CHAPTER 8

# MANX

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## INTRODUCTION

Manx is one of the three Celtic languages belonging to the Goidelic group. It is a descendant of Old and Middle Irish and departs, along with Scottish Gaelic, from Irish in the Early Modern Irish period (thirteenth century) and parts with Scottish Gaelic itself in the fifteenth century.

The arrival of Goidelic into Man seems to have taken place, as part of the fourth- to fifth-century Irish expansion into adjacent Britain, around AD 500 where (in Man) it ousted a British language apparently spoken there (Jackson 1953: 173). Its early history in Man is obscure, but it survived four centuries of Scandinavian presence (*c*. 925 to 1266). From 1289 to 1334 Man was contended for in Scottish–English rivalries, and from 1334 to 1405 it was the property of several Anglo-Norman magnates who retained the title 'King and Lord of Man'. From 1405 to 1736 Man found itself in the possession of the Stanley lords of Knowsley (near Liverpool), after 1485 styled 'Earls of Derby' and from 1521 (if not before) 'Lords of Man'. From 1736 to 1765 Man was in the hands of the anglicized Dukes of Atholl, thereafter an appendage to the British Crown through purchase. Gaelic in Man survived these periods also.

Though there is likely to have been a bardic tradition in Man supported by a native Gaelic-speaking aristocracy before and during the existence of the Manx Kingdom of the Isles (*c*. 950–1266) (Ó Cuív 1957: 283–301), this is unlikely to have continued under a non-Gaelic-speaking hierarchy probably from the start of the fourteenth century. Though the language of administration from that time would also have been non-Gaelic, it was nevertheless found necessary, for example, for Bishop John Phillips (1604–1633) to translate the Anglican Book of Common Prayer (*PB*, *c*. 1610), into Manx, and for Bible translations (published 1748–75, last edition of the complete Bible 1819, of the New Testament (NT) 1825) and a Manx version of the Prayer Book (last published 1842) to be made. These facts make it clear that up until the latter date at least the bulk of the ordinary Manx people spoke Manx, or at least felt more at home in that language.

Given the absence from the fourteenth century of a Gaelic-speaking hierarchy and educated class capable of sustaining by its patronage learning and literature, restriction in the life of the ordinary people to the most everyday activities would likely explain the impoverishment of the Manx vocabulary, as exemplified in the available dictionaries. Even with the time span of the written record (early seventeenth century to present) a decline in inherited Gaelic vocabulary is attested.

The oldest continuous text in Manx is that of Phillips (see above) dating from the early seventeenth century, but this did not find its way into print until 1894. Manx first appeared in print in 1707 in Bishop Thomas Wilson's bilingual *Principles and Duties of Christianity*, known as *Coyrle Sodjeh* 'further advice'; thereafter throughout the eighteenth century, a number of works, mostly of a religious nature, including the Manx Bible translation were published. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a number of secular traditional songs in manuscript form appeared (some later in print), which could be regarded as original native material. Included in this corpus of original Manx must be the ten thousand or so lines in verse of largely unpublished carvals, or religious folksongs, seemingly dating in origin from the Reformation (though in manuscript form of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century date). From the late nineteenth century we have, perhaps as the last example of native vernacular Manx, the folklore stories and reminiscences of Ned Beg Hom Ruy (Edward Faragher of Cregneash, 1831–1908), published in 1981–2.

Although Manx ran parallel with Irish until the thirteenth century and with Scottish Gaelic until the fifteenth century, as noted above, its evolution thereafter became more progressive, while at the same time preserving archaisms from Old and Middle Irish, lost in other branches of Gaelic. The social and political factors which cut Manx off from its sister dialects helped this more progressive evolution which made available a variety of alternative constructions and innovations, especially in the verbal system (see pp. 323–30 below), but which do not entirely displace the old. For our purposes here we may distinguish three periods of Manx:

- Early Manx (EMx): seventeenth century; essentially that of Phillips' Anglican Book of Common Prayer translation, *c.* 1610.
- Classical Manx: (CMx): eighteenth century; essentially that of the Manx Bible translation (1744–75).
- Late Manx (LMx): nineteenth–twentieth century; essentially that of Ned Beg Hom Ruy and the last of the native Manx speakers (*c.* 1840–1974).

The following account is based on Classical Manx, with occasional references to Early Manx and Late Manx.

## ORTHOGRAPHY

The separation of Manx for various social and political reasons from a written Gaelic literature and tradition in Ireland and Scotland resulted in any remaining Gaelic tradition in Man being continued orally. When it became necessary, therefore, to write in Manx, what was essentially an Early Modern English-based orthography was devised, since writing in Man had for long years been associated with administration and therefore with English. Such an orthography is likely to have been devised by the clergy for their sermons, because of their obvious close contact with the ordinary Manx-speaking public. Though the earliest surviving piece of continuous Manx exists in *PB* (see above), where the orthography adopted employs 'continental' values for its vowels, the fact that contemporary criticism did not welcome such 'innovations' suggests that an earlier orthography had been current, which was probably a forerunner of that in use later on, to be found in the rendering of Manx place-names from the fifteenth century onwards.

The Early Modern English-based conventions used in Manx orthography disguise the connection between radical and lenited/nasalized consonants, which is obvious in Gaelic

spelling, but they have the advantage of revealing the vocalization of fricatives, svara-bhakti vowels, and lengthening or diphthongization of monosyllables before unlenited liquids and nasals, not apparent in the traditional spelling. Manx orthography, however, does not distinguish clearly palatalized consonants.

Since the devising of the Manx orthography, Manx pronunciation has shown some deviation, and it is now quite often the case that the orthographic form of a given lexical item does not accurately represent its pronunciation. However, Manx orthography does try to represent in different orthographic form items having an identical pronunciation but a different meaning.

## PHONOLOGY

### Vowels

*The short vowel phonemes in Manx*
The short vowel phonemes in Manx may be sketched as follows:

|       | **Front** |   | **Back** |
|-------|-----------|---|----------|
| High  | i         |   | u        |
| Mid   | e         | ə | o        |
| Low   |           | a |          |

The more Late Manx fell into disuse the greater the uncertainty and consequent destabilization in the realization of the phonemes. This has resulted in a wider range of allophones for each phoneme than was probably originally the case and, to an extent, an overlapping of allophonic variants between the phonemes. In addition original short vowels may be secondarily lengthened, and, though not so prevalent, original stressed long vowels may be shortened.

The range of possibilities in LMx for each of the short vowels is as follows: /i/ = [i], [ɪ], [i] varying freely with /iː/, /e(ː)/, /u(ː)/, /o/, /ə/, /a/, particularly in stressed monosyllables or initially stressed syllables of polysyllables:

/kl[i]ː/, /kl [øː]sˊ/, /kl [eː]sˊ/ 'ear'
/tˊ[i]t/, /tˊ[ɪ]t/, /tˊ[ɛ]t/, /tˊ[e]t/, /tˊ[ø]t/ 'coming'
/tˊ[ɪ]vət/, /tˊ [ʊ]vət/, /tˊ [ɔ]bərt/ 'well'

/e/ = [e], [ẹ], [ɛ], in LMx varying freely with /u/, /ə/, /ɛː/, /i/, /a/ in stressed monosyllables or in initial position:

/b[e]n/, /b[ɛ]n/ 'woman'
/g[e]ik/, /g[i]ik/ 'Manx language'
/dˊ[ẹ]nu/, /dˊ[ɪ]nu, /dˊ[a]nu/, /dˊ[ʊ]nu/ 'doing'

/a/ = [a], [æ]. In stressed or unstressed initial syllables there may in LMx be free variation with /o/, /e/, /i/, /ə/ especially in the environment of laterals and nasals, or before /x/, and /a/ and /aː/:

/tˊ[a]s/, /tˊ[æ]s/ 'heat'
/r[a]m/ 'a lot'
/tˊ[a]lax/, /tˊ[ɔ]lax/ 'hearth'

/[a]mənax/, /[ɪ]mnax/, /[ɛ]mnax/ 'late'
/f[æ]mərax/, /f[ø]mərəx/ 'seaweed'
/kl[a]s´t´ən/, /kl[aː]s´t´ən/ 'hearing'

/o/ = [o] [ɔ], [ɑ]. In initial position or in stressed monosyllables, there may in LMx be free variation with /u/, /a/, /i/, /e/, /oː/:

/g[o]l/, /g[ɔ]l/, /g[ɑ]l/ 'going'
/f[ɔ]d/, /f[ɛ]d/, /f[ɪ]d/ 'can'
/t[ɔ]lu/, /t[ɑ]lu/ 'land'

/u/ is normally advanced and poorly rounded. In LMx there is sometimes [ʊ] or [y], varying with /o/:

/p[u]nt/, /p[ʊ]nt/ 'pound'
/s´l´[ʊ]xt/, /s´l[y]x/ 'progeny'
/s´aːs[u]/, /s´aːs[o]/ 'standing'

/ə/: [ə] usually in unstressed position. In LMx sometimes [ɪ] after palatal /n/, /l/:

/k[ə]'rɛːn/ 'sandal'
/baːl´[ə]/, /baːl´[ɪ]/ 'town'
/dun´[ə]/, /dun´[ɪ]/ 'man'

in stressed position /'kənəs/ 'how'.

However, /ə/ may be realized as [ø], [øː] (i.e. with a degree of lip-rounding) in the environment of laterals, vibrants, dentals, voiceless fricatives, nasals and velars, representing retraction, advancement or raising of the other vowel phonemes, but with some lip rounding → [ø], [øː]:

/rid/, /r[ø]d/ 'thing'
/beːr/, /b[øː]](r)/ 'road'
/aːrd/, /[øː]rd/ 'high'
/klis´/, /kl[øː]s´/ 'ear'
/suːs/, /soːs/, s[øː]s/ 'upwards'
/trɪməd/, /tr[ø]məd/ 'weight'
/keːx/, /k[øː]x/ 'wild'

*The long vowel phonemes*
The long vowel phonemes in Late Manx are:

|        | **Front** |     | **Back** |
| ------ | --------- | --- | -------- |
| High   | iː        |     | uː       |
| Mid    | eː        | əː  | oː       |
| Low    |           | aː  |          |

For long varieties of /ə/ as [øː] see above. As with the short vowel phonemes and for the same or similar reasons we have in LMx a wide range of allophonic variance.

/iː/ = [iː], [ɪː]. In LMx in free variation with /i/, /ə/, /eː/, /uː/, /ei/, /ai/, /iə/.
/fr[iː] lʹ/, /fr[ɪː]lʹ/ 'keeping'
/[iː]m/, /[i]m/ 'butter'
/g[iː]l/, /g[i]l/, /g[ɪː]l/, /g[y:]l/, /g[ø:]l/, /g[u:]l/ 'coal'
/kl[iː]/, /kl[ɛi]/, /kl[ai]/ 'playing'
/b[iː]l/, /b[iə]l/ 'mouth'

/eː/: [ẹː], [eː], [ɛː]
/ ẹːs/, /eːs/, /ɛːs/ 'moon'

Some lexical items demonstrate more close realizations, others more open ones suggesting an original distinction between /eː/ and /ɛː/, fallen together as one phoneme in Late Manx. For example, under more constrained conditions /eːsˊ/ 'age' and /ɛːsˊ/ 'rest, ease' would have formed minimal pairs. The same could be said of /oː/ ~ /ɔː/ (see below).

In stressed monosyllables and initial stressed syllables there may be variation with /e/, /i(ː)/, /aː/, /oː/, /ə/:

/[eː]dax/, /[e]dax/, /[i]dax/ 'clothing'
/[ɛː]linˊ/, /[oː]linˊ/, /[aː]lənˊ/ 'fine'

/aː/ = [aː], [ạː], in LMx in free variation with /a/, /e(ː)/, /o(ː)/, /ai/:

/nˊ[aː]t/, /nˊ[ạː]t/ 'strength'
/[aː](r)gəd/, /[ẹː](r)gəd/, /[aː](r)gid/ 'money'
/[aː]lˊ/, /[ai]lˊ/ 'fire'

/oː/ = [oː], [ɔː], [ɑː]

/n [oː]/, /n [ɔː]/, /n [ɑː]/ 'new'

As with /eː/ more close realizations are restricted to some and more open to other items, suggesting the two contrasting phonemes /oː/ and /ɔː/ that could have given the near minimal pairs /boːl/ 'place' (cf. Ir. *ball*): /bɔːldən/ 'May' (cf. ScG *Bealtuinn*).

In stressed monosyllables and initial stressed syllables there may in LMx be free variation with /o/, /a(ː)/, /uː/, /eː/, /ə/ (before /r/):

/l [ɔː](r)t/, /l[ɛː]t/ 'speaking'
/p [ɔː]t/, /f[uː]rt/(lenited) 'harbour'

/uː/ as with /u/ is normally advanced and poorly rounded in its articulation. In LMx it may be realized as [yː], [øu], and vary freely in stressed monosyllables/initial stressed syllables with /u/, /o(ː)/, /i(ː)/, /eu/, /au/:

/k [uː]nlax/ 'straw'
/d [uː]/, /d [yː]/, /d[øu]/ 'black'
/lˊ[uː]rid/, /lˊ[u]ridˊ/ 'length'
/lˊ[uː]risˊ/, /lˊ[ɔː]risˊ/ 'by'
/dˊ[uː]/, /dˊ[øu]/ 'today'

The vowels /a/, /e/, /ə/ can form both i- and u-diphthongs, /o/, /u/ only i-diphthongs, while /i/, /u/ can form ə-diphthongs. These last are later developments resulting in the weakening of /r/, e.g., /miːr/ 'morsel' → /miːə/, /muːr/ 'big' → /muːə/. Except in monosyllables before /l, r/, the i- and u-diphthongs result from the vocalization of palatal and labial (occasionally dental) spirants. /iə/ and /uə/ are subject to monophthongization, e.g., /biəl/, /biːl/ 'mouth', /kuːəg/, /koːg/ 'cuckoo'. Quite often the first element of a diphthong can be long.

## Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Manx may be illustrated as follows:

| | Labial | Dental alveolar | Palatal | Palatal velar | 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 fricatives | v | | | (ɣ´) | (ɣ) | |
| Semivowels | w | | j | | | |

As can be seen, the consonant system demonstrates an opposition between neutral and palatal articulation in the stops and fricatives, though no longer in the labials. The four-way system in Old Irish /L, N, R/ involving double phonemic contrast: (a) neutral-palatalized /L:L´, l:l´, N:N´, n:n´, r:r´/; (b) fortis-lenis /L:l, L´:l´, N:n, N´:n´, R:r, R´:r´/ has developed into a two-way system for /L, N/ and a single phoneme for /R/, viz /l:l´, n:n´, r/, though traces of palatal /r/, viz [r´], are found. Original /θ/ and /ð/ fell in with /h/ and /ð/ (both neutral and palatal) respectively. However, since the latter part of the eighteenth century a new [ð] has been created by modified articulation of /t, d, s/ in intervocalic position. Palatalization in association with high front vowels is weak, but with back and low front vowels it is quite pronounced as if C + [j]: /k´iŋ/ 'heads', /k´oːn/, [kjoːn] 'head'. Palatalized /t´/ and /d´/ are realized as the affricates [t´s´], [d´z´] respectively.

The consonant clusters of Manx and their distribution can be sketched as follows:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|---|---|---|
| /sp-/ | /-sp-/ | |
| /spr-/ | | |
| /spw-/ | | |
| /sk-/ | /-sk-/ | |
| /skr-/ | | |
| /st-/ | /-st-/ | |
| /str-/ | | |
| /s´t´-/ | /-st´-/ | /-s´t´/ |
| /sl-/ | /-l-/ | |
| /sl´-/ | /-sl´-/ | |
| /sm-/ | | |
| /sn-/ | /-sn-/ | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /pl-, pr-, pw-/ | | |
| /tr-/ | | |
| | /-tl-/ | |
| /kl-, kl´-/ | /-kl-/ | |
| | /ks-/ | |
| /kw-/ | | |
| /bl-, bl´-/ | | |
| | /-bd-/ | |
| /br-/ | | |
| /bj-/ | | |
| /bw-/ | | |
| /dr-/ | | |
| | /-dl-/ | |
| /gl-/ | /-gl-/ | |
| | /-gn-, -gn´-/ | |
| /gr-/ | | |
| /fl-, fl´-, fr-, fj-/ | | |
| /mr-, mj-, mw-/ | | |
| | /-mb-, -mn-, -mʃ-/ | |
| | /-nd-/ | |
| | /-ŋ(g)-/ | /-ŋ(g)/ |
| | /-ŋk-, -nl-/ | |
| | /-nm-, -nr-, -ntr-/ | |
| | /-nd´-/ | |
| | /-nt-, -ntr-/ | /-nt/ |
| | /-nv-/ | |
| | | /-ns, -ns´/ |
| | /-rt-, -rd´-/ | /-rt, -rt´/ |
| | | /-rp/ |
| | /-rk-/ | /-rk/ |
| | /-rd-/ | /-rd/ |
| | /-rg-/ | /-rg/ |
| | /-rm-/ | |
| | /-rn-/ | /-rn/ |
| | /-rl-, -rl´-/ | |
| | /-lt-, -l´t´-/ | /-lt, -l´t´/ |
| | /-lb-, -l´d´-/ | /-lb/ |
| | /-lg-/ | /-lg/ |
| | /-ls-/ | |
| | | /-l´t´-/ |
| | /-lt-/ | |
| | | /-lk/ |
| | /-ls-, -l´ʃ-, -lt-/ | |
| | /-xl-/ | |
| | /-xt-/ | /-xt/ |

The earlier initial clusters /kn, gn, tn, dl, tl/ had by the end of the seventeenth century fallen in with /kr, gr, tr, gl, kl/ e.g. EMx *knaid*, CMx *craid* 'mockery', *gnwis* : *grooish* 'face', etc. By the beginning of the eighteenth century original /sr/ had largely fallen in with /str/

and medial /sk, s´k´/, with one or two exceptions, had fallen in with /st, s´t´/, e.g. G. *eas-buig* 'bishop' → Mx. *aspit*. Final /t/ after /s/ and /x/ tends to be lost, the latter as early as the seventeenth century, though preserved in the standard spelling. In monosyllables the original length in unlenited /L/, /R/, /N/, /m/ is transferred to the preceding vowel either increasing its length or forming a u-diphthong, e.g. *kione* 'head' (G. *ceann*) [kjoːn].

Other modifications include preocclusion, the development of a weak variety of the corresponding voiced stop before final /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ in stressed monsyllables, generally causing shortening in original long vowels /troːm/ 'heavy' → /trobm/, /k´oːn/ 'head' > /k´odn/, /loŋ/ 'ship' → /logŋ/. In addition there is a tendency to replace /g/ with /d/ in proclitics: /gə/ 'that' → /də/; /gəs/ 'to' → /dəs/; /gən/ 'without' → /dən/.

Devoicing to an extent in Manx had also taken place, particularly in final unstressed palatized /-g´/, viz. G. *Pádraig* → Mx. *Perick*, *easbuig* 'bishop' → *aspick*.

## Stress

Stress in Manx normally falls on the first syllable. However, this can be disturbed by the following factors:

1   Derivative suffixes containing an original long vowel may draw the stress to them, for example (nouns) /-eːn/, /-eːg/, /-eːg´/ /-eːr/ and (verb nouns) /-eːl/, resulting from shortening of the initial stressed syllable: /boːgeːn/ 'sprite' > /bəˈgeːn/. However, disyllables containing an originally short stressed initial syllable will have any originally long second syllable shortened: /ˈbegaːn/ 'a little' → /ˈbegan/, with the stress remaining on the first syllable.
2   The vocalization of labial spirants in medial position when the stress did not immediately follow (as in (1)) produced long vowels by crasis in originally unstressed syllables to which the stress was attracted: Mx *tarroogh* 'busy' (G *tarbhach* /tarəvax/) > Mx /taˈruːx/; also the adjectival suffix /oːl´/: Mx *reeoil* 'royal' (G *rígheamhail*) > Mx /riːoːl´/.
3   Loanwords from Anglo-Norman show final stress in association with length: Mx *vondéish* /vonˈdeːs´/ (< AN *avantage*) 'advantage', but would help establish the disturbance rather than initiate it. The chronology for such disturbances would seem to fall in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.

## Mutations

The main morphophonological pattern of Manx, as with other Insular Celtic languages, is the system of consonant replacement in initial position in nouns, adjectives and verbs. In certain environments the distinctive features which make up certain of the consonants or consonant clusters are wholly or partially replaced, and the result shares an articulatory position with the radical consonant. Such replacements are systematic and can be predicted for certain environments: definite article; preposition + article; some possessive particles; some adverbs; one or two numerals; etc. (see below).

In common with Irish and Scottish Gaelic, two forms of initial replacement are discernible in Manx: lenition and nasalization (eclipsis). Lenition essentially spirantizes bilabials, labiodentals, dentals and velars, and prefixes /h/ to vowels. Nasalization voices /p, t, k, f/ and eclipses /b, d, g/ and prefixes /n/ to vowels. The system (including palatalized variants) for initial single consonants could be sketched as follows:

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Radical     /p  t  t´   k   k´    b  d  d´   g   g´        m  f  s  s´/
Lenited     [f  h,      xh/ x´    v  ɣ  ɣ´/j  ɣ   ɣ ɣ´/j    v  ø  h  h/x´]
Nasalized   [b  d  d´   g   g´    m  n  n´   ŋ   ŋ´               v]
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*Examples of lenition*

1 After the definite article governing an original feminine in nominative/accusative (except in dental consonants):

> *ben* /bedn/ 'woman': /ən ˈvedn/ 'the woman'
> *sooil* /suːlʹ/ 'eye': /ən ˈtuːlʹ/ 'the eye'

2 In the genitive of masculines:

> *poosey* /puːsə/ 'wedding': /kaːrə ˈfuːsi/ 'wedding reel'

3 In the prepositional (dative) case of both genders:

> *baatey* /beːdə/ m. 'boat': /əsə ˈveːdə/ 'in the boat'
> *ben* /ben/ f. 'woman': /erə ˈven/ 'on the woman'

4 In the vocative (also of adjectives):

> *graïh meen* /grai ˈmiːn/ 'dear love': /ɣrai ˈviːn/ 'dear love!'

5 In the genitive of proper names:

> *Juan* /d´uən/ 'John': *Thie Yuan* / tai ˈjuən/ 'John's house'

6 After the possessive particles /mə/ 'my', /də/ 'your' (sg.), /ə/ 'his' (or elements containing them):

> *thie* /tai/ 'house': /mə ˈhai/ 'my house'
> *cadley* /kadlə/ 'sleep': /nə ˈxadlə/ 'in his sleep'

7 After the prepositions *dy* /də/ 'to' (with verb nouns), and *dy* /də/ 'of'

> *çheet* /t´it/ 'coming': /də ˈhit/ 'to come'
> *bee* /biː/ 'food': /pəːt də ˈviː/ 'some (of) food'

8 In adjectives following a feminine noun:

> *mooar* /muːr/ 'big': /ben ˈvuːr/ 'big woman'

9 Sometimes in adjectives following an internal plural containing vowel change:

> *fer-coyrlee* /fer ˈkoːrlʹi/ 'adviser': /fir ´xoːrlʹi/ 'advisers'

10  In adjectives after qualifying adverbs:

> *mie* /mai/ 'good': /fiː ˈvai/ 'very good'

11  In verbs in the future relative, preterite, independent conditional, and usually in verb nouns after *er*/er/ 'after' where nasalization was once universal:

> *fakin* //faːginʹ/ 'seeing': /er ˈvaːginʹ / > /er ˈnaːginʹ/ 'after seeing' (with *n* to break hiatus), G*ar bhfaicinn* → *\*ar n-fhaicinn*.

*Examples of nasalization*

1  Following plural possessives or object particle and elements incorporating it:

> *thie* /tai/ 'house': /nənˈdai/ 'our, your, their house'
> *fakin* /faːginʹ/ 'seeing' /dən ˈvaːginʹ/ 'at our, your, their seeing' (i.e., seeing us, you, them)
> *cadley* /kadlə/ 'sleeping': /nən ˈgadlə/ 'in our, your, their sleeping'

2  After the genitive plural of the definite article in nominal phrases or fossilized examples in place names:

> *clagh* /klox/ 'stone': /kʹeru nə ˈglox/ 'quarterland of the stones' (farm name)

3  In verbs affecting only voiceless consonants after the following particles:

zero sign of interrogative: *\*fel* 'is': /vel/;

> after *cha* /ha/ 'not': /ha ˈvel/ 'is not' (in speech /ha ˈnel/ with lenition);
> after *dy* /də/ 'that': /də ˈvel/ 'that is';
> after *nagh* /nax/ 'that not': /nax ˈvel/ 'that is not';
> after *mannagh* /manax/ 'if not': /manax ˈvel/ 'if is not';
> after *roish my* /roːsʹ mə/ 'before':/roːsʹ mə ˈdʹem ˈroːm/ 'before I go my way' (Job 10:21);
> after *dy* /də/ 'if' (conditional): /də ˈvodax sʹu dʹenu sʹen/ 'if you could do that'.

*Prefixing of /h/ and /n/*

1  /h/ is prefixed to the genitive feminine singular noun after the definite article: *oie* /iː/ 'night': /fud nə ˈhiː/ 'all through the night';

2  To the plural of a vocalic anlaut after the definite article (although not written in the orthography): *uinnagyn* /unjagən/ 'windows': /nə ˈhunjagən/ 'the windows';

3  After the third-person singular feminine possessive and elements containing it: *ayr* /eːr/ 'father': /ə ˈheːr/ 'her father'.

*Final mutation*

Final mutation in Manx manifested itself as palatalization of dentals, nasals and laterals in internal plurals (o-stems):

*kayt* /ket/ 'cat': /ket´/ 'cats'
*ean* /jeːn/ 'lamb': jeːn´/ 'lambs'
*shiaull* /s´oːl/ 'sail': /s´oːl´/ 'sails'

However, as the palatal element became indistinct (possibly due to contact with English where final /-n´/ and /-l´/ at any rate are not found), so did the distinction between singular and plural, thus giving rise to suffix plural forms.

## MORPHOLOGY

### Nouns: gender, number, case

*Gender*
Nouns may be divided into two genders: masculine and feminine; the former is unmarked. In Manx, nouns can essentially be regarded as masculine unless there is evidence to suggest they are not. Any gender distinction appears in the third-person singular personal pronoun, but even here discrepancies are frequent, as the notion of 'it' is almost exclusively expressed by *eh* /e/ 'he, him'.

*Number*
The Old Irish declensions according to stem formations are reflected in Manx only in the contrast of two types of plural: internal (or attenuated) and suffix. The former continue or imitate original *o*-stem plurals: /fer/ 'man, one' pl. /fir/; the latter the rest, with occasional continuation of original consonant stem formation infixed before the common plural suffix *-yn*/ən/: /suːl/ 'eye'/suːl´ən/ (original i-stem), /karə/ 'friend' pl. /kəːrd´z´ən/ (original stem in *-t*, pl. /karəd´/).

*Case*
In the singular the nominative, accusative and dative have fallen together, generally under the old nominative: /'karə/ 'friend' (original accusative/dative /karid´/), but occasionally under the old accusative or dative: /tai´/ 'house' (old dative, old nominative /t´ex/). The vocative is the common case lenited with or without the prefixed particle /ə/: /karə/ 'friend', vocative /əˈxarə/.

The genitive singular survives in a limited number of examples, usually with the suffix /ə/ (*a-*, *i-*, *u*-stems) and generally feminine: /muk/ 'pig', genitive singular /nə ˈmuk´ə/ (with definite article).

Occasionally masculine genitives are found, usually in nouns in /-ax/ or nouns/verb-nouns in /-ə/, with genitive in /-i/: /olax/ 'cattle' genitive /o(ː)li/, /puːsə/ 'marrying', genitive /puːsi/. But these are found almost exclusively in nominal phrases: /tai ˈoːli/ 'cow-house', /kaːrə ˈfuːsi/ 'wedding reel'. Except for examples such as the above the genitive is not used in all cases where it would be expected, so /d´erə ən ˈkaːgə/ 'end of the war', not /d´erə ən ˈkaːgi/. In general the genitive, when it appears, occurs in set phrases: /foltə ˈxiŋ/ 'hair of his head' (nominative /k´oːn/), /saiən ˈkloi/ 'stone vessels' (nominative /klox/), or in /fer/ 'man' + verb-noun to express agent: /fer ˈinsi/ 'teacher' (lit. 'man of teaching', nominative /insax/).

Apart from traces of genitive plurals having the same form as the nominative singular (as in *o*-stems): (placename) /t´s´uvərt nə ˈgaːvəl/ 'well of the horses' (nominative singular /kaːvəl/), and of dative plurals in /-u/ in phrasal prepositions and adverbs: /erˈbiːlu/ (Gaelic *ar béalaibh*) 'in front of', there is only one common case in the plural.

## Adjectives

Adjectives usually follow the noun they qualify and are usually invariable as to gender and case, though there may be lenition in an attribute to a feminine noun: /mu:r/ 'big', /ben ˈvu:r/ 'a big woman'. However, a handful, mainly monosyllabic, may form a plural in /ə/ in attributive position only: /dunˊə ˈmu:r/ 'a big man', pl. /de:nˊə ˈmu:rə/. In nominal use adjectives in /-ax/ and one or two other o-stem types may form a plural by a vowel change: /pekax/ 'sinner', pl. /peki/, 'sinners'; /bakax/ 'lame'/ nə ˈbaki/ 'the lame'. For adjectival prefixes see the section on noun phrases below, pp. 342–3.

With regard to comparison, the framework is a relative clause introduced by the copula /s/ (rarely the past /bə/ + adjective when attributive), and relative /nə/ + copula + adjective when predicative, usually without any modification of form: /glo:ˈro:lˊ/ 'glorious', /nəs ˈglo:ˈro:lˊ/ 'more glorious'. In such cases, however, the periphrastic construction with /smu:/ 'greater, more' + positive form of the adjective is normal: /nəs ˈmu: glo:ro:lˊ/ 'more glorious'. Modification, when it does occur (in monosyllables), usually involves raising of the stem vowel + palatalization of the following consonant + suffix in /ə/: /sˊen, sˊan/ 'old', /nə ˈsˊinˊə/; adjectives in /-ax/ generally substitute /-i/: /bertˊax/ 'rich', /nəs ˈbertˊi/ 'richer'. Irregular comparison also occurs: /mai/ 'good', /nə ˈsˊe:r/.

There is no distinction between comparative and superlative. The former is indicated by /na/ 'than' /ti nə ˈsˊinˊə na misˊ/ 'he is older than I', the latter when the noun followed by the compared adjective is definite /ən fer ˈsˊe:r/ 'the best man, one'.

The equative is expressed with /xa/ + adjective + /as/: /xa ˈra:r as muk/ 'as fat as a pig'. If the equative is followed by a pronoun, /risˊ/ replaces /as/: /ha ˈrau klag uns maninˊ hama risˊ/ 'there wasn't a bell in Man as good as it'.

## Numerals

In Manx numbers are found in a cardinal or ordinal mode, with or without accompanying noun.

*Cardinal numbers without a noun*
Numbers 1–20 (when counting):

1 *nane* /ne:n/ (South), /na:n/ (North)
2 *jees* /dˊi:s/
3 *tree* /tri:/
4 *kiare* /kˊe:r/
5 *queig* /kweg/
6 *shey* /sˊe:/
7 *shiaght* /sˊa:x/
8 *hoght* /ho:x/
9 *nuy* /ni:/ (South), /nei/ (North)
10 *jeih* /dˊei/
11 *nane jeig* /ne:n dˊeg/
12 *ghaa yeig* /ˈɣe: jeg/
13 *tree jeig* /tri: dˊeg/
14 *kiare jeig* /kˊe:r dˊeg/
15 *queig jeig* /kweg dˊeg/
16 *shey jeig* /sˊe: dˊeg/

17 *shiaght jeig* /s´a:x d´eg/
18 *hoght jeig* /ho:x d´eg/
19 *nuy jeig* /ni d´eg/
20 *feed* /fid/

From 11 to 19 stress falls on the first element of the compound, as teens are regarded as single units. From 20 to 40 the units (and teens) come first, followed by *as feed*, 'and twenty':

21 *nane as feed* /ne:n əs fid/
22 *jees as feed* /d´i:s əs fid/
23 *tree as feed* /tri: əs fid/
24 *kiare as feed* /k´e:r əs fid/, etc.
31 *nane jeig as feed* /ne:n d´eg əs fid/
32 *ghaa yeig as feed* /ɣe: jeig əs fid/
33 *tree yeig as feed* /tri: d´eg əs fid/
34 *kiare jeig as feed*, etc. /k´e:r d´eg əs fid/

From 21 onwards the stress falls on the last element of the compound:

40 *daeed* /daid/ (i.e., 'two twenties')

From 40 to 60 the same procedure applies:

41 *nane as daeed* /ne:nəs ˈdaid/
50 *jeih as daeed* /d´ei əs ˈdaid/
55 *queig jeig as daeed* /kweg d´eg as ˈdaid/

From 60 onwards the twenties come first:

60 *tree feed* /tri: ˈfid/ (i.e., three twenties)
67 *tree feed as shiaght* /tri: fidəs ˈs´a:x/
70 *tree feed as jeih* /tri: fidəs ˈd´ei/
79 *tree feed as nuy jeig* /tri: fidəs ˈni:d´eg/
80 *kiare feed* /k´e:r ˈfid/ (i.e., 'four twenties')
96 *kiare feed as shey jeig* /k´e:rfidəs ˈs´e:d´eg/
100 *keead* /ki(:)d/, /k´i(:)d/

50 may also be expressed as *leih-cheead* /l´e: ˈxi:d, ki:d/ lit. 'a half hundred'. *Leih* normally occasions lenition.

After 100 the hundreds come first:

101 *keead as nane* /ki:dəsˈne:n/
110 *keead as jeih* /ki:dəsˈd´ei/
120 *keead as feed* /ki:dəs ˈfid/

Counting by the score can also occur but is not normally used after 200:

> 120  *shey feed* /s´eː fɪd/
> 180  *nuy feed* /niː fɪd/

When expressing multiples of 100, *keead* remains in the singular:

> 300  *tree keead* /triːˈkiːd/
> 574  *queig keead tree feed as kiare jeig* /kweg ˈkiːd triːfɪdəs ˈk´eːrd´eg/
> 999  *nuy keead kiare feed as nuy jeig* /niː ˈkiːd k´eːr fɪdəs ˈniː d´eg/
> 1000  *thousane* /tauˈseːn/ S, /tauˈsaːn/ N

Years are expressed as follows:

> 1992  *nuy keead jeig kiare feed as ghaa yeig* /niː kiːd ˈd´eg k´eːr fɪdəs ˈɣeːjeg/

*Cardinal numbers with a noun*
From 1 to 10 the numeral precedes the noun; *un* /un/ replaces *nane* and *daa* /deː/, *jees*.
*Troor* /truːr/ may be used for 'three', though *jees* and *troor* mean 'two persons' and 'three persons' respectively, and are therefore used on their own. *Un* and *daa* occasion lenition (except in sandhi situations comprising homorganic consonants) and are followed by the singular of the noun.

| | |
|---|---|
| *un vaatey* /unˈveːdə/ | 'one boat' |
| *un dooinney* /unˈdun´ə/ | 'one man' |
| *daa ghooinney* /deː wun´ə/ | 'two men' |
| *shey baatyn* /s´eː ˈbeːdən/ | 'six boats' |
| *yn jees oc* /ən ˈd´iːs ok/ | 'the two of them' |

The phrase *ny neesht* /nəˈniːs´/, lit. 'in their twosome', is used to mean 'both'.

*ren shin ny neesht tuittym sheese* /ren s´in nə ˈniːs´ tud´əm ˈs´iːs/ 'the two of us fell down'.

From 11 to 19 the noun is sandwiched between the compound elements:

12 men: *daa ghooinney yeig* /deː wun´ə ˈjeg/ (with stress on the final element)
19 boats: *nuy baatyn jeig* /niː beːdən ˈd´eg/

From 21 to 59 the foregoing is followed by *as feed*/*as daeed*

39 boats: *nuy baatyn jeig as feed* /niː beːdən d´eg əs ˈfɪd/
54 boats: *kiare baatyn jeig as daeed* /k´eːr beːdən d´eg əs daid/

After *feed* (and its compounds), *keead* and *thousane*, the noun appears in the singular:

| | |
|---|---|
| *feed baatey* /fɪd ˈbeːdə/ | 'twenty boats' |
| *daeed dooinney* /daid ˈdun´ə/ | 'forty men' |
| *keead blein* /kiːd ˈbleːn/ | 'a hundred years' |

Nouns of measure, for example, *laa* /leː/ 'day', *punt* /punt/ 'pound', are usually found in the singular:

*kiare laa* /k´eːr ˈleː/ 'four days'
*nuy punt jeig* /niː punt ˈd´eg/ 'nineteen pounds'

However, in Late Manx the noun (in the plural) can stand outside the numerical compound, but is preceded by the preposition *dy* /də/ 'of':

*jeih as feed dy laadyn* /d´ei əs fid də ˈleːdən/ 'thirty loads'.

Both *feed* and *keead* can themselves appear in plural forms to mean 'scores', 'hundreds' respectively; they also take the preposition *dy: feedyn dy shenn sleih* /fidən də s´aːn ˈslei/ 'scores of old people'; *keeadyn dy akeryn* /kiːdən də ˈeːkərən/ 'hundreds of acres'.

*Ordinal numbers*
The ordinal numbers in Manx are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st | *yn chied* /ən ˈk´ed/ | |
| 2nd | *yn nah* /ən ˈnaː/ | |
| 3rd | *yn trass* /ən ˈtraːs/, *yn treeoo* /ən ˈtriːu/ | |
| 4th | *yn chiarroo* /ən k´eru/ | |
| 5th | *yn whieggoo* /ən hwegu/ | |
| 6th | *yn çheyoo* /ən t´eːu/ | |
| 7th | *yn çhiaghtoo* /ən t´aːxu/ | |
| 8th | *yn hoghtoo* /ən hoːxu/ | |
| 9th | *yn nuyoo* /ən ˈniːu/ | |
| 10th | *yn jeihoo* /ən ˈd´eiu/ | |

The ordinal forms precede the noun. *Yn chied* and *yn nah* occasion lenition (except, in the case of *chied*, in circumstances of homorganic inhibition).

*yn chied vaatey* /ən k´ed ˈveːdə/ 'the first boat'
*yn chied dooinney* /ən k´ed ˈdun´ə/ 'the first man'
*yn hoghtoo laa* /ən hoːxu ˈleː/ 'the eighth day'

In compounds the noun comes after the first element (excluding the definite article):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 11th | *yn chied vaatey jeig* /ən k´ed veːdə ˈd´eg/ | |
| 12th | *yn nah vaatey yeig* /ən naː veːdə ˈjeg/ | |
| 13th | *yn trass/treeoo baatey jeig* /ən traːs, triːu beːdə ˈd´eg/ | |
| 20th | *yn feedoo baatey* /ən fidu ˈbeːdə/ | |
| 21st | *yn chied vaatey as feed* /ən k´ed veːdə əs ˈfid/ | |
| 30th | *yn jeihoo baatey as feed* /ən d´eiu beːdə əs ˈfid/ | |
| 31st | *yn chied vaatey jeig as feed* /ən k´ed veːdə d´eg əs ˈfid/ | |
| 40th | *yn daeedoo baatey* /ən daidu ˈbeːdə/ | |
| 59th | *yn nuyoo baatey jeig as daeed* /ən niːu beːdə d´eg əs ˈdaid/ | |
| 60th | *yn tree feedoo baatey* /ən triː fidu ˈbeːdə/ | |
| 80th | *yn kiare feedoo baatey* /ən k´eːr fidu ˈbeːdə/ | |

| | |
|---|---|
| 100th | *yn cheeadoo baatey* /ən kiːdu ˈbeːdə/, etc. |
| 273rd | *yn nah cheeadoo baatey tree feed as tree jeig* /ən naː kiːdu beːdə triː fidəs ˈtriːdˊeg/ |

*Blein* /bleːn/ 'year', pl. *bleeaney* /blinə/, *bleeantyn* /blintən/; *bleeaney* is used after numerals which do not attract the singular form:

> *kiare bleeaney* /kˊeːr ˈblinə/ 'four years'

*bleeantyn* is used in other circumstances:

> *ram bleeantyn* /raːm ˈblintən/ 'many years'

## Fractions

The most commonly used elements in this class are *lieh* /lˊeː/ 'half' and *kerroo* /kˊeru/ 'quarter': *lieh-ayrn* /lˊeː ˈaːrn/ 'a half share'. *Lieh* also occasions lenition (see above).

*Dy lieh* /də ˈlˊeː/ is used to express 'and a half' after a whole number, with or without accompanying noun:

| | |
|---|---|
| *oor dy lieh* /uːr də ˈlˊeː/ | 'an hour and a half' |
| *jeih punt dy lieh* /dˊei punt də ˈlˊeː/ | 'ten and a half pounds' |

*Lieh* can also be used to express one of something of which there are usually two:

*lieh vaggle* /lˊeː ˈvaːgəl/ '(having) one testicle'

*kerroo yn thunnag* /kˊeruən tunag/ 'a quarter of the duck'

In Late Manx *kerroo* can also take the preposition *dy* 'of':

*kerroo dy guiy* /kˊeru də gei/ 'a quarter goose'

## Telling the time

On the hour is expressed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| seven o'clock | *shiaght er y chlag* /sˊaːx erə ˈklag/ |
| eleven o'clock | *nane jeig er y chlag* /neːn dˊeg erə ˈklag/ |
| midday | *munlaa* /mun ˈleː/ |
| midnight | *mean oie* /mən ˈiː/ |

The half-hour is expressed with *lieh* /lˊeː/ plus *lurg* /lug/, /lig/ 'after', half past six *lieh oor lurg shey* /lˊeː uːr lug ˈsˊeː/. The quarter to or past the hour is expressed with *kerroo* + *gys* / gəs/ or *dys* /dəs/ 'to', or with *lurg*:

| | |
|---|---|
| a quarter to nine | *kerroo gys nuy* /kˊeru gəs 'niː/ |
| a quarter past three | *kerroo lurg tree* /kˊeru lug ˈtriː/ |

Minutes to and past the hour are expressed by *gys*, *dys* and *lurg*; but also include the singular of *minnid* 'minute':

twenty to eight *feed minnid dys hoght* /fid minid dəs ˈhoːx/
seventeen minutes past ten   *shiaght minnid jeig lurg jeih* /sˊaːx minid dˀeg lug ˈdˊei/

## The article

The article in Manx can only be definite. There is no indefinite article: *baatey* /beːdə/ 'boat' or 'a boat'.

The forms of the definite article are:

Singular: *y* /ə/, *yn* /ən/, /in/; fem. gen. *ny* /nə/ (occasional)
Plural *ny* /nə/; in Late Manx *y*, *yn*.

The forms *y*, *yn* are used fairly indiscriminately before nouns with consonantal anlaut.

In nominatival position: *yn fer* /ən ˈfer/ 'the man, the one'; *y/yn conney* /ə, ən ˈkonə/ 'the gorse';
in genitival position in original (Manx) masculine nouns or nouns treated as masculine *y/yn* occasions lenition; in Late Manx failure of lenition may occur: *ayns mean y vaatey* /uns meːn ə ˈveːdə/ 'in the centre of the boat'; also found in Late Manx is: *ayns mean y baatey* (without lenition) /uns meːn ə ˈbeːdə/;
in datival position (with preposition; lenition occasioned, but can fall out in Late Manx): *ayns y vaatey* /uns əˈveːdə/ 'in the boat' (in Late Manx: *ayns y baatey* /uns ə ˈbeːdə/).

The form *yn* is found prefixing a noun with vocalic anlaut: *yn eeym* /ən ˈim/ 'the butter', *yn ennym* /ən ˈenəm/ 'the name', *toshiaght yn ouyr* /tosˊax ən ˈauər/ 'at the start of autumn' (with lenition after *yn*); rad. *fouyr* /fauər/ 'autumn', *ayns yn aer* /unsən ˈaː/ 'in the air'.

   With raised front vowels prefixed by a prosthetic /j/ both forms are found: *dys y eeastagh* /dəsə ˈjistax/ 'to the fishing', *yn eeast* /ən ˈjiːs/ 'the fish'. In original feminine nouns with S + V anlaut, e.g., *sooill* /suːlˊ/ 'eye', *t-* (originally part of the definite article) can eclipse the initial *s-*: *yn tooill* /ən ˈtuːlˊ/. The same occurs in oblique cases with original masculine nouns or nouns treated as masculine with S + V anlaut: *jerrey yn touree* /dˊerə ən ˈtauri/ 'end of the summer', rad. *sourey* /saurə/ 'summer', *ayns y tourey* /unsə ˈtaurə/ 'in the summer'.

   *t-* can also appear prefixed to *shenn* /sˊaːn/, /sˊedn/ 'old' plus original feminine in nominative position: *yn çhenn ven* /ən tˀsˊedn ˈvedn/ 'the old woman'.

   /sl-, slˊ-/ becomes /tl-, tlˊ-/ in the dative singular: *yn slieau* /ən slˊuː/ 'the mountain', *er y tlieau* /erə tlˊuː/ 'on the mountain', though often we find /kl-, klˊ-/ for /tl-, tlˊ-/ in this position: /erə klˊuː/. In Late Manx, however, failure of this substitution is found: *jerrey yn sourey* /dˊerə ən ˈsaurə/ (also with non-inflection in the genitive); *ayns y sourey* /unsə ˈsaurə/, *er y slieau* /erə slˊuː/, etc., *yn sooill* /ən ˈsuːlˊ/.

   Following an open syllable in an unstressed word, *yn* is usually reduced to *'n*, with its vowel merging with that (the final) of the preceding word: *ta yn coraa eck . . . > ta'n coraa eck* /tan kəˈre: ek/ 'her voice is . . .'. But the full form can also appear, especially before consonants: *ta yn bouin aym gonnagh* /ta ən boːdn em gonax/ 'my heel is sore'.

If the vowel in *ta* or *va* (present/past of the substantive verb) is long, i.e., stressed, no elision takes place: *ta yn moddey gounstyrnee* /ˈteː ən maːdə gˊəunstərni/ 'the dog is barking'.

After diphthongs the vowel of the article is not elided: *ec oaie yn ven echey* /ek eːi ən vedn egə/ 'at his wife's grave'.

The feminine genitive form *ny* is restricted to nominal phrases of a fossilized nature, given that in Classical Manx and Late Manx substantives are largely treated as masculine even if obviously feminine, as in the preceding example.

*dooid ny h-oie* /duːəd´nə ˈhiː/ 'darkness of the night'
*eaghtey ny marrey* /iːxtə nə ˈma(ː)rə/ 'surface of the sea'
*çhiass ny greiney* /t´sˊaːs nə ˈgreːn´ə/ 'heat of the sun'

### Uses with plural nouns

The usual form of the article used for plurals in whatever case is *ny* /nə/, and is unstressed.

*ny claghyn* /nə ˈklaːxən/ 'the stones'
*v'eh ceau ny claghyn* /ve ˈkˊeu nə klaːxən/ 'he was throwing the stones'
*er oirr ny claghyn* /er ˈoːr nə ˈklaːxən/ 'on the edge of the stones'
*er ny claghyn* /er nə ˈklaːxən/ 'on the stones'

However in Late Manx the singular form *y*, *yn* is also found in association with plurals irrespective of case.

*yn gaaueyn* /ən ˈgaːuən/ 'the blacksmiths' (nom./acc.)
*ayns yn boayllyn cair* /usən boːlən ˈkˊeːr/ 'in the right places' (dat.)

### Other uses of the article

The article *y*, *yn* is found with *Nollick* /nolik/ '*Christmas*': *Laa yn Nollick* /leːən ˈnolik/ 'Christmas Day'. However, in Late Manx, it is difficult at times to decide whether the article is present or not: *Laa (yn) Nollick /Laa'n Ollick* /leː nolik/. Here /n/ may be felt to belong to the article rather than the noun, and so the form *Ollick* is also found: *yn Laa Ollick* /ən leː ˈolik/, with the article preceding the whole phrase.

The singular article, as would be expected, is used with numerals having the function of a single noun: *yn jees jin* /ən dˊiːs dˊin/ 'the two of us'. It is also used with demonstratives in association with nouns: *ayns y theihll shoh* /unsə ˈteːl´ sˊoː/ 'in this world'.

The article is found with the prepositional pronoun *ec* in expressions of definite possession: *yn thie ain* /ən tai ain/ 'our house' (lit. 'the house at us'). It is usually omitted from its noun in constructions containing a definite genitive: *feayraght yn earish* /fuːrax ən irisˊ/ 'the coldness of the weather'. In Late Manx, probably due to influence from English, it can be present: *woish yn raad yn booa* /wusˊən reːd in buːə/ 'out of the way of the cow'.

The article with persons, usually relatives, or with parts of the body can take on the meaning of a possessive adjective: *va'n jishig an yn shuyr as mee hene . . .* /van dˊisˊigˊ asən sˊuːr as mi ˈhiːn . . ./ 'my father and my sister and myself . . .' (note final position of *mee hene*; normally this would take first position); *shen yn red vad jannoo leshyn laueyn* / sˊen ən rid vad ˈdˊunu lesˊən ˈleuən/ 'that's what they'd be doing with their hands'.

The singular article is also used in titles: *Yn Sushtal scruit liorish yn Noo Mian* /ən

sust´al skrut´ l´ouris´ən nu: ˈmaiən/ 'the Gospel written by Saint Matthew'. In Late Manx it is usually found omitted: *Saggyrt Qualtragh* /saːgət ˈkwaltərax/ 'Parson Qualtragh'. But it is retained in designations following the personal name: *Paul yn Ostyl* 'Paul the Apostle', *Caine y Lord* /keːn ə ˈlaːd/ 'Caine the Lord'.

The plural article *ny* is found in phrases containing the numerals with definite meaning: *ny tree guillyn* /nə triː gil´ən/ 'the three boys'.

## Verbs

In Manx the verb has two voices: active and passive, and three moods: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. It can express the following tenses: simple/habitual present, future, simple/habitual past, imperfect, preterite, conditional, perfect, future perfect, pluperfect, past conditional.

The person is indicated by a pronoun, though in first-person singular and plural future, first-person singular conditional inflectional forms are used. The inherited distinction between independent and dependent is well preserved in the auxiliaries and in the eight irregular verbs. The various tenses can be demonstrated by the substantive and auxiliary verb *ve* /ve/: 'being'.

*Paradigms of the auxiliary verbs* **ve** *'be' and* **jannoo** *'do'*

*ve* /veː/ 'be, act of being'. Verbal noun

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *Simple/habitual present* 'I am', etc. |  |  |
| Independent | 1 *ta mee* /tami/, *taim* /taim/ | 1 *ta shin* /ta s´in/ |
|  | 2 *t'ou* /tau/ | 2 *ta shiu* /ta s´u/ |
|  | 3m. *t'eh* /ti/ | 3 *t'ad* /tad/ |
|  | 3f. *t'ee* /tei/, /tai/ |  |
| Dependent | *vel* /vel/[1] |  |
| *Future* 'I will be', etc. |  |  |
| Independent | 1 *beeym* /biːm/ | 1 *beemayd* /biː məd´/ |
|  | 2 *bee oo* /biːu/ | 2 *bee shiu* /biː s´u/ |
|  | 3m. *bee eh* /biːa/ | 3 *bee ad* /biː ad/ |
|  | 3f. *bee ee* /biːi/ |  |
| Dependent | *bee* /biː/ |  |
| Relative | *vees* /viːs/ |  |
| *Simple/habitual past, preterite* 'I was', etc. |  |  |
| Independent | 1 *va mee* /vami/ | 1 *va shin* /va s´in/ |
|  | 2 *v'ou* /vau/ | 2 *va shiu* /va s´u/ |
|  | 3m. *v'eh* /vi/ | 3 *v'ad* /vad/ |
|  | 3f. *v'ee* /vei/, /vai/ |  |
| Dependent | *row* /rau/, /reu/ |  |

*Conditional* 'I would be',
*Imperfect* 'I used to be', etc.

| Independent | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1 *veign* /vi(:)n´/[2] | 1 *veagh shin* /vi(:)x s´in/ |
| | 2 *veagh oo* /vi(:)xu/ | 2 *veagh shiu* /vi(:)x s´u/ |
| | 3m. *veagh eh* /vi(:)xi/ | 3 *veagh ad* /vi(:)xad/ |
| | 3f. *veagh ee* /vi(:)xi/ | |

Dependent    *beign* /bi:n´/, *beagh* /bi(:)x/

*Perfect* 'I have been', etc.

1 *ta mee er ve* /tami ə´ve:/, etc.

*Future perfect* 'I will have
been', etc. (rare)

1 *beeym er ve* /bi:m ə've:/, etc.

*Pluperfect* 'I had been', etc.

1 *va mee er ve* /vami ə've:/, etc.

*Past conditional* 'I would
have been', etc.[3]

1 *veign er ve*/vi(:)n´ ə've:/,
etc.

Imperative    *bee* /bi:/ *beejee, beeshiu*
/bi:d´i/, /bi:s´u/

*Notes*

1  With negative particle also *cha nel* /ha 'nel/, as well as *cha vel* /ha 'vel/ (literary).
2  The form is conditional, the pronunciation that of the old imperfect in both the independent and dependent.
3  See also the section on the verb phrase, pp. 343–6.

*jannoo* /d´anu/, d´enu/, /d´inu/, /d´unu/ 'do, act of doing'. Verbal noun

| *Future independent* | *Future dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *neeym* /n´i:m/ | 1 sg. *jeanym* /d´inəm/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *nee* /n´i:/ | 2, 3 sg. *jean* /d´in/ |
| 1 pl. *neemayd* /n´:məd´/ | 1 pl. *jeanmayd* /d´inməd´/ |
| 2, 3 pl. *nee* /n´i:/ | 2, 3 pl. *jean* /d´in/ |

Preterite independent and dependent: *ren mee* /ren´ mi/, etc.

| *Conditional independent* | *Conditional dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *yinnin* /jinin´/ | 1 sg. *jinnin* /d´inin´/ |
| 2, 3 sg.& pl. *yinnagh* /jinax/ | 2, 3 sg.& pl. *jinnagh* /d´inax/ |

Imperative: sg. *jean* /d´in/, pl. *jean-shiu* /d´ins´u/; *jean-jee* /d´ind´i:/. Past participle: *jeant* /d´int/.

*Paradigms of the regular verb*

*tilgey* /tilgə/ 'throw, act of throwing'. Verbal noun
The periphrastic tenses of this and any other regular verb can be formed with the auxiliaries *ve* and *jannoo*.

*Future independent*
1 sg. *tilgym* /tilgəm/
2 sg. *tilgee oo* /tilgi-u/
3 sg. m. *tilgee eh* /tilgi-e/a
3 sg. f. *tilgee ee* /tilgi-i/
1 pl. *tilgmayd* /tilgməd´/
2 pl. *tilgee shiu* /tilgi s´u/
3 pl. *tilgee ad* /tilgiad/
Relative: *hilgys* /hilgəs/

*Future dependent*
1 sg. *dilgym* /dilgəm/
2 sg. *dilg oo* /dilgu/
3 sg. m. *dilg eh* /dilge/a
3 sg. f. *dilg ee* /dilgi/
1 pl. *dilg mayd* /dilg məd´/
2 pl. *dilg shiu* /dilg s´u/
3 pl. *dilg ad* /dilgad/

*Preterite independent*
1 sg. *hilg mee* /hilg-mi/
2 sg. *hilg oo* /hilg-u/
3 sg. m. *hilg eh* /hilg-e/a
3 sg. f. *hilg ee* /hilg-i/

*and dependent*
1 pl. *hilg shin* /hilg s´in´/
2 pl. *hilg shiu* /hilg s´u/
3 pl. *hilg ad* /hilgad/

*Conditional independent*
1 sg. *hilgin* /hilgin´/
2 sg. *hilgagh oo* /hilgax-u/
3 sg. m. *hilgagh eh* /hilgax-e/a
3 sg. f. *hilgagh ee* /hilgax-i/
1 pl. *hilgagh shin* /hilgax s´in´/
2 pl. *hilgagh shiu* /hilgax s´u/
3 pl. *hilgagh ad* /hilgaxad/

*Conditional dependent*
1 sg. *dilgin* /dilgin´/
2 sg. *dilgagh oo* /dilgax-u/
3 sg. m. *dilgagh eh* /dilgax-e/a
3 sg. f. *dilgagh ee* /dilgax-i/
1 pl. *dilgagh shin* /dilgax s´in´/
2 pl. *dilgagh shiu* /dilgax s´u/
3 pl. *dilgagh ad* /dilgaxad/

First-person singular in the future and conditional independent and dependent can also have emphatic forms: fut. indep. *tilgym's* /tilgəms/ cond. indep. *hilgin's* /hilgins/ cond. dep. *dilgym's* /dilgəms/ fut. dep. *dilgin's* /dilgins/.

First-person plural in the future independent and dependent may sometimes be found with an emphatic form, namely, *tilgmayds* /tilgmədz/, etc., but if it appears it is usually found with the pronoun *main*, i.e., *mainyn* /miŋən/: *tilgmainyn* /tilgmiŋən/, confined essentially to Northern dialects.

Imperative: sg. *tilg* /tilg/, pl. *tilg-shiu* /tilg s´u/; or older *tilg-jee* /tilg d´i:/. Verbal adjective: *tilgit* /tilgit´/.

Regular verbs with initial vowel or f-, e.g., *ee* /i:/ 'eating' (stem *ee-* /i:/), *faagail* /fəˈge:l´/ 'leaving' (stem *faag-* /fe:g/) are conjugated as follows:

*ee /i:/* 'eat, act of eating'. Verbal noun

*Future independent*
1 sg. *eeym* /i:əm/
2 sg. *ee oo* /i:-u/
3 sg. m. *ee eh* /i:-a/
3 sg. f. *ee ee* /i:-i/
1 pl. *eemayd* /i:məd´/
2 pl. *ee shiu* /i: s´u/
3 pl. *ee ad* /i:-ad/

*Future dependent*
1 sg. *n'eeym* /ni:əm/
2 sg. *n'ee oo* /ni:-u/
3 sg. m. *n'ee eh* /ni:-a/
3 sg. f. *n'ee ee* /ni:-i/
1 pl. *n'eemayd* /ni:məd´/
2 pl. *n'ee shiu* /ni: s´u/
3 pl. *n'ee ad* /ni:-ad/

The *-ee-* of the stem absorbs the *-ee* of the Future Independent. However, in practice the auxiliary *jannoo* is used here: *neeym gee* /n´im 'g´i:/ with the preposition *ag* attached to the verb-noun.

 Relative: *eeys* /i:əs/

 Preterite independent, dependent: *d´ee mee* /d´i: mi/, etc.

| *Conditional independent* | *Conditional dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *eein* /i:ən´/ | 1 sg. *n'eein* /ni:ən´/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *eeagh* /i:ax/ | 2, 3 sg. *n'eeagh* /ni:ax/ |
| pl. *eeagh* /i:ax/ | pl. *n'eeagh* /ni:ax/ |

Imperative: sg. *ee* /i:/, pl. *ee-shiu* /i:s´u/, *ee-jee* /i:d´i:/
Verbal adjective: *eeit* /i:t´/

*faagail* /fə'ge:l´/ 'leave, act of leaving'. Verbal noun

| *Future independent* | *Future dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *faagym* /fe:gəm/ | 1 sg. *n'aagym* /ne:gəm/ |
| | *v'aagym* /ve:gəm/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *faagee* /fe:gi/ | 2, 3 sg. *n'aag* /ne:g/ |
| | *v'aag* /ve:g/ |
| 1. pl. *faagmayd* /fe:gməd´/ | 1. pl. *n'aagmayd* /ne:gməd´/ |
| | *vaagmayd* /ve:gməd´/ |
| 2, 3 pl. *faagee* /fe:gi/ | 2, 3 pl. *n'aag* /ne:g/ |
| | *v'aag* /ve:g/ |

Preterite independent, dependent: *d'aag mee* /de:g mi/ etc.

| *Conditional independent* | *Conditional dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *aagin* /e:gin´/ | 1 sg. *n'aagin* /ne:gin´/ |
| | *v'aagin* /ve:gin´/ |
| 2, 3 sg. & pl. *aagagh* /e:gax/ | 2, 3 sg. & pl. *n'aagagh* /ne:gax/ |
| | *v'aagagh* /ve:gax/ |

Imperative: sg. *faag* /fe:g/, pl. *faag-shiu* /fe:g s´u/, *faag-jee* /fe:g d´i:/. Verbal adjective: *faagit* /fe:git´/.

*cooinaghtyn* /ku:n´axtən/ 'remember, act of remembering'. Verbal noun. Stem *cooinee* /ku:n´i/.

Verbs in *-agh-* with verb noun in *-agh* /-ax/, *-aghey* /-axə/, *-aghyn* /-axən/, *-aght* /-ax/, *-aghtyn* /-axtən/ convert *-agh-* into *-ee-* to form the stem. This absorbs the *-ee* of the future independent.

| *Future independent* | *Future dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *cooineeym* /ku:n´iəm/ | 1 sg. *gooineeym* /gu:n´iəm/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *cooinee* /ku:n´i/ | 2, 3 sg. *gooinee* /gu:n´i/ |
| 1 pl. *cooineemayd* /ku:n´iməd´/ | 1 pl. *gooineemayd* /gu:n´iməd/ |
| 2, 3 pl. *cooinee* /ku:n´i/ | 2, 3 pl. *gooinee* /gu:n´i/ |

Relative: *chooinys* /xu:n´əs/, /ku:nəs/
Preterite independent and dependent: *chooinee mee* /xu:n´i mi/, /ku:n´i mi/

*Conditional independent*

1 sg. *chooineein* /ku:nˊi-inˊ/

2, 3 sg. & pl. *chooineeagh* /x/ku:nˊiax/

*Conditional dependent*

1 sg. *gooineein* /gu:nˊi-inˊ/

2, 3 sg. & pl. *gooineeagh* /gu:nˊiax/

Imperative: sg. *cooinee* /ku:nˊi/ pl. *cooinee-shiu* /ku:nˊi sˊu/, *cooinee-jee* /ku:nˊidˊi:/.
Verbal adjective: *cooinit* /ku:nˊitˊ/.

Verbs in *-agh-* and an initial vowel or *f-* are conjugated as follows:

*ynsaghey* /insaxə/ 'learn, act of learning'. Verbal noun. Stem *ynsee* /insi/

*Future independent*
1 sg. *ynseeym* /insiəm/
2, 3 sg. *ynsee* /insi/
1 pl. *ynseemayd* /insimədˊ/
2, 3 pl. *ynsee* /insi/

*Future dependent*
1 sg. *n'ynseeym* /ninsiəm/
2, 3 sg. *n'ynsee* /ninsi/
1 pl. *n'ynseemayd* /ninsimədˊ/
2, 3 pl. *n'ynsee* /ninsi/

Preterite independent and dependent: *dynsee mee* /dinsi mi/, etc.

*Conditional independent*
1 sg. *ynseein* /insi-inˊ/
2, 3 sg. & pl. *ynseeagh* /insiax/

*Conditional dependent*
1 sg. *n'ynseein* /ninsi-inˊ/
2, 3 sg. & pl. *n'ynseeagh* /ninsiax/

Imperative: sg. *ynsee* /insi/, pl. *ynsee-shiu* /insi sˊu/, *ynsee-jee* /insi dˊi:/.
Verbal adjective: *ynsit* /insitˊ/.

*follaghey* /folaxə/ 'hide, act of hiding'. Verbal noun. Stem *follee* /foli/

*Future independent*
1 sg. *folleeym* /foliəm/

2, 3 sg. *follee* /foli/

1 pl. *folleemayd* /folimədˊ/

2, 3 pl. *follee* /foli/

*Future dependent*
1 sg. *n'olleeym* /noliəm/
*v'olleeym* /voliəm/

2, 3 sg. *n'ollee* /noli/
*v'ollee* /voli/

1 pl. *n'olleemayd* /nolimədˊ/
*v'olleemayd* /volimədˊ/

2, 3 pl. *nollee* /noli/
*vollee* /voli/

Relative: *ollys* /oləs/
Preterite independent and dependent: *d'ollee mee* /dolimi/, etc.

*Conditional independent*
1 sg. *olleein* /oli-inˊ/

2, 3 sg.
& pl. *oleeagh* /oliax/

*Conditional dependent*
1 sg. *nolleein* /noli-inˊ/,
*volleein* /voli-inˊ/

2, 3 sg. *nolleeagh* /noliax/,
& pl. *volleeagh* /voliax/

Imperative: sg. *follee* /foli/, pl. *follee-shiu* /foli sˊu/, *follee-jee* /foli dˊi:/.
Verbal adjective: *follit* /folitˊ/.

*Paradigms of the irregular verbs*

*çheet* /t´it/, /t´et/ 'come, act of coming'. Verbal noun

| *Future independent* | *Future dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *higgym* /higəm/ | 1 sg. *jiggym* /d´igəm/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *hig* /hig/ | 2, 3 sg. *jig* /d´ig/ |
| 1 pl. *higmayd* /higməd´/ | 1 pl. *jigmayd* /d´igməd´/ |
| 2, 3 pl. *hig* /hig/ | 2, 3 pl. *jig* /d´ig/ |

Preterite independent: *haink* /heŋk/, /hiŋk/; dependent: *daink* /deŋk/, /diŋk/.

| *Conditional independent* | *Conditional dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *harrin* /harin´/ | 1 sg. *darrin* /darin´/ |
| 2, 3 sg. | 2, 3 sg. |
| & pl. *harragh* /harax/ | & pl. *darragh* /darax/ |

Imperative: sg. *tar* /tar/, /ta:/, pl. *tar-shiu* /tar s´u/, *tar-jee* /tar d´i:/.

*clashtyn* /klas´t´ən/ 'hear, act of hearing'. Verbal noun

| *Future independent* | *Future dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *cluinnym* /klunəm/ | 1 sg. *gluinnym* /glunəm/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *cluinnee* /kluni/ | 2, 3 sg. *gluin* /glun/ |
| 1 pl. *cluinmayd* /klunməd´/ | 1 pl. *gluinmayd* /glunməd´/ |
| 2, 3 pl. *cluinnee* /kluni/ | 2, 3 pl. *gluin* /glun/ |

Relative: *chluinnys* /xlunəs/, /klinəs/.
Preterite independent: *cheayll mee* /xi:l mi/, etc.; dependent: *geayll* /gi:l/

| *Conditional independent* | *Conditional dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *chluinnin* /xlunin´/ | 1 sg. *gluinnin* /glunin´/ |
| 2, 3 sg. | 2, 3 sg. |
| & pl. *chluinnagh* /xlunax/ | & pl. *gluinnagh* /glunax/ |

Imperative: sg. *clasht* /klas´t/, pl. *clasht-shiu* /klas´t s´u/, *clasht-jee* /klas´t d´i:/.
Verbal adjective: *cluinnit* /klun´it´/.

*coyrt* /kort/, *cur* /kur/ 'give, put, send, act of giving, putting, sending'. Verbal noun

| *Future independent* | *Future dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *verrym* /verəm/ | 1 sg. *derrym* /derəm/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *ver* /ver/ | 2, 3 sg. *der* /der/ |
| 1 pl. *vermayd* /verməd´/ | 2 pl. *dermayd* /derməd´/ |
| 2, 3 pl. *ver* /ver/ | 2, 3 pl. *ver* /ver/ |

Preterite independent: *hug* /hug/; dependent: *dug* /dug/.

| *Conditional independent* | *Conditional dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *verrin* /verin´/ | 1 sg. *derrin* /derin´/ |
| 2, 3 sg. | 2, 3 sg. |
| & pl. *veragh* /verax/ | & pl. *derragh* /derax/ |

Imperative: sg. *cur* /kur/, pl. *cur-shiu* /kurs´u/, *cur-jee* /kurd´i:/
Verbal adjective: *currit* /kurit´/.

*fakin* /faːgin/ 'see, act of seeing'. Verbal noun

| *Future independent* | *Future dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *heeym* /hiːm/ | 1 sg. *vaikym* /vakəm/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *hee* /hiː/ | 2, 3 sg. *vaik* /vak/ |
| 1 pl. *heemayd* /hiːməd´/ | 1 pl. *vaikmayd* /vakməd´/ |
| 2, 3 pl. *hee* /hiː/ | 2, 3 pl. *vaik* /vak/ |

Preterite independent: *honnick* /honik´/; dependent: *vaik* /vak/.

| *Conditional independent* | *Conditional dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *heein* /hiːin´/ | 1 sg. *vaikin* /vakin´/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *heeagh* /hiːax/ | 2, 3 sg. *vaikagh* /vakax/ |

Imperative: sg. *jeeagh* /d´iːx/, *cur-my-ner* /kur mə n´eːr, n´aːr/ or /kurmə 'n´arr / pl. *jeeagh-shiu* /d´iːx s´u/
   *jeeagh-jee* /d´iːx d´iː/ *cur-shiu my ner, n'arr* /kur s´u mə 'n´eːr, 'n´aːr/*cur-jee my ner, n'arr* /kurd´iː mə'
   n´eːr, n´aːr/
Verbal adjective: *fakinit* /faːginit´/.

*geddyn* /gedn/ 'get, act of getting', *feddyn* /fedn/ 'find, act of finding'. Verbal noun

| *Future independent* | *Future dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *yioym* /joːm/ | 1 sg. *noym* /noːm/ |
|  | *voym* /voːm/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *yiow* /jou/ | 2, 3 sg. *now* /nou/ |
|  | *vow* /vou/ |
| 1 pl. *yiowmayd* /joːməd´/ | 1 pl. *nowmayd* /noːməd´/ |
|  | *vowmayd* /voːməd´/ |
| 2, 3 pl. *yiow* /jou/ | 2, 3 pl. *now* /nou/ |
|  | *vow* /vou/ |

Preterite independent: *hooar*/huːr/; dependent: *dooar*/duːr/.

| *Conditional independent* | *Conditional dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *yioin* /joːn´/ | 1 sg. *noin* /noːn´/ |
|  | *voin* /voːn´/ |
| 2, 3 sg. | 2, 3 sg. |
| & pl. *yioghe* /joːx/ | & pl.*noghe* /noːx/, |
|  | *voix* /voːx/ |

Imperative: sg. *fow* /fou/ pl. *fow-shiu* /fou s´u/, *fow-jee* /foud´iː/.
Verbal adjective: *geddinit* /gedənit´/, *feddinit* /fedənit´/.

*goll* /gol/ 'go, act of going'. Verbal noun

| *Future independent* | *Future dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *hem* /him/, /hem/ | 1 sg. *jem* /d´im/, d´em/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *hed* /hid/, /hed/ | 2, 3 sg. *jed* /d´id/, /d´ed/ |
| 1 pl. *hemmayd* /himəd´/, etc. | 1 pl. *jemmayd* /d´iməd´/, etc. |
| 2, 3 pl. *hed* /hid/, /hed/, etc. | 2, 3 pl. *jed* /d´id/, /d´ed/, etc. |

Preterite independent: *hie* /hai/; dependent: *jagh* /d´ax/.
Imperative: sg. *gow* /gou/, *immee* /imi/; pl. *gow-shiu* /gous´u/, *gow-jee* /goud´iː/, *immee-shiu* /imis´u/,
   *immee-jee* /imid´iː/.

*gra* /greː/ 'say, act of saying'. Verbal noun

| *Future independent* | *Future dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *jirrym* /dʹirəm/ | 1 sg. *n'arrym* /nʹarəm/, *jirrym* /dʹirəm/ |
| 2, 3 sg. *jir* /dʹir/ | 2, 3 sg. *n'arr* /nʹar/, *jir* /dʹir/ |
| 1 pl. *jirmayd* /dʹirmədʹ/ | 1 pl. *n'arrmayd* /nʹarmədʹ/, *jirmayd* /dʹirmədʹ/ |
| 2, 3 pl. *jir* /dʹir/ | 2, 3 pl. *n'arr* /nʹar/, *jir* /dʹir/ |

Also *abbyrym* /abərəm/, etc. (indep.), *nabbyrym* /nabərəm/, etc. (dep.)
Preterite independent and dependent: *dooyrt* /duːrt/.

| *Conditional independent* | *Conditional dependent* |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. *yiarrin* /jarinʹ/ | 1 sg. *niarrin* /nʹarinʹ/ |
| 2, 3 sg. | 2, 3 sg. |
| & pl. *yiarragh* /jarax/ | & pl. *niarragh* /nʹarax/ |

Imperative sg. *abbyr* /abər/, pl. *abbyr-shiu* /abər sʹu/, *abbyr-jee* /abər dʹiː/.
Verbal adjective: *grait* /greːtʹ/.

## The verb-noun

The verb-noun is a non-finite part of the verb. It is formed by adding a suffix to the verb stem, the most common being *-ey* /ə/; *-aghey* /axə/.

> *dooin* /duːnʹ/ 'shut' > *dooney* /duːnə/ 'shut, act of shutting' (see below)
> *follee* /foli/ 'hide' > *follaghey* /folaxə/ 'hide, act of hiding' (see p. 327)

Other suffixes used include the following:

> *-agh* /ax/: *ettil* /etilʹ/ 'fly' > *etlagh* /etlax/ 'act of flying' (with syncope)
> *-tyn* /tən/: *ben* /ben/ 'touch' > *bentyn* /bentən/ 'touching'
> *-al* /əl/: *cre(i)d* /kredʹ/ 'believe' > *credjal* /kred ʹəl/ 'believing'
> *-t* /tʹ/: *freggyr* /fregər/ 'answer' > *freggyrt* /fregərtʹ/ 'answering'
> *-dyn* /dən/: *giall* /gʹal/ 'promise' > *gialdyn* /gʹaldən/ 'promising'
> *-yn* /ən/: *jeeagh* /dʹiːx/ 'look' > *jeeaghyn* /dʹiːxən/ 'looking'
> *-eil* /eːlʹ/: *leeid* /lʹiːd/ 'lead' > *leeideil* /liʹdʹeːlʹ/ 'leading'
> *-ys* /əs/: *togher* /toːɣər/ 'wind' > *togherys* /toːɣərəs/ 'winding'
> *-oo* /u/: *shass* /sʹas/ 'stand' > *shassoo* /sʹa(ː)su/ 'standing'
> *-iu* /ju/: *toill* /tolʹ/ 'deserve' > *toilliu* /tolʹu/ 'deserving'
> *-lym* /ləm/: *çhaggil* /tʹagilʹ/ 'gather' > *çhaglym* /tʹagləm/ 'gathering' (see below)
> *-çhyn* /tʹən/: *toill* /tolʹ/ 'deserve' > *toillçhyn* /tolʹtʹən/ 'deserving'

The application of the suffix often causes depalatization of the final stem consonant with or without consequential vowel change:

> *bwoaill* /buːlʹ/ 'strike' > *bwoalley* /buːlə/ 'act of striking'
> *dooin* /duːnʹ/ 'shut' > *dooney* /duːnə/ 'shutting' (see above)
> *freill* /freːlʹ/ 'keep' > *freayll* /friːl/ 'keeping'
> *crie* /krai/ 'shake' > *craa* /kreː/ 'shaking'

Occasionally the verb-noun is identical with the stem:

| | |
|---|---|
| *caghlaa* /koxˈleː/ | 'change, changing' |
| *creck* /krek/ | 'sell, selling' |
| *insh* /insʹ/ | 'tell, telling' |
| *lhaih* /lʹei/ | 'read, reading' |
| *jarrood* /dʹəˈruːd/ | 'forget, forgetting' |

Stems in *-ee* / -i/ have their verb-noun in *-agh-* /-ax-/ (see pp. 326–7).

The truly nominal nature of the verb-noun, whereby its object when a substantive is in the genitive, is found in the following famous example in Manx:

> *Shooyll ny dhieyn* /sˈuːl nə daiən/ 'walking (of) the houses', i.e. 'begging'

Here we have a genitive plural indicated by eclipsis after the definite article. Another instance of the nominal character of the verb-noun is its use with the definite article: *ec yn çheet echey* /egən ˈtʹit egə/ 'at his [Christ's] coming'.

*Uses of the verb-noun*

1  The verb-noun, preceded by the remnants of the preposition *\*ag* 'at', coalesced with verb-nouns with consonantal anlaut (e.g., *\*ag jannoo > jannoo* 'doing'), but surviving as *g-* attached to verb-nouns with vocalic anlaut (cf. *\*ag ee > gee* 'eating'), forms the present participle. As such in periphrastic tenses it takes the nominative/accusative of the direct object, whether a noun or pronoun:

> *ta mee fakin ny thieyn*
> /ta mi ˈfaːginʹ nə ˈtaiən/
> 'I see/am seeing the houses'
>
> *ta mee fakin ad*
> /ta mi ˈfaːginʹ ad/
> 'I see/am seeing them'

(see also above).

2  The verb-noun can express the preterite or pluperfect in subordinate clauses with *erreish* or *lurg* 'when/after'.

2.1  *erreish*

2.1.1  With *erreish* as a simple preposition:

> *tra v'ad erreish bee*
> /treː vad eˈreːsˊ ˈbiː/
> 'when they had eaten' (lit. 'when they were after food')

2.1.2  *erreish* can also appear after *tra* 'when' and be followed by the object + *y* + verb-noun:

> *tra v'eh erreish ny goan shoh y loayrt*
> /treː veː eˈreːsˊ nə goːn sˊoː ə ˈloːrt/
> 'when he had spoken these words' (lit. 'when he was after these words to speak')

2.1.3  With *erreish* + *da* + verb-noun

> *erreish dhyt loayrt*
> /eˈreːsˊ dətˊ ˈloːrt/
> 'after you have/had spoken'

2.1.4  To reinforce the past tense, however, *v'er* is inserted before the verb-noun to form a sort of perfect infinitive:

> *erreish da v'er niee ny cassyn oc*
> /eˊreːsˊ deː ver ˈnˊiː nə kasən ok/
> 'after he had washed their feet'

*lurg* 'after' can also replace *erreish*:

> *lurg dooin çheet back woish y cheayn*
> /lərg duːnˊ tˊət 'bak wisˊə 'xidn/
> 'after we had returned from the sea'

> *lurg da Nebuchadnezzar v'er chur ersooyl ayns cappeeys Jeconiah*
> /lug deː N. ver 'xur əˈsuːl us'kaːviəs J./
> 'after N. had sent J. into captivity'

3  To express an expexegetic infinitive in Manx the verb-noun is preceded by *dy* /də/ (occasionally *y* /ə/) 'to' (+ lenition). This construction is used to avoid a subordinate clause involving a subjunctive:

3.1  *hemmayd stiagh dy chur shilley er y çhenn ven*
> /hemədˊ ˈsˊtˊaːx də kor ˈsˊilˊə erə tˊen vedn/
> '(we'll) let us go in and visit (lit. 'in order to visit, put a sight on') the old woman'

3.2  In Late Manx *dy* is found with *son* as a sort of reinforcement:

> *ren eh cur yn soilshey sterrym dom son dy gholl thie*
> /ren a kurən sail's′ə ˈsterəm dum sondə gol ˈtai/
> 'he gave me the storm lamp to (lit. 'for to') go home' (i.e., 'in order that I may get home')

3.3  In Late Manx *le* can be used with the verb-noun to express purpose:

> *cha nel shin geddyn yn un traa le baghey ayns y seihll shoh*
> /ha nel s′in gedn ən un treː le ˈbeː ə usə ˈseːl′ s′oː/
> 'we don't all get the same time to live/for living in this world'

3.4  Also with *dys / dys y*:

> *v'ad goll dys y gheddyn skaddan*
> /vad gol dusə g′edn′ ˈsk′adan/
> 'they'd go to get (lit. 'for the getting (of)') herring'

3.5  Explanatory and other clauses in Classical Manx can be expressed by a sort of accusative and infinitive construction, with the accusative having an antecedent in the main clause:

> *guee ad er, eh dy uirraght mâroo*
> /gwiː ad er ˈeː də urax meːru/
> 'they begged him to stay with them' (lit. 'they begged on him, him to stay (lit. 'that he should stay') with them')

4  with *dy* /də/ + passive participle + verb-noun to express purpose:

> *nagh vel fys ayd dy vel pooar ayms dy dty chrossey?*
> /na vel fis ed də vel ˈpuːr ems də də ˈxrosə/
> 'don't you know that I have the power to crucify you?' (lit. 'for your crucifying')

5  *dy* + verb-noun can also be used to express the deliberative (cf. Eng.):

> *cha s'aym's c'red dy ghra*
> /ha sims kirəd də ˈgreː/
> 'I don't know what to say'

6  In Late Manx prepositions *ayns* and *roish* are also used in association with verb-nouns:

6.1  *ayns* in the expression of a noun clause:

> *ren eh tayrtyn ad ayns geid yn conningyn*
> /ren e təːrtən ed us geid ən kurən′ən/
> 'he caught them (in) poaching rabbits'

6.2  *roish* + verb-noun to replace an inflected tense:

> *roish goll dy lhie*
> /ros′gol də ˈləːi/
> 'before going to bed'

7  The preposition *ry* (latterly *dy*) + verb-noun can express a present passive:

> *cha row eh ry gheddyn*
> /ha reu e rə ˈgedin′/ (LMx without lenition)
> 'he was not to be found'

> *t'eh ry ghra dy dug ee daue mysh shey jeig punt* (LMx; in CMx *shey punt jeig*)
> /ti rə ˈgreː də dugi deu mus′ ˈs′eː d′eg punt/
> 'it is said that she gave them sixteen pounds'

Here *ry ghra* has the tone of a present impersonal passive.

8  The negative used with a verb-noun is *gyn* /gən/ or *dyn* /dən/

> *dooyrt mee rish dyn jannoo eh*
> /duːt mi ris′ dən ˈd′enu a/
> 'I told him not to do it'

> *shoh yn arran ta çheet neose veih niau dy vod dooinney gee jeh, as gyn baase y gheddyn*
> /s′oː(x)an aran ta t′it ˈnuːs vei ˈn′au də vod dun′ə gi deː as gən ˈbeːs ə ɣedn/
> 'this is the bread which comes from heaven, that man can eat of it so that he does not die'

## The verbal adjective

The verbal adjective, or past participle, has the normally inflected forms of *-t*, *-it*, cf. *jeant* /d′ent/ 'done', *currit* /kurit′/ 'put'. An older form in *-jey* /d′ə/ (Ir. *-te*) survives in *cailjey* */kail′d′ə/ 'lost' (now *caillt* /kal′t′/) and *sailjey* /sail′d′ə/ 'salted': *skaddan sailjey* /skadan ˈsail′d′ə/ 'salted herring'.
    The verbal adjective is used:

1  predicatively with the substantive verb *ta* and the prepositional pronoun *ec* to form the perfect tenses. The meaning is active.

> *v'eh jeant echey jea*
> /ve d′ent egə ˈd′eː/
> 'he did/had done it yesterday' (lit. 'it was done at him')

> *t'eh jeant echey hannah*
> /ti ˈd′ent egə ˈhanə/
> 'he has done it already' (lit. 'it is done at him')

*bee eh jeant echey mairagh*
/biː e d'ent´ egə ˈmeːrax/
'he will have done it (by) tomorrow' (lit. 'it will be done at him')

2  predicatively with *ta* to indicative a state:

*ta'n dorrys jeiht*
/tan dorəs ˈd´eit´/
'the door is shut'

3  with *geddyn*:

*t'eh geddyn poost jiu*
/ti gedn ˈpuːs d´uː/
'he's getting married today'

– a calque on the English idiom.

4  attributively:

*yn dorrys jeiht*
/ən dorəs 'd´eit/
'the closed door' (i.e., the back door)


**Pronouns, possessive particles and prepositional pronouns**

*Pronouns*
The personal pronouns are found in simple and emphatic forms, the latter normally used for emphasis, contrast, or as the antecedent of a relative clause, though in Late Manx they can appear in place of the simple forms.

| **Singular** | | **Plural** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *mee* /mi/, *mish* /mis´/ | 1 | *shin* /s´in/, *shinyn* /s´iŋən/ |
| 2 | *oo* /ʊ/, *uss* /us/ | 2 | *shiu* /s´u/ *shiuish* /s´us´/ |
| 3m. | *eh* /e, i/, *eshyn* /es´ən/ | 3 | *ad* /ad/, *adsyn* /adsən/ |
| 3f. | *ee* /i/, *ish* /is´/ | | |

These function both as subject and direct object, though *mayd* /məd´/, found in the future only, serves only as subject.

*Possessive particles*
The corresponding possessive particles are:

| **Singular** | | **Plural** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *my* /mə/$^L$ | 1 | *nyn* /nən/$^N$ |
| 2 | *dty* /də/$^L$ | 2 | *nyn* /nən/$^N$ |
| 3m. | *e* /ə/$^L$ | 3 | *nyn* /nən/$^N$ |
| 3f. | *e* /ə/$^\phi$ | | |

First- and second-person singular and third-person masculine singular occasion lenition (L), and first-, second- and third-person plural, nasalization (N) in the following noun (see also section on mutation above pp. 312–15).

*Prepositional pronouns*
The personal pronouns combine with simple prepositions in seven declensional forms, and as with the personal pronouns, emphatic varieties also occur.

*ec* /ek/ 'at'

| **Singular** | | **Plural** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *aym* /im/ | 1 | *ain* /ain/ |
| | *aym's* /ims/, /iməs/ | | *ainyn* /iŋən/ |
| 2 | *ayd* /ed/ | 2 | *eu* /eu/ |
| | *ayd's* /eds/ | | *euish* /euis´/ |
| 3m. | *echey* /egə/ | 3 | *oc* /ok/ |
| | *echeysyn* /egəsən/ | | *ocsan* /oksən/ |
| 3f. | *eck* /ek/ | | |
| | *eck's* /eks´/ | | |

A similar pattern emerges for nominal prepositions, though the personal element appears as an infixed possessive particle:

*(er) son* 'for'

| **Singular** | | **Plural** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *er-my-hon* /ermə'hon/ | | |
| 2 | *er-dty-hon* /erdə'hon/ | 1, 2, 3 | *er-nyn-son* /ernən'son/ |
| 3m. | *er-e-hon* /erə'hon/ | | |
| 3f. | *er-e-son* /erə'son/ | | |

To distinguish between the first-, second- and third-person plural, inflected forms of *ec* would sometimes be attached /ernənson ˈain/ 'for us', /ernənson ˈeu/ 'for you', /ernənson'ok/ for them. This more analytic form developed in Late Manx and in many of the nominal or phrasal prepositions came to replace the inflected forms:
*son* 1 sg. *son aym* /sonem/, 2 sg. *son ayd* /soned/, etc.

For emphasis the '*s* of the first- and second-person singular of the simple prepositional pronoun could be attached to the nominal element in the phrasal preposition *er-my-hon's* /ermə'hons/, 'for me' and to other nouns following the possessive: *my yishig's* /mə ˈjisˊigs/ 'my father'. The '*s* is also found attached to the verbal inflections of first-person singular of the future and conditional: *hem's* /hems/ 'I will go', *yinnin's* /jinins/ 'I would do', while to the first-person plural future, *yn* /ən/ is usually attached: *mayd < mainyn* /miŋən/ (EM *meidjyn* *\*/meidˊən/).

*Paradigms of prepositional pronouns*
Emphatic suffixes are: 1 sg. *'s*, 2 sg. *'s*, 3 sg. m. *-syn*, 3 sg. f. *-ish*, 1 pl. *-yn*, 2 pl. *-ish*, 3 pl. *-syn*.

*ass* /as/ 'out of'

| **Singular** | | **Plural** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *assym* /asəm/ | 1 | *assdooin* /asduːnʹ/ |
| 2 | *assyd* /asəd/ | 2 | *assdiu* /asdʹuː/ |
| 3 | *ass* /as/ | 3 | *assdaue* /asdou/ |
| 3m. | *assjeh* /asdʹeː/ | | |
| 3f. | *assjee* /asd'iː/ | | |

The third-person singular masculine *assjeh*, the feminine *assjee* and all plural forms are modelled on *da* (qv).

*ayns* /uns/ 'in'

| **Singular** | | **Plural** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *aynym* /unəm/ | 1 | *ayndooin* /uːnduːnʹ/ |
| 2 | *aynyd* /unəd/ | 2 | *ayndiu* /uːndʹuː/ |
| 3m. | *ayn* /uːn/ /oːn/ | 3 | *ayndaue* /uːndou/ |
| 3f. | *aynjee* /uːndʹi/ | | |

The third-person singular feminine and plural forms are modelled on *da* (qv).

*da /deː/* 'to'

| **Singular** | | **Plural** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *dou* /dou/ | 1 | *dooin* /duːnʹ/ |
| 2 | *dhyt* /ditʹ/ | 2 | *diu* /dʹuː/ |
| 3m. | *da* /deː/ | 3 | *daue* /dou/ |
| 3f. | *jee* /dʹiː/ | | |

*ec* /ek/ 'at'
see above, p. 336.

*er* /er/ 'on'

| **Singular** | | **Plural** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *orrym* /orəm/ | 1 | *orrin* /orinʹ/ |
| 2 | *ort* /ort/ | 2 | *erriu* /eriu/ /eru/ |
| 3m. | *er* /er/ | 3 | *orroo* /oru/ |
| 3f. | *urree* /uri/ | | |

*fo* /fo/ 'under'

| Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *foym* /fum/ | 1 | *foin* /foːnʹ/ |
| 2 | *foyd* /fud/ | 2 | *feue* /feu/ |
| 3m. | *fo* /fo/ | 3 | *foue* /fou/ |
| 3f. | *foee* /foːi/ | | |

*gollrish* /gorisʹ/ 'like'

| Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *gorrym* /gorəm/ | 1 | *gorrin* /gorinʹ/ |
| 2 | *gorryt* /gorət/ | 2 | *gorriu* /goriu/ /goru/ |
| 3m. | *gollrish* /gorisʹ/ | 3 | *gorroo* /goru/ |
| 3f. | *gorree* /gori/ | | |

*gys* /gəs/, *hug* /hug/ 'to, towards'

| Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *hym* /hum/ | 1 | *hooin* /hu(ː)nʹ/ |
| 2 | *hood* /hud/ | 2 | *hiu* /heu/ |
| 3m. | *huggey* /hugə/ | 3 | *huc* /huk/ /hok/ |
| 3f. | *huic* /huk/ /hok/ | | |

*harrish* /harisʹ/ /herisʹ/ 'over'; a compound of *rish*

| Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *harrym* /harəm/ | 1 | *harrin* /harinʹ/ |
| 2 | *harryd* /harəd/ | 2 | *harriu* /haru/ |
| 3m. | *harrish* /harisʹ/ | | *harrishdiu* /harisʹdʹuː/ |
| 3f. | *harree* /hari/ | 3 | *harrystoo* /haristu/ |

The second- and third-person plural forms are partly modelled on *da* (qv)

*jeh* /dʹeː/ 'of'

| Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *jeem* /dʹiːm/ | 1 | *jin* /dʹiːn/ |
| 2 | *jeed* /dʹiːd/ | 2 | *jiu* /dʹuː/ |
| 3m. | *jeh* /dʹeː/ | 3 | *jeu* /dʹeu/ |
| 3f. | *jee* /dʹiː/ | | |

*lesh* /l´es´/ 'with'

| Singular | | | Plural | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *lhiam* /l´am/ /l´em/ | | 1 | *lhinn* /l´in´/ | |
| 2 | *lhiat* /l´at, l´et/ | | 2 | *lhiu* /l´eu/ | |
| 3m. | *lesh* /l´es´/ | | 3 | *lhieu* /l´iu/ | |
| 3f. | *lhee* /l´ei/ | | | | |

*liorish* /lˈouris´/ 'by'; a compound of *rish* (qv)

| Singular | Plural |
|---|---|
| 1 *liorym* /l´ourəm/ | 1 *liorin* /l´ourin´/ |
| 2 *liort* /l´ourt/ | 2 *lieriu* /l´e:ru/ |
| 3m. *liorish* /l´ouris´/ | 3 *lioroo* /l´ouru/, /l´o:ru/ |
| 3f. *lioree* /l´ouri/ | |

*mârish* /me:ris´/ 'with, in company with'; a compound of *rish* (qv)

| Singular | Plural |
|---|---|
| 1 *mârym* /me:rəm/ | 1 *mârin* /me:rin´/ |
| 2 *mayrt* /mə:rt/ | 2 *meriu* /me:ru/ |
| 3m. *mârish* /me:ris´/ | 3 *mâroo* /me:ru/ |
| 3f. *mâree* /me:ri/ | |

*rish* /ris´/ 'to, towards'

| Singular | Plural |
|---|---|
| 1 *rhym* /rum/ | 1 *rooin* /ru:n´/ |
| 2 *rhyt* /rət/ | 2 *riu* /ru:/ |
| 3m. *rish* /ris´/ | 3 *roo* /ru:/ |
| 3f. *r'ee* /ri:/ | |

*roish* /ro:s´/ 'before'

| Singular | Plural |
|---|---|
| 1 *roym* /ro:m/ /ru:m/ | 1 *roin* /ro:n´/ |
| 2 *royd* /ro:d/ | 2 *reue* /reu/ |
| 3m. *roish* /ro:s´/ *rhymbiu* /rumbu/ | 3 *roue* /rou/, rhymboo /rumbu/ |
| 3f. *roee* /ro:i/, rhymbee /rumbi/ | |

*veih* /vei/, *voish* /wusʹ/ 'from'

**Singular**                    **Plural**
1 *voym* /vuːm/, /wuːm/         1 *voin* /vuːnʹ/, wuːnʹ/
2 *voyd* /vuːd/, /wuːd/         2 *veue* /veu/, /weu/
3m. *voish* /wu(ː)sʹ/          3 *voue* /vuː/, /wuː/
3f. *voee* /vuːi/, /wuːi/

The following are nominal prepositional pronouns; in some cases only the noun is found.

*With preposition*
*erskyn* /erˈskiːn/ 'above'
Singular: 1 *er-my-skyn* /erməˈskiːn/, 2 *er-dty-skyn* /erdəˈskiːn/, 3m. *er-e-skyn* /erəˈskiːn/,
        3f. *er-e-skyn* /erəˈskiːn/
Plural: *er-nyn-skyn* /ernənˈskiːn/

*mychione* /məˈxʹeun/, /məkʹeun/ 'concerning'
Singular: 1 *my-my-chione* /məməˈxʹeun/ etc., 2 *my-dty-chione* /mədəˈxʹeun/, 3m. *my-e-
        chione* /məˈxʹeun/ etc., 3f. *my-e-kione* /məkʹeun/
Plural: *my-nyn-gione* /mənənˈgʹeun/

*son* /son/ 'for the sake of'
Singular: 1 *er-my-hon* /erməˈhon/, 2 *er-dty-hon* /erdəˈhon/, 3m. *er-e-hon* /erəˈhon/, 3f. *er-
        e-son* /erəˈson/
Plural: *er-nyn-son* /ernənˈson/

In nominal prepositional pronouns such as the above, one finds in Late Manx particularly the possessive object particle replaced by the personal forms of *ec* on the analogy of the periphrastic possessive construction, for example, instead of *my-my-chione* we find *mychione aym*, *er-e-hon* > *(er)son echey*, etc. (cf. above).

   This construction is commonly found in the plural for clarity, where the inflected form is unclear: *my-nyn-gione* > *mychione ain, eu, oc*.

   The following can also be similarly treated:

*my noi* /mə ˈnai/ 'against'
Singular: 1 *my noi aym* /mə ˈnai em/, 2 *my noi ayd* /mə ˈnai ed/, 3m. *my noi echey* /ma ˈnai
        egə/, 3f. *my noi eck* /mə ˈnai ek/
Plural: 1 *my noi ain* /mə ˈnai ain/, 2 *my noi eu* /mə ˈnai eu/ 3 *my noi oc* /mə ˈnai ok/

*mygeayrt* /məˈgiːrt/ 'around'
Singular: 1 *mygeayrt aym* /məˈgiːrt em/, etc.

*mygeayrt-y-mysh* /məˈgiːrtəmuʃ/ 'round about'
Singular: 1 *mygeayrt-y-moom* /məˈgiːrtəˈmum/, 2 *mygeayrt-y-mood* /məˈgiːrtəˈmud/,
        3m. *mygeayrt-y-mysh* /məˈgiːrtəmusʹ/, 3f. *mygeayrt-y-mooee* /məˈgiːrtəˈmui/
Plural: 1 *mygeayrt-y-mooin* /məˈgiːrtəmunʹ/, 2 *mygeayrt-y-miu* /məˈgiːrtəmu/,
        3 *mygeayrt-y-moo/ məˈgiːrtəmu/

*Without a preposition*
*cour* /kauər, keuər/ 'for'
Singular: 1 *my chour* /mə ˈxauər/, /mə ˈkauər/, 2 *dty chour* /də ˈxauər/, /də ˈkauər/ 3m. *ny chour* /nə ˈxauər/, /nə ˈkauər/, 3f. *ny cour* /nə ˈkauər/ (rare)
Plural: *nyn gour* /nən ˈgauər/

*fud* /fud/ 'among'
Plural only: *nyn vud* /nə ˈvud/
With *ec*: *nyn vud ain*, *eu*, *oc* /nə ˈvud ain, eu, ok/

*fegooish* /fəˈguːsˊ/ 'without, in the absence of'
Singular: 1 *m'egooish* /məˈguːsˊ/, 2 *dt'egooish* /dəˈguːsˊ/, 3m. *n'egooish* /nəˈguːsˊ/, 3f. *ny fegooish* /nə fəˈguːsˊ/ (rare)
Plural: *nyn vegooish* /nən vəˈguːsˊ/
Often with *ec*: *fegooish echey* /fəˈguːsˊ egə/, etc.

*lurg* /lərg/ 'after'
Singular: 1 *my lurg* /mə ˈlərg/, *dty lurg* /də ˈlərg/, 3 *ny lurg* /nə ˈlərg/
Plural: *nyn lurg* /nə ˈlərg/

*ny yei* /nə ˈjei/ 'after' (no simple prepositional form)
Singular: 1 *my yei* /mə ˈjei/, *dty yei* /də ˈjei/, *ny yei* /nə ˈjei/
Plural: *nyn yei* /nə ˈjei/
Frequently with *ec*: *nyn yei ain* /nə jei ain/, etc.

*mastey* /mastə/ 'among'
Plural only: 1 *ny mast'ain* /nə ˈmastain/, 2 *ny mast' eu* /nə ˈmasteu/, 3 *ny mast'oc* /nə ˈmastok/

*noi* /nai/ 'against'
Singular: 1 *m'oi* /mˈai/, 2 *dt' oi* /dˈai/, 3 *m. noi* /nai/, 3f. *ny hoi* /nə ˈhai/
Plural: *nyn oi* /nə ˈnai/
Frequently with *ec*: *noi aym* /ˈnai em/, etc.

*trooid* /truːd/ 'through'
Singular: 1 *my hrooid* /mə ˈhruːd/, 2 *dty hrooid* /də ˈhruːd/, 3m. *ny hrooid* /nə ˈhruːd/, 3f. *ny trooid* /nə ˈtruːd/ (rare)
Plural: *nyn drooid* /nən ˈdruːd/

'Towards' (= meeting) can be expressed by *çheet* 'coming' plus *quaiyl* /kweːlˊ/(Ir. *cómhdháil*) with appropriate preceding possessive particle:
Singular: 1 *my whaiyl* /mə ˈhweːlˊ/, 2 *dty whaiyl* /də ˈhweːlˊ/, 3m. *ny whaiyl* /nə ˈhweːlˊ/ 3f. *ny quaiy*l /nə kweːlˊ/ (rare)
Plural: *nyn guaiyl* /nən ˈgweːlˊ/

For example:
*bee eh çheet my whaiyl mairagh*
/biː a tˊit mə ˈhweːlˊ ˈmeːrex/
'he'll be meeting me (lit. 'coming my meeting') tomorrow'

In Late Manx this construction has largely been replaced by *meeiteil* /mə'de:l′/ (<Eng. 'meet' + vn. ending *-eil*) + the prepositional pronoun *rish*.

## Demonstratives and *hene* 'self'

The demonstratives *shoh* /s′o:/ 'this', *shen* /s′en/ 'that', *shid* /s′id/ 'yonder' and *hene* /hi:n/ 'self' can be attached to all pronominal forms (*hene* becomes *pene* after *-m*): *mee hene* /mi 'hi:n / 'myself', *er-my-hon hene* /er mə 'hon 'hi:n/ 'for my part', *orrym pene* /orəm 'pi:n/ 'on myself', while *hene* following a possessive expresses 'own': *my hie hene* /mə 'hai 'hi:n/ 'my own house'.

In the singular the demonstratives can serve also as pronouns in a non-personal sense *ta shen mie dy liooar* /ta 's′en mai də'l′u:ə/ 'that's all right'. But in the plural they require the third-person plural pronoun *ad shen* /ad's′en/ 'those, those ones' *roo shen* /ru's′en/ 'to those'.

In the imperative singular and second-person plural, emphasis is expressed by the attachment of the emphatic form of the respective personal pronouns to the imperative form: *jean uss eh* /d′en 'us e/ '**you** (sg.) do it', *trog-jee shiuish eh* /trog d′i 's′us′ e/ '**you** (pl.) lift it'.

## SYNTAX

### The noun phrase

The noun itself is the minimum element of a noun phrase. It is usually found with other elements. The sequence of elements in the noun phrase is: preposition – article or possessive particle – numeral – adjectival prefix – noun – adjective modifier – adjective – demonstrative. The article is definite only (see above p. 321). The numeral may be split (see pp. 318–20).

The adjectival prefixes are limited and include:

*ard* /a:rd/, /ə:rd/<sup>L</sup> 'high, main, chief':   *ard valley* /a:rd 'va:l′ə/ 'city';
*drogh* /drox/<sup>L</sup> 'bad':   *drogh vraane* /drox 'vre:n/ 'bad women';
*shenn* /s′an/<sup>L</sup> 'old':   *shenn ven* /s′an 'vedn/ 'old woman';
*reih* /rai/ 'choice':   *y reih dooinney* /ə rai dun′ə/ 'the best man'.

The adjectival modifiers are also limited:

*feer* /fi:r/<sup>L</sup> 'very':   *feer vie* /fir 'vai/ 'very good';
*lane* /ledn/<sup>L</sup> 'quite':   *lane vie* /ledn 'vai/ 'quite well';
*braew* /breu/<sup>L</sup> 'fine':   *braew vie* /breu 'vai/ 'very well';
*ro* /ro:/<sup>L</sup> 'too':   *ro vooar* /ro: 'vu:r/ 'too big';
*mie* /mai/<sup>L</sup> 'very':   *mie chiune* /mai 'x′u:n′/ 'very calm'.

The demonstratives require the article before the noun: *ny deiney shoh* /nə de:n′ə 's′o:/ 'these men'. An alternative to the possessive particle + noun is the (more common) periphrastic article + noun + *ec*:

*my hie* /mə 'hai/ 'my house' > *yn thie aym* /ən 'tai im/ lit. 'the house at me'.

The article is not used with a noun + definite or indefinite dependent genitive (whether marked or unmarked: *jerrey yn chaggey* /d´erə ən xaːgə/ 'the end of the war', *jerrey caggey* /d´erə kaːgə/ 'end of war' (see p. 315).

## The verb phrase

The verbal phrase may be a single item, or, more commonly, a phrase in which the verb conveys the tense with the person usually represented by a pronoun, or in which the tense is conveyed by an auxiliary verb.

The distinction between independent and dependent verbal forms is well maintained in Manx in the auxiliaries and small group of eight irregular verbs. (See above pp. 323–4.)

Inflected tenses are: future, conditional/past subjunctive and preterite.

### The future
The future first singular is inflected, *-ym* /əm/, the remaining persons have *-ee* /i/ (independent) and zero (dependent) with pronoun *mayd* /məd´/ (in Late Manx, also *main* /main/, *shin* /s´in/) in the first-person plural. The relative has *-ys* /əs/. Using *tilgey* /tilgə/ 'act of throwing, casting', as an example.

Independent:      *tilgym, tilgee oo, eh, ee, mayd, shiu, ad*
Dependent:        *cha dilgym, cha dilg oo, eh*, etc.
Relative:           *hilgys*

### The conditional/past subjunctive
The conditional first-person singular has *-in* /in/, the rest *-agh* /ax/ + pronoun (1 pl. *shin*; in Late Manx also *main*), with permanent lenition in the independent and nasalization in the dependent form:

Independent:      *hilgin, hilgagh oo, eh, ee, shin/main, shiu, ad*
Dependent:        *cha dilgin, dilgagh oo, eh*, etc.

### The preterite
The preterite has no personal inflections, no independent–dependent contrast (except in some irregular verbs), and is permanently lenited. The dependent form may preserve the preterite particle *d´*:

Independent:      *hilg mee, oo, eh*, etc.
Dependent:        *cha dilg mee, oo, eh*, etc.

### The imperative
The imperative is used in commands and exhortations and exists in the second-person singular and second-person plural only, the singular with zero inflection, the plural with the suffix *-jee* /-d´iː/, sometimes *-shiu* /-s´u/: 2 sg. *tilg*, 2 pl. *tilg-jee / tilg-shiu*.

In the third-person singular and plural and the first-person plural, the corresponding construction is usually *lhig* /l´ig/ 'let, allow' (always singular) + 3 sg. m. *da* /deː/ 'to him', *jee* /d´i/ 'to her', 1 pl. *dooin* /duːn´/ 'to us', 3 pl. *daue* /dau/ 'to them' + verbal noun *lhig dooin tilgey* 'let us throw'.

*The auxiliary* ve *'be'*
The auxiliary *ve* has inflected forms (see the section on verbs above pp. 323–4). The present and preterite are used to express the present and imperfect of other verbs by means of the preposition *\*ag* 'at' (reduced to *g-* before vocalic anlaut, zero before consonants) and the verbal noun.

Present:          *ta mee tilgey* 'I am throwing, I throw'
Imperfect:        *v'ad tilgey* 'they were throwing, used to throw'

The perfect, future perfect, past conditional and pluperfect are formed with *er* /er/$^L$ (/er/$^N$ usually with /t/ or /t´/ anlaut) in place of *\*ag*:

Perfect:            *ta mee er dilgey* 'I have thrown'
Future perfect:     *tra veesmayd er dilgey* 'when we (will) have thrown'
Past conditional:   *veign er dilgey* 'I would have thrown'
Pluperfect:         *va mee er dilgey* 'I had thrown'

These tenses of the perfect series are found in common use.

*The auxiliary* jannoo *'do'*
The second auxiliary *jannoo* /d´enu/ has also an independent existence and is fully inflected. (See above, p. 324, for paradigms.)
    As an auxiliary *jannoo* provides an alternative to the four inflected tenses, its own forms governing the verb-noun as a direct object, with *g-* prefixed to an initial vowel.

Future: *neeym tilgey* 'I will throw' = *tilgym* (though the inflected form can also have the force of a habitual present), lit. 'I will do a throwing'.
Preterite: *ren mee tilgey* = *hilg mee*, lit. 'I did a throwing'.
Conditional: *cha jinnagh eh tilgey* = *cha dilgagh eh*, lit. 'I would not do a throwing'.
Imperative: *jean tilgey eh* 'throw it!', lit. 'do a throwing it'.

As a result there is no compulsion to use the inflected forms of any verb except the two auxiliaries, and the preference for this analytical form grew almost to exclude the other, particularly in Late Manx. The auxiliary *jannoo* may be used with *jannoo* itself: *ren mee jannoo eh* 'I did it', lit. 'I did a doing it'. (For the forms of the direct object see the section on the simple sentence below, pp. 348–52).

*The passive*
With the exception of *ruggyr* /rugə/ 'is born' (used also as a preterite, Ir. *rugadh*), the formation of the passive in Manx is comprised of an analytical construction taking three forms:

1  *ve* + past participle
The passive can be formed with any tense of *ve* plus the past participle with suffix *-it* or *-t*. This construction is quite common in Late Manx.

*v´eh tilgit* 'it was thrown', *v'eagh eh er ve tilgit* 'it would have been thrown'.

2  *ve* + *er* + possessive pronoun + verbal noun
In the early and middle period the preferred construction was *er* + appropriate possessive pronoun in concord with the subject (but gradually becoming fixed in the third-person singular masculine form) + verb-noun: *va mee er my hilgey* 'I was thrown', lit. 'I was after my throwing', *v'ee er ny tilgey* 'she was thrown', *v'ad er nyn dilgey* 'they were thrown', > *va mee / v'ee / v'ad er ny hilgey*, etc., imperative *bee-jee er nyn dilgey*. In the perfect series *t'ad er ve er nyn dilgey* 'they have been thrown', lit. 'they have been after their throwing', *veagh eh er ve er ny hilgey* 'he would have been thrown', *bee shiu er ve er nyn dilgey* 'you (pl.) will have been thrown', *v'ad er ve er nyn dilgey* 'they had been thrown' are less common, the present series often sufficing as a replacement.

3  *Goll* + *er* + verb-noun
A third possibility is to use *goll* /gol/ 'going' + *er* + verb-noun: *hem er tilgey* 'I will be thrown' (lit. 'I will go after throwing'), *hie eh er tilgey* 'he was thrown', *t'eh goll er tilgey* 'he is thrown', *v'ad goll er tilgey* 'they were thrown'; no imperative.

*The direct object*
The varied structure of the verbal phrase generates a variety of treatments of the direct object.

*The simple verb*
The simple verb treats the nominal and pronominal objects alike: *hilg eh yn shleiy* /hilge ən sˊlei/ 'he threw the spear', *hilg eh eh* /ˈhilge-a/ 'he threw it'.

    With the auxiliary *ve*, the order is as above with a nominal object: *v'eh tilgey yn shleiy* 'he was throwing the spear'. A pronoun object can either follow the verb-noun: *v'eh tilgey eh*, or be infixed in a prepositional phrase before the verb-noun *v'eh dy hilgey eh*, the final *eh* supporting *dy* 'at its' (lit. 'he was at its throwing'). The complete paradigm would be:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 sg. | *v'eh dy my*$^L$ *hilgey* | 1, 2, 3, pl. | *v'eh dyn*$^N$ *dilgey* |
| | /viː dəmə ˈhilgə/ | | /viː dən ˈdilgə/ |
| 2 sg. | *v'eh dy dty*$^L$ *hilgey* | or 1 pl. | *v'eh dyn*$^N$ *dilgey shin* |
| | /viː dədə ˈhilgə/ | | /viː dən ˈdilgə sˊinˊ/ |
| 3 sg. m. | *v'eh dy*$^L$ *hilgey* | 2 pl. | *v'eh dyn*$^N$ *dilgey shiu* |
| | /viː dəˈhilgə/ | | /viː dən ˈdilgə sˊu/ |
| 3 sg. f. | *v'eh dy tilgey* | 3 pl. | *v'eh dyn*$^N$ *dilgey ad* |
| | /viː də ˈtilgə/ | | /viː dən ˈdilgə ad/ |

As can be seen there is no need for reinforcement by the personal pronoun after the verbal noun in the first- and second-person singular because the meaning is clear. However, the third-person singular masculine has become the norm for both genders, making clarification necessary.

    For the plural forms, because the same form is used for all three persons, specification of the person via the personal pronoun was thereafter necessary:

    *ta mish dyn goyrt shiu magh/*
    /ta misˊ dən goːrt sˊu ˈmax/
    'I send you out' (Luke 10:3)

Already in Classical Manx the third-person singular was becoming the general form for all persons:

> *ta mish dy chasherickey mee hene*
> /ta mis´ də xas´ərikə mi ˈhiːn/
> 'I am making/I make myself holy'

This led to the use of the personal pronouns in each case; *dy* would then fall out because unstressed (with return to the radical):

> *v'eh dy my hilgey > v'eh dy hilgey mee > v'eh tilgey mee*

The alternative with *dy* is more common when the object precedes the verb: *shoh ta mee dy ghra* 'this I say', or in a relative clause when the relative is accusative: *cha nel mee toiggal ny t'eh dy ghra* 'I don't understand what (that which) he is saying'. In the perfect series both noun and pronoun follow the verb-noun: *t'ad er dilgey yn shleiy* 'they have thrown the spear', *t'ad er dilgey eh* 'they have thrown it'. But in a relative clause with preceding object Early Manx/Classical Manx include the object pronoun: *shoh yn shleiy t'eh er ny hilgey* 'this is the spear he has thrown' (lit. '. . . is after its throwing'). However, the ambiguity in *t'eh er ny hilgey* which could mean 'he has thrown it' or 'he has been thrown' led to this construction falling into disuse; it persisted longer in the first and second persons: *t'eh er my hilgey* 'he has thrown me'.

In Late Manx the pronominal object of a verb-noun can be expressed by the periphrastic construction on the analogy of the ordinary noun:

> *ta shin fakin ain hene aeg foast*
> /ta s´in faːgin´ ain ˈhiːn ˈeːg foːs/
> 'we are seeing ourselves young still'

In Classical Manx this would be expressed as *ta shin dyn vakin shin hene aeg foast* (see with *tilgey* above).

With the auxiliary *jannoo*, the noun object can either follow the verbal noun: *ren eh tilgey yn shleiy* 'he threw the spear' (lit 'he did a throwing spear'), or be placed before it: *ren eh y shleiy y hilgey* (lit. 'he did the spear to throw'). In a relative clause with preceding object the *y* /ə/ is found included: *shoh yn shleiy ren eh y hilgey* 'this is the spear which he threw' (lit. 'this is the spear, he did its throwing'). The pronoun has three options:

1   It may take the possessive form before the verb-noun: *ren eh y hilgey eh* (with supporting *eh* as above); more common in the first and second persons.
2   It may be treated in the same way as the noun: *ren eh eh y hilgey* (lit. 'he did it to throw'), common in Classical Manx.
3   Or it may follow the verb-noun: *ren eh tilgey eh*. This came to be the more common use in Late Manx.

## The modals

*Ability*

1 *fod* /fod/: Ability can be expressed with *fod* in all its inflected forms: *cha noddym jannoo eh, cha noddym eh y yannoo* /ha nodəm d´enu a/, /ha nodəm ˈeː ə ˈjenu/ 'I cannot

do it', *oddagh shin coayl eh* /odax sˊinˊ koːl a/ 'we could lose him', *cha dod mee jannoo eh* / ha dod mi dˊenu a/ 'I couldn't do it'. *fod* has no verb-noun.

2  *jarg* /dˊeg/: This is found only in its dependent form: *cha jargin goll* /ha dˊegin ˈgol/ 'I couldn't go', *cha jarg shiu fakin red erbee* /ha dˊeg sˊu faːginˊ ridəˈbi/ 'you can't see anything'.

3  *abyl* /eːbəl/: Most common in the Late Manx period. It is used with *ve* and can be followed by the infinitival *dy: v'ad abyl jannoo red erbee* /vad eːbəl dˊenu ridəˈbi/ 'they could/were able to do anything', *t'ad abyl dy chreck red erbee* /tad eːbəl də krek ridəˈbi/ 'they're able to sell anything'.

4  *son* /son/: Common in Late Manx: *cha row eh son loayrt Gaelg edyr* /ha rau i son loːrt gilˊkˊ eda/ 'he wasn't able to speak Manx at all'. Earlier this would have meant 'he wasn't for (didn't want to) speaking Manx at all'.

Ability can also be expressed by the future: *c'red neemayd gre?* /kirəd nˊiːmədˊ greː/ 'what can we say?'

*Possibility*
In Manx this is expressed with *foddee* /fodi/ 'perhaps' (lit. 'it may be') + *dy* + dependent: *foddee dy vel eh aynshoh* /fodi də ˈvel e uˈsoː/ 'perhaps he is here'; in the negative with *nagh* + dependent: *foddee nagh bee eh aynshoh jiu* /fodi nax biː e uˈsoː ˈdˊu/ 'perhaps he won't be here today'.

*Permission*
This is usually expressed by *lhiggey* /lˊigə/ mostly found as an imperative *lhig dooin goll* /lˊig duːnˊ ˈgol/ 'let us go' (see also the section on the imperative above). It can also be expressed by *kied* /kˊed/ 'permission': *va kied echey goll thie* /va kˊed egə gol ˈtai/ 'he had permission to go home'.

*Necessity*
This is mostly expressed with a copula construction: *sheign* /saidn/ (all tenses), or occasionally with *beign* (past): *sheign dooin goll* /saidn duːnˊ ˈgol/ 'we must go', *cha neign dooin goll* /ha ˈnaidn duːnˊ ˈgol/ 'we don't/didn't have to go'. In Late Manx *foarst* /foːs/ (< Eng. 'forced') was quite often used: *v'ad foarst faagail y vaatey* /vad ˈfoːs fəˈgeːlˊə ˈveːdə/ 'they had to leave the boat'.

*Obligation*
Obligation is expressed by *lhisin* /lˊisinˊ/ (1st pers. sg.), *lhisagh* /lˊisax/ (with other persons): *lhisagh oo goll thie* /lˊisaxu gol ˈtai/ 'you should go home'. Absence of obligation can be expressed with the copula + *cummey* /kumə/ 'equal, indifferent' + personal forms of *lesh*:

> *s'cummey lhiam eh*
> /skumə lˊam eː/
> 'it doesn't matter to me' (lit. 'it is equal with me it')

or of *da*:

> *s'cummey dou beagh keead punt aym*
> /skumə dou biːx kiːd ˈpunt em/
> 'I don't mind/wouldn't mind if I had a hundred pounds'

It can also be expressed with the negative of *ve* + *feme* /feːm, febm/ 'need' + prepositional pronoun *ec*:

> *cha row feme oc goll*
> /ha rau febm ok gol/
> 'they didn't have to go'

## Adverbs

Adverbs are formed from the adjective by prefixing *dy* /də/ to the positive form: *ren eh dy mie* /ren e də ˈmai/ 'he did well'. Certain adverbs of manner do not take *dy*, namely, *çhelleeragh* /tʲəˈliːrax/ 'quick', *doaltattym* /doːlˈtadʲəm/ 'sudden', *kiart / mie dy liooar* /kʲaːt, mai də ˈlʲuːr/ 'right, good enough', *myr shoh, myr shen* /mə ˈsʲoː/, /mə ˈsʲen/ 'like this /that'. The compared adverb takes the same form as the predicative of the adjective. In relative clauses, however, the compared adverb may be replaced by the compared adjective attached to the antecedent:

> *yn fer share ren eh*
> /ən fer ˈsʲeːr ren e/
> '(it was) the best man (who) did it'

## The simple sentence

*Normal word order*

The normal order of elements in the simple sentence and in clauses of a complex sentence is: verb + subject + direct object + indirect object. Adverbial elements are more mobile and can occur at the beginning or end of this series: *hug eh yn skian da'n dooinney* /hug e ən skidn dən ˈdunʲə/ 'he gave the knife to the man'. *Dy tappee hug eh yn skian da'n dooinney* or *hug eh . . . da'n dooinney dy tappee* 'quickly . . .' or '. . . quickly'. The verb is in absolute initial position only in affirmative single-clause sentences, otherwise it is preceded by: co-ordinating conjunctions: *agh hilg mee eh* /ax hilg mi a/ 'but I threw it', subordinating conjunctions: *tra hilg mee eh* /treː hilg mi a/ 'when I threw it', the negative: *cha hilg mee eh* /ha ˈhilg mi a/ 'I did not throw it', the interrogative: (ø) *vel eh tilgey eh* /vel e ˈtilgə a/ 'is he throwing it?', the negative interrogative: *nagh vel oo tilgey eh?* /nax na velu tilgə a/, and the like. Except for the negative it is possible for reasons of style to place other elements in initial position: *da'n dooinney hug eh yn skian* /dən ˈdunʲə hug e ən skidn/ 'to the man he gave the knife', *yn skian hug eh da'n dooinney* /ən skidn hug e dən ˈdunʲə/ 'the knife he gave to the man'.

*With the substantive verb*
With the substantive verb the usual order is verb + subject + complement (for example, adjective, adverb, prepositional phrase):

> *t'eh agglagh*
> /ti: ˈaglax/
> 'it is awful'

> *t'eh dy mie*
> /ti: də ˈmai/
> 'he is well'

> *t'eh ayns y thie-oast*
> /ti: usə tai ˈoːs/
> 'he's in the ale house'

When used absolutely without predicate, the position of the predicate is filled by the third-person singular masculine prepositional pronoun *ayn* /uːn/ 'in it':

> *ta laa braew grianagh ayn*
> /taː leː breu ˈgriənax uːn/
> 'there's a fine sunny day in it' (Manx-English)

In indicating a state of affairs or function (e.g. a job) the indefinite predicate noun appears usually with the substantive verb in the following formula: *ta* + subject + *in* plus possessive particle coalesced + predicate:

> *t'eh ny^L wooinney mie*
> /tiːnə wunˊə ˈmai/
> 'he's a good man' (lit. 'he is in his good man')

> *t'eh ny^L chadley*
> /tiːnə ˈxadlə/
> 'he is asleep' (lit. 'in his sleeping')

> *ta shin nyn^N gadley*
> /ta sˊinˊ nən ˈgadla/
> 'we are asleep' (lit. 'in our sleeping')

Usually there is concord in the coalesced possessive particle, but in Late Manx particularly this has become generalized in the third-person singular masculine irrespective of the person or number of the antecedent:

> *ta mee my veshtey > ny veshtey*
> /taːmi mə ˈvesˊtˊə, nə ˈvesˊtˊə/
> 'I am drunk' ('I am in my drunkenness')

*With the copula*
Apart from its primary functions of emphasis and in the construction of compared adjectives, the copula is much less used than the substantive verb and lacks a complete range of tense forms. The paradigm could be sketched as follows:

| | **Independent** | **Dependent** |
|---|---|---|
| Present/future | *is* /is/, *she* /sʹeː/ | *nee*, /niː/, *re* /reː/ |
| Relative | *ʹs* | |
| Past conditional | *by*, *bʹ* /bə/ | *by*, *bʹ* /bə/ |
| | (in set phrases only) | |

The order is: verb + complement + subject:

> *is/she Manninagh mish*
> /is/sʹeː ˈmanənax misʹ/
> 'I am a Manxman' (lit. 'is/is-it a Manxman I')

or with relative as subject:

> *she Manninagh ta mish*
> /sʹeː ˈmanənax ta ˈmisʹ/
> 'it is a Manxman which I am'

The use of past-tense form *by*, *bʹ* /bə/ in set phrases would include the following:

> *cha bʹlhiass* /haˈblas/ 'was not necessary, no need' (pres. *sʹlhiass*, + *da*)
> *cha bʹlhiass dhyt jannoo shen*
> /haˈblas dət dʹenu sʹen/
> 'there was no need for you to do that'
>
> *cha bʹlhoys* /haˈbloːs/ 'dared not' (pres. *sʹlhoys* + *da*)
> *cha bʹlhoys dhyt ennym kayt y ghra er boayrd y vaatey*
> /ha ˈbloːs dətʹ enəmˈket ə greː er ˈboːrd ə ˈveːdə/
> 'you dared not mention the name of a cat on board the boat'

Only in the present affirmative can the copula be omitted before the demonstrative and (emphatic) personal pronoun (though not in Early Manx):

> *shoh yn ree*
> /sʹoːx ən ˈriː/
> 'this/here (is) the king'
>
> *eshyn yn ree*
> /esʹən ən ˈriː/
> 'he (is) the king'

but:

*cha nee eshyn yn ree*
/hani: es´ən ən ˈriː/
'he is not the king'

Note here that in definite copula sentences the positions of the complement and subject are reversed.

The zero copula is also found, though with declining frequency, when two nominal groups are equated:

*Juan Mooar yn fer share*
/d'uən ˈmuːr ən fer ˈs´eːr/
'Big John is the best man'

In Late Manx the zero copula is often replaced by the substantive verb: *ta Juan Mooar yn fer share*, a situation not yet found in Irish or Scottish Gaelic, so far as is known.

*Questions*
In the absence of 'yes' and 'no' equivalents in Manx, an affirmative or negative response is conveyed by repeating the verb of the question in the affirmative or negative, and in the same tense, in its minimal form: *daink oo aynshoh riyr?* /deŋku əˈsoː ˈraiər/ 'did you come here last night? *haink* /heŋk/ 'yes', *cha daink* /ha ˈdeŋk/ 'no', *vel oo skee?* /velu ˈskiː/ 'are you tired?' *ta* /teː/ 'yes', *cha nel* /ha ˈnel/ 'no'.

*Coordination*
Coordination linking two items or main clauses together has three main representatives in Manx: *agh* /ax/ 'but', *as* /əs/ 'and', *ny* /nə/ 'or':

*hie mee hene ayn, agh cha jagh Juan eddyr*
/hai mi ˈhiːn uːn ax ha ˈd´ax d´uən edə/
'I myself went, but John didn't at all'

*va kiare jeu ayn as vad gobbyr feer chreoi*
/ve k´eːə d´eu uːn əs vad gobə fiː xrei/
'there were four of them and they were working very hard'

*son laa ny jees*
/son ˈleː nə d´iːs/
'for a day or two'

*Subordination*
Subordinate clauses are introduced by their various conjunctions, followed by simple or (in the future) relative verb forms: *my* /mə/ 'if', *tra* /treː/ 'when', *derrey* /derə/ 'until': *my vees eh goll, hem mârish* /mə ˈviːs e gol´ hem ˈmeːris´/ if he goes (will go) I'll go with him'. *dy* /də/ 'that', *nagh* /nax/ 'that not', either solo or in phrasal conjunctions: *er-yn-oyr/er-y-fa dy/nagh* 'because, because not' *ge dy/nagh* 'although' are followed by dependent forms:

*hie eh dy valley, er-yn-oyr dy row eh çhing*
/hai e də ˈvaːl´ə erən ˈoːr də rau e t´iŋ/
'he went home because he was sick'

*Relative clauses*

Relative clauses can be either proper (or direct) or improper (indirect). In direct relatives the relative is nominative or accusative, the affirmative form of which is zero and the negative *nagh*: *eshyn yn dooinney ren jannoo eh* /es´ən ən dun´ə ren d´enu a/ 'he is the man (who) did it'; *eshyn yn dooinney nagh ren jannoo eh* /es´ən ən dun´ə nax ren d´enu a/ 'he is the man (who) did not do it'. When the relative includes the antecedent, i.e., 'that which', etc., or when it follows *ooilley* /ul´u/ 'all' the form it takes is *ny* /nə/, *ta mish loayrt shen ny ta mee er n'akin* */ta mis´ lo:rt s´en nə ta mi e 'na:gin´/ 'I speak that which I have seen' (John 8. 38). In indirect relative clauses in which the relative is governed by a preposition the appropriate form of the prepositional pronoun is used, either before the verb (in its dependent form) or at the end of the relative clause with zero affirmative relative particle (+ independent form of verb), negative *nagh*:

> *yn baatey ayn row mee*
> /ən ˈbe:də u:n ˈrau mi/
> 'the boat in which I was'

or

> *yn baatey va (*earlier *row) mee ayn*
> /ən ˈbe:də vami u:n/
> 'the boat I was in'
>
> *yn baatey nagh row mee ayn*
> /ən be:də na ˈrau mi u:n/
> 'the boat I was not in'

When the relative is genitive the appropriate possessive appears in the relative clause:

> *yn dooinney ta e vac marroo*
> /ən dun´ə ta: ə ˈvak ˈmaru/
> 'the man whose (lit. 'his') son is dead'

*The subjunctive*

The present subjunctive has no special forms. It is expressed either by the present or future indicative with the meaning of an indefinite future: *choud as ta mee bio* /haudəs tami bjo:/, *choud's veem's bio* /haudəs vi:ms bjo:/ 'as long as I am alive'.

With a jussive meaning the dependent future after *dy* /də/ or alone can be used: *dy jig dty reeriaght* /də ˈd´ig də reˈri:əx/ 'thy kingdom come', *kiangl mayd eh* /k´aŋlməd´a/ 'let us bind him'.

For the substantive verb and copula separate forms are found, usually in imprecations or expressions of appreciation: (substantive verb) *shee dy row mârin* /s´i: də rau me:rin´/ 'peace be with us', (copula) *gura mie ayd / eu* /gurə ˈma:i ed, eu/ 'thank you'. The past subjunctive is expressed by the conditional.

**Dialect variation**

Given that any major dialect differences exist at all, two main areas could be sketched. North (parishes north-west of the central mountain chain, and Maughold on the south-east side) and South (the rest). The differences are not great, but could be briefly summarized as follows:

OIr. /aː/, /oː/ → Mx /eː/([ɛː], retained in the North as /aː/)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *raad* 'road' | /raːd/N, /reːd/S | ScG *rathad* |
| *laa* 'day' | /laː/N, /leː/S | Ir. *lá* |
| *arrane* 'song' | /aˈraːn/N, /aˈreːn/S | Ir. *amhrán* |

Ir. *ao(i)*, *ua(i)* realized in Manx usually as /i(ː)/, with rounding to [y(ː)] or retraction to [ɯ(ː)] or [u(ː)] in the South

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ao* | *geay* 'wind' | /giː/N, /g [ɯː]/ /g [yː]/S | Ir. *gaoth* |
| *ua* | *feayr* 'cold' | /fiːr/N, /fuːr/S | Ir. *fuar* |

Loss of medial spirants, more prevalent in the North

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *baghey* 'living' | /biːa/N, /beː [ɣ] ə/S | cf. OIr. *bethugad* |
| *jeeaghyn* 'looking' | /dʹiːən/N, /dʹi [ɣ] ən/S | cf. ScG *deuchainn* |

Differences in vocabulary: in certain respects preferences are different in the North from the South; though southern forms are sometimes found in the North, but not vice versa.

| | North | South |
|---|---|---|
| 'awful' | *atchimagh* /a(ː)tʹsʹimax/ | *agglagh* /aglax/ |
| 'talking' | *loayrt* /loːrt/ | *taggloo* /taːlu/ |
| 'boat' | *saagh* /seːx/ | *baatey* /beːdə/ |
| 'we' | *main* /main/ | *mayd* /mədʹ/ |

Differences in pronunciation of the same item are also found:

| | North | South |
|---|---|---|
| *unnane* 'one' | /ˈanan/ | /əˈneːn/ |
| *jannoo* 'doing' | /dʹunu/, /dʹanu/ | /dʹenu/ |
| *foast* 'yet' | /foːs/ cf. Ir. *fós* | /huəst/ cf. ScG *fhathast* |
| *lurg* 'after' | /lʹigʹ/ | /lug/ |

## LEXICAL STRUCTURE

The main corpus of the Manx vocabulary is Common Gaelic as found in Old, Middle, and Early Modern Irish. Later on Manx shares survivals of forms found in Scottish Gaelic, but absent from Modern Irish. However, contact with outsiders induced additional material into the vocabulary, and four main phases can be discerned: Latin, Old Norse, Anglo-Norman and Romance, and English. It is not always easy to distinguish the source in

every case, as Latin examples may be of various periods and the later ones indistinguishable from Romance. In addition Old Norse examples found also in English dialect may have come in along with distinctively English items after the Scandinavian period. Similarly Anglo-Norman and Romance items found their way on a large scale into English and could have come into Manx via that route. In reality we can therefore only speak approximately of ultimate origins without being too specific about when and how.

## Latin elements

The Latin element comes first in time (fifth to sixth century) in a primarily ecclesiastical context, probably already embedded in the vernacular of the first Christian missionaries, and it finishes early (*c.* eighth century):

*agglish* '(body of) church' /aglisʹ/      < *ecclesia*
*aspick* 'bishop' /aspik/, /aːspit/      < *episcopus*
*bannaght* 'blessing' /banax/      < *benedictio*
*Caisht* 'Easter' /keːsʹt/      < *Pascha*
*keesh* 'tax' /kiːsʹ/      < *census*
*lioar* 'book' /lʹoːr/      < *liber*
*paish* 'passion' /pesʹ/      < *passio*
*saggyrt* 'priest' /sagərt/      < *sacerdos*
*straid* 'street' /stredʹ/      < *strata*

## Old Norse elements

Old Norse comes next (tenth century), acquired directly from speakers of that language in areas of experience or expertise, for example, fishing, seamanship, but their total impact on Manx is minimal, probably even less so if some of these items came into Manx via northern Middle English.

*aker* 'anchor' /akər/      < *akkeri*
*baatey* 'boat' /beːdə/      < *bátr*
*baie* 'bay' /bei/      < *vágr*
*garey* 'garden' /geːrə/      < *gardhr*
*ronsaghey* 'ransack' /ronsaxə/      < *rannsaka*
*uinnag* 'window' /unjag/      < *vindauga*

## Anglo-Norman and Romance elements

Anglo-Norman and Romance material is present in Manx in considerable quantity, as it is also in English (and Irish) and although there were opportunities for direct acquisition, given the same borrowings occur also in English and Irish, these routes may be regarded as the most likely, more probably from England given that Man fell into that orbit during the fourteenth century. Many of the acquisitions from this source, not surprisingly, relate to administration and governance.

*ammys* 'hommage' /aməs/      < *hommage*
*boteil* 'bottle' /bəˈdʹeːlʹ/      < *bouteille*
*cashtal* 'castle' /kasʹtʹəl/      < *castel*

*conaant* 'covenant' /kəˈneːnt/          < *covenant*
*danjeyr* 'danger' /danˈdʹeːr/          < *danger*
*entreil* 'enter' /enˈtreːlʹ/          < *entrer*
*foayer* 'favour' /foːr/          < *faveur*
*jinnair* 'dinner' /dʹiˈneːr/          < *diner*
*shirveish* 'service' /sʹərˈveːsʹ/          < *servise*
*vondeish* 'advantage' /vonˈdeːsʹ/          < *avantage*

## English elements

Lastly there is English, not always distingishable from Old Norse and heavily saturated by French. Many of the English borrowings would have come in as from the fifteenth century from the entourage of the Stanley lords and later from merchants.

*ansoor* 'answer' /anˈsuːr/          < *answer*
*boayrd* 'table' /boːrd/          < *bord* (? < ON)
*crout* 'trick' /kreut/          < *craft*
*fordrail* 'afford' /foˈrdreːlʹ/          < *afford*
*gamman* 'sport' /gamən/          < *gamen*
*jeebin* 'nets' /dʹiːbən/          < *deeping*
*laccal* 'wanting' /laːl/          < *lack*
*roddan* 'rat' /rodan/          < *ratton*
*shelliu* 'spit' /sʹelu/          < *salve*
*stampey* 'stamping, treading' /stambə/  < *stamp*

## CONCLUSION

Following the Scandinavian period and after the passing of Man into the English orbit in 1334, but especially after 1405, English began to establish itself as the language of administration and law, and of the towns, where it existed alongside Manx without displacing it. Because of the island's isolation and because the few English settlers, needed for their sustenance, to cultivate the goodwill of the Manx people, the small world in which Manx existed was thus protected.

This protected world became more and more exposed to English from *c.* 1700 onwards owing to a changing set of circumstances brought on essentially by the 'running trade' (smuggling). Participation in this activity led to compulsory purchase of the manorial rights of Man by the British government on behalf of the Crown in 1765, leading in turn to an impoverishment in the island which resulted in emigration of Manxmen (and others) in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Simultaneous immigration of English speakers *c.* 1800–20 and further emigration from the Manx heartland during the nineteenth century began to tilt the balance in favour of English, *c.* 1840–80.

The advent of and increase in tourism and a more organized system of education imported from England during those years hastened this trend, so that those born to Manx households *c.* 1860–80 became the last generation to receive Manx from the cradle.

The shift away from Manx towards English is reflected in the Manx–English contact situation in which the latter comes to have an increasing influence on Manx, for example, in the substitution of English for native words, adaptation of English syntax and calques, English suffixes on native words, etc., mostly it seems during the course of the nineteenth

century. Nevertheless, Manx had an enormous capacity to absorb foreign elements into its phonological and morphological systems (cf. also the section on vocabulary in 'Lexical structure', above pp. 354–5), and it was able to sustain an effective *Abwehrkampf*, in spite of heavy pressure from English, to the very end.

The passing of Manx as a community language took place *c.* 1860–1900/10, with the last native speakers living through the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, decreasing in number gradually towards the end, concluding with the death of Ned Maddrell, the last reputed native speaker, on 27 December 1974.

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