

GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN A NINETEENTH-CENTURY ULSTER TEXT

IT IS a common practice for editors of Irish-language texts to assign gender to nouns in the glossaries that form part of the editions of such texts. Yet it is by no means clear how editors determine gender.¹ In their critical introductions to texts, editors occasionally deal with double-gender nouns, citing usages which establish that a noun belongs to both genders, and it is here that some criteria for gender assignment are revealed.² It may well be the case that nowhere in the scholarly literature is there to be found a complete taxonomy of exponents of gender for any period of the language.

The purpose of this article is to discuss what the evidence is for determining gender in *The spiritual rose* (*SpR*).³ The bulk of gender signals for nouns in *SpR* falls under the general heading of agreement since these signals are to be found on words which are associated with nouns rather than on the nouns themselves. Such words are pronouns, pronominal forms of prepositions, possessive adjectives, forms of the singular article, attributive adjectives and attributive nouns; all of these are discussed below. All the gender signals on agreeing elements, as well as signals — such as palatalization of stem-final consonants — on the nouns themselves, constitute a set of criteria by which gender may be assigned in *SpR*. As a way of evaluating this evidence, examples from *SpR* are checked, from the point of view of their gender, against a number of sources in which gender is assigned to nouns. These sources are: (*Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish language based mainly on Old*

¹Brian Ó Cuív, in his edition of *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiicíosma* (Dublin 1994), writes (p. 213), ‘Gender of nouns is indicated only when there is evidence in the text establishing it.’ But Ó Cuív does not state what such evidence consists of.

²See, for example, R. L. Thomson and A. Mathieson (ed.), *Foirm na n-Urruidheadh*, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society XI (Edinburgh 1970) xxiv; C. Ó Maonaigh (ed.), *Scáthán shacraminte na haithridhe*, *Scribhinní Gaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr I* (Baile Átha Cliath 1952) xxii; F. Mac Raghnaill (ed.), *An teagast Críosdaidhe*, *Scribhinní Gaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr XI* (Baile Átha Cliath 1976) xxii; T. F. O’Rahilly (ed.), *Desiderius, otherwise called Sgáthán an chrábhaidh* (Dublin 1941, repr. 1975) 249–50, 252–3; P. Ó Súilleabhaín (ed.), *Beathla San Froinsias*, *Scribhinní Gaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr IV* (Baile Átha Cliath 1957) xxii; P. Ó Súilleabhaín (ed.), *Lucerna fidelium*, *Scribhinní Gaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr V* (Baile Átha Cliath 1962) xx; P. Ó Súilleabhaín (ed.), *Buaidh na naomhchroiche*, *Scribhinní Gaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr X* (Baile Átha Cliath 1972) xxiii; A. Ó Fachtña (ed.), *An bheatha dhiadha nó an tslighe rioghdha*, *Scribhinní Gaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr IX* (Baile Átha Cliath 1967) xxvii; a number of gender criteria are discussed in P. Mac Aogáin (ed.), *Graiméir Ghaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr*, *Scribhinní Gaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr VII* (Baile Átha Cliath 1968, repr. 2001) 25–7.

³M. McKenna (ed.), *The spiritual rose* (Dublin 2001).

and Middle Irish materials (*DIL*),⁴ *Trí bior-ghaoithe an bháis (TSh.)*,⁵ *Dioghlum dána (DDána)*,⁶ *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (Dinn.),⁷ and *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla (FGB)*.⁸

In describing any given criterion for gender in *SpR* — for example prefixed *t-* in nom. sg. nouns beginning in a vowel and preceded by the article — the approach I have adopted is as follows: first, all such nouns in *SpR* with prefixed *t-* are listed, as are all such nouns without prefixed *t-*. Next, all these nouns are referred to the sources to determine what their historical gender is. It will be seen that all the nouns with prefixed *t-* in *SpR* are masculine (m.) in the sources, and on this basis I take the prefixation of *t-* to be an unambiguous criterion of m. gender in *SpR*. This criterion will also decide the gender of certain nouns, e.g. **ainbh-fiosach**,⁹ **uabhrach**, **uilechumhachtach**, which have prefixed *t-* in *SpR* but which do not have gender assigned to them in the sources listed above.¹⁰ Almost all nom. sg. nouns beginning in a vowel and preceded by the article, but which do not have prefixed *t-* in *SpR*, are f. in the sources; however, two nouns with *t-* lacking in *SpR*, namely **athair** (*an Athir* 78.9 etc.) and **iomad** (*a niomad* 77.8 etc.), are m. in the sources. This suggests that the absence of prefixed *t-* is not an unambiguous criterion of f. gender; if the absence of prefixed *t-* was to be taken as an unambiguous marker, this would imply that there was evidence in *SpR* to suggest that **athair** might be f. It is necessary, therefore, to evaluate the evidence for gender of nouns in *SpR* against the historical gender of these nouns as set out in the sources. All spellings in *SpR* are taken at face value, though it may well be the case that some of them contain orthographical or typographical errors.¹¹

In many cases, there is no uncertainty about the gender of a noun; **aingeal**, for example, is m. in the sources and also unambiguously m. in *SpR*: see sections (8) and (9) below. The primary purpose of this paper is not to establish the gender of such nouns in *SpR* but rather to use the evidence for their gender in the text to draw up a set of criteria for establishing gender.

The paper is divided into two parts. In Part I, I deal with nouns in *SpR* which are either m. or f. in the sources, e.g. **aingeal** and **slat**

⁴E. G. Quin, et al. (ed.), (Dublin 1913–76). Many of the nouns discussed in this paper are listed in *DIL* as being historically neuter; however, no reference will be made to this below except in the case of the noun *iomad*, for which see section (9) (b).

⁵Osborn Bergin (ed.), (Dublin 1931, repr. 1992).

⁶Láimhbeartach Mac Cionnaith (ed.), (Baile Átha Cliath 1938).

⁷Rev. P. Dinneen (Dublin, Cork 1927, repr. 1970).

⁸Niall Ó Dónaill, et. al. (ed.), (Baile Átha Cliath 1977).

⁹Bold type is used to indicate the head-word spellings used in the Glossary to *SpR*, and to indicate historical spellings in general.

¹⁰Historically, **ainbh-fiosach**, **uabhrach** and **uilechumhachtach** are adjectives, but even when their use as substantives is recorded in the sources no reference to their gender is made.

¹¹See McKenna, *Spiritual rose*, xxv–xxvi.

respectively, and discuss gender realizations in *SpR* for these nouns with a view to determining which of those realizations are unambiguous and which are ambiguous. In Part II, I use the set of unambiguous criteria to determine the gender of *SpR* nouns, such as **anam**, which are both m. and f. in the sources. Nouns which are both m. and f. in the sources but whose gender markers are ambiguous in *SpR* are also discussed in Part II.

PART I: NOUNS WHICH ARE EITHER M. OR F. IN THE SOURCES

CONCORD AND PRONOUNS

(1) Use of the pronouns sé and é

The pronouns **sé** and **é** are used in *SpR* only to refer to nouns which are m. in the sources, e.g. **slánaightheóir**: *thuirlin ar Slainaightheor ... gur nigh se* 26.4;¹² **doras**: *bualigh an dorus agus foscuilltar dhuibh e* 15.4; this applies also to the following nouns in *SpR*: **adhbhar**, **corp**, **croidhe**, **duine**, **fínéagra**, **mac**, **saoghal**, **searbhóntaighe**, **slánaightheóir**, **tighearna**, **turas**. This criterion is exceptionless.

(2) Use of the pronouns sí and í

Only nouns which are f. in the sources take the pronouns **sí** (or its emphatic form **ise**) and **í** in *SpR*, e.g. **coróin**: *rinn siad Croin spin agus spar siad i* 131.2 etc.; **maighdean**: *air an Maighdion ... beir si* 110.15–19, etc.; this applies also to the nouns **grian**, **máthair** and **oifig** in *SpR*. This category is exceptionless.

CONCORD AND PRONOMINAL FORMS OF PREPOSITIONS

(3) Use of m. third person pronominal forms of prepositions

Only those nouns which are m. in the sources take a m. pronominal form of a preposition in *SpR*, e.g. in *gach aon a bhfuil se diachtha oram a bheith guidh air* 49.2, the 3 sg. m. pronominal *air* refers back to **aon**; this applies also to the following nouns in *SpR*: **áras**, **athair**, **bata**, **croidhe**, **cruthaightheóir**, **cupa**, **Dia**, **geata**, **mac**, **páipéar**, **peacadh**, **saoghal**, **searbhóntaighe**, **slánaightheóir**, **tnúthach**, **tuama**, **uan**. The noun **uabhrach**, which is referred to by *dhe* 117.11–14 — suggesting that it is m. — is not assigned a gender in any of the sources, though historically it shows signs of being m., e.g. *an tuáibhreach*, *tigh an uáibhrigh*.¹³ Note that **uabhrach** is unambiguously m. according to criterion (9) below. This is an exceptionless category.¹⁴

¹² All spellings from *SpR* are reproduced letter for letter in this article, with the exception of some examples in which lenition of initial consonants in *SpR*, when irrelevant to gender, has been omitted below, e.g. for *Shacr(am)int ... a Naifrinn* 109.25 in *SpR*, I print *Sacr(am)int ...*

¹³ See *DIL* s.v. *úaibrech*.

¹⁴ In indirect relative clauses in which a pronominal form of a prep. precedes the relative verb, only the m. pronominal is used even when the antecedent is a noun which is f. in

(4) *Use of f. third person pronominal forms of prepositions*

Only those nouns which are f. in the sources take a f. pronominal form of a preposition in *SpR*, e.g. **croch** is referred to by *oraith* in *a ghiompar na Craiothe go gcuirfaidh chum bais oraith thu* 96.1 etc.; this also applies to the following nouns in *SpR*: **banógh**, **bean**, **fuil**, **baintighearna**, **siúr**. This is an exceptionless category.

POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES AND ACCOMPANYING MUTATIONS

(5) *The third person singular possessive a and prefixation of h*

(a) When the possessive refers to a noun which is f. in the sources and which begins in a vowel, *h-* is prefixed, e.g. **croch**: *a Chraoith ... thug a cheasaidair aigh ... air Simeon a hiompar* 95.3 (= *an chroich ...*); the same applies to the nouns **maighdean**, **máthair** and **urnaighthe** in *SpR*. Prefixation of *h-* is an exceptionless criterion of f. gender in the sense that it is never used in *SpR* with nouns which are m. in the sources.

(b) When the possessive refers to a noun which is m. in the sources, there is no change to the initial of the noun which follows the possessive, e.g. **mac**: *an urnaigh ... a thoiribhir daon Mhac ... do Athair* 39.19–40.2 (= ... *dá Athair*), and similarly for the noun **slánaightheoir**: ... [a] *Eisirigh* 30.16 etc. However, the absence of prefixed *h-* does not automatically signal that a noun is m.: in one case, the initial of a noun which is f. in the sources remains unchanged when preceded by the possessive; the noun in question is **colann**: *mo cholann ... le na anbhiantaith* 105.18.¹⁵

(6) *The third person singular possessive a and lenition of nouns beginning in a mutable consonant*

(a) With one exception, only nouns which are f. in the sources take a non-leniting possessive, e.g. **banógh**: *An bhanoigh do thoigh se Chum a bheath duil a ciodyn* 60.25 (= ... *ag diúl a cíoch*); this applies also

the sources, e.g. **áit**: *chum na haite an a bhfoil se* 27.21, **croch**: *cuireamh dhiomchair na Croighth e air a bhfoil se re na cheasamh* 27.18. However, relative clauses in which there is agreement in gender between the pronominal immediately preceding the verb and the pronominal's antecedent are not unknown in the literature, as in *an talamh aisti ar baineadh an t-iomlán, an urnaighe is fearr ar bith, inte a bhfuil ...*; see Ó Buachalla, 'The prepositional relative clause in SE-Ulster Irish', *Celtica* 15 (1983) 69–77, at 72, 73. When the antecedent consists of a sequence of nouns of varying gender, the m. pronominal form may be used, e.g. *Nach gcomhlíonann an cúram & an oibliogóid chuige dar goireadh iad*, *ibid.* 72.

¹⁵ Elsewhere in *SpR* **colann** is treated as f. only (see criterion (7) below) and for this reason, and also because **colann** is only f. in the sources, the absence of prefixed *h-* in *le na anbhiantaith* is to be taken as an error and is thus not a genuine marker of gender in *SpR*.

to the nouns **croch**, **maighdean**, **máthair**, **oific**. The exception is **slá-naightheoir**: *mo Shlainaighoir ... mor luaihhacht a Phaise agus a trocaire* 102.13–16.¹⁶

(b) The leniting possessive adjective **a** is used to refer to nouns which are m. in the sources, e.g. **allas**: *allus folla a tuitom na bhraoncha* 39.13, and similarly for the following nouns: **aon**, **athair**, **breitheamh**, **corp**, **críostaidhe**, **Dia**, **domhan**, **fear**, **gadaidhe**, **grásta**, **mac**, **saoghal**, **slánaightheoir**, **uan**. The adjective **uabhrach**, when functioning as a noun, takes a m. possessive, e.g. *An tuabhrach ... da ghreadamh* 117.11–13.

Two nouns which are f. in the sources are referred to by the leniting possessive; these are **pearsa**: *gach pearsa na Dhia* 122.3; **trócaire**: *bheir trocaire uaid na cheatha* 54.9. The noun **cuid**, which is f. in the sources, is referred to by the leniting possessive in the following instances, in which, it should be noted, **cuid** is part of a noun phrase and not an isolated noun, as are **pearsa** and **trócaire**: *da chuid fola ... na dhith* 127.16. *do chuid fola [ag] teacht na shroithe* 132.23.¹⁷

FORMS OF THE ARTICLE AND ACCOMPANYING MUTATIONS

(7) *The form na of the article with nouns in the gen. sg.*

Nouns which take *na* in the gen. sg. in *SpR* are all f. in the sources, e.g. **áit**: *chum na haite* 27.21 etc.; similarly for **aithrighe**, **altóir**, **bean**, **carthanacht**, **cléir**, **colann**, **croch**, **cumraighe**, **diadhacht**, **eiriceacht**, **fairge**, **fearg**, **fíoraithrighe**, **fírinne**, **foighid**, **geallamhain**, **geanmnaidheacht**, **glóir**, **maighdean**, **máthair**, **naoimheaglais**, **naomh-mhaighdean**, **oidhche**, **óige**, **páis**, **pian**, **rioghacht**, **síocháin**, **spéir**, **spín**, **subháilce**, **trócaire**, **truaighe**, **tuirse**, **umhlaigheacht**, all of which take *na* in the gen. sg. in *SpR* and are f. in the sources.¹⁸ This is an exceptionless category (there are no examples of *na* in *SpR* with gen. sg. nouns which are m. in the sources).

(8) *The form an of the article with nouns in the gen. sg.*

(a) inflected nouns: all such nouns with *a(n)*, *'n* or *a n-* in the gen. sg. in *SpR* are m. in the sources, e.g. **aifreann**: *Sacr⟨am⟩int ... a Naifrinn* 109.25; **aingeal**: *Faile an Ainghil* 20.18 etc.; **aoibhneas**: *Flaighthios a naobhnis* 120.17, etc.; **athair**: *gloir an Athara* 126.8; **bealach**: *foscailt an bhealaigh* 30.15; **breitheamhnas**: *Halla an Bhreafnais* 129.15 etc.; **crábhadh**: *Aram a chrabhaidh* 63.8 etc.; **craosach**: *gaile an chraosaigh* 116.24; **crónchorp**: *buill ... an crion*

¹⁶Since **slánaightheoir** is only m. in the sources and m. elsewhere in *SpR* (see criteria (1), (3) and (7)), I take the absence of lenition in *a trocaire* 102.16 to be an error and thus not to be relevant to the marking of gender.

¹⁷**Cuid** is f. elsewhere in *SpR* (see criteria (11) (a)).

¹⁸Of the nouns listed above which begin in a vowel, all have prefixed *h-* when preceded by *na* in *SpR*. Among the nouns above ending in *-(e)acht*, only **rioghacht** is inflected in the gen. sg. in *SpR*. For the forms taken by **cléir** and **spéir** in the gen. sg., see McKenna, *Spiritual rose*, lix.

chuirp 115.6;¹⁹ **diabhal**: *cathaidh an Diabhal* 46.17 etc.; **dólás**: *as ucht a dolais* 74.3 etc.; **domhan**: *peacaidh 'n domhain* 14.4 etc.; **dubh-bhrón**: *lucht a dubhroin* 19.6; **éadach**: *taraing a neadaigh* 132.15; **garr**: *putog an ghair* 119.11; **glanadh**: *la an glanta* 77.2; **lá**: *greomhartha an lae* 8.16 etc.; **mac**: *piantaigh an mhic* 93.19 etc.; **monbhar**: *Fear an mhunabhair* 117.19; **pléisiúr**: *cupa an phlesir* 104.6 etc.; **reacht**: *aire an reachta* 60.13 etc. (= *áirc* ...); **saoghal**: *oig mhna 'n tsaoghail* 140.18 etc.; **sliabh**: *bonn a Tsleibhe* 102.11 etc.; **sólás**: *as ucht ... a tsolais* 74.3 etc.; **teampall**: *Tigharna an Teampuill* 36.22; **uabhar**: *Spirod ... a nuabhair* 99.25; **uan**: *faoigh'd ... an uain cheansaigh* 91.13.

(b) uninflected nouns: as the examples in (a) above show, in syntactic units consisting of noun/verbnoun + article + sg. (unqualified) noun,²⁰ it is the general rule in *SpR* for the second noun in the sequence to be inflected, but there are some exceptions, e.g. **aingeal**: *teachtairacht a Nainghiol* 21.3; **ardfhlaitheas**: *chum a naird Fhlaighthios* 29.17; **ceart**: *Scathan a cheart* 18.19; **formad**: *fear an fhoi(f)mud* 117.7; **grádh**: *tobar an ghradh* 94.7, *Mor cheim an fhiorghradh* 71.15; all these nouns are m. in the sources. Also to be included here is the noun **croidhe** (m. in the sources): *teasghradh an chraoidh* 71.17, which cannot be inflected. All these nouns I treat as being genitives since (a) they occur in the syntactic pattern noun/verbnoun + article + sg. (unqualified) noun, which otherwise requires the genitive; and (b) they show lenition of mutable initials and the absence of any change to the initials of those of them which begin in a vowel. There may be no markers of the genitive on some nouns, e.g. **domhan**: *fuaiscantar a Domhan* 11.3; **léirserios**: *laud an leursorios* 138.4 (= *lá úd* ...); **rígh**: *parthus a righ* 64.7 etc.; **tighearna**: *searbhantaigh an tighearna* 20.23 etc. However, since these nouns occur in the syntactic pattern which otherwise requires the genitive, I take them as genitives for the purpose of determining gender.

In noun phrases consisting of noun + article + sg. noun + adjective, on the other hand, inflection of the second noun is less predictable, and this gives rise to examples such as **teach** (m. in the sources): *muirin a teach so* 20.12. Here **teach** is unambiguously nom. sg. and is thus irrelevant to this section. In the case of **aibid**: *a cathamh ... an Aibid phurple* 131.20 (= *ag caitheamh* ...) and **luathgháir**: *as ucht a luaghair dolamhair(h)a* 37.17, since these are f. in the sources, and since they take the form *an* of the article, I treat them as nom. sgs. and omit them from this section; they are dealt with in section (12) (a) and (b). In the case of **grádh**: *as ucht an ghradh dochuimse* 35.3, **sluagh**: *a bhinnise an tsluagh mhallaigh* 106.14 and **uan**: *mearamh an Uan ceansaigh*

¹⁹This example, and the one given for **glanadh** in (8) (a), are the only examples I have of nonlenition of mutable consonants in the gen. sg.

²⁰To be included here are sequences consisting of preposition (which requires the gen., e.g. *chum*) + article + noun.

faodhfaigh 103.11 — since these are m. in the sources and since the examples of them carry markers of the gen. sg., they are to be included with the examples in (8) (b) above.²¹ Qualified nouns may well be inflected in the genitive singular: an example is **uan**: *faoigh'd... an uain cheansaigh* 91.13; for other examples of such nouns see section (13) (a) and (b).

The criterion discussed in this section – the form **an** of the article in the genitive singular – is exceptionless with respect to determining gender in phrases about which there is no doubt that a given noun in them is in the genitive: all the nouns in *SpR* with a form of **an** in the genitive (as defined above) are m. in the sources.²²

(9) *Prefixation of t- to nom. sg. nouns beginning in a vowel and preceded by the article*

(a) Nouns with prefixed *t-* in *SpR* are all m. in the sources, e.g. **adh-bhar**: *an tabhar* 96.3; **aingeal**: *an Taingiol* 33.19 etc.; **athair**: *a Tathir* 24.22 etc.; similarly for **am**, **ardshagart**, **arm**, **éadach**, **uathbhás**, all of which have prefixed *t-* in *SpR* and are m. in the sources. This criterion is exceptionless and as such is sufficient to classify the following nouns, which are not listed in the sources, as being m. in *SpR*: **ainbh-fiosach**: *an tioniobhasach* 126.16; **uabhrach**: *An tuabhrach* 117.11; **uilechumhachtach**: *a tuillechomhachtach* 31.13.

(b) Nouns which do not have prefixed *t-* in *SpR* are f. in the sources, e.g. **aibid**: *an aibid* 89.12 etc.; **eaglais**: *a neagluis* 49.14; similarly for **aithrighe**, **oifig**, **uair**, **urnaighthe**, all of which lack prefixed *t-* in *SpR* and are f. in the sources. There are two exceptions to this, namely **iomad**: *a niomad* 77.8 etc., and **athair**: *do thoil De an Athir* 78.9, *le Dia an Athir* 81.24. The noun **iomad**, originally neuter, is m. in *DIL*, *Tsh.*, *DDÁNA* and *Dinn.*; no gender is assigned to it in *FGB*. Though *a niomad* 77.8 etc., consists diachronically of a noun preceded by the article, synchronically, as in the *SpR* usage, it is a lexicalized adverbial phrase meaning ‘many people’, and is therefore not relevant to gender. Though prefixed *t-* is lacking in *do thoil De an Athir* 78.9 and *le Dia an Athir* 81.24, it is normally present in this noun, e.g. *a Tathir* 24.22 etc. Taken at face value, the spellings *an Athir* 78.9 etc., and *a Tathir* 24.22 etc., would suggest that **athair** is a double-gender noun, but this would be anomalous given (a) that **athair** is only m. in the sources and (b) that it is only m. elsewhere in *SpR*. Note that in *SpR* words may begin (a) in an upper-case letter followed by a lower case, e.g. *a Tathir* 24.22, or (b) in a lower case followed by a lower case, e.g. *an tathir* 26.21; but a lower case followed by an upper case, e.g. **an tAthair*, does not occur.²³ In

²¹These markers are – lenition of **grádh**, prefixed *t-* on **sluagh** and lack of prefixed *t-* on **uan**.

²²For further comments on deciding whether a noun is in the nominative or the genitive, see sections (12) (b) and (13) (b).

²³Compare *go Heigipt* 78.2, *sa Ngairdin* 26.14, [i] *Mbetthalum* 35.13 etc.

accordance with this, the printer may simply have dropped the *t*- in *an tAthair* if that was the original spelling.

(10) *Prefixation of t- to nom. sg. nouns beginning in mutable s- and preceded by the article*

(a) Nouns with prefixed *t*- in *SpR* are f. in the sources, e.g. **slat**: *an tslat* 50.12; **súil**: *an tsuil* 114.23.

(b) Nouns which remain unchanged in *SpR* are m. in the sources, e.g. **saoghal**: *an Saoghal* 51.21 etc.; **sólás**: *a solas* 100.22 etc.

The lack of exceptions in these two groups means that these criteria are unambiguous. Thus, the lack of prefixed *t*- in *An Solasair* 31.19 (nom. sg.) indicates that the noun **sólásóir**, which is not listed in the sources, is m. in *SpR*.²⁴ Instances of the adjective **santach** being used as a noun are listed in *DIL* but its gender is not given; the lack of prefixed *t*- in *an santach* 116.17 (nom. sg.) indicates that this noun is m. in *SpR*.

(11) *Lenition of nom. sg. nouns beginning in a mutable consonant and preceded by the article*

(a) All lenited nom. sg. nouns preceded by the article in *SpR* are f. in the sources, e.g. **coir**: *an choir* 120.25, and similarly for **bochtaíne**, **coróin**, **cros**, **cuid**, **fuil**, **gealach**, **glóir**, **grian**, **maighdean**, **peannaid**.

(b) Most unlenited nom. sg. nouns preceded by the article in *SpR* are m. in the sources, e.g. **breitheamh**: *An breitheamh* 138.20, and similarly for **bata**, **breitheamhnas**, **bronntanas**, **corp**, **críochnughadh**, **croidhe**, **fíréan**, **gadair**, **gean**, **mac**, **mileasghrádh**. There are some exceptions to this, e.g. **fuil**: *[a]nfoil* 103.8; **maighdean**: *an Maighdion* 46.5, 123.9.²⁵

As is clear from the examples in (a) above, the lenition of a nom. sg. noun unambiguously establishes it as being f. However, as the examples of **fuil** and **maighdean** show, the non-lenition of a nom. sg. does not automatically indicate that a noun is m. The noun **beódhadóir**: *a[n] beothadar* 31.20 is not listed in the sources, nor is there any other evidence for its gender in *SpR*; therefore, on the basis of the non-lenition of its initial alone, we cannot say with certainty what gender **beódhadóir** is.²⁶ The nouns **peacadh** ‘sinner’: *Mise an*

²⁴Note that other agent nouns in -(e)óir, such as **cruthaightheóir** (section (3)) and **slánaightheóir** (sections (1), (3), (5) (b)), are m. in *SpR*.

²⁵However, since **fuil** and **maighdean** are only f. in the sources, and elsewhere in *SpR* (see sections (4) and (2) respectively), I take it that we are dealing here with irregular omission of lenition rather than with a gender marker. (Missing historical lenition may be marginal in a given case in *SpR*; for example, while there are two examples of *an Maighdion* 46.5, 123.9, there are six examples of *an Mhaighdion* 46.26 etc.) The same erroneous omission of lenition is the most likely explanation for **milseacht** (f. in the sources): *An milsacht* 55.4. Other nouns in -acht are f. in *SpR*, e.g. **eiriceacht**, **geanmaidheacht**, **ríoghacht**, **teachtaireacht**, **umhlaigheacht**. Historically, however, nouns in -acht, such as **cumhacht** and **glúasacht**, may be m. and f.; **sírdaidecht** is f. according to *DIL* s.v., but it is m. in Ó Cuív, *Aibidil Gaoidheilge*, 237 s.v. *siordhaidheacht*.

²⁶That this noun is a derivative in -óir may be a clue as to its gender: see the fn. to **sólásóir** in section (10) above.

peacadh deorach 84.1, *mise an peacadh bocht* 102.21, and **peacaidh** ‘sinner’:²⁷ *dearc orumsa an peacaidh bocht* 85.29, 114.19, are not listed in the sources; the non-lenition of their initials is ambiguous as an indicator of their gender.

LENITION OF ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES

(12) *Lenition of adjectives beginning in a mutable consonant and qualifying a nom. sg. noun*

(a) Only nom. sg. nouns which are f. in the sources take a lenited adjective in *SpR*, e.g. **aibíd**: *aibaid phurple* 48.10 etc.; **athchuinghidh**: *athchuinigh dheanach* 106.23; **bainríoghan**: *Banrioghan bheannaigh* 37.26–38.1, and similarly for **béicneach**, **coróin**, **faoiside**, **feóil**, **fuil**, **glóir**, **intinn**, **iodhbairt**, **lámh**, **léine**, **maighdean**, **méadail**, **mil**, **oifig**, **réalta**, **ríoghacht**, **sealbh**, **sláinte**, **staid**, **tarcaisne**, **tástáil**, **teachtaireacht**, **tuiße**, **tuirse**, **uair** and **urnaighthe** all of which are followed by a lenited adjective and are f. in the sources. The lack of exceptions to this criterion — there are no *SpR* examples of nouns which are m. in the sources taking a lenited adjective in the nom. sg. — makes it an unambiguous marker of f. gender.

(b) The majority of nouns which take an unlenited adjective in *SpR* are m. in the sources, e.g. **aithreachas**: *aithreachus geur* 141.27; **amharc**: *amharc sioraith* 79.26; **áras**: *arus fiuntah* 75.9; and similarly for **athair**, **bás**, **béal**, **bealach**, **bord**, **breitheamh**, **breitheamhnas**, **buidheachas**, **ceann**, **coimhcheangal**, **corp**, **croidhe**, **cúntas**, **cupa**, **dia**, **duine**, **éadach**, **lá**, **leasadh**, **loghadh**, **lón**, **luach**, **mac**, **maitheamhnas**, **pátrún**, **péarla**, **sólás**, **suaimhneas**, **tighearna**, **tobar**, **tréatúir**, **tromualach**, **turas**, **uan**, **uisce**. As was pointed out in section (8) (b), qualified nouns occasionally remain uninflected in phrases where historically the gen. sg. is to be expected, e.g. **amharc**: *fa dheain amharc solasach* 77.20; **breitheamhnas**: *Tabhairt breatheamhnus fior* 138.18; **corp**: *teogramh corp creataigh* 108.22; **géirsciúrsadh**: *a niaigh do ghearscuramh fuita* 130.26; **imdheargadh**: *iomad imdheargamh mibhomhail* 129.17; these four nouns are m. in the sources. For the reasons given in (8) (b), I take the nouns in these phrases as being in the nom. sg. and they are therefore to be included in this section. The following two nouns (both m. in the sources), which are not capable of being inflected for the gen. sg. anyway, are also treated nom. sgs.: **grásta**: *cunamh grasta diagha* 74.9; **tighearna**: *Toiribhirt ar Dtiagharna beannaigh* 36.9. In **prionnsa** (m. in the sources): *Mathair ar Bpriónsa shioraidh* 41.11, the spelling *shioraidh* does not necessarily imply lenition of *s*: compare *go shioraith* 50.21 etc., where *sh-* seems to represent [ʃ].²⁸

²⁷For **peacadh** ‘sinner’ and **peacaidh** ‘sinner’, see McKenna, *Spiritual rose*, 294 n. 84.1, and also section (12) (b).

²⁸Unambiguous examples of *sh-* for [ʃ]- in *SpR* include **sí**: *shi* 49.27 etc., **siad**: *siad* 89.15, **sibh**: *shibh* 15.3, **sin**: *Le shin* 57.24 etc.

A number of nom. sg. nouns which are f. in the sources also take an unlenited adjective, e.g. **brú**: *toramh do bheroinn geanamnaigh* 109.11;²⁹ **dúil**: *duil claoite marsnaigh* 132.7; **leagáid**: *Leagaid morluaidach* 127.13; **luathgháir**: *as ucht a luaghair dolamhair(h)a* 37.17; **maighdean**: *Maighdion cliutah* 18.16 etc. Lenition may be lacking in homorganic clusters³⁰ (all the examples contain nouns which are f. in the sources), e.g. **colann**: *collan daona* 23.6, 25.6, **coróin**: *Croin domharafa Ghlorhar* 30.20, **críonnacht**: *crionacht dolamhartha* 55.1, **foighid**: *faoighd dolabhartha* 130.6, **maighdean**: *Maighdion deas* 63.9. Whether the lack of lenition on these adjectives is due to homorganicity, or is simply irregular, is impossible to say with certainty. When a noun, which is f. in the sources, is followed by two adjectives, one of these adjectives may be lenited and the other not, e.g. **clann**: *clann bocht so dhibirtha* 38.4; **tuicse**: *do thuigse shiothraidh domhorfa* 25.15.³¹ However, since it has been established in section (12) (a) that a lenited attributive adjective, which qualifies a nom. sg. noun, is an unambiguous marker of f. gender, these examples of **clann** and **tuicse** do not give rise to any confusion concerning their gender.

The examples in this section show that an unlenited adjective, though most frequently occurring with nouns which are m. in the sources, may sometimes occur with nouns which are f. in the sources, and for this reason the lack of lenition on such adjectives is ambiguous with respect to gender. On this basis we cannot say with certainty what is the gender of **peacadh**, **peacaidh** (neither listed in the sources): *Mise an peacadh deorach* 84.1, *mise an peocadh bocht* 102.21; *dearc orumsa an peacaidh bocht* 85.29. Similarly, the gender of **bréantanas** (not listed in the sources) remains unclear from the example *Breantanas fuathmhar* 120.7.

(13) *Lenition of adjectives beginning in a mutable consonant and qualifying a gen. sg. noun*

(a) Only gen. sg. nouns which are m. in the sources take a lenited adjective in *SpR*, e.g. **sluagh**: *a bhinnise an tsluagh mhallaigh* 106.14; **sólás**: *naigh Sholais bhreagigh a Tsaoghaisa* 44.6 (= *i ndiaidh ...*); **uan**: *faoigh'd ... an uain cheansaigh* 91.13. This is an exceptionless marker of m. gender in *SpR*.

²⁹ *Bheroinn* in this example is an instance of the historical dat. sg. being used for the nom. sg.; see further McKenna, *Spiritual rose*, liii. It is highly unlikely that *bheroinn* is an apocopated form of the historical gen. sg. **bróinne**; for the reasons for this see *ibid.* lviii–lx.

³⁰ Homorganicity, which involves combinations of *d*, *t*, *n*, *l*, *s*, does not automatically block the marking of lenition, as the following examples show: **bainrioghan**: *Banrioghan shoilseach* 57.13; **fuil**: *nfoil thearaigh* 103.8 (= *an fhuil théacaithe*); **maighdean**: [A] *Mhaighdion dholios* 18.18; **mil**: *Mil shaimh* 60.19; **staid**: *staid dholasach* 108.22; **teachtaireacht**: *Teachtairacht sholsach* 73.20.

³¹ Note that it has already been established in this section that **tuicse** is f.

(b) Unlenited adjectives occur (i) with nouns which are f. in the sources, e.g. **bean**: *croghat na mua beannaigh* 97.4 (= ... *mná* ...); **fuil**: *da chuid fola morluaidhach* 127.16; **glór**: *a Riogh na gloire siorthaigh* 83.24; **maighdean**: *Coronamh na Maighdiona beanaigh* 30.11 etc., *na maidiona glormhur ban naidh* 20.12; **máthair**: *gluinne do Mhathara beannaigh* 134.5; and (ii) with nouns which are m. in the sources, e.g. **ceann**: *a cromach sios [a] cheinn ceasaigh* 107.9 (= *ag cromadh sios a cheinn ceannsaighthe*); **corp**: *liuge do chuirp creaghtaigh* 99.18; **craos**: *Fairsinge a crhaois duibh* 113.6; **dia**: [a] *mhic De bi-bheo* 29.11 etc.; **mac**: *bas a mic cean.na* 67.13; **sólás**: *as ucht a tolais dolamhartha* 44.2; I take the examples **grádh**: *as ucht an ghradh dochuimse* 35.2; **sluagh**: *taircaine an tsluagh mallaigh* 103.12; and **uan**: *mearamh an Uan ceansaigh faodhfaigh* 103.11, as gen. sgs. for the reasons set out in section (8) (b). Taken on their own, unlenited adjectives in the gen. sg. are thus ambiguous signals of gender, since they accompany nouns which are m. in the sources, as well as those which are f. in the sources. Thus, for example, we can infer nothing about the gender of **fuil** on the basis of *da chuid fola morluaidhach* 127.16.³²

(14) *Lenition of adjectives beginning in a mutable consonant and qualifying nouns in the dat. sg.*

Nouns which are f. in the sources generally take a lenited adjective, e.g. **aghaidh**: *an aoidh mhuinte cheansaigh* 129.3 (= *ina aghaidh* ...); **aithrighe**: *on aithrighe fhiorghlan* 125.11; **baintighearna**: *don Maitioghrna bheannaigh* 33.19; **brú**: *a mbroinn gheannamnaigh* 48.19; **corón**: *le Conair ro dhealraighah ghlormhar* 47.4, *ma(r) Chroin Ghlormhar* 47.9; **diabhlaidheacht**: *Le diabhluighat chruaidh* 115.8; **eadarghuidhe**: *le na Eidirghuidh Ghlormhar* 81.23; **eascaine**: *Le heasgain threan* 119.1; **fuil**: *eas fuil fhior ghlan* 23.6, *le dful mhorluaidhach* 107.27; **gabháil**: *le Gabhail gheannamnaigh* 67.11; **lámh**: *air do laimh dheis* 139.25; **maighdean**: *don Maighdon bheahnaigh* 34.22; **naoimheaglais**: *sa naomh Eagluis chaitliocah* 37.22, 7.14, *San naomh eaglius chaitlice dhirigh* 125.8; **staid**: *as a Staid shaolta* 46.19; **toirrneach**: *Le toirtnigh threin* 117.1. As was pointed out in section (12) (b) above, *sh-* in the adjective **síoraí** does not necessarily imply lenition; this concerns the following examples: **glór**: [i] *Ngloir Shioraith* 65.27, 100.4; **sláinte**: *air shlainte shioraith* 110.3 etc., *do Shlainnte shioraith* 92.20; **tuicse**: *leda Thugse shiothraith* 25.5. In a few instances, nouns which are f. in the sources take an unlenited adjective, e.g. **cneadh**: *an aon cneadh creachtaig(h)* 130.19 (= *i n-aon* ...); **cumhachta**: *do chomhachta daona* 27.6; **Éigipt**: *friod*

³²It is clear, of course, that there are other markers of gender in some of the examples above, which makes the matter of lenited/non-lenited adjectives in them redundant as far as determining their gender is concerned. For instance, the gen. sg. form *an* of the article (section (8)) and palatalization of stem-*f* *n*als (section (16)) both unambiguously establish that a noun is m., while the form *na* of the article is an unambiguous marker of f. gender (section (7)).

Eigipt cuntairtigh 79.22; **guala:** *air a ghuaalla fulita* 89.16; the lack of lenition in the following examples may be due to homorganicity, e.g. **clann:** *le clann taete De* 102.26; **colann:** *a gcoln daonna* 126.10; **foighid:** *le faoighhid dochuimsach* 41.23.

Nouns which are m. in the sources are generally accompanied by an unlenited adjective, e.g. **bás:** *o bhas sioraith* 76.19; **breitheamhnas:** *air bhreafnus micheart* 87.24; **carn:** *na charn dubh* 118.19; **cás:** *a gcas coitchon* 109.21; **ceann:** *an da Chean beannaigh* 131.13; **claonadh:** *o gach claonamh mealtanach* 104.5; **coinsias:** *le consias ciorath* 88.1; **corp:** *air chorp nochtaigh fuita* 107.11; **creideamh:** *le creidamh beo* 111.24; **criostaidhe:** *do gah Criosdaigh creidfah* 66.23; **croidhe:** *air do Chraoidh cruaidh* 93.20; **dia:** [i] *daon Ndia bibheo* 28.27; **díomhaoineas:** *as diomhnus curiolta* 129.25; **grádh:** *air ghradh dochuimse* 100.18, 126.9; **fíoch:** *le fioch doshasaigh* 131.23; **línéadach:** *an Lineadach finalta* 134.8 (= *ann línéadach* ...); **mac:** *thrid an Mac ceanna* 21.5, *o daon Mh⟨a⟩c graidh* 36.23, 93.9; **mórshonas:** *a mor shonas saolta* 78.17; **peacadh:** *le peacamh marafa* 80.17, 92.18; **poinnte:** *sa phuinte deanach* 106.20 etc.; **sciúrsadh:** *don sciuramh fuita* 88.11; **sclábhaidhe:** *do sclabhaigh dioblaigh* 128.21; **seirbhíseach:** *air da sheiribhisah bocht* 79.10; **smachtughadh:** *tre smachtamh criosdamhul* 104.8; **tighearna:** *tre an Tighearna ceanna* 14.26 etc.,³³ **toradh:** *le toramh fionronach* 81.4; **tréatúir:** *mar threatur publaigh* 128.26; **turas:** *tre an turas pianamhail* 86.22 etc.; **uan:** *leis a nuan ceansaigh* 106.11. In some instances, nouns which are m. in the sources take a lenited adjective: **am:** *an sa nam cheanna* 105.6, 91.16; **athair:** *do Athir Iolamhain Ghlormhar* 81.2 (= *dá Athair* ...); **bealach:** *a mbealach chudhann* 77.19; **dia:** *ta da Dhia bhibheo* 15.8, 25.23 (= *atá 'do Dhia* ...); **grádh:** *a ngradh mharanach shioraith* 91.1.

The general trend for this criterion is: (i) adjectives preceded by nouns which are f. in the sources are lenited, and (ii) adjectives preceded by nouns which are m. in the sources are unlenited. However, the exceptions to this trend — unlenited adjectives with f. nouns and lenited adjectives with m. nouns — renders these criteria ambiguous with respect to determining gender.

In a prepositional phrase containing two nouns linked by a conjunction, the preposition may not be repeated before the second noun,³⁴ and it is therefore difficult to say with certainty whether the second noun is dat. or nom., e.g. **gné** (f. in the sources): *air aoidh agus ghne dhi-aghá* 106.18 (= *air a aghaidh agas a ghné dhiadha*); **guidhe** (f. in the sources): *do dheirc no ghuidh ghlan* 115.21; **díomhaoineas** (m. in the sources): *on tsaoghsa agus a dhiomhnas mealltanach* 104.3. Note that these examples follow the general trend: they show lenition of adjectives

³³As well as the example just quoted, this phrase occurs in four other instances in *SpR*, namely 52.10, 77.22, 78.23, 80.1, and in each case *cean(n)a* remains unlenited.

³⁴See further McKenna, *Spiritual rose*, lxvii–lxxiii.

which accompany nouns which are f. in the sources, and non-lenition of an adjective with an historically m. noun.

LENITION OF ATTRIBUTIVE NOUNS

(15) *Lenition of indefinite nouns in phrases consisting of noun + indefinite attributive noun*

(a) (i) The indefinite noun is lenited when preceded by a noun which is f. in the sources, e.g. **cathair**: *Caitheir bhreithfhuis* 32.2; **coir**: *coir bhreige* 129.1 etc.; **cúis**: *cuis bhreige* 48.9; **deoch**: *deoch Fhiona* 132.9; when an adjective intervenes between two nouns, the second noun may be lenited, e.g. **aibid** (f. in sources): *an aibid phurple mhogaidh* 89.12 etc. (a) (ii) The indefinite noun is lenited when preceded by a noun which is m. in the sources, e.g. **lucht**: *lucht chomhnaigh* 47.7; **tuama**: *a dtuumba dhuine eile* 110.24.³⁵

The noun **grádh** when used attributively with a noun which is m. in the sources is particularly prone to lenition, e.g. **deisceabal**: *a gcuideacht do Deasciobail ghraidh* 127.3; **mac**: *a haon Mhac ghraidh* 37.6, 108.23, *le lin daon bhic ghraidh fhail* 37.18, *Corp do Mhic ghraidh* 42.23, *do dheasciobal ghraidh* 107.7, 133.11 (= *dá ...*).³⁶ Lenition of indefinite attributive nouns, since it occurs when these nouns qualify nouns which are f. or m. in the sources, is an ambiguous criterion of gender.

(b) The indefinite noun is unlenited: this occurs when the indefinite noun is preceded by a noun which is m. or f. in the sources; lack of lenition in this case is thus an ambiguous criterion of gender. The majority of examples of unlenited indefinite nouns qualify nouns which are m. in the sources, e.g. **aingeal**: *Aingiol coimhidacht* 48.23, *cuidamh ... ma ainghoil ciomhidacht* 74.9; **allas**: *allus Fola* 22.13 etc.; **ardmholadh**: *Ard mholamh ceoil* 57.5; **arm**: *aram mor bhrigh* 63.2; **beagán**: *beagan saothir* 115.21; **bogha**: *Bodh baistigh* 60.15; **breitheamhnas**: *Breathfnus bais* 41.22 etc.; **claonadh**: *claonamh Diomeas* 41.15; **crann**: *Crann pailim* 61.24; **croidhe**: *craoidh Duinne* 81.9; **éadach**: *teadach purpir* 50.12; **fios**: *fios mor Dholais* 80.13; **gníomh**: *Gniomh Buidhachais* 6.16, *Gniomh Creidigh* 7.11, *Gniomh Dochais* 7.17, *Gniomh Tairbhairt* 8.12, *Gnaomh Dearuin* 9.2, *Gniomh craoidh brudhamh* 85.26; **luach**: *luah saothair* 31.5 etc.; **mac**: *Mac graidh* 45.21, 109.9; **méadughadh**: *meadamh peine* 41.25; **piléar**: *aig an Philar claoithe* 22.19 etc.; **sórt**: *ule short cathaidh agus triblaide* 74.7, *ule short droch usaid* 99.2, 129.8, *ule short diomuis* 100.1, *uille shoirt droch mhes* 104.2, *uile short Blasfaimidh* 133.1. The following nouns, which are f. in the sources, are followed by an unlenited

³⁵In the case of **duine**: *Dan an Duine Dhosgidh* 140.13, *Dhosgidh* may derive from a noun or an adjective: see McKenna, *Spiritual rose*, 302 n. 140.13.

³⁶There may be no lenition of **grádh**, e.g. *da mhac graidh* 44.22, *daon Mhac graidh* 45.21, *corp d'aon mhac graidh* 109.9.

attributive noun: **áit**: *ait comhnaigh* 75.11; **cuid**: *cuid folla* 24.2 etc.; **daoirpheannaid**: [i] *naorpheanaid bais* 48.1 etc.; **ócaid**: *ocaid pacaidh* 8.20 etc.; **slat**: *slacht cuiscirt* 131.8.

PALATALIZATION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

(16) *Nouns in the gen. sg.*

All nouns which show inflection by palatalization in the gen. sg. in *SpR* are m. in the sources, e.g. **aifreann**: *Sacr(am)int* ... *a Naifrinn* 109.25, **aingeal**: *Faile an Ainghil* 20.18 etc., **allas**: *a chuid allais* 97.9, and similarly for **aoibhneas**, **aol**, **bás**, **breitheamhnas**, **buidheachas**, **ceann**, **ceól**, **cnoc**, **corp**, **craos**, **cúram**, **diabhal**, **díoghalas**, **díomas**, **dóchas**, **dólás**, **domblas**, **domhan**, **dubh-bhrón**, **garr**, **gearán**, **ifreann**, **iongantas**, **leanbh**, **leathrom**, **mac**, **monbhar**, **móruathbhás**, **naomhamharc**, **olc**, **parrthas**, **pléisiúr**, **réigiún**, **riachtanas**, **saoghal**, **saothar**, **sólás**, **sórt**, **teampall**, **uabhar** and **uan**, all of which are palatalized in the gen. sg. in *SpR* and are m. in the sources. In some nouns, the formation of the gen. sg. involves a change of vowel as well as palatalization of the final consonant, e.g. **ceann** > *ceinn* 107.9 etc. However, since such vowel changes are not relevant to gender they have been ignored here and in the other sections dealing with palatalization below. Palatalization in the gen. sg. is an exceptionless criterion of m. gender in *SpR*.

(17) *Nouns in the voc. sg.*

The only nouns which show palatalization in the voc. sg. in *SpR* are those which are m. in the sources, e.g. **corp**: *a chuirp* 119.2; **fuarán**: [a] *fhuarain* 139.3; **mac**: *A mhic* 141.26 etc.; **sac**: *A shaic* 119.17; **solas**: [a] *sholuis* 12.24; **glansholas**: [a] *Ghlan Sholais* 57.17; **sólás**: [a] *sholais* 85.27; **uan**: [a] *Uain De* 14.1 etc. This is an exceptionless criterion of gender.

(18) *Nouns in the dat. sg.*

Nouns which are f. in the sources may be palatalized in the dat. sg., e.g. **cian**: *a gcein* 123.13; **clann**: *do chloinn* 30.18; **deaslámh**: *air a dheislaimh* 72.24 etc.; **fearg**: *a bhfeirg* 124.24; **lámh**: *an a laimh* 50.12 etc.; **pian**: *a bpein* 83.25 etc. Nouns which are m. in the sources may also be palatalized in the dat. sg., e.g. **bás**: *re bais d'fhaighail* 27.22; **deichneabhar**: *Aig an chead Deinthisr* 22.11, *aig an darra deinthisr* 22.15; **gníomh**: *re gnaoimh* 9.6; **ifreann**: *go hifrinn* 79.12; **mainnséar**: *an a Mainsair* 35.19; **piléar**: *aig an philair* 13.16; **pléisiúr**: *do ... phlesir* 131.27–132.1; **saoghal**: *an sa tsaoighil* 8.3 etc., **ullghárdas**: *le ulghardais* 47.1.³⁷ Palatalization of nouns in the dat. sg. is thus an ambiguous criterion since it occurs both in nouns which are f. in the sources and in those which are m. in the sources. It is at least possible

³⁷For further remarks on these m. nouns see McKenna, *Spiritual rose*, lii–liv.

that palatalization in the examples cited in this section is functioning as a marker of the dat. sg. rather than as a marker of gender.³⁸

(19) *Nouns in the nom. pl.*

Palatalization in the nom. pl. occurs in *SpR* in nouns which are m. in the sources, e.g. **alt**: *aitl* 104.24, **amharc**: *na hamhairc* 110.18, **apstal**: *na haibstil* 70.10 etc., and similarly for **ball**, **beigleathtröm**, **corp**, **crann**, **deichneabhar**, **deisceabal**, **dólás**, **fear**, **fíorshólás**, **marbh**, **naomhapstal**, **páipéar** and **pléisiúr**, all of which are palatalized in the nom. pl. in *SpR* and are m. in the sources. Historical **rúindiamhair**, which is f. in the sources, always ends in *-ar*, *-ur* in the sg. in *SpR*, e.g. *An Chead Rundhiamar* 33.16, *sa Rundhiamar so* 33.18 etc.³⁹ This fact, and the palatalized pl. form *na rundhiamhair* 32.4, suggest that historical **rúindiamhair** has been reformed as **rúindiamhar** and is a m. noun in *SpR*. I treat palatalization in the nom. pl. as an exceptionless criterion of gender.

(20) *Adjectives in the gen. sg.*

An adjective, when qualifying a noun which is palatalized in the gen. sg. in *SpR* and which is m. in the sources, may itself be palatalized, e.g. **craos**: *Fairsinge a crhaois duibh* 113.6. In this example, palatalization of the adjective is a redundant marker since the gender of the noun in question is already indicated unambiguously by its being palatalized.

(21) *Adjectives in the dat. sg.*

Adjectives qualifying nouns which are f. in the sources may be palatalized in the dat. sg., e.g. **lámh**: *air do laimh dhei* 139.25; **toirrneach**: *Le toirthní threin* 117.1. Since there are only two examples of this criterion, it cannot be used with certainty to determine gender in doubtful cases such as are discussed in Part II below.

VOCALIZATION OF STEM-FINALS IN OBLIQUE CASES

I use ‘vocalization’ here as a cover-term for the changes **-adh** (nom. sg.) > *-aidh*, *-aigh*, and **-(e)ach** (nom. sg.) > *-(a)igh*, which take place in the oblique cases of disyllabic words. For the changes which **-(e)och** undergoes in monosyllabic words in the dat. sg., see (24) below.

(22) *Nouns in the gen. sg.*

³⁸In phrases consisting of dat. sg. nouns beginning in *s*- and preceded by a preposition + sg. article, prefixed *t*- is always present in *SpR* irrespective of the historical gender of nouns. Prefixed *t*- is thus triggered by the presence of the preposition and, as such, is a marker of the dat. case rather than of gender. In the case of the noun **saoghal** (m. in the sources), for example, there is always prefixed *t*- (twenty-two examples) in *SpR*, e.g. *air a Tsaoighla* 22.10 etc. Prefixed *t*- occurs also with **suipéar** (m. in the sources): *on tsipar* 127.5; and with **slighe** and **sráid** (both f. in the sources): *san tsliugh* 141.23; *friod a tsraid* 50.9. Thus, an historical marker of gender has become a (synchronic) marker of case.

³⁹There are some thirty-five examples of historical **rúindiamhair** ending in *-ar*, *-ur* in *SpR*.

Nouns which ended historically in **-adh** in the nom. sg. are usually spelled **-aidh** (more rarely **-aigh**) in the gen. sg. in *SpR*, e.g. **crábhadh**: *Aram a chrabhaidh* 63.8 etc.; **grádh**: *daon Mh(a)c graidh* 36.23 etc.; **magadh**: *aibid ... mhogaidh* 89.12; **peacadh**: *occайд peacaidh* 16.3 etc.; **adhlacadh**: *As ucht ... diolcaigh* 13.21. Since the nouns in which the change **-adh** > **-idh**, **-igh** occurs in *SpR* are all m. in the sources, this change is an exceptionless criterion of m. gender.⁴⁰

(23) *Nouns in the voc. sg.*

-ach becomes **-aigh** in the voc. sg. of **conablach** (m. in the sources): *A conbhlaigh* 119.6. Since there is only one example of this criterion, it cannot be used to determine gender with certainty; this is also the case with criteria (25) and (26).

(24) *Nouns in the dat. sg.*

-ach in the nom. > **-igh** in the dat. sg. of **toirrneach** (f. in the sources): *Le toirthnígh threin* 117.1. Three monosyllabic nouns, all of which are f. in the sources, show a variety of changes in the dat. sg.; thus **críoch**: *gan chrich* 52.9, *thabhart agrigh* 55.1 (= *i gcrích*); **croch**: *air an gcráioth* 48.3, *as an gcráoidh* 50.4; **deoch**: *arhach a dhi* 103.13 (= *atharrach do dhígh*), *na dhith* 127.17 (= *'na dhígh*).⁴¹ This criterion is unambiguous. In section (18) above, it was suggested that palatalization in the dat. sg. may be a marker of case rather than of gender; the examples quoted in the present section ((24)), as well as those in section (27), should also be viewed in that light.⁴²

(25) *Adjectives in the gen. sg.*

-ach > **-igh** in an adjective which qualifies a noun (**sólás**) which is m. in the sources: *naigh Sholais bhreagigh a Tsaoghlsa* 44.6 (= *i ndiaidh ...*).

(26) *Adjectives in the voc. sg.*

-ach > **-aigh** in an adjective which qualifies a noun (**conablach**) which is m. in the sources: *A conbhlaigh brocaigh* 119.6.

(27) *Adjectives in the dat. sg.*

-(e)ach > **-(a)igh** in adjectives which qualify nouns which are f. in the sources, e.g. **Éigipt**: *friod Eigipt cuntairtigh* 79.22; **naoimheaglais**:

⁴⁰A number of nouns which are m. in the sources and whose nom. sg. ends in **-ach** have **-igh** in the gen. sg. (-/ax/ > -/i/), thus **bealach**: *foscailt an bhealaigh* 30.15, **craosach**: *gaile an chraosaigh* 116.24, **éadach**: *a chuid Eadaigh* 42.17 etc. However, the same gen. sg. ending (-igh) is also found in a noun which is f. in the sources, namely **báisteach**: *Boadh baistigh* 60.15 (< historical **báistighe**). The falling together of **-igh** (in the gen. sg. of m. nouns) and **-ighe** (in the gen. sg. of f. nouns) as -/i/ has blurred this particular historical distinction between the two genders.

⁴¹On vocalization in the dat. sg. of **croch**, **críoch** and **deoch**, see further McKenna, *Spiritual rose*, xxx–xxxi and xlvi.

⁴²In *SpR* (pp. 231 and liv) I took *sa naoiligh* in the phrase *A shaic an chamra shalaigh sa naoiligh* 119.17 to be dat. sg., but it may well be a genitive governed by *A shaic*. Thus, *A shaic an chamra shalaigh sa naoiligh* = *a shaic an chamra shalaigh is an aoiligh*.

San naomh eaglius chaitlice dhirigh 125.8. In a single exception to this, an adjective showing vocalization occurs with a noun which is m. in the sources, namely **Dia**: *air Dhia uile-chuachthaigh* 16.1.⁴³

PART II: NOUNS WHICH MAY BE M. AND F. IN THE SOURCES

In the tables below, 'm/f' indicates that a noun is listed as being both m. and f. in a given source; if a noun is not assigned a gender in a source this is indicated in the tables by '-'. In most cases, a noun in a given source will be predominantly m. and occasionally f., or predominantly f. and occasionally m. In a reflection of this, it turns out that, with few exceptions, historical double-gender nouns are either m. or f. in *SpR* when the evidence in this text for determining the gender of these nouns is judged in terms of the exceptionless criteria which have been established in Part I. Thus, any one of the following criteria, taken on its own, establishes unambiguously that a noun is m. in *SpR* (the numbers in brackets in the list refer to sections in Part I):

- (1) The use of the pronouns **sé** and **é**, e.g. *thuirlin ar Slainaitheor ... gur nigh se* 26.4; *budigh an dorus agus foscuilltar dhuibh e* 15.4.
- (3) The use of m. third person pronominal forms of prepositions, e.g. *gach aon a bhfuil se diachitha oram a bheith guidh air* 49.2.
- (8) (a) The form **an** of the article with nouns in the gen. sg., e.g. *gloir an Athara* 126.8.
- (9) (a) Prefixation of **t-** to nom. sg. nouns beginning in a vowel and preceded by the article, e.g. *an tabhar* 96.3.
- (10) (b) No change to nom. sg. nouns beginning in mutable **s-** and preceded by the article, e.g. *an Saoghal* 51.21.
- (13) (a) Lenition of adjectives beginning in a mutable consonant and qualifying a gen. sg. noun, e.g. *faoigh'd ... an uain cheansaigh* 91.13.
- (16) Inflection by palatalization of nouns in the gen. sg., e.g. *Failte an Ainghil* 20.18.
- (17) Inflection by palatalization of nouns in the voc. sg., e.g. *A mhic* 141.26.
- (19) Inflection by palatalization of nouns in the nom. pl., e.g. *na hamhairc* 110.18.
- (22) Vocalization of stem-finals of nouns: **-adh** in the nom. sg. > **-aidh**, **-aigh** in the gen. sg., e.g. *Aram a chrabhaidh* 63.8.

The following criteria unambiguously establish that a noun is f. in *SpR*:

- (2) Use of the pronouns **sí** and **í**, e.g. *air an Maighdion ... beir si* 110.19, *rinn siad Croin spin agus spar siad i* 131.2.

⁴³In the case of **ullghárdas**: *le ulghardas crafaidh* 36.16, there is some ambiguity; see McKenna, *Spiritual rose*, 285 n. 36.16.

(4) Use of f. third person pronominal forms of prepositions, e.g. *a ghiompar na Craoithe go gcuirfaidh chum bais oraith thu* 96.1.

(5) (a) Prefixation of **h**- to nouns beginning in a vowel and preceded by the sg. 3 possessive adjective, e.g. *na maighdiona ... tre na heidirghuidh* 67.12–16.

(7) The form **na** of the article with nouns in the gen. sg., e.g. *chum na haite* 27.21.

(10) (a) Prefixation of **t**- to nom. sg. nouns beginning in mutable **s**- and preceded by the article, e.g. *an tslat* 50.12.

(11) (a) Lenition of nom. sg. nouns beginning in a mutable consonant and preceded by the article, e.g. *an choir* 120.25.

(12) (a) Lenition of adjectives beginning in a mutable consonant and qualifying a nom. sg. noun, e.g. *aibaid phurple* 48.10.

(24) Vocalization of stem-finals of nouns: **-ach** in the nom. sg. > **-igh** in the dat. sg., e.g. *Le toirthnígh* 117.1.

A: NOUNS WHICH ARE BOTH M. AND F. IN THE SOURCES BUT ONLY M. IN *SpR*

	DIL	TSh.	DDána	Dinn.	FGB	SpR
aieór	m/f	m	m	m	m	m
ainm	m	m	m	m/f	m/f	m
aistear	m	m	m	m/f	m/f	m
anam	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m
camra	m	f	f	f	m	m
deaghrún	m/f	m	f	m/f	m	m
dlighe	—	m	m	m/f	m/f	m
glas	m/f?	m	m	m	m	m
maitheas	m/f	m	m	m/f	m/f	m
naomh	m/f	—	—	m	m	m
satharn	m	—	—	m/f	m/f	m

Examples

Criteria (1) and (3): that **anam** is m. in *SpR* is evidenced by the use of the pronoun **sé**, and the pronominal form **aige**, to refer to it in *anam ... ta se* 29.5; *Ach a tanam amhain is aige ...* 55.3.

Criterion (8): **aieór**, **camra** and **dlighe** are m. in *SpR* by virtue of the form of the article in *faoi shion an aeor* 103.28, *A shaic an chamra shalaigh* 119.17, *reir an Dlithu* 24.3.

Criterion (9) (a): **ainm** and **anam** are m. in *SpR* by virtue of prefixed **t**- in *An tainim* 52.26; *an Tanam* 118.22 etc.

Criterion (16): that the following nouns are m. in *SpR* is indicated by their being palatalized in the gen. sg.: **aistear**: *As ucht daisdir* 13.14 etc.; **deaghrún**: *Gnaomh Dearuin* 9.2; **maitheas**: *rarc gah maithois* 51.10 etc.; **satharn**: *de Sathairin* 32.18.

Criterion (19): palatalization in the nom. pl. of the following nouns indicates that they are m. in *SpR*: **deaghrún**: *na dearuin* 9.21; **glas**: *na Glais* 83.27; **naomh**: *na Naoimh* 48.25 etc.

B: NOUNS WHICH ARE BOTH M. AND F. IN THE SOURCES BUT ONLY F. IN *SpR*

	DIL	TSh.	DDána	Dinn.	FGB	SpR
airdreimheas	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m	f
anál	f	f	f	m/f	f	f
beatha	m/f	f	f	f	f	f
breith	m/f	f	—	f	f	f
cruinne	m/f	f	m/f	f	f	f
eagna	m/f	f	f	f	f	f
eiséirghe	f	f	—	m	m/f	f
fioghair	f	f	f	m/f	f	f
gorta	f	f	—	f	m/f	f
íota	f	f	f	f	m/f	f
maidean	m/f	f	m/f	f	f	f
maith	m/f	f	f	f	m/f	f
muir	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	f	f
ógh	f	f	f	m/f	f	f
síoth	m/f	m	m	f	f	f

Examples

Criterion (7): the gen. sg. form *na* of the article appearing with the following nouns indicates that they are f. in *SpR*: **airdreimheas**: *Craioth na hardreimhus* 95.12; **beatha**: *Sgathan na Beatha* 12.3 etc.;⁴⁴ **cruinne**: *mnaibh na cruinne* 57.21 etc.; **eagna**: *Ard chathar na heagna* 18.20; **eiséirghe**: *neis na heisérigh* 44.15 etc.;⁴⁵ **gorta**: *conbhlaigh... na gorta* 119.6; **íota**: *conbhlaigh... na hiota* 119.6; **maidean**: *Rialt na maidhne* 19.3 etc.; **muir**: *Rialt għlan na marra* 65.21;⁴⁶ **síoth**: *Crann pailim na sith* 61.24.

Criterion (10) (a): the presence of prefixed *t*- in *an tshiar oidh* 16.21 (= *an tsioróigh*) establishes that this noun is f. in *SpR*.⁴⁷

⁴⁴That **beatha** is f. is further evidenced by the lenition of its initial in the nom. sg., and by the lenition of the adjectives accompanying it, in *an bheatha mharanach shioraith* 8.2, etc. (sections (11) (a) and (12) (a) respectively).

⁴⁵Further evidence that **eiséirghe** is f. is the lenition of the adjective in *Eiseirigh ghlorħmha* 77.21 (section (12) (a)).

⁴⁶That **muir** is f. is also indicated by the lenition of its initial in the nom. sg. in *an mhuiर* 117.25 (section (11) (a)).

⁴⁷The historical dat. sg. of **ógh** has replaced the nom. sg. in all instances in *SpR*. For **banógh** see section (4).

Criterion (11) (a): the following nom. sg. nouns are f. in *SpR* by virtue of the lenition of their initials when preceded by the form **an** of the article: **breith**: *an bhrefith* 88.11; **fiochair**: *a nfhioghir* 64.3; **maith**: *an mhaith* 8.7.

Criterion (12) (a): **anál** is f. in *SpR* by virtue of the lenited adj. in *manal dheanach* 111.22.

C: NOUNS WHICH ARE BOTH M. AND F. IN THE SOURCES BUT WHICH ARE AMBIGUOUS WITH RESPECT TO GENDER IN *SpR*

Ambiguity arises with respect to some double-gender nouns because the evidence in *SpR* which is relevant to the gender of these nouns comes under the heading of gender-determining criteria which are themselves ambiguous since there are exceptions to them. These criteria are:

- (5) (b) The 3 sg. possessive causes no change to the initial of nouns which begin in a vowel: in most of the examples of this, the possessive refers back to a noun which is m. in the sources, but in one case, namely **colann**: *mo cholann ... le na anbhiantaith* 105.18, where the initial remains unchanged, the possessive refers to a noun which is f. in the sources.
- (6) (a) The 3 sg. possessive and lenition: when the possessive does not lenite the noun which follows it, the noun to which the possessive refers is f. in the sources, with the exception of **slánaightheoir** (m. in the sources): *mo Shlainaighoir Iosa ... mor luaihhacht a Phaise agus a trocaire* 102.12–16.
- (6) (b) The leniting 3 sg. possessive generally refers to nouns which are m. in the sources, but it sometimes also refers to nouns which are f. in the sources, e.g. the noun **pearsa** (f. in the sources): *gach pearsa na Dhia* 122.3.
- (9) (b) No change to nom. sg. nouns which begin in a vowel and are preceded by the article: such nouns are usually f. in the sources, with the exception of **athair** (m. in the sources): *do thoil De an Athir* 78.9, *le Dia an Athir* 81.24.
- (11) (b) Non-lenition of nom. sg. nouns which are preceded by the article: these nouns are usually m. in the sources, but some f. nouns remain unlenited, e.g. **maighdean** (f. in the sources): *an Maighdion* 46.5.
- (12) (b) Non-lenition of attributive adjectives which begin in a mutable consonant and which qualify nom. sg. nouns: such nouns are usually m. in the sources, but there are some exceptions, e.g. **leagáid** (f. in the sources): *Leagaid morluaidach* 127.13.
- (13) (b) Non-lenition of attributive adjectives which begin in a mutable consonant and which qualify gen. sg. nouns: such nouns are usually f. in the sources; an exception is **corp** (m. in the sources): *liuge do chuirp creaghtaigh* 99.18.

(14) Lenition/non-lenition of adjectives in the dat. sg.: nouns which are f. in the sources usually take a lenited adjective, but there are exceptions to this, e.g. **Éigipt** (f. in the sources): *friod Eigipt cuntairtigh* 79.22. Nouns which are m. in the sources are usually accompanied by an unlenited adjective, but not always, e.g. *do Athir Iolamhain Ghlormháir* 81.2 (= *dá* ...).

(15) (a) Lenited indefinite nouns which qualify a preceding noun: these usually accompany nouns which are f. in the sources, but they may also occur with nouns which are m. in the sources, e.g. **lucht**: *lucht chomhnaigh* 129.1.

(15) (b) Unlenited indefinite nouns which qualify a preceding noun: such qualified nouns are usually m. in the sources, but some examples contain nouns which are f. in the sources, e.g. **áit**: *áit comhnaigh* 75.11.

(18) Nouns which are f. in the sources may be palatalized in the dat. sg., but so too are some nouns which are m. in the sources, e.g. **ifreann**: *go hifrinn* 79.12.

(27) Adjectives with stem-final vocalization in the dat. sg. usually qualify nouns which are f. in the sources, with the sole exception of **Dia** (m. in the sources): *air Dhia uile-chuachthaigh* 16.1

Examples (see also the table on the page facing)

Criterion (6) (a): a non-leniting possessive is used to refer to **rann** in *Ta an rann sa ... air na molamh* 66.20–22.

Criterion (9) (b): there is no change to the initial of **eagla** when it is preceded by the article in the nom. sg. in *An eagla* 78.26.

Criterion (11) (b): non-lenition of nom. sg. nouns preceded by a reflex of **an** the article: **brainse**: *a[n] brainse* 67.2; **cantaic**: *an cantic* 75.21; **feadh**: *an feadh* 87.23.

Criterion (12) (b): non-lenition of attributive adjectives which qualify nom. sg. nouns: **drong**: *a measg ... a drong taoite* 137.10, **garda**: *Mo gharda buan* 83.1; **soillse**: *soilse sioraith* 137.16.

Criterion (14): attributive adjectives in the dat. sg.: (i) unlenited adjectives: **buntáiste**: *le na bhuntaiste dimbhuan* 111.2; **cuibhreach**: *air chuibhrach sioraith* 107.17; **náire**: *gan naire diombhuidach* 95.16; **rún**: *le rudhan daighion* 91.20;⁴⁸ **talámh**: *go talamh beannaigh* 79.25; **trónóid**: *don Trionaid fiormhor* 121.18. **uiread**: *air urad saoghltaigh* 80.19.⁴⁹ In **meanma**: *le intin agus meanamna diagha* 58.14, it is not clear that *meanamna* is governed by the preposition and hence this may not be a case of a noun in the dat. sg.; if we take

⁴⁸In this example, assuming that **rún** is f. in *SpR*, homorganicity may prohibit lenition.

⁴⁹‘Gender doubtful ... treated as f. in later language’ is how *DIL* (A 201.1–3) describes this noun. According to *FGB* (s.v.), it is ‘Treated as f. with article, except in gen.; followed by m. form of adjective’.

meanamna to be nom., the lack of lenition is to be referred to criterion (12) (b). (ii) lenited adjective: **soillse**: *na shoilse dhealaigh* 77.18 (= *ina* ...).

	DIL	TSh.	DDána	Dinn.	FGB	SpR
bolg	m/f	m	f	m	m	?
brainse	—	—	—	f	m	?
bratach	f	—	f	m/f	f	?
briathar	m/f	f	f	m/f	m/f	?
buntáiste	—	—	—	f/m	m/f	?
cantaic	m/f	—	—	f	f	?
cuibhreach	—	m	m	m/f	m/f	?
dealg	m	—	m	f	f	?
drong	m/f	f	f	f	f	?
eagla	f	f	f	m/f	m/f	?
feadh	m	m	m	m	m/f	?
garda	—	—	—	m/f	m	?
leath	m/f	f	m/f	f	f	?
meanma	m/f	f	m/f	f	f	?
meisneach	m/f	m	m/f	m/f	m/f	?
náire	m/f	—	—	f	f	?
rann	m	m	m	m/f	m	?
rún	m/f	m	f	m/f	m	?
séad	m	—	m	m/f	m	?
soillse	f	f	f	f	m/f	?
alamh	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	?
taobh	m/f	f	m/f	m/f	m/f	?
tríonóid	m/f	f	m/f	f	f	?
uiread	f	f	—	m	m/f	?

Criterion (18): palatalization of nouns in the dat. sg.: **briathar**: *de'n mbreithir* 20.26 etc.; **dealg**: *thrid dheiligh* 111.13; **séad** ('journey'): *air seoid* 141.18; **taobh**: *Air thaobh* 139.22 etc.; a palatalized dat. sg. may replace the nom. sg., e.g. **bolg**: *an mbhuiligh do lionamh* 119.9.

Criterion (27): vocalization of stem-finals in the dat. sg.: **bratach**: *faoi da bhrataigh* 82.17 etc.; **meisneach**: *gan a mheasnigh* 95.2 (= *gan de mheisnigh*).

The noun cine

	DIL	TSh.	DDána	Dinn.	FGB	SpR
cine	m	m	m	m/f	m	?

In *SpR*, **cine** is always accompanied by the adj. **daonna** and the two are always printed as one word, e.g. *an chinnadaona* 76.19, as if it were a compound and, in the five instances of this phrase which occur in *SpR*, the initial of **daonna** is never lenited. By criterion (11) (a) (lenition of nom. sg. nouns preceded by the article), **cine** is f. on the basis of the example *an chinnadaona* 76.19. However, the lack of lenition on **daonna** seems to contradict this, and for this reason a question-mark must remain over the gender of **cine** in *SpR*.⁵⁰

The noun log, loig

Ambiguity can arise in circumstances that are not connected with the ambiguous criteria described above. For example, *A luig* 119.15, in which *A* is the vocative particle, may be interpreted in two ways: (i) *luig* is the (palatalized) vocative case of historical **log**, which is m. in *DIL*, *Tsh.* and *Dinn.*; (ii) *luig* is a f. nominative sg.: compare **loig** f., *FGB* s.v. It is, therefore, impossible to say with certainty whether *luig* is related to **log**, and is thus m., or to **loig** and is thus f.⁵¹

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⁵⁰See further McKenna, *Spiritual rose*, 285 n. 29.18.

⁵¹**Log/loig** may be compared with nouns, such as **to(i)l**, **fanánamha(i)d**, **scanna(i)l**, which historically were phonologically marked for gender. When such nouns had a broad stem-final consonant they were treated as being m.; when their stem-final was slender, they were f. See further McManus, 'An nua-Ghaeilge chlasaiceach', in Kim McCone, et al. (ed.), *Stair na Gaeilge* (Maigh Nuad 1994) 367. In McKenna, *Spiritual rose*, 353 s.v. **log**, *luig* is listed as a vocative, but this description should now be revised in the light of what I have said about **log**, **loig**.