1. Introduction

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

In common with Irish and Scottish Gaelic, two forms of initial replacement are discernible in Manx: lenition and nasalisation (eclipsis). Lenition essentially spirantises bilabials, labiodentals, dentals and velars, and prefixes /h/ to vowels. Nasalisation voices /p, t, k, f/ and eclipses /b, d, g/ and prefixes /n/ to vowels. In this instance we shall concentrate only on initial consonant replacement in nouns and adjectives.

1.1. For our purposes here we may distinguish three periods of Manx:

- **Early Manx**: up until and including the seventeenth century; essentially the Manannan / Traditionary Ballad (text c.1500) and the Manx translation of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer (c.1610) by John Phillips (c.1563-1633), Bishop of Sodor and Man (1604-1633).
- **Classical Manx**: eighteenth century; essentially that of the Manx Bible translation (1744-75) and associated works.
- **Late Manx**: nineteenth-twentieth centuries; essentially that of Manx newspaper prose pieces and the Manx stories and reminiscences of Edward Faragher (1831-1908) and the recorded native Manx speakers (*c.1800 - †1974) (rec. 1886-1972).

The two forms of initial consonant replacement noted, i.e. Lenition and Nasalisation, essentially belong to the period of Early Manx. By the time of Classical Manx nasalisation, except for some fossilised phrases, etc., had disappeared from the scene, leaving only lenition as the main contender.

The following is a concise presentation of initial consonant replacement (lenition) in Classical Manx (with a short comparison of the situation in Early Manx) as delivered by the late Robert L. Thomson (1924-2006) (RLT) in his Rhŷs Memorial Lecture of 1969, but with the addition of translation of the examples. (forms in brackets are as per the Authorised Version of 1611 when not otherwise). The paragraph sectioning and numbering are my own.

The material here is taken from pages 194-202 of the lecture.
Two salient features in this regard will be noticed as we proceed:

1. That the application of historical lenition in Classical Manx is not uniform - it is applied most, but not all, of the time.

2. There is a lack of overall agreement among the various translators in the gender of nouns - some would have them as masculine, others as feminine.

In seeking to elucidate the situation in Classical Manx RLT has chosen the following texts from which to extract the evidence.

1.2. Texts chosen and used by RLT:

1707 CS: Coyrle Sodjej.
1748 Ma: St. Matthew's Gospel, chh. 9-12.
1763 FRC: Fer-rauee Creestee, pp. 3-20
1763 Lu: St. Luke's Gospel, chh. 17-20
1767 Ro: Romans, chh. 1-16.
1767 He: Hebrews, chh. 1-9.
1771 Ex: Exodus, chh. 3-12.
1771 Br: Briwnyn (Judges), chh. 1-7.
1773 Ho: Hosea, chh. 1-12.
1777 PC: Phargys Callyt, pp. 5-17, 60-77.

1.2.1. In each case RLT takes a piece yielding approximately the same number of examples from each of the eighteenth century texts (above) and collected the evidence bearing on these points. On some it is more cogent than others:

1.2.2. In (§1.1 below) for example, since mutation [lenition] of one kind or another is the only evidence for the noun being feminine, or being so regarded by that writer, we should merely be going in a circle if we said he had a hundred per cent record of mutation in this class. The question arises whether some may not have more than a hundred per cent, i.e. that some masculine nouns are mutated in this position too.

1.2.3. Two particular cases ought first to be discounted: veg y and lheid y:

Nouns preceded by veg y and lheid y, for although they would no doubt have been explained by the writers as containing the article (and indeed lheid ny is the plural form), they must have been originally a bheag do and leithid do, and lenited accordingly. This disposes of one masc. in 1707 CS, two in 1763 FRC, one in 1771 Br, two in 1773 Ho, one in 1777 AG, and one in 1796 PC (RLT/194-195).

Those that remain are as follows.

2. Lenition in Classical Manx

2.1. Article + nominative feminine singular

cre'n cheint 1763 FRC 19 'what kind'.
yn chairys 1767 Ro 9. 30 'the justice'.
yn chagliagh 1773 Ho 5. 10 'the boundary' (G coigríoch f.).
yn Vie 1777 AG 6, yn vie 1783 AG 180 'the good'.
yn volteyrys 1783 AG 182 'the deceit'.
y viallys 1796 PC 433 'the obeisance'.

Our only authority for describing these as masculine is Cregeen's dictionary, and certainly cairys and mie are elsewhere used as feminines. There is no evidence here for assuming that mutation is being wrongly used (RLT/195).

2.2. Article + genitive singular

A distinctive genitive singular form is a rarity in Manx nouns, possessed by almost no masculine and only a small part of the feminines. Consequently it seems an irregularity in the system and tends not to be used even where it exists, except in traditional contexts, set phrases, usually with article or possessive, and indefinitely as a sort of adjective. So far has the sense of the genitive as a general grammatical category gone from the language that Cregeen in his dictionary gives genitive singular forms as separate entries with the definition a. d., i.e. adjective derivative. So, for example:

2.2a. clagh ['stone'] has genitive cloaie, but the latter will be found only in collocations like siyn cloaie 'stone vessels' and not in ones like trimmid ny *cloaie 'the weight of the stone'.
2.2b. feeyn 'wine' has genitive feeyney, but it occurs only in phrases like garey-feeyneyey 'wine garden' or saagh feeyney 'wine vessel'.

Consequently examples of (2.2) are rare and repetitive; here separate words only are given, without variations or repetitions in any one text (RLT/195):

2.2.1. Article + genitive feminine singular

Here we have the feminine genitive singular of the definite article plus the noun in the genitive (i.e. genitive by position), occasionally with a separate genitive form. Those possessing a separate genitive form in our sample below are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{annym} &: \text{anmey} 'soul'. \\
\text{feill} &: \text{foaley} 'flesh'. \\
\text{ooirr} &: \text{ooirrey} 'earth'. \\
\text{mooir} &: \text{marrey} 'sea'. \\
\text{cass} &: \text{coshey} 'foot'. \\
\text{cheer} &: \text{cheerey} 'land, country'. \\
\text{crosh} &: \text{croshey} 'cross'.
\end{align*}
\]

Noid ny hanmey 1707 CS 9 'enemy of the soul'.
Noid ny Hanney 1763 FRC: 16 'enemy of the soul'.
Eunyssyn ny Foalley 1763 FRC 19 'delights of the flesh'.
achyr ny hanmey 1767 He 6. 19 'anchor of the soul'.
leigh ny foolley 1767 Ro 4. 1 'law of the flesh (as pertaining to the flesh)'.
joan na hooirrey 1771 Ex 8. 17 'dust of the earth'.
oirr ny marrey 1771 Br 5. 17 'edge of the sea'.
boyn ny coshey 1773 Is 1. 6 'heel of the foot'.
foays ny cheerey 1773 Is 1. 19 'goodness of the land'.
ooigyn ny hooirey 1773 Is 2. 19 'pits of the earth'.
freeney ny marrey 1773 Is 5. 30 'flowing of the sea'.
genniagh ny marrey 1773 Ho 1. 10 'sand of the sea'.
cummaltee ny cheerey 1773 Ho 4. 1 'inhabitants of the country'.
Ashoony n Hooirey 1777 AG 10 'nations of the earth'.
Noid n y annmey 1783 WS: 175 'enemy of the soul'.

Otherwise the genitive form is the same as the nominative form.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Briwnys n Haglish} 1707 CS 11 'judgement of the church'.
\item \textit{Thie n Bondiaght} 1707 CS 67 'the house of bondage'.
\item \textit{lao n briwnys} 1748 Ma 10. 15 'the day of judgement'.
\item \textit{mean n haglish} 1767 He 2. 12 'middle of the church'.
\item \textit{ushetey n hawin} 1771 Ex 4. 9 'water of the river'.
\item \textit{thie n bondiaght} 1771 Br 6. 8 'the house of bondage'.
\item \textit{'laghyn n [y] feailley} 1773 Ho 12. 9 'days of the feast'.
\item \textit{Baase n y Croshey} 1777 AG 12 'death of/on the cross'.
\item \textit{er feih n moyynrys} 1796 PC 192 'throughout happiness'.
\item \textit{stoyl n gloyr} 1796 PC 209 'the seat of glory'.
\end{itemize}

\subsection{2.2.2. Article + genitive masculine singular}

When the genitive singular of a masculine noun is preceded by the article (1.2.2) there should be lenition of the noun. Since masculine nouns, other than verb-nouns, rarely have a distinct genitive this mutation is normally the sole mark of the genitive case (RLT/195).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Jerrey'n Teihl} (x5) 1707 CS 10 'end of the world'.
\item \textit{Mooads y pheccah shoh} 1707 CS 71 'greatness, extent of this sin'.
\item \textit{Dooinney'n phoosee} (x3) 1748 Ma 9. 15 'man of the wedding, bridegroom'.
\item \textit{Cree'n tallooin} 1748 Ma 12. 40 'heart of the earth'.
\item - but not \textit{f-} as \textit{thie n fer-reil} 1748 Ma 9.23 'house of the ruler'.
\item \textit{Chiar'm y fouyr} 1748 Ma 9. 38 'lord of the harvest'.
\item \textit{Cowrey n phadeyr} 1748 Ma 12. 39 'sign of the prophet'.
\item \textit{Clye'n y Theihll} (x2) 1763 FRC 5 'seductions of the world'.
\item \textit{Maase y vagheragh} 1763 FRC 8 'cattle of the field'.
\item \textit{Mess y gherye-jeeney} (x3) 1763 Lu 20. 10 'fruit of the wine-garden'.
\item \textit{Reill y chiamoort} 1763 Lu 20. 20 'rule of the governor'.
\item \textit{Cloan y theihll} 1763 Lu 20. 34 'children of the world'
\item - but not in \textit{'laghyn n Mac dooinney} (x2) 1763 Lu 17. 22 'days of the Son of man'.
\item \textit{Leeideilee n pobble} (x2) 1763 Lu 19. 47 'leaders of the people'.
\item \textit{Kesmadyn y chredjue} (x3) 1767 Ro 4. 12 'steps of the faith'.
\item \textit{Corp y vaase} (not gen. \textit{vaash}) 1767 Ro 7. 24 'the body of death'.
\item \textit{Leigh y chairs} (if masc.) 1767 Ro 9. 31 'the law of justice'.
\item \textit{Beychys y theihll} (x3) 1767 Ro 11. 12 'riches of the world'.
\item \textit{Eileyn' n toilshey} 1767 Ro 13. 12 'the armour of light'.
\item - but not in \textit{cairys y credjue} 1767 Ro 4. 11 'righteousness of the faith',
\item - but not in \textit{jercal yn cretoor} 1767 Ro 8. 19 'expectation of the creature'.
\item - but not in \textit{cloan y gialdyrnys} 1767 Ro 9. 8 'children of the promise'.
\item \textit{Undin y thallooin} 1767 He 1. 10 'foundation of the earth'.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{1} The \textit{ph-} spelling for \textit{f-} is standard in \textit{phadeyr}; in early Manx it was a little more widespread. See the spellings under \textit{Faase}, \textit{Fainney}, \textit{Faishnagh}, \textit{Feen}, \textit{Flaooil} in GEM (1955-56): 139-40, 264-79 (cf. RLT/196 fn. 1).

\textsuperscript{2} See below, pp. 197, for 198, discussions of this word. Other examples show that non-lenition here is not due to reluctance to lenite \textit{p-}, but is peculiar to this word (RLT/196 fn. 2)
poor y vaase (x2 not vaaiish) 1767 He 2. 14 'the power of death'.
laa yn violagh 1767 He 3. 8 'the day of temptation'.
er dy hoshiaght y theihll (x2) 1767 He 4. 3 'from the foundation of the world'.
bun y taultyys 1767 He 5. 9 'basis of salvation'.
ree'n chairys (if masc.) 1767 He 7. 2 'the king of righteousness'.
oik y taggyrtyys 1767 He 7. 5 'office of the priesthood'.
cooyl y churtan (gender?) 1767 He 9. 3 'behind the veil'.
arg y chonaant (x3) 1767 He 9. 4 'ark of the covenant'.
- but not in peccaghyn y pobble (x3) 1767 He 2. 17 'sins of the people'.
- but not in cooilleen yn gialldyn 1767 He 6. 15 'fulfilling the promise'.
- but not in baase yn fer 1767 He 9. 16 'death of the man (testator)'.
cooyl yn aasagh 1771 Ex 3. 1 'backside of the desert'.
joan y thallooin (x4) 1771 Ex 8. 16 'dust of the land'.
leioe yn choirrey 1771 Ex 9. 8 'ashes of the furnace'.
lossreeyn y vagher 1771 H 9. 22 'herbs of the field'.
biljyn y vagher-yragh (x2) 1771 Ex 9. 25 'trees of the field'.
- but not in shilley'n pobble 1771 Ex 4. 30 'sight of the people'.
foyr y chliwe (x4) 1771 Br 1. 8 'edge of the sword'.
summaltee'n choan 1771 Br 1. 19 'inhabitants of the valley'.
laghyn y vriw 1771 Br 2. 18 'days of the judge'.
dorrys y chabbane (x4) 1771 Br 4. 20 'door of the tent'.
yrjd y vagher-caggee 1771 Br 5. 18 'height of the battle-field (high places of the field)'.
messyn y thallooin 1771 Br 6. 4 'fruits (increase) of the earth'.
- but not in clashtyn y pobble 1771 Br 7. 3 'hearing (ears) of the people'.
fer-reill y phobble 1773 Is 3. 7 'ruler of the people'.
mess y thallooin 1773 Is 4. 2 'fruit of the earth'.
cree yn phobble 1773 Is 6. 10 'heart of the people'.
magher y ghialleyder 1773 Is 7. 3 'field of the fuller'.
folt y ching (gen. of kione) 1773 Is 7. 20 'hair of the head'.
maase y vagheragh (x4) 1773 Ho 2. 12 'beasts of the field'.
reddyn y thallooin 1773 Ho 2. 18 'things of the ground'.
maase y vagher 1773 Ho 4. 3 'beasts of the field'.
aalid y voghrey 1773 Ho 6. 3 'beauty of the morning'.
oghe yn uinneyder 1773 Ho 7. 4 'oven of the baker'.
laghyn yn cherraghey 1773 Ho 9. 7 'the days of punishment (visititation)'.
laghyn y chooilleeney 1773 Ho 9. 7 'the days of recompence (fulfilment)'.
mess-toshee yn villey-figgagh 1773 Ho 9. 10 'first fruit of the fig-tree'.
laa yn chaggey (not gen. chaggee) 1773 Ho 10. 14 'the day of battle'.
Miolaghyn y Theihll (x3) 1777 AG 2 'temptations of the world'.
Mooadys y Pheccah ... y Cherraghey 1777 AG 'size of the sin ... of the punishment'.
Baase y Chretoor 1777 AG 8 'death of the creature'.
baase y Pheccagh 1777 AG 8 'death of the sinner'.
Bannaght yn Er-kionnee 1777 AG 9 'blessing of the redeemer'.
er graih y Voggey 1777 12 'for the sake of joy'.
- but not in er coontey yn Sluight 6 'on account of / for posterity'.
ard imnea yn Chreestee 1783 WS 177 'main concern of the Christian'.

3 The two genitives, y vagher and y vaghyragh, are divided in the Bible as a whole in the proportion 3:4, and most books show both indifferently, though there is sometimes a preference, as in Genesis and Psalms for the first, and in Ezekiel and Daniel for the second. The fem. ny magheragh is rare and in Mt. [Ma.] 6. 28 is a correction for an earlier y vagher (RLT/196 fn. 3).
Initial Consonant Replacement in Classical Manx

kiarailyn y theihl (x2) 1783 WS 179 'cares of the world'.
Shirveish yn Ghoor 1783 WS 180 'ministry of the word'.
raudyn vaase (not vaish) 1783 WS 180 'the road of death (in death)'.
eiraglyn y choaylanmey 1783 WS 185 'inheritors of the lost soul'.
kiarail yn Chredjue (x2) 1783 WS 189 'care of the faith'.
- but not in stayd yn Sushtal (x 4) 1783 WS 173 'state of the gospel'.
foays y valley 1796 PC 19 'kindness of the town'.
ooashley'n theihll (x2) 1796 PC 30 'adoration of the world'.
leigh yn chrootagh 1796 PC 109 'law of the creator'.
mooads y viol 1796 PC 268 'size of the fiddle'.

2.2.2.1. It will be noticed that five of these collections (1707 CS, 1763 FRC, 1773 Is, 1773 Ho, and 1796 PC) exhibit no exceptions to this mutation [lenition] in the material examined, and when allowance is made for cases of pobble, and a reluctance to lenite f- out of existence, it becomes clear that lenition in this situation can be regarded as the norm.

2.2.2.2. With regard to pobble we have been fortunate in our sample to dredge up the two examples of lenition in Isaiah; a more comprehensive survey in the Bible texts shows that while the lenition of this word in the genitive singular is normal in Leviticus, Psalms, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets, Matthew, Luke, John, Acts and Hebrews, it is not so in Exodus (except 13. 22, 19. 7) or in Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 1 Chronicles (except 21. 2), and Esther.

2.2.2.3. It has been noted that in some of these examples, although lenition marks the genitival status of the noun, the distinctive genitive inflection is not used, and also that there are few and limited examples of the feminine genitive singular. It should be added that there are far more feminine nouns in genitival construction than this short list implies. For example:

boayrd y cheesh 1748 Ma 9. 9 'receipt of custom (table of the tax)'.
stoyr y chree (x2) 1748 Ma 12. 34 'abundance of the heart'.
nhee'ghyn mie y vea shoh 1763 FRC 6 'the good things of this life'.
laa'n chorree 1767 Ro 2. 5 'the day of wrath'.
raud y chee (x2) 1767 Ro 3. 17 'the way of peace'.
diunid y verchys 1767 Ro 11. 33 'depth of the riches'.
lorg-reill yn reeriaght 1767 He 1. 8 'sceptre of the kingdom'.
kiarailyn y chree 1767 He 4. 12 'intents of the heart'.
stoyl-reeoil y ghrayse 1763 H 4. 16 'the throne of grace'.
ree'n chairsys 1767 He 7. 2 'king of righteousness'.
glenney yn eill (not ny foaley) 1767 He 9. 13 'purification of the flesh'.
syn y chirveish 1767 He 9. 21 'vessels of the ministry'.
ushtey yn awin 1771 Ex 7. 20 'water of the river'.
glassyragt y cheer (not ny cheerey) 1771 Ex 10. 12 'herb of the land'.
cummatlee yn cheer (x2) 1771 Br 1. 33 'inhabitants of the land'.
dorryssyn y chamyr (x3) 1771 Br 3. 23 'doors of the parlour (room)'.
mullagh yn chreg 1771 Br 6. 26 'top of the rock'.
cooish y ven-treoghe 1773 Is 1. 17 'plead for the widow (matter of the widow)'.
silijn y cheyll (not ny keylley) 1773 Is 7. 2 'trees of the wood'.
sluight y Ven 1777 AG 6 'seed of the woman'.
Billey yn Vea 1777 AG 18 'the tree of life'.
raud y vea 1783 WS 180 'the road of life; in life'.
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skell y ghrian (not ny greiney) 1796 PC 63 'disappearance of the sun'.
towse y phoar (not ny pooaragh) (x2) 1796 PC 75 'the measure of power'.
billey'n vea (x4) 1796 PC 455 'the tree of life'.
cree'n cheshaght 1796 PC 455 'heart of the company'.

- all of which are the ordinary nominative with appropriate mutation, used as genitive.

2.2.2.4. Kelly does not mention this possibility in the printed version [of his Grammar], but in the draft he was clearly nearer the facts of the situation when he wrote (ch. 16):

When two substantives come together belonging to divers things, the latter, be it masculine or feminine, if the Article y or yn precede it, shall change into its soft; as Bun y chooish 'root of the matter', mac y ven 'son of the woman', Baare yn olt 'tip of the hair' (quoted after RLT/197).

(giving two feminine and one masculine example!), rather than in his later version (ch. XVIII) restricting this mutation to masculine nouns and adding a separate paragraph for the feminines, directing the use of ny, and no lenition. It will be seen, therefore, that observing a noun in the genitive singular with the article is no guide to its gender unless it is accompanied by the feminine article ny, which will not normally be the case (RLT/196-197).

3. Preposition + article + singular noun.

The evidence here is too abundant even from this modest sample to be presented in full. We may take first the crude figures for mutation [lenition] versus non-mutation [non-lenition] in this position without regard to gender or any other factors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1707 CS 22:8</th>
<th>1767 Ro 5:21</th>
<th>1773 Is 23:3</th>
<th>1796 PC 20:3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1748 Ma 16:7</td>
<td>1767 He 25:14</td>
<td>1773 Ho 19:1</td>
<td>1773 Ho 19:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763 FRC 26:2</td>
<td>1771 Ex 31:18</td>
<td>1777 AG 24:20</td>
<td>1777 AG 24:20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1. The non-mutation [non-lenition] figures for 1771 Ex and 1771 Br can be reduced to 3 in each case if we note that 15 examples in Exodus and 6 in Judges are of pobble. A more comprehensive survey of this word shows that non-lenition is normal in this position, and I have been able to find only one example of mutation [lenition] (Genesis 26. 10).

3.2. However much the proportions vary in different texts it is noteworthy that only one, 1767 Romans, actually reverses the normal preponderance of mutation [lenition] over non-mutation [non-lenition], and this clearly is the reflection of the usage of that particular translator. Furthermore, in subsequent editions it seems that the revisers found his neglect of this mutation rather extreme, for sporadic corrections bring the figure up to 11: 15.

3.3. [...]. If we apply th[e] test of gender to the non-mutated [non-lenited] forms in our collecton we shall find that most of them can be accounted for by the immutability of pobble, the reluctance to lenite f- (especially in the passage in 1767 He), and this immutability of masculines. This combin-

4 Uncertain by whom, but probably under the direction of Bishop Wilson (1695-1755) and Dr. William Walker (1679-1729), his Vicar-General.
ation of circumstances will account for all the exceptions in:

1707 CS, 1748 Ma, 1763 FRC, 1763 Lu, 1767 He, 1773 Is, 1773 Ho, 1777 AG, and 1783 WS.

3.4. There remain a few cases where feminines seem not to be mutated [lenited] in this position, e.g.

1767 Ro (19 masc. +) [jeh’n cree] 2. 29, [jeh’n] folliaght 11. 25;
1771 Ex (3 masc. +) [veih’n] bondiahtg 6. 6;
1771 Br. [jeh’n] fainagh 4. 15;
1796 PC (2 masc. +) grian 25.

It must also be noted that even within the same text examples of the mutation [lenition] will occur side by side with non-mutation [non-lenition].

3.5. There are two points to note here:

3.5.1. That the non-mutation [non-lenition] of masculine nouns is only facultative, not a regular rule (except perhaps in 1767 Ro, 1777 AG, and 1783 WS), and

3.5.2. That where the non-mutation [non-lenition] is only a very small minority of the total occurrences of the grammatical construction and even then not consistent, we must make allowance for the possibility of scribal and typographical error. The general rule, however, is that with the exception of a few of the later texts, the practice is [...] to lenite nouns after the combination preposition + singular article [+ noun] (RLT/198).

4. All cases of adjectives.

The last situation to be examined is that of the adjective (following its noun) according to the various cases, genders, and numbers of the noun, and particularly to inquire how far lenition in the adjective follows that of the noun. From the examples collected the following pattern emerges:

4.1. As we should expect, the nominative-accusative singular of feminine nouns is followed by lenition of the adjective, the number of examples varying greatly from text to text. I have noted only two exceptions:

4.1.1. 1767 Ro: ayns caslys feill peccoil 'in the likeness of sinful flesh' (nom. = gen.) 8. 3, and
4.1.2. 1783 FRC yn verchys mooar 'the great riches' 180.

There are, however, some examples of lenition here after nouns given as masculine by Cregeen:

4.1.3 1707 CS y Chiarn cheddyn 'the same Lord' 81 (but this is merely an early example of cheddin (G ceudna) with permanent lenition, a state of affairs which becomes normal during the [eighteenth] century;
4.1.4. 1763 FRC cooinaghtyn vie 'good memories' 4, tastey vie 'good observation' 6, e chenjallys ghraiagh 'his loving kindness' 11, Noid vooar nyn anmey 'great enemy of our soul' 16
- 4.1.4.1. tastey vie is found as feminine in Carvallyn Gailckagh 85, supported by one manuscript
while four others have nish;
- 4.1.4.2. kenjallys in this phrase is invariably feminine in the Bible translation;
- 4.1.4.3. cooinaghtyn may have acquired the gender of cooin (G cuimhne) which survives only as a predicative in s'cooin liam 'I remember' (G is cuimhin liom), and
- 4.1.4.4. noid is occasionally feminine in Carswell (Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh xxiv) and Desiderius (glossary s.v. námha). Also

4.1.5. 1771 Ex grunt chasherick 'holy ground' 3. 5.
4.1.6. 1773 Is yn sluight chrauee 'the holy seed' 6. 13.
4.1.7. 1777 AG y Stayd pheccoil 'the wicked state' 3, cre'n Stayd hrismagh 'what sorry state' 5, yn Stayd hreih 'the sad state' 6, 13, e Chenjallys ghraiahgh 'his loving kindness' 9, Ainjys chinjagh 'constant acquaintance' 9.
- 4.1.7.1. stayd is feminine in Irish and Scottish Gaelic (viz. staid f.), and ainjys vooar occurs in the first line of an unpublished carval MNHL MS 160, 447 and 2141.
4.1.8 1783 WS baght vie 'good observation' 174, fys vie 'good information' 179, oyr vooar 'big cause' 181.
4.1.9. 1796 PC eaynagh ghowin 'deep waste' 92 kiaull ving flaunysagh 'harmonious heavenly music' 112, flaunys villish 'sweet happiness' 130, yn eanish wooar 'the big witness' 159, diunid wooar 'great depth' 447.
- 4.1.9.1. feanish (G fiadhnaise f.) is historically feminine and diunid (G doimhne + id) also, e.g. Psalms 36. 6, Is. 51. 10, Amos 7. 4 (RLT/199).

4.2. Lenition in an indefinite genitive singular after a feminine noun

In addition to adjectives, mutation [lenition] of an indefinite genitive singular noun occurs in this position, e.g.

day-chassee 'whirlwind' 1773 Is 5.28.
skeaig-ghrine 'thorns' 1773 Is. 7. 19.
y gheay-chassee 'the whirlwind' 1773 Ho 8. 7.
sheshaght-chaggee 'army, warband' 1796 PS 106.

In the plural a wider search will turn up cloan gheiney 'children of men' regularly, and exceptionally slatt gheiney 'rod of men' 2 Sam. 7. 140 (RLT/199).

4.3. Lenition in the adjective after the noun in the vocative singular and plural

Examples of the vocative, singular and plural, are not numerous but mutation [lenition] is usual in the adjective after nouns of both genders [viz. ghrail veen! 'dear love!' (HLSM/II: 209)]; exceptions are ashoon peccoil 'wicked nation' 1773 Is 1. 4 and O vraar gloyroil 'O glorious brother' 1796 PC 242 (RLT/199).

4.4. Adjectives after a genitive singular masculine noun

After a genitive singular masculine noun the adjective might be expected to be lenited, especially if the article precedes and the noun is lenited, but the evidence, such as it is, is almost entirely against it and in favour of non-lenition, i.e. the mutation of the nominative. I have noted only two exceptions:
- 4.4.1. kiarail yn Chredjue Chreestee 'intention of the Christian faith' 1783 WS 189 (which is probably an example of the tendency of scribes and compositors to use Chr- in this word instead of
Cr-, irrespective of mutation, under the influence of English spelling), and
- 4.4.2. foays y valley verchagh beneficence of the rich town' 1796 PC (but cf. 'sy valley wooar 'in the big town' 1796 PC 114, which, as we shall see, implies that balley is treated as feminine) (RLT/200-201).

4.5. Adjectives in the prepositional case

For the prepositional case [...] we might expect mutation [lenition] in adjectives after singular nouns of both genders, but here, as with genitive singular masculine, there is distinction by gender, with the mutation of the nominative singular again setting the pattern. Some exceptions to the fairly numerous examples that form the basis of this rule are:

(m.) jeh my Chredjue Chreestee 'of my Christian faith' 1707 CS 13.
(m.) er y laa cheddin 'on the same day' 1707 CS 75 (on both of which see above)
(f.) veih'n Agglish firrinagh 'from the true Church' 1707 CS 10 (immutable f-).
(m.) jeh'n credjue Chreestee 'of the Christian faith' 1748 Ma 10. 18 footnote.
(f.) ayns yn ooer keddyn 'in the same hour' 1748 Ma 10. 19.
(m.) lesh stayd chronnal 'with an observation' 1763 Lu 17. 20 (but see evidence for fem. gender above).
(f.) gys cheer foddey 'into a far country' 1763 Lu 19.12, 20. 9 (immutable f-).
(f.) gys nearey foshlt 'to an open shame' 1767 He 6. 6 (immutable f-).
(f.) dy ghlaire floaol 'of fluent speech' 1771 Ex 4. 10 (immutable f-).
(f.) dy chlaigh gyere 'of a sharp stone' 1771 Ex 4. 25.
(f.) trooid sproght nyn gree as y vondiaght dewil 'for anguish of spirit and for cruel bondage' 1771 Ex 6. 9 (homorganic inhibition?).
(m.) er y raad-vooar 'in the highway' 1773 Is 7. 3 (but the translators are divided on the gender of raad; it is masc. in Deuteronomy, Numbers, Judges, 1 Samuel, Proverbs, and often in Isaiah; fem. in 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, Jeremiah, and sometimes in Isaiah) (ScG. rathad m.).
(m.) ayns kenjallys-ghraiagh 'in loving kindness' 1773 Ho 2. 19 (see above for fem. gender).
(m.) gys y Stayd varvaanagh 'into a mortal state' 1777 AG 3.
(m.) ayns y Stayd hreih 'into a sorry state' 1777 AG 3.
(m.) liorish Prowal hrimshagh 'by sorrowful trial' 1777 AG 5.
(m.) ayns y Stayd ghiare 'in the short state' 1777 AG 13.
(m.) jeh' n Stayd hrimshagh 'of the sorrowful state' 1777 AG 22 (but see above for fem. gender).
(f.) lesh Cree booisal 'with thankful heart' 1777 AG 22 (but while Cregeen gives cree f., his attached proverb shows it m. viz. ta cree dooie ny share na kione croutagh 'a true heart is better than a cunning head').
(m.) 'syn agh t Chreeestee 'in the Christian way' 1783 WS 186 (possibly fem., otherwise see above for Chr- spellings).
(m.) veih'n vroid wooar 'from the big dirt' 1796 PC 53.
(m.) 'sy valley wooar l'in the big town' 796 PC 114.
(m.) 'syn eanish hollys 'in the bright testimony' 1796 PC 214 (but may be fem.).
(f.) veih'n eiraght wooar 'from the great inheritance' 1796 PC 238, 423 (which could be expected to be fem., cf. ScG. oighreachd f.).
(f.) jeh' diunid wooar 'of the great depth' 1796 PC 361 (see above for fem. gender).
(f.) trooid y ghless shliawin 'through the slippery glass' 1796 PC 63 (but sl-, sn- are not consistently mutable).
(f.) jeh'n phooar gloyroil 'of the glorious power' 1796 PC 120 (RLT/200).
4.6. Adjectives after attenuated plurals

After attenuated plurals lenition of adjectives or dependent genitives may be expected. Examples are not numerous:

[kirree veggey 'small sheep (lambs)' (G caoirigh bheaga) Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey st. 1. (Mx. trad. song c.1700) (cf. Broderick 1984)].

4.6.1. Exceptions:

kirree cailjey 'lost sheep' 1748 Ma 10. 6.
goair-fyrryn 'female goats' 1773 Is 1: 11 (immutable f-).
fir-faishnee 'soothsayers' 1773 Is 2. 6 (immutable f-).
ny peccee mee-vaynrey 'the unhappy sinners' 1777 AG 5 (RLT/199-201).

4.7. RLT (201 fn. 1) then notes the following:

In addition to these examples of the presence and absence of expected mutation there are some instances of unexpected mutation. Those that fall within the limits of the present survey are:

- 4.7.1. Cases of lenition of a masculine nominative singular after the article; all, strangely enough in view of the general reluctance to lenite that sound, are cases with f-, e.g.:

yn er cheddin 'the same one' 1771 Br 7. 4.
yn er 'the one' (G an *fhear) 1773 Is 1. 3.
yn er coyrllee 'the advisor (the one of advice)' 1773 Is 1. 3.
yn er-lhee 'the doctor (man of cure)' 1773 Is 3. 7.
yf er-boggyssagh 'he that rejoiceth' 1773 Is 5. 14.
yf er-casherick 'the Holy One' 1773 Ho 11. 9.

- 4.7.2. Lenition of the adjective after a masculine nominative singular after the article:

my er-ghraihagh 'my loving one' 1748 Ma 12. 18.

- 4.7.3. Lenition of a genitive singular after a feminine singular noun, as:

sharvaant ghooinney elley 1767 Ro 14.4 'another man's servant'.
shansyr chloan Israel 'the elders of the children of Israel' 1771 Ex 4. 29.
ollagh chloan Israel 'the cattle of the children of Israel' 1771 Ex 9. 6.
laue chloan Israel 'the hand of the children of Israel' 1771 Br 4. 24.
gloyr vac Yee 'the glory of the son of God' 1796 PC 293.

- 4.7.4. Lenition after masculine and plural nouns, and in the genitive plural:

folliaghtyn gheiney 'the secrets of men' 1767 Ro 2. 16.
stiurtyn chloan Israel 'the officers of the children of Israel' 1771 Ex 5. 14 (x3).
osnaghyn chloan Israel 'the groaning of the children of Israel' 1771 Ex 6. 5.
sluight chloan Israel 'the generations of the children of Israel' 1771 Br 3. 2.
drogh vea Chreesteenyn 'the base life of Christians' 1783 WS 179.
son ymmyrkey-bea Chreesteenyn 'for the conduct of Christians' 1783 182.

5. Initial consonant replacements in Early Manx - a comparison

RLT/201-202 provides a short comparison of the foregoing in Early Manx, as represented by the Phillips Prayer Book (cf. Moore & Rhŷs 1893-94). For comparison with the seventeenth century [Early Manx] we can turn to three sections extracted from the Phillips Prayer Book (pp. 17-40, 223-247, 566-594). We find:

5.1. That the nominative singular feminine after the article is generally lenited, with only occasional failure as in yn sheshaght 'the company' (Ps. 75. 3).

5.2. In the genitive singular after the article, lenition is normal in masculine nouns and in feminine nouns where the nominative is used as genitive, with some exceptions as

fer ghiani rííst yn syl 'redeemer of the world' 21.
klau'n yn shilógh 'the generation to come (children of the generation)' Ps. 78. 4.
árick yn beagh 'horn of the beast' Ps. 92. 9.
ordgyhý yn padjer moghrey 'the order of morning prayer' 20/L.

5.3. The genitive singular feminine article is rather more frequent than in later texts, and there is more evidence for the genitive after the verb and certain prepositions, as:

kur ny bríi 'putting the substance (putting of the substance)' 20/QV36.
tryid magh ny bleyney 'throughout the year' 20/QV.
erskyn ny káyrys 'above the righteousness' 239.

5.4. The group preposition + singular article + noun shows lenition of the noun, both masculine and feminine and including pobble, and failure of mutation is rare, e.g.

liorish y kighlá shoh 'by this change' 37/L.
masky yn slyei 'among the people' Ps. 77. 14.
aüns yn shilliy ainiyn 'in our sight' Ps. 79. 11.
rish yn flúyr kurnaght 'with the wheat flour (with the finest of wheat)' Ps. 81. 17.
er y kruitt 'on the harp' Ps. 92. 3.

5.5. The genitive plural is frequently nasalised after the article.

5.6. As regards adjectives the position is similar to later usage, i.e. lenition after the nominative feminine singular, the vocative singular [and plural] of both genders, usually not lenited after the genitive singular masculine (though examples can be found elsewhere in this text, e.g.

bunn yn týyl ghruin 'foundation of the (round) world' Ps. 18. 15),

and about equally divided between lenition and non-lenition after masculines (prep. + art. + noun +
Initial Consonant Replacement in Classical Manx

adj.), but normal after feminines, i.e. with gender coming to be the dominant factor (RLT/201-202).5

Abbreviations

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>masculine</td>
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Bibliography


1748: Yn / Sushtal / Scruit iorish yn / Nuo Mian / Prentyt ayns Lunnyng. / Liorish Ean Oliver, ayns Bartholomew Close. 1748.

1763: CONAANT NOA / nyn Jiarn as Saualtagh / Yeexy Creest. / Pointit dy ve lhaht ayns Kialteenyn. / Prentyt ayns Lunnyng. / Liorish Ean as W. Oliver, ayns Bartholomew-close, 1763.

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1771-73: Yn / Vible / Casherick : / ny, / Yn Chem Chonaant, / veih / Ny Chied Ghlaraghyn. / dy kiaralagh chyndait ayns / Galick; / ta shen dy ghra. / Chengey ny Mayrey Ellan Vannin / Ayns daa Lioar: / Lioar I / Pointit dy ve lhaht ayns Kialteenyn. / Whitehaven: / Prentit liorish Juan Ware as e Vac, 1771-1772-1773.

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COYRLE SODJEH (cf. Thomas Wilson, 1707).


FER-RAUEE CREESTE (cf. Paul Crebbin, 1763).


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5 For further details of Early Manx in general see Thomson (1953).
PHARGYS CALLYT (cf. Paradise Lost, 1796).
WILSON’S SERMONS (cf. Sharmaneyn, 1783).

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