

Manx Gaelic inflection, 5. Verbs

1. Introduction

This article continues the series expounding and commenting on the grammatical information to be found in Archibald Cregeen's *Dictionary of the Manks Language* (1835). Here, while the forms are taken from the *Dictionary* (supplemented in some cases by examples from the Manx Bible), the grammatical framework and terminology is for the most part my own. The *Dictionary* includes some 890 verbs, and, for nearly all, Cregeen gives a considerable amount of information on inflection. One general matter worthy of comment is the substantial degree of variation revealed in the *Dictionary*, involving both inflection and orthography. Mostly variant forms are listed by Cregeen without comment, but sometimes he explains that, of certain alternative forms, one is more literary (favoured by the Bible translators) and the other is more colloquial. Or he may recommend one spelling rather than another, typically on the grounds of maintaining a written distinction between homophones. The amount of variation revealed reminds us that Manx was, and is, standardised only to a certain degree. Inflectional variation particularly concerns the form of the *verbal noun*, which might be considered a derivational rather than an inflectional category, though it is fully integrated into the pattern of periphrastic expression of certain tenses and aspects (see §3 below). Another very common variation concerns the presence vs. absence of the extension *-ee* after the base form of a verb, for example *eign* or *eignee* 'force', past tense *deign* or *deignee*. Such variation in the base form is particularly common in verbs whose verbal noun suffix contains *-agh-* (that is *-agh*, *-aghey*, *-aght*, or *-aghtyn*, as in *eignagh* or *eignaghey* 'forcing'), but it is not found in all of those, or exclusively in them.

Another general matter to be remarked on is defectivity, that is, paradigm gaps in certain verbs. In principle, each verb has four 'principal parts' on which the full range of inflectional paradigms are built: a *base*, a *verbal noun* (often with a suffix, but in quite a few cases identical with the base), a *past tense*, and a *participle*. However, for more than 500 verbs (some 57%), Cregeen does not mention all of the four principal parts: for example, *bouyragh* or *bouyraghey* 'to deafen' has a participle *bouyrit* 'deafened' but no base or past tense; *eill* 'arm' has a past tense *deill* or *deillee*, a participle *eillit*, but no verbal noun; *spaar* (base) 'spare, save' has a verbal noun *spaarail*, and a participle *spaarit*, but no past tense; *cled* (base) 'overturn' has a verbal noun *cleddal*, and a past tense *chled*, but no participle. It is not easy to know what to make of these gaps. Some may be oversights,¹ or Cregeen may have thought that the forms of some verbs were so obvious as not to need explicit mention. But it is also likely that in many verbs some potential forms were not used, or that Cregeen was not aware of their being used. Verbs for which no base is given, or no past tense form, may have made use solely of the periphrastic constructions where these tenses comprise forms of the auxiliary verb *jannoo* 'do' plus the *gerund*. (For example, the verb *reill* 'rule' is very frequent in the Bible, but its Past tense is always periphrastic: *ren ... reill*.) Intransitive (unergative) verbs may lack a (passive) participle because their argument structure provides no context in which such a form could be used, as for example with *caddil* 'sleep' *kirtagh* 'to hasten' or *etlagh* 'to fly'.² A handful of verbs are indubitably defective in lacking one or more tenses: the apparently future forms of

¹ For example, the Bible exemplifies forms such as *laad* 'load.PAST', *lhieen* 'fill.PAST', *lhig* 'let.PAST', *lhott* 'wound.PAST' (and many others with initial *l-*), *niartee* 'strengthen.PAST' that Cregeen does not mention. Probably he thought the Past forms could be inferred in such cases, since the initial consonant is not affected by mutation.

² But e.g. unaccusative intransitive *shangagh* 'be/become lank' has a participle *shangit*.

fod ‘be able’ are used with present sense (*foddym* ‘I can’, *cha noddym* ‘I cannot’, *foddee ad* ‘they can’, *cha nod ad* ‘they cannot’, etc.); there is no future paradigm. *Jargym* ‘can’ is similar but is used only in negative sentences: *cha jargmayd* ‘we cannot’, *cha yarg ad* ‘they could not’. *Lhisin* - *lhisagh* ‘should, ought’ has only conditional forms.

2. Categories relevant to Manx verb inflection

The finite verb categories are those in which *mood*, *tense*, *aspect*, and *person/number* of the subject are expressed. All of the finite categories may be expressed periphrastically, using a finite auxiliary verb *jannoo* ‘do’ or *ve* ‘be’ together with a non-finite form of the lexical verb in question —the verbal noun or the gerund depending on the construction. Synthetic inflection is available for the *imperative*, the *future* tense (indicative and relative), the *past* tense, and the *conditional* mood. In the synthetic future and conditional the verb root is followed by a suffix; the synthetic past tense consists of the verb root (with Lenition 1 if it begins with a consonant, and with prefixed *d-* if the root begins with a vowel).

An important distinction in Manx is that between *independent* and *dependent* verb forms. Independent forms occur in positive main clauses, in *wh*-question clauses, in positive factual conditional clauses, and in positive relative clauses. Where the independent and dependent forms differ, the distinction may be marked by a difference in initial mutation (see below); the independent future indicative has a suffix *-ee* in the non-1st person forms that is absent in the dependent future indicative. Dependent forms occur in negative clauses (main and subordinate) and in alternative questions.

The *mood* categories are *indicative*, *imperative*, *conditional* and *relative future*. The indicative forms are mentioned below in the context of the tense and aspect categories. The imperative has a singular and a plural: the singular imperative consists of the verb base. The (second person) plural imperative adds a suffix *-jee* in Biblical Manx; in later Manx the plural imperative consists of the singular imperative plus *shiu* ‘you.PLURAL’. The conditional mood is inflected with the suffix *-in* ‘1SG.CONDITIONAL’; for the other persons, *-agh* followed by the subject (personal pronoun, or noun phrase). The *relative future* which occurs in subordinate clauses resembles a subjunctive mood in certain respects; in proverbs especially, the *relative future* form may appear in a main clause with a future indicative or timeless value e.g. ***Brishys accyrys trooid boallaghyn cloaie*** ‘Hunger will break through stone walls’. In the first person singular the relative future is identical with the indicative future, with *-ym* added to the base; in the other persons a suffix *-ys* is added to the base, which is followed by *-mayd* for the 1st person plural, and in the 2nd and 3rd persons by the subject (personal pronoun or noun phrase).

The tense categories are *present*, *past*, and *future*: except for the verbs ‘be’ and ‘can’, the present tense is expressed only periphrastically, with the auxiliary verb *ve* ‘be’ plus the gerund. The *future* and the *past* may be expressed either synthetically or periphrastically using the auxiliary verb *jannoo* ‘do’ plus the gerund. They are aspectually neutral. The future independent has a suffix *-ee* in the non-first person, unless the verb base already ends in *-ee*.

The marked aspect categories are *progressive* and *perfect*. The progressive future and past are expressed with the auxiliary *ve* ‘be’ and the gerund. The perfect aspect combines with present, future and past tense (thus present perfect, future perfect, and past perfect or pluperfect): it consists of the present, future or past of the auxiliary verb *ve* ‘be’ followed by *er* ‘on’ and the

verbal noun with a mixed mutation pattern displaying aspects of Lenition 1 and of Nasalization 2; see ‘Manx Gaelic inflection, 6. Initial mutation after *er* ‘Perfect tense’ in the Manx Bible’.³ The perfect and progressive aspects may also combine with one another (auxiliary *ve* ‘be’ + *er ve* + gerund, cf. English *have been X-ing*).

The *person/number* categories (of the subject of the verb) are expressed by suffix inflection only in the plural imperative (see above) and in the first person —singular *-ym* and plural *-mayd* in the future (indicative and relative), singular *-in* alone in the conditional. (In the Manx Bible *-mayd* is written as a separate word; consequently Cregeen does not explicitly mention these 1PL forms when illustrating verb inflection.) Elsewhere the subject is expressed by a pronoun or a (3rd person) noun phrase following the finite verb. Just as the personal pronouns have emphatic forms (*mee* - *mish* ‘I, me’, *oo* - *uss* ‘you.SG’, *eh* - *eshyn* ‘he, him, it’, *ee* - *ish* ‘she, her, it’, *shin* - *shynyn* ‘we, us’, *shiu* - *shiuish* ‘you.PL’, *ad* - *adsyn* ‘they, them’), so do the person/number inflections just mentioned: *-ym* - *-yms*, *-mayd* - *-mainyn*, *-in* - *-ins*. In a few cases the second person singular pronoun *oo* - *uss* may combine orthographically with a preceding vowel-final verb form. Thus *tou* or *t’ou* is normally written for *ta oo* ‘you.SG are’, and *vou* or *v’ou* for *va oo* ‘you.SG were’. Other examples are *voo* = *va oo*, *vouys* = *va uss*, *boo* = *bee oo* ‘you.SG will be’, *r’ou* or *row* = *row oo* and *rows* = *row uss* ‘you.SG were.DEPENDENT’; *yiow* and *yiows* for *yiow oo* and *yiow uss* ‘you.SG will get’ and *vow* = *vow oo*, *now* = *now oo*, *vows* = *vow uss*, *nowys* = *now uss* ‘will get.DEPENDENT’; *he’oo* for *hed oo* ‘you.SG will go’ and *je’oo* or *jeu* for *jed oo* ‘will go.DEPENDENT’, *ne’oo* for *nee oo*, *ne’oos* for *nee uss* ‘you.SG will do’ In addition to *t’ou* and *v’ou* for *ta oo* and *va oo* mentioned above, *ta* ‘is’ and *va* ‘was’ are abbreviated to *t’* and *v’* before other subject pronouns beginning with a vowel: *ta eh* → *t’eh* or *te*, *ta eshyn* → *t’eshyn*, *ta ee* → *t’ee*, *ta ad* → *t’ad*, *ta adsyn* → *t’adsyn*, *va eh* → *v’eh*, *va ee* → *v’ee*, *va ad* → *v’ad*; and before vowel-initial conjugated prepositions, e.g. *ta aym* → *t’aym* ‘that is mine/that I have’, *va oc* → *v’oc* ‘that they had’, *va ayn* → *v’ayn* ‘that was in’, *t’orrym* ‘that is on me’, etc.

The distinction between *regular* and *irregular* verbs in Manx is not merely a descriptive one. In the grammatical tradition there are counted ten or so irregular verbs. (Views differ on whether the copular verb *she* is reckoned separately from *ve* ‘be’, and the irregularity of *goaill* ‘take’ is predominantly orthographic.) The irregular verbs are characterized by having two or more suppletive stems, for example, *cur* ‘put’ has future stem *verr-* (independent) - *derr-* (dependent), and past indicative *hug* (ind.) and *dug* (dep.); the conditional always uses the same stem(s) as the future. In addition, though, the irregular verbs have one or both of the following anomalies: (1) not having a relative future form with suffix *-ys*, and (2) having a distinction between independent and dependent stem in the past tense.

The non-finite verb categories in Manx are the *verbal noun*, the *gerund*, and the (passive) *participle*. Manx verbs vary most in the way in which the verbal noun is formed; in many verbs the verbal noun has the same form as the base (= imperative), for example, *cur* ‘putting’, *cur* ‘put’; in three there is a change from slender final consonant to broad (*caill* - *coayl* ‘losing’, *shooill* - *shooyl* ‘walking’, *freill* - *freayll* ‘keeping’⁴). In the majority of verbs, though, the verbal noun has a suffix. Some suffixes (such as *-ey*, *-aghey*, *-al*) occur with very many verbs,

³ https://www.academia.edu/13652575/Manx_Gaelic_inflection_6._Initial_mutation_after_er_Perfect_tense_in_the_Manx_Bible

⁴ Such a consonant alternation is also occasionally found when the verbal noun has suffix *-ey*: *losht* - *lostey* ‘burning’, *shiauil* - *shiaulley* ‘sailing’, *naisht* - *nastey* ‘betroth’.

others with just a handful. Many verbs have alternative verbal noun suffixes, e.g. *jeellal* or *jeelley* ‘devastating’ - base: *jeell*. Some of the rarer suffixes appear to combine with one another: such as *-tyn* (*keiltyn* ‘concealing’) looks like *-t* + *-yn*; *-aghtyn* (*follaghtyn* ‘hide’) looks like *-agh* + *-tyn* or *-aght* + *-yn*, and so on. One or two verb noun suffixes are unique, in Cregeen: such as *-anse* in *surranse* ‘suffering’ (also *surrall*), *-on* in *connysson* ‘scorning, sneering’ (also *connaasagh* ~ *connaasey*), *-oil* in *brooightoil* ‘belching’. A couple of suffixes are found predominantly in a specific semantic context, such as *-[ə]rnee* for vocal noises (*gullyrnee* ‘howling’ also *gullal*; *scoylgernee* ‘shrieking’ also *scoylgey*; *glugernee* ‘gurgling’ also *glugeraight*; *gounstyrnee* ‘barking’, *shutternee* ‘neighing’, *taauernee* ‘retching’); *-[ə]ragh(t)* for repeated noises (*beealeraight* ‘babbling’, *blobberaight* ‘babbling’, *clinkeraight* ‘tinkling’, *floutyraght* ‘taunting’, *frapperaght* ‘crackling’, *gigleragh* ‘giggling’, *grigyraght* ‘ticking’, *pisheyragh* ‘whispering’, *sansheraght* ‘whispering’) or repeated movements (*jonseragh* ‘jolting’, *nhedderagh* ‘fidgeting’, *snaperaght* ‘napping’, *tasteraght* ‘threshing’, *tauintyraght* ‘sauntering’). The verbal noun has nominal functions. In addition it is used in the perfect tense construction with *ve er* + verbal noun (*t’eh er n’arraghey* ‘it has moved’), in the passive construction with *ve er* + possessive + verbal noun (*roish my vees yn coyrd argid er ny eaysley* ‘before the silver cord is loosed’), in the construction where a non-finite transitive verb phrase places the direct object before *y* + a verbal noun (*nee yn irriney shiu y heyrey* ‘the truth shall make you free’), and after prepositions *ry* and *dy* ‘to’.

The gerund has the same form as the verbal noun when the stem begins with a consonant; when the verbal noun begins with a vowel, the gerund shows a prefixed *g-*. The gerund is the form used in all the periphrastic constructions with *ve* ‘be’ or *jannoo* ‘do’, for example, with base *yns(ee)* ‘teach, learn’, *t’ad gynsaghey* ‘they are learning’, *jean ad gynsaghey?* ‘will they learn?’, *jean gynsaghey!* ‘learn!’, *veagh ad gynsaghey* ‘they would be learning’, *ren ad gynsaghey* ‘they learnt’, etc.

The (passive) participle involves the suffixation of *-it* or *-t* to the verb base. The basic form is *-it* (with a slender *-t*), which is often reduced to *-t* after a vowel, and sometimes after a dental/alveolar sonorant consonant, or sibilant, preceded by a vowel. Thus *brisht* ‘broken’, *bwoaillit* or *bwoailt* ‘struck’, *castit* or *cast* ‘twisted’, *ceautit* or *ceaut* ‘thrown’, *chionnit* or *chionnt* ‘tightened’, *chiowit* or *chiowt* ‘heated’, *cleiyit* or *cleight* ‘dug’, *creenit* or *creent* ‘withered’, *daahit* or *daat* ‘dyed’, *dooinit* or *dooint* ‘closed’, *eeit* or *eet* ‘eaten’; *failt* ‘hired’, *fant* ‘flayed’, *guirt* ‘hatched’, *jeant* ‘made’, *jiolit* or *jiolt* ‘sucked’, *lhieent* ‘filled’, *poost* ‘married’, *rast* ‘ripped’; *reillt* ‘governed’, *surrit* or *surrt* ‘suffered’; and NB *kianlt* or *kianglt* [kʲẽ:ɫ̪t] ‘tied’, *scelt* or *skeilt* (rather than **skeiltit*) ‘split’, *blieaunit* or *bhlit* (irregular stem reduction) ‘milked’.

Initial mutation plays quite an important role in marking tense and mood categories (that is to say, in the case of those consonants that are subject to initial mutation). The pattern is set out in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Initial mutations in verbs

	Independent	Dependent	Relative
Imperative	Radical		
Future	Radical	Nasalization 3, <i>n</i> ' before V (opt. for <i>f</i> -)	Lenition 1
Conditional	Lenition 1	Nasalization 3, <i>n</i> ' before V (opt. for <i>f</i> -)	
Past (regular)	Lenition 1, <i>d</i> - before V	Lenition 1, <i>d</i> - before V	
Past (irregular)	Lenition 1, <i>d</i> - before V	Nasalization 3	
Gerund	<i>g</i> - before V		
VN after <i>dy</i> , <i>y</i> , <i>my</i> , <i>dty</i> , <i>ny</i> (masc.)	Lenition 1		
VN after <i>ny</i> (fem.)	Radical		
VN after <i>nyn</i>	Nasalization 1		
VN after <i>er</i> (Perfect)	Nasalization 2, ⁵ <i>n</i> - before V		

Nasalization 3 (voicing)		
<i>p</i>	→	<i>b</i>
<i>t</i>	→	<i>d</i>
<i>çh</i>	→	<i>j</i>
<i>k/c</i>	→	<i>g</i>
<i>qu</i>	→	<i>gu</i>
<i>f</i>	→	<i>v</i>
Others	→	Radical

3. Epenthesis

Many Manx stems end in consonant clusters that cannot, as they stand, terminate a syllable or a word, because, for example, they consist of a less sonorous consonant followed by a more sonorous one, whereas Manx syllable structure requires consonant sequences in a syllable coda to be of sharply decreasing sonority. Consequently, when no vowel follows (which would allow the one or more of the consonants to form a syllable onset), the consonant cluster is broken up by an epenthetic vowel [ə], written *-y-* adjacent to broad consonants,⁶ *-i-* adjacent to slender ones. Not all such cases are indicated in the spelling in Cregeen. The suffix-less forms in verbs are the singular imperative, the non-1st person dependent future, and the past tense. Thus, from the stem *ceaghl-* ‘change’ we get imperative *ceaghil*, future dependent *geaghil*, past *ceaghil*. The epenthetic vowel sometimes shows up in the participle, where it would not be expected (*follymit* beside *folmit* ‘emptied’, *gorrymit* beside *gormit* ‘made blue’). Examples: *agglaghey*, *aggle*, *n’aggle*, *daggle* ‘fear’; *cadley*, *caddil*, *gaddil*, *chaddil* ‘sleep’; *çhaglym*, *çhaggle* ~ *çhaggyl*, (*jagl*) ~ *jaggil*, (*hagl*) ~ *haggil* ‘gather’; *çhirmaghey*, *çhirrym* ~ *çhirm*, (*jyrm*), (*hyrm*) ‘dry’; *coonrey*, *coonre* ~ (*coonr*), (*goonr*), (*choonr*) ‘exchange’; *cosney*, (*cosn*) ~ *cosne* ~ *cossyn*, *gossyn*, *chosn* ~ *chosne* ~ *chossyn* ‘gain’; *doobley*, *dooble*, *ghooble* ‘double’; *etlaghey*, (*etl*), (*n’etl*), *dettyl* ‘fly’; *fasney*, (*fasn*) ~ *fasin*, (*n’asn*), *dasin* ‘winnow’; *feaysley*, *feaysl* ~ *feayshil*, *n’eaysl* ~ *n’eayshil*, *deayshil* ‘set free’; *fockley*, *fockle*, (*n’ockl*), *dockle* ‘utter’; *fosley*, *foshl* ~ *foshil*, *voshl* ~ *voshil*, *doshil* ‘open’; *imbyl*, *imbyl*, (*n’iml*), *dhimbyl* ‘brew’ (cf. *imlit*

⁵ For details of Nasalization 2, see https://www.academia.edu/13652575/Manx_Gaelic_inflection_6_Initial_mutation_after_er_Perfect_tense_in_the_Manx_Bible

⁶ Or *-yl* may be written *-le*, as in English.

‘brewed’ NB epenthesis of [b] too between [m] and [l]); *inshlaghey*, *inshl* ~ *injill*, *n’injill*, (*dinjilee*) ‘lower’; *kickley*, *kickl* ~ *kickil*, *gickl* ~ *gickil*, *chickil* ‘tickle’; *loamr*, *loamyrt*, *loamrit* ‘shear’; *plaastrail*, (*plaastr*), (*blaastr*), *phlaastyr* ‘plaster’; *ripley*, *ribl* ~ *ribil*, *ribl* ~ *ribil* ‘ripple’; *shaghney*, *shaghyn* ~ *shaghin* ~ *shaghn*, *haghn* ‘avoid’.

NB simplification of the consonant cluster rather than epenthesis in *fodrail*, *ford* ~ *fodr* ‘afford’; *oardrail*, *oard* ~ *oardee*, *n’oard* ~ (*n’oardr*), (*doardee*) ‘order’.

No epenthesis is indicated by Cregeen for the following, where it might be expected: *aaitn* ‘gorse’, *branl* ‘fallow’, *brasn* ‘provoke’, *caartr* ‘vilify’, *çhymn* ‘bequeath’, *coamr* ‘clothe’, *crapl* ‘crumple’, *cumr* ‘hinder’, *eebr* ‘banish’ *enm* ‘name’, *faml* ‘manure with seaweed’, *folm* ‘empty’, *gorm* ‘make blue’, *kuckl* ‘dry after rain’, *labr* ‘labour’, *mholm* ‘crumble’, *obbr* ‘work’, *ooashl* ‘worship’, *oonl* ‘wash’, *osn* ‘sigh’, *shyml* ‘pine’, *teaystn* ‘knead’, *tempr* ‘temper’, *treickn* ‘strike with a beetle’, *ventr* ‘venture’.

4. Paradigms of regular verbs

The synthetic inflection of regular verbs is illustrated with three examples *toiggal* ‘understanding’, representing a consonant-initial root subject to mutation, *faagail* ‘leaving’, illustrating variable mutation of initial *f*-, and *ymmyrkey* ‘bearing’, illustrating a vowel-initial root.

Regular verb inflection — synthetic paradigms			
	<i>toiggal</i> 'understanding'	<i>faagail</i> 'leaving'	<i>ymmyrkey</i> 'bearing'
Imperative 2sg	<i>toig</i>	<i>faag</i>	<i>ymmyrk</i>
Imperative 2pl	<i>toigjee</i>	<i>faagjee</i>	<i>ymmyrkjee</i>
Verbal noun	<i>toiggal</i>	<i>faagail</i>	<i>ymmyrkey</i>
<i>dy</i> + VN	<i>dy hoiggal</i>	<i>dy aagail</i>	<i>dy ymmyrkey</i>
Gerund	<i>toiggal</i>	<i>faagail</i>	<i>gymmyrkey</i>
Perfect	<i>er doiggal</i>	<i>er vaagail</i> ~ <i>er n'aagail</i>	<i>er n'ymmyrkey</i>
Participle	<i>toiggit</i>	<i>faagit</i>	<i>ymmyrkit</i>
Future independent 1SG	<i>toiggym</i>	<i>faagym</i>	<i>ymmyrkym</i>
emphatic	<i>toiggys</i>	<i>faagys</i>	<i>ymmyrkys</i>
Future independent 1PL	<i>toigmayd</i>	<i>faagmayd</i>	<i>ymmyrkmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>toigmainyn</i>	<i>faagmainyn</i>	<i>ymmyrkmainyn</i>
Future independent 2/3	<i>toiggee</i>	<i>faagee</i>	<i>ymmyrkee</i>
Future dependent 1SG	<i>doiggym</i>	<i>vaagym</i> ~ <i>n'aagym</i>	<i>n'ymmyrkym</i>
emphatic	<i>doiggys</i>	<i>vaagys</i> ~ <i>n'aagys</i>	<i>n'ymmyrkys</i>
Future dependent 1PL	<i>doigmayd</i>	<i>vaagmayd</i> ~ <i>n'aagmayd</i>	<i>n'ymmrkmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>doigmainyn</i>	<i>vaagmainyn</i> ~ <i>n'aagmainyn</i>	<i>n'ymmyrkmainyn</i>
Future dependent 2/3	<i>doig</i>	<i>vaag</i> ~ <i>n'aag</i>	<i>n'ymmyrk</i>
Future relative 1SG	<i>hoiggym</i>	<i>aagym</i>	<i>ymmyrkym</i>
emphatic	<i>hoiggys</i>	<i>aagys</i>	<i>ymmyrkys</i>
Future relative 1PL	<i>hoiggysmayd</i>	<i>aagysmayd</i>	<i>ymmyrkysmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>hoiggysmainyn</i>	<i>aagysmainyn</i>	<i>ymmyrkysmainyn</i>
Future relative 2/3	<i>hoiggys</i>	<i>aagys</i>	<i>ymmyrkys</i>
Conditional independent 1SG	<i>hoiggin</i>	<i>aagin</i>	<i>ymmyrkin</i>
emphatic	<i>hoiggins</i>	<i>aagins</i>	<i>ymmyrkins</i>
Conditional independent other	<i>hoiggagh</i>	<i>aagagh</i>	<i>ymmyrkagh</i>
Conditional dependent 1SG	<i>doiggin</i>	<i>vaagin</i> ~ <i>n'aagin</i>	<i>n'ymmyrkin</i>
emphatic	<i>doiggins</i>	<i>vaagins</i> ~ <i>n'aagins</i>	<i>n'ymmyrkins</i>
Conditional dependent other	<i>doiggagh</i>	<i>vaagagh</i> ~ <i>n'aagagh</i>	<i>n'ymmyrkagh</i>
Past independent	<i>hoig</i>	<i>daag</i>	<i>dymmyrk</i>
Past dependent	<i>hoig</i>	<i>daag</i>	<i>dymmyrk</i>

Analytic (periphrastic) paradigms, illustrated with <i>ymmyrkey</i> ‘bearing’ 1SG and 3PL (2SG and 2PL IMPERATIVE).		
Present independent	<i>ta mee gymmyrkey</i> <i>t’ad gymmyrkey</i>	I bear, I am bearing they bear, they are bearing
Present dependent	<i>vel mee gymmyrkey</i> <i>vel ad gymmyrkey</i>	I bear, I am bearing they bear, they are bearing
Present dependent (neg.)	<i>cha vel/nel mee gymmyrkey</i> <i>cha vel/nel ad gymmyrkey</i>	I do not bear, I am not bearing they do not bear, they are not bearing
Future independent	<i>neeym gymmyrkey</i> <i>nee ad gymmyrkey</i>	I shall bear they will bear
Future dependent	<i>(cha) jeanym gymmyrkey</i> <i>(cha) jean ad gymmyrkey</i>	I shall (not) bear they will (not) bear
Future relative	<i>neeym gymmyrkey</i> <i>nee ad gymmyrkey</i>	(that) I shall bear (that) they will bear
Future progressive independent	<i>beeym gymmyrkey</i> <i>bee ad gymmyrkey</i>	I shall be bearing they will be bearing
Future progressive dependent	<i>beeym gymmyrkey</i> <i>bee ad gymmyrkey</i>	I shall be bearing they will be bearing
Future progressive relative	<i>veeym gymmyrkey</i> <i>vees ad gymmyrkey</i>	(that) I shall be bearing (that) they will be bearing
Past independent	<i>ren mee gymmyrkey</i> <i>ren ad gymmyrkey</i>	I bore they bore
Past dependent	<i>ren mee gymmyrkey</i> <i>ren ad gymmyrkey</i>	I bore they bore
Past progressive independent	<i>va mee gymmyrkey</i> <i>v’ad gymmyrkey</i>	I was bearing they were bearing
Past progressive dependent	<i>row mee gymmyrkey</i> <i>row ad gymmyrkey</i>	I was bearing they were bearing
Conditional independent	<i>yinnin gymmyrkey</i> <i>yinnagh ad gymmyrkey</i>	I would bear they would bear
Conditional dependent	<i>jinnin gymmyrkey</i> <i>jinnagh ad gymmyrkey</i>	I would bear they would bear
Conditional progressive independent	<i>veign gymmyrkey</i> <i>veagh ad gymmyrkey</i>	(that) I would bear (that) they would bear
Conditional progressive dependent	<i>beign gymmyrkey</i> <i>beagh ad gymmyrkey</i>	I would be bearing they would be bearing
Present perfect independent	<i>ta mee er n’ymmyrkey</i> <i>t’ad er n’ymmyrkey</i>	I have borne they have borne
Present perfect dependent	<i>vel/nel mee er n’ymmyrkey</i> <i>vel/nel ad er n’ymmyrkey</i>	I have borne they have borne
Future perfect independent/ dependent	<i>beeym er n’ymmyrkey</i> <i>bee ad er n’ymmyrkey</i>	I shall have borne they will have borne
Future perfect relative	<i>veeym er n’ymmyrkey</i> <i>vees ad er n’ymmyrkey</i>	(that) I shall have borne (that) they will have borne
Past perfect independent	<i>va mee er n’ymmyrkey</i> <i>v’ad er n’ymmyrkey</i>	I had borne they had borne
Past perfect dependent	<i>row mee er n’ymmyrkey</i> <i>row ad er n’ymmyrkey</i>	I had borne they had borne
Conditional perfect independent	<i>veign er n’ymmyrkey</i> <i>veagh ad er n’ymmyrkey</i>	I would have borne they would have borne
Conditional perfect dependent	<i>beign er n’ymmyrkey</i> <i>beagh ad er n’ymmyrkey</i>	I would have borne they would have borne
Present perfect progressive independent	<i>ta mee er ve gymmyrkey</i> <i>t’ad er ve gymmyrkey</i>	I have been bearing they have been bearing
Present perfect progressive dependent	<i>vel/nel mee er ve gymmyrkey</i> <i>vel/nel ad er ve gymmyrkey</i>	I have been bearing they have been bearing

Analytic (periphrastic) paradigms, illustrated with <i>ymmyrkey</i> 'bearing' 1SG and 3PL (2SG and 2PL IMPERATIVE).		
Future perfect progressive dependent/independent	<i>beeym er ve gymmyrkey</i> <i>bee ad er ve gymmyrkey</i>	I shall have been bearing they will have been bearing
Future perfect progressive relative	<i>veeym er ve gymmyrkey</i> <i>vees ad er ve gymmyrkey</i>	(that) I shall have been bearing (that) they will have been bearing
Past perfect progressive independent	<i>va mee er ve gymmyrkey</i> <i>v'ad er ve gymmrkey</i>	I had been bearing they had been bearing
Past perfect progressive dependent	<i>row mee er ve gymmyrkey</i> <i>row ad er ve gymmrkey</i>	I had been bearing they had been bearing
Conditional perfect progressive independent	<i>veign er ve gymmyrkey</i> <i>veagh ad er ve gymmyrkey</i>	I would have been bearing they would have been bearing
Conditional perfect progressive dependent	<i>beign er ve gymmyrkey</i> <i>beagh ad er ve gymmyrkey</i>	I would have been bearing they would have been bearing
Imperative	<i>jean gymmyrkey</i> <i>jeanjee gymmyrkey</i>	bear! bear.PL!

5. Paradigms of irregular verbs

Irregular verb inflection — synthetic paradigms				
	<i>cur</i> 'giving, putting'	<i>çheet</i> 'coming'	<i>clashtyn</i> 'hearing'	<i>fakin</i> 'seeing'
Imperative 2sg	<i>cur</i>	<i>tar</i>	<i>clasht</i>	<i>faik</i>
Imperative 2pl	<i>curjee</i>	<i>tarjee</i>	<i>clashtjee</i>	<i>faikjee</i>
Verbal noun	<i>cur ~ coyrt</i>	<i>çheet</i>	<i>clashtyn</i>	<i>fakin</i>
<i>dy</i> + VN	<i>dy chur ~ dy choyrt</i>	<i>dy heet</i>	<i>dy chlashtyn</i>	<i>dy akin</i>
Gerund	<i>cur ~ coyrt</i>	<i>çheet</i>	<i>clashtyn</i>	<i>fakin</i>
Perfect	<i>er chur</i>	<i>er jeet</i>	<i>er chlashtyn</i>	<i>er vakin ~ er nakin</i>
Participle	<i>currit</i>	X	<i>cluinnit ~ clinnit</i>	<i>fakinit</i>
Future independent 1SG	<i>verym</i>	<i>higym</i>	<i>cluinnym</i>	<i>heem</i>
emphatic	<i>veryms</i>	<i>higyms</i>	<i>cluinnymys</i>	<i>heems</i>
Future independent 1PL	<i>vermayd</i>	<i>higmayd</i>	<i>cluinnmayd</i>	<i>heemayd</i>
emphatic	<i>vermainyn</i>	<i>higmainyn</i>	<i>cluinnmainyn</i>	<i>heemainyn</i>
Future independent 2/3	<i>ver</i>	<i>hig</i>	<i>cluinnnee ~ clynnee</i>	<i>hee</i>
Future dependent 1SG	<i>derym</i>	<i>jigym</i>	<i>gluinnym</i>	<i>vaikym ~ naikym</i>
emphatic	<i>deryms</i>	<i>jigyms</i>	<i>gluinnymys</i>	<i>vaikymys ~ naikymys</i>
Future dependent 1PL	<i>dermayd</i>	<i>jigmayd</i>	<i>gluinnmayd</i>	<i>vaikmayd ~ naikmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>dermainyn</i>	<i>jigmainyn</i>	<i>gluinnmainyn</i>	<i>vaikmainyn ~ naikmainyn</i>
Future dependent 2/3	<i>der</i>	<i>jig</i>	<i>gluin</i>	<i>vaik</i>
Future relative 1SG	<i>verym</i>	<i>higym</i>	<i>chluinnym</i>	<i>aikym ~ heem</i>
emphatic	<i>veryms</i>	<i>higyms</i>	<i>chluinnymys</i>	<i>aikymys ~ heems</i>
Future relative 1PL	<i>vermayd</i>	<i>higmayd</i>	<i>chluinnysmayd</i>	<i>aikmayd ~ heemayd</i>
emphatic	<i>vermainyn</i>	<i>higmainyn</i>	<i>chluinnysmainyn</i>	<i>aikmainyn ~ heemainyn</i>
Future relative 2/3	<i>ver</i>	<i>hig</i>	<i>chluinnys</i>	<i>aik ~ heeys</i>
Conditional independent 1SG	<i>verrin</i>	<i>harrin</i>	<i>chluinnin</i>	<i>heein ~ aikin</i>
emphatic	<i>verrins</i>	<i>harrins</i>	<i>chluinnins</i>	<i>heeins ~ aikins</i>
Conditional independent other	<i>verragh</i>	<i>harragh</i>	<i>chluinnagh</i>	<i>heeagh ~ aikagh</i>
Conditional dependent 1SG	<i>derrin</i>	<i>darrin</i>	<i>gluinnin</i>	<i>vaikin ~ naikin</i>
emphatic	<i>derrins</i>	<i>darrins</i>	<i>gluinnins</i>	<i>vaikins ~ naikins</i>
Conditional dependent other	<i>derragh</i>	<i>darragh</i>	<i>gluinnagh</i>	<i>vaikagh ~ naikagh</i>
Past independent	<i>hug ~ (chur)</i>	<i>haink</i>	<i>cheayll ~ chluinn</i>	<i>honnick</i>
Past dependent	<i>dug ~ (chur)</i>	<i>daink</i>	<i>geayll ~ chluin</i>	<i>vaik ~ naik</i>
Roots	<i>cur-</i> , <i>*fer-</i> , <i>*tug-</i>	<i>çheet-</i> , <i>*tarr-</i> , <i>*çhig-</i> , <i>*taink-</i>	<i>clasht-</i> , <i>cluinn-</i> , <i>*keayll-</i>	<i>fa(i)k-</i> , <i>*çhee-</i> , <i>*tonnick-</i>

Irregular verb inflection — synthetic paradigms, continued			
	<i>feddyn</i> ~ <i>geddyn</i> 'finding, getting'	<i>goll</i> 'going'	<i>gra</i> 'saying'
Imperative 2sg	<i>fow</i>	<i>gow</i>	<i>abbyr</i>
Imperative 2pl	<i>fowjee</i>	<i>gowjee</i>	<i>abbyrjee</i>
Verbal noun	<i>feddyn</i> ~ <i>geddyn</i>	<i>goll</i>	<i>gra</i>
<i>dy</i> + VN	<i>dy gheddyn</i>	<i>dy gholl</i>	<i>dy ghra</i>
Gerund	<i>feddyn</i> ~ <i>geddyn</i>	<i>goll</i>	<i>gra</i>
Perfect	<i>er n'gheddyn</i>	<i>er n'gholl</i>	<i>er ghra</i>
Participle	<i>feddynit</i> ~ <i>geddynit</i>	X	<i>grait</i> ~ <i>raait</i> ~ <i>jirrit</i>
Future independent 1SG	<i>yioym</i>	<i>hem</i>	<i>jirrym</i> ~ <i>abbyrym</i>
emphatic	<i>yioyms</i>	<i>hems</i>	<i>jirryms</i> ~ <i>abbyryms</i>
Future independent 1PL	<i>yiowmayd</i>	<i>hemmayd</i>	<i>jirmayd</i> ~ <i>abbyrmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>yiowmainyn</i>	<i>hemmainyn</i>	<i>jirmainyn</i> ~ <i>abbyrmainyn</i>
Future independent 2/3	<i>yiow</i>	<i>hed</i>	<i>jir</i> ~ <i>abbyr</i>
Future dependent 1SG	<i>voym</i>	<i>jem</i> ~ <i>jedym</i>	<i>n'yiarrym</i> ~ <i>n'abbyrym</i>
emphatic	<i>voyms</i>	<i>jems</i> ~ <i>jedyms</i>	<i>n'yiarryms</i> ~ <i>n'abbyryms</i>
Future dependent 1PL	<i>vowmayd</i>	<i>jemmayd</i>	<i>n'yiarmayd</i> ~ <i>n'abbyrmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>vowmainyn</i>	<i>jemmainyn</i>	<i>n'yiarmainyn</i> ~ <i>n'abbyrmainyn</i>
Future dependent 2/3	<i>vow</i>	<i>jed</i>	<i>n'yiarr</i> ~ <i>n'abbyr</i>
Future relative 1SG	<i>yioym</i>	<i>hem</i>	<i>yiarrym</i> ~ <i>abbyrym</i>
emphatic	<i>yioyms</i>	<i>hems</i>	<i>yiarryms</i> ~ <i>abbyryms</i>
Future relative 1PL	<i>yiowmayd</i>	<i>hemmayd</i>	<i>yiarmayd</i> ~ <i>abbyrmayd</i> ~ ? <i>yiarrysmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>yiowmainyn</i>	<i>hemmainyn</i>	<i>yiarmainyn</i> ~ <i>abbyrmainyn</i> ~ ? <i>yiarrysmainyn</i>
Future relative 2/3	<i>yiow</i>	<i>hed</i>	<i>y(i)arr</i> ~ <i>abbyr</i> ~ <i>yiarrys</i>
Conditional independent 1SG	<i>yioin</i>	<i>raghin</i> ~ <i>roin</i>	<i>y(i)arrin</i>
emphatic	<i>yioins</i>	<i>raghins</i> ~ <i>roins</i>	<i>y(i)arrins</i>
Conditional independent other	<i>yioghe</i>	<i>ragh</i>	<i>y(i)arragh</i> ~ <i>abbyragh</i>
Conditional dependent 1SG	<i>voin</i>	<i>raghin</i> ~ <i>roin</i>	<i>niarrin</i> ~ <i>n'abbyrin</i>
emphatic	<i>voins</i>	<i>raghins</i> ~ <i>roins</i>	<i>niarrins</i> ~ <i>n'abbyrins</i>
Conditional dependent other	<i>voghe</i>	<i>ragh</i>	<i>niarragh</i> ~ <i>n'abbyragh</i>
Past independent	<i>hooar</i>	<i>hie</i>	<i>dooyrt</i>
Past dependent	<i>dooar</i>	<i>jagh</i>	<i>dooyrt</i>
Roots	<i>fow</i> , <i>feddyn</i> , <i>geddyn</i> , <i>yiow</i> <i>*tooar</i>	<i>gow</i> , <i>goll</i> , <i>*che(d)</i> , <i>ragh</i> , <i>jagh</i>	<i>gra</i> , <i>raa-</i> <i>abbyr</i> <i>jirr-</i> , <i>*j(i)arr-</i> , <i>dooyrt</i>

Irregular verb inflection — synthetic paradigms, continued		
	<i>jannoo</i> 'doing'	<i>goaill</i> ⁷ 'taking'
Imperative 2sg	<i>jean</i>	<i>gow</i>
Imperative 2pl	<i>jeanje</i>	<i>gowjee</i>
Verbal noun	<i>jannoo</i>	<i>goaill</i>
<i>dy</i> + VN	<i>dy yannoo</i>	<i>dy ghoaill</i>
Gerund	<i>jannoo</i>	<i>goaill</i>
Perfect	<i>er n'yannoo</i>	<i>er ghoaill ~ er n'ghoaill</i>
Participle	<i>jeant</i>	<i>goit</i>
Future independent 1SG	<i>neeym</i>	<i>goym ~ gowym</i>
emphatic	<i>neeyms</i>	<i>goyms ~ gowyms</i>
Future independent 1PL	<i>neemayd</i>	<i>gowmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>neemainyn</i>	<i>gowmainyn</i>
Future independent 2/3	<i>nee</i>	<i>gowee</i>
Future dependent 1SG	<i>jeanyim</i>	<i>goym ~ gowym</i>
emphatic	<i>jeanyms</i>	<i>goyms ~ gowyms</i>
Future dependent 1PL	<i>jeanmayd</i>	<i>gowmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>jeanmainyn</i>	<i>gowmainyn</i>
Future dependent 2/3	<i>jean</i>	<i>gow</i>
Future relative 1SG	<i>neeym</i>	<i>ghoym ~ ghowym</i>
emphatic	<i>neeyms</i>	<i>ghoym ~ ghowym</i>
Future relative 1PL	<i>neemayd</i>	<i>ghowysmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>neemainyn</i>	<i>ghowysmainyn</i>
Future relative 2/3	<i>nee</i>	<i>ghoys ~ ghowys</i>
Conditional independent 1SG	<i>yinnin</i>	<i>ghoin ~ ghowin</i>
emphatic	<i>yinnins</i>	<i>ghoins ~ ghowins</i>
Conditional independent other	<i>yinnagh</i>	<i>ghoghe</i>
Conditional dependent 1SG	<i>jinnin</i>	<i>goin ~ gowin</i>
emphatic	<i>jinnins</i>	<i>goins ~ gowins</i>
Conditional dependent other	<i>jinnagh</i>	<i>goghe</i>
Past independent	<i>ren</i>	<i>ghow</i>
Past dependent	<i>ren</i>	<i>ghow</i>
Roots	<i>jann-</i> , <i>jean</i> , <i>jin-</i> , <i>nee</i> , <i>ren</i>	<i>gow</i>

⁷ As mentioned above, *goaill* is irregular only orthographically (*gow-* ~ *go-*, *goa-*, *goagh* → *goghe*), though the suffix *-ill* of the verbal noun is unique.

Irregular verb inflection — synthetic paradigms Auxiliary <i>ve</i> ‘be’, and defective <i>fod</i> and <i>jarg</i> ‘can’ ⁸			
	<i>ve</i> ‘being’	<i>fod</i> - ‘can’	<i>jarg</i> ‘can’ ⁸
Imperative 2sg	<i>bee</i>	X	X
Imperative 2pl	<i>beejee</i>	X	X
Verbal noun	<i>ve</i>	X	X
<i>dy</i> + VN	<i>dy ve</i>	X	X
Gerund	X	X	X
Perfect	<i>er ve</i>	X	X
Participle	X	X	<i>jargit</i>
Present independent 1SG	<i>ta mee</i>	<i>foddym</i>	X
emphatic	<i>ta mish</i>	<i>foddymys</i>	X
Present independent 1PL	<i>ta shin</i>	<i>fodmayd</i>	X
emphatic	<i>ta shinyn</i>	<i>fodmainyn</i>	X
Present independent 2/3	<i>t’ou</i> <i>ta shiu</i> <i>t’eh</i> <i>t’ad</i> <i>t’ee</i>	<i>foddee</i>	X
Present dependent 1SG	<i>vel mee ~ nel mee</i>	<i>voddym ~ noddym</i>	<i>jargym</i>
emphatic	<i>vel mish ~ nel mish</i>	<i>voddymys ~ noddymys</i>	<i>jargymys</i>
Present dependent 1PL	<i>vel shin ~ nel shin</i>	<i>vodmayd ~ nodmayd</i>	<i>jargmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>vel shinyn ~ nel shinyn</i>	<i>vodmainyn ~ nodmainyn</i>	<i>jargmainyn</i>
Present dependent 2/3	<i>vel oo ~ nel oo</i> <i>vel shiu ~ nel shiu</i> <i>vel eh ~ nel eh</i> <i>vel ad ~ nel ad</i> <i>vel ee ~ nel ee</i>	<i>vod ~ nod</i>	<i>jarg</i>
Future independent 1SG	<i>beeym</i>	X	X
emphatic	<i>beeyms</i>	X	X
Future independent 1PL	<i>beemayd</i>	X	X
emphatic	<i>beemainyn</i>	X	X
Future independent 2/3	<i>bee</i>	X	X
Future dependent 1SG	<i>beeym</i>	X	<i>jargym</i>
emphatic	<i>beeyms</i>	X	<i>jargymys</i>
Future dependent 1PL	<i>beemayd</i>	X	<i>jargmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>beemainyn</i>	X	<i>jargmainyn</i>
Future dependent 2/3	<i>bee</i>	X	<i>jarg</i>
Future relative 1SG	<i>veeym</i>	<i>oddym</i>	<i>yargym</i>
emphatic	<i>veeyms</i>	<i>oddymys</i>	<i>yargymys</i>
Future relative 1PL	<i>veesmayd</i>	<i>oddysmayd</i>	<i>yargysmayd</i>
emphatic	<i>veesmainyn</i>	<i>oddysmainyn</i>	<i>yargysmainyn</i>
Future relative 2/3	<i>vees</i>	<i>oddys</i>	<i>yargys</i>
Conditional independent 1SG	<i>veign</i>	<i>oddin</i>	X
emphatic	<i>veigns</i>	<i>oddins</i>	X
Conditional independent other	<i>veagh</i>	<i>oddagh</i>	X
Conditional dependent 1SG	<i>beign</i>	<i>voddin ~ noddin</i>	<i>jargin</i>
emphatic	<i>beigns</i>	<i>voddins ~ noddins</i>	<i>jargins</i>
Conditional dependent other	<i>beagh</i>	<i>voddagh ~ noddagh</i>	<i>jargagh</i>
Past independent	<i>va</i>	<i>dod</i>	X
Past dependent	<i>row</i>	<i>dod</i>	<i>yarg</i>
Roots	<i>be,</i> <i>bee,</i> <i>ta,</i> <i>va,</i> <i>*fel-,</i> <i>row</i>	<i>fod-</i>	<i>jarg</i>

⁸ The future relative and the conditional forms or *jarg* are mentioned or implied by Cregeen, but they are not attested in the Manx Bible.

The defective verb *lhisin* ‘ought’ has only conditional forms: *lhisin*, *lhisins* and *lhisagh*.

6. Verbs classssified according to the form of their verbal noun

6.1. Verbs with no verbal noun in Cregeen. There are 69 verbs listed here, a bit less than 7 per cent of the verbs in the dictionary. Three only of these admit a base in *-ee* (*kuckl* ‘dry after rain’, *labr* ‘labour’ and *merg* ‘rust’), and one a Past in *-ee* (*eill* ‘arm’).

Verbs without verbal noun				
Base	Past	Ptcp		Notes
(<i>aill</i>)			please	<i>Aill</i> is really a defective verb related to the construction <i>saillish</i> ‘pleases’, i.e. <i>s’aill lesh</i> . Cregeen gives the verbal inflections: <i>baillmayd</i> “‘we would wish’, or rather ‘be pleased or willing’”, and <i>cha</i> naill or naillée, v. not wish; -agh; -in; -ins; -ym; -yms.
(<i>baard</i>)	(<i>vaard</i>)		prevail	C. mentions only <i>nagh vardee</i> ‘will not prevail’, and <i>nagh vaardagh</i> ‘would not prevail’.
(<i>boall</i>)	<i>voall</i>	<i>boallit</i> (B. <i>voallit</i>)	wall	
<i>boand</i>	<i>voand</i>	<i>boandit</i>	band	
(<i>breid</i>)	<i>vreid</i>	<i>breidit</i>	veil	
<i>cairys</i>			justice	
<i>ceaghl</i> ⁹	<i>cheaghil</i>	<i>ceaghlit</i>	change	Cf. <i>caghlaa</i> ‘change’. Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>çhiu</i>		<i>çhiuit</i>	chew	
<i>claight</i>		<i>claightit</i>	plait	
<i>cloag</i>	<i>chloag</i>		cloak	
<i>cray</i>		<i>crayt</i> <i>crayit</i>	clay	
<i>crou</i>		<i>crowit</i>	shoe	
<i>earroo</i>			number	
<i>eie</i>	<i>d-eie</i>	<i>eit</i> <i>eiet</i> <i>eieit</i>	call	
<i>eill</i>	<i>d-eill</i> <i>d-eillee</i>	<i>eillit</i>	arm	
<i>farvish</i>		<i>farvishit</i>	forfeit	
<i>fedjeen</i>		<i>fedjeenit</i>	feather (an arrow)	
<i>foddyr</i>		<i>foddyrit</i>	fodder	
<i>fraue</i>		<i>fraueit</i>	take root	
<i>geill</i>	<i>gheill</i>		spring	
<i>gred(d)</i>		<i>greddanit</i>	grill	
	<i>hault</i>		halt	
<i>hyss</i>			set a dog on	

Verbs without verbal noun

Base	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>jeirk</i>	<i>yeirk</i>	<i>jeirkit</i>	give alms, beg
<i>keck</i>	<i>check</i>		shit
<i>keek</i>			peep
<i>kipp</i>		<i>kippit</i>	whip
<i>kuckl</i> <i>kucklee</i>			dry after rain
<i>laagh</i>		<i>laaghit</i>	cover with mud
<i>labr</i> <i>labree</i>		<i>labrit</i>	labour
<i>lott</i>			allot
<i>merg</i> <i>mergee</i>		<i>mergit</i>	rust
<i>peesh</i>	<i>pheesh</i>	<i>peeshit</i>	piece together
<i>(pibbyr)</i>	<i>phibbyr</i>	<i>pibbyrit</i>	pepper
<i>pluck</i>	<i>phluck</i>	<i>pluckit</i>	pluck
<i>prugh</i>		<i>prughit</i>	hoard
<i>pundail</i>	<i>phundail</i>	<i>pundailit</i>	impound
<i>raaue</i>		<i>raauit</i>	warn
<i>rimmeig</i>		<i>rimmeigit</i>	stripe
<i>rio</i>		<i>riojit</i>	freeze
<i>rouan</i>			riot
<i>rub</i>	<i>rub B</i>	<i>rubbit</i>	wipe
<i>ruck</i>		<i>ruckit</i>	make a rick
<i>sail</i>		<i>sailit</i>	seal
<i>shellym</i>			sound
<i>skeah</i>		<i>skeayt</i> <i>skeayit</i>	vomit
<i>skell</i>	<i>skell B</i>		vanish
<i>skelt</i>			squat
<i>smoash</i>		<i>smoashit</i>	smash
<i>sorçh</i>		<i>sorçhit</i>	sort
<i>speiy</i>		<i>speiyt</i>	hack, hoe
<i>spoiy</i>		<i>spoiyt</i>	spey, geld
<i>stron</i>			snort
<i>styr</i>			hiss, set a dog on
<i>thanvanee</i>			astonish
<i>thoagan</i>			gape
<i>thoo</i>	<i>hoo</i>	<i>thooit</i>	thatch
<i>tooir</i>	<i>hooir</i>		forebode
<i>troyt</i>		<i>troytit</i>	trot
<i>try</i>			try
<i>wagaan</i>			stroll idly

6.2. Verbs whose verbal nouns have no suffix. There are 127 in this class, a little over 14 per cent of the total. Of these, 13 have a verbal noun variant with a suffix. One of the 127 may have a Past in *-ee* (*faast* ‘wring’). The verb *irr/irree* is ambiguous in this respect, since, while its verbal noun is *irree* (hence a base *irree* and a Past *dirree* ~ *jirree*), a shortened base *irr* (Past *dirr*) is also attested in the *Dictionary* (not in the Bible), which is the stem of the participle *irrit* (marked by Cregeen as ‘obsolete’, also not in the Bible). (Future relative *irrys* appears in the proverb: *Eshyn lhieys marish moddee, irrys eh marish jarganyn* ‘He who lies with dogs will rise with fleas’.)¹⁰

Verbs with suffixless verbal nouns

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>aase</i>	<i>aase</i>	<i>d-aase</i>	<i>aasit</i>	grow
<i>accan</i>	<i>accan</i>			complain
<i>aggyrts</i>	<i>aggyrts</i>			complain
<i>amylt</i>	<i>amylt</i>			swim
<i>ansoor</i>	<i>ansoor</i>	<i>d-ansoor</i>	<i>ansoorit</i>	answer
<i>arrish</i>	<i>arrish</i>			jeer
<i>astyr</i>	<i>gastyrt</i> <i>gast(y)r</i> <i>gastral</i>	<i>d-astyr</i>	<i>gastyrit</i> (sic)	extirpate
				Apparently the initial <i>g-</i> proper to the gerund has been extended by analogy to the verbal noun and the participle. NB stem variation between <i>astr-</i> and <i>astyr-</i> . Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>att</i>	<i>att</i>	<i>d-att</i>	<i>attit</i>	swell
<i>behr</i>	<i>brey</i>	<i>vrey</i>	<i>beht</i>	calve, etc.
<i>berr</i>		<i>vehr</i>		Of the two stem alternatives, Cregeen says <i>behr</i> is used in common talk.
<i>beihll</i>	<i>blieh</i>	<i>vheill</i>	<i>beihlt</i>	grind
<i>bheill</i>				Unique stem variation between base and VN, but see also <i>behr</i> ~ <i>brey</i> above.
	<i>bennalt</i>			waft
<i>blieaun</i>	<i>blieaun</i>	<i>vlieaun</i>	<i>bhlit</i> <i>blieaunit</i>	milk
				NB irregular shortened stem in ptcp. <i>bhlit</i> .
<i>brah</i>	<i>brah</i>	<i>vrah</i>	<i>brahit</i>	betray
	<i>briwnys</i>		<i>briwnyssit</i>	judge
<i>broie</i>	<i>broie</i>	<i>vroie</i>	<i>broiet</i>	boil
<i>broo</i>	<i>broo</i>	<i>vroo</i>	<i>brooit</i>	bruise
<i>buinn</i>	<i>buinn</i>	<i>vuinn</i>	<i>buinnt</i> <i>buinnit</i>	reap
<i>caghlaa</i>	<i>caghlaa</i>	<i>chaghlaa</i>	<i>caghlait</i>	change
<i>caill</i>	<i>coayl</i>	<i>chaill</i>	<i>caillt</i> <i>caillit</i>	lose
				NB irregular variation of stem between base <i>caill-</i> and VN <i>coayl</i> . NB indication of slender /l̪/ <-ill-> and broad /l/ <-yl->.
<i>casid</i>	<i>casid</i>			accuse
<i>ceau</i>	<i>ceau</i>	<i>cheau</i>	<i>ceaut</i> <i>ceautit</i>	cast, wear

¹⁰ One example of *irree-ys* in the Bible: *Daniel* vii. 24.

Verbs with suffixless verbal nouns

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>çharbaa</i>	<i>çharbaa</i>	<i>harbaa</i>	<i>çharbaït</i>	wean
(<i>çhea</i>)	<i>çhea</i>	<i>hea</i>		flee
	<i>çhee</i>			seek
<i>çhiow</i>	<i>çhiow</i>	<i>hiow</i>	<i>çhiowt</i> <i>çhiowit</i>	heat
<i>çhyndaa</i>	<i>çhyndaa</i>	<i>hyndaa</i>	<i>çhyndaait</i>	turn
<i>cleaiee</i>	<i>cleaiee</i>	<i>chleaiee</i>	<i>cleieet</i>	harrow
<i>cleiee</i>	<i>cleiee</i>		<i>cleaieeit</i>	
<i>cleigh</i>	<i>cleigh</i>	<i>chleiy B</i>	<i>cleight</i>	dig
<i>cleiy</i>	<i>cleiy</i>		<i>cleiyit</i>	
<i>cloie</i>	<i>cloie</i>	<i>chloie</i>	<i>cloiet</i>	play, boil
	<i>clowan</i>		<i>clowanit</i>	tease
	<i>coe</i>			grieve
<i>corlheim</i>	<i>corlheim</i> <i>corlheimeraght</i>			hop Cf. <i>lheim</i> ‘leap’.
<i>craa</i>	<i>craa</i>	<i>chraa</i>	<i>craait</i>	shake
<i>crie</i>	<i>crie</i>	<i>chrie</i>	<i>criht</i>	
<i>craiu</i>	<i>craiu</i>	<i>chraau</i> (sic)	<i>crauiit</i>	corrode
<i>creck</i>	<i>creck</i>	<i>chreck</i>	<i>creckit</i>	sell
	<i>creiu</i>	<i>chreiu</i>	<i>creujit</i>	ruin, crush
<i>croo</i>	<i>croo B</i>	<i>chroo</i>	<i>crooit</i>	create
<i>cur</i>	<i>cur</i> <i>coyrt</i>	<i>hug - dug</i> <i>chur</i>	<i>currit</i>	give, put, send
				Suppletive irregular verb. See above, §5.
<i>daunse</i>	<i>daunse</i>	<i>ghaunse</i>	<i>daunsit</i>	dance
	<i>dobberan</i>			lament
<i>eab</i>	(<i>eab</i>)	<i>d-eab</i>	<i>eabit</i>	attempt
<i>eam</i>	<i>eam</i> <i>eamagh</i> <i>eamaghey</i>	<i>d-eam</i>		call
<i>ee</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>d’ee</i>	<i>eet</i> <i>eeit</i>	eat
<i>eearree</i> <i>yeearree</i>	<i>eearree</i>	<i>d-eearree</i>	(y) <i>eearreeit</i>	desire
<i>eeck</i> ¹¹	<i>eeck</i>	<i>d-eeck</i> <i>j-eeck</i>	<i>eeckit</i>	pay
				Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbal nouns.
<i>enm</i> <i>enmee</i> <i>enmys</i>	<i>enmys</i>	<i>d-enmys</i>	<i>enmyssit</i>	name
				<i>Enm</i> ~ <i>enmee</i> is an alternative base to <i>enmys</i> in the future and conditional.
<i>faast</i>	<i>faast</i> <i>faastey</i>	<i>d-aast</i> <i>d-aastee</i>	<i>faastit</i>	wring
<i>fee</i>	<i>fee B</i>		<i>feeit</i>	weave
<i>fieau</i>	<i>fieau B</i>			rest, wait
<i>freill</i>	<i>freayll</i> <i>freaylley</i> <i>freilley</i>	<i>d-reayll</i> <i>d-reill</i>	<i>freilt</i> <i>freaylt</i>	keep
				NB variation between indication of slender /l̪/ <-ill-> and broad /l/ <-yl(l)->.

¹¹ *eeck*, v. pay, *eeckagh*, *eeckee*, *eeckeyder*, *eeckeyderyn*, *eeckin*, *eeckins*, *eeckit*, *eeckym*, *eeckyms*, *eeckyn*, *eeckys*, *deeck* or *jeeck*, *geeck*, *heeck*, *heeckyn*, *neeck*, *neeckagh*, *neeckin*, *neeckins*, *neeckym*, *neeckyms*.

Verbs with suffixless verbal nouns

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
	<i>gartlhan</i>			weed-corn
<i>geid</i>	<i>geid</i>	<i>gheid</i>	<i>geidit</i>	steal
<i>gleck</i>	<i>gleck</i>	<i>ghleck</i>	<i>gleckit</i>	wrestle
<i>guee</i> B	<i>guee</i>	<i>ghuee</i>	<i>gueeit</i>	entreat
<i>guirr</i>	<i>guirr</i>	<i>ghuirr</i>	<i>guirt</i>	hatch
<i>imbyl</i>	<i>imbyl</i>	<i>d-imbyl</i>	<i>imlit</i>	brew Root /iml/.
<i>imman</i>	<i>imman</i>	<i>d-imman</i>	<i>immanit</i>	drive
<i>imraa</i>	<i>imraa</i>	<i>d-imraa</i>	<i>imraait</i>	mention
	<i>indys</i>			wonder
<i>insh</i>	<i>insh</i>	<i>d-insh</i>	<i>inshit</i>	tell
<i>irr</i>	<i>irree</i>	<i>d-irr</i>	<i>irrit</i>	rise
<i>irree</i>		<i>d-irree</i>		
		<i>j-irree</i>		
<i>iu</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>d-iu</i>	<i>iut</i>	drink
		<i>j-iu</i>	<i>iuit</i>	
<i>jarrood</i>	<i>jarrood</i>	<i>yarrood</i>	<i>jarroodit</i>	forget
	<i>jarroodey</i>			
<i>jeigh</i>	<i>jeigh</i>	<i>yeigh</i>	<i>jeight</i>	shut
<i>jelliu</i>	<i>jelliu</i>	<i>yelliu</i>	<i>jelliuit</i>	warp
<i>jirole</i>	<i>jirole</i>	<i>yiole</i>	<i>jiolt</i>	suck
			<i>jiolit</i>	
	<i>khenough</i>			cavil
<i>leih</i>	<i>leih</i>	<i>leih</i> B	<i>leiht</i>	forgive
<i>lhaih</i>	<i>lhaih</i>	<i>lhaih</i> B	<i>lhaiht</i>	read
<i>lheie</i>	<i>lheie</i> B	<i>lheie</i> B	<i>lheiht</i>	melt
	<i>lheihys</i>			cure
<i>lheim</i>	<i>lheim</i> B	<i>lheim</i> B	<i>lheimmit</i>	leap
	<i>lheimyragh</i>			
	<i>lheimyraght</i>			
<i>lhie</i>	<i>lhie</i> B	<i>lhie</i> B	<i>lhiet</i>	lie down
			<i>lhieit</i>	
<i>lhoau</i>	<i>lhoau</i> B			rot
<i>livrey</i>	<i>livrey</i> B	<i>livrey</i> B	<i>livreit</i>	deliver
<i>loagan</i>	<i>loagan</i>			stagger
<i>loo</i>	<i>loo</i> B	<i>loo</i> B	<i>looit</i>	swear
	<i>mhinoogh</i>			gape
<i>moon</i>	<i>moon</i>	<i>vooin</i>	<i>moont</i>	piss
			<i>moooint</i>	
				NB slender - broad variation indicated by <i>-in-</i> ~ <i>-n-</i> .
<i>oanluck</i>	<i>oanluck</i>	<i>d-oanluck</i>	<i>oanluckit</i>	bury
	<i>oanluckey</i>			
	<i>ollish</i>			sweat
<i>oltooan</i>	<i>oltooan</i>	<i>d-oltooan</i>	<i>oltooanit</i>	reproach
	<i>oltooaney</i>			
	<i>ourys</i>			suspect
<i>pandoogh</i>	<i>pandoogh</i>	<i>phandoogh</i>	<i>pandooghit</i>	pant
<i>plaiynt</i>	<i>plaiynt</i> B	<i>phlaiynt</i>	<i>plaiyntit</i>	complain
	<i>poagey</i>			bulge See <i>poagey</i> , s. 'bag'.
<i>reih</i>	<i>reih</i> B	<i>reih</i> B	<i>reiht</i>	choose
			<i>reihit</i>	

Verbs with suffixless verbal nouns

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>reill</i>	<i>reill</i> <i>reilley</i>		<i>reillt</i>	govern
<i>rheynn</i>	<i>rheynn</i> B	<i>rheynn</i> B <i>reynn</i> B	<i>rheynnit</i>	divide
<i>roie</i>	<i>roie</i>	<i>roie</i>	<i>roït</i>	run
<i>screeu</i> <i>scrieu</i> <i>scriu</i>	<i>screeu</i>	<i>screeu</i> <i>scrieu</i> <i>scriu</i>	<i>screeut</i> <i>scruit</i>	write
<i>seiy</i>	<i>seiy</i>	<i>heiy</i>	<i>seiyt</i>	push, stir
	<i>shegin</i> <i>sheygin</i>			lurk, lie in wait
<i>shelg</i> <i>sheilg</i>	<i>shelg</i> <i>sheilg</i>	<i>helg</i> <i>heilg</i>	<i>shelgit</i>	hunt
<i>shell</i> <i>shellagh</i>	<i>shein</i> <i>sheiltyn</i> <i>sheltyn</i>	<i>heill</i>		suppose The form of the VN <i>shein</i> is irregular in a unique way. Cregeen gives <i>shellagh</i> as an alternative base form to <i>shell</i> . But is just the conditional intended?
<i>shleeu</i> <i>shlieeu</i> <i>shlieu</i>	<i>shleeu</i> B <i>shlieeu</i> B <i>shlieu</i> B		<i>shleeut</i> <i>shleeuit</i>	sharpen
<i>shliee</i>	<i>shliee</i>	<i>sliee</i> <i>shlee</i>	<i>shlieet</i>	lick (up)
<i>shooill</i>	<i>shooyll</i> <i>shuill</i> B	<i>hooyl</i> <i>huill</i>	<i>shooylt</i> <i>shooillit</i>	walk NB variation between indication of slender /i/ <-ill-> and broad /l/ <-yl(l)->.
<i>skah</i> <i>scaa</i> <i>skaa</i>	<i>skah</i> B		<i>skaht</i> <i>scaht</i> <i>skahit</i>	shed, shake
<i>slaa</i>	<i>slaa</i>		<i>slaaït</i> <i>slaiyt</i>	daub
	<i>slaadaah</i>			paint
	<i>sliennoo</i>	<i>lhiennoo</i>	<i>sliennooit</i>	surname
<i>snaue</i>	<i>snaue</i>			creep, swim
<i>sneeu</i>	<i>sneeu</i>		<i>sneeuït</i>	spin
<i>soie</i>	<i>soie</i>	<i>hoie</i>	<i>soit</i>	sit
<i>soilshean</i>	<i>soilshean</i>			shine
<i>soo</i>	<i>soo</i> B	<i>hoo</i>	<i>sooit</i>	soak, suck up
	<i>sooree</i>			woo
<i>spreih</i>	<i>spreih</i> B	<i>spreih</i> B	<i>spreiht</i>	sprinkle
<i>streeu</i> <i>streiu</i>	<i>streeu</i> B		<i>streeuit</i>	strive
	<i>strinnoogh</i>			snore
<i>stroie</i>	<i>stroie</i> B	<i>stroie</i> B		destroy
<i>taah</i>	<i>taah</i>		<i>taaht</i> <i>taahit</i>	weld

Verbs with suffixless verbal nouns

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes	
	<i>taggloo</i>			converse	
<i>tarlheim</i>	<i>tarlheim</i>	<i>harlheim</i>	<i>tarlheimit</i>	alight	Cf. <i>lheim</i> ‘leap’
<i>tayrn</i>	<i>tayrn</i> B	<i>hayrn</i>	<i>tayrnit</i>	draw	
<i>teiy</i>	<i>teiy</i> B	<i>heiy</i> <i>heigh</i>	<i>teiyt</i> <i>teight</i>	pick, pick up	
<i>theinniu</i>	<i>theinniu</i>	<i>henneu</i> <i>heinniu</i>	<i>theinniuit</i>	thaw, melt	
<i>towse</i>	<i>towse</i>	<i>howse</i> <i>howsh</i>	<i>towshit</i>	measure	Broad-slender alternation -s- ~ -sh-.
<i>traaue</i>	<i>traaue</i>	<i>hraaue</i>	<i>traauit</i>	plough	
<i>traie</i>	<i>traie</i>	<i>hraie</i>	<i>trait</i>	ebb, abate	
<i>traih</i>			<i>traihit</i>		
<i>troailt</i>	<i>troailt</i>	<i>hroailt</i>	<i>troailtit</i>	travel, labour	
<i>troo</i>	<i>troo</i> B	<i>hroo</i>	<i>trooit</i>	envy	
<i>ymmilt</i>	<i>ymmilt</i>	<i>d-ymmylt</i>	<i>ymmltit</i>	roll (a horse)	
<i>ymmylt</i>	<i>ymmyltye</i> <i>ymmyrçh</i>			need	
<i>ymmyrt</i>	<i>ymmyrt</i>	<i>d-ymmyrt</i>	<i>ymmyrtit</i>	row	
<i>yndyr</i>	<i>yndyr</i>		<i>yndyrit</i>	graze	

6.3. Major suffix patterns.

6.3.1. Verbs with verb nouns in -ey. NB -ey has a regular variant -ghey that is used after a base ending in a vowel. There are 249 verbs of this class, about 28 per cent of the total. Sixty-two of them have one or more alternative VN forms. Twenty-two of them have a base or Past, or both, in -ee (not including those with an alternative VN in -agh/-aghey.)

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes	
	<i>aghiney</i>			petition	
<i>argane</i>	<i>arganey</i>			argue	
<i>baare</i>	<i>baarey</i>	<i>vaare</i>	<i>baarit</i>	make bare	
	<i>babbaney</i>			indulge	
<i>baih</i>	<i>baighey</i> <i>er vaih</i>	<i>vaih</i>	<i>baiht</i>	drown	Perfect <i>er vaih</i> implies VN alternatives <i>baih</i> and <i>baighey</i> .
<i>bargane</i>	<i>barganey</i>	<i>vargane</i>	<i>barganit</i>	bargain	
<i>basht</i>	<i>bashtey</i>	<i>vasht</i>	<i>bashtit</i>	baptize	
<i>beagh</i>	<i>beaghey</i>	<i>veagh</i>	<i>beaghit</i>	dwell, live,	
<i>bagh</i>	<i>baghey</i>		<i>beeit</i>	feed	
<i>bioee</i>	<i>bioghey</i>	<i>vioee</i>	<i>bioit</i>	enliven	
<i>bioghee</i>					
<i>(blaa(gh))</i>	<i>blaaghey</i>		<i>blaaghit</i>	blossom	
<i>blake</i>	<i>blakey</i>	<i>vlake</i>		stare	
<i>blass</i>	<i>blasstey</i>	<i>vlayst</i>		taste	
<i>blayst</i>	<i>blastyn</i>				
	<i>bluckaney</i>			form into a ball	
	<i>bodjaley</i>		<i>bodjalit</i>	cloud	

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>boir</i>	<i>boirey</i> <i>boiraghey</i>	<i>voir</i> <i>woir</i>	<i>boirit</i>	trouble
<i>bolg</i>	<i>bolgey</i> <i>braagey</i>	<i>volg</i>	<i>bolgit</i> <i>braagit</i>	roast, blister shoe
<i>brack</i>	<i>brackey</i>	<i>vrack</i>	<i>brackit</i>	sharpen (not by grinding)
	<i>braghey</i>			malt
<i>branl</i>	<i>branley</i> <i>branlagh</i> <i>branlaghey</i>	<i>vranl</i> <i>vranlee</i>	<i>branlit</i>	fallow
				Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>brans</i>	<i>bransey</i> <i>bransal</i>	<i>vrans</i>	<i>bransit</i>	dash
<i>brasn</i> <i>brasnee</i>	<i>brasney</i> <i>brasnaghey</i>	<i>vasn</i> <i>vasnee</i>	<i>brasnit</i>	provoke
				Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
	<i>breeagey</i>			lie
	<i>breckey</i>		<i>breckit</i>	variegate
<i>breearr</i>	<i>breearrey B</i> <i>breeghey</i>	<i>vreear</i>	<i>breearrit</i>	vow inspire
<i>breig</i>	<i>breigey</i>	<i>vreig</i>	<i>breigit</i>	coax
<i>brish</i>	<i>brishey</i>	<i>vrish</i>	<i>brisht</i>	break
<i>brock</i>	<i>brockey</i> <i>broagey</i>	<i>vrock</i>	<i>brockit</i>	make into refuse
<i>brod</i>	<i>broddey</i>	<i>vrod</i>	<i>brodit</i>	pierce, prick
<i>broigh</i>	<i>broighey</i>	<i>vroigh</i>	<i>broighit</i>	dirty
<i>broill</i>	<i>broilley</i>	<i>vroill</i>	<i>broillit</i>	bruise, hammer
	<i>buighey</i>			yellow
	<i>buirrooghey</i> <i>buirroogh</i>			roar
<i>bwoaill</i>	<i>bwoalley</i>	<i>woaill</i>	<i>bwoailt</i> <i>bwoaillit</i> <i>built</i>	strike, thresh
				NB variation between indication of slender /ɸi/ <-il(l)-> and broad /l/ <-l(l)->.
<i>caartr</i>	<i>caartrey</i> <i>caayney</i> <i>cabbaney</i>		<i>caartrit</i>	vilify taber tabernacle
<i>cadd</i>	<i>caddey</i>		<i>caddit</i>	defend
<i>caddil</i>	<i>cadley</i>	<i>chaddil</i>		sleep
				Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>cagg</i>	<i>caggey</i>	<i>chagg</i>	<i>caggit</i>	make war
<i>caign</i>	<i>caigney</i>	<i>chaign</i>	<i>caignit</i>	chew
<i>cart</i>	<i>cartey</i> <i>cartaghey</i>	<i>chart</i>		rake mire
<i>cas</i>	<i>casey</i>	<i>chas</i>	<i>cast</i> <i>casit</i>	twist, wind
<i>casherickey</i>	<i>casherickey</i>			sanctify
<i>cast</i>	<i>castey</i>	<i>chast</i>	<i>castit</i>	defeat
<i>çhaggle</i> <i>çhaggyl</i>	<i>çhaggley</i> <i>çhaglym</i>	<i>hagl</i> <i>haggil</i>	<i>çhaglit</i>	gather
				Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>çheer</i>	<i>çheerey</i>	<i>heer</i>	<i>çheert</i> <i>çheerit</i>	dry by heat

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp		Notes
<i>çhionn</i>	<i>çhionney</i>	<i>hionn</i>	<i>çhionnt</i> <i>çhionnit</i>	tighten	
<i>çhiu</i>	<i>çhiuchey</i>	<i>hiu</i>		thicken (intr?)	
<i>çhymn</i> <i>çhymnee</i>	<i>çhymney</i>	<i>hymn</i>	<i>chymnit</i> B	bequeath	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>clagh</i>	<i>claghey</i>	<i>chlagh</i>	<i>claghit</i>	stone	
<i>clam(e)</i>	<i>clamey</i>	<i>chlame</i> <i>chlaym</i>	<i>clamit</i>	embrace, grasp	
<i>clamp</i>	<i>clampey</i>	<i>chlamp</i>	<i>clampit</i>	patch	
<i>clann</i>	<i>clanney</i> <i>clannagh</i> <i>clannaghey</i>	<i>chlann</i>	<i>clahnit</i>	thicken	
<i>cleayn</i> <i>cleaynee</i>	<i>cleayney</i> <i>cleaynaghey</i>	<i>chleayn</i>	<i>cleaynit</i>	entice	
<i>clesp</i>	<i>clespey</i>			clasp	
<i>cliaght</i>	<i>cliaghtey</i>	<i>chliaght</i>	<i>cliaghtit</i>	accustom	
<i>clo</i>	<i>cloghey</i>	<i>chlo</i>	<i>cloit</i>	chase	
<i>coagyr</i>	<i>(coagyrey)</i>	<i>choagyr</i>	<i>coagyrit</i>	cook	
<i>coamr</i> <i>coamree</i>	<i>(coamrey)</i>	<i>choamr</i> <i>choamree</i>	<i>coamrit</i>	clothe	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>combaase</i>	<i>combaasey</i> <i>combaasal</i>	<i>chombaase</i>	<i>combaasit</i>	surround	
	<i>comyssey</i>			copulate	
<i>conaaant</i>	<i>conaaantey</i>		<i>conaaantit</i>	covenant	
	<i>connaasey</i> <i>connaasagh</i> <i>connysson</i>			scorn, sneer	
	<i>cooagey</i> <i>cauaigey</i>			coo	
<i>cooat</i>	<i>cooatey</i> <i>cooatal</i>		<i>cooatit</i>	coat	
	<i>cooidjaghey</i>			gather together	
<i>cooilleen</i>	<i>cooilleeney</i>	<i>chooilleen</i>	<i>cooilleenit</i>	fulfil	CF. <i>lheen</i> ‘fill’
<i>coon</i> <i>cooin</i>	<i>cooney</i>	<i>choon</i> <i>chooin</i>		help	NB spelling indicates broad and slender alternatives in the stem.
<i>coonre</i>	<i>coonrey</i>	<i>choonre</i> <i>choonree</i>	<i>coonrit</i>	exchange	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>coont</i>	<i>coontey</i>	<i>choont</i>	<i>coontit</i>	count	
<i>cosn</i> <i>cossyn</i>	<i>cosney</i>	<i>chosn(e)</i> <i>chossyn</i> B	<i>cosnit</i>	gain	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>craid</i>	<i>craidey</i>	<i>chraid</i>	<i>craidit</i>	mock	
	<i>crammaney</i>			bulb	
<i>crapl</i> <i>craplee</i>	<i>crapley</i>	<i>chrapl</i> <i>chraplee</i>	<i>craplit</i>	crumple	
	<i>creaghey</i>		<i>creaghit</i>	furrow	
	<i>creaghey</i>		<i>creaghit</i>	stack	
<i>creear</i>	<i>creearey</i>	<i>chreear</i>	<i>creeart</i> <i>creearit</i>	sift	

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp		Notes
<i>creoi</i>	<i>creoighey</i>	<i>chreoi</i>	<i>creoit</i>	harden	
<i>creoigh</i>	<i>creoghey</i>	<i>chreogh</i>			
<i>creogh</i>					
<i>crib(b)</i>	<i>cribbey</i>	<i>chrib(b)</i>	<i>cribbit</i>	shrink	
<i>crogh</i>	<i>croghey</i>	<i>chrogh</i>	<i>croghit</i>	hang	
<i>cront</i>	<i>crontey</i>	<i>chront</i>	<i>crontit</i>	knot	
	<i>crontal</i>				
<i>cross</i>	<i>crossey</i>		<i>crost</i>	cross, thwart	
<i>crosh</i>					
<i>croym</i>	<i>croymmey</i>	<i>chroym</i>	<i>croymmit</i>	stoop	
<i>cryss</i>	<i>crysey</i>	<i>chryss</i>	<i>cryssit</i>	gird	
<i>cuir(r)</i>	<i>cuirrey</i>	<i>chuir(r)</i>	<i>cuirt</i>	invite	
			<i>cuirrit</i>		
<i>cuir(r)</i>	<i>cuirrey</i>	<i>chuir(r)</i>	<i>cuirt</i>	sow	
			<i>cuirrit</i>		
<i>cum(m)</i>	<i>cummey</i>	<i>chum(m)</i>	<i>cummit</i>	form	
<i>curm</i>	<i>curmey</i>	<i>churm</i>	<i>curmit</i>	enjoin,	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>currym</i>	<i>curmaghey</i>	<i>churmee</i>		charge	
	<i>currymaghey</i>				
	<i>curmal</i>				
<i>custh</i>	<i>custhey</i>	<i>chusht</i>	<i>custhit</i>	whip	NB variation between indication of slender /ʃʲ/ <-sht-> and broad /st/ <-sth->.
<i>custhee</i>	<i>cushtey</i>				
<i>daah</i>	<i>daaghey</i>	<i>ghaah</i>	<i>daat</i>	dye, singe	
			<i>daahit</i>		
			<i>daahjit</i>		
<i>dall</i>	<i>dalley</i>	<i>ghall</i>		dazzle	
<i>deam</i>	<i>deamey</i>	<i>gheam</i>	<i>deamit</i>	project	
<i>deayrt</i>	<i>deayrtey</i>	<i>gheayrt</i>	<i>deayrtit</i>	pour, spill	
<i>deyr</i>	<i>deyre</i>	<i>gheyr</i>	<i>deyrit</i>	condemn	
<i>deyree</i>					
<i>dhonk</i>	<i>dhonkey</i>	<i>ghonk</i>	<i>dhonkit</i>	thump	
	<i>dhonkal</i>				
	<i>doghaney</i>			cause disease	
<i>doll</i> ¹²	<i>dolley</i>	<i>gholl</i>	<i>dollit</i>	blot, deface	Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbal nouns.
	<i>doalley</i>				
<i>doo</i>	<i>dooghey</i>	<i>ghoo</i>	<i>dooit</i>	blacken	
<i>dooble</i>	<i>doobley</i>	<i>ghooble</i>	<i>dooblit</i>	double	
<i>dooisht</i>	<i>doostey</i>	<i>ghooisht</i>	<i>dooishtit</i>	awaken	NB variation between indication of slender /ʃʲ/ <-isht-> and broad /st/ <-st->.
	<i>dooshtey</i>				

¹² *doll*, v. *blot*, *dollagh*, *dollee*, *dolley*, *dolleyder*, *dolleyderyn*, *dollin*, *dollins*, *dollit*, *dollym*, *dollyms*, *dollys*, *gholl*, *ghollagh*, *ghollee*, *gholley*, *gholleyder*, *gholleyderyn*, *ghollin*, *ghollins*, *ghollit*, *ghollym*, *ghollyms*, *ghollys*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp		Notes
<i>doon</i>	<i>dooney</i> <i>dooiney</i>	<i>ghooiin</i>	<i>dooiint</i> <i>dooiinit</i>	close	NB variation between indication of slender /nʲ/ <-in-> and broad /n/ <-n->.
<i>driaght</i>	<i>driaghtey</i>		<i>driaghtit</i>	bind with chain	
	<i>drigey</i>			drip	
<i>EEK</i>	<i>eekey</i>		<i>eekit</i>	stack	
<i>faark</i> <i>faarkee</i>	<i>faarkey</i>	<i>d-aark</i> <i>d-aarkee</i>	<i>faarkit</i>	bathe	
	<i>faasaagey</i>			get a beard	
<i>faast</i>	<i>faastey</i> <i>faast</i>	<i>d-aast</i> <i>d-aastee</i>	<i>faastit</i>	wring	
<i>faill</i> <i>faillee</i>	<i>failley</i>	<i>d-aill</i>	<i>failt</i>	hire	
<i>fann</i> <i>fannee</i>	<i>fanney</i>	<i>d-ann</i>	<i>fant</i>	flay	
<i>farrar</i>	<i>farrarey</i>		<i>farrarit</i>	wake, vigil	
<i>fasn</i> <i>fasin</i> <i>fasnee</i>	<i>fasney</i>	<i>d-asin</i> <i>d-asnee</i>	<i>fasnit</i>	winnow	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>feaysl</i> <i>feayshil</i>	<i>feaysley</i>	<i>d-eayshil</i>	<i>feayslit</i>	loosen, release	NB variation between indication of slender /jʲilʲ/ <-shil-> and broad /sl/ <-sl->.
<i>feysht</i>	<i>feyshtey</i>	<i>d-eyshil</i> <i>d-eyshtee</i>	<i>feyshtit</i>	question, examine	
<i>fill</i>	<i>filley</i>	<i>d-hill</i>	<i>fillit</i>	fold	
<i>fiogh</i>	<i>fioghey</i>		<i>fioghit</i> <i>fiojit</i>	fade	
<i>fliugh</i>	<i>fliughey</i>		<i>fliughit</i>	wet	
<i>fload</i>	<i>floadey</i>			float	
<i>foadd</i>	<i>foaddey</i>	<i>d-oad</i>	<i>foaddit</i>	kindle	
<i>fockle</i> <i>focklee</i>	<i>fockley</i> Ger. <i>gockley</i>	<i>d-ockle</i>	<i>focklit</i>	utter	The gerund <i>gockley</i> is derived as if from a base <i>ockle</i> .
<i>foshl</i> <i>foshil</i>	<i>fosley</i>	<i>d-oshil</i>	<i>foshlit</i>	open	NB variation between indication of slender /jʲilʲ/ <-sh(i)l-> and broad /sl/ <-sl->.
<i>freayn</i>	<i>freayney</i>			overflow	
<i>freill</i>	<i>freaylley</i> <i>freilley</i> <i>freayll</i>	<i>d-reayll</i> <i>d-reill</i>	<i>freilt</i> <i>freaylt</i>	keep	NB variation between broad /l/ and slender /lʲ/.
<i>fuinn</i>	<i>fuinney</i>	<i>d-uinn</i>	<i>fuinnt</i> <i>fuinnit</i>	bake	
<i>gaaig</i>	<i>gaaigey</i> <i>gaghey</i>		<i>gaaigit</i>	crack, chafe sting	

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>gaght</i> (sic)	<i>gaghtey</i>		act	Apparently derived from <i>aght</i> , with the <i>g-</i> of the gerund incorporated into the stem.
<i>gaid</i>	<i>gaidey</i>		<i>gaidit</i>	rope (with heather)
	<i>gamley</i>			speak ironically
<i>gard</i>	<i>gardey</i>		<i>gardit</i>	guard
	<i>garveighey</i> <i>garveigagh</i>			roar
				NB irregular stem variation <i>garveigh-</i> ~ <i>garveig-</i> .
<i>gear</i> ¹³	<i>gearey</i> <i>garaghtee</i>	<i>ghear</i>	<i>gearit</i>	laugh
				Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbals nouns. In the list the VN is spelt <i>gearaghtee</i> , but in the text of the dictionary the VN is given as <i>garaghtee</i> , which is the form that occurs in the Manx Bible.
<i>geul</i>	<i>geuley</i>		<i>geulit</i>	shackle
<i>giar</i>	<i>giarey</i> <i>giarrey</i>	<i>ghiare</i> <i>yiare</i>	<i>giarit</i>	cut
<i>gioot</i>	<i>giootey</i> <i>giootal</i>	<i>ghioot</i> <i>yioot</i>	<i>giootit</i>	bestow
<i>glack</i>	<i>glackey</i>		<i>glackit</i>	grasp
<i>glass</i>	<i>glassey</i>	<i>ghlass</i>	<i>glast</i>	lock
<i>glenn</i>	<i>glenney</i>	<i>ghlen</i>	<i>glent</i> <i>glennit</i>	clean
<i>glioön</i>	<i>gliooney</i>	<i>ghlioön</i>	<i>glioont</i> <i>glioönit</i>	kneel
<i>gloas</i>	<i>gloasey</i> <i>gloasaghey</i>		<i>gloasit</i>	polish
	<i>gobbey</i>			come up (out of the ground)
<i>grees</i> <i>greese</i>	<i>greese</i> <i>greesaghey</i>	<i>ghrees</i> <i>ghreese</i>	<i>greesit</i>	excite, provoke
<i>greigh</i> <i>greie</i>	<i>greighey</i>		<i>greit</i>	equip
<i>greim</i>	<i>greimney</i> <i>grianey</i>	<i>ghreim</i>	<i>greimmit</i>	bite, grip
				sun, air in the sun
<i>grouig</i>	<i>grouigey</i>		<i>grouigit</i>	frown

¹³ *gear*, v. laugh, *gearagh*, *gearaghtee*, *gearee*, *gearey*, *geareyder*, *geareyderyn*, *gearin*, *gearins*, *gearit*, *gearym*, *gearyms*, *gearys*, *ghear*, *ghearagh*, *ghearaghtee*, *ghearree*, *ghearrey*, *ghearreyder*, *ghearreyderyn*, *ghearin*, *ghearins*, *ghearit*, *ghearym*, *ghearyms*, *ghearys*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>guin</i>	<i>guinney</i>		<i>guint</i>	pain
	<i>holtey</i>	<i>holt</i>		hold
	<i>hotal</i>			
	<i>ingney</i>		<i>yngnit</i>	cut with nails, hooves
<i>jaagh</i>	<i>jaaghey</i>	<i>yaagh</i>	<i>jaaghit</i>	smoke
<i>jarrood</i>	<i>jarroodey</i>	<i>yarrood</i>	<i>jarroodit</i>	forget
	<i>jarrood</i>			
<i>jeeig</i>	<i>jeeigey</i>	<i>yeeig</i>	<i>jeeigit</i>	ditch
<i>jeeill</i>	<i>jeelley</i>	<i>yeel</i>	<i>jeellit</i>	devastate
<i>jeell</i>	<i>jeellal</i>			
<i>jeelt</i>	<i>jeeltey</i>	<i>yeelt</i>	<i>jeeltit</i>	saddle
	<i>jeeltal</i>			
<i>jeennys</i>	<i>jeennysey</i>	<i>yeennys</i>	<i>jeennyssit</i>	wedge
	<i>jeennysal</i>			
<i>(jesheen)</i>	<i>jesheeneey</i>	<i>yesheen</i>	<i>jesheenit</i>	adorn
<i>jing</i>	<i>jingey</i>	<i>ying</i>	<i>jingit</i>	cram, press
<i>jioold</i>	<i>jiooldey</i>	<i>yioold</i>	<i>jiooldit</i>	discard, turn off
<i>joan</i> ¹⁴	<i>joaney</i>	<i>yoan</i>	<i>joanit</i>	dust
				Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbal nouns.
	<i>joanlaghey</i>			drizzle
<i>junt</i>	<i>juntey</i>	<i>yunt</i>	<i>juntit</i>	joint
	<i>juntal</i>			
	<i>jurnaghey</i>			journey
	<i>jymmoosey</i>			anger
<i>kaart</i>	<i>kaarteey</i>	<i>chaart</i>	<i>kaartit</i>	card
<i>kalk</i>	<i>kalkey</i>		<i>kalkit</i>	caulk
<i>keayn</i>	<i>keayneey</i>	<i>cheayn</i>	<i>keaynit</i>	weep
<i>kelk</i>	<i>kelkey</i>		<i>kelkit</i>	chalk
	<i>kelkal</i>			
<i>kere</i>	<i>kerey</i>	<i>chere</i>	<i>keret</i>	comb
			<i>kereit</i>	
<i>kiadd</i>	<i>kiaddey</i>	<i>chiadd</i>	<i>kiaddit</i>	form
<i>kiangle</i>	<i>kiangley</i>	<i>chiangle</i>	<i>kianlt</i>	tie, bind
			<i>kianglit</i>	
<i>kiaull</i>	<i>kiaulley</i>		<i>kiaullit</i>	sound
<i>kickl</i>	<i>kickley</i>	<i>chickil</i>	<i>kicklit</i>	tickle
<i>kickil</i>				Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
	<i>kishaney</i>			hive
<i>laad</i>	<i>laadey</i>	<i>laad B</i>	<i>laadit</i>	load
<i>laatch</i>	<i>laatchey</i>		<i>laatchit</i>	lace
<i>lahn</i>	<i>lahney</i>		<i>lahnit</i>	mash
<i>leayst</i>	<i>leaystey</i>		<i>leaystit</i>	stagger

¹⁴ *joan*, v. *dust*, *joanagh*, *joanee*, *joaney*, *joaneyder*, *joaneyderyn*, *joanin*, *joanins*, *joanit*, *joanym*, *joanymys*, *joanys*, *yoan*, *yoanagh*, *yoanee*, *yoaney*, *yoaneyder*, *yoaneyderyn*, *yoanin*, *yoanins*, *yoanit*, *yoanym*, *yoanymys*, *yoanys*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>lhead</i> <i>lheadee</i>	<i>lheadey</i>			perish with cold
<i>lhiaght</i>	<i>lhiaghtey</i>		<i>lhiaghtit</i>	lay, lodge
<i>lhieen</i>	<i>lhieeney</i> B	<i>lhieen</i> B	<i>lhieent</i>	fill
<i>lhieg</i>	<i>lhieggey</i> B <i>lhieggal</i> B	<i>lhieg</i> B	<i>lhieggit</i>	fell
<i>lhig</i>	<i>lhiggey</i>	<i>lhig</i> B	<i>lhiggit</i>	let, gallop
<i>lhoob</i>	<i>lhoobey</i>		<i>lhoobit</i>	bend
<i>lhott</i>	<i>lhottey</i>	<i>lhott</i> B	<i>lhottit</i>	wound
<i>lhun</i>	<i>lhunney</i> <i>lhunnaghey</i>		<i>lhunnit</i>	launch
<i>loaght</i> <i>loaghtee</i> B	<i>loaghtey</i>	<i>loaght</i> B	<i>loaghtit</i>	handle
<i>loam</i> <i>lhome</i> <i>lomm</i>	<i>lhoamey</i> <i>lommeey</i>		<i>loamit</i> <i>lommit</i>	make bare
<i>losht</i>	<i>lostey</i>	<i>losht</i> B	<i>losht</i> <i>loshtit</i>	burn NB variation between indication of slender /ʃʲ/ <-sht-> and broad /st/ <-st->.
<i>loss</i>	<i>lossey</i>			blaze
<i>lout</i>	<i>loutey</i>		<i>loutit</i>	loft, deck
<i>lune</i>	<i>luney</i>		<i>lunit</i>	slander
<i>lutçh</i>	<i>lutçhey</i>			lubber, carry in a clumsy manner
<i>mast</i> <i>mest</i>	<i>mastey</i>	<i>vast</i>	<i>mastit</i> <i>mestit</i>	mix
<i>meek</i>	<i>meekey</i> <i>meekeyragh</i>	<i>veek</i>	<i>meekit</i>	wink
<i>meih</i>	<i>meihey</i> <i>meihaghey</i>	<i>veigh</i> <i>veih</i>	<i>meihit</i>	weigh, balance
<i>meiygh</i>	<i>meiyghey</i> <i>meiyghaghey</i>		<i>meiyght</i> <i>meiyghit</i>	be tender
<i>mhill</i>	<i>mhillay</i>	<i>vhill</i>	<i>mhillit</i>	spoil
<i>ming</i>	<i>mingey</i>	<i>ving</i>	<i>mingit</i>	nip
<i>miol</i>	<i>miolley</i> <i>miollagh</i> <i>miollaghey</i>	<i>viol</i> <i>viollee</i>	<i>miollit</i>	tempt
<i>moll</i>	<i>molley</i>	<i>voll</i>	<i>mollit</i>	cheat, deceive
<i>mong</i>	<i>mongey</i>	<i>vong</i>	<i>mongit</i>	smile
<i>moogh</i> ¹⁵	<i>mooghey</i>	<i>voogh</i>	<i>mooghit</i>	extinguish Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbals nouns.
<i>mooirçhoor</i>	<i>mooirçhoorey</i>		<i>mooirçhoorit</i>	wreck

¹⁵ *moogh*, v. quench, *mooghagh*, *mooghaghyn*, *mooghee*, *mooghey*, *moogheyder*, *moogheyderyn*, *mooghin*, *mooghins*, *mooghit*, *mooghym*, *mooghymys*, *mooghys*, *voogh*, *vooghagh*, *vooghaghyn*, *vooghee*, *vooghey*, *voogheyder*, *voogheyderyn*, *voogin*, *vooghins*, *vooghit*, *vooghym*, *vooghymys*, *vooghys*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>moost</i>	<i>moostey</i>	<i>voost</i>	<i>moostit</i>	rouse
	<i>moughaney</i>			cough
<i>moyll</i>	<i>moylley</i>	<i>voyll</i>	<i>moyllit</i>	praise
<i>naisht</i>	<i>naistey</i>		<i>naisht</i>	NB variation between indication of slender /ʃʃ/ <-sht-> and broad /st/ <-st->.
	<i>nastey</i>		<i>naishtit</i>	
	<i>naishtaghey</i>			
<i>niart</i>	<i>niartey</i>	<i>niartee B</i>	<i>niartit</i>	strengthen
<i>niartee</i>	<i>niartaghey</i>			
<i>oanluck</i>	<i>oanluckey</i>	<i>d-oanluck</i>	<i>oanluckit</i>	bury
	<i>oanluck</i>			
	<i>oghrishey</i>		<i>oghrishit</i>	embosom
	<i>oirrysey</i>		<i>oirrysit</i>	fray, wear the edge
<i>oltooan</i>	<i>oltooaney</i>	<i>d-oltooan</i>	<i>oltooanit</i>	reproach
	<i>oltooan</i>			
<i>paag</i>	<i>paagey</i>	<i>phaag</i>	<i>paagit</i>	kiss
<i>pardoan</i>	<i>pardooney</i>	<i>phardoan</i>	<i>pardoanit</i>	pardon
(<i>pian</i>)	<i>pianey</i>	<i>phian</i>	<i>piant</i>	pain
			<i>pianit</i>	
<i>piyr</i>	<i>piyrey</i>	<i>phiyr</i>	<i>piyrit</i>	pair
	<i>piyral</i>			
<i>pleat</i>	<i>pleatey</i>	<i>phlead</i>	<i>pleatit</i>	plead, prattle
<i>plead</i>	<i>pleateil</i>			
<i>ploogh</i>	(<i>plooghey</i>)	<i>phloogh</i>	<i>plooghit</i>	smother
<i>pohlld</i>	<i>pohlldey</i>	<i>phohlld</i>	<i>pohlldit</i>	uphold, warrant
	<i>pohlldal</i>			
<i>poll</i>	<i>polley</i>	<i>pholl</i>	<i>pollit</i>	mat, stick together
<i>polt</i>	<i>poltey</i>	<i>pholt</i>	<i>poltit</i>	thump
	<i>poltal</i>			
<i>poose</i> ¹⁶	<i>poosey</i>	<i>phoose</i>	<i>poost</i>	marry
				Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbals nouns.
<i>pryssoon</i>	<i>pryssooney</i>	<i>phryssoon</i>	<i>pryssoonit</i>	imprison
<i>puht</i>	<i>puhtey</i>	<i>phutt</i>	<i>puhtit</i>	push
<i>puir</i>				
<i>puss</i>	<i>pussey</i>			puff (cheeks)
	<i>pussal</i>			
<i>pyshoon</i>	<i>pyshooney</i>		<i>pyshoonit</i>	poison
	<i>quaaghey</i>			get gruff
<i>quaail</i>	<i>qualtey</i>		<i>qualtit</i>	meet
<i>raad</i>	<i>raadey</i>			ride at anchor
<i>raip</i>	<i>raipey</i>	<i>raip B</i>	<i>raipit</i>	tear

¹⁶ *poose*, v. *marry*, *poosagh*, *poosaghyn*, *poosee*, *poosey*, *pooseyder*, *pooseyderyn*, *poosin*, *poosins*, *poost*, *poosym*, *poosyms*, *poosys*, *phoose*, *phoosagh*, *phoosaghyn*, *phoosee*, *phoosey*, *phooseyder*, *phooseyderyn*, *phoosin*, *phoosins*, *phoost*, *phoosym*, *phoosyms*, *phoosys*, *boose*, *boosagh*, *boosaghyn*, *boosey*, *boosin*, *boosins*, *boost*, *boosym*, *boosyms*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>raise</i>	<i>raisey</i>		<i>raisit</i>	grope
<i>rass</i>	<i>rassey</i>		<i>rast</i>	rip
<i>reagh</i> <i>reaie</i>	<i>reaghey</i>		<i>reat</i> <i>reatit</i>	disentangle, decide
<i>recort</i>	<i>recortey</i>		<i>recortit</i>	register
<i>reeall</i>	<i>reealley</i>		<i>reealt</i> <i>reallit</i>	wriggle, cleanse corn
<i>reill</i>	<i>reilley</i> <i>reill</i>		<i>reillt</i>	govern
	<i>reirey</i>			reach
<i>resoon</i>	<i>resooney</i>		<i>resoonit</i>	reason
<i>reuyr</i> <i>rouyr</i>	<i>reurey</i>		<i>reuyrit</i>	dig
<i>ribl</i> <i>ribil</i>	<i>ribley</i>		<i>riblit</i>	ripple
<i>rigan</i>	<i>rigganey</i>			rut
<i>roa</i>	<i>roaghey</i>		<i>roait</i>	set in rows
<i>rock</i>	<i>rockey</i>		<i>rockit</i>	pucker
<i>roost</i> <i>rooisht</i>	<i>roostey</i>	<i>rooisht</i> B	<i>rooishtit</i>	strip bare
				NB variation between indication of slender /ʃʲ/ <-sht-> and broad /st/ <-st->.
	<i>roostey</i>		<i>roostit</i>	rob
(<i>rugg</i>)	<i>ruggey</i> <i>ruggaghtyn</i>	<i>rugg</i> <i>ruggyr</i>	<i>ruggit</i>	was born
				NB Past tense variant <i>ruggyr</i> , with an obsolete passive voice suffix -yr.
	<i>ruyghey</i>			get red
<i>sail</i>	<i>sailley</i> <i>salley</i>	<i>haill</i>	<i>sailt</i>	salt
<i>sare</i>	<i>sarey</i>	<i>har</i> <i>haree</i>	<i>sarit</i>	command
	<i>scaalheaney</i>			scatter
	<i>scammyley</i>		<i>scammyltit</i>	scandalize
<i>scar</i>	<i>scarrey</i>	<i>scarr</i> B	<i>scarrt</i> <i>scarrit</i>	separate, spread
<i>scelt</i> <i>skeilt</i> <i>scolt</i>	<i>scoltey</i>	<i>scelt</i> B, <i>skeilt</i> B	<i>scelt</i> , <i>skeilt</i> B	split
<i>schimmeig</i>	<i>schimmeigey</i>		<i>schimmeigit</i>	streak
<i>scolb</i>	<i>scolbey</i>		<i>scolbit</i>	break open
<i>scold</i>	<i>scoldey</i>		<i>scoldit</i>	scald
<i>scooir</i>	<i>scooirey</i>		<i>scooirit</i>	scour
<i>scoylg</i>	<i>scoylgey</i> <i>scoylgernee</i>		<i>scoylgit</i>	shriek
	<i>scrabey</i>		<i>scrabit</i>	scrape
<i>sraig</i>	<i>sraigey</i> <i>sra</i>		<i>sraait</i>	scraw
				NB alternative stems here: <i>sraig</i> and <i>sra(a)</i> , the former with VN suffix -ey, the latter with Ø.

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp		Notes
<i>screeb</i>	<i>screebey</i>		<i>screebit</i>	scratch	
<i>scriss</i>	<i>scrissey</i>		<i>scrist</i>	pare	
<i>scrod</i>	<i>scrodey</i>		<i>scrodit</i>	screw	
<i>scugh</i>	<i>scughey</i>	<i>scugh B</i>	<i>scughit</i>	remove, move	
<i>scuirr</i>	(<i>scuirrey</i>)	<i>scuirr B</i>		cease	
<i>seaghin</i>	<i>seaghney</i>	<i>heaghn</i>	<i>seaghnit</i>	afflict	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>seaghyn</i>		<i>heaghnee</i>			
<i>seyr</i>	<i>seyrey</i>	<i>heyr</i>	<i>seyrit</i>	free	
<i>shaghn</i>	<i>shaghney</i>	<i>haghn</i>	<i>shaghnit</i>	avoid	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>shaghin</i>		<i>haghnee</i>			
<i>shaghyn</i>					
	<i>shanglaney</i>			become empty- bellied	
	<i>sharmaney</i>			sermon	
<i>sheayn</i>	<i>sheayney</i>	<i>heayn</i> <i>heaynee</i>	<i>sheaynt</i>	pray (for)	
<i>sheeb</i>	<i>sheebey</i>	<i>heeb</i>	<i>sheebit</i>	blow, blast, drive	
<i>sheel</i>	<i>sheeley</i> <i>sheelaghey</i>	<i>heel</i>	<i>sheelit</i>	filter, sneak away	
<i>sheeyn</i>	<i>sheeney</i>	<i>heeyn</i>	<i>sheeynt</i> <i>sheeynit</i>	stretch	
<i>sheid</i> ¹⁷	<i>sheidey</i>	<i>heid</i>	<i>sheidit</i>	blow	Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbal nouns.
<i>shiauill</i>	<i>shiaulley</i> <i>shiaullagh</i> <i>shiaullaghey</i>	<i>hiauill</i> <i>hioill</i>	<i>shiault</i> <i>shiaullit</i>	sail	NB variation between indication of slender /i/ <-ill-> and broad /I/ <-ll->.
<i>shill</i>	<i>shilley</i> <i>shiylley</i>	<i>hill</i> <i>hiyll</i> <i>hyll</i>	<i>shillit</i>	spill, drain	NB variation between indication of slender /i/ <-ill-> and broad /I/ <-yll->.
	<i>shioltaney</i>			flock	
<i>shir</i>	<i>shirrey</i>	<i>hir</i>	<i>shirrt</i> <i>shirrit</i>	seek, enquire	
<i>shuilg</i>	<i>shuilgey</i>		<i>shuilgit</i>	nibble	
<i>shyml</i>	<i>shymley</i>	<i>hyml</i>	<i>shymlit</i>	pine	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>shymlee</i>		<i>hymlee</i>			
<i>skeab</i>	<i>skeabey</i>		<i>skeabit</i>	sweep	
<i>skeayl</i>	<i>skeayley</i>	<i>skeayl B</i>	<i>skeaylt</i>	spread	
<i>skihll</i>	<i>skihlley</i>		<i>skihlt</i>	shell	
<i>skir</i>	<i>skirrey</i>		<i>skirrit</i>	slip	
<i>skyrr</i>	<i>skirraghtyn</i>				

¹⁷ *sheid*, v. blow, *sheidagh*, *sheidee*, *sheidey*, *sheideydcr*, *sheideyderyn*, *sheidin*, *sheidins*, *sheldit*, *sheidym*, *sheldyms*, *sheidyn*, *sheidys*, *heid*, *heidagh*, *heidee*, *heidey*, *heideyder*, *heideyderyn*, *heidin*, *heidins*, *heidit*, *heidym*, *heidyms*, *heidyn*, *heidys*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>sleayd</i>	<i>sleaydey</i>		<i>sleaydit</i>	drag
<i>slug</i> ¹⁸	<i>sluggey</i>		<i>sluggit</i>	swallow
				Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbals nouns.
<i>smaght</i>	<i>smaghtey</i> <i>smaghtaghey</i>		<i>smaghtit</i>	chastise
<i>smarr</i>	<i>smarrey</i>		<i>smarrt</i> <i>smarrit</i>	grease
	<i>smoghaney</i>		<i>smoghanit</i>	smoulder
<i>smooir</i>	<i>smooirey</i> <i>smooirooil</i>			smile, titter
	<i>smuggey</i>		<i>smuggit</i>	snot, spit
<i>sniem</i>	<i>sniemmey</i>		<i>sniemmit</i>	knit, knot
<i>soaill</i>	<i>soailley</i>	<i>hoail</i>	<i>soaillit</i>	wrap
<i>soill</i>	<i>soilley</i>	<i>hoail</i>		
<i>soll</i>	<i>solley</i>	<i>holl</i>	<i>sollit</i>	defile,
<i>sollee</i>	<i>sollagh</i> <i>sollaghey</i>	<i>hollee</i>		pollute
<i>speeik</i>	<i>speekey</i> <i>speeikeragh</i>			pry
<i>speein</i>	<i>speeiney</i>		<i>speeint</i> <i>speeinit</i>	peel
<i>sponk</i>	<i>sponkey</i>		<i>sponkit</i>	parch
<i>spooil</i>	<i>spooilley</i>	<i>spooil B</i>	<i>spooilt</i>	plunder
<i>spooill</i>			<i>spooillit</i>	
<i>spooyt</i>	<i>spooytey</i>		<i>spooytit</i>	squirt
<i>spulg</i>	<i>spulgey</i>		<i>spulgit</i>	peck
<i>staayn</i>	<i>staayney</i>		<i>staaynt</i> <i>staaynit</i>	stand firm against
<i>staik</i>	<i>staikey</i>		<i>staikit</i>	stake
<i>stamp</i>	<i>stampey</i>	<i>stamp B</i>	<i>stampit</i>	tread
<i>sthole</i>	<i>stholey</i>		<i>stholit</i>	sprout, ramify
<i>sthook</i>	<i>sthooky</i>		<i>sthookit</i>	stook
<i>stiure</i>	<i>stiurey</i>		<i>stiurit</i>	steer
<i>stoyr</i>	<i>stoyrey</i> <i>stoyral</i> <i>storail</i>		<i>stoyrit</i>	store
<i>strep</i>	<i>strepey</i>		<i>strepit</i>	struggle,
<i>streb</i>	<i>strebin</i>			wallow
<i>strig</i>	<i>striggey</i>		<i>strigit</i>	draw milk
<i>struge</i>	<i>strugey</i>		<i>strugit</i>	stroke
<i>strull</i>	<i>strulley</i>		<i>strult</i> <i>strullit</i>	rinse
<i>suggain</i>	<i>sugganey</i>	<i>huggain</i>	<i>sugganit</i>	bind with straw rope

¹⁸ *slug*, v. swallow, *sluggagh*, *sluggag*, *sluggee*, *sluggey*, *sluggeyder*, *sluggeyderyn*, *sluggin*, *sluggins*, *sluggit*, *sluggym*, *sluggyms*, *sluggyn*, *sluggys*, *lug*, *luggagh*, *luggag*, *luggee*, *luggey*, *luggeyder*, *luggeyderyn*, *luggin*, *luggins*, *luggit*, *luggym*, *luggyms*, *luggys*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in -ey

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>symn</i>	<i>symney</i>		<i>symnit</i>	cite, publish banns Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>taagh</i>	<i>taaghey</i>	<i>haagh</i>	<i>taaghit</i>	frequent
<i>taal</i>	<i>taaley</i>	<i>haal</i>	<i>taalit</i>	flow (milk from the udder)
	<i>taarnaghey</i>			thunder Cf. <i>taarnagh</i> , s. ‘thunder’
<i>taill</i>	<i>tailley</i> B		<i>taillit</i>	tally
	<i>tarmayney</i>		<i>tarmaynit</i>	manage
<i>tasht</i>	<i>tashtey</i>	<i>hasht</i>	<i>tashtit</i>	store, treasure
<i>teaum</i>	<i>teaumey</i>	<i>heaum</i>	<i>teaumit</i>	pour out
<i>teaystn</i>	<i>teaystney</i>	<i>heaystn</i>	<i>teaystnit</i>	knead Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>teaystnee</i>		<i>heaystnee</i>		
<i>thioll</i>	<i>thiolley</i>	<i>hioll</i> <i>hoyll</i>	<i>thiollit</i>	bore
	<i>thooaney</i>			lath
<i>thum</i>	<i>thummey</i>	<i>hum</i>	<i>thummit</i>	dip
<i>tilg</i>	<i>tilgey</i>	<i>hilg</i>	<i>thilgit</i>	throw, throw up
<i>toght</i>	<i>toghtey</i>	<i>hoght</i>	<i>toghtit</i>	choke
	<i>torcaney</i>			stifle with fumes
	<i>toshiaghey</i>			forward
<i>traast</i>	<i>traastey</i>	<i>hraast</i>	<i>traastit</i>	squeeze
<i>tranlaas</i>	<i>tranlaasey</i>	<i>hranlaas</i>	<i>tranlaasit</i>	tyrannise
<i>treickn</i>	<i>treickney</i>	<i>hreickn</i> <i>hreicknee</i>	<i>treicknit</i>	strike with a beetle Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>treig</i>	<i>treigey</i> <i>treigeil</i>	<i>hreig</i>	<i>treigit</i>	abandon
<i>trein</i>	<i>treiney</i>	<i>hrein</i>	<i>treinnit</i>	nail
<i>troid</i>	<i>troiddey</i>	<i>hroid</i>	<i>troiddit</i>	scold
<i>trost</i>	<i>trostey</i>	<i>hrosht</i>		fast
<i>trosht</i>	<i>troshtey</i>			NB variation between indication of slender /ʃʲ/ <-sht-> and broad /st/ <-st->.
	<i>truganey</i> <i>trughanagh</i>			murmur, grumble
<i>tun</i>	<i>tunney</i>	<i>hunn</i>	<i>tunnit</i>	fill (casks with ale)
	<i>uilliney</i>			elbow
	<i>unnaneysey</i>		<i>unnaneysit</i>	unite
<i>walk</i>	<i>walkey</i>		<i>walkit</i>	mill (woollen cloth)
<i>whaal</i>	<i>whaaley</i>	<i>d-whaayl</i>	<i>whaalt</i>	sew
<i>whayl</i>	<i>oaley</i>		<i>whaaylt</i>	
<i>yeeal</i>	<i>yeealley</i> Ger. <i>geaalley</i>	<i>d-eeal</i>	<i>yeealt</i>	beat

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-ey*

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>yiarn</i>	<i>yarney</i> <i>yiarnal</i>		<i>yiarnit</i>	iron
<i>ymmilt</i> <i>ymmylt</i>	<i>ymmiltey</i> <i>ymmilt</i>	<i>d-ymmylt</i>	<i>ymmltit</i>	roll (a horse)
	<i>ymmydey</i>		<i>ymmydit</i>	use
<i>ymmyrk</i> ¹⁹	<i>ymmyrkey</i>	<i>d-ymmyrk</i>	<i>ymmyrkit</i>	bear Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbal nouns.

6.3.2. Verbs with verbal nouns in *-agh* or *-aghey* (168 items, nearly 19% of the total). These two suffixes are in variation. It is probably not very significant whether Cregeen mentions one or the other, or both. For many of these Cregeen gives no base form or past tense form. Note the presence (often optional) in 88 of these verbs, over 52%, of an affix *-ee*, in the base, the past tense, or both. For some 33 verbs the VN suffix *-agh* or *-aghey* is in variation with a different suffix.

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-agh/-aghey*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	
<i>aaitn</i>	<i>aaitnagh</i> <i>aaitnaghey</i>	<i>d-aaitnee</i>	<i>aaitnit</i>	gorse
<i>aarl</i> <i>aarlee</i>	<i>aarlagh</i> <i>aarlaghey</i>	<i>d-aarl</i> <i>d-aarlee</i>	<i>aarlit</i>	cook
<i>aggle</i> <i>agglee</i>	<i>agglagh</i> <i>agglaghey</i>	<i>d-aggle</i> <i>d-agglee</i> <i>j-aggle</i> <i>j-agglee</i>	<i>agglit</i>	frighten, fear
	<i>annooinagh</i> <i>annooinaghey</i>			weaken
	<i>appaghey</i>			ripen
<i>arr</i>	<i>arragh</i> <i>arraghey</i>	<i>d-arree</i>		move
	<i>ashlaghey</i>			show by vision
	<i>baneagh</i> <i>baneaghey</i>		<i>banit</i>	whiten
<i>bann</i> <i>bannee</i>	<i>bannaghey</i>	<i>vann</i> <i>vannee</i>	<i>bannit</i>	bless
	<i>beaynaghey</i>			prolong
	<i>binjaghey</i>			curdle
<i>bioyr</i> <i>bioyree</i>	<i>bioyraghey</i>	<i>vioyr</i> <i>vioyree</i>	<i>bioyrit</i>	make brisk
<i>birr</i>	<i>birraghey</i>			sharpen to a point
<i>bish</i> <i>bishee</i>	<i>bishagh</i> <i>bishaghey</i>	<i>vish</i> <i>vishee</i>	<i>bishit</i>	increase

¹⁹ *ymmyrk*, v. bear, *ymmyrkagh*, *ymmyrkee*, *ymmyrkey*, *ymmyrkeyder*, *ymmyrkeyderyn*, *ymmyrkin*, *ymmyrkins*, *ymmyrkit*, *ymmyrkym*, *ymmyrkymys*, *ymmyrkys*, *dymmyrk*, *gyummyrkey*, *hymmyrkey*, *nymmyrk*, *nymmyrkagh*, *nymmyrkey*, *nymmyrkin*, *nymmyrkins*, *nymmyrkym*, *nymmyrkymys*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in -agh/-aghey

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp		
<i>bochil</i> ²⁰	<i>bochillagh</i> <i>bochillaghey</i> <i>bochillaght</i>	<i>vochil</i>	<i>bochillit</i>	herd	Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbals nouns.
<i>bogg</i>	<i>boggaghey</i> <i>boggyssagh</i>	<i>vogg</i>		soften boast	
<i>boir</i>	<i>boiraghey</i> <i>boirey</i>	<i>voir</i> <i>woir</i>	<i>boirit</i>	trouble	
	<i>bouyragh</i> <i>bouyraghey</i>		<i>bouyrit</i>	deafen	
<i>branl</i>	<i>branlagh</i> <i>branlaghey</i> <i>branley</i>	<i>vranl</i> <i>vranlee</i>	<i>branlit</i>	fallow	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>brasn</i> <i>brasnee</i>	<i>brasnaghey</i> <i>brasney</i>	<i>vasn</i> <i>vasnee</i>	<i>brasnit</i>	provoke	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>breinn</i>	<i>breinnagh</i> <i>breinnaghey</i>			stink	
	<i>burtagh</i> <i>burtaghey</i>			fumble	
<i>camm</i>	<i>cammagh</i>	<i>(chamm)</i>	<i>cammit</i>	bend	
<i>cart</i> <i>kart</i>	<i>cartaghey</i> <i>cartey</i> <i>kartey</i>	<i>chart</i>	<i>kartit</i>	rake muck	
<i>çhirrym</i> ²¹ <i>çhirm</i> <i>çhirmee</i>	<i>çhirmagh</i> <i>çhirmaghey</i>	<i>hirm</i> <i>hirmee</i>	<i>çhirmit</i>	dry	Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbals nouns.
<i>çhym</i> <i>çhymsee</i>	<i>çhymagh</i> <i>çhymaghey</i>	<i>hym</i> <i>hymsee</i>	<i>çhymsit</i>	gather	
<i>clann</i>	<i>clannagh</i> <i>clannaghey</i> <i>clannee</i>	<i>chlann</i>	<i>clahnit</i>	thicken	
<i>cleayn</i> <i>cleaynee</i>	<i>cleaynaghey</i> <i>cleayne</i>	<i>chleayn</i>	<i>cleaynit</i>	entice	
<i>clus</i> <i>clooey</i>	<i>clusaghey</i>		<i>clusit</i>	cover with feathers	The verb is related to <i>clooie</i> ‘small feathers’, with an unexpected -s-.
<i>coad</i> <i>cochruin</i> <i>cochruinee</i>	<i>coadaghey</i> <i>cochruinaghey</i>	<i>choad</i>	<i>coadit</i> <i>cochruinit</i>	protect assemble	cf. <i>cruinn</i>
	<i>connaasagh</i> <i>connaasey</i> <i>connysson</i>			scorn, sneer	

²⁰ *bochill*, v. herd, *bochillagh*, *bochillaght*, *bochillee*, *bochilley*, *bochillin*, *bochillins*, *bochillit*, *bochillym*, *bochillyms*, *bochillyn*, *bochillys*, *mochillaght*, *mochilley*, *mochillyn*, *vochill*, *vochillagh*, *vochillaght*, *vochilley*, *vochillin*, *vochillins*, *vochillit*, *vochillym*, *vochillyms*, *vochillyn*, *vochillys*.

²¹ *çhyrm*, v. dry, *çhyrmagh*, *çhyrmaghey*, *çhyrmaghyn*, *çhyrmee*, *çhyrmey*, *çhyrmeyder*, *çhyrmeyderyn*, *çhyrmid*, *çhyrmin*, *çhyrmyns*, *çhyrmit*, *çhyrmym*, *çhyrmymys*, *çhyrmys*, *hyrm*, *hyrmagh*, *hyrmaghey*, *hyrmaghyn*, *hyrmee*, *hyrmey*, *hyrmeyder*, *hyrmeyderyn*, *hyrmid*, *hyrmin*, *hyrmyns*, *hyrmit*, *hyrmym*, *hyrmymys*, *hyrmys*, *jyrm*, *jyrmagh*, *jyrmaghey*, *jyrmaghyn*, *jyrmee*, *jyrmid*, *jyrmin*, *jyrmyns*, *jyrmym*, *jyrmymys*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in -agh/-aghey

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp		
<i>cood</i> <i>coodee</i>	<i>coodaghey</i>	<i>chood</i> <i>choodee</i>	<i>coodit</i>	cover	
<i>coon</i>	<i>coonagh</i> <i>coonaghey</i>			narrow	
<i>corm</i>	<i>cormagh</i> <i>cormaghey</i> <i>cormal</i>	<i>chorrym</i> <i>chormee</i>	<i>cormit</i>	equalize, make even	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>cosoyl</i>	<i>cosoylaghey</i>			compare	
<i>cowr</i>	<i>cowraghey</i>	<i>chowr</i> <i>chowree</i>	<i>cowrit</i>	mark, betoken	
<i>coyrl</i> <i>coyrlee</i>	<i>coyrlaghey</i>	<i>choyrl</i> <i>choyrlee</i>	<i>coyrlit</i>	advise	
	<i>creedlagh</i>			shrug	
<i>creen</i>	<i>creenaghey</i>	<i>chreen</i> <i>chreenee</i>	<i>creent</i> <i>creenit</i>	wither, ripen	
<i>cronn</i>	<i>cronnaghey</i>	<i>chronn</i> <i>chronnee</i>	<i>cronnit</i>	detect	
<i>cruinn</i>	<i>cruinnaghey</i>	<i>chruinn</i>	<i>cruinnit</i>	compact, besiege	
<i>curm</i> <i>currym</i>	<i>currymaghey</i> <i>curmaghey</i> <i>curmey</i> <i>curmal</i>	<i>churm</i> <i>churmee</i>	<i>curmit</i>	enjoin, charge	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
	<i>curthoollaghey</i>			obscure (the air)	
	<i>dhoanaghey</i>			make brown	
<i>diun</i>	<i>diunaghey</i>	<i>ghiun</i>		deepen	
<i>ead</i> <i>eadee</i>	<i>eadagh</i> <i>eadaghey</i>			be jealous	
<i>eaisht</i>	<i>eaishtagh</i> <i>eaishtaghey</i>	<i>d-eaisht</i> <i>d-eaishtee</i>	<i>eaishtit</i>	listen	
<i>eam</i>	<i>eamagh</i> <i>eamaghey</i> <i>eam</i>	<i>d-eam</i>		call	
<i>eyll</i> <i>eyllee</i>	<i>eyllagh</i> <i>eyllaghey</i>	<i>d-eylllee</i>	<i>eyllit</i>	lime	
<i>eddrym</i> <i>eddrymee</i>	<i>eddrymagh</i> <i>eddrymaghey</i>	<i>d-eddrymee</i>		lighten	
<i>eeass</i> <i>eeassee</i>	<i>eeassaghey</i> <i>eeassaght</i>	<i>d-eeassee</i>	<i>eeassit</i>	lend, borrow	
<i>eeast</i> <i>yeeast</i>	<i>eeastagh</i> <i>eeastaghey</i>	<i>d-eeast</i> <i>d-eastee</i>	<i>eeastit</i>	fish	
<i>eign</i> <i>eignee</i>	<i>eignagh</i> <i>eignaghey</i> <i>eginaghey</i>	<i>d-eign</i> <i>d-eignee</i>	<i>eignit</i>	force	
	<i>eiraghey</i>			inherit	

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-agh/-aghey*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp		
<i>eoyll</i> <i>eoylllee</i> <i>geoyll</i> <i>geoylllee</i>	<i>eoyllagh</i> <i>eoyllaghey</i>	<i>d-eoyll</i> <i>d-eoylllee</i>	<i>eoyllit</i>	manure	In the base forms <i>geoyll</i> , <i>geoylllee</i> , the <i>g-</i> belonging to the gerund has been incorporated into the stem.
<i>etl</i> <i>etlee</i>	<i>etlagh</i> <i>etlaghey</i>	<i>d-ettyl</i> <i>d-etlee</i> <i>j-etlee</i>		fly	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>faml</i> <i>famlee</i>	<i>famlagh</i> <i>famlaghey</i>	<i>d-aml</i> <i>d-amlee</i>	<i>famlit</i>	wrack (manure with seaweed)	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>farb</i> <i>fark</i> <i>farkee</i>	<i>farbagh</i> <i>farkiaghey</i> <i>farkiaght</i>	<i>d-ark</i> <i>d-arkee</i>	<i>farbit</i> <i>farkit</i>	inflamm wait	NB unusual insertion of <i>-i-</i> in the VN before both <i>-aght</i> and <i>-aghey</i> .
<i>fass</i> <i>fassee</i>	<i>fassaghey</i> <i>fassaght</i>		<i>fassit</i>	feed with grass	
<i>feayr</i> <i>feayree</i>	<i>feayraghey</i>	<i>d-eayree</i>	<i>feayrit</i>	cool (tr/intr)	
<i>feddan</i> <i>feddane</i>	<i>feddanagh</i>			whistle	
	<i>flipperagh</i>			tell fibs	
<i>foayr</i> <i>foayree</i>	<i>foayraghey</i> <i>foayral</i>		<i>foayrit</i>	favour	
<i>foll</i> <i>follee</i>	<i>follaghey</i> <i>follaghtyn</i>	<i>d-oll</i> <i>d-ollee</i>	<i>follit</i>	hide	
<i>folm</i> <i>folmee</i>	<i>folmaghey</i> <i>folmagh</i> Ger. <i>golmaghey</i> <i>golmagh</i>	<i>d-olm</i> <i>d-olmee</i>	<i>folmit</i> <i>follymit</i>	empty	The gerund form <i>golmagh(ey)</i> is constructed as if the stem were <i>olm-</i> (as it appears in the Past). Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
	<i>foudaghey</i>			become damaged	
<i>fuill</i> <i>fuillee</i>	<i>fuillagh</i> <i>fuillaghtyn</i>	<i>d-uillee</i>		allow	
	<i>gargagh</i>			make acrid	
	<i>garveigagh</i> <i>garveighey</i>			roar	
	<i>geaynaghey</i>			make green	
<i>gerj</i> <i>gerjee</i>	<i>gerjaghey</i>	<i>gherjee</i>	<i>gerjit</i>	comfort	
<i>giall</i> <i>giallee</i>	<i>giallagh</i> <i>giallaghey</i>	<i>ghial</i> <i>ghiallee</i> <i>yial</i> <i>yiallee</i>	<i>giallit</i>	whiten	

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-agh/-aghey*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp		
<i>giall</i>	<i>gialtaghey</i> <i>gialdin</i> <i>gialdyn</i>	<i>ghiall</i> <i>yiall</i>	<i>giallit</i>	promise	NB three stem variants: <i>gial(l)-</i> , <i>giald-</i> and <i>gialt-</i> , with the VNs built on the latter two.
	<i>gioalteeagh</i>		<i>gioaltit</i>	pawn, mortgage	
	<i>girraghey</i>			shorten	
	<i>glassagh</i> <i>glassaghey</i>			grow pale	
<i>gleash</i>	<i>gleashaghey</i>		<i>gleashit</i>	move	
<i>gloas</i>	<i>gloasaghey</i> <i>gloasey</i>		<i>gloasit</i>	polish	
<i>gloyr</i>	<i>gloyraghey</i>	<i>ghloyr</i>	<i>gloyrit</i>	glorify	
(<i>gorm</i>)	<i>gormaghey</i>	<i>ghorm</i>	<i>gormit</i> <i>gorrymit</i>	make blue	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>gort</i>	<i>gortagh</i>	<i>ghort</i>	<i>gortit</i>	hurt	
<i>gortee</i>	<i>gortaghey</i>	<i>ghortee</i>			
<i>grainn</i> <i>grainnee</i>	<i>grainnaghey</i>	<i>ghrainn</i> <i>ghrainnee</i>	<i>grainnit</i>	carve	
	<i>granaghey</i>			become ugly	
<i>grees</i> <i>greese</i>	<i>greesaghey</i> <i>greese</i>	<i>ghrees</i> <i>ghreese</i>	<i>greesit</i>	excite, provoke	
<i>grein</i> <i>greinnee</i>	<i>greinnaghey</i>	<i>ghrein</i> <i>ghreinnee</i>	<i>greinnit</i>	encourage	
<i>gyere</i> <i>geayr</i>	<i>gyereagh</i> <i>gyereaghey</i> <i>geayraghey</i>		<i>gyerit</i> <i>geayrit</i>	sour	
(<i>imlee</i>)	<i>imlagh</i> <i>imlaghey</i>	<i>d-imlee</i>	<i>imlit</i>	humble	
<i>ingyr</i> <i>yngyr</i>	<i>ingyragh</i> <i>ingyraght</i>	<i>d-hingyr</i> <i>d-yngyr</i>	<i>yngyrit</i>	fester	
<i>injl</i> <i>injillee</i> <i>inshl</i> <i>inshlee</i>	<i>injillaghey</i> <i>inshlagh</i> <i>inshlaghey</i>	<i>d-injilee</i>	<i>injillit</i>	lower	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>jeer</i> <i>jeeree</i>	<i>jeeraghey</i>	<i>yeer</i> <i>yeeree</i>	<i>jeerit</i>	straighten	
<i>jiarg</i> <i>jiargee</i>	<i>jiargagh</i> <i>jiargaghey</i>	<i>yiarg</i> <i>yiargee</i>	<i>jiargit</i>	make red, reddden	
	<i>joltagh</i>			traverse	
<i>karr</i> <i>karrese</i>	<i>karragh</i> <i>karraghey</i>	<i>charree</i>	<i>karrit</i>	mend	
<i>kerr</i> <i>kerree</i>	<i>kerraghey</i>	<i>cherr</i> <i>cherree</i>	<i>kerrit</i>	punish	
<i>keyl</i>	<i>keylagh</i>		<i>keylit</i>	make fine	
<i>kiart</i> <i>kiartee</i> <i>cairt</i>	<i>kiartagh</i> <i>kiartaghey</i> <i>cairtaghey</i>	<i>chiart</i>	<i>kiartey</i> <i>cairtey</i>	fix	
<i>kionn</i> <i>kionnee</i>	<i>kionnagh</i> <i>kionnaghey</i>	<i>chionn</i> <i>chionnee</i>	<i>kionnit</i>	buy	

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-agh/-aghey*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	
<i>kirt</i>	<i>kirtagh</i>			make haste
<i>kiune</i>	<i>kiunagh</i>	<i>chiunee</i>	<i>kiunit</i>	calm
<i>kiunee</i>	<i>kiunaghey</i>			
<i>laare</i>	<i>laareaghey</i>		<i>laareit</i>	put on the floor
<i>leod</i>	<i>leodaghey</i>		<i>leodit</i>	devalue, be devalued
<i>lhagg</i>	<i>lhaggaghey</i>		<i>lhaggit</i>	loosen
<i>lhaggee</i>				
	<i>lheanagh</i>		<i>lheanit</i>	widen,
	<i>lheanaghey</i>			sprain
	<i>lheeaghey</i>			go grey
<i>lhiann</i>	<i>lhiannaghey</i>		<i>lhiannit</i>	flatten
<i>lhias</i>	<i>lhiasaghey</i>		<i>lhiasit</i>	amend,
<i>lhiasee</i>				manure
<i>lhiass</i>	<i>lhiassaghey</i>		<i>lhiassit</i>	feign
<i>lhiasssee</i>				
<i>lhiuree</i>	<i>lhiuragh</i>			lengthen
	<i>lhiuraghey</i>			
<i>lhuddyr</i>	<i>lhuddyraghey</i>		<i>lhuddyr it</i>	maul
	<i>lhuddyr al</i>			
<i>lhun</i>	<i>lhunnaghey</i>		<i>lhunnit</i>	launch
	<i>lhunney</i>			
<i>lorg</i>	<i>lorgaghey</i>		<i>lorgit</i>	drive forward with a stick, urge
<i>lorgee</i>				
<i>lught</i>	<i>lughtagh</i>		<i>lughtit</i>	load
	<i>lughtaghey</i>			
	<i>mai haghey</i>		<i>maiht</i>	pardon
<i>mark</i>	<i>markiaghey</i>	<i>vark</i>	<i>markit</i>	ride
<i>markee</i>		<i>varkee</i>		NB. VN <i>-iaghey</i>
<i>meayll</i>	<i>meayllaghey</i>		<i>meayllit</i>	make bald
<i>meayllee</i>				
<i>meein</i>	<i>meeinaghey</i>	<i>veein</i>	<i>meeinit</i>	tame, make
<i>meen</i>	<i>meenaghey</i>	<i>veeinee</i>	<i>meenit</i>	fine
		<i>veenee</i>		NB variation between indication of slender /nʲ/ <-in-> and broad /n/ <-n->.
<i>meel</i>	<i>meelagh</i>	<i>veel</i>	<i>meelit</i>	soften
<i>meelee</i>	<i>meelaghey</i>	<i>veelee</i>		
<i>meer</i>	<i>meeraghey</i>			piece
<i>meih</i>	<i>meihaghey</i>	<i>veigh</i>	<i>meihit</i>	weigh,
	<i>meihey</i>	<i>veih</i>		balance
<i>meiygh</i>	<i>meiyghaghey</i>		<i>meiyght</i>	be tender
	<i>meiyghey</i>		<i>meiyghit</i>	
<i>mholm</i>	<i>mholmagh</i>			moulder,
<i>mholmee</i>	<i>mholmaghey</i>			crumble
	<i>miljaghey</i>			sweeten
<i>miol</i>	<i>miollagh</i>	<i>viol</i>	<i>miollit</i>	tempt
	<i>miollaghey</i>	<i>viollee</i>		
	<i>miolley</i>			

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-agh/-aghey*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	
<i>molk</i>	<i>molkagh</i> <i>molkaghey</i>	<i>volk</i>	<i>molkit</i>	macerate, putrify
<i>mooad</i> <i>mooadee</i>	<i>mooadagh</i> <i>mooadaghey</i>	<i>vooad</i>	<i>mooadit</i>	enlarge
<i>mooar</i> <i>mooaree</i>	<i>mooaragh</i> <i>mooaraghey</i>	<i>vooar</i> <i>vooaree</i>	<i>mooarit</i>	begrudge, envy
	<i>murtaghey</i>			bungle
	<i>mynaghey</i>			make small
<i>naar</i> <i>naaree</i>	<i>naaraghey</i>		<i>naarit</i>	shame
<i>niart</i> <i>niartee</i>	<i>niartaghey</i> <i>niartey</i>	<i>niartee B</i>	<i>niartit</i>	strengthen
<i>oard</i> <i>oardr</i> <i>oardee</i> <i>oardree</i>	<i>oardaghey</i> <i>oardrail</i>	<i>d-oardee</i>	<i>oarderit</i>	order, ordain
<i>obbr</i> <i>obbree</i>	<i>obbragh</i> <i>obbraghey</i>	<i>d-obbree</i>	<i>obbrit</i>	work
<i>olt</i> <i>oltee</i>	<i>oltaghey</i>			salute, welcome with refreshment
<i>ooashl</i> <i>ooashlee</i>	<i>ooashlagh</i> <i>ooashlaghey</i>		<i>ooashlit</i>	worship
				NB in the Manx Bible the gerund of <i>ooashlaghey</i> lacks the expected initial <i>g-</i> . The Apocrypha has two examples of <i>gooashlaghey</i> , though.
<i>ooill</i>	<i>ooillagh</i> <i>ooillaghey</i>	<i>d-ooilee</i> <i>d-ooillee</i>	<i>ooillit</i>	oil, anoint
<i>ooir</i> <i>ooirree</i>	<i>ooirragh</i> <i>ooirraghey</i>	<i>d-ooir</i> <i>d-ooirree</i>	<i>ooirrit</i>	earth, mould
<i>oonl</i> <i>oonlee</i>	<i>oonlagh</i> <i>oonlaghey</i>	<i>d-oonlee</i>	<i>oonlit</i>	wash (body)
				Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>oor</i> <i>ooree</i>	<i>ooragh</i> <i>ooraghey</i>	<i>d-ooree</i>	<i>oorit</i>	refresh
<i>osn</i> <i>osnee</i>	<i>osnagh</i> <i>osnaghey</i>	<i>d-osnee</i>	<i>osnit</i>	sigh
				Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
	<i>peeikearagh</i>			spy
	<i>queeyllaghey</i>		<i>queeyllit</i>	bind, wheel
<i>reen</i> <i>reenee</i>	<i>reenaghey</i>		<i>reenit</i>	toughen
<i>rons</i> <i>ronsee</i>	<i>ronsagh</i> <i>ronsaghey</i>		<i>ronsit</i>	search
<i>runt</i> <i>saveen</i>	<i>runtaghey</i> <i>saveenagh B</i>		<i>runtit</i>	make round slumber
<i>shang</i>	<i>shangagh</i>		<i>shangit</i>	be lank, become lank

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-agh/-aghey*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp		
<i>share</i>	<i>sharagh</i> <i>sharaghey</i>			improve	
<i>sheel</i>	<i>sheelaghey</i> <i>sheeley</i>	<i>heel</i>	<i>sheelit</i>	filter, sneak away	
<i>shiauill</i>	<i>shiaullagh</i> <i>shiaullaghey</i> <i>shiaulley</i>	<i>hiauill</i> <i>hioill</i>	<i>shiault</i> <i>shiaullit</i>	sail	NB variation between indication of slender /ɿ/ <-ill-> and broad /ɪ/ <-l(l)->.
<i>shicky</i> <i>shickyree</i>	<i>shickyragh</i> <i>shickyraghey</i>	<i>hicky</i> <i>hickyree</i>	<i>shickyrit</i>	secure, confirm ensure	
<i>shirk</i>	<i>shirkagh</i> <i>shirkaghey</i>	<i>hir</i> <i>hirkee</i>	<i>shirkit</i>	shrink, shrivel	
<i>siyrree</i>	<i>siyrraghey</i>	<i>hiyree</i>	<i>siyrrit</i>	hasten	
<i>slaan</i>	<i>slaanagh</i> <i>slaanaghey</i>	<i>laanee</i>	<i>slaanit</i>	heal	
<i>smaght</i>	<i>smaghtaghey</i> <i>smaghtey</i>		<i>smaghtit</i>	chastise	
<i>smooi</i> <i>smooinee</i>	<i>smooiagh</i> <i>smooiaghey</i>	<i>smooinee</i> B	<i>smooinit</i>	think	Cregeen does not mention the verbal noun/gerund <i>smooiagh</i> , though it occurs in several of the Bible passages he cites. Neither <i>smooiagh</i> nor <i>smooiaghey</i> is in the Bible.
<i>snagger</i>	<i>snaggeragh</i> <i>snaggeraght</i>			gnash	
<i>soie</i>	<i>soiagh</i> <i>soiaghey</i>	<i>hoie</i>	<i>soit</i>	set, plant	
<i>soilsh</i> <i>soilshée</i>	<i>soilshagh</i> <i>soilshaghey</i>	<i>hoilsh</i> <i>hoilshée</i>	<i>soilshit</i>	enlighten, declare, show	
<i>soll</i> <i>sollee</i>	<i>sollagh</i> <i>sollaghey</i> <i>solley</i>	<i>holl</i> <i>hollee</i>	<i>sollit</i>	defile, pollute	
<i>soor</i> <i>sooree</i>	<i>sooragh</i> <i>sooraghey</i>		<i>soorit</i>	sour, leaven	
<i>soyl</i> <i>soylee</i> <i>sol</i> <i>solee</i>	<i>soylagh</i> <i>soylaghey</i> <i>solaghey</i>	<i>hoylee</i> <i>hiollee</i>	<i>soylit</i> <i>solit</i>	compare, match	
<i>styrk</i> <i>stark</i>	<i>starkagh</i> <i>starkaghey</i>		<i>styrkit</i>	stiffen	
<i>surl</i>	<i>surlaghey</i>	<i>hurl</i>	<i>surlit</i>	toss, tumble, sprawl	
	<i>tallagh</i> <i>tashagh</i>		<i>tallit</i>	murmur get damp	

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-agh/-aghey*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp		
<i>thann</i> <i>thannee</i>	<i>thannaghey</i>	<i>hann</i>	<i>thannit</i>	thin	
<i>toar</i> <i>toarrey</i>	<i>toarragh</i> <i>toarraghey</i>	<i>hoar</i>	<i>toarrit</i>	manure	<i>Toarrey</i> is apparently a unique case of a suffix <i>-ey</i> in a base form.
<i>torçh</i> <i>torçhee</i>	<i>torçhagh</i> <i>torçhaghey</i>	<i>horçh</i> <i>horçhee</i>	<i>torçhit</i>	torment	
	<i>trughanagh</i> <i>trughaney</i>			murmur, grumble	
	<i>tutleragh</i>			tattle	
<i>usht</i> <i>ushtee</i>	<i>ushtagh</i> <i>ushtaghey</i>	<i>d-ushtee</i>	<i>ushtit</i>	water	
<i>yll</i> <i>yllee</i>	<i>yllagh</i> <i>yllaghey</i>	<i>d-yll</i> <i>d-yllee</i>	<i>yllit</i>	call	
<i>yns</i> <i>ynsee</i>	<i>ynsagh</i> <i>ynsaghey</i>	<i>d-ynsee</i>	<i>ynsit</i>	teach, learn	
<i>yrj</i> <i>yrjee</i>	<i>yrjaghey</i>			exalt	

6.3.3. Verbs with verbal nouns in *-al*. There are 109 such verbs (over 12%), of which 28 have alternative suffixes. Cases of the suffix *-ee* are extremely few

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-al*

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp		Notes
<i>arr</i>	<i>arral</i>		<i>arrit</i>	offer	
<i>astyr</i>	<i>gastyrt</i> <i>gast(y)r</i> <i>gastral</i>	<i>d-astyr</i>	<i>gastyrit</i> (sic)	extirpate	Apparently the initial <i>g-</i> proper to the gerund has been extended by analogy to the verbal noun and the participle. NB stem variation between <i>astr-</i> and <i>astyr-</i> . Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>behtt</i>	<i>behttal</i>			bet	
<i>blest</i>	<i>blestal</i>	<i>vlest</i>	<i>blestit</i>	blast	
<i>(boulth)</i>	<i>boultal</i>	<i>voult</i>	<i>boultit</i>	bolt	
<i>brans</i>	<i>bransal</i> <i>bransey</i>	<i>vrans</i>	<i>bransit</i>	dash	
<i>breb</i>	<i>brebal</i>	<i>vreb</i>	<i>brebit</i>	kick	
<i>buitçh</i>	<i>buitçhal</i>	<i>vuitçh</i> <i>wuitçh</i>	<i>buitçhit</i>	bewitch	
<i>cant</i>	<i>cantal</i>	<i>chant</i>	<i>cantit</i>	auction, bid at auction	
<i>carr</i>	<i>carral</i>	<i>charr</i>	<i>carrit</i>	twist	
<i>cayrn</i>	<i>cayrnal</i>	<i>chayrn</i>	<i>cayrnit</i>	trumpet	
<i>çheb(b)</i>	<i>çhebbal</i>	<i>heb(b)</i>	<i>çhebbit</i>	offer	
<i>cled</i>	<i>cleddal</i>	<i>chled</i>		overturn	
<i>clist</i>	<i>clistal</i>	<i>chlist</i>		spring, bounce	
<i>combaase</i>	<i>combaasal</i> <i>combaasey</i>	<i>chombaase</i>	<i>combaasit</i>	surround	

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-al*

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp		Notes
<i>cooat</i>	<i>cooatal</i> <i>cooatey</i>		<i>cooatit</i>	coat	
<i>corm</i>	<i>cormal</i> <i>cormagh</i> <i>cormaghey</i>	<i>chorrym</i> <i>chormee</i>	<i>cormit</i>	equalize, make even	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>cost</i>	<i>costal</i>	<i>chost</i>		cost	
<i>couyr</i>	<i>couyral</i>			recover, cure	
<i>crank</i>	<i>crankal</i>		<i>crankit</i>	knock	
<i>creid</i> <i>credj-</i>	<i>credjal</i>	<i>chreid</i>	<i>creidit</i>	believe	NB spelling alternation, with <i>-eid</i> word-finally (and in ptcp.), <i>-edj-</i> medially.
<i>cront</i> ²²	<i>crontal</i> <i>crontey</i>	<i>chront</i>	<i>crontit</i>	knot	Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbal nouns.
<i>crow</i>	<i>crowal</i>	<i>chrow</i>		hover	
<i>cruetçh</i>	<i>cruetçhal</i>		<i>cruetçhit</i>	cower	
<i>cum(m)</i>	<i>cummal</i>	<i>chum(m)</i>	<i>cummit</i>	hold, dwell	
<i>curm</i> <i>currym</i>	<i>curmal</i> <i>currymaghey</i> <i>curmaghey</i> <i>curmey</i>	<i>churm</i> <i>churmee</i>	<i>curmit</i>	enjoin, charge	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>dell</i>	<i>dellal</i>	<i>ghell</i>	<i>dellit</i>	deal	
<i>dhonk</i>	<i>dhonkal</i> <i>dhonkey</i>	<i>ghonk</i>	<i>dhonkit</i>	thump	
<i>drap</i>	<i>drappal</i> <i>dreamal</i>		<i>drappit</i>	climb dream	
<i>drid</i>	<i>dridal</i>		<i>dridit</i>	trot	
<i>faarge</i> <j>	<i>farral</i>			fare	NB irregular stem alternation <i>faarj-</i> - <i>farr-</i> .
<i>fed</i>	<i>feddal</i>			shake with laughter	
<i>feiy</i> <i>feiy</i>	<i>feiyral</i> <i>femblal</i>		<i>feiyrit</i>	sound take out here and there	
<i>fest</i> <i>festee</i> ?	<i>festal</i>	<i>d-est</i>	<i>festit</i>	stick	With respect to the suffixed base <i>festee</i> , Cregeen gives only <i>cha n'estee</i> (alternative to <i>cha n'est</i>) 'not stick'.
<i>foayr</i> <i>foayree</i>	<i>foayral</i> <i>foayraghey</i> <i>frappal</i> <i>frapperaght</i>		<i>foayrit</i>	favour crackle	
<i>gioot</i>	<i>giootal</i> <i>giootey</i>	<i>ghioot</i> <i>yioot</i>	<i>giootit</i>	bestow	
<i>gull</i>	<i>gullal</i> <i>gullyrnee</i>	<i>ghull</i>		howl	

²² *cront*, v. knot, *crontal*, *crontagh*, *crontee*, *crontey*, *cronteyder*, *cronteyderyn*, *crontin*, *crontins*, *crontit*, *crontym*, *crontyms*, *crontys*, *cruint*, ir.[i.e. the noun plural], *chront*, *chrontagh*, *chrontal*, *chrontee*, *chrontey*, *chronteyder*, *chrontin*, *chrontins*, *chrontit*, *chrontym*, *chrontyms*, *chrontys*, *gront*, *grontagh*, *grontal*, *grontee*, *gronteyder*, *gronteyderyn*, *grontin*, *grontins*, *grontym*, *grontyms*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-al*

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>gyrn</i>	<i>gyrnal</i>		<i>snarl</i>	
	<i>holtal</i>	<i>holt</i>	<i>hold</i>	
	<i>holtey</i>			
<i>jeeill</i>	<i>jeellal</i>	<i>yeel</i>	<i>jeellit</i>	devastate
<i>jeell</i>	<i>jeelley</i>			
<i>jeelt</i>	<i>jeeltal</i>	<i>yeelt</i>	<i>jeeltit</i>	saddle
	<i>jeeltey</i>			
<i>jeennys</i>	<i>jeennysal</i>	<i>yeennys</i>	<i>jeennyssit</i>	wedge
	<i>jeennysey</i>			
<i>jerk</i>	<i>jerkal</i>	<i>yerk</i>	<i>jerkit</i>	expect
		<i>yerkee</i>		
<i>jok</i>	<i>jokal</i>	<i>yok</i>	<i>jokit</i>	yoke
<i>joyn</i>	<i>joynal</i>	<i>yoyn</i>	<i>joynit</i>	join
	<i>jummal</i>		<i>jummalit</i>	waste
<i>junt</i>	<i>juntal</i>	<i>yunt</i>	<i>juntit</i>	joint
	<i>juntey</i>			
<i>kelk</i>	<i>kelkal</i>		<i>kelkit</i>	chalk
	<i>kelkey</i>			
<i>kesh</i>	<i>keshal</i>	<i>chesh</i>	<i>keshit</i>	froth
<i>kest</i>	<i>kestal</i>		<i>kestit</i>	cast, struggle
				grunt
<i>kred</i>	<i>kredal</i>			
	<i>kredyragh</i>			
<i>labb</i>	<i>labbal</i>		<i>labbitt</i>	strike
	<i>laccal</i>			lack, want
<i>laiy</i>	<i>laiyal</i>		<i>laiyt</i>	lay
<i>lhap</i>	<i>lhappal</i>		<i>lhappit</i>	fold double
<i>lhieg</i>	<i>lhieggal B</i>	<i>lhieg B</i>	<i>lhieggit</i>	fell
	<i>lhieggey B</i>			
<i>lhiet</i>	<i>lhiettal</i>	<i>lhiett B</i>		hinder
<i>lhuddyr</i>	<i>lhuddyr al</i>		<i>lhuddyr it</i>	maul
	<i>lhuddyr aghey</i>			
<i>liack</i>	<i>liackal</i>		<i>liackit</i>	like
<i>laik</i>				
<i>list</i>	<i>listal</i>		<i>listit</i>	list
<i>low</i>	<i>lowal B</i>		<i>lowit</i>	allow
<i>luff</i>	<i>luffal</i>			luff
<i>madyr</i>	<i>madyral</i>			matter, import
<i>moar</i>	<i>moaral</i>	<i>voar</i>	<i>moarit</i>	moor
<i>obb</i>	<i>obbal</i>	<i>d-obb</i>	<i>obbit</i>	refuse, deny
<i>orçh</i>	<i>orçhal</i>		<i>orçhit</i>	make refuse of
<i>pabyr</i>	<i>pabyral</i>	<i>phabyr</i>	<i>psbyrit</i>	paper
<i>piyr</i>	<i>piyral</i>	<i>phiyr</i>	<i>piyrit</i>	pair
	<i>piyre y</i>			
<i>pohlld</i>	<i>pohlldal</i>	<i>phohlld</i>	<i>pohlldit</i>	uphold, warrant
	<i>pohlldey</i>			
<i>poll</i>	<i>pollal</i>			prune
<i>polt</i>	<i>poltal</i>	<i>pholt</i>	<i>poltit</i>	thump
	<i>poltey</i>			

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-al*

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes	
<i>poodyr</i> <i>poodyree</i>	<i>poodyral</i>	<i>phodyr</i>	<i>poodyrit</i>	powder	
<i>prayll</i>	<i>prayal</i>			pray	
<i>prise</i>	<i>prisal</i>		<i>prisit</i>	prise	
<i>prow</i>	<i>prowal</i>	<i>phrow</i>	<i>prowt</i> <i>prowit</i>	try	
<i>puss</i>	<i>pussal</i> <i>pussey</i>			puff (cheeks)	
<i>ratçh</i>	<i>ratçhal</i>		<i>ratçhit</i>	sprint	
<i>rowl</i>	<i>rowlal</i>		<i>rowlit</i>	roll	
<i>saaue</i>	<i>saaueal</i>			saw	
<i>scuitçh</i>	<i>scuitçhal</i>		<i>scuitçhit</i>	scourge	
<i>scuyr</i>	<i>scuyral</i>		<i>scuyrit</i>	skewer	
<i>sett</i>	<i>settal</i>		<i>settit</i>	plant	
<i>sheean</i>	<i>sheeanal</i>		<i>sheeanit</i>	make noise	
<i>shu</i>	<i>shual</i>		<i>shuit</i>	sue, prosecute	
	<i>sleetçhal</i>			sneak	
<i>sleick</i>	<i>sleickal</i>		<i>sleickit</i>	slake	
<i>smood</i>	<i>smoodal</i>		<i>smoodit</i>	smooth	
	<i>snapperal</i>			stumble	
<i>snog</i>	<i>snoggal</i>		<i>snoggit</i>	nod	
<i>soar</i>	<i>soaral</i>	<i>hoar</i>	<i>soarit</i>	smell	
<i>sogh</i>	<i>soghal</i>		<i>soghit</i>	sob	
<i>spotçh</i>	<i>spotçhal</i> <i>spotçheraght</i>		<i>spotçhit</i>	joke	
<i>spret</i>	<i>spretal</i>		<i>spretit</i>	start	
<i>sthap</i>	<i>sthappal</i>		<i>sthappit</i>	stop	
<i>stholl</i>	<i>sthollal</i>		<i>sthollit</i>	station	
<i>stow</i>	<i>stowal</i>		<i>stowt</i> <i>stowit</i>	bestow	
<i>stoyr</i>	<i>stoyral</i> <i>stoyrey</i> <i>storail</i>		<i>stoyrit</i>	store	
<i>sur</i>	<i>surr</i> <i>surranse</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>surr</i> <i>surr</i>	suffer	
<i>talk</i>	<i>talkal</i>	<i>halk</i>	<i>talkit</i>	walk slowly	
<i>tast</i>	<i>tastal</i>	<i>hast</i>	<i>tastit</i>	notice, pay attention to	
<i>ther</i>	<i>therral</i>	<i>herr</i>		tar	
<i>thow</i>	<i>thowal</i>	<i>how</i>	<i>thowit</i>	tow	
<i>toig</i> ²³	<i>toiggal</i>	<i>hoig</i>	<i>toiggit</i>	understand	Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbals nouns.
<i>trog</i>	<i>troggal</i>	<i>hrog</i>	<i>troggit</i>	raise, build	
<i>warp</i>	<i>warpal</i>		<i>warpit</i>	wrap	

²³ *toig*, v. understand, *toiggagh*, *toiggal*, *toiggalagh*, *toiggaltagh*, *toiggaltys*, *toiggee*, *toiggeyder*, *toiggin*, *toiggim*, *toiggit*, *toiggym*, *toiggys*, *hoig*, *hoiggagh*, *hoiggal*, *hoiggaltagh*, *hoiggaltys*, *hoiggin*, *hoiggins*, *hoiggit*, *hoiggym*, *hoiggys*, *doig*, *doiggagh*, *doiggal*, *doiggaltys*, *doiggin*, *doiggins*, *doiggym*, *doiggys*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-al*

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>yiarn</i>	<i>yiarnal</i> <i>yarney</i>		<i>yiarnit</i>	iron

6.3.4. Verbs with verbal nouns in *-aght* or *-aghtyn*. (See below for *-eraght/-yraght*.) There are 26 verbs (under 3% of the total) in Cregeen with verbal nouns in *-aght*, nearly all of them with an alternative form, which, in most cases, is *-aghtyn*. I include here also four other verbs in *-aghtyn*: *çherraghtyn*, *follaghtyn* (alternative *follaghey*), *fuillaghtyn* (alternative *fuillagh*), and *giennaghtyn* (alternative *gientyn*). Six have a base or Past variant in *-ee* (without having a VN variant in *-agh/-aghey*).

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-aght*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>berr</i>	<i>berraght</i> <i>berraghtyn</i> <i>bertyn</i>	<i>verr</i>	<i>berrit</i>	overtake
<i>bochil</i>	<i>bochillaght</i> <i>bochillagh</i> <i>bochillaghey</i>	<i>vochil</i>	<i>bochillit</i>	herd
<i>brie</i>	<i>briaght</i>	<i>vrie</i>	<i>briet</i>	enquire
<i>çherr)</i>	<i>çherraghtyn</i>			perish
<i>cooin</i> <i>cooinee</i>	<i>cooinaght</i> <i>cooinaghtyn</i>	<i>chooin</i> <i>chooinee</i>	<i>cooinit</i>	remember
<i>eeass</i> <i>eeassee</i>	<i>eeassaght</i> <i>eeassaghey</i>	<i>d-</i> <i>eeassee</i>	<i>eeassit</i>	lend, borrow
<i>enn</i> <i>ennee</i>	<i>ennaght</i> <i>ennaghtyn</i>	<i>d-enn</i> <i>d-ennee</i>	<i>ennit</i>	feel
<i>fark</i> <i>farkee</i>	<i>farkiaaght</i> <i>farkiaaghey</i>	<i>d-ark</i> <i>d-arkee</i>	<i>farkit</i>	wait
<i>farr</i> <i>farree ?</i>	<i>farraght</i> <i>farraghtyn</i>	<i>d-arr</i>		last
<i>fass</i> <i>fassee</i>	<i>fassaght</i> <i>fassaghey</i>		<i>fassit</i>	feed with grass
<i>fen</i> <i>fenee</i>	<i>fenaght</i> <i>fenaghtyn</i>	<i>d-enee</i>	<i>fenit</i>	enquire (after)
<i>foll</i> <i>follee</i>	<i>follaghtyn</i> <i>follaghey</i>	<i>d-oll</i> <i>d-ollee</i>	<i>follit</i>	hide
<i>fuill</i> <i>fuillee</i>	<i>fuillaghtyn</i> <i>fuillagh</i>	<i>d-uillee</i>		allow
<i>fuirr</i> <i>fuirree</i>	<i>fuirraght</i> <i>fuirraghtyn</i>	<i>d-uirr</i> <i>d-uirree</i>		stay
<i>gient</i>	<i>giennaghtyn</i> <i>gientyn</i>	<i>ghient</i> <i>yient</i>	<i>gientit</i>	conceive
<i>immee</i>	<i>immeeaght</i>	<i>d-immee</i> <i>j-immee</i>	<i>immit</i> <i>immeeit</i>	depart
<i>ingyr</i> <i>yngyr</i>	<i>ingyraght</i> <i>ingyragh</i>	<i>d-hingyr</i> <i>d-yngyr</i>	<i>yngyrit</i>	fester
<i>myngyr</i> (<i>rugg</i>)	<i>myngyraght</i> <i>ruggaghtyn</i> <i>ruggey</i>	<i>vyngyr</i> <i>rugg</i> <i>ruggyr</i>		pilfer
			<i>ruggit</i>	was born
<i>skir</i> <i>skyrr</i>	<i>skirraghtyn</i> <i>skirrey</i>		<i>skirrit</i>	slip

NB unusual insertion of *-i-* in the VN before both *-aght* and *-aghey*.

Cregeen's *cha n'arree* (besides *cha n'arr*) 'will not last' implies a base *farree*.

NB irregular syncopated participle variant *immit*.

See note on *streighyr*.

See note on *streighyr*.

NB Past tense variant *ruggyr*, with an obsolete passive voice suffix *-yr*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-aght*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp		Notes
<i>snagger</i>	<i>snaggeraght</i> <i>snaggeragh</i>			gnash	See note on <i>streighyr</i> .
<i>streighyr</i> <i>streiy</i>	<i>streigheraght</i> <i>streiyraght</i> <i>streighernee</i>		<i>streigherit</i> <i>streiyrit</i>	sneeze	The VN forms resemble those with suffixes <i>[-ə]raght</i> or <i>[-ə]rnee</i> , though here <i>[-ə]r</i> belongs to the stem.
<i>tann</i>	<i>tannaght</i> <i>tannaghtyn</i> <i>thoreeaght</i>	<i>hann</i> <i>hannee</i>	<i>tannit</i>	last, continue	
				commit highway robbery	
<i>troagyr</i>	<i>troagyraght</i>			trudge	See note on <i>streighyr</i> .

6.3.5. Verbs with verbal nouns in *-ail* or *-eil*. It is said that *-ail* belongs after broad consonants and *-eil* after slender ones, and this is generally the case, though there are apparently exceptions, e.g. *dooyteíl*.

6.3.5.1. Verbs with verbal nouns in *-ail*. There are 17 in this class, of which two have alternatives with a different suffix. Three have a base or past variant in *-ee* without having a VN variant in *-aght/-aghey*.

Verbal nouns in *-ail*

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp		Notes
<i>baar</i>	<i>baarail</i>	<i>vaar</i>	<i>baarit</i>	spend	
<i>coard</i>	<i>coardail</i>	<i>choard</i>	<i>coardit</i>	agree	
<i>cumr</i> <i>cumree</i>	<i>cumrail</i>	<i>chumr</i> <i>chumree</i>	<i>cumrit</i>	hinder, deter	Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
	<i>dhotail</i>			dote	
<i>faag</i> ²⁴	<i>faagail</i>	<i>d-aag</i>	<i>faagit</i>	leave	Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbal nouns.
<i>fodr</i> <i>fodree</i> <i>fod</i>	<i>fodrail</i>		<i>fodrit</i>	afford	
<i>kiare</i>	<i>kiarail</i>	<i>chiare</i>	<i>kiarit</i>	provide, intend	
<i>oard</i> <i>oardr</i> <i>oardee</i> <i>oardree</i>	<i>oardrail</i> <i>oardaghey</i>	<i>d-oardee</i>	<i>oarderit</i>	order, ordain	
<i>paard</i> <i>paart</i>	<i>paardail</i> <i>paartail</i>	<i>phaard</i> <i>phaart</i>	<i>paardit</i>	depart	
<i>plaastr</i> <i>plaastrée</i>	<i>plaastrail</i>	<i>phlaastyr</i>	<i>plaastrit</i>	plaster	
	<i>rouail</i>			roam	

²⁴ *faag*, v. leave, *faagagh*, *faagail*, *faagee*, *faageyder*, *faageyderyn*, *faagin*, *faagins*, *faagit*, *faagym*, *faagyms*, *faagys*, *aag*, *aagagh*, *aagail*, *aagee*, *aageyder*, *aageyderyn*, *aagin*, *aagins*, *aagit*, *aagym*, *aagyms*, *aagys*, *daag*, *naag*, *naagagh*, *naagail*, *naagee*, *naagin*, *naagins*, *naagym*, *naagyms*, *vaag*, *vaagagh*, *vaagail*, *vaagin*, *vaagins*, *vaagym*, *vaagyms*.

Verbal nouns in *-ail*

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>saue</i> ²⁵	<i>sauail</i>	<i>haue</i>	<i>sauit</i>	save
				Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. The list includes deverbals nouns.
<i>scape</i>	<i>scapail</i>	<i>scaap</i>	<i>scapit</i>	escape
	<i>sloatail</i>			abate (rain)
<i>spaar</i>	<i>spaarail</i>		<i>spaarit</i>	spare, save
<i>stoyr</i>	<i>storail</i>		<i>stoyrit</i>	store
	<i>stoyrey</i>			
	<i>stoyral</i>			
	<i>wandrail</i>			wander

6.3.5.2. Verbs with verbal nouns in *-eil*. Eighteen verbs, of which two with alternative suffixes (*-ey*). No base or Past variants in *-ee*.

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-eil*

Base	Verbal noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
	<i>boasteil</i>			boast
<i>broatçh</i>	<i>broatçheil</i>	<i>vroatçh</i>	<i>broatçhit</i>	tap
<i>dooyt</i>	<i>dooyteil</i>	<i>ghooyt</i>	<i>dooytit</i>	doubt
	<i>entreil</i>			enter
<i>faill</i>	<i>faillail</i>	<i>d-aill</i>	<i>faillit</i>	fail
<i>failllee</i>				
<i>fend</i>	<i>fendeil</i>		<i>fendit</i>	defend
	<i>gurneil</i>			govern
<i>leeid</i>	<i>leeideil</i>	<i>leeid B</i>	<i>leeidit</i>	lead
<i>meeit</i>	<i>meeiteil B</i>	<i>veeit B</i>		meet
<i>pleat</i>	<i>pleateil</i>	<i>phlead</i>	<i>pleatit</i>	plead, prattle
<i>plead</i>	<i>pleatey</i>			
<i>point</i>	<i>pointeil</i>	<i>phoint</i>	<i>pointit</i>	appoint
<i>poinsh</i>	<i>poinsheil</i>	<i>phoinsh</i>		
<i>preaçh</i>	<i>preaçheil</i>	<i>phreaçh</i>	<i>preaçhit</i>	preach
<i>tempr</i>	<i>tempreil</i>	<i>hempr</i>	<i>temprit</i>	temper
<i>tend</i>	<i>tendeil</i>	<i>hend</i>	<i>tendit</i>	attend
<i>tooill</i>	<i>tooilail</i>	<i>hooill</i>	<i>tooillit</i>	toil, tire
<i>treig</i>	<i>treigail</i>	<i>hreig</i>	<i>treigit</i>	abandon
	<i>treigey</i>			
<i>treisht</i>	<i>treishteil</i>	<i>hreisht</i>	<i>treishtit</i>	trust
<i>ventr</i>	<i>ventreil</i>	<i>ventr</i>		venture

6.3.6. Verbal noun suffixes *-[ə]ragh* or *-[ə]raght* and *-[ə]rnee* often with affective or frequentative sense, many on verbs denoting noises. Most of these have verbal nouns or gerunds only, that is, no base, past tense, or participle.

²⁵ *saue* v. save, *sauagh*, *sauail*, *sauailtagh*, *sauee*, *saueyder*, *saueyderyn*, *sauin*, *sauins*, *sauit*, *sauym*, *sauyms*, *sauys*, *haue*, *hauagh*, *hauail*, *hauailtagh*, *hauee*, *haueyder*, *haueyderyn*, *hauin*, *hauins*, *hauit*, *hauym*, *hauyms*, *hauys*.

6.3.6.1. I include *-[ə]ragh* and *-[ə]raght* in the same table: 32 verbs.Verbs with verbal nouns in *-[ə]ragh* or *-[ə]raght*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
	<i>beealeraght</i>			babble
<i>blob</i>	<i>blobberaght</i>			babble
<i>breim</i>	<i>breimaragh</i>	<i>vreim</i>		fart
	<i>bryneraght</i>			flatter
	<i>clinkeragh</i>			tinkle
<i>clooid</i>	<i>clooideraght</i>		<i>clooidit</i>	patch
<i>corlheim</i>	<i>corlheimeraght</i> <i>corlheim</i>			hop Cf. <i>lheim</i>
	<i>flipperaght</i>			drop into water
<i>flout</i>	<i>floutyraght</i>			taunt
	<i>fooilleyraght</i>			fribble
	<i>frapperaght</i> <i>frappal</i>			crackle
	<i>gigleragh</i>			giggle
	<i>glugeraght</i> <i>glugernee</i>			gurgle
	<i>glutteraght</i>			(be a) glutton
	<i>grigyraght</i>			tick
	<i>grinderagh</i>			taunt
	<i>jeeassyraght</i> <i>jeeassyraght</i>			glean See <i>jeeas</i> ‘ear of corn’.
<i>jonse</i>	<i>jonseragh</i>	<i>yonse</i>	<i>jonsit</i>	jolt
<i>kred</i>	<i>kredyragh</i> <i>kredal</i>			grunt
	<i>leighderaght</i>			go to law
<i>lheim</i>	<i>lheimyragh</i> <i>lheimyraght</i> <i>lheim B</i>	<i>lheim B</i>	<i>lheimmit</i>	leap
	<i>neealeraght</i>			change aspect
	<i>nhedderagh</i>			fidget
	<i>pisheyragh</i>			whisper
	<i>pynteraght</i>			drink pints
<i>sannish</i>	<i>sansheraght</i>			whisper
	<i>shnoagyraght</i>			sneak
	<i>snaperaght</i>			nap
	<i>spinçhyraght</i>			scullion
<i>spotçh</i>	<i>spotçheraght</i> <i>spotçhal</i>		<i>spotçhit</i>	joke
	<i>tasteraght</i>			thresh
<i>tauint</i>	<i>tauintyraght</i>			saunter

6.3.6.2. Verbs with verbal nouns in *-[ə]rnee*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
	<i>bibbernee</i>			shiver
	<i>flustyrnee</i>			faddle
	<i>glugernee</i>			gurgle
	<i>glugeraght</i>			
	<i>goanstyrnee</i>			bark
	<i>gounstyrnee</i>			
	<i>gullyrnee</i>	<i>ghull</i>		howl
<i>gull</i>	<i>gullal</i>			NB the base form <i>gull</i> properly belongs with the VN <i>gullal</i> .
	<i>scoylgernee</i>		<i>scoylgit</i>	shriek
<i>scoylg</i>	<i>scoylgey</i>			NB the base form <i>scoylg</i> properly belongs with the VN <i>scoylgey</i> .
	<i>shutternee</i>			neigh
	<i>taauernee</i>			retch
	<i>taaueynee</i>			Cf. <i>taaue</i> , s. ‘retch’

6.3.6.3. The three verbs in Cregeen with verbal nouns in *-nee* resemble those in §6.3.6.2, though here the element *-[ə]r-* is clearly part of the stem.

Verbs with verbal nouns in *-nee*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>jeestyr</i>	<i>jeestyrnee</i>	<i>yeestyr</i>		creak
	<i>londyrnee</i>			dazzle
	<i>londernee</i>			CF. <i>londeyr</i> ‘lantern’
<i>streighyr</i>	<i>streigherne</i>		<i>streigherit</i>	sneeze
<i>streiy</i>	<i>streigheraght</i>		<i>streiyrit</i>	The VN forms resemble those with suffixes <i>-[ə]raght</i> or <i>-[ə]rnee</i> , though here <i>-[ə]r</i> belongs to the stem.
	<i>streiyraght</i>			

6.3.7. Verbal noun suffix *-t*. This is the only verbal noun suffix which is non-syllabic. It occurs only after stems that end in /r/. There are 10 in this class (including the irregular/suppletive verb *coyrt*). Two of them have *-ee* forms.

Verbal nouns with suffix *-t*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>asty</i>	<i>gastyrt</i> <i>gast(y)r</i> <i>gastral</i>	<i>d-asty</i>	<i>gastyrit</i> (sic)	extirpate
				Apparently the initial <i>g-</i> proper to the gerund has been extended by analogy to the verbal noun and the participle. NB stem variation between <i>astr-</i> and <i>asty-</i> .
<i>baggyr</i>	<i>baggyrt</i>	<i>vaggyr</i> <i>vaggyree</i>		threaten
<i>(coloayr)</i>	<i>coloayrt</i>			converse
<i>cur</i>	<i>coyrt</i> <i>cur</i>	<i>hug - dug</i> <i>chur</i>	<i>currit</i>	give, put, send
<i>eebr</i>	<i>eebyrt</i>	<i>d-eebr</i>	<i>eebrit</i>	banish
<i>eebree</i>		<i>d-eebree</i>		Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>eiyr</i>	<i>eiyr</i>	<i>d-eiyr</i>	<i>eiyr</i>	follow, drive
<i>freggyr</i>	<i>freggyrt</i>	<i>d-reggyr</i>	<i>freggyrit</i>	answer
<i>loamr</i>	<i>lommyrt</i>		<i>loamrit</i> <i>lomrit</i>	shear
<i>loayr</i>	<i>loayrt</i>	<i>loayr B</i>	<i>loayrit</i>	speak
<i>taghyr</i>	<i>taghyrt</i>	<i>haghyr</i> <i>haghr</i>	<i>taghyrit</i>	happen

6.3.8. Verbal noun suffix *-tyn*. Eight examples, or nine if *toilchin* is included.Verbal nouns with suffix *-tyn*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp		Notes
<i>benn</i>	<i>bentyn</i>	<i>venn</i>		touch	
<i>blass</i> <i>blayst</i>	<i>blastyn</i> <i>blasstey</i>	<i>vlayst</i>		taste	If the base is <i>blass</i> the suffix is <i>-tyn</i> , but if the base is <i>blayst</i> , as appears in most of the derivatives of this root, the suffix is <i>-yn</i>
<i>clasht</i> <i>cluín</i> <i>clin</i>	<i>clashtyn</i>	<i>cheayll</i> <i>chluín</i>	<i>cluinit</i>	hear	Suffix <i>-tyn</i> , if <i>clashtyn</i> is for <i>*clashttyn</i> . Or otherwise VN suffix <i>-yn</i> . NB irregular/suppletive verb.
<i>keill</i> ²⁶	<i>keiltyn</i>	<i>cheill</i>	<i>keillit</i>	conceal	Cregeen lists all the forms in the footnote. They include deverbal nouns.
<i>lhian B</i> <i>lhiant</i> [?]	<i>lhiantyn</i>	<i>lhian B</i>		adhere	
<i>rosh</i>	<i>roshtyn</i>	<i>raink</i>	<i>roshit</i>	reach, arrive	NB suppletive Past stem <i>raink</i> .
<i>shell</i> <i>shellagh</i>	<i>sheiltyn</i> <i>sheltyn</i> <i>shein</i>	<i>heill</i>		suppose	NB variation between broad /l/ and slender /lʲ/.
<i>tayr</i> <i>taare</i> <i>taar</i>	<i>tayrtyn</i>	<i>hayr</i> <i>haare</i>	<i>tayrit</i> <i>taarit</i>	catch	
<i>toill</i>	<i>toilliu</i> <i>toilchin</i>	<i>hoill</i>	<i>toillit</i>	deserve	It may be that <i>-chin</i> is a ‘slender’ variant of <i>-tyn</i> . Otherwise <i>-chin</i> is unique in Cregeen as a VN suffix, as also is <i>-iu</i> .

6.3.9. Minor and unique verbal noun patterns.

6.3.9.1 Two verbs only have a verbal noun in *-aghyn*.

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>gwee</i>	<i>gweeaghyn</i>	<i>ghwee</i> <i>wee</i>	<i>gweeit</i>	curse
<i>níee</i>	<i>níeeaghyn</i> <i>niaghyn</i>	<i>níee B</i>	<i>níeet</i>	wash

6.3.9.2 One verb only has a verbal noun in *-anse*.

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>sur</i>	<i>surranse</i> <i>surrall</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>surrt</i> <i>surrit</i>	suffer NB abstract noun <i>surranse</i> ‘suffering’

²⁶ *keil*, v. conceal, *keillagh*, *keillee*, *keilleyder*, *keilleyderyn*, *keillin*, *keillins*, *keillit*, *keillym*, *keillyms*, *keillys*, *keiltyn*, *cheil*, *cheillagh*, *cheillee*, *cheilleyder*, *cheilleyderyn*, *cheillin*, *cheillins*, *cheillit*, *cheillym*, *cheillyms*, *cheillys*, *cheiltyn*, *geil*, *geillagh*, *geillee*, *geilleyder*, *geilleydelyn*, *geillin*, *geillins*, *geillym*, *geillyms*.

6.3.9.3 Verbs with verbal nouns in *-in*. The VN suffix *-in* is also found in the irregular verb *fakin* ‘seeing’.

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>giall</i>	<i>gialdin</i> <i>gialdyn</i> <i>gialtaghey</i>	<i>ghiall</i> <i>yiall</i>	<i>giallit</i>	promise NB irregular stem variation <i>giall-</i> ~ <i>giald-</i> ~ <i>gialt-</i> . Maybe the stem is <i>gial(l)-</i> and the VN suffix <i>-din/-dyn</i> is a variant of <i>-tin/-tyn</i> .
<i>strep</i> <i>streb</i>	<i>strebin</i> <i>strepey</i>		<i>strepit</i>	struggle, wallow

6.3.9.4. Verb with verbal noun in *-iu* or *-chin*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>toill</i>	<i>toilliu</i> <i>toilchin</i>	<i>hoill</i>	<i>toillit</i>	deserve Both VN alternative suffixes are unique, though <i>-chin</i> might be seen as a ‘slender’ version of <i>-tyn</i> .

6.3.9.5. Verbal noun with suffix *-oil*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
(<i>brooight</i>)	<i>brooightoil</i>	<i>vrooight</i>		belch

6.3.9.6. Verbal noun with suffix *-on*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
	<i>connysson</i> <i>connaasagh</i> <i>connaasey</i>		scorn, sneer	

6.3.9.7. Verbal noun with suffix *-ooil*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>smooir</i>	<i>smooirooil</i> <i>smooirey</i>			smile, titter

6.3.9.8. Verbal nouns with suffix *-oo*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>jean</i> <i>jin</i>	<i>jannoo</i>	<i>ren</i>	<i>jeant</i>	do, make Suppletive irregular verb. See above, §5.
<i>marr</i>	<i>marroo</i>	<i>varr</i>		kill
<i>shass</i>	<i>shassoo</i>	<i>hass</i>		stand

6.3.9.9. Verbs with verbal nouns in *-ym*

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes
<i>chaggle</i> <i>chaggyl</i>	<i>chaglym</i> <i>chaggley</i>	<i>hagl</i> <i>haggil</i>	<i>chaglit</i>	gather Cf. §3, Epenthesis.
<i>geirr</i>	<i>geirrym</i> <i>gerrym</i>	<i>gheir</i> <i>gherr</i>		crow
<i>tuitt</i>	<i>tuittym</i>	<i>huitt</i>		fall

6.3.9.10. Verbs with verbal nouns in -yn

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes	
<i>blayst</i> <i>blass</i>	<i>blastyn</i> <i>blasstey</i>	<i>vlayst</i>		taste	If the base is <i>blass</i> the suffix is - <i>tyn</i> , but if the base is <i>blayst</i> , as appears in most of the derivatives of this root, the suffix is - <i>yn</i> .
<i>giall</i>	<i>gialdyn</i> <i>gialtaghey</i> <i>gialdin</i>	<i>ghiall</i> <i>yiall</i>	<i>giallit</i>	promise	NB three stem variants: <i>gial(l)</i> -, <i>giald</i> - and <i>gialt</i> -, with the VNs built on the latter two.
<i>jeeagh</i>	<i>jeeaghyn</i>	<i>yeeagh</i>	<i>jeeaghitt</i>	look, seem	
<i>gient</i>	<i>gientyn</i> <i>giennaghtyn</i>	<i>ghient</i> <i>yient</i>	<i>gientitt</i>	conceive	NB two variants of stem: <i>gient</i> - and <i>gien(n)</i> -. One might suggest that the VN forms are based on the latter, with variant suffixes - <i>tyn</i> and - <i>aghtyn</i> .

6.3.9.11. Verbs with verbal nouns in -ys

Base	Verbal Noun	Past	Ptcp	Notes	
<i>boandyr</i>	<i>boandyrys</i>		<i>boandyrit</i>	nurse	
	<i>ganglanys</i>			bicker	
	<i>gannidys</i>			deride	
<i>togher</i>	<i>thogherys</i>	<i>hogher</i>	<i>togheritt</i>	wind	