

MANX TRADITIONAL SONGS AND SONG-FRAGMENTS IN THE END-PHASE OF MANX GAELIC: FROM THE CLAGUE MUSIC COLLECTION (1890s)

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1. Introduction

The following texts of Manx Gaelic songs and song-fragments are taken from the Clague Music Collection, a corpus of c.350 tunes (including variants) taken from Manx tradition c.1893-c.1898¹ in four manuscript volumes (MNHL 448A ([1-3]), 449B) by the Castletown medical practitioner Dr. John Clague (1842-1908).² In the music manuscripts 60 tunes have the first stanza, or what is taken to be such, of the song written above or below the stave. Of these, twenty-two are in Manx, thirty-nine in English and one in Manx / English.³ The collecting of the first stanza only of song-texts was the norm at that time in folk-music collection, and the Isle of Man in this respect was no exception.

In the spring of 1925 an old exercise-book (hereinafter the Notebook) belonging to Dr. Clague and containing thirty-three song-titles, twenty-six have texts (of which eighteen, including variants, are in Manx) was discovered by Archdeacon John Kewley (1860-1941). These were printed with notes and discussion by Anne Gilchrist in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* (JFSS)VII/29: 203-218.⁴ It is not known what became of the Notebook.⁵

In the autumn of 1981 twenty-four notebooks in Dr. Clague's hand containing *inter alia* a number of texts of Manx songs, both complete and fragmentary, were located within the archive of the Manx Museum, now Manx National Heritage, under the reference number MM (now MNHL) MS 450A. Altogether forty-nine separate song-texts were elicited from these notebooks,⁶ of which twenty-one were hitherto unpublished. These appeared as 'Manx Traditional Songs and Song-Fragments II' in *Béaloides* 50 (1982): 1-41 (cf. Broderick 1982a).⁷

However, a comparison of the items in the Notebook, as printed in JFSS, with those in MS. 450A shows that Gilchrist had access to another notebook, other than those in MS. 450A.

For our purposes here, we shall take a fresh look at the twenty-two song-texts in Manx to be found within the Clague Music Collection, particularly from a linguistic perspective, as their collection during the 1890s accompanied the end-phase of Manx Gaelic and, as can be shown, participated to some extent in the process of obsolescence. The song-texts appear in the first three Clague music mss., viz MNHL MSS. 448A [1,2,3] and include the following. Those bearing an

1 For details of an apparent early 1870s start to Clague's collecting Manx traditional music and song material, see Miller *Manx Notes* 151 (2013): 1-6 (2-5).

2 Vols. 1-3 contain six staves per page, Vol. 1 comprising 54 pages (plus a 34A and 35A) made up largely of tunes in fair copy. Vol. 2 comprises 24 pages made up of tunes taken down in their original state. Many of the Manx song-texts, written in non-standard spelling thereby reflecting their pronunciation, are to be found here. Vol. 3 comprises 44 pages made up largely of tunes in fair copy, while Vol. 4 comprises 34 pages, containing twelve staves per page, made up mainly of arranged tunes from *Mona Melodies* (1820); original material on pages 22-28, 30.

3 Vol. I contains 16 song-texts (Mx. 11, Eng. 4, Mx/Eng. 1), Vol. II: 42 (Mx. 9, Eng. 33), Vol. III: 2 (Mx. 0, Eng. 2), Vol. IV none. Total 60 song-fragments all told.

4 For background details to the discovery of the exercise-book see Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/29: ix-xi).

5 For details of the whereabouts of Dr. John Clague's library and personal papers see Miller (2015: 1-4).

6 Song-texts are to be found in notebooks 2 (1 item), 3 (3), 4 (1), 5 (39), 7 (1), 9 (1), 10 (27), 12 (6), 16 (33), but especially in notebooks 5, 10, 16, though many of the songs were noted down more than once (cf. Broderick 1982a).

7 Correspondences with MNHL MS 450A. Bks. 5, 10, 16. Bk. 5: 1, Bks. 5, 16: 2 (1a/b) bring the figure to 8.

asterisk (i.e. 17/22) also find comment in JFSS.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Abraham Juan.* | 12. Oie as laa.* |
| 2. Dolley ny bleaney elley. | 13. Juan y Jaggad Keear.* |
| 3. As y mwyllin, mwyllin O. | 14. Shenn ven.* |
| 4. Cur assjeed as cap as cloak.* | 15. Ta Cashen ersooyl dys yn aarkey |
| 5. Goon dy linsey-wulsey.* | 16. Ta'n grine veg oarn |
| 6. Hinkin, winkin, clean suggane.* | 17. Tra vaim's my guilley veg.* |
| 7. Haink sooreyder nish gys dorrys ven-treoghe* | 18. Nancy t'ayns Lunnon.* |
| 8. Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien.* | 19. Yeeassee dooys y lheiney. |
| 9. Daunse Laa Boaldyn* | 20. Yn guilley dy roie.* |
| 10. Hi son Hughee as Hughee* | 21. Yn Unnysup.* |
| 11. Hop dy Ney.* | 22. Yn Unnysup.* |

In presenting the song-texts I have adhered to the following editorial format:

1. The formal titles of the songs are given in Standard Manx Orthography⁸ along with a translation in English, where applicable. They appear in their original form in the text- / song-rubric.
2. Next come details of the informant (name and place of residence or origin, where known, along with parish designation), then of the texts and tunes themselves.
3. The song-texts are printed diplomatically and in Standard Manx Orthography side by side and are provided underneath with an English translation and any additional information considered relevant. Comments on the song-texts and tunes by Anne Gilchrist and Lucy Broadwood appearing at the time in JFSS/VII/28-30 (1924-26) are reproduced here as being relevant in dating the entry of the song-texts into the Manx song tradition.
4. Finally, a linguistic commentry is made on the Manx texts themselves in the footnotes and in §§3, 4 at the end.

2. Manx song-texts from the Clague Music Collection (MNHL MSS. 448A [1,2,3]).

2.1. Abraham Juan

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/19:1 ent. *Abraham Juan*, C5/60-61, C10/128v, C16/41, MTSSF/II: 3-5 (C/5). A variant containing three stanzas was collected from Thomas Taggart, Grenaby, Malew on 27 August 1930 by Marstrander (M/IV: 2482-83; HLSM/I: 390-91). A version of eight stanzas is recorded in MNLH MD900 MS. 08307 (c.1830): 9-11 (cf. Broderick, forthcoming I)).

Tune: C2/18:2, C2/19:1 ent. *Abraham Juan*. The tune requires the last two lines to be sung twice.

Original text

O Quoi eh shoh ta ec my ghorras
Ta crankal own⁹ e dheiney

Text in Standard Manx Orthography

O quoi eh shoh ta ec my ghorrys
ta crankal ayn cha daaney

⁸ Except in song-text no. 8 where the title is given as in Clague. For a discussion here see in Appendix.

⁹ Representing the pronunciation /o:n/.

Nor ray mee hene town
dooyrt Abraham Juan¹⁰
As paar dy laueyn baaney
Nor ray mee hen town
dooyrt Abram Juan
As paar dy laueyn baaney

Nagh re mee hene t'ayn
dooyrt Abraham Juan
as piyr dy lauenyn baney
Nagh re mee hene t'ayn
dooyrt Abram Juan
as piyr dy lauenyn baney.

('Oh, who is this who is at may door? / who is knocking there so boldly? / Is it not I myself who is there / said Abraham Juan / wearing a pair of white gloves. / Is it not I myself who is there / said Abram Juan / wearing a pair of white gloves').

Anne Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28:173-74) prints the tune with text under the title *Piyr dy Lauenyn Baney* 'a pair of white gloves' and adds (p. 174):

This tune is a variant of the old dance tune "The Hempdresser" to which Burns wrote his song "The De'l's awa' wi' th' Excise-man" [...]. The verse may be nothing more than a dance-rhyme [...] (Gilchrist JFSS/VII/28: 174).

2.2. Dolley ny bleaney elley 'another bad year'

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/6:2 ent. *As I walked out one morning clear*. Not in JFSS. A variant of this text was recorded from Mrs. Annie Kneale, Ballagarrett, Bride, by the Irish Folklore Commission, April / May 1948 (cf. HLSM/I: 306-07).¹¹

Tune: C2/6:2 ent. *As I walked out one morning clear*, C2/9:3 ent. *Dullan ny vleiney elley* (no text), C3/2:3 ent. *Dullan ny vleiney elley* (no text).

Dullan ny vleiney elley
Dy vurrin eh rhympene
Veen¹² faagit as y treigit
coondit ny hedyn¹³ inneen
Veen faagit as veen treaghit
my corrag as my veal
Veen ceaut my shenn vraaghyn
Va kickit as corneil

Dolley ny [b]leaney elley
Dy vuiriney rhym pene
veign faagit as treigit
coondit ny henn inneen
Veign faagit as veign treigit
my c[h]orrag ayns my veal
Veign ceaut myr shenn vraagyn
va kickit ayns corneil.

('Another bad year / If I were to stop by myself / I would be left and abandoned / counted as an old maid / I

10 Pronunciation /dʒo:n/ to rhyme with *town* /to:n/.

11 viz. *Myr ooh ta mee dy jarroo / danjeyragh dy ve brisht / as gollrish shenn vraagyn / va ceaut ass ayns corneil / Faagit as treigit / as my corrag ayns my veal / as gollrish shenn v[r]aagyn / va ceaut ass ayns corneil* 'like an egg I am indeed / in danger of being broken / and like old shoes / which were thrown out into a corner. / Left and abandoned / and my forefinger in my mouth / and like old shoes / which were thrown out into a corner' (HLSM/I: 306-07).

12 *veen* would repr. /vi:n/, the pron. of *veign* (cf. HLSM/I: 80, Broderick 2011); common in the Faragher stories (cf. Broderick 1981-82). See also note 49.

13 Preocclusion became quite prevalent in LM whereby original fortis /L/, /N/, /M/, /NG/, in losing their fortis quality, would be preceded by the corresponding stop, viz. /dl/, /dn/, /bm/, /gn/ to differentiate them from their lenis counterparts (cf. HLSM/I: 162-163, III: 28-34). Originally monosyllabic, preocclusion developed into a disyllable during the course of the 19th-century. This particular example was seemingly heard by Clague as disyllabic. The omission of *-r* in the preceding *myr* is likely deliberate, as he probably did not hear it. Clague evidently did not know much, or any, Manx at all when he first started collecting material (a point also noted by Gilchrist in JFSS/VII/29: ix), and so took down the text as he heard it.

would be left and I would be abandoned / my forefinger in my mouth / I would be thrown like old shoes / that were kicked into a corner').

2.3. As yn mwyllin, mwyllin O 'and the mill, mill O'

Informant: Joseph Crellin, Colby AR.

Text: C1/25:3 ent. *As yn Mullin Mullin O as yn skeilley skeilly noa*, C5/52, C10/130r, C16/154. Here we have the refrain only. For the text with the first stanza see MTSSF/II: 6.

Tune: C1/25:3 ent. *As yn Mullin Mullin O as yn skeilley skeilly noa*.

[Refrain]

As yn Mullin Mullin O	As yn mwyllin, mwyllin O
As yn skeilley, skeilly noa	as yn skeilley, skeilley noa
As ny coggyn brish ayns y' vullyn.	as ny coggyn brisht ayns y vyllin.

('And the the mill, mill O / and the new shelling, shelling / and the cogs broken in the mill').

Incidents of this nature are common in folksong. A medieval French version ent. *Clap, clap, par un molin*. Anonymous. *Ars Nova* (1320-1400). Music from the Gothic era can be found in Broderick (2008: 245-247).

2.4. Cur assjeed as cap as cloak 'take off both cap and cloak'

Informant: Mrs. Tom Kennaugh, Ballakaigen ML.

Text: C2/10:2 (no title).

Tunes: C2/10:2 (no title), C3/3:2 ent. *Cur ass jig as cap as cloak*.¹⁴

Currus jig ¹⁵ as cap as cloak	Cur assjeed as <u>cap</u> as <u>cloak</u>
As Currus <i>eh seose</i> ¹⁶ er y clagh	as cur uss eh seose er y c[h]lagh
Ta ro vie as rogh aeaur	T'eh ro vie as ro gheyr
dy low ayn ushey marish y corp	dy loau ayns ushtey mârish y c[h]orp

Chyndaa dy hooil rhym William boght	Chyndaa dty hooill rhym, William Boght
As sweepy William Voght dys y grunt. ¹⁷	as <u>sweep</u> ee William [B]oght dys y g[h]runt.

('take off both cap and cloak / as put it¹⁸ up on the stone / It is too good and too dear / to rot in water with the body. Turn you eye to me, poor¹⁹ William / and she swept poor William to the ground (sea-bottom)').

Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/30: 302) prints the text under the title "Illiam Boght or Cur Uss Jeed...".

14 Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/30: 302) suggests that Clague entitled the second version of the tune (C3/3:2) in 6/8 time "Curry's Jig". This is not the case, however, as *Cur ass jig* can clearly be read.

15 *cur ass jig* in C3/3:2.

16 interlined.

17 *grunt* in Manx can refer to the bottom of the sea.

18 *eh* would suggest that the cap (?hood) and cloak were all the one garment.

19 *boght* can also mean 'silly, simple' (cf. K/26).

Concerning the text Gilchrist (*ibid.*) notes:

This is obviously a fragmentary version of "The Outlandish Knight", though how the villain came to be named "Illiam Boght" is obscure [...]. The nearest title to the Manx which I have seen is the "Sweet Willie" or "William" of Mr. Cecil Sharp's Appalachian versions. Other names for the knight are: "The Bluidy, or Baron, Knight", "Fause Sir John", "The Falsh Priest", "False Mess John", and "The Old Beau" (broadside). Child classes the various forms under "Lady Isabel and the Elfin Knight". The Manx fragments are as near "May Collin" in Child's H version as any; and the last line "She swept poor William to the ground" seems to mean the "Sea Ground", which occurs in "May Collin, v. 8: "For thei 'r oe'r good and costly / In the sea's ground to waste," and is understood in v. 11: "She took him hastily in her arms / And flung him in the sea" [...]. For note and copious references regarding the "Outlandish Knight" ballad, together with ten tunes, see *Journal* [JFSS] Vol. iv, pp. 116-123 (Gilchrist JFSS/VII/30: 301-02).

Concerning the tune Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/30: 302) suggests that it is "High-land in character" comparing it with tunes 7 and 8 in the journal *The Celtic Lyre*.

2.5. Goon dy linsey wulsey 'A gown of linsey-woolsey'

Informant: Mrs. Tom Kennaugh, Ballakaigen ML.

Text: C2/11:2 (no title). JFSS/VII/28:170.

Tunes: C2/11:2 (no title), C2/11:4 ent. *Gouyn dy linsey wunsey*, C3/3:4 ent. *Gouyn dy linsey wunsey*.

Goun dy linsy wunsey ²⁰	Goon dy linsey-wunsey / wulsey
as bussell vrow ²¹ saloon	as bussal vraew shalloon
Quoife shen lhing skeddán as	Quoif shenn lieen skaddán as
Ribbanaghyn spinaghyn shooín	rybbanaghyn speeinaghyn shuin ²²
As shenn bock bane ghoill lheid	As shenn bock bane goll eig
Share dy harn yn arroo asyn oaer ²³	share dy hayrn yn arroo ayns yn ouyr.

('A gown of linsey-woolsey / and a fine handkerchief of shalloon²⁴ / a cap of old herring-net and / ribbons of rush peelings / And an old white buck becoming decrepid / it is better to reap the corn in the autumn').

Regarding the above Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28:170) provides the following information:

This rhyme seems to be a burlesque of an old song in the same rhythm about "Big Linen Caps" ("Quoifyn Lieen Voar") of which Moore gives two verses, but without the tune, in his *Manx Ballads* [Moore 1896: 58] It is a satire on the fashionable dress of the day - the young women wearing silk gowns, big flax caps, neck ruffles and short mantles, "to induce the young men to follow them more."

20 with dissimilation of *l* to *n*.

21 The lenited form of the adj. *braew* indicates that *bussal* 'handkerchief, napkin' is treated here as a fem. noun - unless this is to be seen as "wild application" of gender? The term turns up only once in the Manx Bible (John XI, 44: *As haínk eshyn va marroo magh soillit cass as laue ayns aanrityn oanluckee: as bussal mysh e eddin* 'And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with graveclothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin') but without adjectival attribution. Neither Cregeen nor Kelly supplies gender attribution.

22 Otherwise *rybbanyn speeineigyn shuin* (cf. HLSM/I: 308-09).

23 Lenition of <f>, viz. Ø, after prep. + def. art. cf. *G anns an fhomhar* 'in the autumn'. In LM *f*- (as with *s*-, *t*-) generally remains unlenited, e.g. *ro feayr* [ra: 'fu:əɾ] 'too cold' (HLSM/II: 160 s.v. *feayr*), *feer foddey* [fi:ə fa:ðə] 'very far' (HLSM/II: 162 s.v. *feer*).

24 Gilchrist note (JFSS/VII/28: 170): "A light kind of woollen stuff, used for coat-linings, said to have derived its name from having been manufactured at Châlons-sur-Marne."

[...] (Gilchrist JFSS/VII/28: 170).

2.6. Hinkin winkin, clean suggane 'Hinkin, winkin, a cradle of straw'

Cradle song.

Informant: Tom Kermodé, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/35:3 ent. *Haink & Winking Hinkin / Winkin!*²⁵, JFSS/VII/28: 163.

Tune: C1/35:3 ent. *Haink & Winking Hinkin / Winkin!*, JFSS/VII/28: 163.

Haink + winkin clane suggane
Harrish ny sleashyn Joney Crome
Hank & winking clane suggane
Harrish ny sleashyn gimlad

Hinkin, winkin, clean suggane
harrish ny sleaystyn Joney croym
Hinkin winkin clean suggane
harrish ny sleaystyn gimlad

Hurro! dandy Davy Hurro! teff y reash
En vy²⁶ O, the dandy Davy
Simmie Tear Peter O, Nicky Kermad

Hurro! Dandy Davy, Hurro! Tiffy Reeast
Eayin vie O, the Dandy Davy
Simmie Teare, Peter O,
[Lhiannoo deyr], Nicky Kermad

('Hinkin, winkin, cradle of straw / over the shovels Joney croym (= 'bend') / Hinkin winkin cradle of straw / over the shovels a gimlet / Hurro, Dandy Davy, Hurro Tiffy Reeast (of the wasteland) / Good lambs O, the Dandy Davy / Simmie Tear, Peter O / dear child, Nicky Kermodé').

With regard to the text and tune Anne Gilchrist and Lucy Broadwood (JFSS/VII/28: 163) comment as follows:

Anne Gilchrist:

The tune has an odd likeness to the thirteenth-century English round "Sumer is icumen in". Most of this little cradle-song is of course nonsense, but "Hinkin, winkin" is interesting in connection with a straw cradle, because to "wink" means to creak, in the Isle of Man, where people speak of their new shoes as "winking", and where they used to take a pride in this proof of newness when walking up the aisle in them on a Sunday - so Archdeacon [John] Kewley [1860-1941] tells me. Creaking is just what might be expected of a straw cradle. "Hinkin" may be to the point also as possibly describing the joggling movement of a cradle rocked on an uneven floor. To 'henk' is an old word found in Orkney and Shetland, meaning to limp or halt in walking. Trolls are said to "henk" in their dances, like the troll-wife, Cuttie, who could not get a partner: "Sae I'll henk awa' mysel', co' Cuttie." Cf. also "Hinkum booby" - a Scottish dance of uncouth movements - AGG (Gilchrist JFSS/VII/28: 163).

Lucy Broadwood:

Dr. Clague's tune "Hinkin, winkin", in a slightly altered form, has been set to modern English words in praise of the Isle of Man, under the title "Mannin Veen." This is published as a part-song arranged by Dr. R[alph] Vaughan Williams [...]. [T]he tune belongs to the same type as several in Patrick

²⁵ Later insertion.

²⁶ This is either false lenition after a masc. noun (*eayn*, G *uan*) or expected lenition after its attenuated plural form, viz. *eayin vie*, cf. ScG *uain mhath*.

McDonald's *Highland Vocal Airs* (1781), e.g. Nos. 11, 21, etc. There are two old forms of the tune in Chappell's *Pop. Music*²⁷ [...]. Neither of these tunes in *Pop. Music* are as complete as the Manx version [...], the Manx tune may have preserved the oldest form - LEB (Broadwood JFSS/VII/28: 163).

2.7. Haink sooreyder nish gys dorrays y ven-treoghe 'a suitor came to the widow's door'

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/36:1 ent. *Haink soureyder nish gys dorrays ven treoghe*, C5/46, JFSS/VII/28: 136-137.

Tune: C1/36:1 ent. *Haink soureyder nish gys dorrays ven treoghe*, JFSS/VII/28: 136-137.

Haink soureyder nish gys dorrays ven treoghe	Haink sooreyder nish gys dorrays y ven-treoghe
As feill veagh eck's as feill veagh aym's	as failt veagh eck's as failt veagh aym's
Hi Ho will you be on	Hi, ho, will you be on?
I mean, said he, Ho, Ho, said she.	I mean, said he, Ho, ho, said she.
Hi Ho will you be on	Hi, ho will you be on?
I mean said he I'm a true young man.	I mean, said he, I'm a true young man.

('a suitor came now to the widow's door / and hired would she be to her and hired would she be to me / Hi, ho will you be one, etc.').

Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28: 136-37) regards this song as an off-shoot of "The Cauldrife Wooer" or "Brisk young Lad" ('There cam' a young man to my daddie's door') and points out that there are many comic courtships of this type, e.g. "Richard of Taunton Dean", "Joan to Jan", etc. (cf. JFSS/II/38).

With regard to the tune, Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28: 137) compares it with the "Whipsee diddledee dandy dee" form of "The Frog and Mouse" in Baring-Gould and Cecil Sharp's *Folk-Songs for Schools*.

2.8. Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien²⁸

May time dance.

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/37:3 ent. *Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien*, JFSS/VII/28: 181-182.

Tune: C1/37:3 ent. *Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien*, JFSS/VII/28: 181.

Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien	<i>Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien</i>
Hi! son hug eh as hug eh	Hi! son hug eh as hug eh
Ta hug eh ²⁹ rolley as daunsey	Ta Huggey rolley as daunsey

('We brought the summer with us / Hi for to him and to him / Huggey is rolling wild and dancing').

²⁷ The first is "By the border's side as I did pass," a "Ballad of Scottish Courtship," in the Ashmolean Mss. The second is "The Cavalilly man", a noirth county song (Broadwood JFSS/VII/28: 163).

²⁸ For a discussion of this phrase see in the Appendix below.

²⁹ *hug eh* or *Huggey* clearly derives from 'Hug eh' above which has not been understood but taken to be a person's name (also in the other two versions next).

2.9. Daunse Laa Boaldyn 'May time dance'

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/2:1 ent. *Hi son hugge Hug eh my fainy sourey lhien Daunse Laa Boaldyn*, JFSS/VII/28: 181.

Tune: C2/2:1 ent. *Hi son hugge Hug eh my fainy sourey lhien Daunse Laa Boaldyn*, JFSS/VII/28: 181.

Hi son huggey as huggey (3 times)
Ta huggey e rowley as dhonsey.
Hug he my fainy sourey lhien

Hi son Huggey as Huggey (3 times)
Ta Huggey rowley as daunsey
Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien

('Hi for to him and to him (3 times) / Huggey (Hughie) is rolling wild and dancing / We brought the summer with us').

2.10. Hi son Hughee as Hughee 'Hi for Hughee and Hughee'

May time dance.

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/22:1 ent. *Hi son Hughee son Hughee as Hughee Hi son Hughee as Hughee*, JFSS/VII/28: 182.³⁰

Tune: C2/22:1 ent. *Hi son Hughee son Hughee as Hughee Hi son Hughee as Hughee*, JFSS/VII/28: 182.

Hi son Hughee³¹ as Hughee
Ho son Hughee as Hughee
Willy Duddee & Charlie also
As Hi son Hughee as Hughee
Ta Hughee a rowdle³² dy gauns[ey]
Ta Nollagh a rowdle

Hi son Hughee as Hughee!
Hi son Hughee as Hughee!
Willy Duddee & Charlie also
As Hi son Hughee as Hughee
Ta Hughee rouyl³³ dy g[h]aunsey
Ta'n ollagh rouyl

('Hi for Hughee and Hughee / Hi for Hughee and Hughee / Willy Duddee & Charlie also / and hi for Hughee and Hughee / Hughee is running wild to dance / the cattle is running wild').

Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28: 182) astutely observes: "This May time dance [...] sounds to me very archaic. The words are obscure and probably corrupt." An attempt has seemingly been made here to make sense of the obscure text.

2.11. Hop dy Ney

³⁰ Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28: 182) entitles this song / tune *Hughee er rouyl dy ghaunsey*

³¹ *son Hughee* repeated in text.

³² For preclusion see footnote 13 above.

³³ cf. Ir. *rámhaille* 'a raving, speaking deliriously' < Eng. 'rave'.

Hollantide chant.

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/49:2 ent. *Hop dy nai*:³⁴ (Manx): Rhÿs (Bk. 6/95, 105, 113, 117-18),³⁵ Clague (1911: 26-29 from Tom Kermode, Bradda, ent. *Hop! Ta'n Oie* w. Eng. trans.), Moore (1896: 68, ent. *Hop-Tu-Naa*, various (oral), w. Eng. trans.), Roeder (1896: 184-186; versions from Ramsey (Eng.), 'A Bannag from the Mull' RU (Mx.), Surby RU (Mx.), Port Erin RU (Mx.; frag.), Ramsey (Eng.; frag.), Ballaugh (Mx; frag.), Glen Maye PA (Eng.)), Paton (1940-41): 76-82, JFSS/VII/28: 174-177.

(English): Train (1845 II: 123), Harrison (1873: 148 ent. *Hop-Tu-Naa*).

Tune: Clague C1/49:2 Tom Kermode, Bradda, ent. *Hop dy nai* (JFSS/VII/28: 174-177), Moore (1896: 243 I: Mrs. [Margaret Frissel] Ferrier, Castletown, II: Philip Cain ('Phillie the Desert'), Baldwin BN .

Manx *Hop-dy-Ney*, the name given to the last day of the Celtic year (31 October) on which children are wont to go from house to house chanting a rhyme and thereby earning sweets (nowadays money), does not appear to have any Celtic etymology. The phrase *Hop-dy-Ney* forms a vocable chorus to the rhyme chanted, which seems to have given its name to the event, formally *Sauin* (G *Samhain* 'end of summer'), *Oie Houney li*: 'hounəl (G *Oidhche Shamhna*) 'the night of Souney / *Samhna*, Eng. 'Hollantide' / 'Hallowe'en'. Many customs are associated with this event.

According to Kelly's *Dictionary* (1866 (1805)) (s.v. *Baal-Sauin*),

[...]. On this night [i.e. Hollantide] [...] "the women knead their dough to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven" [...]. Much ceremony is observed in making this cake, which is sacred to love [...] and is called the "soddag valloo" or dumb cake. Every woman is obliged to assist in mixing the ingredients, kneading the dough and baking the cake on glowing embers; and when sufficiently baked they divide it, eat it up, and retire to their beds backwards without speaking, from which silence the cake derives its name, and in the course of the night expect to see the images of the men who are destined to be their husbands [...] (Kelly's *Dictionary* s.v. *Baal-Sauin*).

Moore (1891: 125), in quoting the above, adds that the ingredients included "flour, eggs and eggshells, soot, &c." For further details see Moore (1891: 122-125), Clague (1911: 23-31), Paton 52/1 (1941): 52-58), Gilchrist (1924-26: 174-177).

Clague (1911: 31) has the following to say about this tradition:

On Hollantide Eve boys went into gardens and fields, and pulled cabbage and cabbage stalks, and then went about beating the doors.

Young girls and young boys gathered together to make spree, and they used to try different ways of finding out fortunes. When they had tried all the ways (methods) they knew, the girls went to bake the dumb cake. Nobody was to speak one word, and every one was to help in making the dough. It was baked on the ashes, or on the bake stone (griddle). When it was baked, it was broken up, and each girl had a piece of it. She went to bed walking backwards, and she would see a sign of her lover in a dream.

When they did not bake the dumb cake, they ate a salt herring, in the same way, and it would do quite as well (Clague 1911: 31).

³⁴ Clague adds: "may be "Noght ta'n Oie" - The Frist Night of the Celtic Year".

³⁵ cf. Broderick (forthcoming II).

Noght Oie Hownee Hop ta'n oie.

Noght Oie Houney, Hop-dy-Ney

('Tonight is Hollantide night, Hop-dy-Ney').

2.12. Oie as laa 'night and day'

Informant: Charles Faragher, Cross Four Ways ML.

Text: C1/27:1 ent. *Oie as laa*, C5/52, C10/130r, C16/154, Craine (1955: 52).

Tune: C1/27:1 ent. *Oie as laa*, JFSS/VII/28: 128, 29: 208, 30: 318-320.

Ben as cloan yms y Velaraght
Mannin Veg Veen y naggym arragh

Ben as cloan aym sy Vallaragh
Mannin Veg Veen cha n'aagym arragh.

('I have wife and children in Ballaragh / *Mannin Veg Veen*³⁶ ('wee Mannin dear') I'll never leave').

According to David Craine (Craine 1955: 51-52), this song was composed by Captain Henry Skillicorn (1678-1763),³⁷ who as a boy while playing his flute on the rocks below Ballaragh, Lonan, was carried off by a Bristol ship apparently engaged in providing cheap labour for planters in the West Indies. Craine (*ibid.*) continues:

He [Skillicorn] avenged himself on his captors by composing uncomplimentary rhymes in Manx which he sang to the unconscious objects of his abuse. One verse with which he has been credited voices his longing for home, and its end has a suspicion of the spirit which enabled him to survive and triumph:

Ogh as ogh, my graih Ballarragh
Vallarragh my chree, cha vaikym oo arragh
Ta mee my hassoo as my ghreeym rish y voalley
Cummal seose kiaull gys cloan ny moddee³⁸

('alas, alas, my love Ballaragh / Ballaragh of my heart, I shall see you no more / I stand with my back to the wall / keeping up music to the children of the dogs').

2.13. Untitled [Juan y Jaggad Keear 'Juan of the dark jacket']

Informant: Charles Faragher, Cross Four Ways ML.

Text: C1/27:2 (no title), Moore (1896: 46 (2st.)), JFSS/VII/28: 169.

Tunes: C1/27:2 (no title), JFSS/VII/28: 169; Moore (1896: 246).

Cock y gun eh ushey sheer
Shot eh Juan y jaggad Keear

Cock y gun eh woish y sheer
Shot eh Juan y Jaggad Keeir

³⁶ An intimate epithet for the Isle of Man treasured by Manxmen.

³⁷ For details of his life and times see Moore (1901: 161-162).

³⁸ For the rhyme here we would need the gen. pl. form *moddey*, viz. *cloan ny moddey*, at that time (late 17th-cent.) pronounced something like */klo:n nə 'mødə/ a construction which at the time of the verse's composition would almost certainly have been prevalent.

Holley *eh*³⁹ oie as toll y Creear⁴⁰
As Juan y Quirk eh creiney

Hoyll eh e oaie ayns tuill y c[h]reear
as Juan y Quirk [v']eh craaney

('he cocked the gun (and fired it) from the west / He shot Juan of the dark jacket / He pierced his face in holes like a sieve / and Juan Quirk he (was) trembling').

In commenting on the tune Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/218: 169) notes:

The tune above given is on the same rather unusual rhythmic pattern as three tunes I have noted in Lancashire to the singing-game "The Tinker-lairy Man" - alias "The Little Hielan' man", "The Hurdy-gurdy Man" [...]. All these very similar tunes seem to me to be relics of an old Gaelic dance-rhythm (Gilchrist JFSS/VII/28: 169).

2.14. Shenn ven 'old woman'

Informant: Tom Kermodé, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/34A:3 ent. *Shen Ven!*, JFSS/VII/28: 137.

Tune: C1/34A:3 ent. *Shen Ven!*, JFSS/VII/28: 137.

Shen ven Shen ven three feed blein as Kiare
Veesh goll y phoodey [rish yn fer]
as cha row ee (*sic*) toiggall mooar ec jeh eh
Sing fol fol fol dy laddie O

Shenn ven, shenn ven, tree feed blein as kiare
v'eeish goll dy phoosey [rish yn fer]
as cha row toiggall mooar eck jeh-eh
Sing fol, fol, fol, dy laddie O

('Old woman, old woman of sixty-four years / She was going to marry with the man / and she did not know much about him / Sing fol, fol, fol, fol dy laddie O').

Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28: 137) notes:

A version is given in Mr. Cecil Sharp's *Nursery Songs from the Appalachian Mountains* as "The Deaf Woman's Courtship". The Manx tune and refrain are both Welsh in character. There may be a Welsh as well as English and Scotch [Scottish] versions - AGG (Gilchrist JFSS/VII/28: 137).

2.15. Ta Cashen ersooyl gys yn aarkey 'Cashen is away to sea'

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/2:2 (no title but text), C5/46, C10/129v, C16/152.

Tune: C2/2:2 (text, no title) ent. *Ta Cashen ersooyl gys yn aarkey* (no text), C1/37: 2 Tom Kermodé, Bradda.

Ta Cashen ersooyl yn errica⁴¹
As shoh van delight echey rieau

Ta Cashen ersooyl [dys] yn 'aarkey
as shoh va'n delight⁴² echey rieau

³⁹ interlined.

⁴⁰ Note non-application of lenition in *creear* after masc. gen. def. art. (init. /x-/ in LM had largely become delenited to /k-/). See also note 56 below.

⁴¹ Note the epenthetic vowel between /r/ and /k/, G. *fairrge* (cf. HLSM/III: 144, Jackson 1955: 59-61, Thomson 1960: 116-126).

⁴² *taimys* C5/46. But this does not quite fit the metre, hence the English word.

Yn ven echey faaghit dyn cooney
As y thie woar⁴³ ersooyl lesh y guie

Yn ven echey faagit dyn cooney
as yn thie woar ersooyl lesh y geay.

('Cashen is away to sea / and this was ever his delight / His wife is left without help / and the kitchen (lit. 'big house') is away with the wind').

A parody.

2.16. Ta'n grine veg oarn 'the wee grain of barley'

Informant: Tom Kermodé, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/34A:1 ent. *Ta'n grine veg oarn*.

Tune: C1/34A:1 ent. *Ta'n grine veg oarn*.

Ta'n grine⁴⁴ veg oarn te grine eh mie
As daase rieu ayns y nai
Dy cur y shen ghunney⁴⁵ goll myr ny guillin
As guillin goll myr feaigh
As guillin goll myr feaigh

Ta'n grine veg oarn, t'eh grine cha mie
as daase rieu ayns yn 'aaie
dy c[h]ur s shenn ghooiney goll myr ny guillyn
as guillyn goll myr feeaih
as guillyn goll myr feeaih.

('the wee grain of barley, it is so good grain / and it always grew in the home-field / to make the old man go like the lads / and lads go like deer').

2.17. Tra vaim's my guilley veg aegagh as reagh 'when I was a wee lad happy and randy'

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/4:1 ent. *Admiral Benbow*, C5/46, C10/129v, C16/152, JFSS/VII/29: 213.

Tune: C2/4:1 ent. *Admiral Benbow*, JFSS/VII/28: 145.

Tune only: C1/38:1 ent. *Tra va mish my ghuilley beg as reeagh* 'when I was a wee and randy lad' (Tom Kermodé, Bradda), C1/31:2 ent. *Tra va mish roish nish my guilley beg* 'when I was before now a wee lad' (Tom Kermodé, Bradda).

Tra voyms my guilley veg⁴⁶ aegagh a reeagh
Cha row geayl aym dy toghey myr yom ben aeg buoiagh

Tra vaim's⁴⁷ my guilley veg aegagh as reeagh
cha row geill aym dy toghey myr yioin ben aeg bwaagh

43 *moar* C5/46. Here the len. adj. *woar* (G *mhór*) is common in Early Manx (17th-cent.) after the dative of the singular masculine, but even then gender was coming to be the dominant factor (cf. LDIM/92). Nevertheless, I suspect that *woar* here is a case of unhistorical application of lenition through uncertainty of gender.

44 *grine* 'grain' is interpreted as masc. in the only known example in the Manx Bible, viz. Exodus XVI, 14: [...] *er eaghtyr yn aasagh va grine beg runt, myn myr lieh-rio, er y thalloo* 'on the surface of the wilderness there lay (was) a small round thing, as small as the hoar-frost on the ground'. It is given as masc. in Cregeen (C/83), G *grán* m.

45 Even though no lenition would be expected with homorganic consonants (cf. HLSM/I: 39, II: 398 s.v. *shenn*), nevertheless the form *shenn ghooiney* (ScG *seann dhuine*) is commonly found in the Manx Bible, e.g. Judges XIX, 22 as *loayr ad rish y çhenn ghooiney* [...] 'and (they) spake to (...) the old man,' 1 Samuel XVII, 12: *v'eh goit son shenn ghooiney ayns laghyn Saul* 'and he was taken for an old man in the days of Saul,' Zechariah VIII, 4: *Nee shenn gheiney as shenn vraane foast cummal ayns straidyn Yerusalem* [...] 'There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem (...),' *et passim*.

46 Note retention of lenition in the adj. after a substantive originally lenited after the poss. part. *my* 'my'. This would have been common in EM (cf. Thomson 1969: 201-202, LDIM/92), also in the vocative (but with lenition only in the adj.): *c'red* (*sic*) *boayl ta shiu çheet woish, guilley veg* 'what place do you come from, laddie?' (HLSM/II: s.v. *guilley*).

47 *vaim's* 'I was', an older synthetic emphatic form of the 1sg. preterite of the substantive verb, not found in Phillips (c.1610; cf. GEM/149-151), but surviving into Late Manx (cf. HLSM/78), as here.

As nish ta ben aym as lhiannoo⁴⁸ veg nish [neesht]
As oh buy dy binsh⁴⁹ yn scollag aeg reesht.

As nish ta ben aym as lhiannoo veg neesht
as, oh buy, dy beign's yn scollag aeg reesht.

(' When I was a wee lad happy and randy / I did not want a dowry as I would get a pretty young woman / And now I have a wife and little child as well / and, oh boy, were I the young lad again!').

Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/29: 213) also supplies the following text:

Tra voym's roish nish ny guilley veg	Tra vaim's roish nish ny guilley veg
She uss y cheayn (ayns cheedyn) hug lhen delight	she ayns y cheayn / cheedn ⁵⁰ hug lhen <u>delight</u>
Liorish dhoo as dheiney as mollagh mraane	Liorish dhooghys deiney as mollaght mraane
She daa ven aeg torragh v'aym	she daa ven aeg torragh v'aym.

('when I was before now a wee lad / it was at sea / in wantonness that brought us delight / (It is) by men's nature and cajoling women / it is two young woman I have (made) pregnant').

As parallels for the texts, Gilchrist (*ibid.*) suggests for *Tra vaim's roish nish* and for *Tra vaim's my guilley veg* "My jewel, my joy" in Joyce's *Old Irish Folk-Music*, said to have been sung in Cork around 1790. This may give us an idea when the Manx versions entered Manx tradition.

2.18. Nancy [ayns] Lunnon - What we suffer at sea

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/3:1 ent. *Nance [t'ayns] Lunnon What we suffer at sea !*, JFSS/VI/29: 214-215.

Tune: C2/3:1 ent. *Nance [t'ayns] Lunnon What we suffer at sea !* JFSS/VII/28: 148-149.

Dinsh dhyt ta yn surranse ec y Keadyn
Ta Te ta guighyn shedey dy styrm as sheen

Dinsh [mee] dhyt, ta yn surranse ec y keayn
tra ta geayaghyn sheidey dy sterrym as sheein.

('I told you the suffering we are going through at sea / when the winds blow in storm and gusts ...').

With regard to the text, Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/29: 214) has a form taken from the notebook (1925) under the title *Insh dou cre t'ad surranse ec y cheayn* ['tell me what they suffered at sea']. Gilchrist (*ibid.*) adds that this is a Manx version of "Pretty Nancy of Yarmouth" (or London), alias "Farewell, lovely Nancy", cf. JFSS/III: 103, 272, JFSS/VI: 37.

With regard to the tune. Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28: 149) has it as a "major" variant of "Adieu, lovely Nancy" / "Farewell, lovely Nancy", also the Sussex sea-song "George Keary" (JFSS/VI: 34).

2.19. Yeeassee dooys y lheiney 'lend me the shirt'

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU.

48 *lhiannoo* 'child' is normally interpreted as masc. in the Manx Bible: Matthew XVIII, 2, 4, 5 *lhiannoo beg* 'a little child', Ir./ScG. *leanbh* m. Len. in the adj. *beg* here is likely due to uncertainty of gender.

49 *binsh* [bi:nʃ] is the usual pron. of *beign's* (dep. impf. of subst. vb.) 'I would be' (cf. HLSM/I: 80, II: 472 s.v. *veign*, Broderick 2011). See also note 12 above.

50 Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/29: 213) for *cheayn* suggests *cheedyn* from Scots *keady* 'wanton', as this would fit the context better. If the informant heard an Irish version of the song in Cork, then that would suggest he was away at the mackerel fishing off the southern coast of Ireland.

Text: C1/34A:2 ent. *Yeassee dhoos y lheinney*.

Tune: C1/34A:2 ent. *Yeassee dhoos y lheinney*.

Yeassee dhoos y lheinney
myr vel ee lane glen feu
As eeckym oo back dy onneraght
Tra higgym ven ym dy nieu
Tra higgym ven ym dy nieu

Yeeassee doos y lheinney
myr vel ee lane glen feu
as eeckym oo back dy onneragh
tra hig yn ven aym dy nieu
tra hig yn ven aym dy nieu

('Lend me the shirt / as it is fully clean so / and I shall pay you back with honour / when my wife comes to spin / when my wife comes to spin').

2.20. Yn guilley dy roie 'the boy to run'

Informant: Mrs. Tom Kennaugh, Ballakaigen ML.

Text: C1/9:4 ent. *Yn guilley dy roie*, C5/52, C10/130r, C16/153, JFSS/VII/30: 314.

Tune: C1/9:4 ent. *Yn guilley dy roie*.

Yn ghilley de roie yn guilley dy spei
Veh rieau ayns Nalben beg
Veh guilley feer onneraght
dy bee eh row er ghed

Yn guilley dy ruy, yn guilley dy speiy
v'eh rieau ayns Nalbin Beg
V'eh guilley feer onneragh
erbe dy row eh geid.

('the boy to run, the boy to hoe / he was ever in (dear) wee Scotland / He was a very honest boy / were it not for the fact that he stole').

This would be the translation of the foregoing text. However, in C16/38, i.e. earlier on in the same manuscript, we find a similar text as stanza 2 in a three-stanza song (presumably sung to the same tune as noted above?) entitled *Yn Guilley Ruy* 'the red-haired boy', where the first line of the second stanza runs as follows: *Ta'n guilley ruy yn guilley s'bwaaee* 'the red-haired boy is the handsomest boy'. The full text can be found in MTSSF/II: 14. This version would seem to represent the original song.

The following comment by Lucy Broadwood (JFSS/VII/30: 314) concerning the tune refers to the text above:

This tune is a fragmentary version of a favourite air to the popular ballad "The Farmer's Boy" which has the refrain "To plough, to sow, to reap, to mow, And be a farmer's boy". It looks as if this Manx fragment might come from a parody of the original song (in which the homeless boy, through his merits, becomes his employer's son-in-law). - LEB (Broadwood JFSS/VII/30: 314).

2.21. Yn Unnysup 'the Hunt is up'.

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU (coll. "14.i.96").

Text: C1/48:1 ent. *Yn Unnysup*, C5/54, C16/158, JFSS/VII/28: 193.

Tune: C1/48:1 ent. *Yn Unnysup*, JFSS/VII/28: 193.

Hi Juan Jiggison, Ho Juan Jiggison	Hi Juan Jiggison, Ho Juan Jiggison
Daa oor roish y laa, buy	daa oor roish y laa, buy
Quoi ta bee t'ayn eh lhie marish ben woinney ⁵¹ elley	Quoi erbee ta ny lhie mârish ben woinney elley
Teh boght ta yirree trau traa, buy.	t'eh boght dy irree ayns traa, buy.

('Hi Juan Jiggison, Ho Juan Jiggison / two hours before daybreak, boy / Whoever lies with another man's wife / is poor to get up in time, boy!').

2.22. Hi! yn Unnysup 'Hi! for the fiddler's money'.

Informant: Margaret Clague.

Text: C1/48:2 ent. *Hi! yn Unnysup*, JFSS/VII/30: 192-193.

Tune: C1/48:2 ent. *Hi! yn Unnysup*, JFSS/VII/30: 192-193.

Hi er yn Unnysup, Hi er yn Unnysup	Hi er yn Unnysup, Hi er yn Unnysup
Daa oor roish y laa	daa oor roish y laa
Dy bee quoi ta lhie marish ben woinney elley	Quoi erbee ta lhie mârish ben woinney elley
T'eh boght dy talkal traa	t'eh boght dy talkal traa

('Hi on the Unnysup, Hi on the Unnysup / two hourse before daybreak / If anyone would lie with another man's wife / he is poor to talk timely').

Cyril Paton (Paton n.d. [1940-41]: 29) has a short note about this tradition in Man:

In early times the household was aroused by a fiddler. According to a poem⁵² written in Manx at some time previous to 1729, before daybreak on New Year's morning the fiddler would come to the door and rouse the household, calling each one of them by name "and fill every soul with happiness and lover". His wife, "with face neat and clean", turns up next day to ask for his fee, and gets "a good cut of meat or a good gift of wine," and goes home well laden after blessing the cattle and the calves.

I believe that the English tune known as The Hunt is up was commonly played at this visit. These words, corrupted in the south of the Island into "Unnysup" and in the north of the Island into "Wandescop"⁵³ are used for the gifts given to the [...] performers at Christmas [...].

This custom of the fiddler arousing the household has been long obsolete (Paton n.d. [1940-41]: 29).

According to Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/30: 193), "the Manx words of the two "Unnysup" versions are derived from a traditional English verse to the "Hunt's-up" tune."

3. Linguistic comment

51 This would repr. *G dhuine*, with labialisation in the Mx. form from the following high back vowel /u/, also in 2.19b. This line with the form *ben ghooiney elley* finds parallels in the Manx Bible, e.g. Leviticus XX, 10: *As y dooinney ta foiljagh brishey poosey rish ben ghooiney elley* [...]. 'And the man that committeth adultery with another man's wife (...)'.
52 According to Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/30: 194), a carval from the Philip Corkill ms. carval book brought to light by Cyril Paton goes into some detail about the "hunsupping" tradition in Man. The carval *Dy resooney my charjyn dayer* is endorsed "Bilt by doctor Walker 1646. And copies by Thomas Steph'en of Ballaugh in 1760." This probably refers to Dr. William Walker (1679-1729), Vicar-General of Man (1712-1729), in spite of the date of 1646 (cf. Moore 1901: 21-23).

53 "Hunt is up" → "Andisop" → "Wandescop" (cf. Gilchrist JFSS/VII/30: 192).

As the foregoing song-texts were collected during the period of increasing obsolescence in Manx,⁵⁴ aspects of attrition that were taking place in spoken Manx at that time (1890s) may also be found in the song-texts. In the course of the process of attrition in Late Manx, some thirty-six developments are noted, information about which can be found in LDIM/77-167. Not all are represented here, however. Those finding witness in the song-texts are mainly morphological and morphosyntactical. The examples are given in Standard Manx Orthography for ease of clarity. The paragraphing containing initial '2' refers to the numbering of the above song-texts.

3.1. Phonology

- 3.1.1. Unhistorical application of lenition through uncertainty of gender, etc. (LDIM/103).

2.2. Dullan ny vleeaney elley	/v/ < /b/	Dolley ny bleeaney elley
2.4. William Voght	/v/ < /b/	William Boght.
2.16. grine veg oarn	/v/ < /b/	grine beg oarn.
2.17. lhiannoo veg	/v/ < /b/	lhiannoo beg.
2.15. thie woar	/w/ < /m/	thie moar.

Note that the main deficiency here is the spirantisation of /b/ to /v/ in postposed adjectives, brought on probably from uncertainty of gender leading to a feeling that a lenited form sounded more "Manx".

3.2. Morphophonology

- 3.2.1. Non-application of lenition (HLSM/I: 7-20, LDIM/94-103)

2.3. ben aeg bwaagh	/b-/ → /v-/	ben aeg vwaagh.
2.5. shenn bock bane	/b-/ → /v-/	shenn vock bane. ⁵⁵
2.4. dys y grunt	/g-/ → /γ-/	dys y ghrunt.
2.10. rouyl dy gauns[ey]	/d/ → /γ/ → /g/	rouyl dy ghauns[ey] (rad. <i>daunsey</i>).
2.15. lesh y geay	/g-/ → /γ-/	lesh y gheay.
2.17. tra vaim's my guilley veg ...	/g-/ → /γ-/	tra vaim's [...] my ghuilley veg ...
2.4. mârish y corp	/k-/ → /x-/	mârish y chorp.
2.13. tuill y creear	/k-/ → /x-/	tuill y chreear. ⁵⁶
2.2. my corrag	/k-/ → /x-/	my chorrag.

⁵⁴ For details of this see Broderick (1999).

⁵⁵ retained in the adj. as the substantive *bock* is masc. In EM all attributive adjectives would have been lenited (cf. Thomson 1969: 201-202, LDIM/93).

⁵⁶ *creear* 'sieve' is treated here as masc., though Cregeen marks it as fem. (C/49). It is masc. in Ir./ScG. *criathar*. So far as can be assessed, *creear* is attested only once in the Manx Bible (Amos IX, 9 *myr ta arroo er ny reealley ayns creear* 'like the corn is sifted in a sieve'), and then without any adjectival attribution. Kelly (K/56) does not mark the gender at all.

2.16. dy cur /k-/ → /x-/ dy **chur**.

Note that the deficiency here is the loss of the voiced and voiceless velar spirants /ɣ-/ and /x-/ in Late Manx, almost certainly on the analogy of their absence in English.

3.3. Morphosyntax / Syntax

- 3.3.1. Decomposition of prepositional pronouns (LDIM/134-135)

2.14. cha row toiggal mooar eck **jeh-eh** → cha row toiggal mooar eck **jehsyn**.

- 3.3.2. Simplification in the indefinite predicate (LDIM/132-134)

2.2. coondit **ny** ('in his') henn inneen → coondit **my** (G *imo*) henn inneen.
2.17. tra vaim's roish nish **ny** guilley veg ... → tra vaim's roish nish **my** ghuilley veg ...

Usually there was concord in the preposition + possessive particle, but already in CM this was becoming generalised in the 3sg. masc. (as in the two examples above) irrespective of person or number of the antecedent (LDIM/132-133).

3.4. Lexicon and phraseology

- 3.4.1. Transfer of English for native words / Use of English loanwords (LDIM/146-148)

2.2. as kickit ayns corneil → as *brebbit* ayns corneil (Mx. *brebbey*, G *breabadh*).
2.3. as ny coggyn brisht → as ny *coggyn*⁵⁷ brisht (Mx. *cog*, G *fiacail-rotha*).
2.4. as sweep ee William Boght ... → as *skeab* ee William Boght (Mx. *skeabey*, G *sguabadh*).
2.13. cock-y-gun eh⁵⁸ → No Manx equivalent known.
2.13. shot eh Juan y Jaggad Kear → *lhiég* eh Juan y Jaggad K. (Mx. *lhiéggal*, G *leigeil*).
2.15. as shoh va'n delight echey rieau → as shoh va'n *taitnys*⁵⁹ echey rieau (G *taitneas*).
2.17. she ayns y cheen hug lhien delight → she ayns y cheen hug lhien *taitnys* (G *taitneas*).

3.5. Summary

As can be seen, the deviations from Standard Classical Manx (i.e. that of the Manx Bible) in our sample are to be found in four areas:

⁵⁷ Mx. *feeacklyn* 'teeth' (ScG. *fiacilan*) does not seem to have been used for 'cogs' in Manx, as in Ir./ScG., for which the English word was used, as here. The term does not turn up in the Manx Bible.

⁵⁸ Note that the Eng. verb and its object are linked into one unit in Manx.

⁵⁹ as supplied in C5/46.

1. Phonology, 2. Morphophonology, 3. Morphosyntax / Syntax, 4. Lexicon and phraseology.

3.5.1. Phonology:

3.5.1.1. Unhistorical application of lenition through hypercorrection, etc. 5 exx.

3.5.2. Morphophonology:

3.5.2.1. Non-application of lenition 10 exx.

3.5.3. Morphosyntax / Syntax:

3.5.3.1. Decomposition of prepositional pronouns 1 ex.

3.5.3.2. Simplification in the indefinite predicate 2 ex.

3.5.4. Lexicon and phraseology:

3.5.4.1. Transfer of English for native words / Use of English loanwords 7 exx.

That is to say, the main deviation in our sample lies essentially in one area: Morphophonology (10/25 = 40%), with minor disturbance in the remaining areas individually (5/25 = 20%, 3/25 = 12%, 7/25 = 28%), but collectively forming a sizeable majority (15/25 = 60%).

1. Phonology:	5 exx.	
2. Morphophonology:	10 exx.	
3. Morphosyntax / Syntax:	3 exx.	
4. Lexicon and phraseology:	7 exx.	Total: 25 exx.

4. Maintaining the status quo

As will be seen here, the main consistency in the song-texts are the common rules of grammar adhered to when Manx was still a vibrant and living language. Again, for ease of reference the few examples we have here are given in Standard Manx Orthography.

Two main areas are affected: Morphophonology and Morphology.

4.1 Morphophonology

- 4.1.1. Retention of historical lenition (HLSM/I: 7-20)

- 4.1.1.1. After preposition + def. art. in the singular prepositional case (HLSM/I: 13-14)

2.3. *ayns y vyllin* 'in the mill' (Mx. *mwyllin*, G *muileann*).

2.5. *ayns yn ouyr* 'in the autumn' (Mx. *fouyr*, ScG *foghar*).

2.15. *ta Cashen ersooyl [dys] yn aarkey* 'Cashen is away to (the) sea' (Mx. *faarkey*, G *fairrge*).

2.16. *ayns yn aaie* 'in the homefield' (Mx *faaie*, G *faidhche*).

- 4.1.1.2. After preposed adjectives and particles (HLSM/I: 19-20, 39)

2.2. *shenn vraagyn* 'old shoes' (Mx. *shenn*, G *sean(n)*).

2.4. *t'eh ro vie as ro gheyr* 'it (the cap and cloak) is too good and too dear / expensive'
(Mx. *mie*, *deyr*, G. *ma(i)th*, *daor*).

- 4.1.1.3. After the possessive adjectives *my* 'my', *dty* 'your (sg.)', [*e* 'his'] (HLSM/I: 9-10)

2.1. *O quoi eh shoh ta ec my ghorrys* 'Oh, who is this who is at my door' (Mx. *dorrys*, G *doras*).

2.2. *ayns my veeal* 'in my mouth' (Mx. *beeal*, G. *béal*, *beul*).

2.4. *dty hooill* 'your eye' (Mx. *sooill*, G *súil*).

- 4.1.1.4. After the particle *dy* before the verbal noun (HLSM/I: 15)

2.10. *ta Huggey rouyl dy gaunsey* 'Huggey is in a frenzy to dance' (Mx. *daunsey*, ScG. *dannsadh*),
with delention of /γ-/ to /g-/.

4.2. Morphology

- 4.2.1. Plural forms in monosyllabic adjectives (HLSM/I: 38)

2.1. *piyr dy lauenyn baney* 'a pair of white gloves' (Mx. *bane*, *baney*, G *bán*, *bána*).

- 4.2.2. Plural forms of the definite article in *ny* (unreduced) (HLSM/I: 72)

2.3. *ny coggyn brisht* 'the cogs broken' (Mx. *cog*, G *fiacail-rotha*).

2.6. *harrish ny sleaystyn* 'over the shovels' (Mx. *sleayst*, G *sluasaid*).

- 4.2.3a. Use of the genitive singular (HLSM/I: 28-29)

2.5. *ribbanaghyn speeinaghyn shuin* 'ribbons of rush-peelings' (lit. 'peelings of rush').

(Mx. *ribban*, *speeineig*, *shuin*, G *rioban*, *spionadh vn.*, *simhin*).

2.7. *gys dorrys y ven-treoghe*⁶⁰ 'to the widow's door' (Mx. *ben-treoghe*, G *baintreabhach*, *-aigh*).

- 4.2.3b. Use of the genitive plural (HLSM/I: 29)

2.5. *ribbanaghyn speeinaghyn shuin* 'ribbons of rush-peelings'.

(Mx. *ribban*, *speeineig*, *shuin*, G *rioban*, *spionadh vn.*, *simhin*).

All examples show genitive by position, not by inflection.

- 4.2.4. Use of synthetic forms of the verb (HLSM/I: 86)

⁶⁰ This is the nom. form (G *baintreabhach*, g. *baintreabhaigh*). So far as is known, no gen. form is recorded in Manx. The form *ben traëoi* in Phillips (Luke VII, 12) may repr. the old dative (G *baintreabhaighe*). It appears in the sentence *as vai na ben traëoi* 'and she was a widow'.

- 4.2.4.1. Habitual present / Future (HLSM/I: 86, 102-103)

2.12. *cha n'aagym arragh* 'I shall never leave' (G *chan *fhágfaim*).

2.19. *as eeckym oo back dy onneragh* 'and I'll pay you back honourably' (G **íocfaim*).

2.19 *tra hig yn ven aym dy nieu* 'when my wife comes to spin' (G *thig*).

- 4.2.4.2. Imperfect (HLSM/I: 86, 103, 105)

2.2. *dy vuirriney rhym pene* 'if I were to stay by myself' (G *dhá bhfuirighinne*).

2.2. *veign faagit as veign treigit* 'I would be left and I would be abandoned' (G *bhíthinn*).

- 4.2.4.3. Optative (HLSM/I: 150)

2.17. *as oh buy dy beign's yn scollag aeg reesht*

'and oh boy, were I the young lad again' (G *go mbeinnse*)

- 4.2.4.4. Preterite (HLSM/I: 104-105)

2.13. *hoyll eh e oaie* 'he pierced his face' (G *thoill*).

2.16. *as daase rieu ayns yn aaie* 'and it always grew in the homefield' (G *d'fhás*).

2.17. *tra vaim's my guilley veg...* 'when I was a young lad...' (G *bháimse*).

2.17. *she ayns y cheen hug lhien delight* 'it was in wantonness that brought us delight' (G *thug*).

2.18. *dinsh [mee] dhyt ta yn surranse ec y keayn* 'I told you the suffering we had at sea' (G *d'innis*).

- 4.2.4.4. Conditional (phrase) (HLSM/II: 152 s.v. *erbe dy*)

2.20. *erbe dy row eh geid* 'were it not for the fact that he stole' (G *mura (m)béadh go*)

- 4.2.5. Imperative (HLSM/I: 87-88)

2.19. *yeasee dooys y lheiney* 'lend me the shirt' (G *iasaigh*).

- 4.2.6. Use of copula constructions (HLSM/I: 93-97)

2.1. *nagh re mee hene t'ayn* 'is it not myself who is there?' (ScG *nach e mí fhìn a tha ann*)

2.17. *she ayns y cheen hug lhien delight* 'it was in wantonness that brought us delight' (G *is e*).

4.3. Summary

As we see above, the examples we have elicited are concerned with maintaining the status quo which is to be found in two areas, namely, 1. Morphophonology, 2. Morphology.

4.3.1. Morphophonology

4.3.1.1. Retention of historical lenition.	
4.3.1.1.1. After preposition + def. art. in the singular prepositional case	4 exx.
4.3.1.1.2. After preposed adjectives and particles	2 exx.
4.3.1.1.3. After the possessive pronouns <i>my</i> 'my', <i>dy</i> 'your (sg.)', [<i>e</i> 'his']	3 exx.
4.3.1.1.4. After the particle <i>dy</i> before the verbal noun	1 ex.
	Total: 10 exx.

4.3.2. Morphology

4.3.2.1. Plural forms (monosyllabic adj. / definitie article	2 exx.
4.3.2.2. Genitive (sg. & pl.)	3 exx.
4.3.2.3 Synthetic forms of the verb:	
4.3.2.3.1. Habitual present / future	3 exx.
4.3.2.3.2. Imperfect	2 exx.
4.3.2.3.3. Optative	1 ex.
4.3.2.3.4. Preterite	5 exx.
4.3.2.3.5. Conditional	1 ex.
4.3.2.4. Imperative	1 ex.
4.3.2.5. Copula	2 exx.
	Total: 20 exx.

All told: 30 exx.

5. Conclusion

Although on the deficit side we have twenty-five examples and thirty on the credit side, the evidence at our disposal indicates the following:

1. That the songs, linguistically speaking, stem from a period when Manx was a vibrant language in full flow, c.1800, if not earlier.
2. That the songs continued on in Manx tradition and were collected (c.1890) during the period of obsolescence in Manx during which loss in the areas of Phonology, Morphophonology, Morphosyntax / Syntax, Lexicon and Phraseology was already underway.

In other words, the linguistic developments found in the song-texts recorded in the Clague Music Collection run partially in tandem with developments taking place in the spoken language at the same time, according to our sample. Nevertheless, their grammar remains more or less intact.

6a. Manx parish abbreviations

AN - Andreas.	BR - Bride.	LE - Lezayre.	ML - Malew.	SA - Santan.
AR - Arbory.	CO - Conchan.	LO - Lonan.	MR - Marown.	
BA - Ballaugh.	GE - German.	MA - Maughold.	PA - Patrick	
BN - Braddan.	JU - Jurby.	MI - Michael.	RU - Rushen.	

6b. Abbreviations

- AGG - Anne G. Gilchrist (Gilchrist 1924-26).
Atlas - Atlas of Irish History (Duffy 2000).
BID - Baase Illiam Dhone (Broderick 1982b).
C/ - Cregeen's *Dictionary* (Cregeen 1835).
CM - Classical Manx (of the Manx Bible, 18th-cent.)
C1, 2, 3, etc. refer to the Clague Music Collection, MNHL MS 448A [1,2,3], MNHL MS 449B.
C5, C10, C16, etc. refer to the Clague song notebooks, MNHL MS 450A.
coupl. - couplet(s).
Di. - Dineen's *Dictionary* (Dinneen 1927).
Dw. - Dwelly's *Dictionary* (Dwelly 1911).
EM - Early Manx (17th-century).
ent. - (song / tune) entitled.
ex(x). - example(s).
G - Gaelic.
GEM - A Glossary of Early Manx (Thomson 1954-57).
HLSM - Handbook of Late Spoken Manx (Broderick 1984-86).
Ir. - Irish.
JFSS - Journal of the Folksong Society.
K. - Kelly's *Dictionary* (Kelly 1866(1805)).
LDIM - Language Death in the isle of Man (Broderick 1999).
LM - Late Manx (Late 19th- / 20th-centuries).
LSM - Late Spoken Manx (Late 19th- / 20th-centuries).
MM - Manx Museum.
MNHL - Manx National Heritage Library.
ModIr. - Modern Irish.
MPP - Manx Prose Pieces (Broderick, forthcoming).
MTSSF/I - Manx Traditional Songs and Song-Fragments I (Broderick 1980-81).
MTSSF/II - Manx Traditional Songs and Song-Fragments II (Broderick 1982a).
Mx. - Manx.
n.d. - no date.
OIr. - Old Irish.
pc.- personal communication.
Phillips - Bishop John Phillips' Manx trans. of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, c.1610 (Moore & Rhÿs 1893-94).
PNIM - Place-Names of the Isle of Man (Broderick 1994-2005).
r - recto.
rad. - radical (form).
refr. - refrain.
RT - Rudolf Thurneysen 1975.
ScG. - Scottish Gaelic.
v - verso.

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Appendix

2.8/9. *Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien*

The song-title *Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien* would represent Ir. *thugamar féin a' samhradh linn* 'we (have) brought the summer with us', a traditional Irish song associated with May-Day celebrations of uncertain provenance and antiquity. In this context Sorcha Nic Lochlainn (2013: 123, fn.12), in discussing this tradition in Ireland, notes:

[Edward] Bunting [1773-1843] tells us that *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn* ('We brought the summer with us') "was sung by the band of virgins that went out of Dublin to welcome the duke of Ormond when he landed in Ireland [as Lord Lieutenant in 1662]" (Bunting 1996 [1796], iv). There is a strong correlation between this 'band of virgins' (that is, marriageable women) and the women who performed the *cepóc*⁶¹ in *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó*: that is, *mná óentama Ulad ocus a n-ingena macdacht* (Thurneysen 1969 [1935], 19) - 'the single women of the Ulaid and their marriageable girls'. *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn* belongs to the tradition of May-time choral songs (see Ní Uallacháin 2003: 96-130); given that the refrains of such choral songs were not fixed and could be transferred from one song to another (see Costello 1919, 67-8), the seasonal refrain could well have been the basis for a new composition (perhaps improvised? [...]) in the context described by Bunting. Indeed, the use

61 *cepóc* OIr. f. gsg. *cepóce*, *cepóige* 'some kind of choral song' (RT/39), (ModIr. *ceapóg* 'a green plot before a house, a quire [choir]-song' (Di.178), ScG. *ceapag* 1. 'verse or verses composed impromptu, 6. carelessly sung verse' (Dw.181). Not in Manx. Nic Lochlainn (pc. 26.04.2018) explains *cepóc* as "a little-understood practice which seems to have involved groups of women coming out and singing choral songs to celebrate the arrival of high-status men.". However, as noted above, the basic meaning of ModIr. *ceapóg* is 'a green plot before a house', then 'a quire[choir]-song'. Ní Uallacháin (2003: 124) notes that the song *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn* is also known in Oriel as *Babóg na Bealtaine* 'the May Baby / Dolly' in which *babóg* would refer to a young girl playing the part of the "Queen of May / Summer" accompanied by a procession also of young girls. When the procession reached any dwelling house the attendants would exclaim to the persons inside: *Seo chugaibh an samhradh - deanaidhe umhlacht don tsamhradh* 'here (comes) to you the summer - do ye obeisance to the summer / garland / *babóg* / Queen of May / Summer'. As the exclamation (perhaps in the form of a chant) was uttered on the *ceapóg* (green plot in front of the house), the *ceapóg* in time seemingly came to refer to the chant itself?

of a seasonal refrain may in fact have been appropriate on this occasion; Martin (2008: 131) has speculated on the possible connection between songs in praise of a hero and seasonal celebration. This evidence is far from conclusive, but we must at least consider the possibility that the *cepóc* or a similar type of song was still being performed in Ireland well into the seventeenth century (Nic Lochlainn 2013: 123, fn.12).

Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin (2003: 121-130) notes that the song *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn* is associated with the calendar customs of *Beltaine* or May time and is a partner song of *Amhrán na Craoibhe* 'song of the garland' in Oriel (G *Airgialla*; a region in south-east Ulster that takes in parts of Armagh, Monaghan and Louth⁶²) in which *Samhradh* 'summer' is to be interpreted as the garland representing a fertile summer ('we brought the summer / garland with us'). With regard to the song itself Ní Uallacháin (2003: 125) adds:

The song belongs to one of the oldest types in the Irish song tradition, though the earliest version appears about 1745, it is undoubtedly older [...]. There is some evidence that this song was also danced during the singing of it (Ní Uallacháin 2003: 125).

Ní Uallacháin (ibid.: 125-126) goes on to tell us that the dance, apparently known as *Rinca Fada* 'long dance', is also associated with the May time celebrations and "is still practised on rejoicing occasions in many parts of Ireland;"

a king and queen are chosen from among the young persons who are the best dancers, the queen carries a garland composed of two hoops placed at right angles and fastened to a handle; the hoops are covered with flowers and ribbands [...]. The most remote couple from the king and queen first pass under; all the rest of the line linked together follow in succession; when the last has passed the king and queen suddenly face about and front their companions; this is often repeated during the dance and the various undulations are pretty enough, resembling the movement of a serpent [...]. This dance is practised when the bonfires are lighted up, the queen hailing the return of summer in a popular Irish song beginning *Thua mair sein en souré ving* (We lead on summer) [...] (Ní Uallacháin 2003: 125-126).⁶³

However, according to Sorcha Nic Lochlainn (pc. 26.04.2018), the tradition is seemingly not found in Scotland. She notes:

[...] in a wide-ranging study of the Scottish corpus I have never found anything that resembles the "Samhradh" refrain. Which is interesting, given the refrain's presence in several Manx sources as well as its presence all over Ireland as part of seasonal rituals (Sorcha Nic Lochlainn pc. 26.04.2018).

Nic Lochlainn (pc. 25.04.2018) notes also that Manx versions seem to indicate some sort of rivalry or element of ritual combat, as in Ireland. This can perhaps be seen in the terms *rouyl as daunsey* 'running wild and dancing' implying excessive activity as part of such rituals. The earliest known description of May-Day traditions in Man is to be found in George Waldron (1690-c.1730)⁶⁴ (Waldron 1744: 95-96). His description, put together as part of his history of the Isle of Man in 1726, centres around the mock battle between the Queen of May and the Queen of Winter and their respective entourages:

⁶² *Atlas* 31.

⁶³ For further information on May Day customs in Oriel see Ní Uallacháin (2003: 126-130).

⁶⁴ Waldron wrote his 'Description' during his c.20 years sojourn in Man as commissioner to the British government to observe the conduct of Manx trade in the interests of the British excise.

[...] In almost all the great Parishes they chuse from the Daughters of the most wealthy Farmers a young Maid, for the *Queen of May*. She is drest in the gayest and best manner they can, and is attended by about twenty others, who are called Maids of Honour [...]. In Opposition to her, is the *Queen of Winter*, who is a Man drest in Woman's Clothes, with woollen Hoods, Furr Tippetts, and loaded with the warmest and heaviest Habits one upon another; in the same manner are those who represent her Attendants drest [...]. Both being equipt as proper Emblems of the Beauty of the Spring, and the Deformity of the Winter, they set forth from their respective Quarters; the one proceeded by Violins and Flutes, the other with the rough Musick of the Tongs and Cleavers. Both companies march till they meet on a Common, and then their Trains engage in a Mock-Battle. If the *Queen of Winter's* Forces get the better, so far as to take the *Queen of May* Prisoner, she is ransomed for as much as pays the Expences of the Day. After this Ceremony, Winter and her Company retire, and divert themselves in a Barn, and the others remain on the Green, where having danced a considerable Time, they conclude the Evening with a Feast [...] (Waldron 1744: 95-96).

A similar description comes some eighty years later from lexicographer John Kelly (1750-1809), amanuensis to the editors of the Manx Bible, in his *Dictionary* of 1866(1805) (s.v. *Baaltinn (Laa)*), but with additional information:

[...]. On this day [May-day] [...] the young people of different districts form themselves into two parties, called the Summer and the Winter (*Sourey as Geurey* [G *samhradh agus geimhreadh*]), and having appointed a place of meeting, a mock engagement takes place, when the winter party gradually recedes before the summer, and at last quits the field. There is an appropriate song, the burden of which is *Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien &c.* (Kelly's *Dictionary* (1866(1805): 15 s.v. *Baaltinn (Laa)*).⁶⁵

However, Kelly's *Dictionary* editor (1866), Rev. William Gill (Malew), gave the translation of the song as 'He gave my ring; summer with us', then noted: "I can make no sense of this". This statement, if correct, would suggest that the song enjoyed some antiquity in Man, but by 1866 at any rate the text had evidently ceased to be understood, as also in the Clague texts (2.8-10) above.

As to the text itself, **Hugymyr* (G *thugamar*), i.e. synthetic 1pl. preterite form in *-mar* (Mx. *-*myr*), and **feyn* (G *féin*) (my spellings)⁶⁶ are not attested in Manx, either in the surviving literature (including Phillips, c.1610; cf. GEM/116⁶⁷) or the spoken language, so far as is known, though *heyn*, *hæyn* *[he:n̩] (G *fhéin*) and *peyn* *[pe:n̩] (ScG *péin*) 'self; own' are in fact attested in Phillips (GEM/289). If such forms did exist in Manx, then seemingly long before Phillips's time, i.e. before 1600.⁶⁸ Given the antiquity of the traditions associated with May time (Mx. *Boaldyn*, G *Beltaine*)

65 Other descriptions of May-Day in Man can be found in Moore (1891a: 111-112), Clague (1911: 46-55), Paton (n.d. [1940-41]: 51-54), Killip (1975: 172-173). In the context of 1 May Clague (1911: 49-51) notes in addition:

Fires were lighted, and fire in the hedges and gorse was burnt to frighten away the bad spirits [...]. Young boys jumped through the fire, and the cattle were sometimes driven through the fire, to keep them from harm for the whole year [...]. Horns were blown through the night [30.04-01.05], and "dollans" (Hoops with sheepskin stretched on them) were struck (beaten, played) [...]. After the horns were blown, the bells rung, the skin drums played, the May-flowers, rushes, flags, and primroses placed before the doors, and the kern crosses in the caps of the boys, and on the tails of the cattle, and the sliding carts of St. John's Wort drawn from place to place, the bad spirits driven away, and the people and cattle had walked through the fire, then the fields were ready to put the cattle on the grass (Clague 1911: 49-51).

For the dollan as a traditional Manx hand-drum see Broderick (1977-79: 27-29).

66 In CM this would be rendered something like *Hug shin hene yn sourey lhien* (G **Thug sinn fhín an samhradh linn*).

67 Though older forms, e.g. impf. *chiarragh* 'would see' (st. 4), are attested in the *Manannan / Traditionary Ballad* (mss. c.1770, text from internal evidence c.1500) (cf. Thomson 1960-63), also in Phillips (impf.) *heyragh, nar ghiaragh, nagh vackagh* (GEM/264).

68 Synthetic forms of the substantive verb are in fact attested in 17th-cent. Manx, e.g. 3pl. *tadyr* 'they are' (Ir. *tádar*, ScG *atà'd*), *vadyr* 'they were, used to' (Ir. *bhàdar, bhíodar*, ScG. *bhàdar*) (BID/118, GEM/150-51): For further examples see GEM. Surviving examples into LSM include 1sg. *taim* 'I am' (Ir. *atáim, táim*, ScG *thaim, ataim, taim*), 1pl. *tain* 'we are' (HLSM/I: 75) (Ir. *atáin, támar*, ScG *atámaid*), 3pl. *tadyr* 'they are' (Ir. *tádar*) (MPP/4,6,8), also their preterite counterparts *vaim* 'I was', *vain* 'we were' (HLSM/I: 78) (ScG *bhàmar* 'we were'). So far as can be assessed, none of the above appears in the Manx Bible.

and Hollantide (Mx. *Souin*, G *Samain*),⁶⁹ the leading terminal dates of the civil year in the Gaelic world, including Man, survivals of older linguistic forms in Manx associated with such dates are perhaps to be expected.

⁶⁹ For details of the origin and purpose of these occasions, cf. Mackillop (1998: 39 (*Beltaine*), 377-78 (*Samain*)), Maier (1997: 35 (*Beltaine*), 242 (*Samain*)).