [ø:], [œ:]

   1a.   feill 'meat' /f[ẹ:]l/, /f[e:]l/
         gleashagh 'moving' /gl[ẹ:]s'ax/, /gl[e:]s'ax/

    b.   ferrishyn 'fairies' /f[ẹ:]ris'ən/, /f[e:]ris'ən/,
          /f[ę:]ris'ən/
         shey 'six' /s'[ẹ:]/, /s'[e:]/, /s'[ę:]/

    c.   eayst 'moon' /[ẹ:]s/, /[e:]s/, /[ę:]s/, /[ε:]s/
         nearey 'shame' /n[ẹ:]rə/, /n[e:]rə/, /n[ε:]rə/

    d.   raad 'road' /r[e:]d/, /r[ę:]d/, /r[ε:]d/
         garey 'garden' /g[e:]rə/, /g[ę:]rə/, /g[ε:]rə/

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11. These are really two separate words, but since they are
    often found together in this phrase they are treated as one
    unit.

12. A departure has been made here in the layout of the discuss-
    ion of the allophones. It will be noticed in the examples
    below, especially in initial and final stressed syllables in
    polysyll. or in stressed monosyll., that the allophonic var-
    iation in some words is either more restricted than in others,
    or that some words show one type of variation not found in
    others, e.g. some exx. show only allophonic variation indic-
    ative of close /e:/, while others have allophonic variants
    indicative of open /e:/. That is to say, that the pattern
    suggests a merging of two phonemes, i.e. of /e:/ and /ε:/,
    into one, which I write here as /e:/. There is now no phon-
    emic opposition between /e:/ and /ε:/. Note also a similar
    layout of the discussion for /o:/.

e) aash 'ease, rest' /[ẹ:]s'/, /[ɛ:]s'/

praaseyn 'potatoes' /pr[ẹ:]sən/, /pr[ɛ:]sən/

f) laa 'day' /l[e:]/, /l[ø:]/

bayr 'road' /b[ẹ:]r/, /b[ɛ:]r/, /b[œ:]r/

2. In unstressed initial syllables /e:/ can be realized
   as [ẹ:], though the occurrence is rare.

   re hollys 'moonlight' /r[ẹ:]ˈholəs/

3. In stressed medial syllables /e:/ is realized as
   [ọ:], [ɵ:], [ọ:], [ɛ:], sometimes [ø:].

   eeasteryn 'fishermen' /jiˈst[ẹ:]rən/, /jiˈst[e:]rən/
   er-egin 'by force' /erˈ[ẹ:]gən/
   sonaasagh 'arrogant' /soˈn[ɛ:]səx/

4. In final stressed syllables /e:/ can be realized as
   follows:

a) as [ẹ:], [ɵ:]
b) as [ẹ:], [e:], [ọ:], [ɛ:]
c) as [ọ̇:], [ɛ:]
d) sometimes as [ø:]

4a. jinnair 'dinner' /d'iˈn[ẹ:]r/, /d'iˈn[ɵ:]r/
    meeiteil 'meeting' /məˈd[ẹ:]l/, /məˈd[ɵ:]l/

b. Jeleyn 'Monday' /d'iˈl[ẹ:]n/, /d'iˈl[e:]n/,
   /d'iˈl[ọ:]n/
   carrane 'sandal' /kəˈr[e:]n/, /kəˈr[ɛ:]n/

c. arrane 'song' /əˈr[ọ:]/, /əˈr[ɛ:]n/
   ny saa 'younger' /noˈs[ẹ:]/, /noˈs[ɛ:]/

d. anuyr 'day after tomorrow' /əˈn[ɛ:]r/, /əˈn[ø:]r/

5. In final unstressed syllables /e:/ is realized as
   [ọ:], though the examples are rare.

   eeasteyr 'fisherman' /ˈjiːst[ọ:]r/; also /ˈjistə/
   This ex. is perhaps not so good, as one would
   expect /jiˈst[ɵ:]r/ here, cf. pl. /jiˈst[ɵ:]rən/.

6. In stressed syllables /e:/ may be realized half
   long.

   keayney 'crying' /k[e:]n'ə/, /k[e.]n'ə/
   arrane 'song' /a'r[ɛ:]n/, /a'r[ɛ.dn̩]/
   Shortening here is probably due to the preocclus-
   ion.

7a. In initial stressed syllables /e:/ may vary freely
    with /e/, /i(:)/, /a:/, /o:/, /ə/.

    eaddagh 'clothing' /[e:]dax/, /[e]dax/, /[ï]dax/
    eash 'age' /[ẹ:]s'/, /[i:]s'/
    baanrit 'mad' /b[ɛ:]nrət'/, /b[ọ:]nrət'/
    bayr 'road' /b[ẹ:]r/, /b[ɛ:]r/, /b[ö:]r/; v.
     also §43.
    aalin 'fine' /[ɛ:]lin'/, /[ö:]lin/, /[ɑ:]lən'/

  b. In medial stressed syllables /e:/ may vary freely
     with /i:/.

     danjeyragh 'dangerous' /dan'd'[e:]rəx/,
      /don'd'[i:]rəx/

  c. In final stressed syllables /e:/ may vary freely
     with /a:/, /i(:)/, /iə/.

     chyndaa 'turning' /t'in'd[ɛ:]/, /tə'd[a:]/
     faagail 'leaving' /fe'g[ẹ:]l'/, /fə'g[a:]l'/
     Jeleyn 'Monday' /d'e'l[e:dn]/, /d'ə'l[idn]/,
      /d'ə'l[iə]n/. The /i/ in the last two exx. could
      also have been long; cf. /e:/ in the first ex.
      even with preocclusion.

§47. /a:/ 1. /a:/ is an unrounded low front vowel. In stressed
            monosyllables it is realized as [a:] or [ọ:].

            Chiarn 'Lord' /t'[a:]rn/, /t'[ọ:]rn/
            niart 'strength' /n'[a:]t/, /n'[ọ:]t/

         2. In initial stressed syllables of polysyllables /a:/
            is [a:], [ọ:], sometimes [æ:]. In initial unstressed

syllables there is [aː], [ɒː].

balley 'town' /b[aː]lʼə/, /b[ɒː]lʼə/
fakin 'seeing' /f[aː]ginʼ/, /f[ɒː]ginʼ/, /f[æː]ginʼ/
tarlheim 'alighting' /t[aː]rʼlʼeːm/
blassoil 'tasty' /bl[ɒː]ʼsoːlʼ/
The init. syll. in the last two exx. could be
regarded as receiving secondary stress, thus en-
abling the vowel to remain long.

3. In stressed medial syllables in polysyllables or
phrases /aː/ is realized as [aː], [ɒː].

co-chaslys 'picture' /koˈk[aː]səlos/
ben-varrey 'mermaid' /benˈv[aː]rə/
coar ny hastan 'crane' /koːnəˈh[aː]stan/,
/koːrənˈ[ɒː]stan/; this last ex. would repr.
coar yn astan.

4. In stressed final syllables /aː/ is realized as
[aː], [ɒː]. In final syllables not bearing primary
stress there may also be [aː].

convayrt 'carrion' /konˈv[aː]t/
er-mayrn 'surviving' /orˈm[aː]rn/, /erˈm[ɒː]rn/
smooinaghtyn 'thinking' /ˈsmunʼ[aː]n/; also
/smunʼaxtən/
skynnaghyn 'knives' /ˈskʼin[aː]n/; also
/skʼinaxən/.
The last two exx. are from northern speakers; note
also the variants. The vocalization of intervocalic
/x/, /xt/ with the consequent contraction is prob-
ably only recent, since the stress has not advanced
to the long syllable (or conversely the second syll.
has not become shortened); v. also II: Stress.

5. In any stressed syllable /aː/ may be realized half
long.

frass 'shower' /fr[aː]s/, /fr[a.]s/; also /fr[a]s/
tarroo 'bull' /t[a.]ru/; usu. /t[a]ru/.

6a. In initial stressed syllables /a:/ may vary freely
with /a/, /e(:)/, /o(:)/, /ai/.

  agglagh 'fearful' /[a:]glax/, /[a]glax/
  argid 'money' /[a:]rgəd/, /[e̜:]gəd/, /[ɛ]gid'/,
   /[ɑ:]rgid/[13]
  gagh, dagh 'every' /g[a:]x/, /g[ɑ:]x/, /g[ɑ]x/
  aile 'fire' /[a:]l'/, /[ai]l'/

b. In initial syllables not bearing the main stress
/a:/ may vary freely with /o(:)/, /ə/(before /r/).

  ard-ghooinney 'chief man' /[a:]d'wun'ə/
  ard-valley 'city' /[ɑ:]d'va:l'ə/
  ard-jaghan 'archdeacon' /[ö:]rd'd'o:xən/
  tanroagan 'scallop' /t[a:]n'ro:gən/, /t[ɑ]n'ro:gan/

c. In final syllables /a:/ may vary freely with /a/,
/e:/, /ə/(before /r/).

  bollaghyn 'bellows' /bol[a:]n/, /bol[a]n:/. The
   short vowel is probably due to the geminated /n/;
   v. also §47.4 above.
  croagane 'hook' /krɔ'g[a:]n/, /kru'g[ɛ:]n/
  stundayrt 'yard (measure)' /stun'd[a:]t/,
   /stun'd[ö:]rt/

§48. /o:/ 1. /o:/ is a rounded back vowel. In stressed monosyll-
ables and stressed initial syllables of polysyllables
/o:/ is realized as follows:[14]

  a) as [o̜:], [o:], [ǫ:], occasionally [ɔ:]
  b) as [o̜:], [o:], [ǫ:], [ɔ:], [ɔ̜:], [ɒ:], or as
  unrounded [ɑ:]

_____

13. First and last exx. in southern Manx only. The others are
   found both north and south.

14. The pattern of the discussion here follows that for /e:/,
   since the examples cited suggest a collapse of two phonemes
   into one, viz. /o:/ and /ɔ:/ into (that which I write as)
   /o:/. That is to say, some examples only have open forms of
   /o:/, and closed forms are found only in others. Some exx.,
   on the other hand, have the full range.

c) as [ǫ:], [ɔ:], [ɞ:]

d) as [ɔ:], [ɞ:], [ɋ:], [ɑ:]

e) occasionally as [ʌ:] in monosyllables.

1a. <u>oasht</u> 'year-old sheep' /[ǫ:]s'/

    <u>oghe</u> 'oven' /[ǫ:]x/, /[o:]x/

    <u>rio</u> 'frost' /r[o:]/, /r[ǫ:]/, /r[ɔ:]/

b. <u>moal</u> 'slow' /m[ǫ:]l/, /m[ǫ:]l/, /m[ɔ:]l/, /m[ɞ:]l/

    <u>noa</u> 'new' /n[ǫ:]/, /n[o:]/, /n[ɔ:]/, /n[ɞ:]/,

     /n[ɑ:]/

c. <u>boalley</u> 'wall' /b[ǫ:]lə/, /b[ɞ:]lə/

    <u>loayrt</u> 'speaking' /l[ǫ:]t/, /l[ɔ:]t/, /l[ɞ:]t/;

     v. also §48.1e below.

d. <u>Boaldyn</u> 'May' /b[ɔ:]ldən/, /b[ɋ:]ldən/

    <u>blockan</u> 'coalfish' /bl[ɞ:]xən/, /bl[ɑ:]xən/

    <u>droghad</u> 'bridge' /dr[ɞ:]d/, /dr[ɋ:]d/

e. <u>boayrd</u> 'table' /b[ǫ:]rd/, /v[ʌ:]rd/ (len.)

    <u>loayrt</u> 'speaking' /l[ɔ:]t/, /l[ʌ:]t/

2. In initial syllables not bearing the main stress /o:/ is realized as [o:], [ǫ:], occasionally [ɋ:].

    <u>cosoyllaghey</u> 'comparing' /k[o:]'so:laxə/

    <u>doaltattym</u> 'suddenly' /d[o:]l'tot'əm/,

     /d[ǫ:]l'tot'əm/

    <u>ordaag</u> 'thumb' /[ɋ:]'de:g/; v. also §48.5 below.

3. In stressed medial syllables in polysyllables or in phrases /o:/ is realized as [o:], [ǫ:] or as [ɔ:], [ɞ:], [ɋ:], [ɑ:].

    <u>gerjoilagh</u> 'joyful' /ger'd'[o:]lax/

    <u>tanroagan</u> 'scallop' /ton'r[o:]gan/, /ta:n'r[ɞ:]gən/

    <u>ny stroshey</u> 'stronger' /nə'str[ɔ:]s'ə/,

     /nə'str[ɑ:]s'ə/

    <u>thie'n ollee</u> 'cowhouse' /tai'n'[ɔ:]li/,

     /tai'n'[ɋ:]li/

4. In stressed final syllables /o:/ is realized as

[o:], [ǫ:], sometimes as [ɔ:], [ǫ̈:].

 sheeloghe 'generation' /s'iˈl[o:]x/

 thie-oast 'alehouse' /taiˈ[o:]s/, /taiˈ[ǫ:]s/

 kiongoyrt 'in front of' /k'euˈng[ǫ:]rt/,
  /k'iˈng[ɔ:]rt/

 bentreoghe 'widow' /benˈtr[ǫ̈:]x/

5. In stressed or non-main stress syllables /o:/
may be realized half long.

 lostey 'burning' /l[ɑ:]stə/, /l[ɔ.]stə/

 ordaag 'thumb' /[ǫ:]ˈde g/, /[ǫ.]ˈde g/

6. In initial stressed syllables /o:/ can vary
freely with /o/, /a(:)/, /u:/, /e:/, /ə/(before
(orig.) /r/).

 clagh 'stone' /kl[ǫ:]x/, /kl[ɔ]x/, /kl[ɑ:]x/

 loayrt 'speaking' /l[ɔ:]t/, /l[ę:]t/, /l[ö:]rt/

 purt 'harbour' /p[ǫ:]t/, /pw[ö:]t/, /f[u:]rt/
  (len.)

 oarn 'barley' /[o:]rn/, /[ɔ:]n/, /[ö:]n/

§49. /u:/ 1. /u:/ is a high back vowel. In any position,
whether stressed or unstressed,[15] /u:/ is normally
advanced and poorly rounded in its articulation,
and is phonetically realized as [ʉ:], but which
for convenience sake I write here as [u:].

 broogh 'bank' /br[u:]x/

 çhiu 'thick' /t'[u:]/

 ayn 'in it, there' /[u:]n/; v. also §49.4, 5.

 coonlagh 'straw' /k[u:]nlax/

 roosteyr 'plunderer' /r[u:]ˈste:r/

 mitçhooragh 'mischievous' /məˈt'[u:]rax/

 annoon 'weak' /aˈn[u:]n/

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15. or not bearing the main stress.

2. In southern Manx /u:/ in stressed syllables is
    on occasion realized as [ü:], with some unround-
    ing.

    dhoo 'black' /d[u:]/, /d[ü:]/; v. also next.
    shooyll 'walking' /s'[u:]l/, /s'[ü:]l'/.
    The unrounding is likely due to the /l'/.

3. In stressed monosyllables /u:/ may sometimes be
    realized as the diphthong [ou].

    stoo 'stuff' /st[u:]/, /st[ou]/
    dhoo 'black' /d[u:]/, /d[ou]/

4. In stressed monosyllables or in stressed syllables
    of polysyllables /u:/ may be realized half long.

    ayn 'in it, there' /[u:]n/, /[u.]n/; v. also next.
    thie-thooit 'thatched house' /tai't[u:]t'/,
     /tai't[u.]t'/

5. In initial stressed syllables /u:/ may vary freely
    with /u/, /o(:)/, /i(:)/, /eu/, /au/.

    lhiurid 'length' /l'[u:]rid'/, /l'[u]rid'/
    oor 'fresh' /[u:]r/, /[o:]r/
    ayn 'in it, there' /[u:]n/, /[ɔ:]n/, /[ǫ:]n/[16]
    liorish 'by' /l'[u:]ris'/, /l'[ɔ:]ris'/,
     /l'[ɔ]ris'/
    jiu 'today' /d'[u:]/, /d'[øu]/, /d'[ǫu]/

THE ALLOPHONES [y(:)], [ɯ(:)]

In LSM [y(:)] functions essentially as an allophone of /i:/[17]
and [ɯ(:)] as an allophone of /u:/ in limited circumstances only.
In order to explain these circumstances clearly it will be nec-
essary to refer to the Irish and Scottish Gaelic counterparts of
the Manx items involved. There may be blatant transgression into
diachronic discussion, which should properly belong in Part Two.

_____
16. The first ex. here is attested in the north only.
17. Both [y(:)] and [ɯ(:)] may be found in apparent free allo-
    phonic variation in the same limited circumstances with
    realizations of /i/, /e(:)/, /u/, /u(:)/; v. exx. below.

However, purely in the interests of clarity I deal with the whole
matter here.

§50. In the recorded remnants of LSM there are about ninety or so
lexical items containing in their stressed element, whether in
mono- or polysyllables, (Ir./ScG.)[18] AO(I), UA(I).[19] These usually
appear in Manx as /e(:)/, /i(:)/, /iə/, sometimes /o(:)/, /ə/,
/u(:)/, /uə/; v. also II: AO, AOI, UA, UAI.

With AO(I)

bleayst 'shell' /bl[i:]s/ Ir. blaosc
seihll 'world' /s[e:]l/, /s[ö:]l/ Ir. saoghal
cleayney 'enticing' /kl[i:]nə/, /kl[iə]nə/ Ir. claonadh
un 'one' /[u:]n/, /[o:]n/, /[ɛ:]n/ Ir. aon
deiney 'men' /d[e:]n'ə/, /d[ö:]n'ə/ Ir. daoine
skeaylley 'scattering' /sk[i:]l'ə/, /sk[e:]l'ə/
   Ir. scaoileadh

With UA(I)

eayn 'lamb' /[i:]n/, /j[e:]n/, /j[ɛ]n/ Ir. uan
feayr 'cold' /f[i:]ər/, /f[u:]ər/ Ir. fuar
cleaysh 'ear' /kl[e:]s'/, /kl[i]s'/, /kl[ö:]s'/ Ir. cluais
smooinaghtyn 'thinking' /sm[u]n'axtən/, /sm[u:]n'axtən/
   ScG. smuaineachduinn

However, in about a dozen items of this class the high rounded
front vowel [y], [y:], occasionally the high unrounded back vowel
[ɯ], [ɯ:], are attested in like position, in southern Manx espec-
ially.

With AO(I)

eayl 'lime' /[i:]l/S, /[u:]l/S, /[y:]l/S, /[ɯ:]l/S, /[ø:]l/N
   Ir. aol
geay 'wind' /g[e:]/S, /g[ɯ:]ə/S, /ən g[ɯ:]/S, /g[i:]/N,

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18. i.e. in traditional Gaelic orthography.
19. There are a few exx. of AO in unstressed syllables in Manx
    appearing as /a/, /o/, /ə/; s.v. caghlaa, feoghaig in the
    Dictionary.

/g[I:]ə/N Ir. gaoth. The second and final exx. probably
   representing g. gaoithe, Mx. geayee.
keyl 'narrow, slender' /k[i:]l/S, /x[u:]l/S, /k[y:]l/S
   Ir. caol.
keyrey 'sheep' /k[i:]rə/S, /x[I]rə/S, /k[y:]rə/S, /k'[o]rə/N
   Ir. caora
seyr 'carpenter' /s[e:]r/S, /s[y:]rə/(pl.)S Ir. saor

With UA(I)

creagh 'stack' /kr[i(:)]x/N/S, /kr[y:]x/S Ir. cruach
geayl 'coal' /g[i:]l/N/S, /g[i]l/N/S, /g[ö:]l/S, /g[u:]l/S,
   /g[y:]l/S, /g[ɯ:]l/S, /g[ę:]l/N Ir. gual
keayn 'sea' /k[i]n/N/S, /k[ö]n/S, /k[ü]n/S, /k[y(:)]n/S,
   /k[ɯ:]n/S, /k[I]n/N, /k[e]n/N Ir. cuan
keayrt 'occasion' /k[i:]rt/S, /k[i]d/N, /x[ö:]rt/S,
   /k[y]t/S Ir. cuairt
mygeayrt 'around' /mo'g[I:]t/S, /mo'g[e]t/S, /mo'g[ü]t/S,
   /mə'g[ö:]t/S, /mo'g[y]t/S, /mə'g[i:]rt/N, /mə'g[ɯ:]t/N
   Ir. mun gcuairt
seose 'upwards' /s[ɔ:]s/S, /s[ö:]s/S, /s[ø:]s/S, /s[y:]s/N/S
   /s[u:]s/N Ir. suas

In addition (Ir.) dortadh, Mx. deayrtey 'pouring', which has
seemingly become duatadh in Manx, also falls into this
class: /d[ü:ə]tə/S, /d[ɯ:]tə/S, /d[i:]rtə/N, /d[i]tə/N.

(Ir.) coill, Mx. keyll 'orchard' has apparently become con-
fused with (Ir.) caol, Mx. keyl 'slender' (v. above), in
Manx and hence treated like it: /k[i:]l/S, /k[ę]l'/S,
/k[y:]l'/S, /k[ø]l'/N.

In Irish AO, AOI appears in some Munster dialects as /e:/, e.g.
aon 'one' /e:n/, baoghal 'danger' /be:l/, faoiseamh 'relief'
/fe:s´əv/, or in Conamara and parts of Donegal as /i:/, e.g. aon
/i:n/, baoghal /bi:l/, faoiseamh /fi:s´əv/, /fi:s´u/. In parts of
north-west Donegal AO(I) sometimes appears as /ɯ:/, e.g. gaoth
'wind' /gɯ:/. In most of the Scottish Gaelic area AO(I) mainly
appears as /ɯ:/, e.g. maol 'bare' /mɯ:L/, aois 'age' /ɯ:s´/. In
Irish UA, UAI usually appears as /uə/, e.g. cuan 'sea' /kuən/,

qual 'coal' /guəL/, uair 'hour' /uər´/ (though in the north UA(I)
can appear as /ua/ and after labials there may be unrounding, so
that UA(I) may fall together with AO(I). In Scotland UA(I) is
commonly /uə/ (or /ua/ in contact with nasals), e.g. qual /kuəL/,
cuan /kʰuan/, uair /uər⁽´⁾/.[20]

In Manx, as we have seen, AO(I) and UA(I) have practically com-
pletely fallen together and are noticed mostly as /eː/ or /iː/
(also with secondary shortening). We have also seen, however, that
in some instances AO(I) and UA(I) appear as [y(ː)], occasionally
[ɯ(ː)], thus (in the case of [ɯ(ː)] falling in with the treatment
of AO(I) in most of Scotland and parts of Donegal. These may have
been more prevalent in Man than the present evidence admits, and
in theory could appear in all ninety or so words of this class.
But as the Manx treatment of AO(I) and UA(I) falls in largely with
the common treatment of AO(I) in Ireland, viz. /eː/ or /iː/, it
does not necessarily follow that [y(ː)] or [ɯ(ː)] were more pre-
valent than they are now, but that they have existed side by side
with the numerically greater attested /eː/ and /iː/, particularly
in southern Manx. The testimony as we have it today makes it clear
that [y(ː)] and [ɯ(ː)] are evidenced only in the context of (some)
AO(I), UA(I) items where both are found side by side with each
other, or either one or the other is found and (in theory) could
be substituted for the other. Outside this context neither is
attested. The allophones [y(ː)] and [ɯ(ː)] would then be the
representatives in LSM at any rate of the phoneme /ɯː/ found
commonly in Scottish Gaelic (and to an extent in Donegal Irish)
for AO(I).

WORDS OF THE FORM /V/

§51. In LSM words containing just a vowel, whether long or short,
are found, e.g. ee 'she, her' /iː/;[21] eh 'he, him' /e/, /i/, /a/,
ooh 'udder' /uː/, oo 'you' (sg.) /u(ː)/.

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20. cf. LASID I-IV.
21. Note the forms /ei/, /ai/ with the pres. and past of the
    the substantive verb; v. Grammar §85.

VOICELESSNESS IN VOWELS

§52. In LSM all vowels are voiced in stressed syllables, and mostly in unstressed syllables. If a vowel is bounded by a voiceless consonant in an unstressed syllable there may be voicelessness, e.g. /kis/ 'how' could be heard as [kʰi̥s] in kys t'ou? 'how are you?' /[kʰi̥s]'tou/.

There is no opposition between voiced and voiceless vowels in LSM.

For details of hiatus, nasality, and svarabhakti v. Part Two.

VOWEL SEQUENCES

§53. In LSM both short and long vowels can combine with vowels of different quality (and quantity) to form diphthongs or tri-phthongs. Such combinations essentially fall into two groups: the first consists of short (or long) monophthongs + /i/ or /u/, or the same plus /a/, /o/, /ə/; the second consists of the fore-going plus /i/, /a/, /o/, /u/, /ə/. They are as follows:

Sequence A: a monophthong plus /i/ or /u/. Either element of the sequence may be short or long. In some examples a long first (or second) element (or both) only is attested.

/i/: /ei, əi, ai, oi, ui/;   /u/: /eu, əu, au, iu, ou/

Sequences are either monosyllabic or disyllabic depending on the quality and/or quantity of either element.

Examples: greie 'tool' /grei/, /gre:i/, gaih 'toy' /ge:i/, eiystyr 'halter' /əistər/, leih 'forgiving' /lai/, /la:i/, thie 'house' /tai/, /ta:i/, doaie 'condition' /doi/, /do:i/, twoaie 'north' /tui/, /tu:i/, drooie 'wretch' /dru:i/, gaaue 'smith' /geu/, /ge:u/, craiu 'crowbar' /kre:u/, laue 'hand' /ləu/, /lau/ couyral 'recovering' /kaural/, /ka:ural/, crou 'horseshoe' /krəu/, sneeu 'spinning' /sń'iu/, treeoo 'third' /tri:u/, nuyoo 'ninth' /ni:u:/, loau 'rotten' /lou/, /lou:/, coau 'chaff' /ko:u/.

§54. Sequence B: a monophthong plus /a/, /o/, /ə/. The first element with /o/ is found long. With /a/ or /ə/ it can be short or long. In some exx. a long first element only is attested.

/a/: /ia, ua, ea, oa/

/o/: /i:o, u:o, o:o/

/ə/: /iə, uə, eə, oə, aə/

All sequences here may be regarded as bisyllabic.

Examples: <u>feagh</u> 'quiet' /fiax/, /fi:ax/, <u>beaghey</u> 'living' /bi:a/,
<u>booa</u> 'cow' /bua/, /bu:a/, <u>crooag</u> 'grub' /kru:ag/, <u>saagh</u> 'vessel'
/seax/, /se:ax/, <u>imneagh</u> 'anxious' /im'ne:ax/, <u>truant</u> 'truant'
/troant/. In the following exx. /o/ is realized as [ɑ] or [ɒ]
<u>nieeaghan</u> 'washing' /n´i:[ɑ]xən/, <u>raun</u> 'seal' /ru:[ɑ]n/, <u>cooag</u>
'cuckoo' /k[o:ɒ]g/ (also /ku:ag/); <u>beaynid</u> 'eternity' /biənəd/,
<u>bleayst</u> 'shell' /bli:əst/, <u>crooag</u> 'grub' /kru:əg/ (v. also above),
<u>beagh</u> 'would be' (dep. form) /beəx/, <u>aer</u> 'air' /e:ə/, <u>lioar</u> 'book'
/l´o:ə/(here /ə/ is a substitute for /r/), <u>marrinee</u> 'sailors'
/maərəni/.

§55. <u>Sequence C</u>: Sequence A plus /i/, /a/, /o/, /u/, /ə/. The
first element of the following sequences can also be long.

/i/	/a/	/o/	/u/	/ə/
eui	uia	oio	uiu	eiə
oui	eia	aio	aiu	oiə
aui	əia	auo		aiə
	oia			iuə
	aia			euə
	(eua)			ouə
	(oua)			auə
	(aua)			

The sequences here are bisyllabic consisting of a (long or short)
monophthong with an off-glide plus an additional syllable with a
short nucleus.

Examples: <u>euish</u> 'at you' (pl.) /euis´/, <u>crauee</u> 'religious' /kroui/,
<u>credjal</u> 'believing' /kreial/, <u>awin</u> 'river' /auin´/, <u>soiaghey</u>
'setting' /s iax /, <u>bwaagh</u> 'beautiful' /boiax/, /bo:iax/, <u>peiagh</u>
'person' /paiax/, <u>lowal</u> 'allowing' /leual/, /loual/, /laual/[22],

22. This in reality is comprised of two morphemes <u>lau</u> + vn. end-
    ing -al. However, as <u>lau</u> is not found on its own this item is
    used to exemplify the above (bracketed) sequences.

niaght 'news' /noiox/, /no:iox/, <u>cliwe</u> 'sword' /klaio/, <u>bouyr</u>
'deaf' /bauo/, /bauə/, <u>nuyoo</u> 'ninth' /nuiu/, <u>cliwe</u> 'sword' /klaiu/
(v. also above), <u>graihagh</u> 'loving' /greiəx/, <u>faiyr</u> 'noise' /foiə/,
<u>biallys</u> 'obedience' /bo:iələs/, <u>piyr</u> 'pair' /paiə/, <u>screeuyn</u>
'letter' /s´kriuən/, <u>fouyr</u> 'autumn' /feuər/, <u>foays</u> 'benefit'
/foəs/, <u>roauyr</u> 'fat' /rauər/.

§56. <u>Sequence D</u>: Sequence C plus /e/ (only one ex., viz. /euie/):
<u>snaueeryn</u> 'swimmers' /sneuierən/. The sequence here is trisyll-
abic.

§57. As with short and long vowels, there can be free variation
in quantity and quality with vowel sequences. Diphthongs and
triphthongs can vary freely also with monophthongs.

> <u>eiyster</u> 'halter' /oistər/, /eistər/, /əistər/, /a:stər/
> <u>beiyht</u> 'fatted' /beit/, /biət/, /bi:ət/, /bi:t/
> <u>laue</u> 'hand' /le:u/, /leu/, /lau/, /ləu/, /lou/
> <u>lhaih</u> 'reading' /lei/, /lei:/, /lai/, /l´ai:/, /l´a:i/
> <u>stroin</u> 'nose' /stro:n/, /strin/, /stren/, /strun/, /stru:n/,
>   /strain/, /strein/

§58. In the sequences arising from the prefixes <u>mee-</u> /mi:/ and
<u>neu-</u> /n´u:/ 'un-, not' the second element usually has primary
stress. Sequences arising from such prefixes are as follows:

> /i:'au, u:'e:, u'o:/, e.g.

<u>mee-ourysagh</u> 'not doubting' /mi:'aurəsax/, <u>neu-easal</u> 'uneasy'
/n´u:'e:sal/, <u>neu-oayllagh</u> 'unacquainted' /n´u'o:lax/. But with
prefix bearing primary stress cf. <u>neu-deyr</u> 'cheap' /'n´u: de:r/.

§59. The following few sequences are found outside primary stress:
Sequ. A: /oi, eu, ou, au/, Sequ. B: /ia, iə/: <u>pointeil</u> 'appointing'
/poin'te:l/, <u>thousane</u> 'thousand' /teu'se:n/, /tou'se:n/, /tau'sa:n/,
<u>shenndiaght</u> 'old folk' /s´endiax/, <u>pirriagh</u> 'awful' /pe:riax/,
/piriəx/.

§60. As with monophthongs words can have the form /V(:)V/:
<u>aae</u> 'limekiln' /ei/, /e:i/, <u>aw</u> 'raw' /au/, /eu/, <u>ooh</u> 'egg' /au/,
/ou/, /eu/.

M O R P H O P H O N O L O G Y

INITIAL MUTATIONS

§61. As with other modern Celtic languages LSM also has the phen-
omenon of initial mutations.[1] In LSM this manifests ·itself in two
forms: lenition and nasalization (or eclipsis). At an earlier
stage of the language these forms would have functioned as a
complete system, but in LSM this system has to a great extent
broken down, and in the case of nasalization has practically
ceased functioning.[2] As in Irish and Scottish Gaelic initial
mutation in LSM can either be conditioned by a mutating morpheme
immediately preceding, such as the definite article, prep. plus
art., some possessive particles, one or two numerals, a few
adverbs, adjectives, conjunctions, and verbal particles, or by
morphological considerations, e.g. the indep. conditional tense
form: /vi:x/ 'would be', /jinax/ 'would do'.

LENITION

§62. The single consonant replacement pattern of lenition for
LSM is as follows (forms in (round) brackets indicate that they
are very occasional):

```
radical:      /p   t        t´          k´    k      /
lenited form: [f   h,(x)    (h),(x´)    (x´)  (x),(h)]

radical:      /b   d    d´   g´   g /
lenited form: [v   (ɣ)  (j)  (j)  (ɣ)]

radical:      /m/
lenited form: [v]

radical:      /f   s    s´    /
lenited form: [ø   h    h,(x´)]
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1. For a discussion on initial mutation in Celtic v. Hamp (1951)
   and Oftedal (1962).
2. For further details v. Vol. 1: 7-21.

Examples: /pot/ 'pot', /sə [f]ot/ 'in the pot'; /te:/ 'tea',
/mə [h]e:/ 'my tea'; /taidə/ 'tide', /lʹe: [x]aidə/[3] 'half tide';
/tʹit/ 'coming' /də [h]it/ 'to come'; /tʹa:n/ 'Lord', /o: [xʹ]a:n/
'O Lord'; /kʹo:n/ 'head', /mə [xʹ]o:n/ 'my head'; /kolin/ 'body',
/mə [x]olin/ 'my body'; /kek/ 'dung', /mə [h]ek/[4] 'my dung';
/be:də/ 'boat', /sə [v]e:də/ 'in the boat'; /dunʹə/ 'man'
/də xulʹə [ɣ]unʹə/ 'every man'; /dʹenu/ 'doing', /də [j]enu/ 'to
do'; /gʹilʹə/ 'lad', /mə [j]ilʹə/ 'my lad'; /gi:/ 'wind',
/ən [ɣ]i:/ 'the wind'; /mo:ri/ 'morning', /osə [v]o:ri/ 'in the
morning'; /fai/ 'homefield', /osən [∅]ai/ 'in the homefield';
/su:lʹ/ 'eye', /mə [h]u:lʹ/ 'my eye'; /sʹa:su/ 'standing',
/nə [h]a:su/ '(in) standing'; /sʹu:r/ 'sister', /mə [xʹ]u:r/
'my sister'.

Non-lenited examples of the above can also be found; v. Vol. 2
Dictionary.

§63. The above lenition replacements also hold for many consonant
clusters, e.g. /pl-/ - /fl-/: /pla:n/ 'plan', /erə [fl]a:n/ 'on
the plan (Methodist roster)'; /pr/ - /fr/: /pre:s/ 'potato',
/də [fr]e:s/ 'of a potato'. However, there are some consonant
clusters whose replacement differs from, or has additional var-
iants to those for single consonants. Such clusters are as
follows:

| radical: | /tr | kw | | bw | mw | fw | sl | snʹ / |
| lenited form: | [xr | hw, | xw | w | w | hw | l | (nʹʲ)] |

Examples: /tre:/ 'time', /də [xr]e:/ 'your time'; /kwi:lʹ/
'wheel', /ən [hw]i:lʹ/ 'the wheel'; /kwe:lʹ/ 'meeting' /heŋkə mə
[hw]e:lʹ/ 'he came to meet me' (lit. 'to my meeting'); /bwe:n/
'bothy', /sə [w]e:n/ 'in the bothy'; /mwanəl/ 'neck', /mə [w]anəl/
'my neck'; /fwe lax/ 'leavings', /ən [hw]e:lax/ 'the leavings';
/slei/ 'people', /pat də [l]ei/ 'some people'; /snʹa:xtə/ 'snow',
/fo [nʹʲ]a:xtə/ 'under snow'[5].

The radical consonants /l, lʹ, n, nʹ, r, h, w, v, j/ are not

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3. sic. /lʹe: [h]aidə/ would have been expected. Some of the
   rare forms may either be idiosyncracies on the part of the
   speaker, or that he/she was unsure of the correct form.
4. sic. /mə [x]ek/ would have been expected.
5. In song only; normally /fo s[nʹʲ]a:xtə/.

subject to lenition, neither are /sp, spr, spw, sk, skr, st, str,[6] sm/.

NASALIZATION

§64. As noted above, nasalization is no longer a functioning system in LSM. The surviving single consonants subject to nasalization for which examples are attested are as follows:

    radical: /t   k   d´   g/
    nas. form: [d   g   n'ʲ   n]

Examples: /to:s/ 'silent', nən [d]o:s/ 'in their silence'(i.e. they being silent); /kil/ 'heard', /hə [g]il/ 'did not hear'; /d´enu/ 'doing', /e [n'ʲ]enu/ 'has done'; /gedin/ 'getting', /ə [n]edin/ 'has found'.[7] The only example of nasalization in a consonant cluster is with /kr/; v. §66 below.

SECONDARY FORMS WITHOUT BASE FORMS

§65. A number of lexical items in LSM show permanent lenition (or nasalization), i.e. they are nowhere attested with radical forms. The examples showing permanent lenition are as follows:

    (verbs) /va/ 'was', /heŋk/ 'came' /honik/ 'saw', /hu:r/ 'got',
            /hug/ 'gave', /ve:/ 'being' (also /bi/ from one speaker
            only).

    (prep.) /haris´/ 'over', /hug/ 'towards'.

    (adv.) /hi:s/ 'down', /hus/ 'up' (non-motion).

    (pron.) /u(:)/ 'you'(sg.), /us/ 'you'(emph. sg.).[8]

    (reflex. pron.) /hi:n/ 'self'.

    (neg. part.) /ha/, /xa/ 'not' (also /a/).

    (prep. pron.) /mə jei/ 'after me', /nə jei/ 'after him'.

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6. only (occasionally) in the phrase /osə tred´/ 'in the street'
7. Unless the vn. is _feddyn_ /fedin/ in which case the ex. shows
   lenition with intervocalic /n/ to break the hiatus. Note here
   that /r/ in _er_ (Ir. _ar_ 'after') is not realized.
8. Note that lenition here is irregular, i.e. zero.

§66. Examples showing permanent nasalization are:

   (verb) /ha grem/ 'I do not believe'; fossilized habitual
          present form 1st sg. Biblical; /vel/ 'is' (dep. form).

   (prep.) /mə'gi:t/ 'around' cf. Ir. mun gcuairt, /na:i/ 'against'
          cf. Ir. i n-aghaidh.

   (adv.) /mar'gedən/ 'also' cf. Ir. mar an gcéadna.

For lenition in numerals v. Vol. 1: §18.

FINAL MUTATION

§67. Compared with the situation in Irish and Scottish Gaelic,
the feature of final mutation in LSM is quite rare and survives
only in attenuated noun plurals. Consonants undergoing mutation
of this type are replaced by their palatalized counterparts. The
fact that non-palat. forms are also found side by side with their
palat. forms indicates that this feature no longer functions as
a meaningful system. The surviving examples suggest the follow-
ing pattern:

       t - t´ kayt 'cat' /ket/, pl. /ke:t´/
       d - d´ bwoid 'penis' /bod/, pl. /bwid´/
       n - n´ croan 'mast' /kron/, pl. /kre:n´/
               eayn 'lamb' /je:n/, pl. /je:n´/
       l - l´ shiaull 'sail' /s´o:l/, pl. /s´o:l´/
               cabbyl 'horse' /ka:bəl/, pl. /ka: bil´/

For other plural forms v. Vol. 2 Dictionary.

PART TWO

A DIACHRONIC STUDY

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this part is to supplement the information given in
Part One as to the present-day sounds of Late Spoken Manx and
their usage, with a brief outline of the phonetic developments.
The starting point taken (following Jackson (1955:7) is the
end of the 'Common Gaelic' period (c. 1250), and an attempt has
been made to show how each of the sounds of 'Common Gaelic' has
developed in LSM. I write the 'Common Gaelic' spellings in
capital letters, e.g. AO, EABH, OIDH, etc.

I deal with the consonants first and the vowels (including
diphthongs) second to conform to the order of Part One. The
internal arrangement of the consonants and vowels, however,
follows Jackson (1955). The problem of stress in LSM, because
of its complications, does not fall into the general pattern of
the historical section as a whole, and so is dealt with at the
end of the section.

As this part attempts to trace the phonetic developments from
'Common Gaelic' to LSM, phonetic script is therefore used in all
the examples cited. However, purely for reasons of convenience
the phonetic realizations of the principal members of the phonemes
/p, t, k′, k, d, l′, n′/ (qv), because of their typographical
complexities, are simplified as follows: [p t k′ k d l′ n′].
Other attested allophones of the above are given their full
phonetic value. For the purposes of dialect study each example
cited is given an area designation, viz. N (= North) or S (= South)
The actual source of the item supplied can be found in the Dict-
ionary. Where applicable the Ir. or ScG. equivalents of the Manx
reflexes are given, whichever is thought to be the nearer; in
some cases both forms are given. Where the Ir. and ScG. forms
are the same, only the Ir. form is given.

CONSONANTS

THE STOPS

§1. In initial and final position neutral P and C (/p/, /k/) are articulated with a degree of post-aspiration, B and G (/b/, /g/) hardly at all. However, in the clusters SP(R), SC(R) no notice-able post-aspiration takes place. In initial position B, C, and G may be realized in a palatalized form, B rarely. In final position C and G may also occur palatalized. P is never found palatalized in any position, so far as the evidence goes. There is never pre-aspiration of P, T, C. For details v. I: /p/, /k´/, /k/, /b/, /g´/, /g/.

§2. In initial position (and to a lesser extent medially and finally) neutral T (/t/) is realized with a strong degree of aspiration, viz. [t̠θ], and D (/d/) with voiced affrication, viz. [d̠ð]. In final position D in unstressed syllables may also appear as [ð]. Both T and D are capable of palatalization, realized in initial position mostly as the affricates [t´ʃ] and [d´ʒ] respect-ively. In final position, if they are palatalized at all in environments with original palatalization, then they usually appear as [t´] and [d´] respectively, sometimes with weak affric-ation. For details v. I: /t/, /t´/, /d/, /d´/.

§3. In intervocalic position neutral B, D, G (/b/, /d/, /g/) often appear as the corresponding spirants [v], [ð], [ɣ] (with or without lengthening in the preceding syllable, if the vowel of that syll-able were originally short). On occasion B may appear as the bilabial spirant [β] initially and medially.[1] Intervocally neutral G may also occur as [g]. Original palatalized B is mostly depalat-alized, and so falls in with neutral B. Original palat. D in inter-vocalic position is usually [d´ʒ], sometimes [d´], [ʒ], [j].

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1. Note that in the form [βom]N 'from me' (Ir. uaim) the [β] is a development from UA, viz. [w] > [v] > [β].

Original palatalized G usually falls in with neutral G and appears
as [g]. For details v. I: /b/, /d/, /g'/, /g/.

§4. Also in intervocalic position P, T, C generally become voiced
to [b], [d], [g], and may sometimes occur as the corresponding
spirants, and so fall in with B, D, G. Palatalized T in like
position is usually [ʒ], sometimes [j], e.g.

> cabbyl 'horse' [k'aːbəl]N, [k'aːvəl]N Ir. capall
> brattag 'flag' [bratɑg]N, [braðəg]N ScG. bratag
> fedjag(yn) 'feather(s)' [faʒagən]N, [fɑjag]S cf. ScG. eiteag
> feeackle 'tooth' [fiːkəl]N, [fiːgəl]S, [fiːɣəl]S Ir. fiacal
> peccagh 'sinner' [pegəx]S Ir. peacach
> peiagh 'person' [paiəx]S, [pɛːx]N Ir. peacach

In the last two exx. the forms with further reduction of /g/
represent the less formal pronunciation corresponding to the
colloquial meaning.

§5. Internally T after /l/ and /n/ usually appears as [d], and
after /m/ P usually as [b], but not in final position.[2]

> chiamble 'temple' [k'aːmbəl][3]N Ir. teampall
> kyndagh 'guilty' [k'ïndi](pl.)N Ir. cionntach
> coontey 'thinking' [kuːntə]N/S, [kuːndə]S ScG. cunndach[4]

THE SPIRANTS

§6. In initial position, with the exception of F (/f/), the
original spirants occur only as the lenition of stops: PH = [f],
TH = [h], neutral CH = [x] (more often [k]), palat. CH = [x']
(rare; usu. [k]), neutral BH, MH = [v], [w], palat. BH, MH = [v.]
(rarely [v'], neutral DH, GH = [ɣ] (more often [g], palat. DH,
GH = [ɣ'], [j] (more usu. [g]).

> sy phurt 'into the harbour' [sə föːt]S ScG. 'sa phort
> my hoin 'my backside' [mə hudn]N Ir. mo thón

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2. e.g. cramp 'complicated' [krəmp] (ex. not in corpus).
3. sic, i.e. [tʃ] expected instead of [k'].
4. The fact that /t/ remains after /n/ here suggests that this
   word is relatively recent in the language.

cheayll 'heard' [xi:l]S, [kIl]N Ir. chuala

ry cheilley 'together' [rə x'e:lə]N, [rę ke:l'ə]N
    ScG. ri chéile

yn vooa 'the cow' [ən vu:ə]N, [ən wu:ə]S ScG. an bhó

ghaa ny tree 'two or three' [ɣanə'tri:]N, [ganə'tri:]N
    Ir. dhó nó trí

yn ghlion 'the glen' [ən ɣ'l'ɔdn]S, [ə'gl'øun]N ScG,
    Ir. an ghleann

my ghuilley 'my lad' [mə jilə]S, [mə gil'ə]S ScG. mo ghille

§7. In internal (intervocalic) position the above spirants
generally do not occur, but result in contraction of the flanking
vowels into long vowels or diphthongs (or sometimes hiatus). On
occasion neutral BH, MH may occur as [v] and neutral CH as either
[x] or the voiced spirant [ɣ], or despirantized to [g], or absent
altogether. Neutral TH may occasionally occur as [x], [ɣ] or [h],
as if treated as neutral CH.

bayr 'road' [bę:ɹ]N Ir. bóthar

briwnys 'judgment' [bru:nəs]S Ir. breitheamhnas

jeeaghyn 'looking' [d'ʒixən]S, [d'ʒi:ɣən]S, [d'ʒI:gən]S,
    [d'ʒiən]N cf. ScG. deuchainn

droghad 'bridge' [drɔgəd]S, [drǫ:d]N Ir. drochad

fouyr 'autumn' [føur]N Ir. fóghmhar

yioghe mayd 'we would get' [jɔxmǫð]N Ir. gheobhadh muid

roauyr 'fat' [rauɹ]N Ir. reamhar

laghyn 'days' [lɛ:xən]N, [la:ɣən]S, [lɛ:hən]N, [le:ən]N
    cf. ScG. làthan. TH is treated here as CH, as shown by
    the Manx spelling, as if*làthachan; the /h/ or hiatus is
    a reduction of this.

baagh 'beast' [bęax]N, [bę:ǫx]S Ir. beathach

saagh 'vessel' [seax]N, [sɛ:ax]N; also [sęk]S ScG. soith-
    each. In both these exx. we have preservation of the
    morpheme /ax/ following the hiatus; cf. also doagh in
    §11.2 footnote.

§8. In final position, with the partial exception of neutral CH,
the above spirants usually do not appear. On occasion BH, MH may
occur finally as [v].

    lheeah 'grey' [li:ə]S   Ir. <u>liath</u>

    lieh 'half' [lʹẹ:]N   Ir. <u>leith</u>

    lhargagh 'slope' [laːɣəx]N   Ir. <u>leargach</u>

    Manninee 'Manxmen' [mənəni]S   ScG. <u>Manannaich</u>

    marroo 'dead' [məru]N   Ir. <u>marbh</u>

    marroo 'killing' [maro]N, [mǫ:ruv]N Ir. <u>marbhadh</u>; the latter

        ex. as in the phrase <u>marroo yn vuck</u> 'killing the pig'

        [mǫ:ruv ən vǫk]N, a sandhi form. /v/ normally falls away

        finally, as noted above, but may survive when it opens

        the syllable; v. also <u>traaue</u> in §12.1 below.

    lhongey 'meal' [loŋǫ]S   Ir. <u>longadh</u>

THE LABIALS   P, B, M, F, PH, BH, MH

§9. In LSM neutral F, PH and BH, MH appear usually as the labio-
dentals [f] and [v] respectively. For a discussion of P and B v.
§§1 & 3 above. M is a bilabial nasal and F a voiceless labio-
dental fricative. Palatalized variants of B, M, F, BH are found,
but are extremely rare. For further details (of B, M, F) v. I:
/b/, /m/, /f/.

The lenition of /fw/ is /hw/, though the examples are scarce:
    <u>foast</u> 'yet' [fwəs]S, [hwəs]S; also [fo:s]N/S   Ir. <u>fós</u>,
      ScG. <u>fhathast</u>

INTERNAL AND FINAL NEUTRAL BH, MH IN STRESSED SYLLABLES

Introduction

§10. In LSM intervocalic and preconsonantal neutral BH, MH usually
give the <u>u</u>-diphthongs/au/, /eu/, /ou/ from ABH, AMH, EABH, EAMH,
OBH, OMH, UBH, UMH. The above can also give /o(:)/, and in the
case of OBH, OMH, UBH, UMH also /u:/. With IOBH, IOMH there is
/i/, though there is only one example, and for IUBH, IUMH there
is /u:/. In one or two instances intervocalic BH, MH may appear
as /v/.

§11. ABH, AMH
These may appear with a <u>u</u>-diphthong as /au/, /eu/, /ou/, or as
/o(:)/, or sometimes as /e(:)/ or /u(:)/. Occasionally there may

be a survival of intervocalic BH as /v/.

1. As /au/, /eu/, /ou/

   <u>awin</u> 'river' [ɑun']N, [ɑuːn']S, (with consonantal <u>u</u>, viz.

   [w]) [əwIn']N, [aːwən']S Ir. <u>abhainn</u>

   <u>aw</u> 'raw' [au]S, [ɑu]N, [øu]S Ir. <u>amh</u>

   <u>gabh</u> 'take!' [gəu]S, [gʌu]S Ir. <u>gabh</u>

   <u>dow</u> 'ox' [dau]S, [dɑːu]S, [døu]N Ir. <u>damh</u>

   <u>sourey</u> 'summer' [saurə]N, [sɛurə]S, [ən tourə]N

      Ir. <u>samhradh</u>

2. As /o(ː)/, /e(ː)/

   <u>doagh</u> 'vat' [doːx]N, [doːax]S Ir. <u>dabhach</u>. In the last ex.

      there is evidently preservation of the morpheme /ax/; v.

      also §8 above.

   <u>loayrt</u> 'speaking' [loːɹt]S, [lɔrt]N, [löːɹt]S, [lɪ̈ːt]N

      Ir. <u>labhairt</u>

   <u>scowan</u> 'lung' [skɑːn]N ScG. <u>sgamhan</u>

3. With BH, MH surviving as /v/

   <u>sabbal</u>, <u>soalt</u> 'barn' [saval]N, [soːlt]S ScG. <u>sabhal</u>[5]

   <u>drogh-ourys</u> 'suspicion' [drɑːx'ɑːvərəs]S, [drɑːx'ɑurəs]S

      Ir. <u>droch-amhras</u>

§12. EABH, EAMH

There may be the <u>u</u>-diphthongs /au/, /eu/, /ou/, or /oːː/. Inter-
vocalic BH, MH may occasionally occur as /v/.

1. As /au/, /eu/, /ou/

   <u>foays</u> 'benefit' [fauəs]S, [fɑuəs]S Ir. <u>feabhas</u>; v. also

      §12.2 below.

   <u>shliawin</u> 'slippery' [ʃlaudn]S, [ʃl'øun]N, [sl'ɪ̈ud'n']S

      Ir. <u>sleamhain</u>

   <u>niau</u> 'heaven' [n'au]N/S, [n'æu]S, [n'ɑu]S Ir. <u>neamh</u>

   <u>jouish</u> 'shears' [d'ʒauʃ]S, [d'ʒauʃ]S, [d'ʒøuəʃ]N ScG.

      <u>deamhais</u>[6]

<hr>

5. Note the excrescent final /t/ in the second example.
6. The [ə] in the last ex. would repr. the second syll. in
   <u>deamhais</u> where the morpheme /as/ may be thought to survive.

traaue 'ploughing' [treːu]N/S, [tʹrɛuːw]N, [treᴧu]S[7],
[treːuv]N[8] Ir. treabhadh

2. As /oː/
foays 'benefit' [fǫːs]N; v. also §12.1 above.
lioar 'book' [lꞌǫːr]S, [lꞌɔː]N/S, [lꞌɔːr]S Ir. leabhar

3. Intervocalic BH, MH as /v/
liauyr 'long' [lꞌəːuər]S, [lꞌɑuᵊɹ]S, [lꞌɑːvər]S Ir.
leabhar

§13. IOBH, IOMH

I have no exx. of IOBH. The only ex. of IOMH attested in the
corpus, so far as I can see, gives /i/:

shynney lhiam 'I like' [ʃïnꞌə lꞌǫm]S, [ʃInə lꞌǫm]N
Ir. is iomhain liom

§14. IUBH, IUMH

Only one ex. for IUBH giving /(j)uː/. No exx. for IUMH, though
/(j)uː/ would be expected.

shooyll 'walking' [ʃuːl]N/S, [ʃuːdl]S, [ʃuːlꞌ]N Ir.
siubhal. The element /j/ here has been absorbed by the
palat. /s/; the last ex. would repr. the oblique form
siubhail.

§15. OBH, OMH

There are the u-diphthongs /au/, /eu/, /ou/, /əu/; also /o(ː)/,
/u(ː)/.

1. As /au/, /eu/, /ou/, /əu/
crou 'horseshoe' [krau]S, [krȍu]S Ir. crobh
gaaue 'smith' [gəːu]N, [gɛːu]S, [gɛu]S, [gʹᴧu]S Ir. gobha
towse 'measure' [tøus]N, [tǫus]N, [hɑus](len.)S Ir. tomhas

7. This ex. Jackson (1955:70) regards as repr. EO.
8. Occurs in the phrase [trèːuv ən maːə]N 'ploughing the field'
(v. Dictionary). As in marbhadh §11.3 above /v/ is a sandhi
form opening up the syllable.

2. As /o(:)/, /u(:)/ also

goayr 'goat' [gǫːr]S Ir. gobhar

ooh 'egg' [au]N, [ǫu]N, [ɔu]N, [øu]S, [uː]N/S [ǫu]N/S
    Ir. obh

doonagh 'sabbath' [duːnɑx]N, [dunɑx]S Ir. domhnach

gollan geayee 'swallow' [gɔlanˈgʼiː]N, [gǫlɑnˈgʼɛi]N,
    [gǫlanˈgɛi]N ScG. gobhlan gaoithe

§16. UBH, UMH

There is usually /u(:)/, /o(:)/, or the u-diphthongs /au/, /eu/,
/ou/, /əu/. Intervocalic BH, MH may occasionally occur as /v/.

1. As /u(:)/, /o(:)/
    dooyrt 'said' [duːt]S, [dut]S, [dot]N Ir. dubhairt
    dooan 'hook' [duɣan]S, [dügǫn]S, [dɔgan]S Ir. dubhán[9]
    ooyl 'apple' [uːl]S Ir. ubhal
    coodagh 'cover' [kuːðax]S, [kuðax]S Ir. cumhdach
    dhoo 'black' [duː]S, [düː]S Ir. dubh; v. also next.

2. As /au/, /eu/, /ou/, /əu/
    dhoo 'black' [dau]N, [døu]N, [döu]N, [dǫu]N/S Ir. dubh

3. Intervocalic BH, MH as /v/
    cooin 'memory' [kevən]S Ir. cumhan. The [e] here suggests
        this form ought to repr. *cuimhean, cf. Ir. cuimhne.

INTERNAL AND FINAL NEUTRAL BH, MH AFTER ORIGINAL LONG VOWELS OR
DIPHTHONGS

Introduction

§17. Here also there are the u-diphthongs /au/, /eu/, /ou/ with
ÁBH, ÁMH, ÓBH, ÓMH, IABH, IAMH, /au/, /eu/ with AOBH, AOMH and
/ou/ with EOBH, EOMH. With ÉABH, ÉΛMH the only ex. gives /eu/,
and with ÍOBH, ÍOMH there is the long vowel /iː/. Here there is
also /u(:)/ where ÍOBH, ÍOMH seemingly became IOBH, IOMH first
(v. below). The long vowel /oː/ (also with secondary shortening,

9. The [ɣ] or [g] in the exx. probably arises as a hiatus filler,
   cf. the name 'Truggan Road' (in Port St. Mary) < strooan
   'stream', Ir. sruthan.

viz. /o/) is also found with ÁBH, ÁMH, /u(:)/ and /o(:)/ with
AOBH, AOMH, ÚBH, ÚMH, and /o(:)/ with EOBH, EOMH. There is /u(:)/
(sometimes /e(:)/, /i(:)/) with IABH, IAMH.

§18. ÁBH, ÁMH

Here there are the u-diphthongs /au/, /eu/, /ou/. There may also
be /o(:)/.

   1. As /au/, /eu/, /ou/
      crauee 'religious' [kraui]S, [krɛ:ui]S, [k'rǫui]N ScG.
         cràbhaidh. The [u] in all three exx. could be regarded
         as consonantic.
      laue 'hand' [l'au]N, [lɛ:u]N/S, [lǫu]N Ir. lámh

   2. As /o(:)/
      foayr 'favour' [fǫ:r]S Ir. fábhar
      noid 'enemy' [no:d']S, [nǫ:d']N Ir. námhaid[10]

§19. ÉABH, ÉAMH

The only example gives /e:u/.
      fraue 'root' [frɛ:u]N/S Ir. fréamh

§20. IOBH, IOMH

These give /(j)u(:)/; here IOBH, IOMH seemingly became first IOBH,
IOMH = /juv/ > /(j)u:/. v. also Jackson (1955:73). Also /i:/.

   1. As /(j)u(:)/ with loss of /j/ after /r/ as in English.
      screeu 'writing' [skru:]N, [ʃk'ru:]S Ir. scríobhadh
      sneeu 'spinning' [sn'u:]S, [sn'ʲu]S Ir. sníomh

   2. As /i:/
      sheelt 'sober' [ʃi:l't']N ScG. sìobhailt; cf. also Ir.
         sibhialta

§21. ÓBH, ÓMH

With the u-diphthongs /au/, /eu/, /ou/. The surviving exx. are
only for ÓMH.

_____

   10. Secondary shortening could very well take place in the exx.
      here.

reuyrey 'digging' [røurə]N cf. Ir. rómhar. The Manx form
   repr. *rómhradh.

koir 'box, coffin' [koir]N Ir. cómhra. The Manx form seems
   affected by the (Mx.) orthography. One would have expected
   something like [kọ:r].

cowrey 'sign' [kaurə]S, [køurə]N Ir. cómhartha

cour 'in the direction of' [køur]N, [kɑuər]S cf. Ir. i
   gcómhair[11]

§22. ÚBH, ÚMH

Only one example attested.

   clooie 'down, feathers' [klu:i]N, [klọi]N cf. Ir. clúmhach.
      The Manx form would repr. OIr. clúim, acc/dat. of clúm,
      orig. a long á-fem.

§23. AOBH, AOMH

The exx. are scarce, but they seem to suggest /u(:)/ and /o(:)/
as the main representations of AOBH, AOMH. There may also be the
u-diphthongs /au/, /eu/.

   1. As /u(:)/, /o(:)/
      foyr 'edge' [fọ:r]S, [fọ:r]S, [fu:əɹ]S Ir. faobhar. Note
         that in the last ex. [ə] is not original, but a function
         of the /r/; s.v. R.
      noo 'holy' [nu:]S Ir. naomh
      çheu 'side' - v. next.

   2. As /au/, /eu/
      crouw 'bush' [krøu]S Ir. craobh
      çheu 'side' [t'ʃau]N/S, [t'ʃøu]N/S, [t'ʃæu]S, [t'ʃu]N
         Ir. taobh[12]

§24. EOBH, EOMH

The two attested exx. repr. EOBH giving /ou/ or /o(:)/.

   yiow 'will get' [jou]N Ir. gheobh

---

11. Note that ó in cómhartha and i gcómhair was originally short.
12. The palat. of the init. /t/ here may be due to fronting. It
    is noticeable that LSM has the proclivity to palatalize orig.
    init. neutral velar and dental stops; for exx. s.v. cabbyl,
    gaaue in the Dictionary.

yioghe 'would get' [jɔx]N Ir. gheobhadh. Here a possible
*[jouax] has been contracted probably via [jo:x] or
[jɔ:x] to a short stressed monophthong.
Phillips spells the fut. as iew which points to gheibh.
It seems here at any rate that the /eu/ and /ou/ di-
phthongs have not been kept apart; cf. the treatment of
geurey (Ir. geimhreadh) and sourey (Ir. samhradh) for
a similar analogical remodelling.

§25. IABH, IAMH

There is either /u(:)/ or the u-diphthongs /au/, /eu/, /ou/.
There may also be /e(:)/, /i(:)/.

1. As /(j)u(:)/ with /j/ absorbed in the preceding palat.
   consonant.
   cleeau 'breast, chest' [klʹu]N Ir. cliabh
   slieau 'mountain' [slʹu:]N/S, [ʃlʹu:]N/S Ir. sliabh

2. As /(j)au/, /(j)eu/, /(j)ou/ again with /j/ absorbed in the
   preceding palat. cons.
   jouyl 'devil' [dʹʒaul]N/S, [dʹʒɔul]S Ir. diabhail
   jouylee 'devilish' [dʹʒøuli]S ScG. diabhlaidh
   cleuin 'son-in-law' [klʹʉunʹ]N, [klɛun]N Ir. cliamhain,
     but prob. cleamhain or g. cleamhna; cf. Jackson (1955:74).

3. As /e(:)/, /i(:)/
   clean 'cradle' [klʹe:dn]S, [klʹẹ:dn]S, [klĭdn]N Ir. cliabhán,
     ScG. cliabhan. A form *[klʹuən], [klʹudn] would have been
     expected here. Forms with /e(:)/ (or /i(:)/ before a nasal)
     may be on the analogy of EA (qv); v. also cleuin above.

§26. UABH, UAMH   No examples.

INTERNAL AND FINAL ORIGINAL PALATALIZED BH, MH IN STRESSED SYLLABLES

Introduction

§27. In all cases original palatalized BH, MH internally and fin-
ally (and initially for that matter) behave as if they were neutral.
Initially these appear as /v/, but internally and finally they give
u-diphthongs or /u(:)/ or /o(:)/.

§28. AIBH, AIMH

The attested exx. repr. only AIMH. Here there is usually the u-diphthong /eu/:

> eulys 'fury' [ęuləs]N Ir. aimhleas
> dew 'oxen' [dęu]S Ir. daimh

§29. AIBH, ÁIMH

The attested exx. repr. only ÁIMH. There is either /eu/, or /u(:)/ or /o(:)/:

1. As /eu/
   ro-laue 'beforehand' [ra'lɛ:u]S cf. ScG. roimh-làimh
   liorish 'by'; v. next.

2. As /u(:)/, /o(:)/
   liorish 'by' [l'øuriʃ]N, [l'u:riʃ]S, [l'ɔ:rïʃ]S, [l'ɔriʃ]S
      cf. ScG. làimh ris

Though Phillips has leyf = làimh it is far from certain that the exx. here represent any oblique case form. The etymology of liorish is the usual one (i.e. làimh ris), and may be correct, but it does not explain the init. /l'/ or the different treatment of the vowel/diphthong. It is a unique case not representative of any general tendency.

§30. EIBH, EIMH

With u-diphthongs /au/, /eu/, /ou/, /əu/, or /u(:)/:

1. As /au/, /eu/, /ou/
   geulaghyn 'chains' [g'ęułqxən]N, [g'øułqxən]S cf. Ir.
      geimheal; v. also §30.2 below.
   geurey 'winter' [g'aurə]S, [g'æurə]S, [g'ɛurə]N/S, [g'eurə]N,
      [g'öurə]S, [gɔurə]N Ir. geimhreadh; v. also §30.2 below.

2. With /(j)u(:)/ (with /j/ absorbed in the prec. palat. cons.)
   geulaghyn 'chains' [g'u:łqxən]N; v. also §30.1 above.
   geurey 'winter' [g'u:rə]N, [g'ourə]N; v. also §30.1 above.

§31. ÉIBH, ÉIMH

The only ex. repr. ÉIBH
> sleityn 'mountains' [sle:ᵈʒən]S, [sle:d'ʒïn]N, [sl'ę:d'ʒən]S

ScG. sléibhtean

As Jackson (1955:76) has noted the BH here seems to
have disappeared before depalatalization had taken place,
otherwise something like [sl'eud'ʒən] would have resulted;
cf. eulys in §28 above.

§32.   IBH, IMH

These regularly give /(j)u(:)/:

cha niuym 'I will not drink' [hɑ'n'u:əm]N Early Ir.
    (chan) ibhim
shiu 'you'(pl.) [ʃu]N/S Ir. sibh
shiuin 'rushes' [ʃu:n']N Ir. simhin

In livrey 'deliver' we have ['l'ivrə]S, ['l'ivᵊrə]S side by side
with [lI'vrɛi]S, [l'i'vre:]S ScG. libhrig, MIr. libhredh <
A.Norm. This word is found only in the Lord's Prayer in the corpus,
usually with forward stress. Forms with initial stress are prob-
ably as a result of the rhythm of the prayer by the individual
speaker. The fact that we have /v/ here suggests that these forms
are recent, otherwise we would expect something like [l'u(:)rə],
as with lhiurid 'length' [l'u:rid']N, [l'urid']N < OIr. libre+id
(v. Dictionary).

§33.   ÍBH, ÍMH

The only attested example repr. ÍBH giving /(j)u(:)/

screeuyn 'letter' [skru:ən]S, [ʃkrʲuən]S Ir. scribheann

§34.   OIBH, OIMH

There is usually /u(:)/ or /o(:)/

diunid 'depth' [du:nəd']S, [du:nəd]S Ir. doimhne + id.
Note the depal. /n/. The raising to /u:/ is not clear.
Jackson (1955:76) regards it as due to the nasal, but
apparently no raising occurs in dowin 'deep' [dɑun']S
where /n/ is just as much in contact as in the cpv. and
abstract.
roie 'before' (adv.) [ro:i]N, [roi]N/S ScG. roimhe
roish 'before' (prep., conj.) [rǫ:ʃ]S, [rɑ:ʃ]S, [roʃ]N,

[rɒʃ]S, [roːiʃ]N/S, [roiʃ]N ScG. roimh-se.
Roie and roish (but esp. the first) may be regarded as
having a lost MH with (orig.) hiatus in its place.

§35. ÓIBH, ÓIMH

Only one ex. of this class survives, repr. ÓIBH giving /au/, /eu/

daue 'to them' [dau]S, [dɛːu]S Ir. dóibh.
Jackson (1955:76) regards [dau] (and prob. [dɛːu]) as repr.
Early Mod. Ir. dáibh or ScG. daibh. Robert L. Thomson pref-
ers a non-palat. form, viz. dábh, dabh, as Phillips spells
it daw, not deyf (as in dew 'oxen').

§36. UIBH, UIMH

The surviving exx. attest only for UIMH giving /u(ː)/.

crooag 'maggot, grub' [kruːag]S, [kruːəg]N ScG. cruimheag
cooinaght(yn) 'remembering, memory' [kuːnˈɒx]S, [kuːnˈax]N,
    [kuːnˈaxtən]S, [kunaxən]N, [kuːnˈan]S ScG. cuimhneachd,
    cuimhneachan

§37. ÚIBH, ÚIMH   No examples, but /u(ː)/ expected.

§38. AOIBH, AOIMH

The two (in reality one) exx. attested repr. AOIBH giving /(j)uː/

eunys 'delight' [juːnəs]S Ir. aoibhneas
eunyssagh 'delightful' [juːnəsɒx]N/S ScG. aoibhneasach.
Unlike the BH in ÉIBH above (§31) which was lost, BH here
seems to have been vocalized (after depalatalization),
otherwise something like [jeːnəs], [jeːnəsax] would have
resulted. For the depal. /n/ cf. also diunid §34 above.

ORIGINAL BH, MH IN UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES

Intervocalic position

§39. In intervocalic position BH and MH are usually lost and
there is contraction of the flanking vowels, either to a long
vowel which may bear the stress, e.g. (in Ir. -amhail)

reeoil 'royal' [ˈriːˈoːlˈ]S righeamhail

troo-oil 'jealous' [tru'o:ɪ']S Ir. <u>tnúthamhail</u>

or the contraction may occur unstressed as /ə/ or /a/, e.g.

gennal 'happy' [g'ęnɑɪ:]S, [g'enəl]S Ir. <u>geanamhail</u>

However, BH, MH may occasionally appear as /v/:

liauyr 'long' [l'ǿuər]N, [l'auə]S, [l'a:vəɹ]S Ir. <u>leabhar</u>

Final position

§40. In final position (E)ABH, (E)AMH, also (A)IBH, (A)IMH are
mostly found as /u/, sometimes /o/ (in northern Manx), e.g.

(E)ABH, (E)AMH

jannoo 'doing' [ɗ'ʒęnu]N/S Ir. <u>déanamh</u>; v. also below.
thalloo 'land' [tɑlu]N/S, [talo]N Ir. <u>tallamh</u>
shassoo 'standing' [ʃa:ðu]N, [sa:du]S, [sa:ðo]N Ir.
    <u>seasamh</u>
briw 'judge' [brę:u]N/S, [brɛu]S, [bru:]S[13] Ir. <u>breitheamh</u>
credjue 'belief' [kręd'ʒu]N, [kreʒu]S Ir. <u>creideamh</u>

But sometimes there is /uv/, e.g.

jannoo 'doing' [ɗ'ʒɛnuv]?S Ir. <u>déanamh</u>. From <u>LASID</u> Vol. 1.
It was probably elicited by Wagner in a phrase (cf. also
<u>marroo</u> (§8) and <u>traaue</u> (§12.1) above), where /v/ is a sandhi
form.

(A)IBH, (A)IMH

eu 'at you, your'(pl.) [ęu]N/S, [ɛu]N/S Ir. <u>agaibh</u>. This
passed through [iv'] to [əv] to [u], as shown by Phillips'
<u>aggw</u>, not <u>aggif</u>.
orroo 'on them' [ɔru]S, [aro]N Ir. <u>orthaibh</u>

§41. After consonants in medial position there is either /ə/
(sometimes /a/, esp. before /x/) in unstressed syllables, or as
/u(:)/ if the syllable bears the stress, e.g.

─────────

13. with complete reduction here of the first syllable.

1. In unstressed syllables
   sherruid 'bitterness' [ʃɛruəd´]N Ir. seirbhe + id
   geinnagh 'sand' [g´enax]N, [gan´ax]S ScG. gainmheach.
   Note that MH is simply lost here.

2. In stressed syllables (with svarabhakti treatment and
   contraction in the second ex.)
   fegooish 'without' [fə'gu:ʃ]N/S ScG. eugmhais
   jarrood 'forgetting' [d´ʒa'ru:d]S, [d´ʒə'rud]S, [d´ʒə'rud]N
       Ir. dearmad, dearmhad. Note that the first syllable is
       not in every case reduced to [ə].

§42. After consonants in final position there is usually /u/ (or
/o/ in northern Manx). This would have arisen from the vocalization
of final BH, MH coalescing with the svarabhakti vowel which had
arisen between BH, MH and the preceding consonant, and which is
thus parallel to an organic vowel as in jannoo (Ir. déanamh) and
shassoo (Ir. seasamh), e.g.

   marroo 'dead' [maru]N/S, [maro]N Ir. marbh
   tarroo 'bull' [təru]N/S Ir. tarbh
   balloo 'dumb' [bɒlu]S Ir. balbh
   follym 'empty' [fɒləm]N, [faləm]S Ir. folamh. Note here that
   delenition has taken place in MH which happens to be final, as
   the reverse happens in jarrood (Ir. dearmad) in an m which
   happens to be medial.
   merriu 'dead persons' [mïru]N, [miru]S Ir. mairbh. Note that
   the depal. final cluster here has fallen in with the neutral
   form, i.e. [miru] not [mir´u] which would have been an earlier
   form, as the spelling suggests; so [ru] < [r´u], [rju] 'ever'
   (Ir. riamh) by the usual loss of /j/ after /r/.

THE DENTALS   T and D

§43.1 In initial position neutral T and D are, as already noted
       (§2), articulated with some aspiration and affrication re-
       spectively. For init. palat. T and D in LSM v. I: /t´/, /d´/.

   2 For the realizations of neutral and palatal. T and D intern-
     ally and finally v. I:/t/, /t´/, /d/, /d´/.

3. In original palat. RT in final position there is depalat.
   of the whole cluster, e.g.
   baghyrt 'threatening' [bə ɣərt]S Ir. bagairt
   loayrt 'speaking' [lɔ:ʉt]N, [lɔrt]N Ir. labhairt

4. In original palat. initial TR, DR, STR there is usually
   depalat. of the whole cluster; on occasion the dental stop
   may be found palatalized, e.g.
   traaue 'ploughing' [tre:u]N/S, [t′rɛu:w]N Ir. treabhadh
   trass 'third' [tra:s]S Ir. treas
   drollane 'useless person' [drɔ′lɛ:dn]S Ir. dreolán
   strepey 'struggling' [stri:pə]N ScG. streapadh

5a In initial neutral ST there is usually [st̪θ], e.g.
   sthambey, stampey 'treading' [st̪θambə]N cf. Ir. strampáil
       < E.

 b In initial palat. ST there is usually [ʃt′] or [st′], e.g.
   stiagh 'into' [ʃt′a:x]S, [st′ɛ̣ɵx]S Ir. isteach
   stiurey 'steering' [st′u rə]S Ir. stiúradh

6. Internally after /n/ or /l/ neutral or palat. T may appear
   as [d], [d′], [d′ʒ], as the orthography sometimes recognises:
   coontey 'thinking' [ku:ntə]N/S, [ku:ndə]S ScG. cunndadh,
       cf. Ir. cunntas
   piandagh 'painful' [pi:ndax]S Ir. piantach
   biljyn 'trees' [beld′ən]N, [bɪ̈l′d′ʒən]S, [bɪld′ʒən]N cf
       Ir. bile (pl. *biltean)
   mooinjer 'relatives' [mọnd′ʒə]S Ir. muinntear
   The voicing is equally true of /p/ after /m/ in medial
   position; cf. sthambey above.

7a In final position after neutral CH (/x/), whether stressed
   or unstressed, T may or may not occur, e.g.
   briaght 'asking' [brəiəxt]S, [brəiəx]S ?Ir. braith + eacht.
   The loss of /t/ here may be due to its being absorbed in the
   following palat. /d′/ in jeh 'of' [d′ʒe] which normally
   accompanies briaght.
   boght 'poor' [bọ:x]N, [bɔ:x]N; also [bɔh]N (with loss of
       friction) Ir. boght

b In medial position after neutral CH (/x/) T may or may not
occur, e.g.

boghtynid 'nonsense' [bɒ:xtənəd]S, [bɑ:xnId]S Ir. bochtaine
     + id

shiaghtin 'week' [ʃa:xtïn]N; but also [t'ʃa:ɣən]S (with t of
def. art.; medially with non-occurrence of /t/ and voicing
of /x/), and [t'ʃa:n]S (with loss of the whole cluster) Ir.
seachtaine, seachtmhaine (another case of loss of MH (qv)).

shiaghtoo 'seventh' [ʃa:xu:]S[14] Ir. seachtmhadh
brooightooil 'belching' [bru:x'tu:l']N Ir. brúchtghail.
Shift of stress due to vocalization of GH coalescing with
following vowel. Note here that medial DH, GH is treated
like medial BH, MH, so the ending -(a)ghail came to behave
just like -abhail, -amhail. For the shift of stress in such
cases s.v. Stress.

 8. For the various realizations of neutral or palat. intervoc-
alic T and D, s.v. I: /t/, /t´/, /d/, /d´/.

 9. Palatalized T after S in medial position gives [t´], e.g.
clashtyn 'hearing' [klɒʃt'ən]N ScG. claistinn
cashtal 'castle' [kɒʃt'əl]N ScG. caisteal
ushtey 'water' [uʃt'ə]N ScG. uisge

10. Before a depalat. consonant original palat. T is also
depalatalized, as seems borne out by the impv./pret.
(d)ettyl (not ettil). T may occasionally occur as [d], e.g.
getlagh 'flying' [gɛtlɒx]S; also [g'adlax]N (with voicing)
Ir. ag eitleach

11a Internally in contact with consonants T and D usually appear
as [t] and [d] respectively, e.g.
kialter 'unwaulked cloth' [k'ɒ:ltə]S ScG. cealtar
Boaldyn 'May' [bɔ ldən]N ScG. Bealltuinn
boandyrys 'nursing' [bɑ ndərəs]N; also [bɒnðrəs]S cf.
ScG. banaltrachd

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 14. sic with /u:/

b T after S may sometimes appear as [θ], or be lost alto-
gether, e.g.

   <u>Sostyn</u> 'England' [sɑːstən]N/S, [sɑːsθən]N, [sɑːsən]S
      Ir. <u>Sasanach</u>; OIr. <u>Saxan</u> (cf. [ʃəːxsən] <u>sic</u> N), with
      metathesis > <u>Sascan</u> > <u>Sastan</u>. For SC giving ST in
      LSM v. §47.
      Cases of apparent loss may represent <u>Sasuinn</u> (in which
      <u>cs</u> was assimilated to <u>s(s)</u>). On the other hand Robert
      Thomson reminds me that the <u>stn</u> sequence might have
      <u>t</u> intrusive (as well as by metathesis) and this would
      be lost again later; cf. OE. <u>hlysnian</u>, Mod.E. 'lis<u>t</u>en'.

TH and DH

§44.1a In initial position TH represents the lenition of T and
      in LSM occurs as [h], e.g.
     <u>haink</u> 'came' [heŋk]S Ir. <u>tháinig</u>
     <u>heose</u> 'up' [hus]N . Ir. <u>thuas</u>
     <u>huitt</u> 'fell' [hɒtʲ]S ScG. <u>thuit</u>

  b Original palat. TH standing before a back or low front
     vowel gives [xʲ], e.g.
     <u>O Hiarn</u> 'O Lord' [oːˈxʲaːn]S ScG. <u>ó/a Thighearna</u>

  c Before other vowels there is simply [h]
     <u>cum dty hengey</u> 'hold your tongue!' [kumː di henjə]N
      ScG. <u>cum do theanga</u>

  d In initial THR- there is usually [xr][15]
     <u>gow dty hraa</u> 'take your time' [gøu ðə xrɛː]S ScG.
      <u>gabh do thráth</u>
     <u>ayns kegeesh dy hraa</u> 'in a fortnight's time' [uns kɛˈgiːʃ
      də xrɛː]

  2 In internal position whether intervocally or with conson-
     ants both original neutral and palat. TH are lost. When
     intervocal there is usually contraction, though occasion-

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15. Occasionally so written; cf. Cregeen <u>chraaue</u> 'ploughed',
    <u>chraisht</u> 'squeezed'.

ally hiatus is found.

a With neutral TH

ayr 'father' [ɛːɹ]S, [ę:ɑr]S   Ir. athair

arragh 'any more' [arəx]N/S   Ir. athrach

bayr 'road' [bę:ɹ]N   Ir. bóthar

dy bragh 'for ever' [dəˈbrɛːx]S   Ir. go bráthach

b With original palat. TH

ainjyssagh 'acquainted' [eindˈʒəsəx]S   cf. Ir. aitheantas
  + ach

anney 'commandment' [anə]S, [aːnǫ]S   Ir. aithne

ceau 'throwing' [kʼɛu]N, [kʼəu]N/S   Ir. caitheamh[16]

kiare 'four' [kʼę:r]N   Ir. ceithre

c With hiatus

baagh 'beast' [bęax]N, [bę:ǫx]S   Ir. beathach. The hiatus
here may be morphemically, rather than phonetically
motivated; cf. also saagh < soitheach §7.

d Original -THE is everywhere lost, e.g.

snaie 'thread' [snęi]S, [snai]S   Ir. snáithe

clea 'roof' [kʼlʼę:]N   Ir. cléithe

3   In final position both original neutral and palat. TH are
everywhere lost, e.g.

traa 'time' [trɛː]N/S   ScG. tráth

lheeah 'grey' [lʼiːə]S   Ir. liath

lieh 'half' [lʼeː]N, [lʼɛi]N   Ir. leith

For a discussion on the probable development of mie 'good'
[maːi]N   Ir. maith from [maixʼ] v. Jackson (1955:87).

§45   DH

In initial position DH represents the lenition of D. When neutral
it appears in LSM as [ɣ] (or sometimes [w] when followed by a
high back vowel), and when palatal. as [j] (though more often
than not no lenition takes place in either case and there is [d])[17]

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16. The palat. quality of the orig. neutral /k/ may be due to
    fronting; cf. çheu §23.2.
17. e.g. daa dooinney 'two men' [dę: dunʼə]N; for the occurrence
    as [g] v. below.

thus falling in with GH (qv), e.g.

dy chooilley ghooinney 'every man' [ðə xo̜lʹə γo̜nʹə]S
ScG. a h-uile dhuine

y wooinney 'man!' (voc.) [wunʹə]N Ir. a dhuine

ghaa/gaa ny tree 'two or three' [γanəˈtri:]N, [ganəˈtri:]N
ScG. dhá na trí. The stopping of [γ] to [g] in the last
ex. is a late phonetic change.

In medial and final position DH is everywhere lost, e.g.

greeasee 'cobbler' [gre̜:ði]N/S, [gri:zi]S Ir. gréasaidhe

nastee 'for nothing' [nɑsti]N Ir. i n-ascaidh

poosey 'marrying' [pu:ðə]N Ir. pósadh

THE VELAR STOPS C and G

§46. For a description of both neutral and palatal. forms of C
and G in LSM v. I: /kʹ/, /k/, /gʹ/, /g/.

But in addition one or two points should also be noted:

1. Before original palat. /lʹ/ and /rʹ/ there is usually, but
not always depalatalization of C and G, e.g.

CL- cleain 'harrows' [kli:dn]N, [klʹi:dn]S, [kʹlidn]N
Ir. cliath + an
cleuin 'son-in-law' [klʹe̜un]N Ir. cliamhain
cleuinys 'relationship by marriage' [kʹlʹe̜unʹəs]N[18]
Ir. cleamhnas

CR- credjal 'believing' [kre̜ʒo̜l]S, [kre̜:lʹ]S; but also
[kʹɛɑl]S with loss of /r/ Ir. creideáil
creen 'ripe' [kri:n]N Ir. críon
creg 'rock' [kre̜g]S; but also [kʹrɛg:]S ScG. creag

GL- gluggernagh 'gurgling' [gløgərno̜x]N Ir. gliogarnach
glion 'glen' [glʹøun]N; but note also the non-occurrence
of orig. /gʹ/ [lʹɔdn]S, [lʹaun]N Ir. gleann. This is
probably due to [γʹlʹ] or [jlʹ] in the lenited form;

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18. sic palat. /nʹ/.

v. Jackson (1955:90), v. also glion in Dictionary.

glioon 'knee' [glu:dn]N, [gl'u:n']N; also with loss of
/g/ [l'udn]N, [l'u:dn]S Ir. glún. Lenited forms here
are unhistorical and are probably on the analogy of
gleann; also the loss of /g/ for the same reason.

§47. In intervocalic position and finally after vowels SC in LSM
regularly occurs as [st] or [ʃt']; very occasionally in medial
position SC remains. In medial position in association with con-
sonants SC appears in a simplified form as [s] or [ʃ].

1. SC as [st], [ʃt']
   fastee 'shelter' [fa:sti]N/S Ir. fascadh
   lostey 'burning' [la:stə]S Ir. loscadh
   fastyr 'evening' [fa:stə]N/S ScG. feasgar
   Caisht 'Easter' [kɛ:ʃt']N Ir. Cáisc
   tushtey 'understanding' [tuʃt'ə]S Ir. tuigse; with
      metathesis of SC(SG).
   ushtey 'water' [uʃt'ə]N/S ScG. uisge
   liàsst 'lazy' [l'o̤:st]N, [l'a:s]S ScG. leasg; note the
      loss of /t/ after /s/ in the last ex.

2. SC as [sk] in medial position
   yskid 'ham, leg' [iskəd']S Ir. ioscad[19]

3. SC medially with consonants as [s], [ʃ]
   fosley 'opening' [fa:slɛ̃]S Ir. foscladh
   shaslagh 'bent grass' [ʃa:sləx]N Ir. seascladh
   fasney 'winnowing' [fo̤:snə]N/S ScG. fasgnadh
   feayshley 'loosening' [fɛ:ʃl'ə]S, [fɛ:l'ə]S ScG.
      fuasgladh, *fuaisgleadh. Note the complete loss of the
      SC cluster in the last ex.

§48. In pretonics original G- may occur as [d] in Manx. Sometimes
it may appear as the voiced dental spirant [ð]; v. also I: /d/1c.
Some words have both /g/ and /d/, others /d/ only.

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19. In initial position SC may also be found, e.g. stiurey
    'steering' [sk'u:rə]S, [ʃk'u:rə]S Ir. stiúradh, sthambey
    'treading' [skembə]N < E. But here ST is original, and the
    SC forms are either an unconscious reversal of the process,
    or aberations from the general pattern.

gys, dys 'towards' [gøs]N, [gus]S, [dəs]N/S, [dǫs]N/S
  ScG. gus

gagh, dagh 'each' [ga:x]S, [da:x]S Ir. gach

dy (forming adverbs)
  dy liooar 'enough' [dɪˈlˈuːr]N, [ðəˈlˈuːə]S Ir. go leor
  dy mie 'well' [dəˈmǫːi]N Ir. go maith

dy (particle introd. sub. clause in indirect statement)
  'that'
  dy jagh 'that went' [dəˈdˈʒəːx]S ScG. gu deach
  dy row 'that was' [dəˈrøu]N/S ScG. gu robh

gyn, dyn 'without' [dən]S, [dön]S Ir. gan

THE VELAR SPIRANTS CH and GH

§49. In initial position CH and GH would originally have been the
lenition of C and G respectively. In LSM very little of this has
survived. When they do occur in the context of lenition neutral
CH appears as [x], [h], (by abandonment of lenition) as [k], or
does not occur at all; palat. CH appears as [xˈ] (very rare), [h],
(by aban. of len.) as [k]. Neutral GH appears as [ɣ], or (by aban.
of len.) as [g], and palat. GH as [ɣˈ] (very rare), [j], or (by
aban. of len.) as [g]. As can be seen, GH of both qualities
behaves as DH in this context, with the exception that DH before
/u/ can occur as [w] (v. §45 above).

  1. Neutral CH
    cha 'not'(neg. part.) [xa]N, [ha]N/S, [a]N/S ScG. cha
    cheayll 'heard' [xiːl]S, [kɪl]N Ir. chuala
    hie 'went' [xɛːi]S, [xai]S, [kaːi]S ScG. chaidh
    honnick 'saw' [hɒnik]N Ir. chonnaic
    chammah 'as well' [hǫmə]N, [kǫmə]N cf. NIr. chómh maith
    chaill 'lost'(pret.) [kəlˈ]S Ir. chaill
    er-chosh 'on foot' [ərˈkɔʃ]N ScG. air chois
    wheesh 'as much' [xwiːʃ]N, [hwiːʃ]N/S, [kwiːʃ]S, [fiːʃt]N
      Ir. a choibhéis. The /f/ in the last ex. is a substitute
      for /xw/.
    chraa 'shook' [xrɛː]S Ir. chráith
    hug 'towards' [hǫg]N Ir. chuig

2. Palat. CH

   my chione 'my head' [mə x'ǫ:dn]S Ir. mo cheann

   hannah 'already' [hǫnə]N, [hanə]S Ir. cheana

   heemain 'we will see' [hi:mǫin]S ScG. chì muin

   chiannee 'bought' [kəni]S Ir. cheannaigh. Note that /k/
     has been depalat. also.

3. Neutral GH

   yn gheay 'the wind' [ən ɣɯ:]S, [ən gi:]S Ir. an ghaoth

   my gheaylin 'my shoulder' [mə ɣilən]S, [mə g'ǫ:l'ən] sic S[20]
     Ir. mo ghualainn

   sy (ayns yn) gharey 'in the garden' [sə ɣɛ:rə]S, [ǫzən
     g'ǫ:rə]N[20] NIr. sa gharrdha

4. Palat. GH

   yn ghlion 'the glen' [ən ɣ'l'ɔdn]S, [ə gl'øun]N ScG.
     an ghleann

   my ghuilley 'my lad' [mə jilə]S, [mə gil'ə]S ScG. mo ghille

§50. Lenition of /kw/ in LSM is either /xw/ or /hw/:

   haink eh my whaiyl 'he came to meet me' [hęnkǫ mə xwɛ:l']S,
     [hęnkǫ mə kwɛ:l']S (without len.) tháinig e mo chómhdháil

   gys y whaiyl 'to the court' [gösə hwɛ:l']N gus a chómhdháil

§51. In medial position in contact with consonants CH of both
qualities often does not occur, except before /t/(where its
absence is rare).

   cliaghtey 'custom' [kl'ə:xtə]N/S Ir. cleachtadh

   boghtynid 'nonsense' [bǫ:xtənəd']S, [bǫ:tənəd']N Ir.
     bochtaine + id

   shilleeid 'slug' [ʃə'l'id]S Ir. seilchide

   moghree 'morning' [mɔ:ri]N; but also [mǫ xri]N ScG.
     mochthrath

   toghrys 'winding yarn' [tǫ:rəs]S Ir. tochras

§52. In intervocalic position in stressed or unstressed syllables

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20. For the palat. of orig. neutral velar stops before orig.
   back vowels cf. I: /k/, /g/.

neutral CH may appear as [x] or [γ], or stopped as [g], or not appear at all (with or without contraction of the flanking vowels). In the same position palat. CH does not occur.

> kiannaghey 'buying' [kʹənaxə]S Ir. ceannachadh
> claghyn 'stones' [klɒːxən]S, [klaːɣən]S, [klɔːən]N
>   ScG. clachan
> toghar 'causeway' [tɔːxə]N, [tɔːɣə]N Ir. tóchar
> taghyrt 'happening' [taːɣɹt]S, [taːgət]S ScG. tachairt
> shaghey 'past' [ʃaːɣə]S, [ʃaː]N Ir. seachad
> feed 'twenty' [fidʒ]N/S Ir. fichead
> faill 'wages' [fɛːlʹ]S ScG. faicheall

§53. In the same position GH of both qualities is lost:

> broighe 'dirty' [bruːx]S, [brɒːx]N Ir. bróghach
> drine 'blackthorn' [drəin]N Ir. dráighean

§54. In final syllables neutral CH usually appears as [x]; here there may be sometimes loss of friction, viz. [x̌]. In the same position palat. CH and GH are lost.

> Albinagh 'Scotsman' [ɑlbanax]S Ir. Albannach
> colbagh 'heifer' [kɒlbax], [kɒlbax̌]N Ir. colpach
> gynsagh 'learning' [gʹenzax]N, [gʹenzə]N ScG. ag ionnsachadh.
>   In the last ex. CH has been lost altogether.
> Manninee 'Manxmen' [manəni]S ScG. Manannaich
> doillee 'difficult' [dɒilʹi]S Ir. doiligh

INTERNAL AND FINAL NEUTRAL GH, DH IN STRESSED AND UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES

Introduction

§55. GH and DH fell together as [γ] probably in the Middle Irish period.[21] In LSM GH, DH internally and finally are everywhere silent. The result is contraction giving vowel lengthening (with secondary shortening, or i-(or less often u-) diphthongs. The

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21. v. O'Rahilly (1932:65), Jackson (1955:94).

u-diphthongs would arise from the treatment of GH, DH as BH (MH).
In final unstressed syllables in finite verbs (E)ADH mostly occurs
as [ax] (occasionally as [əx]), otherwise as with stressed syll-
ables DH is lost and the preceding vowel can be reduced to [ə].
Internally at a morpheme boundary i-diphthongs are usually
expressed as vowel plus consonantal-i, viz. [i̯] ([j]). In some
cases [ɣ] occurred as [v] then vocalized to form u-diphthongs (v.
above).

§56. AGH, ADH

1. In stressed syllables there is /a(:)/, /e(:)/, (/ə/ before
   /r/), /i(:)/, /o(:)/, or the diphthongs /ai/, /ei/.

   paa 'thirsty' [pa:]N, [pɛ:]N ScG. padhach
   eairk 'horn' [e̩:ɹk]S, [ö:ɹk]S, [e:ǫk]S, [iak]S Ir. adhairc.
       The [ǫ] and [a] in the last two exx. are substitutions for
       the /r/.
   oyr 'reason' [ǫ:r]N, [ǫ:əɹ]S Ir. adhbhar
   ymmyd 'use' [əməð]S, [Iməd]S Ir. adhmad
   geiyrt 'driving' [gaid]N, [geid]N, [gɛit]N cf. ScG. adhart,
       quasi aidheart

2. In stressed monosyllables before /x/ there is /o(:)/
   drogh 'vexation' [drɔx]N ScG. dragh
   oghe 'oven' [ǫ:x]S, [o:x]S cf. ScG. aghann, though etym.
       not clear.

3. In unstressed syllables there is /ə/ varying freely with /a/,
   /e/, /o/, /u/; there may be /i/ in forms repr. oblique cases
   in Ir./ScG.

   molley 'deceiving' [mɔlə]N, [mǫlə]S Ir. mealladh
   bwoalley 'striking' [bulɛ]S, [bɥl'u]N Ir. bualadh; also
       buaileadh. The final /u/ in the last ex. is likely
       influenced from the previous /u/; cf. ooilley as /ul'u/.
   conney 'furze' [konə]N, [kǫnǫ]S Ir. connadh
   moylley 'praising' [mɔlə]S, [mǫ:lǫ]S Ir. moladh
   sourey 'summer' [sɛurə]S, [saurə]N, [sauri]N Ir. samhradh,
       g. samhraidh
   fastee 'shelter' [fa:sti]N/S Ir. fasgadh, g. fasgaigh

The /i/ in the second syll. is as old as Phillips, viz.
<u>faski</u>. It may either repr. an oblique case, as suggested
above, or has fallen victim to the Manx proclivity for
spontaneous palat. of (mainly stressed mono-) syllables
in -<u>gh</u>, -<u>dh</u> (v. below).

4. In finite verbs ending in /x/ there is regularly /a/

    <u>yinnagh</u> 'would do' [jɛnəx]N/S cf. Ir. <u>dhéineadh</u>, though the
        Mx. form would repr. ScG. <u>dhèanadh</u>

    <u>yiarragh</u> 'would say' [jarəx]S ScG. <u>dhearadh</u>. The morpheme
        /ax/ here would arise originally from -ADH = [əɣ] > [ax]
        before initial [ʃ] of the 3rd sg. pron. <u>she</u>, <u>shee</u> (Ir.
        <u>sé</u>, <u>sí</u>; v. Grammar §85) where -<u>adh</u> is the proper ending,
        and by analogy from <u>shin</u>, <u>shiu</u> (Ir. <u>sinn</u>, <u>sibh</u>); v. also
        O'Rahilly (1932:70ff.), Jackson (1955:96).

    <u>yioghe</u> 'would get' [jɔx]N Ir. <u>gheobhadh</u>. Here the [ɔ]
        arises from the vocal. of BH coal. with the following
        vowel with secondary shortening.

§57. ÁGH, ÁDH

These are found only in stressed syllables. There is either /e(:)/,
or the <u>i</u>-diphthongs /ai/, /ei/ (i.e. spontaneous palatalization).

    <u>gra</u> 'saying' [grɛ:]N/S Ir. <u>ag rádh</u>
    <u>coraa</u> 'voice' [kəˈre:]S, [ˈkǫ:ˈrę:]N Ir. <u>comhrádh</u>
    <u>imraa</u> 'mention' [ęmˈrɛ:]N Ir. <u>iomrádh</u>
    <u>breadagh</u> 'swingletree' [brę:dɑ̨x]N, [brɛðɑx]N ScG.
        <u>brǵhadach</u> (simplex in pn. <u>Braaid</u> [bre:d]. The absence of
        palat. in <u>coraa</u>, <u>imraa</u> (also <u>caghlaa</u>, <u>çhyndaa</u> (qv)) may
        be due to the fact that the final syll. was not orig.
        stressed, and so is not treated like a stressed monosyll.
    <u>graih</u> 'love' [gra:i]N/S, [grɛ:i]S, [gręi]N/S Ir. <u>grádh</u>,
        <u>gráidh</u>
    <u>graihagh</u> 'loving' [grę̂iəx]N Ir. <u>grádhach</u>. The Mx. form
        would repr. *<u>gráidheach</u>, and is dependent on the evidence
        of *<u>gráidh</u> as the new simplex.

§58. EAGH (EUGH), EADH

1. In stressed syllables there is either /e(:)/ or the diphthongs

/ai/, /ei/.

    lheie 'melting' [lˈeː]N, [lɛi]N Ir. leaghadh

    lhaih 'reading' [lɛi]N, [lai]S, [lˈaiː]S, [lˈɛiː] S ScG.
       leughadh (= *leigh in Mx.)

    fe(i)y 'throughout' [fẹi]S, [fai]S cf. (Don.) Ir. ar féadh

    In blieaun 'milking' there are the u-diphthongs /au/, /eu/,
    viz. [blˈaunʲ]S, [vlˈẹudn](len.)S Ir. bleaghan. These arose
    probably in an intermediary *[blˈavən] or*[blˈevən]; v. also
    Jackson (1955:97).

2. In unstressed syllables there is usually /ə/ which may vary
   with /e/, /o/ (as with AGH, ADH it could vary also with /a/,
   though I have no exx.).

    boirey 'trouble' [boirə]N, [buirə]N, [bwẹire]S Ir.
       buaidhreadh

    fuinney 'baking' [fǫnˈɩ]S, [funˈǫ]S Ir. fuineadh

    In ooilley 'all' we have [ulˈə]N/S, [ulˈɩ]N/S, [ulˈu]N/S
    cf ScG. uileadh, uile (perh. uilidh). The final /u/ in the
    last ex. may repr. the treatment of (E)ADH as in Donegal
    Irish, or result from the influence of the previous /u/; cf.
    bwoalley §56.3 above.

3. In finite verbs with final -/x/ there is usually /ax/
    jirragh 'would say' [dˈʒɨrǫx]S Ir. deireadh; v. also §56.4
      above.

§59. ÊAGH, ÊADH No examples

In the cond/past subj. of the substantive verb, viz. veagh [viːx],
[vɪx], [vɪəx], [viːɣ], [viɣ], [vẹx], [vaːx], [vax]N/S, etc, the
survival of /x/, RLT believes, suggests that the form was origin-
ally disyllabic (as evidenced from the third ex. above) with
hiatus later resolved (and shortening due to lack of stress?), cf.
ScG. bhitheadh. The Mx. forms in /e(ː)/ and /a(ː)/ would repr.
*bheitheadh, *bheathadh, rather than Ir. bhéadh, or the impf./
past habit. bhìodh.

§60. IOGH, IODH

There are only two exx., one for each. The first gives /i/, the

second /i:/ with i-diphthongs /ai/, /ei/.

    friogan 'bristle, pine' [frɪgan]S, [frïgɒn]S ScG. frioghan,
        with delenition of /g/ in the Mx. forms.

    fuygh 'wood' [fi:]S, [fęi]N, [fɛi]S, [fai]N cf. Ir./ScG.
        fiodh, g. feadha. Mx. [fi:] would repr. fidh > fî, and
        the diph. f(e)aidh. The u in the Mx. spelling may repr.
        the derivative fiodhbhadh, also spelt fiubhaidh,
        fiuthaidh, but with depal. of /f/ as usual. *fuidh would
        share the same development as soie (ScG. suidh(e)(qv);
        cf. also Cregeen's spelling foiee - RLT.

§61. IUGH, IUDH

The only ex. gives /u:/

    chiu 'thick' [t'ʃu:]S Ir. tiugh, with lengthening in a
        stressed open monosyllable.

§62. ÍOGH, ÍODH

Here there is regularly /i(:)/

    jeeill 'damage' [d'ʒi:l]S, [d'ʒi:l']N/S ScG. dîoghail
    jeelym 'gleanings' [d'ʒiləm]N Ir. dîoghlaim
    reeriaght 'kingdom' [rə'ri:əx]S, [ri:'ri:ǫxt]S, [ri:ɣax]S
        Ir. rîoghacht, or rígheacht. The first two exx. imply a
        reduplication of the first syllable; the third repr.
        more the Ir. form.

§63. OGH, ODH

There is either /o(:)/, the i-diphthongs /ai/, /ei/, or the u-
diphthongs /au/, /eu/, /ou/, with GH, DH treated as BH. All exx.
are instressed position.

    fondagh 'sure' [fǫndǫx]N ScG. foghantach
    feiyr 'noise' [fa:iə]N, [faiər]S cf. Ir. foghar. Mx. forms
      = *fáighear
    reih 'choice' [rai]S, [ræi]S, [ręi]N/S cf. Ir. rogha
    leih 'forgiving' [l'ei]S, [le:i]S, [lai]S, [l'æi]S cf.
      Ir. logh
    The last two items are explainable as *roigh, *toigh with
    spontaneous palatalization.

bouyr 'deaf' [bauɡ]S, [bɡuɹe]S Ir. bodhar

bouin 'waist, rim' [baun]N, [bøuən]N ScG. boghainn

dourin 'sickness' [døurən']S Ir. doghrainn

§64. ÓGH, ÓDH

Here there is /a(:)/, /e(:)/, /o(:)/, /u(:)/

claaght, claght 'best part' [klɛ:x]S, [klɛ:xt]S cf. Ir.
    clódh, clódhachas

caghlaa 'changing' [kɔx'tɛ:]S, [kɡx'lɛ:]S, [kax'lɛ:]N
    Ir. claochlódh

chyndaa 'turning' [t'ʃïn'de:]N/S, [tə'da:]N Ir. tionntódh

broghe, broighe 'dirty' [bro:x]S, [brɡ:x]N, [bru:x]S
    [brux]N Ir. bróghach

§65. UGH, UDH

The only ex. (repr. UGH) gives /u:/

loo 'oath' [lu:]N/S OIr. lugae; with silent GH and length-
    ening in stressed open monosyllable.

§66. ÚGH, ÚDH

The only ex. (repr. ÚGH) gives /u:/

soo 'juice' [su:]N/S Ir. súgh (with silent GH).

§67. UAGH, UADH

1. In stressed syllables there are the i-diphthongs /ai/, /ei/
   (i.e. spont. palat.)
   ruy 'red' [rai]S, [rɛi]N/S, [rei]S Ir. ruadh, ruaidh
   treih 'sad' [trøi]N, [trɛi]N/S Ir. truagh, truaigh (with
       loss of labial element; also next two items).
   teiy 'axe' [tai]N, [tɛi]S, [tøi]N Ir. tuagh, tuaigh
   sleih 'people' [slɛi]N, [slɛi]N/S, [slai]N/S Ir. sluagh,
       sluaigh

2. In unstressed syllables there may be /o/ when GH gives /x/.
   If GH is vocalized the first elements of the diphthong may
   become consonantal while the second coalesces with the final
   syllable and gives /e:/, as if ÁGH (qv).

   trughaneagh 'complaining' [tro'ɣɛ:nɡx]S cf. Ir. truaghán,

OIr. trú. Mx. form sugg. a deriv. quasi trochán.

whaaley 'sewing' [fwɛ:lə]N, [kwɛ:lə]S, [hwę:lə]N, [kʼɵ:lǫ]S [kʼǫ:l]S cf. Ir. fuagháil. In the 4th ex. the labial element has completely disappeared and the neutral /k/ palat. before the front vowel. In the 5th ex. we have original treatment of UA preceded by a palat. /kʼ/, as if before a front vowel. This form may be due to un-certainty on the part of the speaker.

§68. IAGH, IADH

There is either /i(:)/ or /e(:)/, or the i-diphthongs /ai/, /ei/.

bee 'food' [bi:]N Ir. biadh

beiyht 'fatted' [bi:t]N, [bit]S, [biət]N, [bi:ət]N, [beit]N cf. Ir. biadhta. The [ə] in exx. 3 & 4 would repr. the second element of the diphth.

fênish 'witness' [fę:niʃ]S, [fę:niʃ]S cf. Ir. fiadhnaise. Mx. form would repr. *féidhnise

jeigh 'shutting' [dʼʒęi]S, [dʼʒɛi]S, [dʼʒǫi:]S, [dʼʒai]S cf. SIr. dʼiadhadh. Mx. form sugg. *dęidh.

§69. AOGH, AODH

Here there is either /e:/ or [ö:], or the i-diphthongs /ai/, /ei/

seihll 'world' [se:lʼ]N, [sœ:l]N/S, [sɛ:l]S, [sö:l]N Ir. saoghal, with silent GH.

lheiy 'calf' [ɫei]N, [lęi]N/S, [lɛ:i]S, [lœ:i]N, [lə-i]S cf. Ir. laogh. Mx. form sugg. laoigh

§70. EOGH, EODH

There is regularly /(j)o:/, /(j)u:/, or occasionally with the u-diphthongs /eu/, /ou/, with GH, DH treated as BH.

rio 'frost' [ro:]N, [rǫ:]S, [rɔ:]N Ir. reodh

bioghys, bioys 'liveliness' [biʼǫ:s]S, [bʼoɥəs]S Ir. beodhas

bieauid 'speed' [bʲu:dʼ]N Ir. beodha + id

çhiow 'warm'(impv.) [tʼʃøu]N cf. ScG. teòdhaidh

INTERNAL AND FINAL ORIGINAL PALATALIZED GH(CH), DH IN STRESSED
AND UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES

Introduction

§71. As Jackson (1955:100-1) has already noted, palatal. GH and
DH fell together as [j] in Middle Irish. As original palat. in-
ternal and final CH in Manx has the same history as orig. palat.
GH and DH it is dealt with here, as in Jackson. Internally and
finally original palatal. GH (& CH) and DH in LSM do not occur
at all. The result is compensatory lengthening before consonants
to long vowels (sometimes with secondary shortening) or i-
diphthongs. Before back vowels at the morpheme boundary the i-
diphthongs appear as vowel plus consonantal-i, viz. [i̯].

§72. AIGH(AICH), AIDH(E)

1. In stressed syllables these appear either as /e(:)/, /a(:)/,
   /i(:)/, or as the i-diphthongs /ai/, /ei/, /oi/.

   faill 'wages' [fɛ:l']S ScG. faicheall
   sniem 'knot' [snïm]N, [snẹm]N, [sn'im]S Ir. snaidhm
   mwatlag 'whelk' [mat'l'ag]S ScG. maighdealag
   mwaagh 'hare' [mwɛ:x]S, [mwa:x]N, [mwæ:x]N, [moax]N, pl.
      [wɛ:l]N ScG. maigheach. Here orig. [ai̯ə]/[ui̯ə] has
      developed into [wa]/[we], cf. mwannal in Dict., though
      the 4th ex. above preserves the orig. first element with
      [o]; v. also Jackson (1955:103). The plural form, if
      this is correct, would imply a derivation from maighigh,
      rather than from *muighigh, as Jackson suggests (ibid.).
   cliwe 'sword' [kɬai̯u]N, [klǫi̯o]N, [kl'ʲu:]S Ir. claidheamh.
      In the last ex. the diphthong /ai/ has been absorbed by
      the preceding palat. cons.
   chaie 'past, gone' [xa:i]S, [ka:i]S, [xɛ:i]S, [hai]S, [hai]S
      ScG. chaidh
   niaght 'news' [nɑ:i̯ǫx]S, [nǫi̯ǫxt]S, [nẹ:əx]N, [n'a:xtən]N
      ScG. naidheachd. Note also the absorbtion of the diphth.
      into the preceding palat. consonant in the last ex.

2. In unstressed syllables there may be /i/ or /e/.

barriaght 'victory' [variɑxt](len.)S Ir. barraidheacht
tappee 'quick' [tɒpi]S, [ta:vɛ]N, [tæ:vi]S Ir. tapaidh.
   The second ex. with [ɛ] is possibly a deviation from the
   general pattern.
joarree 'stranger' [dʒɒ:ri]N/S Ir. deoraidh
ymmodee 'many' [jïmɒdi]N, [Imədi]S Ir. iomadaigh

§73. AIGH, ÁIDH

In stressed syllables there are the i-diphthongs /ai/, /ei/. In
unstressed syllables there is /a/, though the exx. are scarce.

   baiht 'drowned' [bait']N, [bɛ:it']S, [bɛit']N Ir. báidhte
   traie 'shore' [tra:i]S, [træi]N, [trẹi]S Ir. tráigh
   phadeyr 'prophet' [fɒ'de:r]N Ir. fáidheadóir, fáigheadóir

§74. EIGH(EICH), EIDH

There is either /e(:)/ or /i(:)/, or the i-diphthongs /ai/, /ei/.

   ping 'penny' [piŋ]N, [peŋ]N ScG. peighinn
   jeih 'ten' [dʒai]N, [dʒa:i]S, [dʒɛi]N/S, [dʒei]S
     Ir. deich

§75. ÉIGH, ÉIDH

There is either /e(:)/ or /i(:)/, or the i-diphthong /ei/.

   rey 'ready' [rẹ:]N, [rɛi]S Ir. réidh
   geam 'calling' [ge:bm]N, [g'e.bm]N/S Ir. ag éigheamh. Note
     the delenition of /m/ in the Manx reflex; cf. Mx. follym,
     Ir. folamh.
   hem 'I will go' [hẹm]S, [hIm]N, [hibm]S Ir. théighim
   ny yei 'after' [nə'jei]N Ir. 'na dhéidh

§76. IGH(ICH), IDH

 1. In stressed syllables there is either /i(:)/ or /e(:)/, or the
   i-diphthongs /ai/, /ei/.

   kegeesh 'fortnight' [kɛ'gi:ʃ]S, [kɛ'gẹ:ʃ]N cf. Ir.
     cóicthigheas
   cheet 'coming' [t'ʃit]N/S, [t'ʃet]N/S Ir. tidheacht
   roih 'forearm' [ri:]S, [rI:]S, [røi]N Ir. righe

In C̦hiarn 'Lord' [t'ʃaːɹn]S Ir. tighearna the igh element
here has become reduced to a function of the init. palat.
/t'/, or absorbed by it; cf. also markiagh 'riding, lift'
in Dict.

2. In unstressed syllables in final position there is /i/.

nurree 'last year' [nọri]S, [nø̧ri]N ScG. an uiridh
duirree 'waited' [dọri]S ScG. dh'fhuirich
immee 'go!' [Imi]N, [ẹmi]S Ir. imthigh

§77. ÍGH(ÍCH), ÍDH

There is either /i(ː)/ or /e(ː)/(rare).

jeelagh 'diligent' [dʼʒiːɪʠx]N Ir. dícheallach
bree 'steam' [briː]S Ir. brígh
shee 'fairies' [ʃiː]N Ir. sídhe
ny s'reeney 'tougher' [nəˈsrø̧dʼnʼə]N, [nəsˈriːdnə]S
    ScG. nas rìghne

§78. OIGH(OICH), OIDH

These give /iː/ or the i-diphthongs /ai/, /ei/, /oi/.

cree 'heart' [kriː]N/S, [krᵊiː]S Ir. croidhe. For comment
    on the latter ex. s.v. R §91.3a; fn. 34.
oie 'night' [iː]S, [ai]N, [ei]N, [ɛi]N, [ɛːi]N, [ø̧i]N
    [œi]S Ir. oidhche
eiraght 'inheritance' [eirʠx]N Ir. oidhreacht
trie 'foot'(measurement) [trai]S, [traɪ]N Ir. troigh

§79. ÓIGH, ÓIDH

Here there is the i-diphthong /oi/

doaie 'state, condition' [doːi]S, [dɔi]S Ir. dóigh
bwaagh 'pretty' [bɔːi̯ax]N, [bɔi̯ax]S, [bwɒ̧ːɪʠx]S, [vwaːx]N
    ScG. bòidheach. Note in the last ex. the development to
    a monophthong resulting from reduction of the init. syll.
    to a labial glide.

§80. UIGH(UICH), UIDH

1. In stressed syllables there is either /iː/, /eː/, /uː/, or

the i-diphthongs /ui/, /ei/, /əi/, /ai/, /oi/.

>booiagh 'thankful' [buɪɡx]N, [bwɔiax]S Ir. buidheach
>cloie 'playing' [klíː]S, [klɛi]N, [klai]N Ir. cluiche
>fooillagh 'leavings' [fuːl'ɡx]N, [hweːlɡx](len.)S Ir.
>>fuighleach; cf. whaaley (§67.2) for this treatment of
>>/fw/.
>soie 'sitting' [sɪː]S, [sɛi]S, [søi]N, [söːi]N, [sai]N,
>>[sɔi]S Ir. suidhe
>mooie 'out' [mui]N, [moi]N Ir. amuigh

 2. In unstressed syllables there is /i/.

>corree 'angry' [kari]S, [kɔri]S Ir. corruighe
>fyssyree 'knowledge' [føsəri]N Ir. fiosruighe

§81. ÚIGH(ÚICH), ÚIDH

The one attested example gives /ui/.

>sooie 'soot' [suːi]S Ir. súiche, ScG. sùidh; cf. W.
>>hydd-ys.

§82. UAIGH, UAIDH

These give either /oi/ or /ui/, or /ai/, /ei/, /əi/, or the
monophthong /iː/. There may be loss of (orig.) /u/ or /a/.

>creoi 'hard' [krɛːi]N/S, [kröi]N/S, [krai]N Ir. cruaidh
>leoaie 'lead' [lɛi]N, [löi]N/S, [lɔi]N Ir. luaidh
>veih 'from' [wei]N, [vei]N, [vai]S Ir. uaidh. ScG. bhuaidh
>oaie 'grave' [ẹːi]S, [ɛːi]N, [ei]N, [ɔi]S, [öi]S, [wiː]N
>>Ir. uaigh. Note that /u/ in the last ex. has become
>>consonantal.
>boirey 'trouble' [boirə]N, [buirə]N, [bwǫirə]S, [bwẹirə]S,
>>[bwïrə]S Ir. buaidhreadh
>twoaie 'north' [tui]N, [tuːi]N Ir. tuaidh
>gruaie 'bad look' [grui]N ScG. gruaidh

§83. AOIGH(AOICH), AOIDH

The only ex. here gives the i-diphthong /ei/.

>freoaie 'heathery' [frɛːi]S Ir. fraoich

§84.　EOIGH, EOIDH

The only example gives /jo:/.

　　fiojit 'withered' [fjo d´ʒət´]N cf. Ir. feoidht' + icht(e)

                              NG

§85. In Late Spoken Manx NG appears as follows:

　1. Internally with consonants there may be [ŋ], [ŋg], [n] ([n´])
　　　when neutral; no examples for palatal. NG.

　　　banglane 'branch' [baŋ'glɛ:n]N NIr. beanglán
　　　cooney 'help' [kunə]N/S Ir. congnamh. NG here may either
　　　　have given /N/, secondarily simplified to /n/ in Manx, or
　　　　was lost altogether (in which case this ex. should be
　　　　placed in §85.3 below); cf. also cummal (ScG. cumail)
　　　　< congbháil.
　　　kiangley 'tying' [k´ẽ:ŋl´ə]N, [kɪ:ni]N, [k´e:n´ə]N ScG.
　　　　ceangladh; v. also §3 below. The 1st & 3rd exx. would
　　　　seem to repr. a form *ceingleadh with depal. of /ŋ/ in ex.1

　2. In intervocalic position neutral NG may give [ŋ], [ŋg], [nd],
　　　[n], and (orig.) palat. NG [ŋ], [n´] (or[n]).

　　　bangan 'branch' [baŋan]S, [baŋgan]S Ir. beangán
　　　ainle 'angel' [aindəl]N Ir. aingeal; v. also §3 below.
　　　kianglt 'tied' [k´ønt]N Ir. ceangailte; v. also §3 below.
　　　　Note also the loss of the second syll. here.
　　　jingey 'shoving' [d´ʒïŋə]N Ir. dingeadh
　　　treiney 'nail' [trein´ə]S, [treinə]N cf. Ir. tairnge. Note
　　　　the metathesis of /r/ in the Mx. refl.; hence NG here is
　　　　intervocal.
　　　chengey 'tongue' [t´ʃin´ə]S, [t´ʃinə]S cf. Ir. teanga.
　　　　The Mx. form repr. *teinge with a development of [ŋ´] to
　　　　[n´], then (in the 2nd ex.) depal. to [n]; v. also
　　　　Jackson (1955:105).

　3. In intervocalic position there may alternatively be loss of
　　　NG of either quality, with or without nasalization of the
　　　preceding vowel, but with lengthening in most cases. Neutral
　　　NG in such cases possibly became [ɣ] and palat. NG [j], thus

behaving like G of both qualities; v. also Jackson (1955: 106).

aile 'fire' [ã:iɪ]S, [ǫiɪ]N Ir. aingeal
ainle 'angel' [aiɪ´] Ir. aingeal; v. also §2 above.
kianglt 'tied' [k´ɛ̃:ɪ´t]N Ir. ceangailte; v. §2 above.
kiangley 'tying' [k´ǫ:lə]S, [k´e:ɪ´ə]S ScG. ceangladh;
    v. also §1 above.

4. In final position in monosyllables NG of either quality gives
   [ŋ] or [gŋ], and in unstressed syllables in (orig.) poly-
   syllables there is [n] or [dn]. For a discussion on the forms
   [gŋ] and [dn] v. I: §§33, 34.

   lhong 'ship' [lǫŋ]N, [lǫgŋ]S, [lugŋ]S Ir. long
   mwing 'mane' [wiŋ](len.)N Ir. muing
   coon 'narrow' [ku:n]N, [ku:dn]N/S Ir. cumhang
   tayrn 'drawing' [ta:n]N/S, [ta:dn]N, [tɑ:rən]S Ir.
       tarraing. Note the survival of the orig. second syll. in
       the last ex., which is highly exceptional. The [ə] in
       fact may merely indicate that the /n/ is syllabic, or
       represents a function of the /n/ as it does elsewhere
       for /r/; v. also §91.3.

                    L, N, R

§86. The Old Irish four-way system of L, N, R[22] phonemes developed
in LSM to a two-way system as far as L and N[23] are concerned, and
to a single phoneme for R. The four-way system in Old Irish in-
volved a double phonemic contrast: 1) neutral, or non-palatalized
versus palatalized (i.e. /L : L´, l : l´; N : N´, n : n´; R : R´,
r : r´/) 2) fortis versus lenis (i.e. /L : l, L´: l´; N : n,
N´ : n´; R : r, R´: r´/). The precise phonetic value of these is
unknown. The neutral forms were velarized. The development of this
system into LSM may be illustrated as follows:

_____

22. v. also Lewis and Pedersen (1937:48ff) and Thurneysen (1946:
    85).
23. For N the contrast is only valid initially.

OIr. /L   l   L´ l´   N   n   N´ n´   R   r   R´ r´/

LSM / l   l´   n   n´   r   [r´] /
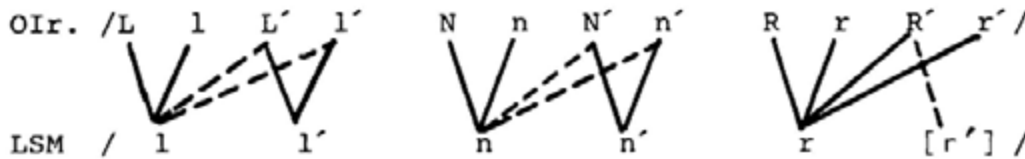
In LSM /l/ and /n/ have lost their original velar quality, though
there are still some traces of it in /l/, viz. [ɬ]; this varies
freely with [l] and has no phonemic significance. /l/ and /n/ in
LSM are alveolar. The palatalized (alveolar) forms /l´/ and /n´/
are distinctly palatalized (esp. before high back and low front
vowels) and are quite often accompanied by a following [ʲ] glide,
viz. [l´ʲ], [n´ʲ]. In addition /l´/ sometimes appears as a dental,
viz. [l̪]; an equivalent for /n´/ does not exist, though it may
have done so at one time (v. also Jackson (1955:108)). For R
there is now only [r] in all positions, though [r´] (repr. orig.
palat. fortis R (viz. /R´/) is occasionally found (in initial
position only; in intervocalic position there may sometimes be
[ð]). Both vary freely with [r] without any phonemic significance.
In LSM /r/ is articulated as a one (at most two)-flap alveolar in
initial (sometimes in internal and final) position. However,
before consonants and finally /r/ may appear as a weak alveolar
fricative, viz. [ɹ], or simply lost (or substituted by /ə/).[24]
For further details v. I: /l/, /l´/, /n/, /n´/, /r/.

§87. L

 /L/ 1a In initial position orig. fortis neutral L (i.e. /L/) is
        represented in LSM by [l], sometimes [ɬ]; there may
        occasionally be [l´] or [l̪].

            laue 'hand' [lɛːu]N, [ɬɛːu]N, [l´ɛːu]N, [l´au]N
              Ir. lámh
            laa 'day' [laː]N, [ɬaː]N, [lɛː]N/S Ir. lá
            leih 'forgiving' [lɛi]S, [l´ẹi]N, [l̪ei]N cf. Ir. logh
            leigh 'law' [lẹi]N, [laːi]S, [l̪ei]N ScG. lagh

_____

   24. The weakening of /r/ is analogous to the position in English
       and probably influenced from it. The central vowel /ə/ may
       occur before medial and final /r/ indicating a weakening of
       the articulation of /r/; v. §91.3 below.

b Internally and finally /L/ appears as [ı], sometimes
[ı']; internally there may also be [ɬ].

Nollick 'Christmas' [nɔlək']N, [noɬIg']N Ir. Nollaig
dollan 'sieve' [dɔlən]N Ir. dallán, ScG. dallan
cloie 'playing' [klai]N, [kɬẹi]S, [klʹei]S Ir. cluiche
doltey 'adopting' [dɔltə]N cf. Ir. dalta

/l/ 2a In initial position orig. lenis neutral L (i.e. /l/) is
repr. as [ı].

my laue 'my hand' [mə lɛːu]N Ir. mo lámh
lhie 'lay'(pret.) [lɛi]N ScG. laigh

b Internally and finally /l/ appears as [ı], sometimes as
[ı'].

bwoalley 'striking' [bulɛ]S Ir. bualadh
shiaull 'sail' [ʃǫːl]S, [ʃǫːl]S Ir. seol. The last ex.
may repr. an oblique case form.

/L'/ 3a In initial position orig. fortis palatal. L (i.e. /L'/)
appears as [ı'], sometimes as [ı].

lioar 'book' [lʹǫːr]S, [lɔːə]N Ir. leabhar
lheeah 'grey' [lliːə]S Ir. liath
lieh 'half' [lʹẹː]N, [leː]N Ir. leith
liauyr 'long' [lʹəuə]S, [lǫuə]S Ir. leabhar

b Internally and finally /L'/ appears as [ı'], sometimes as
[ḻ] or [ı].

shilley 'sight' [ʃïlʹə]N/S Ir. silleadh
filley 'folding' [fïlʹə]N, [filə]S Ir. filleadh
keyll 'wood' [kølʹ]N, [kẹl']S, [kiːl]S Ir. coill
keeill 'church' [kʹilʹ]N, [kʹiːl]N, [kIḻ]S Ir. cill

/l'/ 4a In initial position orig. lenis palatal. L (i.e. /l'/)
appears as [ı'] or [ı].

lhig 'let'(pret.) [lʹig']N ScG. leig
le 'with' [lɛ]N Ir. le (assuming the prep. is perman-
ently lenited?)

b Internally and finally /l'/ appears as [ı'] or [ı].

balley 'town' [bɒ:lˈə]N, [ba:lə]S Ir. <u>baile</u>

elley 'other' [elˈə]N/S, [elɛ]N/S Ir. <u>eile</u>

vel 'is, are'(dep. form) [veɭ]N/S Ir. <u>bhfuil</u>

schoill 'school' [skɔlˈ]N, [skol]N Ir. <u>scoil</u>

§88 N

/N/ 1a In initial position orig. fortis neutral N (i.e. /N/) is
       repr. in LSM as [n], sometimes [nˈ].

   noid 'enemy' [no:dˈ]S Ir. <u>námhaid</u>

   nuy 'nine' [nal]N, [ni:]S, [nᵘl]N[25] Ir. <u>naoi</u>

   neayr's 'since' [ni:rəs]S, [nˈIrəs]N/S Ir. <u>nuair</u>

     b In internal and final position /N/ appears as [n],
       occasionally [nˈ].

   kionnaghey 'buying' [kˈanaxə]S Ir. <u>ceannachadh</u>

   creeney 'wise' [kri:nə]N/S Ir. <u>crìonna</u>

   aggindagh 'anxious' [a:gənˈdɑx]?S[26] Ir. <u>aigeanntach</u>

   ayn 'in it' [u:n]N, [ɔ:n]S Ir. <u>ann</u>

   ceann 'head' [kˈøun]N, [kˈaun:]N[27] Ir. <u>ceann</u>

   dorrin 'storm' [dɔrənˈ]N/S Ir. <u>doineann</u>. Mx. refl.
      would repr. <u>doininn</u>.

/n/ 2a In initial position orig. lenis neutral N (i.e. /n/)
       appears as [n].

   my naboonyn 'my neighbours' [mə na:bunən]N cf. ScG.
      <u>mo nàbuidh</u>

     b Internally and finally /n/ appears as [n], sometimes as
       [nˈ] in final position.

   annym 'soul' [anəm]S Ir. <u>anam</u>

   ynnyd 'spot, place' [inəd]S Ir. <u>ionad</u>

   bane 'white' [bɒ:n]S Ir. <u>bán</u>

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25. cf. ScG. [ɴwi:], [ɴui:]. The [ᵘ] in the Mx. form may indicate
    that /n/ was orig. /N/.
26. from <u>LASID</u> IV s.v. 'anxious'. The [nˈ] here may be infl. by
    (or a carry-over from) the prec. (orig.) palat. /gˈ/; if [nˈ]
    were genuine palat. <nd> would equal <nj> as in <u>kinjagh</u> (qv).
27. The [n:] here probably repr. orig. /N/.

glioon 'knee' [glu:dn]N, [gl'u:n']N Ir. glún. The
last ex. would probably repr. *gliúin.

/N'/ 3a In initial position orig. fortis palat. N (i.e. /N'/)
appears as [n'], sometimes as [n].

nhee 'thing' [n'i:]S Ir. ní
niart 'strength' [n'ǫ:t]N Ir. neart
niee 'washing' [n'i:]N/S, [ni:]N/S Ir. nighe

b Internally and finally /N'/ appears as [n'] or [n];
sometimes there is [ŋ]/[ŋ'] or [ŋg].

bainney 'milk' [ba:n'ə]N/S Ir. bainne
innagh 'woof, weft' [ïŋɑx]N/S Ir. inneach
bingys 'harmony' [biŋəs]S, [beŋgəs]S Ir. binneas
awin 'river' [aun']N, [ǫuən]S Ir. abhainn
shin 'we, us' [ʃin']N/S, [ʃin]N/S Ir. sinn
ching 'sick' [t'ʃIŋ]N, [t'ʃIŋ']N/S, [t'ʃiŋg]N Ir. tinn

/n'/ 4a In initial position orig. lenis palat. N (i.e. /n'/
appears as [n'] or [n].

dy niee 'to wash' [ðɩ'n'i:]S Ir. do nighe
nee 'will do' [ni]N, [n'i]S ScG. ní (orig. (Ir.)
do-ghní).

b Internally /n'/ appears as [n]; in final position there
is [n'] and [n].

ennym 'name' [enəm]N/S Ir. ainm; v. also §90.5.
bannish 'wedding' [baniʃ]S Ir. bainis
Innid 'Lent' [ïnəd]N Ir. Inid
blein 'year' [bl'ẹ:n']S, [bl'ïdn]N[28] Ir. bliadhain
kiune 'calm' [k'u:n']S, [k'u:dn]S Ir. ciúin
meen 'meek' [mi:n']S, [mi:dn]S Ir. mín. Note that
preoccl. does not cause depalat.; for exx. of [d'n'],
[dn'] v. I: §33, 34.

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28. For details and comment on preocclusion v. I: §§33, 34.

FINAL NASALS IN STRESSED MONOSYLLABLES

§89. In stressed monosyllables (or in stressed final syllables of
polysyllables) in -N or -NN of either quality there has commonly
developed a preocclusive [d] articulated with nasal release. In
the same way before -M and -NG there has developed a preocclusive
[b] and [g] respectively (also [d] with lateral release before
-L[29], -LL). Examples without preocclusion exist in most cases
side by side with those that do not. For a discussion of this
feature of LSM v. I: §§33, 34.

§90. N - GROUPS

1. In the groups -(N)NL- and -(N)NS(-) the /n/ in LSM may some-
   times be lost. This results in lengthening (or diphthongiz-
   ation) of the preceding stressed vowel, which becomes nasal-
   ized. Secondary shortening and denasalization are also
   attested.

   aile 'fire' [ã:il]S, [ǫil]N, [ǫ:l'ʲ]N Ir. aingeal
   ainle 'angel' [ail'ʲ]S, [aindəl]N Ir. aingeal. Note in the
      second ex. the nasal is retained. For the substitution of
      /d/ for /g/ cf. ST for SC §47.
   cainle 'candle' [kã:l'ʲə]S, [kǭ:l'ʲ]S, [kail'ʲ]S; also with the
      nasal retained [kǭ:ⁿlə]S Ir. coinneal. For a discussion
      on this word v. Jackson (1955:115).
   ginsh 'telling' [g'ʲi:ʃ]N, [g'ʲi:ⁿʃ]N, [giɲʃ]N Ir. ag innse[30]

2. In the group -NR- two developments can take place. Either /d/
   or /s/ intrudes between /n/ and /r/, or /r/ is modified, i.e.
   replaced by /s/.

   maynrey 'happy' [mendrǫ]S Ir. méanra
   oanraghyn 'petticoats' [ǫnraxən]S fr. E.
   poanrey 'beans' [po:nsə]N, [pǫnsə]N Ir. pónra

   But without any developments:

_____

29. i.e. final in Manx. Note that (Ir.) Béarla is Baarle in Mx.
    [bö:ɹl]N with final -L. Also (Ir.) eorna is oarn in Mx.
    [o:ɹn]N with final -N.
30. Note here that -NNS has become final in Manx.

ynric, ynrick 'honest' [ɛ̣nrək'̣]N Ir. ionraic

ynrican 'only' [inrəkən]S ScG. aonracan

3. The initial groups CN-, TN-, GN-, MN-, appear in LSM as
/kr/, /tr/, /gr/, /mr/[31], with or without nasalization of
the following vowel. The nasality may sometimes manifest
itself as [n](or [ŋ]) before a following consonant.

craue 'bone' [krẽːu]S, [krɛːu]S, [krʊ̣ːu]N Ir. cnámh

cronk 'hill' [krɔ̣ŋk]S Ir. cnoc

croiyn 'nuts' [krʒən]N, [krɑd'n'̣]S ScG. cnóthan

troo 'envy' [truː]N/S Ir. tnúth

grooish 'countenance' [gruːʃ]N Ir. gnúis

mraane 'women' [mrẽːn]S, [mrɛːn'̣]S, [məˈreːn'̣]S, [məˈrẹ̈ːn]N
ScG. mnathan[32]

4. In the group -MN- in internal position there is dissimilation
to /mr/ or /ml/.

fammyragh, famlagh 'seaweed' [fæmərax]N, [famlax]S Ir.
feamnach. Note the svarabhakti vowel in the first ex.
The svarabhakti took place when the group was still MN,
cf. Phillips mynayn 'women' (v. also Jackson (1955:116)).
The dissimilation would be at a distance. Another ex. of
dissimilation of nasals at a distance is seen in conningyn
'rabbits' [kʊ̣rɪnən]N, [kurən'̣ən]N ScG. coineanan.
Dissimilation of /n/ to /r/ is seen also in dorrin 'storm'
[dɔrən'̣]N Ir. doineann; bwoirryn 'female' [borən]S Ir.
baineann (ScG. boirionn); partanyn 'crabs' [paːtərən]S
ScG. partanan.

5. In the group NM there is regularly metathesis to /mn/ with
or without an attendant svarabhakti vowel.

anmagh 'late' [amᵊnax]S, [Imnax]N; but also [ɔ̣nmʊ̣x]N
Ir. anmoch

enmagh 'naming' [ɛmnʊ̣x]S ScG. ainmeachadh

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31 & 32. A svarabhakti vowel can develop between /m/ and /r/ in
initial and medial position; v. §90.4.

enmyssit 'called, named' [emnəsIt´]S, [ęnməsət´]N; also
with loss of /n/ followed by syncope [emzIt´]S
*ainmeasaichte

But without metathesis

ennym 'name' [enəm]N/S Ir. ainm

Note, however, that the spelling and the absence of the
svarabhakti vowel in it shows how very late this tendency
is.

§91. R

/R/ 1a In initial position orig. fortis neutral R (i.e. /R/) is
repr. in LSM as [r].

reayrt 'view' [rɛ:t]S Ir. radharc
roost 'bark' [ru:s]N Ir. rúsc

b Intervocally /R/ appears as [r]. For /r/ before consonants
in LSM v. §92 below.

arragh 'spring' [arax]N/S Ir. earrach
carragh 'scabby' [kɔrǫx]N Ir. carrach

c In final position /R/ appears as [r]. In this position /r/
in LSM very often becomes weakened to a weak alveolar
fricative, viz. [ɹ] (v. also I: §20.). Quite frequently
in this respect, as part of the weakening process /r/
gives way to /ə/, and as an intermediate stage we often
find [əɹ]. With complete loss of /r/ either /ə/ is sub-
stituted for it, or there is zero. The above applies also
to other varieties of R (qv) in final position. For weak-
ening and loss of R before consonants v. §92.

baare 'top' [bɛ:r]N/S, [böɹ]S[33] Ir. bárr
giare 'short' [gɛ:r]N, [gɛ:ɹ]N, [gö:ɹ]S Ir. geárr
ny share 'better' [nə'ʃɛ:ɹ]S, [nə'ʃe:]N ScG. nas fèarr

_____

33. For the centralizing before /r/ v. I: §43.

/r/ 2a In initial position orig. lenis neutral R (i.e. /r/)
appears as [r].

roie 'ran'(pret.) [rɛi]S ScG. ruith

b Internally and finally /r/ appears as [r], ([ɹ] or is lost,
or is replaced by /ə/ in final position).

arryltagh 'willing' [araltax]S ScG. earaltach
bayr 'road' [bǫ:ɹ]N, [bǫ:]N, [bö:]N Ir. bóthar. Note
  the centralizing in the last ex. caused by the /r/,
  even though this no longer is present.
mooar 'big' [mu:r]N, [mu:ə]N, [mu:]S Ir. mór

/R´/ 3a In initial position orig. fortis and lenis palat. R
(i.e. /R´/ and /r´/), as Jackson has noted (1955:117,
121), became /R/ and /r/ early on in the development of
the Gaelic languages.[34] These have come down into LSM
mostly as [r]. However, in one or two instances orig.
fortis palat. R (viz. /R´/) survives as [r´]. This
varies freely with [r] and has no phonemic significance.

1. As [r]
   roih 'forearm' [ri:]S, [rǿi]N Ir. righe; v. also foot-
     note.
   ribbey 'trap' [rïβə]N/S Ir. ribe

2. As [r´]/[r]
   rio 'frost' [r´o:]S, [ro:]S Ir. reodh
   rieau 'ever' [r´u:]N/S, [ru:]N/S Ir. riamh
   red 'thing' [r´öd]S, [r´Id]S, [rId]N/S, [rǫd]N/S Ir.
     réad, rud

b In initial consonant clusters and intervocally /r´/ (no
exx. for /R´/) appears in LSM as [r]. For R before

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34. In ScG., Jackson (1955:121) notes, the depalat. of /R´/ led
in some cases to a glide which then formed a diphthong with
the following stressed vowel, usu. /i/, or displaced it.
This development is also attested in Manx in such words as
roih 'forearm' [ri:]S, [rǿi]N Ir. righe; roie 'running'
[rɛi]N, [rǿi]N, [rui]N, [rəi:]S ScG. ruith; cree 'heart'
[kri:]N/S, [krəi:]S ScG. croidhe.

consonants v. §92.

    breck 'spotted' [brɛk]N Ir. breac
    arrey 'notice' [arə]S Ir. aire
    jeeragh 'straight' [dʹʒi rax]N/S Ir. dîreach

  .c In final position /rʹ/ (no exx. for /Rʹ/) appears as
    [r] (or may be weakened or lost; v. §91.1c above.

    abbyr 'say!' [ɑːβər]S, [aːvəɹ]S, [abə]S Ir. abair
    cair 'proper' [kɛːr]N, [kʹɛ̣ː(ə)ɹ]S Ir. côir
    cuir 'casting' [kwIɹ]S, [kwir:]S Ir. cur, stem cuir.
     The strongly trilled /r/ in the last ex. may be an
     idiosyncracy of the speaker. It is not generally
     attested in the spoken language.

R BEFORE CONSONANTS

§92. In original short stressed vowels before r-groups there is
sometimes lengthening of the vowel and weakening or loss of /r/
in LSM. It is not uncommonly the case that the vowel remains
short in such groups and /r/ appears as [r] or [ɹ]. In unstressed
syllables the vowel naturally remains short (or is reduced), but
/r/ may be weakened or lost altogether.

 1. Before -RD, -RN, -RL, -RS, -RR, -RT (no exx. for -RTH, -RNG).

  -RD ard 'high' [əːd]S, [æːd]S, [öːd]S ScG. ard
      ard 'direction, region' [öːɹd]S, [əːɹd]S, [örd]S, [ïɹd]S,
       [ɒ̣ːd]S ScG. aird
      boayrd 'table' [böːɹd]N, [bwuːɹd]S Ir. bord

    In unstressed syllables (in Manx):
    fardail 'vein' [fɒ̣ˈðɛːlʹ]S Ir. fárdal
    ordaag 'thumb' [ǫɹˈdɛːg]N, [ǫ̣ːˈdɛ̣ːg]S, [ɔrˈdɛːgən](pl.)N
     Ir. ordóg

  -RN baarney 'gap' [bøːrnə]N, [böːɹnə]S Ir. bearna
      cayrn 'trumpet' [kaːrn]N Ir. corn
      oarn 'barley' [ǫ̣ːɹn]S, [oːɹn]N, [öːdn]N, [öːɹdn]N,
       [ǫ̣ːən]N Ir. eorna

  -RL murlin 'hamper, basket' [mɤːlʹin]sic N Ir. murlainn

-RS tessyn 'across' [tẹsən]N/S Ir. tarsainn

  essyn 'doorpost' [ẹsən]N, [ɛ:z̠ən]S ScG. ursainn; v.
    also §93.6.

-RR kiare 'left' [kẹ:ɔɹ]S, [xẹ:r]S, [kẹ:ɋ]S ScG. cèarr[35]

-RT gort 'stale' [gǫ:rt]N, [gɑ:t]S Ir. goirt

  ort 'on you' [öɹt]N, [ɔ:t]N/S Ir. ort

  berçhagh 'rich' [bört'ʃəx]N, [bö:ɹt'ʃax]S ScG. beairteach

  partan 'crab' [pɑ:tən]S Ir. partán, ScG. partan

   In unstressed syllables

  çhibbyrt 'well' [t'ʃɔβərt]S, [t'ʃɤvɹt]S, [t'ʃɪvət]S
    ScG. tiobairt

  saggyrt 'parson' [sagəɹt]N, [sa:gərt]N, [sa:gət]N
    Ir. sagart

2. Before -R (-RR) plus other consonants

  argid 'money' [ɛgId']N, [a:rgəd']S, [a:ɹgəd]S, [a:gId]S
    Ir. airgead

  jiarg 'red' [d'ʒøɹg]N, [d'ʒöɹg]S, [d'ʒa:rg]S, [d'ʒö:g]N,
    [d'ʒeg]N Ir. dearg. Vowel in last ex. secondarily
    lengthened then again shortened.

  lhargagh 'hill slope' [lörgɋx]N, [l'ïɹgɋx]S, [la:ɣax]N
    Ir. leargach

  farkey 'sea' [fö:ɹkə]S Ir. fairrge

3. In original long stressed vowels (or vowels that are intrin-
   sically long) before R plus consonant R may appear as [r] or
   [ɹ], or lost altogether.

  Baarle 'Eng. lang.' [bö:rl]S, [bö:ɹl]N, [bö:l]S Ir. Béarla

  farling 'farthing' [fa:rl'ən]S, [fa:ɹlən]S Ir. feoirling

  loayrt 'speaking' [lɔ:ɹt]S, [lɔrt]N, [lɔ:t]S Ir. labhairt.
    Note the secondary shortening in 2nd ex.; cf. also
    jarrood [d'ʒa'ru:d]S, [d'ʒa'rud]S.

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35. In the last ex. [ɋ] would be a substitute for /r/.

<u>dooyrt</u> 'said' [du:t]S, [dut]S Ir. <u>dubhairt</u>. Note also
secondary shortening here.

<u>mygeayrt</u> 'around' [mə'gi:ɹt]N, [mə'giət]N, [mə̣'git]S
Ir. <u>mun gcuairt</u>

4. When R stands at the end of the first element of a compound
(whether the second element begins with a consonant or a
vowel) it is quite often lost (e.g. in <u>feer</u> compounds).

<u>feer foddey</u> 'very far' [fi: fɑ:ðə]N, [fi:ə fɑ:ðə]S Ir.
<u>fíor fhada</u>
<u>feer vie</u> 'very good' [fi: və:i]N, [fi:ə və̣:i]S Ir.
<u>fíor mhaith</u>

5. In (unstressed) proclitics R may appear as [r] or [ɹ],
or lost.

<u>er-beealloo</u> 'before him, it' [ẹr'bi:lu]N Ir. <u>ar béalaibh</u>
<u>er-deyr</u> 'on heat' [ɛ'di:əɹ]N, [ɑ'dɔ:r]S Ir. <u>ar dáir</u>
<u>ersooyl</u> 'away' [ẹr'su:l]S, [öɹ'su:l]N, [ɛ'su:l]S, [ə'su:l]N
NIr. <u>ar siubhal</u>; v. also §93.6.

For the group NR v. §90.2.

S

§93. In initial position (whether before vowels or in consonant
clusters) original neutral S in LSM appears as [s] and original
palat. S as [ʃ] (or [s]), both quite often expressed with lower
dental articulation, i.e. the tongue tip can be behind the bottom
teeth, with the blade of the tongue as the main articulator. In
intervocalic position neutral S gives [s] and palat. S [ʃ], but
quite often S when neutral can appear here as [z], [ð], [d̪ð],
and when palatal. as [ʒ], [d'ʒ], [j] or lost altogether. After
/l/ there may be [z] (when neutral) and [ʒ], [d'ʒ] (when palat.)
After /m/, /n/ orig. neutral S can give [z], [ð], [d̪ð], [d]
(also [l'], [n']), and with orig. palat. S there is [ʃ], [ʒ],
[dʒ]. In final position there is regularly [s] and [ʃ] respect-
ively. In proclitics there may also be voicing; v. also I: /s/,
/s'/. For SC in medial and final position v. §47.1-3. For -LLS-,
-NNS-, -MS-, -RS- v. below. SR- has usually become STR- in Manx;
v. below.

1a. Initial neutral S

seihll 'world' [sẹ:ı]N, [sö:ı]N Ir. saoghal

slaynt 'health' [sıant]N Ir. sláinte

stroin 'nose' [strud´n´]N, [stro:n]S, [straidn´]S; note also
   [srödn]N Ir. srón, sróin

 b. Initial palatal. S

shiaghtin 'week' [ʃa:xtïn]N Ir. seachtain

shassoo 'standing' [ʃa:ðu]N, [sɑ:ðu]N, [sɑ:du]S Ir.
   seasamh. Note the vowel lengthening with voicing of /s/.

slieau 'mountain' [ʃı´u:]S, [sı´u:]N/S Ir. sliabh

stiurey 'steering' [st´u:rə]S, [ʃk´u:rə]sic S Ir. stiúradh

sniaghtey 'snow' [ʃn´ɛxtə]S, [ʃn´ɑxtə]N, [sn´ɑ:xtə]N/S
   Ir. sneachta

skilling 'shilling' [sk´ıl´ən]N, [skıl´ən]N Ir. scilling

2a. Intervocalic neutral S

shassoo 'standing' [ʃa:ðu]N, [sɑ:zu]N, [nəˈhɑ:su]N,
   [sɑ:dˬu]S Ir. seasamh

beasagh 'mannerly' [bẹ:sqx]N Ir. béasach

assym 'out of me' [ɑ:zəm]S Ir. asam

 b. Intervocalic palatal. S

aashagh 'easy' [e:ʒɑx]N Ir. áiseach

bishaghey 'prosperity' [bıʃqxə]N/S cf. Ir. biseach

cleayshyn 'ears' [klẹ:ʃən]S, [klıʒən]N, [kle:jən]S,
   [klɛ:ən]S, [klıı:dn]N ScG. cluaisean

toshiaght 'beginning' [toʒɑx]N, [tod´ʒqx]N, [tọ:jɑx]S
   Ir. toiseacht

3a. Final neutral S

eulys 'madness' [ẹuləs]N Ir. aimhleas

baase 'death' [bẹ:s]N/S Ir. bás

fys 'knowledge' [fıs]S Ir. fios. But note in the phrase
   cha nel fys aym 'I do not know' there can be [hɑˈnel fəð
   ˈẹm]N ScG. chan eil fios agam. The voiced spirant in fys
   would be a sandhi form.

b. Final palatal. S

eash 'ease' [ẹːʃ]N/S   Ir. áis
bannish 'wedding' [bəniʃ]S   Ir. bainis
crosh 'cross' [krọːʃ]S, [krɔʃ]S   Ir. crois

4. -LLS-, -NNS-, -MS-

foalsey 'false' [fọːlsə]S, [fọːlzə]S   Ir. fallsa
soilshey 'light' [sailˈʒə]N, [sailˈdˈʒiən](pl.)N Ir. soillse
gynsagh(ey)'learning' [genzəx]N, [gˈendə]N, [gɛnᵈzə]N,
    [gɛnᵍðəx]S   ScG. ag ionnsachadh

daunsey 'dancing' [daunlˈə]N, [daunˈə]N   Ir. dannsa
Purt ny hInshey 'Peel' [poːrtnəˈhïnˈʃə]N, [pọːtnəˈhinʒɛ]N,
    [pönəˈhiːnᵈʒι]N   Ir. Port ny hInnse
chymsagh 'gathering' [tˈʃømsɑx]N, [tˈʃimðɑx]S [tˈʃImnɑx]S³⁶
    ScG. tiomsach
trimshey 'sadness' [trïmʃə]S, [trimʒə]S   Deriv. not certain;
    Mx. form would repr. *truimse.

5. In proclitics

ayns yn aile 'in the fire' [ọsənˈɑῑl]N   anns an aingeal
ayns yn traa 'at the time' [uzənˈtrɔː]N   anns an tráth

6. In the cluster -RS- of either quality the R in LSM is neutral
    and the S expressed with alveolar articulation, viz. [s̱]
    (or when voiced [ẕ]); R may sometimes be lost. Only two exx.
    of this feature are recorded.

ersooyl 'away, gone' [ɛɹˈs̱uːl]S, [öɹˈs̱uːl]N, [ɛˈs̱uːl̤]S;
    also [ọrˈsuːl]S   NIr. ar siubhal
essyn 'doorpost' [ɛːẕən]S; also [ọsən]N   ScG. ursainn³⁷

LENITION OF S

§94.1 The lenition of neutral S, viz. /s/, is [h]:

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36. The pron. here may be influenced by (or mistaken for)
    chymney (qv).
37. The /r/ in the Mx. refl. must have been lost early, as it is
    not featured in the Manx spelling; v. also Jackson (1955:128)
    It was lost as early as Phillips - RLT.

my hooill 'my eye' [mə'hu:l']N Ir. mo shúil

ny hoie 'sitting' [nə'hɛi]N Ir. ina shuighe

2 The lenition of palatal. S, viz. /s´/, is usu. [h]. Before
   a back vowel there is [x´].

   ny hassoo 'standing' [nə'ha:ðu]N Ir. ina sheasamh

   ass dty hilley 'out of your sight' [ɑs də hɛl´ə]N Ir.
      as do shilleadh

   my huyr 'my sister' [mə x´u:r]S OIr. mo shiúr

3 The lenition of /sl/ is [l].

   paart dy leih 'some people' [pö:t də læi]N

4 The lenition of /s´l(´)/ is [x´l(´)] or [l´].

   my (h)lingan 'my shoulder' [mə x´liŋɑn]S; with len. lacking
      [mə kl´iŋɑn]S, [mə l´iŋan]S ScG. mo shlinnean

5 The lenition of /s´n´/ is recorded only for one fossilized
   phrase, viz.

   fo niaghtey 'snowed under' [fo n´a:xtə]N ScG. fo shneachta.
      Note also [fo sna:xti]N without lenition. Lenition of
      SN of either quality is, except for the above, not attest-
      ed in LSM.

6 Lenition of S after the def. art. is TS, viz. [t] when
   neutral and [t´ʃ] when palatal.

   ayns yn theihll 'in the world' [ənsən tɛ:l´]S ScG. anns
      an tsaoghal

   yn thoalt 'the barn' [ən to:lt]S ScG. an tsabhal(t). This
      is either a case of wrong lenition or that thoalt sticks
      in the speaker's memory from ayns y thoalt 'in the barn'.

   yn chiaghtin chaie 'last week' [ən t´ʃa:n 'ka:i]S ScG.
      an tseachtain chaidh

7 Original neutral TSL in LSM is [kl] (v. also Vol. 1 §§30. 31)

   dys y tlouree 'to the potchain' [dəðə'klɣuri]S ScG.
      dus an tslabhraidh

   y clut 'the wick' [(ə) klu:t]S NIr. an t-slot

8 Original palat. TSL is either [tlʹ] or [klʹ].

   er yn tlieau 'on the mountain' [ɛrə tlʹuː]N; with lenition

     of the lenited er y clieau [ǫrə xʹlʹuː]S Ir. ar an

     t-sliabh

   woish y clieau 'from the mountain' [wuʃən klʹuː]S cf.

     NIr. ón t-sliabh

For lenition v. also I: §62, 63.

VOWELS

Introduction

In LSM there are long and short vowels. The long vowels are about three-quarters the length of their counterparts in Irish, especially original short stressed vowels which have been secondarily lengthened. This feature of secondary lengthening is a characteristic of LSM and can affect all (orig. stressed) short vowels. Equally characteristic, though not so prevalent, is the proclivity of LSM to shorten original stressed long vowels particularly, but not exclusively before preocclusion (v. I: §§33, 34). All such long vowels can be affected by secondary shortening (v. below; also Stress).

STRESSED VOWELS

§95. A

In LSM this regularly appears as /a(:)/, also /e(:)/, /o(:)/, occasionally /u(:)/. There may be raising in the environment of nasals and laterals.

    mac 'son' [mak]N/S, [mæk]S Ir. mac
    gad 'withe' [gad]N, [gæd]S, [gɸd]N Ir. gad
    ennal 'breath' [anal]S ScG. anal
    clag 'clock, bell' [klag:]N, [klag]N, [xlęg]S ScG. clag
    lag 'spiritless' [lǫg]N, [lɑg]N Ir. lag
    bass 'palm of hand' [bǫz]S, [bǫ:s]N, [ba:s]N, [bɛ:s]S
      Ir. bas
    moddey 'dog' [mǫ:ðə]S, [mɑ:ðə]S, [mǫ:ðə]N, [mɔ:ðə]N
      Ir. madadh
    maggle 'testicle' [mǫgəl]N, [ma:ɣəl]S Ir. magairle
    faggys 'near' [fǫgəs]N, [faɣəs]N, [fa:gəs]N/S, [fa:ɣəs]S,
     [fɛ:gəs]N ScG. fagus
    clach 'stone' [klɔx]N, [klǫx]N/S, [klǫ:x]N ScG. clach

cam 'crooked' [kʹɑbm]S, [kʹɑm]S, [kʹɛm:]N Ir. cam

monney 'much, any' [mɔnə]N/S, [mɒnə]N ScG. manadh

thalloo 'land' [talo]N, [talu]N, [tɑlu]N, [tɔlu]S Ir.
    talamh

arroo 'corn' [əːru]S, [æru]S, [aːro]N, [ɛːru]N Ir. arbha

snog, snuig 'nod' [snuɡ]N Ir. snag. The raising to /u/ here
    is prob. as a result of spont. palat. with a later depalat.
    /g/.

§96. AI

In LSM this mainly appears as /a/ (with or without secondary
lengthening) and sometimes as /e(ː)/, /o(ː)/. Occasionally there
is /i(ː)/, or [öː)] before /r/. Some have a variety of forms.

aigney 'mind' [agʹnʹə]S, [ægnʹι]S, [aːgnʹə]S Ir. aigne

aittin 'gorse' [aʒən]S, [aːʒən]S Ir. aiteann

echey 'at him, his' [egə]N/S, [eγə]N/S Ir. aige

emshyr 'weather' [ᶒmʃər]N/S, [ɛmʃə]S Ir. aimsir

claigin 'skull, scalp' [klɑgən]N ScG. claigionn

clienney 'of children' [klïnə]S Ir. clainne

faarkey 'sea' [föːɹkə]S Ir. fairrge

argid 'money' [aːrgəd]S, [ɑːrgəd]S, [ẹːgəd]N, [ɛgIdʹ]N
    Ir. airgead, airgid[1]

ennym 'name' [enəm]N/S, [Inəm]N Ir. ainm. Note the raising
    before a nasal here and above.

§97. A

This is mostly found as /eː/ (or sometimes [öː)] before /r/)[2].
In southern Manx A may sometimes be retained as /a(ː)/ before /l/
and /r/-groupings; in northern Manx there can be /a(ː)/ as an
alternative to /e(ː)/. In some items, however (from both north
and south), there is only /a(ː)/.

1. aail 'brood, litter' [oːl]N, [ɛːɬ]N, [ɛːl]S Ir. ál
    baare 'point' [bɛːr]N/S, [böːr]S Ir. bárr

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    1. In this particular ex. at any rate the /a(ː)/ form is
       southern and the /e(ː)/ northern.
    2. v. also I: §43.

daaney 'bold, cheeky' [dɛ:nə]N/S Ir. dána

laa 'day' [lɛ:]N/S, [le:]N/S, [la:]N Ir. lá³

arrane 'song' [aˈrɛ:n]S, [ɑˈrɛ:n]N, [əˈra:n]N Ir. amhrán

2. With shortening

bane 'white' [bɛ:dn]S, [bę:n]S, [bedn]N, [bødn]N Ir. bán

slane 'full, whole' [slødn]N, [slęn]S, [slɛdn]N/S
   [slödn]N Ir. slán

staabyl 'stable' [stɛ:βəl]S, [stɛ:bəl]N, [stebl̩]N⁴ Ir.
   stábla (fr. E.).

3. With /a̱(:)/

tastey 'notice' [tɑ̱:stə]N, [taʃt'ə]S cf. Ir. tásc

tastagh 'intelligent' [ta̱:stɑx]S [tɑ̱:stɑx]N, [tastax]S,
   [taʃt'ɑx]N Ir. táscach. The last ex. would repr. some-
   thing like *taisceach

babban 'baby' [bɑ̱:bən]N ScG. bàban. The foregoing exx. are
   likely secondary lengthenings after an initial shortening
   of the orig. long vowel in init. stressed position, as
   Manx is wont to do (v. Stress). Otherwise we perhaps
   would have got something like *[tɛ:stə], *[tɛ:stax],
   *[bɛ:bən]. Indeed the Mx. orth. suggests a short init.
   stressed vowel.

blah 'warm' [bla:]S ScG. blàth. The /a:/ is retained here
   very probably to distinguish blah from blaa 'flower'
   [blɛ:]S.

§98. ÀI

In LSM ÀI usually appears as /e(:)/, sometimes /a(:)/. Before /n/
in stressed monosyllables, and in stressed initial syllables of
polysyllables shortening can take place. Before /l/, /n/, /r/ in
particular there can be raising to /i(:)/ mostly in the context
of initial stressed syllable shortening.

1. laair 'mare' [lɛ:r]N, [le:r]N/S Ir. láir

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3. Note also pl. [la:ən]N, [la:ɣən]S, [la:xən]S, with /a:/ forms
   from the south. The forms with /x/ prob. repr. *làthachan,
   v. §7 above.
4. The proximity of the /l/ here is prob. responsible for the
   vowel shortening.

nearey 'shame' [neːrə]N, [nẹːrə]S, [nɛːrə]S   Ir. náire

barnagh 'limpet' [böːɹnɑx]S   ScG. bàirneach

my saillt 'if you please' [maɹˈsaːlˈtʲ]S   Ir. má is áil leat.
   The attestation of /r/ in my is probably a confusion with
   myr 'as'; v. also §98.3 below.

caarjyn 'friends' [kaːɹdʲʒən]N/S   ScG. càirdean. The /aː/
   here probably repr. lengthening in modern times by the
   weakening of /r/ in a case where the earlier lengthening
   before -RD has been prevented by the short vowel of the
   sg. Instead we perhaps should expect [öː] as in ard (qv).

2. With shortening

slaynt 'health' [slɛnt]N/S, [slant]N   Ir. sláinte

lajer 'strong' [leːᵈʒɛ]N, [leːʒə]N/S, [lødʲʒə]N   Ir. láidir

3. With raising before /l/, /n/, /r/ (+/- shortening)

earroo 'number' [ẹru]N, [Iru]N   Ir. áireamh

gearey 'laughing' [gẹːrə]S, [gʲẹˈrə]N, [giːrə]S   Ir. gáire

mairagh 'tomorrow' [mẹːrax]S, [mẹrɑx]N, [mirɑx]N   ScG.
   màireach

my sailliu 'if you (pl.) please' [möˈsaːlʲu]N, [maˈsIlʲu]S
   Ir. má is áil libh

§99.   EA

EA in LSM occurs mostly as /a(ː)/, also /e(ː)/; occasionally there
may be /i(ː)/. In the environment -LL, -L there may be /o(ː)/.

1.

bannaght 'blessing' [banax]N/S   Ir. beannacht

brastyl 'class' [vraːstəl](len.)S   Ir. freastal

asney 'rib' [aːsnə]S   Ir. easna

hannah 'already' [hɑnə]N, [hanə]S, [hɑːnɑ]S   Ir. cheana

beg 'little' [bẹg]N, [bɛg]S, [beg]S   Ir. beag

bare lhiam 'I would prefer' [bẹːlʲam]S, [böːlʲam]S
   Ir. b'fhearr liom

peccah 'sin' [pẹkə]N/S, [pɛːgə]S, [pɛːɣə]S   Ir. peacadh

2. With /a(ː)/ and /e(ː)/

ben 'woman' [bedn]N/S, [ben]S, [van](len.)N   Ir. bean

kiannaght 'buying' [kʲɛnax]S, [kʲɔnax]S   Ir. ceannacht

agglagh 'fearful' [aglax]S, [aːglax]N, [eglɑx]N, [ɛːglɑx]N
   Ir. eaglach

smarrey 'fat' [sma:rə]N/S, [smę:rə]S Ir. smearadh

bentyn 'touching' [bɛntən]N/S, [bantən]S ScG. beantainn

3. Occasionally as /i(:)/

kiap, kipp 'block' [kIb]N Ir. ceap. The Mx. refl. presup-
   poses a form in IO, viz. *ciop

lhargagh 'hill-slope' [lörgɑ̨x]N, [la:γax]N, [lïɹgɑ̨x]S
   Ir. leargach. The centralizing to [ö] and the raising to
   [ï] are due to the following /r/.

çhengey 'tongue' [t'ʃen'ə]S, [t'ʃin(')ə]S Ir. teanga. The
   first ex. prob. repr. *teinge (v. §85.2 above). The rais-
   ing to /i/ in the second ex. seems to be influenced by
   the following nasal.

4. In the environment -LL, -L (also) as /o(:)/

çhiollagh 'hearth' [t'ʃalɑ̨x]S, [t'ʃǫlɑ̨x]N Ir. teallach

ollagh 'cattle' [ɔlax]N/S, [ǫlax]S, [olax]N Ir. eallach;
   g. sg. [ali]S, (with vowel lengthening)[ɔ:li]N.

mollag 'buoy' [mɔlag]N, [malɑ̨g]S ScG. mealag

molg 'milt' [mølg]N, [mɔlg]S ScG. mealg

olley 'swan' [ǫ:lə]S Ir. eala

§100. ÉA (ScG. EU)

Here there is /e(:)/ or /i(:)/, sometimes with a glide as /eɪ̯/
and /iə̯/ respectively.[5] In initial position /j/ may develop before
/i(:)/. There is quite often shortening of original long vowels
before /d/. Before /t/, /d/ ÉA has the value of AO (qv). Before
dentals there may be breaking of ÉA to IA.

1. As /e(:)/ or /i(:)/ (with shortening before /d/)

breag 'lie' [brę:g]

Baarle 'English Lang.' [bę:ɹl]S, [bö:rl]N/S, [bö:l]S
   Ir. Béarla

tead 'rope' [te:d]N, [tęd]S, [tɛd:]S Ir. téad

gyereaghey 'sharpening' [gi:rɑ̨xə]N ScG. geurachadh

cheddin 'same' [kiðən]S Ir. céadna. This word is ortho-

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5. cf. Jackson (1955:31)

graphically found with permanent lenition.

2. ÊA having the value of AO

eaddagh 'clothing' [e:ðax]N, [eðax]N/S, [ïðax]N Ir.
  éadach, ScG. aodach

eddin 'face' [øðin]N, [Iðən]S Ir. éadan, ScG. aodann

fod 'can' [fɛð̃]S, [fIð]S, [fǫ̃ð]S Ir. féad, ScG. faod

3. Breaking of ÊA to IA giving /i(:)/

keead 'hundred' [k'i(:)d]N, [k'id]S Ir. céad, ScG. ceud

skeeal 'story' [ski:l]S, [skil]N Ir. scéal, ScG. sgeul

eeanlee 'fowls' [i:nli]N, [ji:nli]S Ir. éanlaith

4. With a glide

beeal 'mouth' [be:l]S, [bi:l]S, [biə̯l]N Ir. béal, ScG. beul

neeall 'swoon' [ni:ə̯l]N, [mə'ni:lu]N Ir. néall

lheead 'width' [l'i:ə̯d]N ScG. leud

breinn 'filthy' [brẹn']N, [breḻdn]S Ir. bréan. The exx.
  suggest a palat. form bréin; the [ḻ] in the last ex. is
  likely a function of the (now) depalat. [dn] and is to be
  regarded as a glide.

Note the secondary shortening in the following:

jannoo 'doing' [d'ʒẹnu]N, [d'ʒenu]N/S, [d'ʒInu]N/S,
  [d'ʒanu]N/S, [d'ʒǫnu]N Ir. déanamh. ÊA here is treated as
  EA (qv) which can appear as /e(:)/ or /a(:)/. The form
  [d'ʒǫnu] suggests *deunamh.

red 'thing' [rId]N/S, [rǫd]N/S, [rǿd]N, [röd]S, [rud]N/S
  Ir. réad, rud, ScG. raod, rud

§101. EI

This occurs as /e(:)/ or /i(:)/. But before dental stops, sibilants,
and liquids (and in one case before a nasal) EI can be treated as
AI (or OI) and appear as /a(:)/ or /o(:)/; the lengthening is
secondary.

1. As /e(:)/ or /i(:)/

jerrey 'end' [d'ʒerə]N/S, [d'ʒẹro]N/S Ir. deireadh

shellan 'bee' [ʃẹlan]S, [ʃɛlan]S ScG. seillean

greimey 'gripping' [grimə]N, [gri:mə]S Ir. greimeadh

breimeragh 'farting' [brImərax]S, [vrǫmərǫx](len.)N

Ir. breimneach

elley 'other' [el'ə]N/S, [ɪl'ə]N/S Ir. eile

2. As /a(:)/ (or /o(:)/ one ex.)

getlagh 'flying' [gȩtlɑx]N/S, [g'ədləx]N cf. Ir. eiteall

sheshaght 'company' [ʃȩʒɑx]N, [ʃa(i̯)ʒax]N/S Early Ir.
  seisecht

ellan 'island' [ȩl'ən]S, [ɛl'ən]N, [əl'ən]S ScG. eilean[6]

greimey 'gripping' [grimə]N, [gramə]S Ir. greimeadh; v.
  also §101.1 above.

ny stroshey 'stronger' [nə'strɔʒə]N, [nə'stro:ʒə]N cf.
  ScG. nas treise. It is difficult to see how the Mx. refl.
  has /o(:)/. Perhaps treas- was taken as tras- and follows
  the pattern of cas(cos), coise 'foot'; bas, boise 'palm
  of hand'; fras, froise 'shower'.

§102. ÊI (Ê)

ÊI in LSM appears as /e(:)/ or /i(:)/ before /r/ or nasals. Before
/l/ there may be /o(:)/ or /u(:)/. Before nasals there may be the
diphthongs /ei/, /ai/. Initial /i(:)/ may be preceded by /j/.
There may also be secondary shortening before nasals, esp. in
polysyllables. In stressed open syllables Ê gives /e:/.

1. As /e(:)/ or /i(:)/ (before /r/ or nasals)

keim 'step' [ke:m]S, [k'ȩ:m]N, [køm]N Ir. céim

feailley 'fair' [fe:l'ɪ]S, [fe:l'ɪ]N Ir. féile

eayst 'moon' [e:ʃt']S, [ɛ:ʃt']N; also [ȩ:s]N/S, [i:s]N
  Early Ir. éisce. The non-palat. forms would repr. ÊA.

jeirk 'alms' [d'ʒi:əx]S, [d'ʒïrk']S Ir. déirce; sic [x] in
  first ex. The [ə] is a substitute for /r/.

lheim(ey) 'jumping' [l'ȩbm]N/S, [l'imə]N Ir. léim

2. As /o(:)/ or /u(:)/ before /l/

foillycan 'butterfly' [fɔ:ljəkən]S, [fu:ləkən]S Ir.
  féileachán

maarliagh 'thief' [mɛ:l'ɑx]N, [mö:ɹlɑx]N, [mȩ:l'ɑx]N
  Ir. méirleach

ruillick 'graveyard' [rulik]N Ir. réilig

3. With /j/ before /i(:)/ in initial position

Yernagh 'Irishman' [ji ̯əɹnˈəx]S Ir. Êireannach; sic [n'].

4. With the diphthongs /ei/, /ai/

   b'egin, b'eign 'had to' [baidn]S, [brain]S, [böin]N Ir.
   b'éigean. I cannot explain the /r/ in the second ex. The
   [ö] in the third ex. is likely a retracted /e/. The
   diphthongs here probably indicate an orig. palat. /n'/
   viz. b'eigin -later depalat.; v. next.

   ny s'breinney 'more filthy' [nəs'brẹid'n'ə]S ScG.
   nas bréine. The /i/ in the diphthong is probably a
   function of the palat. [d'n'], i.e. it is part of the
   articulatory process of the palat. [d'n'].

5. With Ê as /e:/

   tey 'tea' [te:]N Ir. té
   jea 'yesterday' [d'ʒe:]S ScG. an dé

§103. I

In LSM this appears as /i/, with occasional secondary lengthening
to /i:/. Before /l/, /r/ and nasals there can be /e/.

1. As /i/ or /i:/

   brishey 'breaking' [briʒə]N, [brïʒə]N Ir. briseadh
   milley 'spoiling' [mIl'ə]N, [mïl'ə]N Ir. milleadh
   earish 'weather' [IrIʃ]S, [i:riʃ]N Ir. iris
   eeym 'butter' [im]N, [i:bm]S Ir. im; with lengthening
      before unlenited /m/.

2. Before /l/, /r/ and nasals as /e/

   biljyn 'trees' [bIld'ʒən]N, [bẹld'ʒən]N, [bɛl^dʒiən]sic N
      cf. Ir. bile; pl. would repr. *biltean.
   shilley 'sight' [ʃil'ə]N/S, [ʃel'ə]S Ir. silleadh
   tilgey 'throwing' [tIlgə]S, [telgə]N ScG. tilgeadh
   chirrym 'dry' [t'ʃIrəm]N/S, [t'ʃerəm]N Ir. tirm, tirim
   theinniu 'thawing' [tin'u]S, [tẹn'u]N Ir. tineadh
   bingys 'harmony' [biŋəs]S, [beŋəs]S Ir. binneas

   Note also:
   a) kibbin 'peg' [kIbən]N, [k'ẹβən]S, [k'ǫvən]S ScG. cipean
      The /e/ here may be from the infl. of the final nasal
      through the weakening of the intervocalic labial.

   b) shen 'that' [ʃen]N/S, [ʃedn]N/S, [sedn]N/S Ir. sin and

aynshen 'there' [un'ʃɛn]N, [o̤'sən]N Ir. annsin. These

    seem to be derived from a *sean or *sion form (v. also

    Jackson (1955:35))

c) niurin 'hell' [n'u:rin']N, [n'u:rən']S Ir. ifreann, ScG.

  niurinagh 'hellish' [n'u:rin'ɑx]N ScG. ifrinneach (ifrinn

    The palat. F here has been treated like a palat. (or

    depalat. i.e. neutral) BH (v. also Jackson (1955:75));

    cf. also lout < E. 'loft'.

d) edyr 'at all' [eðə]N/S, [öðər]S, [ïðɛ]S OIr. etir, ScG.

    idir; v. also Thurneysen (1946:§75) for details of vowel

    affection.

§104. IO

This appears usually as /i(:)/ or /e(:)/ (or [ö(:)] before /r/

or /n/). There may also be /o(:)/ or /u(:)/ in the environment

of nasals. Initial /i/ or /e/ may be preceded by /j/.

1. As /i(:)/ or /e(:)/

    burley 'cress' [bɒrlə]N Ir. biolar

    urley 'eagle' [ö:ɹlə]S Ir. iolar. The develpoment in these

      items is probably biolar > biolra > biorla to get the Mx.

      form; similarly also for urley.

    fys 'knowledge' [fis] [fɒs]

    ynric 'honest' [ɛnrək']N, [jɛnrɛk]N, [inrək]S, [jInrIk']N

      Ir. ionraic

    smeir 'fat' [sme:ɹ]S Ir. smior. Sec. lengthening likely due

     to the weakening of /r/.

    myn 'small' [mɒn]N, [min]S, [mön]N Ir. mion

2. As /o(:)/ or /u(:)/ in the environment of nasals

    jummal 'wasting' [d'ʒɔmɑl]N Ir. diomailt

    ymmyrt 'rowing' [jɔmərt']S Ir. iomairt

    smuir 'marrow' [smur]N, [smör]S Ir. smior

    lhune 'ale' [l'udn]S, [ludn]S Ir. lionn

3. Exx. with /i(:)/, /e(:)/, /o(:)/, /u(:)/

    chibbyrt 'well' [t'ʃɔβərt]S, [t'ʃovərt]S, [t'ʃobəɹt]S,

      [t'ʃïβərt]S, [t'ʃIvət]S ScG. tiobairt. The northern Manx

      form is chibbyr (qv).

    gubbylyn 'dirty clothes' [g'ɔblən]S, [g'ubələn]S, [g'ïblən]S

Ir. giobal

4. IO to an extent falls in with EA in the following:

kynys 'how, in what way' [kïnəs]N, [kɛnəs]N, [kʹɑnəs]S,
[kanəs]S Ir. cionnas. The second ex. with /a/ in the final
syllable would repr. cre'n aght 'how'(qv).

shynnagh 'fox' [ʃïnɑx]S, [ʃɪnɑx]S, [ʃɛnɑx]S, [ʃɑnɑx]S
Ir. sionnach

§105. Í

This mostly appears as /iː/ with occasional secondary shortening.
With shortening there can also be /e/; cf. also I.

1. As /iː/
jees 'two people' [dʹʒiːʃ]N; also
mee 'month' [miː]N/S Ir. mí
cheer 'country' [tʹʃiːɹ]S Ir. tír
meer 'piece' [miːr]S Ir. mír

2. With shortening (and with /e/)
injil 'low' [ïndʹʒəl]S Ir. íseal
firrinagh 'true' [fïrənɑx]S Ir. fírinneach
Shortening here is caused by the /n/ and /r/ respectively.
I cannot explain the presence of the nasal in the first
ex.
beeym 'I will be' [biːm]N/S, [bəbm]N/S cf. Ir. bím

§106. ÍO

Here there is usually /i(ː)/, sometimes /e(ː)/.
1. kere 'comb' [kiːɹ]N/S Ir. cíor
creeney 'wise' [kriːnə]N/S Ir. críonna
sheese 'downwards' [ʃiːs]N/S, [siːs]S, [ʃiːʃ]N Ir. síos
The second ex. would repr. *sois or *suis, the third
*sís.
greesaghey 'stirring up' [griːsɑ̥xə]N, [griːð̥ɑ̥xə]S ScG.
gríosachadh

2. With shortening
creen 'ripe' [kriːn]N, [kriːdn]S, [krɪdn]N Ir. críon
d'eeck 'paid' [dik]N Ir. d'íoc

3. With /e(:)/

  kerey 'combing' [k'ɛrɛ]S, [k'iːr]sic S Ir. cioradh
  greesagh 'embers' [griːðǫx]S, [greːsax]N Ir. griosach

§107. IU

In LSM this appears as /(j)u/, /(j)o/ from the minimal evidence
available. In fact there is only one example not complicated by
other factors (cf. IUGH, IUDH; v. also Jackson(1955:37)).

  fliugh 'wet' [fl'ǫx]N/S, [fl'ɔx]S Ir. fliuch
    With the vowel half long: [fl'u.xː]N.

§108. O

In LSM there are three developments of O: a) as /o(:)/, b) as
/a(:)/, sometimes /e(:)/ ([ö(:)] usu. before /r/), c) as /u(:)/
usu. before nasals, but also before /l/, /r/, dental and velar
stops and spirants.

  1. As /o(:)/
    son 'for' [sǫn]N, [san]N/S, [sɔn]N/S, [son]N, [sǫn]S, [sǫn]S
      Ir. ar son
    conney 'furze' [konə]N, [kǫnə]N, [koːnə]S Ir. connadh
    corp 'body' [koːp]S, [kǫːp]S, [kǫːʌp]S, [kɔːʌp]N Ir. corp
      The lengthening here is due to the weakening (or loss)
      of /r/.
    dhone 'brown' [dǫːn]N, [doːdn]S, [dǫːdn]S, [dɔːn]S Ir.
      donn. For the lengthening of orig. stressed short vowels
      in monosyllables before -NN v. §122.
    dorrys 'door' [dɔrəs]N, [dǫrəs]S Ir. doras
    troggal 'lifting' [trɔgal]N, [trogal]S, [trǫgal]S ScG.
      (Sutherland) trogail; cf. Dorian (1978:130).

  2. As /a(:)/ or /e(:)/ also
    honnick 'saw' [hɔnIk]N, [hanik]N, [hǫnIk]S, [hanIk]S
      Ir. chonnaic
    caggey 'war' [kaːɣə]S, [kɛːɣə]N, [kæːgə]S Ir. cogadh
    orroo 'on them' [ɔru]S, [aro]N, [eru]S Ir. orthu. The
      /a/ and /e/ forms probably reflect OIr. erru.
    cass 'foot' [kǫːs]N, [kaːs]N/S, [kɛːs]N, [kæs]S ScG. cas,
      Ir. cos

3. Raising to /u(:)/ before dentals, velars, nasals

brod 'poker' [brɔd]S, [brɒd]N   Ir. brod

goll 'going' [gol]N/S, [gɔl]N/S, [gɒl]S   NIr. gol

guirragh 'hatching' [görɒx]S, [gorax]S, [gŭrɒx]S   Ir.
   goradh

gorrym 'blue' [gɔrəm]N, [gɒrəm]N, [gɔ:rəm]N, [gɒ:rəm]S
   Ir. gorm

bock 'buck' [bɔk]N/S, [bɒk]S   Ir. boc

sluggey 'swallowing' [slɔgə]S, [sluɣə]S, [slüɣɒ]S   Ir.
   slogadh, slugadh

thunnag 'duck' [tɔnag]N/S, [tɒnag]N/S   Ir. tonnóg,
   ScG. tunnag

purt 'harbour' [pɒ:t]S, [pwö:t]S, [fu:ɹt](len.)S   Ir. port

lurg 'after' [lɸɹg]N, [lug]N/S, [löɹg]N/S, [l'ig']N   Ir.
   i lorg, ar lorg. The /i/ form prob. repr. luirg.

§109. OI

OI in LSM can appear in the following ways: a) as /o/, b) sometimes
as /a/ or /e/, c) as /u/ before nasals and sibilants. There may
sometimes be secondary lengthening.

1. As /o(:)/
   er c(h)osh 'on foot, out of bed' [ęr'kɔʃ]N   Ir. ar chois
   dorrin 'storm' [dɔrïn']N, [dɔrən']N/S, [dɑrən']S cf. Ir.
      doineann (with dissimilation)
   loshtagh 'burning' [lɑ:ʃt'ɒx]N ScG. loisgeach
   gobbyragh 'working' [go:bərax]N, [gɔβrax]S, [gɔvərɒx]S,
      [gɒ:vᵊrax]S   ScG. ag oibreachadh

2. As /a(:)/ or /e(:)/
   cagliagh 'boundary' [kɑglɪɒx]N, [kagl'ɒx]S   Ir. coigríoch
   sterrym 'storm' [stɔrəm]N, [sterəm]N, [stɛrəm]N, [stIrəm]S
      ScG. stoirm. For /i/ before /r/ cf. AI.

3. As /u(:)/
   guint 'stung' [gu:n't']N/S, [gun't']S   Ir. gointe
   sushtal 'gospel' [suʃt'al]S, [süʃt'ɒl]S, [söʃt'ɒl]S; also
      [sɛʃəl]N   Ir. soiscéal. The [ö] in the third ex. may repr.
      a retracted /e/. Note also yn laue hoshtal 'the left, or
      gospel hand' [ən lɛ:u 'haʃt'ɒl/hɒʃt'al]S.

conning 'rabbit' [kɔn′ən]S, [koniŋ]N, [kørin′]N,
  [kun′ən]S ScG. coinean

§110. Ó

In LSM this is found as follows: a) as /o(:)/, b) as /e(:)/,
c) as /u(:)/.

  1. As /o(:)/
      croa 'sheepfold' [krǫ:]N Ir. cró
      oard 'hammer' [o:ɹd]S Ir. órd
      scoarnagh 'throat' [skɔ:ɹnɑx]S, [skǫ:rnɑx]N Ir. scórnach
      smayl 'dimness' [smoɩ]N, [smɔɩ]N Ir. smól
      feoghaig 'periwinkle' [fə′go:g]?N Ir. faochóg

  2. As /e(:)/
      braag 'shoe' (pl.) [brɛ:ɣən]N/S, [bro:gən]N, [brǫ:ɣən]S
        Ir. bróg
      dornaig 'handle' [dör′nɛ:g]N, [′dörnɛ̞g]N Ir. dornóg.
        Note the short second syll. in the last ex. due to shift
        of stress.
      glare 'language' [glɛ̞:r]S Ir. glór
      aeg 'young' [ǫ:g]N/S Ir. óg
      paag 'kiss' [pɛ:g]N, [pe:g]S, [peg]S; also [pǫg]S Ir. póg
      foast 'yet, still' [fo:s]N/S, [hwɛ:s]S, [hwö:st]S, [hwïs]S
        Ir. fós, ScG. fhathast. The [ï] in the last ex. is prob.
        due to non-stress.

  3. As /u(:)/
      boayrd 'table' [bǫ:rd]N, [bö:rd]N, [bʷu:ɹd]S Ir. bórd
      mooar 'big' [mu:r]N, [mu:ə]N/S, [mu:]S, [mo:ər]S Ir. mór
      poosey 'marrying' [pu:ðə]N Ir. pósadh. The init. /p/ would
        also contribute to the raising to /u:/.
      sthuggey 'young lad' [stɔgǫ]S, [stuɣǫ]S, [stǫgə]N Ir.
        stócach

§111. ÓI

This appears as /o(:)/(or /u(:)/) or /e(:)/.

  1. As /o(:)/ (or /u(:)/)
      gloyr 'glory' [glǫ:ɹ]S, [glo:r]S Ir. glóir

stoyll 'chair' [sto:l]N, [stɔl']N Ir. stóil

moain 'turf' [mo:n']N, [mɔ:n']N, [mun]N, [mon]N Ir. móin

2. As /e(:)/

anuyr 'day after tomorrow' [ɪˈnɛːr]S, [əˈnöːr]S, [əˈnøːr]S
    Ir. anóirthir

cair 'right, just' [kẹːr]N, [k'eːɹ]S, [k'ẹːɹ]S Ir. cóir

But note

coar 'decent' [kɔːr]S, [köːɹ]S Ir. cóir. Pronounced diff-
    erently probably to distinguish it from cóir 'right, just'.

§112. EÓ, EÓI

In Old Irish this was ÉO which later became EÓ, viz. /o:/ with or
without a preceding palat. on-glide, viz. [ʲ].[6] In LSM EÓ, EÓI
appears as /(j)o(:)/, occasionally as /e(:)/; this latter may
represent EO(EOI) at an earlier stage before the transfer of
stress to the second element of the diphthong. Note that no on-
glide precedes initial EÓ in LSM.

1. As /(j)o(:)/ (with the glide absorbed in the preceding
   palat. consonant).
   kiaull 'music' [k'ọːl']N Ir. ceol. The [l'] is probably
       the very frequent unhistorical palat. of late pronuncia-
       tion.
   joarree 'stranger' [dˈʒọːri]N/S Ir. deoraidh
   bio 'alive' [bʲọ:]S, [b'ọ:]S, [bɪ'ọ:]S Ir. beo
   oayllys 'knowledge' [ɔ:ləs]S, [ọ:ləs]S Ir. eolas
   oarn 'barley' [o:ɹn]N, [ö:dn]N, [ɔ:dn]S Ir. eorna

2. As /e(:)/
   feill 'flesh, meat' [feːl]N, [fẹːl']N/S, [fẹːl]S Ir. feoil

Also
   farling 'farthing' [faːrl'ən]S, [faːɹlən]S Ir. feoirling.
       The [a:] here, if correct, is unexplainable, unless it is
       influenced from the English; cf. ME ferling of which
       farling is a possible variant by the 16th cent.

_____

6. v. Jackson (1955:43).

dy liooar 'enough' [dɩˈlˈuːr]N, [ðəˈlˈuːə]S, [dɩˈlˈuːər]S;
   note also [ðɩˈlˈoːəɹ]S Ir. go leor

§113. U

In LSM this mostly appears as /u(:)/ which can often vary with
/o(:)/. Occasionally there may be /a/ or /i/.

  1. As /u(:)/ or /o(:)/
    bunnys 'almost' [bɒnəs]N/S, [bunus]N Ir. bunadhas
    muck 'pig' [muk]N/S, [mɒk]N/S, [mʉk]N, [mük]S Ir. muc
    smuggey 'phlegm' [smuːɣə]S Ir. smuga
    fud 'throughout' [fud]S, [fɒd]N/S, [fod]N, [fɔd]N Ir.
      ar fud
    cummal 'holding' [kumal]N, [kɒməl]N, [kɔmal]N ScG. cumail
    sluggey 'swallowing' [slʉɣə]S, [slüɣɒ]S, [slɔɣə]S Ir.
      slugadh, slogadh
    mullagh 'summit' [mulax]N, [mɒlˠəx]N, [mɒlˠɒx]N Ir. mullach

  2. As /a/, /i/
    cappan 'cup' [kʼavan]S, [kʼabɒn]N ScG. cupan. Mx. form
      prob. repr. *ceapán. While ScG. and Welsh prob. repr.
      OE. cuppe, oblique case cuppan, it seems possible that
      the Mx. has been affected by the ME. alternative coppe,
      itself of uncertain origin.
    thurrys, chyrrys 'tour' [tʼʃɪrəs]S, [tʼʃẹrəs]S Ir. turas.
      For [tʼʃ] < [tʼ] for orig. neutral /t/ cf. [tʼʃɛu] etc
      'side' Ir. taobh; U here appears to be treated as IO (qv).

§114. UI

In LSM this is found as a)/u(:)/ or /o(:)/, b) as /(w)i(:)/ (with
shift of stress from U to I, c) occasionally as /a/ or /e/ in
circumstances which are not too clear.

  1. As /u(:)/ or /o(:)/
    builley 'blow, strike' [buːl]S, [bọlɛ]N Ir. buille
    dooinney 'man' [dunʼə]N/S, [dünʼə]S, [dọnʼə]N/S Ir. duine
    fuill 'blood' [fɒlʼ]S, [fɔlʼ]S, [fᵘolʼ]S Ir. fuil
    urree 'on here' [uri]N, [ọri]S, [ɔri]N Ir. uirthi
    cuillee 'recess' [külʼi]S, [kᵘuːlʼi]S Ir. cuilidh

2. Also as /(w)i(:)/

thooilley 'an increase' [tᴏlʹu]N, [tᵢ̈lʹə]ʔN Ir. tuilleadh

quiggal 'distaff' [kwigᴏl]N/S Ir. cuigeal

scuirr 'stop' [skᴏr]N, [skᴏɹ]S, [skwIr]S Ir. scuir. The
    first two exx. suggest that non-palat. scor has survived
    in Manx.

uinnag 'window' [unʹag]N, [ᴏnʹag]S, [inʹag]N, [ɛnʹag]S
    ScG. uinneag. The last ex. is a lowering of [i] in the
    third ex. This should properly be in §114.3.

3. Also as /a/ or /e/

cruitt 'hump' [krøt]N Ir. cruit

quaillag 'fly' [kwelʹag]N, [kwelᴐg]N ScG. cuileag

quallian 'puppy' [kwalʹən]S, [kwölʹən]S ScG. cuilean

mwannal 'neck' [mᴐnəm]N, [mᴐnᴏl]N, [mᴐnal]S, [mwanəl]S
    ScG. muineal

§115. Ú, ÚI

These regularly occur as /u:/, with occasional secondary shorten-
ing to /u/. Sometimes there is /o(:)/.

1. As /u(:)/

coo 'hound' [ku:]N Ir. cú

moon 'urine' [mu:n]N/S Ir. mún

punt 'pound' [punt]N, [pᴏnt]N Ir. púnt

grooish 'grimace' [gru:ʃ]N Ir. gnúis

cooyrt 'court' [ku:t]N Ir. cúirt

2. As /o(:)/

oor 'fresh' [u:r]N, [u:ə]S, [o:r]S Ir. úr

moyrnagh 'proud' [mᴐ:nax]N ScG. mùirneach

But note also

queig 'five' [kweg]S, [kwɛg]S Ir. cúig, ScG. còig. The
    development is probably as follows: [ku:gʹ] > [kuᶦgʹ] >
    [kuigʹ] > [kueg] > [kweg]. As an isolated development
    this is to be associated with ÚI rather than with ÓI
    only on grounds of phonetic plausibility; but cf. quoi
    < cò, caidhe, cuich.

§116. IÚ, IÚI

Here there is regularly /(j)u:/ with occasional shortening to
/(j)u/.

jiooldey 'refusing' [dʲʒuldə]N, [juːldə]S Ir. diúltadh
feeu 'worth' [fjuː]N/S Ir. fiú
jiuys 'firtree' [dʲʒuːs]N Ir. giús
kiune 'calm' [kʲuːnʲ]S, [kʲüdn]S, [kʲuːdn]Ș Ir. ciúin

§117. AO

In LSM this is mostly found as /e(:)/, sometimes as /i(:)/ or
/u(:)/, occasionally as /o(:)/; also [ö(:)], [y(:)], [ɯ(:)]. AO
may also represent ÉA before /t/, /d/; v. §100.

  1. As /e(:)/
     deyr 'dear' [deːr]S, [dɛːr]N Ir. daor
     theyreeyn 'madness' [tẹːriən]S cf. Ir. daoraidh
     teayst 'dough' [tɛːs]S, [tẹːs]S Ir. taos; v. also §118.1
        below.

  2. Also /i(:)/, /u(:)/; sometimes [ö(:)], [y(:)] [ɯ(:)]
     eayl 'lime' [eːlʲ]S, [ø(:)l]N, [iːl]S, [uːl]S, [yːl]S
        [ɯːl]S Ir. aol
     keyrrey 'sheep' [kẹrɠ]N, [kiːrə]S, [xIrə]S, [kyːrə]S
        Ir. caora
     seihll 'world' [sẹːl]N, [söːl]N, [sœːl]N/S, [tọːl]N
        Ir. saoghal; v. also AOGH §69.

§118. AOI

Here there is mostly /e(:)/, sometimes as /i(:)/ or /u(:)/:

  1. As /e(:)/
     eoylley 'manure' [ẹːlʲə]S, [eːlʲə]S Ir. aoileach
     keayney 'crying' [kẹːnʲə]S, [keːnʲə]N Ir. caoineadh
     teayst 'dough' [tẹːʃ]S, [tẹʃ]N Ir. taois; v. also §117.1
        above.

  2. Also as /i(:)/, /u(:)/

     skeaylley 'spreading' [skẹːlʲə]N/S, [skʲiːlʲə]N Ir. scaoileadh
     eash 'age' [ẹːʃ]N/S, [iːʃ]N/S Ir. aois

foillan 'seagull' [foːlʹən]S, [fʌlʹən]N, [fulʹən]N
  Ir. <u>faoileann</u>. This seems aberrant, as though it con-
  tained OI, not AOI.

Note also with diphthongization:
<u>nuy</u> 'nine' [niː]S, [nIː]S, [nei]S, [nəi]N Ir. <u>naoi</u>; v.
  also §88.1a.

§119. IA, IAI

IA in LSM usually appears as /i(ː)/, sometimes /e(ː)/; there may
sometimes be the diphthong /iə/. For breaking of ÊA to IA v.
§100.3.

  1. As /i(ː)/
    <u>jeelt</u> 'saddle' [dʹʒiːlt]S, [dʹʒilt]N Ir. <u>diallait</u>
    <u>feeackle</u> 'tooth' [fiːkəl]N, [fiːɣəl]S Ir. <u>fiacal</u>
    <u>sheear</u> 'west' [ʃiːr]S, [ʃiːəɹ]N, [ʃiər]S Ir. <u>siar</u>

  2. Also as /e(ː)/
    <u>grian</u> 'sun' [gri(ː)n]N, [gridn]N, [greːdn]S Ir. <u>grian</u>,
      a/d. <u>gréin</u>
    <u>Jee</u> 'God' [dʹʒiː]N, [dʹʒeː]S Ir. <u>Dia</u>, <u>Dé</u>

    With diphthongization
    <u>jeeas</u> 'ear of corn' [dʹʒiːəs]S, [dʹʒiːəs]S Ir. <u>dias</u>
    <u>feeagh</u> 'value' [fiːx]S, [fiːəx]N Ir. <u>fiach</u>

  3. IAI (No examples)

§120. UA, UAI

These are found as follows: a) as /u(ː)/ or /o(ː)/, b) as /i(ː)/
or /e(ː)/, c) as [ö(ː)], [y(ː)], [ɯ(ː)]. There may also be the
diphthongs /ua/, /uə/, /iə/, /ei/.

  1. As /u(ː)/ or /o(ː)/
    <u>toot</u> 'fool' [tuːt]S, [tut]N Ir. <u>tuata</u>
    <u>stoamey</u> 'stately' [stuːmə]N, [stoːmə]N/S Ir. <u>stuamdha</u>
    <u>bwoaillee</u> 'halo' [buli]S, [bɒli]S cf. ScG. <u>buaile</u>
    <u>buinn</u> 'reaping' [bwuˑdn]S, [bonʹ]N, [bonʹ]N Ir. <u>buain</u>

  2. As /i(ː)/ or /e(ː)/
    <u>leaystey</u> 'swinging' [ɬistə]N, [liːstə]S Ir. <u>luascadh</u>

skeab 'brush' [skiːb]N/S, [skib]N Ir. scuab

geayney 'green' [gøːnʼə]N, [kʼinjə]S Ir. uaithne. The
   development of /g/ here (in the first ex.) is probably
   from the realization of initial /u/ as [w] repr. a
   lenited form, cf. [wunʼə] < [ɣwunʼə] 'man!' (voc. of
   dooinney) with later despirantization of [ɣ]; cf. also
   geayn 'lamb', my gheayin [mə ɣiːdn]S 'my lambs'. UAI
   is, therefore, treated as AI; v. §96.

3. Also as [ö(ː)], [y(ː)], [ɯ(ː)]

   cheayl 'heard' [xiːl]S, [kIl]N, [kyl]S Ir. chuala

   keayn 'sea' [kidn]N/S, [küdn]S, [kẹõn]N, [ky(ː)dn]S,
      [kɯ(ː)dn]S, [ködn]S Ir. cuan

   geayl 'coal' [guːl]S, [glːl]N/S, [göːl]S, [gyːl]S,
      [gɯːl]S Ir. gual

4. With the diphthongs /ua/, /uə/, /iə/, /ei/

   booa 'cow' [buːə]N/S, [buɒ]N, [buə]S Ir. bó, *bua. The
      development is prob. [boː] > [bᵂoː] > [bwoː] > [buo]
      > [buə] > [buːə].

   seose 'upwards' [suːs]N, [ʃoːʃ]sic S, [sɔːs]S, [söːs]N/S,
      [syːs]N/S, [søːs]S, [søis]S, [seiːs]S Ir. suas

   cleaysh 'ear' [klIʃ]N, [kleːʃ]S, [klöːʃ]N, [kleːiʃ]S
      Ir. cluais

UNSTRESSED VOWELS

§121. In absolute final position Gaelic -A or -E (Mx. ey) is
usually rendered [ə], or sometimes [ɩ] after a palatalized
consonant, e.g.

1.   boalley 'wall' [bɒːlə]S Ir. balla
      doltey 'adopting' [dɔltə]N cf. Ir. dalta
      thanney 'thin' [tanə]N/S Ir. tana
      dooinney 'man' [dunʼə]N/S, [dọnʼɩ]S Ir. duine
      balley 'town' [baːlʼə]S, [bælʼɩ]S Ir. baile
      maidjey 'stick' [maːdʼʒə]S, [mæːʒɩ]S Ir. maide

2. In internal post-tonic syllables -A- and -EA- are rendered
   /ə/, -I- and -AI- as /i/ or /ə/.
      cabbyl 'horse' [kʼəːbəl]N Ir. capall

cabbil 'horses' [kɑ:bIlʹ]N, [kabəlʹ]N Ir. capaill

eddin 'face' [ɛdən]N, [øðin]N Ir. éadan. The [i] in the
   second ex. is a raising of [ə] before the nasal.

mennick 'often' [mɛnikʹ]N, [menIk]N OIr. meinic

casherick 'holy' [kaʃərIkʹ]S, [ka:ʒərək]S Ir. coisric

bannish 'wedding' [baniʃ]S Ir. bainis

3. Before /x/ or /xt/ -A- or -EA- are usually rendered /a/,
occasionally /ə/.

  ommidjagh 'foolish' [ɑmədʹʒax]S Ir. amaideach

  bannaght 'blessing' [banax]N/S Ir. beannacht

  gynsagh 'learning' [gʹenzax]N, [gʹenzəx]N ScG.
    ag ionnsachadh

4. Final unstressed -IDH, -IGH, -AIDH, -AIGH (Mx. ee) are
rendered as /i/.

  boaddee 'cods' [bʷǫði]S Ir. bodaigh

  joarree 'stranger' [dʹʒǫ:ri]N/S Ir. deoraidh; v. also
    §§72 & 76.

5. On pretonic syllables v. §126.

6. On post-tonic original long vowels v. §§39-42, 126.

7. In proclitics there may be /ə/ or /i/, or in many cases a
non-reduced vowel (sometimes [ö] before /r/), e.g.

  yn veill 'the lip' [ən vę:l]N

  yn Bible 'the Bible' [In bɑ:ibḷ]S

  ayns Skyll Andreays 'in Kirk Andreas' [us skʹilʹ anˈdre:əs]

  le baghey 'to live' [lɛ be:ɛ]N

  myr shen 'like that' [moˈsen]N, [mörˈʃędn]S

SHORT VOWELS BEFORE NASAL AND LIQUID GROUPS

§122. In Manx short stressed vowels in monosyllables before orig-
inal -LL, -NN, -NG, -M, and in polysyllables before original -L-
(or -LL-), -N- (or -NN-) plus their homorganic stops are either
lengthened (sometimes secondarily shortened) or diphthongized:

1. With A there is either /o(:)/ or /u(:)/ or the diphthongs
/au/, /eu/, /ou/; before -M there is either /a/ or /e/.

  boayl 'place' [bɔ:l]N, [bǫl]N, [bo:l]S Ir. ball

noal 'hither, over yonder' [no:ɪ]S, [əˈnɔ:ɪ]S Ir. anall.
Note that the last ex. preserves the initial unstressed
syllable.

moal 'slow' [mo̞:ɪ]N/S, [mɔ:ɪ]N/S, [mo̞:ɪ]N, [maʊɪ]N Ir.
mall

ayn 'in it' [ɔ:n]S, [o̞:n]S, [u:n]N Ir. ann

croan 'mast' [krɔdn]S, [krɑdn]S, [kro̞n]N Ir. crann

goan 'scarce' [go̞:dn]S, [gɔ:dn]S, [gøun]N, [gɑʊən]N Ir.
gann

cam 'crooked' [kˊabm]S, [kˊebm:]N, [kˊɛm:]N, [kˊo̞m]S Ir.
cam. Note that lengthening here has manifested itself in
the nasal or in preocclusion, or both; cf. exx. below.

2. With EA there is either /o(:)/ or the diphthongs /eu/, /əu/,
/au/.

Boaldyn 'May' [bɔ:ɪdən]N, [bo̞:ɪdən]S Ir. Bealltainn. This
is prob. the ordinary rounding of /a/ by -LL.

kione 'head' [kˊɔ:n]S, [kˊo̞:n]S, [kˊo̞dn]N, [kˊɛun:]N,
[kˊöun]N, [kˊøun]N, [kˊaun:]N Ir. ceann

chionn 'tight' [tˊʃo̞dn]S, [tˊʃɔdn]S, [tˊʃaun]N Ir. teann

glion 'glen' [glˊo̞:n]N, [glˊɔdn]N, [glˊen:]N, [glˊøun]N,
[glˊaun]N, [lˊaun]N, [lˊo̞dn:]S, [l̩ɔdn]S Ir. gleann. For
the loss of /g/ v. §46.1. The ex. with /e/ is influenced
from the English.

3. IO (No examples)

4. With O there is either /o(:)/ or /u(:)/ or the diphthongs
/ou/, /eu/

towl 'hole' [to:ɪ]S, [touɪ]N Ir. toll

noon 'thither' [nu:n]S, [nun]N Ir. anonn

bonn 'rim' [bon:]N Ir. bonn

boyn 'heel' [bo̞:dn]S, [bodn]S, [bøun]N Ir. bonn

dhone 'brown' [do̞:n]N, [do:dn]S, [dɔ:n]S Ir. donn

lhong 'ship' [l̩o̞gŋ]S, [l̩ugŋ]S, [l̩ogŋ]N, [l̩o̞ŋ]N Ir. long

lhome 'bare' [lo:m]

trome 'heavy' [tro̞bm]N, [tro:bm]S, [tro:m]S, [trubm]N,
[tro̞bm]N Ir. trom

5. With U there is /u/

cum 'hold!' [kum:]N ScG. cum

6. AI (No examples)

7. With EI there is /e(:)/, /i(:)/
    meill 'lip' [mẹ l']S, [vẹ:l'](len.)N Ir. meill
    greim 'grip' [grẹ:bm]S, [grIm:]S Ir. greim

8. With I there is /i(:)/, with length manifested in the orth.
before -LL and -M.
    keeill 'church' [k'i l']N, [k'i:l']N Ir. cill
    ching 'sick' [t'ʃIŋ]N/S, [t'ʃiŋg]N Ir. tinn
    ginsh 'telling' [ginʃ]N, [g'i:ʃ]N, [g'i:nʃ]S Ir. ag innse
    Purt ny hInshey 'Peel' [pɔ:tnə'hinʒɛ]N, [pönə'hi:nᵈʒι]N
      Ir. Port na hInnse
    eeym 'butter' [ïm]N, [i:bm]S Ir. im

9. With IO there is /i/
    fynn 'white' [fïn]N Ir. fionn

10. With OI there is /i(:)/, /e(:)/, occasionally [y:]
    keyll 'wood' [kẹl']S, [køl']N, [ki:l]S, [kI:l']S, [ky:l]S
      Ir. coill
    With diphthongization:
    soilshey 'light' [sail'ʒə]N, [seil'ʒə]S Ir. soillse

11. With UI there is /i(:)/
    mwing 'mane' [wiŋ](len.)N Ir. muing
    dreeym 'back' [dri:m]S, [dribm]N, [drim]N, [dri:bm]N/S
      Ir. druim
    With diphthongization:
    main 'we' [main]N Ir. muinn. Note that this is at best
      secondarily stressed.

SVARABHAKTI

§123. Svarabhakti[7] is not so prevalent in Manx as in Irish or
Scottish Gaelic and is attested in the following instances only.
In most cases the svarabhakti vowel occurs as [ə] (sometimes it

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  7. This feature is adequately described by Jackson (1955:59-61)
     and by Thomson (1960:116-26). However, for the sake of com-
     pleteness (to include exx. from other collections) it is
     dealt with here. The layout follows Jackson (qv).

may have the same or similar colouring as the vowel in the
preceding syllable), whether the group be (originally) palat.
or not.

1. In Type 1 (i.e. when l, r, m, n, ng are followed by b, f,
   bh, mh, ch, g, gh) svarabhakti in LSM occurs only in the
   consonant groups RCH, RG, RGH:

   dorraghys 'darkness' [dǫrǫɣəs]N, [dǫraxəs]S, [dǫrəɣəs]S
      cf. Ir. dorcha
   margey 'fair, market' [vörəgə]N; also [mö:ɹɣǫ]S, [mǫ:gə]N
      Ir. margadh
   Kargys 'Lent' [karəgəs] Ir. Carghas

   For the occurrence of svarabhakti in LBH, LMH, RBH, RMH, NBH,
   NMH where the element BH, MH has been vocalized v. §§42, 126.

   Unlike Irish and Scottish Gaelic svarabhakti in LSM does not
   usually occur in the group LG, viz.

   bolg 'belly' [bo̤lg]N, [vɹlg]N, [bɛlg]S Ir. bolg
   jolg 'thorn' [d'ʒǫ:lg]S Ir. dealg; pl. jilg [d'ʒïlg]S Ir.
      deilg
   shelgey 'hunting' [ʃǫlgə]N cf. Ir. sealg
   molg 'milt' [mølg]N, [mɔlg]S ScG. mealg

   But
   bolg my vaggleyn 'my scrotum' [bɔləg mə vagələn]N Ir.
      bolg + magairle. The epenthetic vowel in bolg may be
      influenced from the central syllable in vaggleyn, so
      as to assist in the flow of the phrase.

2. In Type 2 (i.e. groups made up only of l, r, m, n, ng)
   svarabhakti is found in the groups LM, RM, MN, NM, viz.

   Collym (proper name) [kɔl:ǫm:]N[8] Ir. Colm
   gorrym 'blue' [gɔrəm]N, [gǫ:rəm]N Ir. gorm
   fammyragh 'seaweed' [fömərəx]?N, [fæmərəx]N Ir. feamnach

   _____

   8. The long l and m here is for onomatopoeic effect; v. Texts
      JTK Vol. 1 p. 292.

ennym 'name' [enəm]N/S Ir. ainm

Note also

mraane 'women' [məˈreːn⁽ʼ⁾]S, [mrɛːn]S ScG. mnathan; v.
   also §90.3, 4.

mleeaney 'this year' [məˈlʼinə]N/S Ir. i mbliadhna. In the
   last two exx. there is perhaps no svarabhakti in the
   strict sense, as ml and mr transitions automatically give
   rise to an intercalated vowel.

3. In Type 3 (i.e. before l, n, r after any consonant other than
   a liquid or nasal, whether the preceding vowel is long or
   short) svarabhakti is found in BR, CL, SR. The picture here,
   however, is complicated by the fact that these groups arise
   by contraction, and in related words the contraction does
   not take place. The uncontracted forms are therefore extended
   by analogy.

   gobbraghey 'working' [goːbərax]N, [gɔvərǫx]S ScG.
      ag oibreachadh. But without svarabhakti [gɔβrax]S.
   fockleyn 'words' [foːɣələn]N, [fǫkələn]S ScG. faclan. But
      note also [faːklən]S, [fɔːlən]S (here with complete loss
      of the CL cluster).
   fyssyree 'knowledge' [føsəri]N Ir. fiosruighe
   casherick 'holy' [kaːʒərək]S Ir. coisricthe. But without
      svarabhakti [kaːʃrɪkʼ]S.

4. When medial -NR- gives [ndr] in LSM, a svarabhakti vowel can
   occur between [d] and [r]:

   maynrys 'happiness' [meːndərəs]S cf. Ir. méanra. But with-
      out svarabhakti [mɛːndrəs]N.
   boandyrys 'nursing' [bɔːndərəs]N cf. ScG. banaltrachd.
      Without svarabhakti [bonðrəs]S.
   The development of a svarabhakti vowel here probably took
   place to break up the heavy cluster of three homorganic
   consonants.

HIATUS

§124. Hiatus between vowels in Old Irish was not uncommon, e.g.
biäd 'food', aër 'air', diäs 'two people', etc (v. also Jackson
(1955:62)). Though this feature died out in Irish when the two
vowels contracted, it remains to a certain extent in Scottish
Gaelic in stressed syllables. In Manx hiatus in such cases is
mostly absent. In one or two places, however, Wagner[9] noted the
occurrence of weak hiatus, particularly in i-diphthongs. Loss of
hiatus is attested in original disyllables which have become
monosyllabic in Manx.

> bee 'food' [bi:]N OIr. biäd, Ir. biadh
> jees 'two people' [d'ʒi:s]N/S, [d'ʒi:ʃ]N OIr. diäs, diïs,
>   Ir. díos, dís
> foast 'still, yet' [fǫ:s]S, [hwǫ:s]S OIr. beös, Ir. fós
> raad 'road' [ra:d]N, [rɛ:d]N/S OIr. roüt, ScG. rathad

Hiatus, of course, occurs in nouns ending in a vowel with the
plural suffix -yn, e.g. jalloo 'image' (pl.) [d'ʒɑluən]N Ir.
dealbh. But here there is a conscious recognition of the presence
of a distinct morpheme.

Hiatus can also occur in the endings -aghyn, -aghtyn where /x/,
/xt/ are sometimes lost.

> annaghyn 'commandments' [a:naən]S, [ənǫxən]S Ir. aithne
> smooinaghtyn 'thinking' [smun'a:n]N, [smu:n'ǫxtən]N ScG.
>   smuaineachduinn

Weak hiatus is found sometimes in i-diphthongs (v. also footnote)
The hiatus here is marked with a hyphen.

> thie 'house' [tɑ-i]N, [tɑi]N, [ta:i]N ScG. taigh
> graih 'love' [gra-i]N/S, [grǫi]N/S, [gra:i]N Ir. grádh
> fuygh 'wood' [fa-i]N, [fɛ-i]N, [fǫi]N, [fai]N OIr. fiöd,
>   fidbaid

_____

9. v. LASID IV Point 88 s. 'goose', 'house'; v. also below.

NASALITY

§125. Nasality is rare in LSM, and when met with it represents original MH or NG.[10] Stressed vowels in contact with M, N, NG may one time have been strongly nasalized, but today from the sound-recorded material at any rate the nasality, if it occurs, is so weak as not to be noticeable. There are, however, a few words whose stressed vowel can be strongly nasal (non-nasal varieties are also found).

> aile 'fire' [ɑːĩl]S, [aːĩlʹ]N, [ǫil]N Ir./ScG. aingeal
>
> cainle 'candle' [kaĩl]N, [kãːlʹə]S, [kǫ̃ːⁱnlə]S, [kǫ̃ːlʹ]S,
> [kailʹ]S ScG. coinneal, cainneal
>
> cainleyr 'candlestick' [kǫ̃ːʹlʹẹːr]S, [kãnʹlẹːɹ]S; also
> [kǫnʹłẹːɹ]S Ir. coinnleoir. Note here that the nasalized
> vowels are unstressed, or do not bear the primary stress.
>
> croyn 'nuts' [krɔ̃ən]N Ir. cro
>
> sourey 'summer' [tãurə]S, [sɸurə]N, [səurə]N Ir. samhradh
>
> snaue 'swimming' [snẽu]S, [ʃnãu]N, [snaːu]S Ir. snámh
>
> kiangley 'binding' [kʹĩːŋli]N, [kĩːni]N, [kẽːlʹɑ]N,
> [kʹeːnʹə]N, [kʹǫːlə]S ScG. ceangladh
>
> gryle 'griddle' [grẽːlʹ]S, [grãːl]S, [graːⁱlʹ]S ScG.
> greideal, groideal. The nasal vowel here may be on the
> analogy of aile.
>
> mainshter 'master' [mãnʹʃtʹəɹ]S, [maĩⁿʃtʹə]N, [mẹːʃtʹə]N
> ScG. maighstir. The nasality in the Mx. refl. here is
> recognised in the spelling.

A puzzling ex. is injil 'low' [indʹʒəl]S Ir. íseal and derivatives where it is hard to see the grounds for nasality.

For CN as /kr/ in LSM v. §90.3.

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10. v. also Jackson (1955:63). Marstrander made liberal use of the nasal diacritic whenever a vowel came into contact with a nasal. But his use of it is not always regular.

STRESS[1]

§126. In LSM two types of treatment are found when the vowel of the second syllable in disyllables is long, whether originally or via vocalization of a medial spirant, in association with either a long or short vowel in the first syllable. The first type corresponds to the situation in Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic, where the stress remains on the first syllable (the vowel of which was originally short), and the second syllable is usually shortened to a clear vowel, e.g.

			Ir.	ScG.
1.	beggan 'a little'	/began/	beagán	beagan
	mwannal 'neck'	/mwanəl/	muinéal	muineal
	thunnag 'duck'	/tonag/	tonnóg	tunnag
	uinnag 'window'	/un´ag/	fuinneog	uinneag
	gennal 'happy'	/g´enal/	geanamhail	geanail

The second type, which will be the main point of the discussion, bears resemblance to the situation in Munster Irish (and elsewhere[2]) whereby the stress falls on a syllable other than the first, e.g. casóg 'jacket' /kə'so:g/, spealadóir 'scytheman' /s´p´alə'do:r´/; this type essentially falls into three parts. The first part consists of those native words which have original long first and second syllables, e.g.

2.	arnane 'nightwork'	/a'ne:n/	áirneán	airnean
	buggane 'brownie'	/bo'ge:n/	bócán	bòcan
	caghlaa 'changing'	/kox'le:/	claochlódh	caochladh
	carrane 'sandal'	/kə're:n/	cuarán	cuaran
	faagail 'leaving'	/fe'ge:l´/	fágáil	fàgail
	note also	/fe:gel´/		
	faasaag 'beard'	/fe'se:g/	féasóg	feusag
	note also	/fe:sag/		

_____

1. This section is based on a paper first read at the Tionól at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in April 1982.
2. According to O'Rahilly (1932:86) forward (or free) stress is also attested in parts of Leinster, and in the west in parts of south and east Connaught. In a forthcoming paper on non-initial stress in Irish Diarmuid Ó Sé discusses the causes of stress-shift and outlines the various stages in which, he believes, it took place.

The second part, closely allied to the first, consists of those words of Anglo-Norman/Middle English extraction containing free or forward stress which have come into the language, e.g.

		Ir.	A.Norm/ME
3.	bodeil 'bottle' /bo'de:l´/	buidéal	boteille
	cabbane 'cabin' /ka'be:n/	cábán	
	corneil 'corner' /kə'ne:l´/	coirnéal	cornel (E.dial)
	danjeyr 'danger' /dan'd´e:r/	dainnséar	
	pryssoon 'prison' /pri'su:n/	príosún	
	shirveish 'service' /s´ər've:s´/	seirbhís	

The third part is comprised of those words in which the second syllable has been made long through the vocalization of a medial spirant (where the spirant is the final element of a consonant group) and the reduction of two syllables to one.

4.	annoon 'weak' /a'nu:n/	anbhfann
	jarrood 'forgetting' /d´a'ru:d/,	
	/d´a'rud/	dearmhad
	thallooin 'of land' /to'lu:n´/	talmhain
	femoil 'necessary' /fe'mo:l´/	feidhmeamhail

This last ex. is representative of a whole class of adjj. in -amhail, Mx. -oil.

The problem of stress in Manx has previously been the subject of some discussion by such scholars as T. F. O'Rahilly (1932:113-17), Kenneth Jackson (1955:20ff.), Robert L. Thomson (1960:116-26), and Heinrich Wagner at public lectures.

We will deal with the third part first, as it is the least problematical. It has been commented on briefly by O'Rahilly (1932:115) and more fully by Thomson (1960:122-24). In this part a long vowel, usually long u or long o, can develop from the reduction of an unstressed second syllable with a svarabhakti vowel between a medial spirant (which has become vocalized as a result of the svarabhakti vowel) and a preceding consonant, usually a liquid (v. 4 above). In such circumstances the stress falls on this new long vowel. But should the spirant occur in final position, either originally or as a result of loss of a final open non-inflexional syllable in a trisyllable), then the

new syllable would remain short. In this situation there is no movement of stress from the first syllable, e.g.

5. irree 'arise' /'iri/   éirghe

   sooree 'courting' /'su:ri/,

                            /'suri/ suirghe

But if the spirant opens the stressed syllable, then no epenthetic vowel arises and no vocalization takes place, e.g.

6. marvaanagh 'mortal' /mar've:nax/ *marbhánach

With regard to the first and second parts, O'Rahilly (;932:114) believed that the phenomenon of second syllable stress in di-syllables was introduced into Manx by the borrowing into that language of a number of words of Anglo-Norman/Middle English provenance with advanced stress which has been preserved down to the present, e.g. cabbane, pryssoon, etc. All such borrowings, he noticed, contain a long vowel in the second syllable, and almost all 'have (or had) in the first syllable either a long vowel, or else a 'half-long' vowel, that is to say, an originally short vowel followed by a consonant group beginning with one of the liquids l, m, n, ng, r'. He considered that the effect of the addition of these forward stressed words into Manx was that pre-existing words (whether native or borrowed) of the same type shifted their stress on to the second syllable by analogy, e.g. faagail, faasaag, etc.

Following on from this O'Rahilly (1932:114-15) believed that some time after this stress-shift had taken place 'another phonetic law, by which long unstressed vowels were shortened, came into operation in Manx', i.e. that the long final (second) syllables of those words that had 'escaped the accent shift' were accordingly shortened, as in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. bangan, mwannal, etc. As a result the Irish long endings -án, -áil, -óg, etc, have two forms in Manx recognized in the spelling as (long) -ane, -eil, -age, and (short) as -an, -al, -ag. Furthermore he considered that a shortening of pretonic long vowels took place in many or most of the words in which the stress had been advanced He then placed the development of long vowels through the vocal-ization of spirants after this phase.

Jackson (1955:20) also held similar beliefs. He noticed that in
the material he collected those words containing initial stress
had an original short vowel, with the original long vowel of the
second syllable shortened, as in thunnag, bangan, etc, and that
the preceding syllable in those words with forward stress was
originally long (or a diphthong) or half-long before a heavy
homorganic group. He held, therefore, that 'in words with an
original long vowel in the second syllable that vowel was short-
ened when the vowel of the first syllable was short, so that the
stress remained on the first; but when the vowel of the first
syllable was long by nature or position, that of the second
syllable was not shortened, and the main stress shifted to it,
after (Jackson's italics) which the vowel of the first syllable
was reduced because unstressed'.

However, the matter could perhaps be looked at in another way.
Recently I mentioned this alternative to my friend Heinrich
Wagner, who told me that he had come to a similar conclusion
more than thirty years before! The contention is that, rather
than the first syllable in those words containing forward stress
being shortened as a result of the stress-shift, the opposite is
the case; that is, that the stress is advanced because of the
shortening of the initial syllable. It is also a noticeable
feature of Manx that stressed long vowels in monosyllables are
usually, or can be shortened, e.g.

			Ir.	ScG.
7.	eeast 'fish' /jis/; also /jiːs/	iasg	iasg
	moain 'turf' /mon/, /mun/; /moːn´/	móin	mòine
	paag/pog 'kiss' /peg/, /pog/; /peːg/	póg	pòg
	queig 'five' /kweg/	cúig	còig
	slane 'whole ' /slen/	slán	slàn
	trome 'heavy' /trom/; troːm/	trom	trom
	thoin 'bottom' /ton/	tón	tòn

Note that the last three exx. can also be affected by
preocclusion; v. also I:§§33, 34.

If this were applied to the stressed element (comprising a long
vowel) in words of more than one syllable, this element could
become shortened, e.g. in jarrood above. It is interesting to

note here that this shortening has occurred on a long syllable
that has attracted the stress. It is therefore suggested that
the proclivity[3] of Manx to shorten stressed long vowels in mono-
syllables spread to the initial (original) stressed long vowel
in words of the faagail type (i.e. to the init. (orig.) stressed
long syll. of polysyllables) causing it to shorten, viz.
/fe'ge:l´/[4], as a result of which the stress shifted to the
long second syllable. Wagner has already noticed that shortening
of stressed long vowels in initial position occurs also in some
dialects of Ulster Irish, e.g. féasóg [f´ïsǝg] LASID Point 68,
[f´ɛsag] Point 70, [f´ïsǝg] Point 75.[5]

In the case of those words containing initial stress on an orig-
inal short vowel, but whose second syllable, once long, has become
shortened because unstressed, as in beggan, thunnag, etc, it may
be asked why then did the stress not shift to the long vowel when
it was long. The answer, perhaps, is that the long vowel here had
already become shortened at the time of the stress-shift in di-
syllables of the faagail type. It is noticeable that words of the
beggan type ending in original Á or Ó are shortened to /a/,
and that those of the forward stress type with original Á or
Ó have these as /e:/ if long, and /e/, sometimes /ǝ/ if short.
Bearing in mind that OIr. Á and Ó became /e:/[6] in Manx general-
ly, had the stress been attracted to the long a vowel in (Ir.)
beagán or the long o in (Ir.) tunnóg, this would have given

3. It is not certain how this proclivity for shortening came
    about. It is noticeable, however, that stressed monosyllables
    (containing an original long vowel) which are affected by
    preocclusion can have this long vowel shortened; v. I: §§33,
    34.
4. Note that in section 2 of the exx. faagail and faasaag have
    forms with initial stress and a long initial vowel, and so
    would fall in with forms like dooghys 'nature' /du:xǝs/ Ir.
    dúthchas; gerjys 'joy' /gǝd´is/ Ir. gáirdeas, etc. But note
    here that even in words of this type the (orig.) long init.
    vowel can become shortened, e.g. eaddagh 'clothing' /edax/;
    also /e:dax/ Ir. éadach; earroo 'number' /iru/ Ir. áireamh.
    Note also the short initial vowel in (Ir.) éirghe (Mx.
    irree) above.
5. cf. mórán [mɔran] [mǫran] and (na) móna [mɔnǝ] [ɴǝ mɔnŭ]
    in Hamilton (1974).
6. OIr. Á is sometimes retained in northern Manx, e.g. laa
    'day' /la:/ (also /le:/), /fa'ga:l´/. The retention of /a:/
    in Phillips (who almost certainly learned his Manx at Bishop's
    Court (on the northside)) has to be seen in this context.

something like /bə'ge:n/ and /tu'ne:g/ respectively. The fact
that we have /'began/ and /'tunag/ indicates that shortening of
the second syllable took place in words of this type before OIr.
Á (and Ó) became /e:/ in Manx, as Jackson (1955:20) has already
pointed out. That is, that shortening of the unstressed long
second syllable in words of the <u>beggan</u> type took place before
the stress-shift to the long second syllable in words of the
<u>faagail</u> type.[7] The addition of the Anglo-Norman/Middle English
loanwords with forward stress would fit into this pattern, and
perhaps help to establish it, but would follow rather than
initiate the stress-shift.

With regard to words of the <u>jarrood</u> type, Thomson (1960) has
already demonstrated that the creation of long vowels (though
vocalization of medial spirants) from the reduction of two
syllables to one occurred in Manx before 1610, as evidenced in
Phillips. Palatalized BH, MH occurring in original monosyllables
are retained at this date, but fall in with neutral BH, MH and
become vocalized during the seventeenth century.

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7. A word of this type when followed by an adjective (or a dep.
   noun), etc, can have initial stress as a result of rhythmic
   regression, e.g. <u>caghlaa bayr</u> 'a change of route' /'kaxle:
   'be:r/; but should the rhythm of the phrase not be affected
   then no change in stress takes place, e.g. <u>caghlaaghyn mooar</u>
   'great changes' /kox'le:xən 'mu:ər/. However, the examples
   are too few to suggest any pattern.

HOMOPHONES

§127. In LSM there are a number of lexical items which differ in origin and perhaps in spelling, but which have the same sound:

arragh 'spring' /arax/ Ir. earrach
arragh 'any more' /arax/ Ir. athrach

bee 'food' /bi:/ Ir. biadh
bee 'will be' /bi:/ ScG. bithidh

briw 'judge' /bru:/ Ir. breitheamh
broo 'bruising' /bru:/ ScG. brùth

çheu 'side' /t´eu/ Ir. taobh
çhiow 'warming' /t´eu/ ScG. teodhadh

çhea 'fleeing' /t´e:/ Ir. teicheadh
çheh 'hot' /t´e:/ Ir. te

cleiy 'digging' /klei/ OIr. claide
cloie 'playing'⁴ /klei/ Ir. cluiche

coar 'decent' /ko:r/ Ir. cóir
coar 'heron' /ko:r/ OIr. corr

da 'to, for' /de:/ Ir. do
daa 'two' /de:/ Ir. dó
daah 'dyeing' /de:/ OIr. dathad

darrag 'fishing line' /darag/ cf. Ir. dorga
darrag 'oak' /darag/ Ir. daróg

dooyrt 'said' /du:t/, /dut/ Ir. dubhairt
dooyt 'doubt' /du:t/, /dut/ fr. ME.

feeagh 'worth' /fi:x/ ScG. fiach
feeagh 'raven' /fi:x/ Ir. fiach

fee 'weaving' /fi:/ Ir. fighe
feh 'muscle' /fi:/ Ir. féith

feie 'wild' /fei/ cf. ScG. fiadhaich
fuygh 'wood' /fei/ OIr. fiod

feeu 'worth' /fju:/ Ir. fiú
fieau 'waiting' /fju:/ Ir. feitheamh

foast 'yet, still' /fo:s/ Ir. fós
foays 'benefit' /fo:s/ Ir. feabhas

gah 'sting' /ge:/ Ir. gath
ga 'although' /ge:/ Ir. gé

glass 'grey' /glas/ Ir. glas
glass 'lock' /glas/ Ir. glas

goan 'words' /go:n/ ScG. guthan
goan 'scarce' /go:n/ Ir. gann

greie 'tool' /grei/ Ir. gréith
graih 'love' /grei/ cf. Ir. grádh

keeill 'church' /k´i:l/ Ir. cill
keeayll 'senses' /k´i:l/ Ir. ciall

keyl 'narrow' /ki:l/ Ir. caol
keyll 'wood, orchard' /ki:l/ Ir. coill

chied 'first' /k´ed/ Ir. céad
kied 'permission' /k´ed/ Ir. cead

laair 'mare' /le:r/ Ir. láir
laare 'floor' /le:r/ Ir. lár

lag 'slow' /lag/ Ir. lag
lagg 'hollow' /lag/ Ir. lag

laa 'day' /le:/ Ir. lá
lah 'lad' /le:/ Ir. láth

leoaie 'lead' /lei/ Ir. luaidh
leoie 'ashes' /lei/ Ir. luaith

lheie 'melting' /lei/ Ir. leaghadh
leih 'forgiving' /lei/ OIr. do-luigi, Ir. loth

leigh 'law' /lei/ ScG. lagh
lheiy 'calf' /lei/ Ir. laogh

lhie 'lying' /lai/ ScG. laighe
lhiy 'colt' /lai/ cf. ScG. loth

lhiass 'need' /l´a:s/ Ir. leas
lhiasst 'slothful' /l´a:s/ ScG. leasg

mean 'middle' /me:n/ Ir. meadhon
meinn 'meal' /me:n/ OIr. men

nhee 'thing' /n´i:/ Ir. ní
niee 'washing' /n´i:/ Ir. nighe

noi 'against' /nai/ Ir. i n-aghaidh
nuy 'nine' /nai/ Ir. naoi

oaie 'grave' /ei/ Ir. uaigh
oie 'night' /ei/ Ir. oidhche

oor 'hour' /u:r/ Ir. uair
oor 'fresh' /u:r/ Ir. úr
ooir 'soil' /u:r/ Ir. úr, úir

rea 'flat' /re:/ Ir. réidh
rea 'ram' /re:/ Ir. reithe

seiy 'stirring' /sei/ Ir. suathadh
soie 'sitting' /sei/ Ir. suidhe

shee 'fairies' /s´i:/ Ir. sídhe
shee 'peace' /s´i:/ OIr. síd

shleeu 'whetting' /s´l´u:/ cf. Ir. líomhadh
slieau 'mountain' /s´l´u:/ Ir. sliabh

skeeah 'vomit' /ski:/ cf. Ir. scéith
skee 'tired' /ski:/ ScG. sgìth

teigh 'axe' /tei/ Ir. tuagh
teiy 'picking' /tei/ Ir. toghadh

traie 'shore' /trei/ Ir. tráigh
treih 'sad' /trei/ Ir. truagh

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APPENDIX A

C A T A L O G U E   O F   T E X T - S O U R C E S

V - Vienna Recordings (made on wax cylinders nos. 1072, 1088-96 from 5th-8th August 1909)

M - Marstrander Recordings (made on wax cylinders Jan./Feb. 1933; surviving cyl. of Harry Kelly, Cregneash(qv); Marstrander Collection (in phonetic script)(Cat. as M + vol. no. + page no(s).; coll. made June-Sept. 1929, Aug./Sept. 1930, Jan./ Feb. 1933).

M.Di. - Marstrander's Diary (of visits 1929, 1930, 1933).

IFC - Irish Folklore Commission Recordings (made on wax discs between 22nd April and 5th May 1948; Cat. nos. refer to tape copies in Manx Museum archives).

MM - Manx Museum Recordings (made on paper tapes 1950-52).

YCG - Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh Recordings (made on paper tapes 1951-53).

PR - Private Recordings (1 - made in 1947; 2 - made c.1960; 3 - made on 13.06.1962).

LSS - Linguistic Survey of Scotland Recordings (made on poly-ethyline tapes in Aug. 1972).

SPEAKERS FROM THE NORTH

THOMAS CHRISTIAN (The Carter), Ramsey

Material collected between 25.06. and 08.09.1929; Marstrander Coll.

 1. Christie Sayle M.II.835-37
 2. Creg ny Baa M.II.863-65
 3. Splitting Oaks M.II.917, 921
 4. Man who sought alms M.II.931-33
 5. Harry Yalderan M.II.937
 6. The Buggane of Gob ny Scuit M.II.949-51
 7. Giving thanks to God M.II.953-55
 8. Origin of the name Ballajora M.II.959, 963
 9. Juan Christeen of Lewaigue M.II.965-71
10. Customs relating to May Day M.II.973-75
11. Blessing the fishing boats M.II.975
12. Blessing a horse fatigued by the fairies M.II.975

13. Priest curing a cow M.II.977
14. Keeping in with the fairies M.II.979
15. Well on Maughold Head M.II.981
16. Boat stranded on the shore M.II.982-83, 987
17. Keeping the fire lit M.II.994
18. Banjagh M.II.1117 (recte 1017)
19. The lazy man M.II.1119 (1019)
20. Some family details M.II.1085-91
21. Firing stones at trees M.II.1091-93
22. Ghost unable to cross newly ploughed field M.II.1095
23. Fisherman coming home with his clothes wet M.II.1095
24. Scaa dorrys M.II.1097
25. Pig of plenty M.II.1097-99
26. Rowan brings luck to fishermen M.II.1099
27. The Glashtyn M.II.1001 (recte 1101)
28. Gadflies M.II.1006 (1106)
29. Birds and hawthorn berries M.II.1008 (1108)
30. Small house on the Barony M.II.1011 (1111)
31. The Tarroo-ushtey M.II.1015-17 (1115-17)
32. The dung-beetle M.II.1019 (1119)
33. Making a mollag M.II.1121
34. Striking the foreman M.II.1121
35. A riddle M.II.1125
36. Another riddle M.II.1125
37. A children's rhyme M.II.1125
38. John Kerruish M.II.1127-33
39. Billy Hudn M.II.1139-41
40. How the 'Adam's Apple' came to be M.II.1141-43
41. Perick ny Molgyn M.II.1144-45
42. Humpy Mitçhooragh M.II.1150-51
43. The Woman in White M.II.1161-67
44. About lambs M.II.1167
45. Wild mustard M.II.1171
46. Tom Christory M.II.1173-75
47. An Irish card-sharp M.II.1177
48. Marking sheep serviced by the ram M.II.1181
49. Rumboo M.II.1183-87
50. Custom re christening a child M.II.1187

51. Murderer, murderer M.II.1188
52. Rachel M.II.1189-91
53. About a large swamp M.II.1191
54. A tired man coming home M.II.1203
55. Jemmy Quine M.II.1205
56. An old shepherd M.II.1217
57. A curse M.II.1226
58. Stocking herring on St. John's Day M.II.1237
59. Mannin Veg Veen (frag.) M.II.1237
60. Playing at see-saws M.II.1238
61. About a hare M.II.1241-42
62. Pipe and tobacco M.II.1267
63. Earning a piece of bread and cheese M.II.1268
64. Making a whistle from willow M.II.1269
65. Making a soddag M.II.1270
66. Making bonnag M.II.1271
67. Sollaghyn M.II.1272-73
68. Goading slow oxen M.II.1274
69. The sow of Dhoon Skylley Maghal M.II.1291-92
70. The Manx Fairy M.II.1305-6
71. Lighting a fire M.II.1321
72. Going to a woman charmer M.II.1351-54
73. The Meillia M.II.1361-64
74. About the primrose M.II.1365-67
75. An old woman from the Jalloo M.II.1369
76. The marsh penny-wort M.II.1371
77. A man from Balnahowin M.II.1397
78. Chewing pea-pods M.II.1401
79. Making oatmeal M.II.1403
80. A blessing M.II.1409
81. Mohlt y gynsaghey M.II.1422-23
82. Va yn dow buirroogh M.II.1412
83. Cum ort, gad! M.II.795
84. Arrane Oie Vie (frag.) M.II.737

JOHN KNEEN (The Gaaue), Ballaugh

  1. His 'Vita' in brief YCG.1 ([30].11.1951)

2. Going to school at Jurby YCG.1

3. Working at the smithy YCG.1

4. Money earned at the smithy YCG.1

5. Going to Douglas 1 YCG.1

6. Going to Douglas 2 MM.32 (25.02.1952)

7. Cutting turf YCG.2 ([30].11.1951)

8. Dancing and playing music YCG.2

9. At Castle Rushen YCG.2

10. Bus to Peel YCG.2

11. Harvesting the corn YCG.3 (20.01.1952)

12. Preparing the corn for use YCG.3

13. Building sod-houses YCG.3

14. Making houses for the poor YCG.3

15. Took by the fairies YCG.4 (20.01.1952)

16. Fairy Fair at Ballaugh 1 YCG.4

17. Fairy Fair at Ballaugh 2 MM.32 (25.02.1952); also frag. on PR.1 (1947)

18. Fairies under Ballaugh Bridge YCG.4; also MM.32

19. The Tarroo-ushtey YCG.4

20. Smuggling whiskey YCG.5 (20.01.1952)

21. Collecting dust at the crossroads YCG.5

22. Row oo ec y margey? YCG.5

23. Thurot as Elliott YCG.5

24. Fishing boats leaving from Gob Gorrym YCG.6 (April 1952)

25. Making loaves of bread YCG.6

26. Poor man who left thousands YCG.6

27. Seeing a car for the first time YCG.7 (?May 1952)

28. Drowned in the Mersey YCG.7

29. Doing penance at church IFC.38 (Apr./May 1948)

30. Old smithy at Coan ny Kishtey, Andreas IFC.38

31. Getting turf from Snaefell IFC.38

32. Number of smiths in the north of Man IFC.951[1] (Apr./May 1948).

33. Working on the farm IFC.951

34. Managing at home in the old days PR.1 (1947)

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1. This is the LSS cat. no., but as it contains IFC material it is so classed here.

HARRY BOYDE, Ballaugh

 1. Chased by the bishop's dog MM.25 (?1950)
 2. Father and son MM.25
 3. Man and his dog MM.25
 4. Juan Mooar Etty MM.25
 5. Born at Bishop's Court MM.25
 6. Man who was drunk MM.25
 7. Two men hunting rabbits MM.25
 8. Man about to die intestate IFC.36 (Apr./May 1948); last
    sentence from MM.25
 9. Woman who was fond of the drink IFC.38
10. Cleator Brothers IFC.38
11. Building hedges IFC.39 (Apr./May 1948)
12. Putting pigs into the field IFC.39
13. Thinning turnips IFC.39
14. Setting potatoes IFC.39
15. Talking about the weather IFC.39
16. Pigs in a coalsack IFC.39
17. Woman who married twice IFC.39
18. Old Mess YCG.14 (May 1952)
19. Man who woke up blind YCG.15 (May 1952)
20. Man who wanted to drown himself YCG.15; also YCG.16 (20.11.51)

JOHN TOM KAIGHIN, Ballagarrett, Bride

 1. Preparing the land for sowing MM.22 (Feb. 1950)
 2. Going to Ramsey MM.22
 3. Reaping corn MM.22
 4. Learning English at school MM.22
 5. Putting sheep to the mountain YCG.19 (1952); longer version
    on MM.22; a shorter version on MM.35 (01.02.1951)
 6. Parson and the pig MM.22; other versions on MM.35, IFC.951,
    PR.1
 7. Smoking out the schoolhouse MM.22
 8. Cracking the churchbell at Bride MM.22; also YCG.18 (1952)
 9. Going to school barefoot MM.22
10. A Manxman's prayer IFC.951
11. Farmwork IFC.951
12. Thatching a house IFC.951

13. Fair at Kirk Bride IFC.951
14. Going to the shore IFC.951
15. Saggyrt Qualteragh YCG.17 (17.01.1952)
16. Prices of various commodities YCG.17
17. Moving to Ballagarrett YCG.17
18. Building the new church at Bride YCG.18 (1952)
19. Put to shame for not having Manx YCG.18
20. Preacher keeping a lodging house in Douglas YCG.19 (1952)
21. Illiam y Close preaching in the south of the Island YCG.19
22. Putting geese to the mountain YCG.20 (1953)
23. What was eaten and drunk in the old days YCG.20
24. Speculating at Ramsey YCG.20
25. Man who kept sheep on the Mooragh YCG.20

Mrs ANNIE KNEALE, Ballagarrett, Bride

 1. Poddash pishyragh IFC.36; also frag. on IFC.39
 2. Juan Gawne IFC.39 (twice)
 3. Colbagh breck er sthrap (song frag.) IFC.39; also IFC.36
 4. An Irishman's toast IFC.39

DANNY CAINE, Little London, Kirk Michael
Recorded in Ramsey

 1. O Yee, cur skianyn credjue dou (frag.) YCG.21 (?April 1952)
 2. Some sayings YCG.21
 3. Lord's Prayer (frag.) YCG.21
 4. Christmas greeting YCG.21

JOHN CAIN, Ballamoar, Jurby
Marstrander Coll.; material coll. 02.02.1933

 1. Arrane er Inneenyn Eirinee (song frag.) M.IV.2637
 2. Children's rhyme M.IV.2632-33
 3. The Manx Fairy (song frag.) M.IV.2624
 4. Hie son Skylley Breeshey (song frag.) M.IV.2625
 5. Colbagh breck er sthrap (song frag.) M.IV.2635
 6. Lord's Prayer M.IV.2635

WILLIAM COWLEY, Kirk Christ Lezayre

  1. Myr s'liauyr yn oie geuree (song frag.) V.1088 (06.08.1909)
  2. Goll dy schoill V.1088

JOHN CHRISTIAN, Sulby Glen, Lezayre

  1. Lord's Prayer M.Di.45 (20.06.1929)

JAMES KEWLEY, Maughold

  1. Cre'n sorçh dy 'wreck' (song frag.) M.Di.52 (21.06.1929)

JOHN NELSON, Ramsey

  1. Tom learning his ABC V.1093 (08.08.1909)
  2. Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey (song frag.) V.1094 (08.08.1909)

WILLIAM QUANE, Peel

  1. Lord's Prayer (frag.) M.IV.2564 (28.01.1933)

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HARRY KELLY, Cregneash (rec. Sept. 1930. Cyl. rec. end Jan. 1933)

  1. His 'Vita' M.III   } M.III.1807-35 (31.08.1930)
  2. Fishing customs and practices } Cyl. 8-16 (25-28.01.1933)
  3. The Slouree M.III.1866
  4. Graih my chree (song frag.) M.III.1901
  5. Processing wool M.III.1917-8
  6. Farmwork M.III.1926
  7. Oh, soieym seose syn uinnag (song frag.) M.III.1929
  8. Shee as fea M.III.1929; Cyl.17
  9. Illiam M.III.1930
10. Catching birds M.III.1996
11. The Tarroo-ushtey M.III.2011; Cyl.4 (25.01.1933)
12. Beisht y Kione Dhoo M.III.2012; Cyl.5 (25.01.1933)
13. Shannon Rea (song frag.) M.III.1931-32; Cyl.5
14. Two fishermen at sea M.III.1939
15. Lord's Prayer M.III.1971; Cyl.6 (25.01.1933)
16. Cha beeym's ayns aggle geddyn baase M-Cyl.3 (25.01.1933)
17. Vermayd caabyl dys yn anker (frag.) M.Cyl.17 (28.01.1933)
18. As lhig da'n corp shoh geddyn baase M.Cyl.19 (28.01.1933)

19. Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey (song frag.) Lines 1-2 M.Cyl.24
    (28.01.1933); Lines 3-4 M.III.1874

20. Some sentences M.Cyls.2, 3

NED MADDRELL, Glenchass, Port St. Mary

 1. About people in Cregneash and on the Calf of Man YCG.8
    (02.03.1952)

 2. How Cregneash got its name YCG.8

 3. First visit to Laxey YCG.8

 4. The fishing boat 'New Leader' YCG.8

 5. The White Boys YCG.8

 6. Learned Manx from an old aunt YCG.9 (02.03.1952)

 7. Who speaks Manx now? YCG.9

 8. First visit to Fleshwick YCG.10 ([02.03].1952)

 9. A man with whiskers called Keig YCG.10

10. Neddy Hom Ruy YCG.10

11. Selling fish in Ireland YCG.10

12. Buying provisions in Scotland YCG.10; also LSS.902
    in English

13. Going to the fishing YCG.10; also PR.2 (c.1960)

14. Woman who wanted to hear the Lord's Prayer in Manx YCG.12
    (18.02.1953)

15. Lord's Prayer YCG.12; also IFC.38, PR.1, LSS.903 (17.08.1972)

16. Brig Lily (song frag.) YCG.12; also IFC.40 (Apr/May 1948),
    PR.1

17. Arrane mysh coayl ny baatyn-eeastee (frag.) YCG.12; also
    IFC.40, LSS.902

18. Wanting boats repaired YCG.12

19. Ned prepaired to cut his veins YCG.12

20. Row shiu ec y vargey? YCG.12

21. Man who wanted to get by the fire YCG.12

22. Visiting his great-grandmother YCG.13 (18.02.1953)

23. Falling down the stairs YCG.13

24. Putting cuirn-crosses behind door to keep out fairies YCG.13

25. Living with an old aunt YCG.13; also YCG.30 (1947 - contain-
    ing material not on PR.1)

26. Ned's jingle a) YCG.13; also YCG.30, IFC.40
               b) LSS.903

27. Forgetting some of his Manx YCG.13

28. At the fishing in Ireland YCG.13

29. Caillagh ny Drommag YCG.13
30. Killing a sheep belonging to Billy Bill Harry YCG.13
31. Using Manx when not wanting others to understand YCG.13
32. Telling a man off for lying in bed YCG.30 (1947)
33. Charlotte Christie YCG.30
34. Going with the old fishermen IFC.40
35. Sun rising in the west IFC.40
36. Children's rhymes IFC.40
37. A proverb PR.3 (13.06.1962)
38. Ovens and onions PR.3
39. Man who left plenty of money PR.3
40. A Quaaltagh greeting LSS.902 (18.08.1972)
41. A puzzle LSS.902
42. A toast to the Haggis LSS.903 (17.08.1972)
43. A Manxman and an Islayman LSS.903
44. Saggyrt yn Jouyl LSS.903
45. Nelson LSS.903
46. Dividing the catch IFC.40

TOMMY LEECE, Kerrookeil, Malew

 1. Tom Jack John YCG.32 (09.10.1952)
 2. Graih my chree YCG.32
 3. Knew a woman who had no English PR.1
 4. First visit to Douglas PR.1

Mrs SAGE KINVIG, Ronague, Arbory

 1. Followed by the 'Moddey Dhoo' YCG.34 (1953)
 2. Marrying a 'foreigner' from Douglas YCG.34
 3. They don't understand any English up in Cregneash YCG.34
 4. Lord's Prayer IFC.38
 5. O Yee, cur skianyn credjue dou IFC.40
 6. Tom Jack John YCG.33 (09.10.1952)
 7. The Demon Lover (song frag.) YCG.32

Mrs ELEANOR KARRAN, Cregneash

 1. Sentences a-h : MM.28 (?autumn 1952)
            i-l : IFC.40

TOM KARRAN, Cregneash (rec. in Peel Road, Douglas)

1. Sentences a - i : MM.26 (?Aug. 1950)
              j - k : YCG.22 (14.02.1953)
              l - m : YCG.23 (14.02.1953)
              n - o : YCG.24 (24.02.1952); 1st tape rec. of TK by
                                            YCG.

Mrs EMILY LOWEY, Kirkill, Rushen

1. Tha man who was lazy YCG.29 (1947)

THOMAS TAGGART, Grenaby (rec. Aug./sept. 1930)

1. Cheated at the fair M.IV.2241-43
2. Lord's Prayer M.IV.2250
3. Tom Jack John M.IV.2312
4. Abraham Juan (song frag.) M.IV.2482-83
5. Arrane Oie Vie (frag.) M.IV.2479

JOSEPH WOODWORTH, Port Erin (rec. Aug./Sept. 1930)

1. Lord's Prayer M.III.1511
2. Making oil for lamps M.III.1585
3. Arrane mysh coayl ny baatyn-eeastee (frag.) M.III.1692
4. Arrane Oie Vie (frag.) M.III.1658
5. Boxing the compass (part) M.III.1491

EDWARD KENNAH, Ronague (rec. Aug./Sept. 1930)

1. An old saying M.IV.2498
2. Arrane mysh coayl ny baatyn-skaddan (frag.) M.IV.2499
3. A proverb M.IV.2499
4. Tom Jack John M.IV.2522
5. The three coldest winds M.IV.2523
6. Oie'll Perick Arree M.IV.2531

THOMAS CREBBIN, Bradda (rec. Sept. 1930)

1. Boxing the compass M.IV. 2546-49
2. Gubbylyn M.IV.2557
3. Pins and needles M.IV.2557

THOMAS MOORE, Brookfield, Port Erin

1. May Day in Man V.1089 (06.08.1909)
2. Dividing the year in Man V.1090 (06.08.1909)

APPENDIX   B

ADDENDUM TO VOL. 2 : DICTIONARY

INDEX OF GAELIC WORDS

As mentioned on p. xxvi of the Introduction in Vol. 1, it was my
intention to provide for those scholars unfamiliar with Manx an
index of what are felt to be, where applicable, the (nearest)
Gaelic equivalents (whether Old, Middle, or Modern Irish, or
Scottish Gaelic) of the Manx forms in the Dictionary. It must
not be assumed, however, that such equivalents give any indic-
ation of the etymology of the Manx forms, though granted in some
cases this may be so. If the Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic
equivalents are the same the Irish form is usually given; in
some cases both forms are given. The orthography used for the
Old and Middle Irish items is that of RIA DIL, for Modern Irish
usually that of Dinneen's Dictionary, and for Scottish Gaelic
that of Dwelly's Dictionary. The map references in the Dictionary
refer to Heinrich Wagner <u>Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish</u>
<u>Dialects</u> vol. 1 (Dublin 1959; reprint 1981: Dublin Institute for
Advanced Studies). Abbreviations used below can be found in the
list in Vol. 1.

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APPENDIX C

A D D E N D A   A N D   C O R R I G E N D A
to Volumes 1 and 2

<u>Vol. 1</u>

p. xvii fn. ð: John Kneen was born at St. Jude's, Andreas, on 5th November 1852, according to the late Mrs Florrie Morris of Ramsey, one of his daughters.

p. xix section F: Ewan Christian died in mid January 1985 at the White Hoe Hospital, Douglas.

p. xxiv §2 for 'it is then translated' read 'it is usually translated'.

p. xxvii: add the following two minor northern speakers:

    CC : Caesar Cashen, Peel
    Ki : Mr Killip, Sulby

p. 34 §50: <u>kiaulteenyn</u> is probably a triple plural, as the first element is (Ir.) <u>ceall</u> the orig. nom. sg. form.

p. 39 §62: add: g. <u>slane</u>: [ən slędn ˈbɔːl] 'the entire place', [tɛː slednˈpaːlˈtˈʃeɣɒ] 'he has really plenty'.
             h. <u>ynrican</u>: [mə ˈinrəkən ˈęːdn] 'my only lamb'

p. 56 §89 regarding the pronouns <u>she</u> and <u>shee</u>, add: In some examples cited above these forms follow final /-x/ in the preceding word. As /x/ can develop into [ʃ], cf. <u>aght</u> 'way, method' [aːx], [aːʃ], the sibilant in <u>she</u>, <u>shee</u> could here at any rate be a function of /x/.

p. 92 §131 pret. dep. of <u>goll</u>: for 'sg. 1' read 'pl. 1'.

p. 94 §136 after '... danger around' add: It can also be followed by the substantive vb. + pers. pn., e.g. [ʃe dïnˈə ˈdɔːiax tę] 'he is a decent fellow'

p. 111: to the adv. of manner not taking <u>dy</u> add: <u>car y chree/car y cree</u> [ha ˈnel əd gobərəx kˈaːrə ˈkriː niʃ] 'they don't work with all their heart now'.

p. 119 §166 add: <u>pirriagh</u>: [te pẹːrɪax fuːɹ] 'it is awfully cold'.

p. 159 §260: for (i.e. third sg. masc.) read (i.e. third masc.).

p. 162 §265: for 'In monosyllables' read 'In stressed monosyllables'.

p. 163 §266: for 'in monosyllables' read 'in stressed monosyllables'.

<u>Vol. 2</u>

p. 8 s. ANE add: Ir. <u>aon</u>

p. 15 s. AW for [ɑɥ] read [ə̯ɥ]

p. 16 insert AYNS: [us, os, uns, ɒns] etc. - in, into; for uses v. Grammar.

p. 59 s. CAM add: Ir. <u>cam</u>

p. 67 s. CHA N'EEAGH for 'it is not worth' read 'is not worth'
    s. CHA N'EEU for 'it is not worth' read 'is not worth'

p. 76 s. ÇHIBBYR add: ScG. <u>tiobar</u>
    s. ÇHIBBYRT add: ScG. <u>tiobairt</u>

p. 144 s. EH add: Ir. <u>é</u>, ScG. <u>è</u>.

p. 150 s. ER-LHIAM add: ScG. <u>ar leam</u>

p. 208 s. GRAIH add the meaning 'love'!

p. 220 s. HIE for 'pret. dep.' read 'pret. indep.'
    s. HIG add: ScG. <u>thig</u>.

p. 225 s. IS for 'it is' read 'is'.

p. 295 s. MEE add: ScG. <u>mi</u>.

p. 300 insert MISH: [miʃ, mɪʃ]JK, NM - I, me; emph. Ir. <u>mise</u>.

p. 325 s. NOGHT for [nɑk] read [nɑx].

p. 359 s. RAAD add: ScG. <u>rathad</u>

p. 365 s. REN add ScG. <u>rinn</u>

p. 375 s. ROSHTYN add: ScG. <u>ruigsinn</u> (with metath. in Mx. refl.)

p. 390 s. SHAGHEY add: Ir. <u>seacha</u>

p. 405 s. SHLISSAG add: NIr. <u>sliosag</u>

p. 415 s. SLIEAU add: ScG. <u>sleibhtean</u>.

p. 416 s. SLUGGEY add: <u>slogadh</u>

p. 458 s. TRAAUE for [tʰrᵊʒu] read [tʰreʒʮ].

p. 463 insert TROGH: [trǫ:x]HK - trough. E.

p. 471 s. VEES add: ScG. <u>bhitheas</u>.