

Manx Gaelic inflection, 6. Initial mutation after *er* ‘Perfect tense’ in Classical Manx

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The first version of this paper (July 2015) reviewed the evidence for the initial mutations after the *er* ‘Perfect tense’ particle in the Manx Bible, including the Apocryphal books. The current version extends the study to a broader corpus of Classical Manx (1700-1850) and corrects and updates some of the earlier observations, especially as regards variation with *f*- initial verbs, and with vowel-initial verbs.¹

The pattern of initial mutation of verbal nouns after *er* in the perfect tense construction is anomalous, in that some consonants are subject only to Lenition 1, while others may undergo either Lenition 1 or Nasalization. In our corpus there are enough examples of the *er* Perfect construction to get a good perspective on the nature and scope of the variation in question in Classical Manx.

Initial *m*- and *s*-, are invariably subject to Lenition 1, and initial *p*- and *b*- almost invariably so.²

Verbs beginning with *t*-, *çh*-, *d*-, *j*-, *k*-, *g*-, *f*- are subject to variable lenition, that is, varying between Lenition 1 and Nasalization. Or, to be more precise, *some* verbs beginning with these consonants are subject to variable lenition. Most verbs beginning with *t*-, *d*-, *k*-, or *g*-, and some with initial *çh*-, undergo Lenition 1 invariably. Some verbs with initial *f*- undergo Nasalization invariably. Where there is variation, there are, for the most part, very clear lexical preferences, for instance, *goll* strongly favours Nasalization —*er n'gholl*— (78% in the corpus), whereas *goaill* strongly favours Lenition 1 —*er ghoaill*— (79% in the corpus). Verbs beginning with vowels normally prefix *n*'-, but there are several examples where *n*'- is absent.

¹ The corpus consists of The Bible (B), Apocrypha (Ap), the Book of Common Prayer (BCP), Metrical Psalms of 1777, Thomas Wilson's *Coyrle Sodjey* (CS), and Sermons 1-12 (TW), Yn Fer Rauee Creestee (FRC), John Clague's *Aght giare dy heet gys tushtey as toiggal jeh'n chredjue Creestee* (AG), Thomas Christian's *Pargys Caillit* (PC), C. Lewin's *Manx Texts in 19th-century newspapers* (C19), Cregeen's *Manx Dictionary* (Cr).

² M: *er vainshtyragh*, *er varkiagh*, *er varroo*, *er veeooashlaghey*, *er violaghey*, *er volley*, *er vooadaghey*, *er vooghey*;

S: *er hagney* ‘shunned’, *er harey*, *er hassoo*, *er hauail*, *er heaghney* ‘grieved’, *er heebey*, *er heeyney*, *er heidey*, *er heiy*, *er heyrey*, *er hiaulley*, *er hickyraghey*, *er hirrey*, *er hirveish*, *er hoaral*, *er hoiaghey*, *er hoie*, *er hoilshaghey*, *er hoilshean*, *er hooyl*, *er hoyllaghey*, *er huill* ‘trodden’, *er hurranse*.

P: *er phaagey*, *er phaartail*, *er phardooney*, *er phlaiynt*, *er phluckey*, *er phointeil*, *er phoosey*, *er phreacheil*, *er phrowal*, *er phuttey*;

But NB cases of *P* → *b* can also be found — in the Prayer Book: *ta jeh dty ard-chiarail flaunyssagh er bointeil caghlaaghyn dy Oardaghyn ayns dty Agglish* ‘who of thy divine providence hast appointed divers Orders in thy Church’; *annym nyn mraar deyr shoh er baartail* ‘the soul of our dear bother here departed’; *ooilley t'er baartail ayns credjue firrinagh* ‘all those that are departed in the true faith’. And one in the Bible: *erreish dooys v'er breacheil da feallagh elley* ‘when I have preached to others’ 1 Cor. 9.27.

B: *er vaarail*, *er vaarey*, *er vaghey*, *er vaih*, *er vannaghey*, *er vashtey*, *er ve*, *er veaghey*, *er ventyn*, *er verraghtyn*, *er vioghey*, *er vishaghey*, *er voandyrys*, *er voggysagh*, *er voirey*, *er vrah*, *er vrasnaghey*, *er vreearrey*, *er vriaght*, *er vrishey*, *er vriwnys*, *er vroie*, *er vroo*, *er vuinn*, *er vuirroogh*;

One exception: *Nagh vel shiuish er meaghey jeh nyn yoin hene ayns Mee hushtey jeh nyn gurrym?* ‘have you not lived in wilful ignorance of your duty?’ (FRC p. 5).

1. Consonants *t*- and *çh*-

The following verbs beginning with *t*- are found only with Lenition 1 (i.e. *t*- → *h*-) in the perfect tense *er* construction in the corpus. The figures are for the number of occurrences in the *er* construction.

<i>tannaghtyn</i> : <i>er</i>	<i>thoylley</i> : <i>er ho(y)lley</i> (4)	<i>traastey</i> : <i>er hraastey</i> (1)
<i>hannaghtyn</i> (10)	<i>tilgey</i> : <i>er hilgey</i> (28)	<i>traaue</i> : <i>er hraaue</i> (2)
<i>tashtey</i> : <i>er hashtey</i> (3)	<i>tooilleil</i> : <i>er hooilleil</i> (4)	<i>trial</i> : <i>er hrial</i> (1)
<i>teaymey</i> : <i>er heaymey</i> (1)	<i>towse</i> : <i>er howse</i> (1)	<i>tummey</i> : <i>er hummey</i> (2)

Table 1 is of *t*-initial verbs subject to variable initial mutation in the *er* construction, with the number of occurrences of each, and the percentage of Nasalization cases (rounded to whole numbers). While *tuittym* and *taghyrt* strongly favour Nasalization, *troggal*, *toiggal*, *treishteil*, *tayrn*, *treigeil* and *toilçhin* favour Lenition 1, though somewhat less strongly. *Troailt* and *trostey*, neither verb having many examples, are evenly divided between the two mutations. The strongly favoured variants are indicated in bold in the table.

In Cregeen’s Dictionary, Nasalization after *er* is indicated also for *talkal*: *er dalkal*, *tannaghtyn*: *er dannaght* ~ *er dannaghtyn*, *teaystney*: *er deaystney*, *theinniu*: *er de(i)nniu*, *tummey*: *er dummey*, *tilgey*: *er dhilgey*, *toghtey*: *er doghtey*, *toilliu*: *er doilliu*.

	Nasalization	N	Lenition 1	L1	Total	%N
<i>tuittym</i>	<i>er duittym</i>	110	<i>er huittym</i>	5	116	95
<i>taghyrt</i>	<i>er daghyrt</i>	29	<i>er haghyrt</i>	2	31	94
<i>troailt</i>	<i>er droailt</i>	1	<i>er hroailt</i>	1	2	50
<i>trostey</i>	<i>er drostey</i>	2	<i>er hrostey</i>	2	4	50
<i>troggal</i>	<i>er droggal</i>	34	<i>er hroggal</i>	116	150	23
<i>toiggal</i>	<i>er doiggal</i>	4	<i>er hoiggal</i>	21	25	16
<i>treishteil</i>	<i>er dreishteil</i>	1	<i>er hreishteil</i>	6	7	14
<i>tayrn</i>	<i>er dayrn</i>	6	<i>er hayrn</i>	39	45	13
<i>treigeil</i>	<i>er dreigeil</i>	8	<i>er hreigeil</i>	62	70	11
<i>toilçhin</i>	<i>er doilçhin</i>	1	<i>er hoilçhin</i>	10	11	9

Table 1. Variation in *t*-initial verbs in the Perfect tense *er* construction

The following four verbs beginning with *çh*- are found only with Lenition 1 in the perfect tense *er* construction in the corpus. The figures are for the number of occurrences in the *er* construction.

<i>çharbaa</i> : <i>er harbaa</i> (3)	<i>çhionney</i> : <i>er hionney</i> (1)
<i>çhea</i> : <i>er hea</i> (6) ³	<i>çhymney</i> : <i>er hymney</i> (2)

Table 2 is of *çh*-initial verbs subject to variable initial mutation in the *er* construction, with the number of occurrences of each, and the percentage of Nasalization cases (rounded to whole numbers). *Çheet* and *çherraghtyn* strongly favour Nasalization,⁴ while *çhaglym* and *çhebbal* strongly favour Lenition 1. *Çhyrmaghey*, *çhyndaa* and *çhymysagh(ey)* are more evenly balanced between the two mutations.

³ 1 case of *er chea* (PC 791), interpreted by the 1872 editors as *er hea*.

⁴ But in *Pargys Caillit* 1796 we find only *er heet* ×7 plus *er cheet* ×2.

	Nasalization	N	Lenition 1	L1	Total	%N
<i>cheet</i>	<i>er jeet</i>	661	<i>er heet</i>	16	677	98
<i>cherraghtyn</i>	<i>er jerraghtyn</i>	8	<i>er herraghtyn</i>	3	11	73
<i>chymaghey</i>	<i>er jymaghey</i>	3	<i>er hyrmaghey</i>	3	6	50
<i>chyndaa</i>	<i>er jyndaa</i>	41	<i>er hyndaa</i>	55	96	43
<i>chymsaghey</i>	<i>er jymsaghey</i>	1	<i>er hymaghey</i>	2	3	33
<i>chaglym</i>	<i>er jaglym</i>	4	<i>er haglym</i>	21	25	16
<i>chebbal</i>	<i>er jebbal</i>	4	<i>er hebbal</i>	21	25	16

Table 2. Variation in *ch*-initial verbs in the Perfect tense *er* construction

Cregeen’s dictionary also gives *chiuchey*: *er jiughey* (sic); he mentions only Nasalization forms for *cherraghtyn*, *chymaghey* and *chymaghey*.

2. Consonants *d*- and *j*-.

Verbs beginning with *d*- are subject to Lenition 1.

<i>daunsin</i> : <i>er ghaunsin</i> (2)	<i>deyrey</i> : <i>er gheyrey</i> (10) <i>dobberan</i> : <i>er ghobberan</i> (4)	<i>dreamal</i> : <i>er ghreamal</i> (1) <i>dunverys</i> : <i>er ghunverys</i> (3)
<i>deayrtey</i> : <i>er</i> <i>gheayrtey</i> ⁵ (26)	<i>dolley</i> : <i>er gholley</i> (3) <i>dooney</i> : <i>er ghooney</i> (2) <i>doostey</i> : <i>er ghoostey</i> (5)	
<i>dellal</i> : <i>er ghellal</i> ⁶ (39)		

Of the verbs beginning with initial *j*-, *jarrood* and *jeeaghyn* exclusively take Lenition 1: *er yarrood*, *er yeeaghyn*. Of the remainder in Table 3, *jannoo* and *jiooldey* strongly favour Nasalization,⁷ while *jeigh* favours Lenition 1, in 8 cases out of 13.

	Nasalization	N	Lenition 1	L1	Tot	%N
<i>jannoo</i>	<i>er n'yannoo</i>	1064	<i>er yannoo</i>	46	1110	96
<i>jiooldey</i>	<i>er n'yiooldey</i>	9	<i>er yiooldey</i>	3	12	75
<i>jeigh</i>	<i>er n'yeigh</i>	5	<i>er yeigh</i>	8	13	38
<i>jarrood</i>		0	<i>er yarrood</i>	32	32	0
<i>jeeaghyn</i>		0	<i>er yeeaghyn</i>	43	43	0

Table 3. Variation in *j*-initial verbs in the Perfect tense *er* construction

Cregeen also mentions Lenition 1 outcomes for *juail*: *er yuail*, and *jummal*: *er yummal*. For *jannoo* he gives only *er n'yannoo*.

⁵ There is one case of unmutated *er deayrtey*: *Dy vod ooilley yn uill chairagh hie er deayrtey er y thalloo tuittym erriu, veih fuil[l] Abel cairagh, gys fuill Zecharias* ‘That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias; *Mat.* 23.35.

⁶ There is one exceptional case of ‘Nasalization’ of *dellal* to *n'ghellal*: *mastey ooilley e ainjyssee cha vel unnane dy gherjaghey ee, ta ny caarjyn eck er n'ghellal dy foalsey r'ee, t'ad er hyndaa dy ve e noidyn*. ‘among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her: all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they are become her enemies.’ *Lam.* 1.2. No doubt this is a hypercorrection, based on the observation that some cases of Perfect *er gh*- (though from radical *g*-) are in variation with *er n'gh*-, e.g. *er ghoaill* ~ *er n'ghoaill*. Though taken literally, Nasalization of initial *d*- would give *n*-, this outcome seems not to occur in the perfect construction. It is, rarely, to be found elsewhere, e.g. *nyn nooghys* ‘their nature’ in *Pargys Caillit*.

⁷ But NB, in *Coyrle Sodjey er yanoo* (so spelt) is exclusively found ×25.

3. Consonants *k-* (*c-*) and *g-*

Nearly all verbs beginning with /k/ (*k-* or *c-*) undergo solely Lenition 1 in the perfect tense *er* construction. Only five verbs (Table 4) attest any case of Nasalization in this construction, and only for *cosney*: *er gosney* are the numbers more than negligible.⁸

	Nasalization	N	Lenition 1	L1	Tot	%N
<i>creenaghey</i>	<i>er greenaghey</i>	2	<i>er chreenagh(ey)</i>	2	4	50
<i>cosney</i>	<i>er gosney</i>	5	<i>er chosney</i>	62	67	07
<i>kionnaghey</i>	<i>er gionnaghey</i>	1	<i>er chionnaghey</i>	25	26	04
<i>cuirr</i>	<i>er guirr</i>	2	<i>er chuirr(ey)</i>	15	17	07
<i>coyrt</i>	<i>er goyrt</i>	3	<i>er choyrt</i>	734	737	00

Table 4. Variation in /k/-initial verbs in the perfect tense *er* construction

The great majority of verbs beginning with *g-* undergo exclusively Lenition 1 in the Perfect tense *er* construction, e.g. *geid*: *er gheid*, *gloyraghey*: *er ghloyraghey*, *gra*: *er ghra*. In the case of verbs beginning with *gi-* followed by a vowel, the mutated form is spelt either *ghi-* or *yi-*, which I take to be purely orthographic variants. Thus, for example, *giarey*: *er ghiarey* ~ *er yiarey*, *gientyn*: *er ghientyn* ~ *er yientyn*, *giootal*: *er ghiootal* ~ *er yiootal*. The *yi-* variant spelling is notably more frequent: 79% of cases in the Bible. Nasalization variants are found for only five verbs: *geddyn*, *gialdyn*, *gialtaghey*, *goll*, and *goaill*, and for only one of these — *goll*— is the Nasalized variant significantly more frequent (78%) than the Lenition 1 variant; see Table 5.⁹ *Goaill* and *gialdyn* have the opposite preference, with 78-79% Lenition 1: *er ghoaill*,¹⁰ *er yialdyn* ~ *er ghialdyn*. *Gialtaghey* occurs only twice in the perfect construction, on both occasions with a Nasalized outcome: *er n'ghialtaghey* or *er n'ghialltaghey*.

	Nasalization	N	Lenition 1	L1	Tot	%N
<i>gialtaghey</i>	<i>er n'ghial(l)taghey</i>	2		0	2	100
<i>goll</i>	<i>er n'gholl</i>	277	<i>er gholl</i>	80	357	78
<i>gialdyn</i>	<i>er n'yialdyn</i>	3	<i>er yialdyn</i>	32	58	22
	<i>er n'ghialdyn</i>	10	<i>er ghialdyn(ys)</i>	13		
<i>goaill</i>	<i>er n'ghoaill</i>	78	<i>er ghoaill</i>	298	376	21
<i>geddyn</i>	<i>er n'gheddyn</i>	16	<i>er gheddyn</i>	245	261	06

Table 5. Variation in *g*-initial verbs in the Perfect tense *er* construction4. Consonant *f-*

The treatment of *f*-initial words in the perfect tense *er* construction differs from that of the consonants mentioned previously. Three alternative patterns are found: nasalization (*f* → *v*-), lenition + *n'* before a consequent initial vowel (*f* → *n'*-), and a much rarer variant consisting of lenition without *n*-insertion (*f* → zero). There are some verbs that are only found with nasalization: *faillail*: *er vailleil*¹¹ (10), *faillay*: *er vailley* (7), *farkiagh(ey)*: *er varkiagh* (1), *fendeil*: *er vendeil* (1), and *folmaghey*: *er volmaghey* (1). In several others, Nasalization is predominant; see Table 6. Only *fockley magh* shows a very strong preference for lenition + *n'*-, though *faagail* and *follaghey* also prefer this option. For *freatylley*, lenition of *f*- leaves an initial consonant *r*-, so insertion of *n'*- is excluded.

⁸ The complete corpus data for /k/-initial verbs is given in Apprndix 1.

⁹ One example of *t'er noll shaghey* in FRC.

¹⁰ There is one case (in the Apocrypha) where the Nasalized variant is spelt *er n'goaill*; there are also two cases of unmutated *er goaill*.

¹¹ In PC 1.1153, *er vageil*.

	Nasalization	N	Lenition 1 + n-	L1	Lenition 1		Tot	%N
<i>fosley</i>	<i>er vosley</i>	35	<i>er n'osley</i>	2			37	95
<i>fakin</i>	<i>er vakin</i>	215	<i>er n'akin</i>	15	<i>er akin</i> ¹²	8	238	90
<i>fuirriaght</i>	<i>er vuirriaght</i>	6	<i>er n'uirraght(yn)</i>	2	<i>er uirriaght</i>	1	9	67
<i>feaysley</i>	<i>er veaysley</i>	6	<i>er n'eaysley</i>	4	<i>er eaysley</i>	2	10	60
<i>freayll(ey)</i>	<i>er vreayll(ey)</i>	45			<i>er reayll(ey)</i>	31	76	59
<i>foaddey</i>	<i>er voaddey</i>	6	<i>er n'oaddey</i>	6			12	50
<i>faagail</i>	<i>er vaagail</i>	14	<i>er n'aagail</i>	23	<i>er aagail</i>	1	38	37
<i>follaghey</i>	<i>er vollaghey</i>	3	<i>er n'ollaghey</i>	6	<i>er ollaghey</i>	3	12	25
<i>fockley</i>	<i>er vockleymagh</i>	6	<i>er n'ockley(magh)</i>	31	<i>er ockley(magh)</i>	3	42	14

Table 6. Variation in *f*-initial verbs in the Perfect tense *er* construction

Cregeen's Dictionary generally gives both of the two predominant alternatives for *f*-initial verbs, nasalization or lenition + *n'*. This is the case for: *faagail*, *faarkey*, *faastey*, *fakin*, *failleil*, *failley*, *fanney*, *farkiaghey*, *feayraghey*, *feaysley*, *feddanagh*, *fendeil*, *festal*, *foaddey*, *fockley*, *follaghey*, *folmagh(ey)*, *fosley*, and *fuirraghtyn*.

For the following verbs, Cregeen gives only the Nasalization variant: *farbagh*, *fasney*, *fassaghey*, *feiyral*, *fenaghtyn*, *feyshtey*, *fliughey*, *fordrail*, *foudaghey*, and *freaylley* ~ *freilleil*.

For these verbs Cregeen gives only the lenition + *n'* variant: *farraght*, *foayraghey*, *fuillaghtyn*, and *fuinney*.

5. Vowel-initial verbs

As a general rule, after *er*, *n'*- is added to verbal nouns beginning with a vowel, an outcome elsewhere characteristic of Nasalization in the inflection of verbs.¹³ However, there are a fair number of exceptions in the corpus in which *n'* is absent. Certain verbs favour this alternative more than others. The vowel-initial verbs which do not exclusively have *n'*- in the corpus are listed below. The more frequent alternative in each case is in **bold**.

Aarlaghey: *er aarlagh* PC1173 (***er n'aarlagh(ey)*** ×13).

Aalhieeney: ***er aalhieeney*** Isa. 23.2.

Astyrt: *er astyrt* ×3; Ecclus 10.15; PC 657-9; Lam. 2.5 (*er n'astyrt* ×1).

Eaishtagh: *er eaishtagh* PC 2630 (***er n'eaishtagh*** ×28).

Eamagh: *er eam* AG p72; *er eamagh* CS p25 (*er n'eam* ×1; ***er n'eamagh*** ×53).

Ee: *er ee* Isa. 3.14 (***er n'ee*** ×28).

Eeasaght: *er eeasaght*¹⁴ ×3; Deut.15.2; 1 Sam.1.28; Neh. 5.4; *er yeasaght* PC 137 (*er n'eeasaght* Deut 15.3).

Eeck: *er eek* CS p45; *er eeck* ×2; 2 Ki. 17.4; Prov. 7.14 (*er n'eeck* ×3).

Eiyrt: *Ta shin er eiyrt rouyr er smooïnaghtyn as yeearreeyn ny creeaghyn ain hene* ‘We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts’ BCP Morning prayer, general confession, (and *id.* Evening prayer); *er eiyrt* ×3: Num. 14.24; Ps. 44.2. 1 Tim. 5.10. (***er n'eiyrt*** ×50).

Injillaghey: *er injillaghey* ×10; ***er n'injillaghey*** ×6.

¹² Of *er akin*, that is, Lenition 1 without prevocalic *n'*, there are 5 in the Apocrypha, 2 in *Pargys Caillit*, and one in FRC.

¹³ A: *er n'aase*, *er n'ansoor*, *er n'att*; *er n'agglaghey*, *er n'appaghey*.

E: *er n'earroo*, *er n'eebyrt*, *er n'êginagh*, *er n'eginaghey*, *er n'enmys*, *er n'etlagh*

I: *er n'imman*, *er n'immeaght*, *er n'iu*

O: *er n'oanluckey*, *er n'obbraghey*, *er n'ouralley*

Y: *er n'yymyrt*, *er n'ynsaghey*

¹⁴ Perhaps favoured by *er eeasaght* ‘on loan’.

Insh: *er insh* CS p.32 (*er n'insh* ×55).

Irree: *er irree magh* PC 2094 (*er n'irree* ×88).

Oardaghey: *er oardagh* CS p.130; *er oardaghey* ×4: BCP Innocents' Day Collect; 1 *Chron.* 9.22; *Job* 34.13; 1 *Cor.* 7.17 (*er n'oardaghey* ×63).

Oardrail: *er o(a)rdrail* ×4:2 *Kings* 19.25; *Isa.* 37.26; *Isa.* 46.12; FRC p.7 (*er n'o(a)rdrail* ×7).

Obbal: *er obbal* Rev. 3.8 (*er n'obbal* ×13).

Ooillaghey: *er ooillaghey* 2 *Cor.* 1.21 (*er n'ooillaghey* ×2).

Yeearree: *er yeearree* ×19: (*er n'yeearree Tobit* 4.2).

Yllaghey: *er yllaghey* Ps. 38.8 (*er n'yllagh* ×2).

Ymmyrkey: *er ymmyrkey* Lev. 12.2; Num. 17.8; Ps. 55.12; *Aght Giare* p.78, (*er n'yymyrkey* ×63).\8

Yndyr: *Yn ardnieu balloo ta er yndyr* er PC 1796.

Appendix 1. Initial mutation after *er* in /k/-initial verbsWith **turquoise** background, examples with nasalization attested in texts.

	Nasalization			Lenition 1		
<i>cadley</i>				er chadley	Cr	
<i>caggey</i>				er chaggey		16: B, Ap
<i>caghlaa</i>				er chaghlaa		13: B
<i>caigney</i>	<i>er gaigney</i>	Cr		er chaigney		1: B
<i>cammagh</i>				er chammagh	Cr	
<i>casey</i>	<i>er gasey</i>	Cr		er chassey		3: B. Ap
<i>casherickey</i>				er chasherickey		33: B, Ap, CS, BCP
<i>castey</i>				er chastey		4: B
<i>ceau</i>				er cheau		20: TW, Ap, B, C19
<i>claghey</i>	<i>er glaghey</i>	Cr		er chlaghey		1: B
<i>clashtyn</i>				er chlashtyn	Cr	274: AG, CS, BCP, C19, PC, TW, FRC, Ap. B
<i>cleaynaghey</i>	<i>er gleaynaghey</i>	Cr		er chleaynaghey		1: B
<i>cleiy</i>				er chleiy ~ chleigh		17: B
cliaghtey	er gliaghtey		1 CS	er chliaght(agh)ey		7: B
<i>coadaghey</i>	<i>er goadaghey</i>	Cr				
<i>coamrey</i>				er choamrey		9: Ap, B
<i>coayl</i>				er choayl		41: C19, PC, TW, Ap, B, FRC
<i>combaasal</i>				er chombaasal		1: B
<i>coodaghey</i>	<i>er goodaghey</i>	Cr		er choodaghey		16: B, Ap
<i>cooilleeney</i>				er chooilleeney		70: AG, CS, C19, PC, TW, Ap, B
<i>cooinaghtyn</i>				er chooinaghtyn		11: BCP, Ap, B
<i>coonaghey</i>				<i>er choonaghey</i>	Cr	
<i>cooney</i>				er chooney		11: BCP, B, Ap
<i>coontey</i>				er choontey		2: B
<i>cordail</i>				er chordail		8TW, B
cosney	er gosney	Cr	5 B	er chosney		62: AG, CS, BCP, PC, TW, Ap, B
<i>cowraghey</i>				er chowraghey		2: B
<i>coyrlaghey</i>				er choyrlaghey		6: B
coyrt	er goyrt		1: FRC, 2: B	er choyrt	Cr	734 incl. 1 FRC
<i>craa</i>				er chraa		3: B
<i>craghey</i>				er chraghey		2: B
<i>craidey</i>				er chraidey		1: B
<i>creck</i>				er chreck		12: Ap, B
credjal	er gredjal		1: CS	er chredjal		35: TW, B

	Nasalization			Lenition 1		
<i>creenaghey</i>	<i>er greenaghey</i>	Cr	2: B	<i>er chreenagh(ey)</i>		2: B
<i>creoghey</i>				<i>er chreoghey</i>		4: B
<i>croghey</i>				<i>er chroghey</i>		1: B
<i>cronnaghey</i>	<i>er gronnaghey</i>	Cr		<i>er chronnaghey</i>		2: B
<i>croo</i>				<i>er chroo</i>	Cr	62: CS, BCP, PC, TW, Ap, FRC, B
<i>crossey</i>				<i>er chrossey</i>		7: B
<i>croymmey</i>	<i>er groymmey</i>	Cr		<i>er chroymmey</i>		6: TW, B
<i>cruinnagh/t/ey</i>				<i>er chruinnaghey</i>	Cr	8: Ap, B
<i>cuirr</i> ‘sow’	<i>er guirr</i>		1 B, =1 BCP	<i>er chuirr</i>		6B
<i>cuirrey</i> ‘invite’				<i>er chuirrey</i>		8: AG, B
<i>cummal</i>				<i>er chummal</i>		16: Ap, B
<i>cummey</i>				<i>er chummey</i>		12: Met, Ap, B
<i>cur</i>				<i>er chur</i>		380
<i>curmaghey/-al</i>				<i>er churmal/-agh</i>	Cr	7: TW, B
<i>karragh(ey)</i>				<i>er charragh(ey)</i>	Cr	
<i>keayne</i>				<i>er cheayne</i>	Cr	2: B
<i>keiltyn</i>				<i>er cheiltyn</i>	Cr	13: B, Ap
<i>kerraghey</i>				<i>er cherragh(ey)</i>		9: AG, Ap, B
<i>kerraghtyn</i>				<i>er cherraghtyn</i>		2: B
<i>keshal</i>				<i>er cheshal</i>	Cr	
<i>kiaddey</i>				<i>er chiaddey</i>		8: Ap, B
<i>kiangle</i>	<i>er giangle</i>	Cr		<i>er chiangle</i>		15: CS, TW, B
<i>kiarail</i>				<i>er chiarail</i>	Cr	54: AG, CS, BCP, Ap, B
<i>kiartaghey</i>				<i>er chiartaghey</i>		3: B
<i>kionnaghey</i>	<i>er gionnaghey</i>	Cr	1 B	<i>er chionnaghey</i>		21: B, BCP
<i>kiunaghey</i>				<i>er chuinnaghey</i>		1: B

Appendix 2

Cregeen’s models for mutaion of *g*- in the *er* perfect tense:

er n’gheddyn
er gherrym
er ghiallagh(ey)
er ghialdyn ~ *er*
n’ghialdyn ~ *er*
yialdyn

er n’ghialtaghey
er ghirraghey
er ghiennaghtyn
er yiennaghtyn
er ghiootal
er ghleashaghey

er ghlenney
er gholl ~ *er n’gholl*
er ghrainney
er ghreimey
er ghreinnaghey