Manx Gaelic inflection, 1. Noun plurals

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Of the grammatical works on Manx Gaelic, it is A. Cregeen's *A Dictionary of the Manks Language* that provides by far the most detail of inflectional morphology. And it was prepared at a time when Manx was a living community language with a large number of native speakers. In this series of studies, I attempt to extract from the dictionary[1] Cregeen's contribution to a descriptive grammar of 'Classical Manx' —the language of written texts of the period 1700-1830. The information on plural inflections that follows in this first section is derived from Cregeen's *Dictionary*, as are the meanings given. Where Cregeen mentions alternative inflections, I have added some information about usage in the Manx Bible. The classification of the inflectional patterns, however, is my own.

Most nouns in Manx Gaelic make their plural by adding a suffix. Nearly all the plural suffixes end in *-yn* (with a couple of words in *-in*) —these are class 1 below. The subclasses of class 1 are those in which some additional element intervenes between the stem and *-yn*: thus class 1a1 *-ghyn*, class 1a2 *-aghyn*, class 1b *-dyn* or *-jyn*, class 1c1 *-nyn*, class 1c2 *-inyn*, class 1c3 *-eynyn*, class 1d1 *-tyn* or *-tçhyn*, class 1d2 *-teeyn*, class 1d3 *-teenyn*, class 1e1 *-eeyn*, class 1e2 *-eenyn*, class 1f *-in*. The only other plural suffix (class 2) is *-ee*. Mostly the suffixes are simply added to the singular stem, but in a few cases a final unstressed syllable may be lost before the plural suffix. Final unstressed syllables that may be lost are *-ey* (/ə/), *-ee*, *-agh*, *-in*, *-ing*, *-aght*: these elements that are absent in the plural could well be interpreted as nominative singular suffixes.[2]

There are a very few examples of the loss in the plural of the endings *-ag*, and *-at* (probably best seen as involving irregular stem alternation). Of these endings that are are omitted in the plural, *-ey* is always lost (except in *oltey* → *olteynyn* 'member), and *-agh* is generally lost: *-agh* → *-ee*; *-ee* and *-in* tend to be retained in the plural suffixes *-eeyn* and *-inyn* respectively (which are also found after other kinds of stems); *-aght* is retained before the default plural suffix *-yn*. In a few irregular cases plural suffixation is accompanied by some change in the stem.

Classes 3-5 are of plurals without suffixation. Class 3 consists of nouns which in the plural replace a broad final consonant with a slender one (e.g. *cabbyl* → *cabbil* 'horse') or occasionally the reverse (*koir* → *koiyr* 'box'). Class 4 consists of nouns in which the stem vowel is raised/fronted in the plural; the following consonant generally becomes slender (if it was not already). There are some 60 nouns of class 4 in Cregeen. In the section below, nouns of class 4 are grouped according to the vowel of the singular stem and how it changes in the plural. Class 5 consists of nouns with a wholly irregular, suppletive or indeclinable plural —four members in Cregeen.

Three classes may be called 'default' classes —very common patterns that are to be assumed unless an alternative is explicitly mentioned. The first default class is class 1, plurals in *-yn*, which is the commonest suffix, and which can be found with nouns whose stems end in any possible way. The second is class 1a2 *-aghyn*, which is the default plural for nouns ending in *-ey* (e.g. *caggey* → *caggaghyn* 'war'); this

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[1] See Wheeler, Max W. 2015. *Fockleyr Chregeen aa-orderit*, https://www.academia.edu/12154331/Fockleyr_Chregeen_aa-orderit_liorish_Max_W._Wheeler

[2] Note that *-ee* is also a noun plural suffix; but *flaiee* 'imp, imps' may be the sole example of the same suffix used in both functions (syncretism of number).

class includes many gerunds/verbal nouns. The third default class is class 2, where singular *-agh* is replaced by *-ee* in the plural; this class includes many agent nouns such as *cummaltagh → cummaltee* 'inhabitant'.

In Table 1 the noun plural inflection classes are related to the phonological form of the stems that display them.

ending	1 : plural suffixes ending in -yn (or -in)													2	3	4	5
	1	1a1	1a2	1b	1c1	1c2	1c3	1d1	1d2	1d3	1e1	1e2	1f				
	-yn	*-ghyn*	*-aghyn*	*-d/jyn*	*-nyn*	*-inyn*	*-eynyn*	*-tyn*	*-teeyn*	*-teenyn*	*-eeyn*	*-eenyn*	*-in*	*-ee*	C~Cʲ	Int	Misc.
-C	✓		✓	4	✓	✓	(1)	1	✓	3	4	(1)		2	✓	✓	4
#C₀V	✓	✓	✓		✓			1					2	3		1	
σC₀V	✓													1		✓	
σC₀-*ey*	✓		✓	3			1	1			✓			4			
σC₀-*ee*	(→1e1)		2					3			✓	2		1			
σC₀-*agh*	(→1a2)		✓								✓			✓			
σC₀-*in*	(→1c2)			2		✓		1			✓						
σC₀-*ing*	+										2						
σC₀-*aght*	+										3						
σC₀-*ag*	+		1								1						
σC₀-*at*	+													1			

Table 1. Noun plural classes according to word endings.

✓ = more than four examples in Cregeen. Highlighted ✓ corresponds to default classes whose members are not exhaustively listed below.

-C: words ending in a consonant,
C₀V: monosyllables ending in a vowel,
σC₀V: polysyllables ending in an unstressed vowel,

σC₀-: polysyllables ending in....
Int: internal stem vowel change.

Class 1 -*yn* includes some examples with orthographic changes in the plural. For example, final -*s* is usually doubled, e.g. *slattys → slattyssyn* 'statute'. Sonorants /l, m, n, r/ which are syllabic in the singular (variously spelt) become consonantal before -*yn* in the plural, such as *fockle → focklyn*, *feeackle → feeacklyn* 'tooth', *moggyl → mogglyn* 'mesh', *ennym → enmyn* 'name'. Class 1 includes many of the nouns that end in a stressed vowel (mostly monosyllables), though

others are in classes 1a1, 1a2, 1d1, 1f, 2 and 4. The ones that are in class 1 are listed here.

Class 1, stressed vowel-final stem:

craue → craueyn 'bone',
criy → criyyn (also class 1a2 *criyaghyn*) 'gallows',
crou → crouyn 'horseshoe',
faaue → faaueyn 'hint',
feh→ fehyn 'tendon',
feiy → feiyyn (or class 1a1 *feighyn*) 'fathom',
fraue → fraueyn 'root',
gah → gahyn 'sting',
gaue → gaueyn 'hazard',
gleih→ gleihyn 'handful of corn',
gloo → glooyn 'warp',
graih → graihyn 'love',
greie → greieyn (or class 1a1 *greighyn*) 'tool',
imnea → imneayn (or class 1a1 *imneaghyn*) 'anxiety',
jurnaa → jurnaayn (Bib[3] x0, or class 1a1 *jurnaaghyn* Bib x6)   'journey',
musthaa → musthaayn 'tumult',
oaie → oaieyn 'face',
ooh → oohyn 'egg',
screau → screauyn 'kiln last',
sneih → sneihyn 'vexation',
staa → staayn 'hedge-making team of three',
straue→ straueyn 'straw',
stroo → strooyn 'current',
teigh → teighyn 'hatchet',
traa → traayn (Bib x0, or class 1a1 *traaghyn* Bib x24)   'time',

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³ Bib = Manx Bible.

traie → traieyn 'shore',
trie → trieyn 'sole of foot',
troo → trooyn (or class 1a1 *trooghyn*) 'envy' (27).

Words that end in unstressed /-ə/ (-*ey*) are typically in class 1a2, pl. in -*aghyn*.

Unusually, -*ey* words in class 1 are: *baatey → baatyn* 'boat',
beealerey → beealeryn 'babbler',
bitçhey → bitçhyn 'bitch',
bochilley → bochillyn 'herder',
breagerey → breageryn 'liar',
broatçhey → broatçhyn 'a quantity of yarn or thread wound   on a spindle without a spool',
guilley → guillyn 'boy',
kerraghey → kerraghyn 'punishment',
lhuddyrey → lhuddyryn 'mangler',
maidjey → maidjyn 'stick',
orraghey → orraghyn 'shot',
paitçhey → paitçhyn 'child',
palçhey → palçhyn (or class 1a2 *palçhaghyn*) 'plenty',
soylaghey → soylaghyn 'comparison' (14).

Words ending in other unstressed vowels fall into class 1 by default, such as *çhymlee → çhymleeyn* 'chimney', *earroo → earrooyn* 'number', *shelliu → shelliuyn* 'salve', &c.; the exceptions are mentioned below (in class 1a2, class 1d1, and class 2).

A few nouns of class 1 display stem variation. These are:

baagh → beiyn 'animal',
bannish → banjyn 'wedding',
crackan → craitnyn (Bib x 13, also reg. *crackanyn* Bib x0)   'skin',

ingin (Bib. has sg. *yngyn*) → *yngnyn* 'nail, hoof',
saagh → *siyn* 'vessel';
in *raad* → *raaidyn* the variation is orthographic only.

Class 1a1, plurals in -*ghyn*, consists exclusively of nouns ending in a stressed final vowel (nearly all monosyllables). It is the preferred class for such nouns. NB -*e*, -*h* are usually dropped in spelling before -*ghyn*; there are a few other spelling changes.

Nouns of class 1a1:
aae → *aaghyn* 'arch, ford',
bhow → *bhowghyn* 'bow',
blaa → *blaaghyn* 'flower',
bleih → *bleighyn* 'halfling',
broo → *brooghyn* 'bruise',
clou → *cloughyn* 'pair of tongs',
crea → *creaghyn* 'creed',
crou → *croughyn* 'felloe',
crouw → *crouwghyn* 'bunch growing on one stem',
dreih → *dreighyn* 'wretch',
feiy → *feighyn* (also class 1 *feiyyn*) 'fathom',
geay → *geayghyn* 'wind',
ghaw → *ghawghyn* 'creek',
gloo → *glooghyn* (also class 1 *glooyn*) 'warp',
greie → *greighyn* (also class 1 *greieyn*) 'tool',
griu → *griughyn* 'loot, stolen goods',
groo → *grooghyn* 'curd',
imnea → *imneaghyn* (also class 1 *imneayn*) 'anxiety',
jee → *jeeghyn* (also class 1a2 *jeeaghyn*, both very frequent in Bib) 'god',
jurnaa → *jurnaaghyn* (Bib x6, also class 1 *jurnaayn*) 'journey',
key → *keyghyn* 'quay',

key → *keyghyn* 'cream',
laa → *laghyn* 'day',
lieh → *liehghyn* 'half',
loo → *looghyn* 'oath',
mee → *meeghyn* 'month',
nhee → *nheeghyn* (Bib x33, also class 1a2 *nheeaghyn*) 'thing',
niau → *niaughyn* 'heaven',
noo → *nooghyn* 'saint',
oaie → *oaieghyn* (Bib x0, or class 1a2 *oaiaghyn* Bib x26) 'grave',
oe → *oeghyn* 'grandchild',
oie → *oieghyn* 'night',
ooh → *ooghyn* 'udder',
raa → *raaghyn* 'saying',
ree → *reeghyn* (also class 1a2 *reeaghyn*) 'king',
reih → *reighyn* 'choice',
rio → *rioghyn* 'frost',
roa → *roaghyn* 'row',
roo → *rooghyn* 'ruff',
shee → *sheeghyn* 'peace',
shey → *sheyghyn* 'six',
shleiy → *shleiyghyn* 'spear',
skah → *skahghyn* 'ear mark',
skah → *skahghyn* 'shedding wind',
skeiy → *skeiyghyn* 'faggot',
soo → *sooghyn* 'juice',
speiy → *speiyghyn* 'hoe',
spreih → *spreighyn* 'sprinkle',
stoo → *stooghyn* 'stuff',
strah → *strahghyn* 'plain',
tey → *teyghyn* 'tea',

thoo → thooghyn 'thatch',
thow → thowghyn 'a line used to tie the buoy to the net in
          fishing',
traa → traaghyn (Bib x24, also class 1 *traayn*) 'time',
troo → trooghyn (also class 1 *trooyn*) 'envy' (55).

Class 1a2, plurals in *-aghyn*, is, as mentioned previously, the default class for the many nouns ending in unstressed *-ey* (well over 200 items in Cregeen). It also contains some nouns ending in stressed final vowels (most of which fall in 1a1).

There are a few nouns ending in *-agh* which add *-yn*, as in class 1; these may perhaps better be seen as *-agh → -aghyn*, class 1a2. (Most nouns in *-agh* fall in class 2 *-ee*, and a few in class 1e1 *-eeyn*.)

Class 1a2 nouns in *-agh → -aghyn*:
çhiollagh → çhiollaghyn 'hearth',
claasagh → claasaghyn 'harp',
coodagh → coodaghyn 'covering',
famlagh ~ famyragh → famlaghyn ~ famyraghyn 'seaweed',
giucklagh → giucklaghyn 'broom',
imbagh → imbaghyn 'season',
keeagh → keeaghyn 'breast'
miolagh → miolaghyn 'temptation',
niurinagh → niurinaghyn 'inhabitant of hell',
oardagh → oardaghyn 'order',
peegagh → peegaghyn 'skate, thornback',
screeagh → screeaghyn 'screech'
shaslagh → shaslaghyn 'bent grass'
ynsagh → ynsaghyn 'kearnung, doctrine' (14).

Class 1a2 nouns ending in stressed final vowels:
baie → baieaghyn 'bay',
cree → creeagahyn 'heart',
criy → criyaghyn (also class 1 *criyyn*) 'gallows',

gaih → gaiaghyn ~ gaihaghyn 'toy',
jee → jeeaghyn (also class 1a1 *jeeghyn*) 'god',
leigh → leighaghyn 'law',
lhiy → lhiyaghyn (also class 1c1 *lhiynyn*) 'colt',
meih → meihaghyn 'scale, balance',
nhee → nheeaghyn (also class 1a1 *nheeghyn*) 'thing',
oaie → oaiaghyn 'grave' (Bib x26, also class 1a1 *oaieghyn*),
py → pyaghyn 'pie',
ree → reeaghyn (Bib passim),
roih → roihaghyn 'arm' (13).

Class 1a2 also contains a fair number of nouns with stems ending in consonants. Several end in *-r*, including many family relationships.

Class 1a2 nouns ending in consonant: *-r*:
ayr → ayraghyn 'father',
braar → braaraghyn 'brother',
çheer → çheeraghyn 'land',
glare → glaraghyn 'language',
gloyr → gloyraghyn 'glory',
moir → moiraghyn 'mother',
mooir → mooiraghyn 'sea',
mooirçhoor → mooirçhooraghyn 'wreck',
obbyr → obbraghyn 'work',
oor → ooraghyn (also class 1 *ooryn*) 'hour',
pooar → pooaraghyn 'power',
shuyr → shayraghyn (with stem vowel change) 'sister',
spoar → spoaraghyn 'space' (13).

Other consonants:
bing → bingaghyn 'jury',
pinn → pinnaghyn 'peg',
skynn → skynnaghyn (also class 1 *skynnyn* Bib x5) 'knife'.

Cregeen also gives class 1a2 plurals for *dolt* 'ward, adopted child', *feysht* 'question', *freayn* 'overflow', *sheid* 'blow, puff', *strull* 'rinse', *teaum* 'spill', → *doltaghyn*, etc., but it seems likely these are properly the plurals of the related or synonymous nouns *doltey*, *feyshtey*, *freayney*, *sheidey*, *strulley* and *teaumey*.

Other class 1a2:

    lhiabbee → *lhiabbaghyn* (Bib x8) 'bed',
    lhiattee → *lhiattaghyn* (Bib x0, or class 1e1 *lhiatteeyn* Bib x20) 'side';
    scrobbag → *scrobbaghyn* (Bib x1) 'gizzard'.

Class 1b, plurals in broad *-dyn* or slender *-jyn,* contains no more than 9 nouns altogether, in three 'rare' types.

Class1b:

    ard → *ardjyn* 'height',
    foill → *foiljyn* 'fault',
    keyll → *keyljyn* 'wood, forest',
    oayll → *oayldyn* 'haunt';
    balley → *baljyn* 'town',

    billey → *biljyn* 'tree',
    carrey → *caarjyn* 'friend';

    mwyllin → *mwyljin* 'mill',
    uillin → *uiljyn* 'elbow'.

Likewise, class 1c1 in *-nyn* consists of no more than 10 nouns, several with alternative inflections.

Class 1c1 nouns:

    bayr → *bayrnyn* (also class 1 *bayryn*) 'road',
    briw → *briwnyn* 'judge',
    cliwe → *cliwenyn* 'sword',
    craiu → *craiunyn* 'crowbar',

    gaaue → *gaauenyn* 'smith',
    greme → *gremenyn* (also class 1) 'bite, bit',
    lhiy → *lhiynyn* (Bib x2, also class 1a2 *lhiyaghyn*) 'colt',
    mie → *mienyn* 'virtue',
    saaue → *saauenyn* (also class 1 *saaueyn*, Bib x4) 'saw',
    snaie → *snaienyn* 'thread',
    taaue → *taauenyn* 'retch'.

There is but a handful of nouns in class 1c2 *-inyn*, most with regular class 1 alternatives.

Class 1c2:

    broogh → *brooinyn* (with stem change) 'brink, verge',
    dreeym → *dreeyminyn* (also class 1 *dreeymyn*) 'back',
    jeeig → *jeeiginyn* (also class 1 *jeeigyn*, Bib x4) 'ditch',
    jough → *joughinyn* (also class 1 *joughyn*) 'drink',
    rass → *rassinyn* (also class 1 *rassyn*, Bib x1) 'seed',
    traagh → *traaghinyn* (also class 1 *traaghyn*) 'hay'.
    See also under 1e1 *cuishlin*, *drillin*, *pishin, shiaghtin*.

Class 1c3:

    jaagh → *jaagheynyn* (also class 1 *jaaghyn*) 'smoke',
    oltey → *olteynyn* 'member (of a society)'.

Class 1d1:

    blein → *bleeantyn* 'year' (with stem change of vowel and slender → broad consonant);
    slieau → *sleityn* [tʃ] 'mountain';
    lheiney → *lheintyn* [tʃ] 'shirt' ;
    bwoaillee → *bwoailtçhyn* 'sheepfold',
    lheeannee → *lheeantyn* 'meadow',
    moanee → *moaintyn* 'turbary' (also class 1e1 *moaneeyn*);
    geaylin → *geayltyn* [tʃ] 'shoulder'.

Class 1d2 in -*teeyn*, contains a handful of nouns with stems ending in /n/, plus one ending in slender /lʲ/:

Class 1d2:

> *glion* → *glionteeyn* 'glen',
> *lieen* → *lieenteeyn* (also class 1d3 -*teenyn*, Bib x8) 'linen, net',
> *oarn* → *oarnteeyn* 'barley',
> *raane* → *raanteeyn* (also class 1d3 -*teenyn*, Bib x5) 'surety',
> *raun* → *raunteeyn* (also class 1 *raunyn*, Bib x1) 'seal',
> *streean* → *streeanteeyn* (also class 1 *streeanyn*, Bib x3) 'bridle',
> *stroin* → *strointeeyn* 'nose' (also class 1, *stroanyn*, with stem change, Bib x9 'noses' and 'nostrils');
> *maail* → *maailteeyn* (also class 1 *maailyn*) 'rent' (8).

> Cregeen gives *kerrinyn* as the plural both of *kerrin* 'square' and of *kerroo* 'quarter'; in the latter case it is quite irregular — unstressed final -*oo* is not otherwise lost in plurals. Other sources give *kerrooyn* (class 1) as the plural of *kerroo*.

Class 1d3, in -*teenyn*:

> *keeill* → *kialteenyn* (with stem change of vowel and slender→broad consonant),
> *lieen* → *lieenteenyn* 'linen, net' (also class 1d2 *lieenteeyn*, and *lieenyn* LSM),
> *raane* → *raanteenyn* (Bib x5, also class 1d2 *raanteeyn* Bib x0) 'surety'.

Class 1e1, plurals in -*eeyn*, largely consists of nouns where an unstressed final syllables is deleted before the suffix. For nouns

ending in -*agh*, class 1e1 is the next preferred pattern after the default class 2 (-*agh* → -*ee*).

Class 1e1, -*ey* → -*eeyn*:

> *attey* → *atteeyn* (also class 1a2 *attaghyn*) 'crown, capital',[4]
> *bunney* → *bunneeyn* 'sheaf',
> *kynney* → *kynneeyn* 'kindred',
> *losserey* → *lossreeyn* 'herb' (with elision of medial syllable),
> *moghrey* → *moghreeyn* 'morning',
> *troagyrey* → *troagyreeyn* 'trudger' (6).

Class 1e1, -*agh* → -*eeyn*:

> *cagliagh* → *cagleeyn* (NB -*i*- elided; Bib x 6, also class 1a2 *cagliaghyn*, Bib x8) 'boundary',
> *claddagh* → *claddeeyn* 'river bank',
> *colbagh* → *colbeeyn* 'heifer',
> *connysagh* → *connyseeyn* 'teaser',
> *coonlagh* → *coonleeyn* 'straw',
> *curragh* → *curreeyn* 'bog',
> *cruinlagh* → *cruinleeyn* 'orbit',
> *eaddagh* → *eaddeeyn* 'clothes, garment',
> *geinnagh* → *geinneeyn* 'sand',
> *gounagh* → *gouneeyn* 'a cow is so called, strictly speaking, on being a quarter of a year done calving',
> *ingagh* → *ingeeyn* 'train of nets',
> *joanlagh* → *joanleeyn* 'drizzle',
> *keynnagh* → *keynneeyn* 'moss',
> *lhargagh* → *lhargeeyn* 'downward slope',
> *mullagh* → *mulleeyn* 'top',
> *oarlagh* → *oarleeyn* 'inch',
> *queeylagh* → *queeleeyn* 'band, binding',

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[4] In the Bible *attaghyn* is used only for 'crowns' (x7) while *atteeyn* is used for both 'crowns' (x4) and 'column capitals' (x11).

rhennagh → rhenneeyn 'fern',
rimlagh → rimleeyn 'fishing line',
scoarnagh → scoarneeyn 'throat',
scudlagh → scudleeyn 'luggage',
skyrtlagh → skyrtleeyn 'lapful',
smooirlagh → smooirleeyn 'debris, fragment',
streebagh → streebeeyn 'prostitute',
taarnagh → taarneeyn 'thunder',
tarragh → tarreeyn 'girth',
tullagh → tulleeyn 'instant',
ughtagh → ughteeyn 'upward slope' (28).

Class 1e1, *-in → -eeyn*:

cuishlin → cuishleeyn (also class 1c2 *cuishlinyn*, Bib x1) 'vein',
drillin → drilleeyn (also class 1c2 *drillinyn*) 'spark',
glashtin → glashteeyn 'goblin',
murlhin → murlheeyn 'hamper',
perkyn → perkeeyn 'porpoise',
pishin → pisheeyn (also class 1c2 *pishinyn*) 'kitten',
shiaghtin → shiaghteeyn (Bib x0, or class 1c2 *shiaghtinyn* Bib x14),
skerin → skereeyn 'splice',
skillin → skilleyn 'shilling',
puiddihn (sic) *→ puiddeeyn* 'pudding',
synnin → synneeyn 'a tug or thong, from the middle of the small swingletree to the end of the large one, in which irons are now used'.

Other class 1e1:

annym → anmeeyn (Bib x0, also class 1e2 *anmeenyn*) 'soul',
bleb → blebeeyn (also class 1 *blebyn*) 'fool',
daunse → daunseeyn 'dance',
laair → laaireeyn 'mare';
conning → conneeyn (also class 1 *conningyn* Bib x1) 'rabbit',
farling → farleeyn 'farthing';
curnaght → curneeyn 'wheat',
glasseraght → glassereeyn 'herbage, vegetation',
shesheraght → shesereeyn 'plough team';
crammag → crummeeyn (with stem change) 'snail'.

Class 1e2, plural in *-eenyn*:

annym → anmeenyn (Bib x34, or *anmeeyn* Bib x0) 'soul';
Creestee → Creesteenyn 'Christian',
jaghee → jagheenyn 'tithe'.

Class 1f, plural in *-in*

clea → clein (Bib x2, also *cleain*, *cleaiyn*) 'harrow, etc.',
coo → coyin (with stem change of vowel) 'hound'.

The majority of the members of class 2, plurals in *-ee*, consists of nouns with the frequent nominal ending *-agh*, which is often a derivational suffix (as in *Manninagh*, person from *Mannin*, pl. *Manninee*, *scaipailtagh* 'fugitive', from *scaipail* 'slip out', pl. *scaipailtee*). There are occasional oddities of spelling.[5] The remaining members of class 2 display infrequent patterns (see below).

Other class 2:

lugh → lughee 'mouse',

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[5] Thus *-iagh* generally becomes *-ee*, as in *maarliagh → maarlee* 'thief', *markiagh → markee* 'rider'. Note *feeagh → fiee* (Bib x1) or *fee* 'raven', *mwaagh → mwaaee* 'hare'.

eean → eeanlee 'fowl' (NB inserted /l/);
cleiy → cleiyee 'hedge',
guiy → guoiee 'goose',
lheiy → lheiyee 'calf';
keyrrey → kirree (with stem change of vowel) 'sheep',
ollay → ollee 'swan',
moddey → moddee 'dog',
urley → urlee 'eagle';
feeaïh → feeaihee[6] 'deer',
flaiee → flaiee 'imp' (NB pl. = sg.);
pieanat → pieanee (also class 1 *pieanatyn*) 'magpie' (12).

Noun classes 3, 4 and 5 make their plurals by means of stem changes, without suffixes. In class 3 generally a final consonant which is broad is replaced by the corresponding slender consonant in the plural. In two cases the reverse is observed, to judge from the spelling, at least.[7]

Class 3, sg. broad C → pl. slender C:
beeal → beill 'mouth',
cabbyl → cabbil 'horse',
caabyl → caabil 'cable',
carbyd → carbid (also class 1 *carbydyn*) 'bier',
carkyl ~ kiarkyl → carkil ~ kiarkil (also class 1 *kiarkylyn*) 'circle',
criggyl → criggil (also class 1 *criggylyn*) 'cripple',
cubbyl → cubbil 'couple',
eayn → eayin 'lamb',
eean → eïn 'chick',
farbyl → farbil 'tail',
farkyl → farkil 'lid',

foawr → foawir 'giant',
goayr → goair 'goat',
groudle → groudil 'crowder' (i.e. 'fiddler'),
jouyl → jouyil 'devil',
kern-riaghyl → kern-riaghil 'square',
kirbyl → kirbil 'lunch',
moggyl → moggil (or class 1 *mogglyn*) 'mesh',
punt → puint 'pound',
purt → puirt (also class 1) 'harbour',
sambyl → sambil 'sample',
shiaull → shiauihll 'sail',
staabyl → staabil 'stable' (23);

sg. slender C → pl. broad C
koir → koiyr 'box',
seyir → sieyr 'carpenter'[8] (2).

Class 4, plural by stem vowel change, plus slender consonant, indicated e.g. by orthographic -*i*- (60)

/a/ → /e/ *mac → mec* 'son'
convayrt → conveyrt 'carcase'
dow → dew 'ox'
lhiannoo → lhiennoo 'child'
mair → meir 'finger'
marroo → merriu 'dead person'
sack → seick 'sack'
smair → smeir 'berry'
sparroo → sperriu 'sparrow'

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[6] Cregeen says that the plural of *feeaïh* is spelt *feeaihee*, although plural and singular are pronounced the same; the Manx Bible uses *feeaih* or *feeaïh* for both singular and plural, *feeaïhee* for plural.

[7] The pronunciation of *sieyr* 'carpenters' and *koiyr* 'boxes' is not attested in LSM.
[8] The Manx Bible has, for 'carpenters', *sieyr* once, *seiyr* once, and *seyir*, identical with the singular, seven times.

sthowyr → sthewir 'staff'
tarroo → teirroo ~ terriu 'bull'

/a/ → /i/   *ark → irk* 'young pig'
brack → brick 'mackerel, trout'
gass → gish 'stem'
glack → glick 'hollow of the hand'
glass → glish 'lock'
kayt → kiyt 'cat'
kiap → kip 'block'
lagg → ligg 'hollow'
leac → lhic 'slate'
stalk → sthilk 'stalk'

car → kyr 'twist'
cayr → khyr 'knot in timber'

baair → bhir 'crop'

/a/→ /ui/   *bart → buirht* 'burden'
clag → cluig 'bell, clock'
mart → muirt 'beef'

/e/ → /i/   *fer → fir* 'man, one'
bher → bhir 'spit'
edd → idd 'nest', 'hat'
erroo → irroo 'ploughman'

beark → birk 'corn'

/o/ → /i/   *block → blick* 'block'
corp → kirp 'body'
cronk → crink 'hill'
gob → gib 'beak'
jolg → jilg 'thorn, knitting needle'
kione → king 'head, end'

sock → sick 'ploughshare'
stott → sthitt 'bullock'

/o/ → /ui/ *blod → blhuid* 'blade'
boayl → buill 'ball'
boayl → buill 'place'
boayrd → buird 'table'
bock → buick 'gelding'
bolg → builg 'belly'
bwoid → bwhid 'penis'
croan → cruin 'mast'
cront → cruint 'knot'
doarn → duirn 'fist'
lorg → luirg 'staff'
mohlt → muihlt 'wether'
olk → uilk 'evil'
poht → pooiyt (Bib x9) *~ puyt ~ poiyt* 'pot'
poyll → puill 'pool'
spoht → spuit (or class 1) 'spot'
stoyl → stuill 'seat'
towl → tuill 'hole'

poinht → pouint 'leather lace'

/u/ → /e:/ *dooiney → deiney* 'man'

Class 5, wholly irregular, suppletive or syncretic plurals:
goo → goan 'word' (irregular),
gauin → gouney 'young bovine (between calf and heifer)'
(irregular —no other example of *-ey* ending in noun plurals);
ben → mraane 'woman' (suppletive);

jeir → jeïr 'tear' (syncretic —plural difference merely
    orthographic).[9]

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[9] Given the observations made above, we should doubtless add to the nouns with
base (syncretic) plurals: *feeaih* 'deer', *flaiee* 'imp(s)', and *seyir* 'carpenter(s)'.