Universität Potsdam

Hildegard L. C. Tristram (ed.)

The Celtic Englishes IV

The Interface between English and the Celtic Languages

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Proceedings of
the fourth International Colloquium on the "Celtic Englishes"
held at the University of Potsdam in Golm (Germany)
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In memoriam Alan R. Thomas

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Introduction

Hildegard L.C. Tristram
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The fourth and final international Colloquium on the "Celtic Englishes" at the University of Potsdam in Golm (Germany) was held from the 22nd to 25th of September, 2004. The title of this Colloquium was "Exploring the *Celticity* of the Celtic Englishes." Some fifty scholars from various countries in Europe, North America, India and Africa convened in Golm to discuss current views about the linguistic status of the varieties of English spoken in the Celtic countries and in the Celtic diaspora.

As the series of Colloquia on the Celtic Englishes at the University of Potsdam comes to a close after a period of 10 years, I wish to strongly stress the point that this project, which started from modest beginnings in 1995, gained wide recognition and was paid liberal tribute to by the anonymous assessors of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (*The Federal German Research Foundation*). These assessors very generously granted travel stipends for the foreign participants of this Colloquium from Europe and from as far away as Cameroon, Texas, Chicago, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. This most generous grant allowed us to change the format of the previous Colloquia from an ordinary style to a "seminar" style Colloquium, which meant that the fourteen prepublications submitted were reviewed and commented upon by two respondents each and in one case even by three respondents. From this a very lively and fruitful, even controversial discussion developed. I am sure that the great expectations which the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft placed in this Colloquium were met by all of the participants.

I also wish to extend gracious thanks to the "Cultural Relations Committee / Comhar Cultúra Éireann" of the Department of Foreign Affairs / An Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha of the Government of the Republic of Ireland, which, as in the years before, granted financial support towards the travel expenses of the convenors from the Republic of Ireland. It is so rewarding to have trustworthy and reliable friends. Cordial thanks go to the Ambassador of Ireland in Berlin, HE Seán O'Huiginn, for his most generous invitation of the convenors to his Residency in Berlin-Grunewald for an evening of Irish music and conviviality.

The Colloquium was opened by the welcome address of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Potsdam University, Prof. Dr. Bernhard R. Kroener, followed by that of the Director Germany of the British Council in Berlin, Kathryn Board OBE, and of Dr. Seán Ó Riain, First Secretary of the Embassy of Ireland, Berlin. Dr. Ó Riain also acted as a respondent to Liam Mac Mathúna's contribution on "What's in an Irish Name? A Study of the Personal Naming Systems of Irish and Irish English." He participated in the general discussions as well. For the program, speakers, respondents and the picture gallery, please see

< http://www.celtic-englishes.de/ >, The Celtic Englishes IV.

I hope that, with the Potsdam Colloquia on the Celtic Englishes having come to a close, this field of study will continue to stimulate interest in the many aspects of the intense and prolonged linguistic interaction between speakers of English and speakers of the Insular Celtic languages in the Atlantic Archipelago.

The topics explored in this Colloquium and the contributions published in this volume broadened the scope of research compared to the previous Colloquia and volumes. They moved from the more obvious linguistic transfers of Celtic to English to a number of issues not dealt with before.

The first group of papers deals with the issue of "Celticity" and ethnic identity construction. The recent fashion of resorting to the use of Celtic personal names in Brittany, Wales and Ireland, as discussed by **Gary German** and **Liam Mac Mathúna,** attests to the rising awareness which many parents have of their "Celtic" heritage. It is this perceived "Celticity" that they wish to pass on to their children. The popularity of the Celtic anthroponyms attests to their desire to overtly display their "Celtic" identity. As citizens of nation states with predominantly English and French speakers, they use the Celtic names in order to demonstrate their "otherness." Names of Celtic origin are of great popularity in North America as well, but they do not express the same desire of ethnic identity formation.

"Otherness" as an expression of a perceived Celtic identity also plays an important role in three contributions on the "Celticity" of Standard English. **David White** presents cumulative evidence of the "otherness from Germanic" of many grammatical markers of Standard English. He makes a strong case that the obvious typological parallels between Standard English and the Insular Celtic languages need to be viewed in conjunction with recent historical and archaeological evidence concerning the Anglo-Saxon Conquest. It is suggested that the native Britons adapted themselves on a large scale to the culture of their conquerors. Linguistically, such acculturation hints at a grammatical convergence of English and Neo-Brittonic ("bottom-up language shift"), thereby alienating English from other Germanic languages.

Jeffrey Kallen and **John Kirk** point out, using the data from ICE-Ireland, that the use of Standard English in the South of Ireland as well as in the North shows that the occurrence of specific lexical and grammatical features marks it as specifically Irish rather than British. Moreover, northernisms can be distinguished from southernisms, so that, in spite of the low frequency of such diagnostic forms, their salience serves overt identity constructions. These are per-

ceived as being largely of Celtic origin. **Séamus Mac Mathúna**'s remarks on Kallen and Kirk's paper suggest that the "Celticised" or regionalised standard of the English language in Ireland needs to be confronted with the problems of the standardisation of Irish and, by comparison, Welsh. Lesser used languages often suffer from the stigma of fragmentation due to the *absence* of a supra-regional standard. The perceived "Celticity" of the standard languages in Ireland, Wales, and perhaps elsewhere in the British Isles, seems to serve identity constructions of the Celtic Englishes, as well as that of the Celtic languages.

Some of the grammatical features considered to be especially diagnostic of the "Celtic Englishes" are discussed in a second group of contributions. **Kevin McCafferty**, **Ailbhe Ó Corráin**, **Erich Poppe**, **Malcolm Williams**, **Claudia Lange**, and **Peter Siemund** deal with non-standard properties such as the expression of perfectivity (esp. the *after*-perfect), relativity (esp. contact clauses and preposition stranding), and intensification (unbound *self*-forms). The common typological shift of verbal word formation from syntheticity to analycity is broached in the contribution by **Elvira Veselinović**. The overriding question in all of these articles is how "really Celtic" or how "English" these modes of expression historically are. Quantitative and qualitative arguments are used for or against contact-induced Celtic influence on English. The problem, however, is that most of the features analysed are not evidenced in the Old English, Old Irish and Old/Middle Welsh (and the closely related Old/Middle Breton) texts. How are we to explain their more or less joint rise in the high Middles Ages, in English, in the Insular Celtic languages, and in the Celtic Englishes? Was the convergence through human interaction and linguistic diffusion unilateral or multilateral?

Beside the usual retention-versus-transfer hypotheses adduced to explain the convergence of grammatical features in Standard English, the Insular Celtic languages and the Celtic Englishes, three papers in this volume explore the possibility that some of the features traditionally held to be diagnostic of the Celtic Englishes may perhaps be due not to the Celtic influence as such, but to contact universals. **Raymond Hickey**'s, **Claudia Lange**'s, and **Peter Siemund**'s papers suggest that English in contact with other languages may resort to linguistic strategies leading to comparable results, due to processes of imperfect L2 acquisition in adulthood. Evidence of such universalising trends supposedly characteristic of contact Englishes is adduced in the discussion of Irish English, Indian English and South African Indian English. One is reminded here of Christian Mair and Andrea Sand's original hypothesis of "anglo-versals" arising in situations of English in world-wide colonial contact situations.[1] In the specific cases of the use of unbound *self*-forms as intensifiers and definite articles as specifiers,

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[1] Cf. Mair, C., 2003, "Kreolismen und verbales Identitätsmanagement im geschriebenen jamaikanischen Englisch," in: Vogel, E., A. Napp and W. Lutterer, eds., *Zwischen Ausgrenzung und Hybridisierung. Zur Konstruktion von Identitäten aus kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive*, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 79-96, at p. 84; Sand, A., *Angloversals? Shared Morphosyntactic Features in Contact Varieties of English* (tbp 2007). See also Kortmann, B., et al., eds., 2004, *A Handbook of Varieties of English*, vol. 2: *Morphology and Syntax*, Berlin: Mouton de Guyter, 1192 f., for a slightly different understanding of the term.

one needs, however, to be aware of the fact that both the underlying Irish language and the Indian languages cannot resort to prosody for the sake of expressing intensification and specificity. Syntactic means are required to do so. What looks like a universal trend may in fact be due to typologically or genetically shared characteristics of the underlying contact languages. Much further research into the typologically relevant structures of the underlying languages is needed. Otherwise, universal trends may be all too easily hypothesised.

Not all the papers presented and discussed at the Colloquium are published in this volume. Unfortunately, Joan C. Beal and Karen P. Corrigan's study of "The Impact of Nineteenth Century Celtic English Migrations on contemporary Northern Englishes: Tyneside and Sheffield Compared" and Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola and Heli Paulasto's contribution "What's Celtic and What's English in the 'British Isles Englishes'?" had to be discounted. The first dealt with lexical transfer in 19th century Northern England and the second with the gradience of linguistic features of Celtic origin in the "British Isles Englishes," this term including English in Ireland.

The linguistic situation of English in Scotland has been sadly neglected in the volumes on the "Celtic Englishes." A hopeful start was made in the first volume, which contained three contributions by C.I. Macafee and Colm Ó Baoill on "Why Scots is not a Celtic English," by Barbara Bird on "Past and Present Studies of Hebridean English Phonology," and David Clement's "Highland English." Although the languages of Scotland (Gàidhlig or Scottish Gaelic, Scots and English) have received increased public attention in the last years, as evidenced by a series of conferences on the "Languages of Scotland," it is Scots and Gaelic, the two so-called "heritage languages of Scotland," which have enjoyed the greatest amount of scholarly interest. The uses of English in the Highlands and Islands as well as the urban community Englishes have been largely left unstudied. It is very much to be regretted that no speakers could be found for the three other Colloquia to fill this unfortunate gap.

English in Cornwall has also suffered from not receiving the scholarly investigations it deserves. **Alan Kent**'s paper on "'Bringin' the Dunkey Down from the Carn:'' Cornu-English in Context 1549-2005 – A Provisional Analysis" redresses our ignorance about the situation of Cornu-English and its relation to Cornish identity. Together with Philip Payton's paper on "Identity, Ideology and Language in Modern Cornwall" in the first volume, he laid the foundation for future research into this most south-western variety of the "Celtic Englishes."

Last but not least, **Augustin Simo Bobda**'s pioneering contribution on the "Irish Presence in Colonial Cameroon and Its Linguistic Legacy" opens up a wide future perspective inviting research on the linguistic impact of Irish Catholic as well as Presbyterian male and female missionaries in Africa in the 20th century and their influence on the making of the regionally as well as nationally distinctive Englishes in Africa.

Many thanks are due to our invited respondents who made essential contributions to the high standard of the discussions by their critical questions, informed suggestions and thoughtful comments. Of course the views of these academic exchanges were sometimes controversial, and nowhere more so than on the basic question of what the so-called "Celticity" consists of (i.e. the Celtic properties of the "Celtic Englishes"). The invited discussants present were (in alphabetical order): Christina Bismark (Potsdam), Dr. Joanna Bugaj (Poznań, Poland), Prof. Una Cunningham (Högskolan Dalarna, Sweden), Gavin Falconer M.A. (Belfast), Astrid Fieß M.A. (Freiburg i.Br.), Dr. Johannes Heinecke (Lannion, France), Prof. Sabine Heinz (Poznań/Berlin), Sachin Labade (Puna, India), Stephen Laker M.A. (Leiden), Heidi Ann Lazar-Meyn (Toronto), Prof. Angelika Lutz (Erlangen), Prof. Gearóid Mac Eoin (Galway), Prof. Séamus Mac Mathúna (Coleraine), Prof. Richard Matthews (Freiburg i.Brsg.), Dr. Simon Meecham-Jones (Cambridge), Prof. Gunnel Melchers (Stockholm), Prof. Salikoko Mufwene (Chicago), Prof. Kenneth Nilsen (Antigonish, Nova Scotia), Prof. Ailbhe Ó Corráin (Derry), Dr. Robert Penhallurick (Swansea), Prof. Patricia Poussa (Umeå, Sweden), Dr. Seán Ó Riain (Berlin), Patricia Ronan M.A. (Maynooth), Prof. Annette Sabban (Hildesheim), Prof. Andrea Sand (Hannover), Dylan Scott (Berlin), Prof. Graham Shorrocks (St Johns, NFL), Prof. Piotr Stalmaszczyk (Łodz, Poland), Prof. Theo Vennemann gen. Nierfeld (Munich), Dr. Letizia Vezzosi (Perugia), Dr. Ferdinand von Mengden (Berlin), Dr. Malcolm Williams (St. Maurice-en-Chalençon, France), Prof. Ilse Wischer (Potsdam), Göran Wolf M.A. (Dresden).[2] In many cases, their comments and questions were of crucial value for the final shape of the articles printed here.

Finally, I wish to express my most sincere thanks to the dedicated work of those at the University of Potsdam who made this fourth Colloquium such a memorable event. Christina Bismark, Robert Kirstein, Susanne Hübner, Vera Singert and Marlies Lofing all expertly helped with the general organisation. Christina Bismark converted the digital version of the contributions according to printing standards and prepared the camera-ready copy for publication. Robert Kirstein and Vera Singert were of digital and bibliographical assistance. Robert Kirstein was also a most circumspect and critical proof reader. I owe very special thanks also to Brian Snead (Atlanta, GA) for his linguistic corrections to this introduction. Without the help and enthusiasm of all these individuals, our fourth Colloquium on the "Celtic Englishes" and the present volume would have been much less successful.

Potsdam, 12 March 2006

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[2] For brief biographical sketches and contact information of the contributors and respondents of this Colloquium, please access < http://www.celtic-englishes.de/ >, The Celtic Englishes IV.

"Bringin' the Dunkey Down from the Carn:" Cornu-English in Context 1549-2005 – A Provisional Analysis

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1. Introduction

> They do tell 'ow Jan 'ad a lil dunkey an kept'n spragged out up Carnmenellis; everybody knawed there was only furze an browse up there, so somebody said to Jan, "Ere. Jan. 'Ow ee come kaype yer dunkey up Carnmenellis? There edn much for'n aate up there, you." "No," said Jan. "Edn much for'n aate you – but ee got some 'ansome view!" (Tangye 1995: 19f.)

In the three previous volumes of *The Celtic Englishes*, there has been comparatively little discussion of Cornu-English. Aside from some perceptive remarks from Payton, in a chapter mainly devoted to the ideology of the Cornish Language Revival (1997: 100-122), no new significant scholarship has emerged. My purpose in this chapter is to offer provisional corrective – metaphorically, *bringing Jan's dunkey down from the Carn* – and offer a reassessment of the state of Cornu-English speech and writing within a historical context from 1549 – roughly the period that the English language began to rapidly replace Cornish in the territory of Cornwall, through its subsequent development as the primary linguistic group, to an examination of its current status. I write as an observer and commentator, but also a practitioner of Cornu-English writing.

The section quoted at the start of this chapter is from a typical Cornu-English story titled "The Wrasslin' Match" by Michael Tangye, a prize-winning story in the Dialect Prose competition from the 1994 Cornish Gorseth,[1] yet we note that narratives such as this, are for the most part, relatively unchanged from their nineteenth-century counterparts. We might ask why this is so? Partially, I hypothesize, this is because of the socio-economic status afforded Cornu-English and the Revivalists's concern with the 'nation-constructing' language of Cornish. Yet incredibly, of late in Cornwall, and in Cornish communities across the

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[1] The Cornish Gorseth is a College of bards founded in 1928 (see Miners 1978).

globe, there has been renewed interest in Cornu-English, not to mention something of a literary revival in the genre, which has specific aims to progress the literature in new directions. This phenomenon would also appear worthy of academic treatment.

These new directions in Cornu-English are despite the fact that for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, linguistic and cultural energy has been devoted to the preservation, and the 'recovery' of the Cornish language. Cornu-English has not only then been vilified as agrarian, ignorant 'yokel-speak' by those outside of Cornwall, but also has been the poor relation internally as well, marginalised and misunderstood, what Payton describes as offering "an insight into a quaint but fast disappearing provincial way of life" (*ibid*., 101). Much Cornu-English literature would reflect the low level status afforded it, with dialect practitioners, such as Tangye seeking to reflect a fossilized 'authentic' and unpolluted version of Cornu-English based on nineteenth and early twentieth-century lifestyles and professions, themselves ignoring the way Cornu-English has actually progressed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The changing historical context for this socio-linguistic phenomenon, Cornu-English's continued cultural position, its interaction with Cornish, and its reawakening as a cultural force is what I aim to explore here.

2. Cornish and Cornu-English

Observers such as Ellis (1974) and Pool (1975) have presented the overall picture of linguistic and literary Cornwall from 1000 to 1900 as a debilitating decline, from a somehow once healthy, fully operational Cornish-Celtic culture to a corrupted English-speaking territory where the ethos of a 'cult of loss' (Kent 2000: 17) is central. That model fails because its mythic version of events in Cornish culture is too simple. If it were to be true, then the so-called 'revival' of Cornish culture in the twentieth century would not have happened. Instead, Cornwall would have already descended into English-speaking-and-writing oblivion. Conceived of in this way, Cornu-English would be a pariah of some magnitude. A more realistic and accurate model of Cornwall's linguistic continuum is to see the process within a paradigm of language shift and change over time, which has resulted in the continuum altering, sometimes gradually, sometimes rapidly, with a set of inherent declines, revivals and events paralleling these moves. Very often, moves in one cultural *milieu* – English or Cornish – have resulted in corresponding changes in the other linguistic culture. Nowhere is this more relevant than with revived Cornish itself.

Much has been written on the so-called three versions of 'revived' Cornish which now exist: Unified, Common (*Kemmyn*) or Late (Modern).[2] Outsiders of the Cornish Language Revival look at this phenomenon sceptically and with incredulity – that such a small linguistic community can subdivide; though the de-

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[2] *Cornish Studies* (1993-2003) has covered the debate in considerable depth.

gree of difference is often accentuated and perhaps may be better defined as alternative ideologies, or even as different dialects – related not to regions, but groups of speakers and socio-economic classes. The debate of the 1990s, in particular, saw competing experts each with their own agendas of superiority and authenticity; each too, with their own bands of loyal followers. Deacon (1996) has argued that the debate is actually a response to post-modern uncertainty, while Kent (2002) posits that the process is part of an internal review of the language, which all Celtic, and most European languages, have gone through in their development.

Unified Cornish is presently that form of the Cornish language used normally by more elderly speakers, who learnt Robert Morton Nance's synthesis of the three main periods of Cornish: Old (800-1250), Middle (1250-1550) and Late (1550-1900), in the early or middle of the twentieth century. Such speakers were the initial founders of the Cornish Gorseth, or followed in the wake of the pioneers (Ellis 1974: 147-212) and viewed Cornu-English somewhat sceptically. Far from it being the language of the 'cock-of-the-walk' industrial Celt of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, where the Cornish were leading technological, engineering and mining developments the world over, these speakers tended to regard Cornu-English as redolent of tugging forelocks to English masters; and that the 'true' revivalist would concentrate on the revival of Cornish itself. Only Anglophiles would speak dialect. This was despite the fact that one of that groups' principal movers was Nance (1873-1959), who himself, unlike his supporters, retained an interest in Cornu-English, not least in his fascination with surviving maritime Cornish vocabulary in his posthumous *A Glossary of Cornish Sea-Words* (1963), and in his celebrated *Cledry Plays* (1956)[3] which were written in the Cornu-English he knew of in his youth and were based on nineteenth-century narratives collected by the folklorists Robert Hunt (1865) and William Bottrell (1870-80).[4]

That version of Cornish known as *Kemmyn* or Common Cornish takes for its agenda a re-engagement with Cornish, when it was more commonly spoken prior to 1549. This phonemic system was principally developed by Ken George in his 1986 work, *The Pronunciation and Spelling of Revived Cornish*. Its speakers's ideological agenda is therefore to be *fully* Cornish, and to promote more spoken and written Cornish with a clearer 'common' spelling and grammatical system which ironed out internal and regional differences. Therefore, *Kemmyn* avoids the inclusion of words which may have an English derivation in order to be more purely 'Celtic.' This has obvious flaws when one considers that actually, even 'Catholic' medieval Cornwall was in fact, multi-lingual. Although A.L. Rowse was to observe that, "Cornwall in the Middle Ages was a little land on its own, living its own inner life, wrapped up in its Celtic tongue, in its dream of the Celtic past, rather a backwater, a dead end" (Rowse 1949: 67), the reality was that medieval Cornwall was a complex multi-lingual territory, with resident

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[3] The plays were initially performed in the 1920s by St Ives Old Cornwall Society.
[4] Cf. Kennedy 1891.

speakers of Latin, French, English, Breton and Cornish. Most groups would have been fluent in at least two tongues. Breton and Cornish would have been mutually intelligible, and there was much trade between the two territories.[5]

Late Cornish, meanwhile, assumes a position that both celebrates and integrates the inclusion of a limited range of English terms and concepts which had been 'cornicised' even by the early modern period. Its position regarding the recovery of Cornish is to pick up the language from the point at which it was last spoken, in 'Protestant' modern Cornwall (Gendall 1994). That way, the form of revived Cornish would be more authentic, because it was nearer our own time. It would also avoid the pitfalls of invention. The position regarding Cornish has been further complicated by the more recent discovery of further manuscripts, in which scholars have had to re-assess grammar and vocabulary, in particular in relation to the number of English loan words. A key prose text, *The Tregear Homilies* (Kent and Saunders 2000: 182-185) was discovered as late as 1949, and has been used by a group promoting Unified Cornish Revised to re-negotiate the synthesis constructed by Nance (Williams 1995). A further Middle Cornish text, *Beunans Ke / The Life of St Kea*,[6] was discovered as late as 2002, and is likely to re-shape thought once more. To summarise, scholarship upon the quantity of English words with spoken and written Cornish very much depends on the ideological position of the speaker and writer. Pol Hodge, a *Kemmyn* speaker, denies the significance of English at all in Cornish, and Cornish in English, arguing that later Cornish was in effect corrupt and impure, stating that, "this overlap is very slight indeed," supporting Wakelin's conclusions of the unlikelihood of a "Cornish substratum" underlying "Western Cornish dialect" (1975: 8), and that, "the bulk of vocabulary, grammar and idiom is borrowed from the Middle Cornish period. This is so because 84% of the literature written in *Kernewek* comes from this period" (Hodge 1997: 11-13). Meanwhile, Richard Gendall, one of the leading scholars of late Cornish, shows the considerable influence of Cornu-English, claiming that, "there are many more words that never found a use in historical literature, but have survived only in dialect, and this is enough to raise the status of Cornish Dialect to be an integral part of the language" (1997: iii). A recent consultative draft strategy on the future of Cornish again failed to highlight the importance of Cornu-English (Lobb and Ansell 2004).

3. Language in Cornwall 1549-2004: From Prayer Book to Eden Project

All of this has implications when we remember that Cornwall was, in effect, post 1549, the first Celtic territory to be incorporated into the English Nation State. Being smaller and geographically closer, its accommodation came earlier, and

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[5] There were small Breton-speaking communities in Cornwall (see Smith 1947: 8).
[6] This text is one of only two extant Saint's plays in Britain; the other being *Beunans Meriasek*. *Beunans Ke* contains substantial Arthurian material.

so, while its linguistic experience was different, this does not mean it was any less Celtic. Up until 1549, Cornwall had been afforded special accommodation by the English monarchy, with many of its cultural and political institutions intact. These included the Jurisdiction of the Stannary Parliament – an independent system of government for the territory (Pennington 1973; Laity, Saunders and Kent 2001). Church services also continued to be conducted in Cornish. This was set to change, however, in January 1549, when the Tudor government enacted one of its most far-reaching centralist policies: the Act of Uniformity. This was intended to put an end to the diversity of religious worship over the islands of Britain. In Cornwall, the policy had huge implications, eventually resulting in the development of Cornu-English. Up until this point, Cornwall had used its 'special case' card in order to negotiate any centralist policy it did not like, but opportunities for such debate were not available this time. The so-called Prayer Book Rebellion against this policy soon gathered momentum. There were riots and disturbances, and the insurgents, led by a number of priests, drew up a petition to the King, commenting that …

> … we wil not receyue the new seruyce because it is but lyke a Christmas game, but we wull have oure olde service of Mattens, masse, Evensong and procession in Latten, as it was before. And so we the Cornyshe men (whereof certen of us understande no Englysh) utterly refuse thys newe Englysh. (Kent and Saunders 2000: 267)

The rebels's plea was ignored, however, and the King's forces – consisting of many foreign mercenaries – met the Cornish at Clyst St Mary in Devon. The Cornish suffered great losses, with the rebel leader Humphry Arundell hung, drawn and quartered at Tyburn. Other priests and insurgent leaders met the same fate. The subjugation that followed was harsh and in deep contrast to the peaceful re-negotiations following the 1497 rebellion.[7] Responsibility for Cornwall was given to the provost marshall Sir Anthony Kingston, with Ellis observing that "hangings, burnings and ruthless suppression followed, as harsh as anything under Cromwell in Ireland, or Cumberland in Scotland" (1985: 137). Sustained suppression of the Cornish language was a consequence of the Act of Uniformity. As Whetter (1988) demonstrates, the Collegiate College of St Thomas at Glasney, near Penryn had been a centre of scholarship for the Cornish language, but was repressed both prior to and during this period. Although one Nicholas Udall asked for the Book of Common Prayer to be translated into Cornish (as the 1563 legislation did for Welsh), the request was not heeded. English was in ascension in Cornwall and, as Payton states, "Cornish was now irrevocably tainted as a popish tongue" (1996: 141). An observer of the period, John Norden, wrote his *Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall* in the year 1584, and makes some telling observations on language shift within Cornwall:

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[7]   This rebellion, protested against the levy of additional taxes upon Cornwall, was led by Michael Joseph *An Gof* ('The Smith') from St Keverne.

> (Of) late the Cornishe men haue much conformed themselues to the vse of the Englishe tounge, and their Englishe is equall to the beste, espetially in the easterne parts; euen from Truro eastwarde it in manner wholly Englishe. In the weste party of the Countrye, as in the hundreds of Penwith and Kerrier, the Cornishe tounge is most vse amongste the inhabitants and yet (which is to be marueled) thowgh the husband and wife, parentes and children, Master and Seruantes, doe mutually comunicate in their natiue language, yet ther is none of them in manner but is able to conuers with a Straunger in the English tounge, vnless it be some obscure people, that seldome confer with the better sorte: But it seems that in few yeares the Cornishe Langauge wilbe litle by litle abandoned. (Norden 1966 (1584): 21)

This is important, since in East Cornwall at least, Norden notes very little dialectical differentiation from elsewhere, indicating that Cornu-English as we come to understand it now, had not yet fully formed. Yet, this, as Crystal (1994: 110f.) notes, is comparable with other territories where English is first taken up. Initially, a standard form is spoken, before variation sets in. There would also appear to be a lack of confidence in speaking English, a continuum which has been retained in many Cornu-English speakers, who are not confident before 'strangers:' reticent to speak, lest they be thought of as ignorant, and also unable to modulate for different audiences and speakers. Norden also alludes to Cornish people's attitudes towards their more powerful neighbour, a fact reinforced by the urgent need to take up that neighbour's language:

> (A)nd as they are amonge themselves litigious so seem they yet to retayne a kinde of concealed enuye against the Englishe, whome they set affecte with a desire of reuenge for their fathers sakes, by whome their fathers recuyued the repulse. (Norden 1966 (1584): 22)

Weatherhill (1995: 7-10) gives statistics which indicate that in 1400, the Cornish population was estimated as being 55,000 of which perhaps 34,000 were Cornish speakers,[8] but a century later, it had fallen back as far as a line stretching from Padstow to Fowey. About 69,000 people then lived in Cornwall, of whom about half spoke Cornish. The beginning of the seventeenth century saw the Cornish confined to the west of Truro with only a quarter of the 84,000 population speaking it.

While the east to west retreat is a useful model of the transferral of language usage in Cornwall, it is not the full picture. The 'isobar' model of retreat offered by scholars such as Holmes and George (1986)[9] is found to be flawed, since there were certainly enclaves of Cornish speakers in what appeared to be English-speaking areas, as well as English speakers in Cornish-dominated regions. Further complexity is offered by the fact that ports and urban centres often shifted their language use before other regions, since the principle language of communication there was English. Arguments have also been presented which show survivals of Cornish in the more isolated hinterlands of Cornwall – Bod-

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[8] Ironically, in the early fourteenth century it was two Cornish-speaking scholars, John Cornwall and Richard Pencrych who helped to change the law in grammar schools, with a campaign to replace instruction in French with English.

[9] As part of an unpublished conference paper from 1986, but reproduced in Spriggs (2003: 234).

min Moor, Hensbarrow, Carnmenellis and Penwith – interestingly places which pattern now the survival and retention of Cornu-English. Logically, the east to west retreat might ensure that surviving Cornish speakers would be found in Penwith, but this has not always proved to be the case, since the southern Lizard peninsula also has considerable claim to show late usage.

Space precludes further discussion of the retreat of Cornish and its replacement by English, but the best current scholarship is offered by Spriggs (2003) who contends that a revised view of the state of language transferral is needed, and that the Cornish situation must be related to the wider context of language shift in Britain.[10] The work of Holmes (2003) also argues that the sub-region of East Cornwall deserves greater attention than it has been afforded hitherto, contending that Cornish-speaking communities persisted in East Cornwall in the 1400s, and that there were pockets of speakers east of Bodmin. Controversially, he also argues that the Roseland peninsula retained Cornish as long as much of West Penwith.

In contrast of course, the rise of Cornu-English has not been mapped very well at all compared to the retreat of Cornish, and little work has been completed on which Cornish words entered Cornu-English, or which constructions and patterns survived in Cornu-English during different periods.[11] Any work that has been done is usually completed in the context of Cornish language studies, so the emphasis is not helpful. However, there have been some studies of Cornu-English, conducted on the lines of Dialect Survivals, which I will allude to below. The current position with regard to Cornu-English is very much related to the economic climate in which Cornwall operates. House prices in Cornwall are the only ones in the United Kingdom to match those found in London. As M. Williams (1993) shows, this has produced an interesting socio-economic situation, whereby not only does the territory suffer from the lowest wages across the United Kingdom, but also from difficulties in finding local housing for local families on low wages. In the particular cases of towns such as Padstow, Fowey, Mousehole and St Ives, the older properties, which even ten years ago housed Cornu-English speakers are now considered prime 'character' waterfront dwellings, so that the socio-economic group who once lived there has been fractured and are forced to live further out towards the hinterlands of Cornwall; this is why the old mining regions (not regarded as picturesque by property developers) are now where the bulk of Cornu-English speakers are to be found. Likewise, most are of underclass or working-class origins. The Cornish language is spoken by a much more middle-class group, who have the time, finance and resources to learn it, often in later life.

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[10] There is also much debate on the survival of Cornish in West Devon and in particular the South Hams. Spriggs dismisses the claim.

[11] An oft-quoted example is the Cornu-English construction "I d'do that" – supposedly a direct transition from the Cornish *My a wra gul henna*. Cf. Tangye's "They do tell." Additionally, as in Cornish, in Cornu-English the emphasis is shifted to the start of the sentence: "Goin' 'ome are 'ee?" (*Mos dre wreta?*).

Padstow is an interesting case study of language shift. During the 1970s and 1980s its reputation as a town was based on bucket-and-spade tourism, with a quaint harbour available for day-trippers to stroll around. The Cornu-English speaking population lived in the cottages surrounding the harbour. During the 1990s, the celebrity chef Rick Stein opened a restaurant in the town, and based several BBC television series about seafood-cooking there. The cultural and linguistic ramifications of this have been enormous. Not only did Padstow offer its own 'pagan' Celtic festival in the form of 'Obby 'Oss[12] on May 1st (in itself attracting in-migrants), but now was viewed as a convenient but 'different' culinary centre of Britain. London property owners bought up many of the cottages once owned by the indigenous Cornu-English speakers and used them as second-homes. Local wags now called Padstow 'Padstein' or 'Kensington-by-Sea.' The linguistic result was that the town is now dominated by voices from London and the south-east of England, while the Cornu-English speakers live on the council estates on the area above the harbour, or have been completely decimated. Such speakers now find themselves culturally isolated, a not too dissimilar process to what the Cornish experienced in the aftermath of 1549.

St Ives has witnessed a somewhat earlier replacement process, when during the middle decades of the twentieth century, a number of artists and sculptors – among them Sven Berlin, Peter Lanyon (one of the few indigenous Cornish painters associated with the movement), Barbara Hepworth, Ben Nicholson and others sought properties in the Cornu-English stronghold that was St Ives. Back Road West, part of 'Downlong' – one area of St Ives particularly associated with the work of the primitive artist Alfred Wallis – became a particular draw. The establishment of the Tate Gallery St Ives in 1993 has furthered the displacement of 'Downlong' Cornu-English speakers, as the town has become more fashionable.

Although smaller, Mousehole too, has witnessed similar events following the success of Antonia Barber and Nicola Bayley's children's picture book *The Mousehole Cat*, which although having some nods to Cornu-English: Mousehole is to be pronounced 'Mowzel,' the cat's name is Mowzer, and typical Cornu-English expressions such as 'my handsome' (1990: 1 and 11), the overall effect of the work is strongly metropolitan in feel. Problematically, Cornwall is not given its own identity, but merely described as being "at the far end of England."[13] Despite these issues – or perhaps even because of them (Barber and Bayley present sanitised, friendly Cornu-English) – Mousehole has replaced the bulk of its Cornu-English speakers with in-migrants. Ironically, of course, Mousehole was also the home of Dolly Pentreath, a fish jowster,[14] supposedly one of the last monoglot speakers of Cornish.

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[12] See Rawe 1982.
[13] Cf. Climo 1999, which does feature Cornu-English speech.
[14] Female sellers of fish. The fish were contained in baskets on the backs of the sellers.

The Eden Project (composed of three futuristic plant biomes housed in a worked-out china clay pit) in mid-Cornwall also seems set to alter the socio-linguistic space there. Traditionally, the area had been one of the last remaining pockets of Cornu-English, with, as Gillespie (1988: 77-86) records, many speakers working in the china clay extractive industry, though with that industry declining and more high-salaried positions at the Eden Project, Cornu-English may potentially suffer from the same effect as in other tourist centres. The Cornu-English speakers have been pushed away from the sea towards the centre.

4. Dialect and Dissent

Considering the significance of the Cornu-English dialect as a signifier of Cornish difference, largely since the decline of the Cornish language, there has, in fact been very little serious socio-linguistic study of this method of communication in Cornwall, and even less so in trans-national Cornish communities. An exception from the nineteenth century is the useful 1846 volume of Uncle Jan Trenoodle's *Specimens of Provincial Cornish Dialect*. Uncle Jan Trenoodle was the pseudonym of William Sandys (1792-1874). He offers many examples of dialect usage, and his observations on structure and lexical choices are still pertinent. Another important volume was Fred W.P. Jago's *The Ancient Language and Dialect of the Cornwall*, which was published in 1882. Jago completed much useful work on the survival of Cornish words used in English in Cornwall, many of which continue to be used today.

The single most important twentieth century contribution has been the work of Ken Phillipps (1929-1995) in his two studies, *Westcountry Words and Ways* (1976) and *A Glossary of the Cornish Dialect* (1993). Phillipps will be considered in detail below. More recently, however, important work has been completed by Andrew C. Symons in short studies in *An Baner Kernewek* (1998 a, b and c), which deserve wider recognition. Symons in particular, was interested in the process of language transfer in Cornwall, arguing that in many ways the forms of English to be found in Cornwall often had connections and similarities with the language of sixteenth-century English writers. These constructions and phrases have been transferred down through the generations and have been retained. He has completed work on the autobiography of the Cornish 'free-trader' Harry Carter,[15] arguing that Cornu-English does reflect the collapse of the mutation system of Cornish. Symons (1998 a) also asserts that the east-west axis should be questioned, and that locality was the key in language transfer.

These scholars being the exception, other studies in the twentieth century have tended to be focused on dialect survival words, effectively vestigial terms, and have, in general, been antiquarian in style and methodology. However, still the most commonly consulted work on dialect is Martyn Wakelin's 1975 *Language and History in Cornwall*, which in fact, drew heavily on the 1967 South-

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[15] See Cornish 1971.

ern Counties *Leeds Dialect Survey*, and although this text has flaws, its breath of coverage has yet to be equalled; particularly in terms of the phonological, morphological and lexical features of Cornu-English. The interested reader will consult this volume for further linguistic enquiry, in particular over semantic differences in pronunciation, intonation and retention, and Wakelin offers some useful illustrative examples of Cornish words entering Cornu-English.[16] The analysis of dialect within the Academy in Cornwall has not been completely barren, however. Much useful work on dialect was completed by the Institute of Cornish Studies in the period 1973-1986, under the leadership of Prof. Charles Thomas, culminating in the breakthrough 1978/79 *Sociolinguistic Survey of English in Cornwall*, which was co-ordinated by Rolf Bremann. Bremann advanced two hypotheses:

1.   Among the present population of Cornwall there is still a marked social stratification in the use of English.
2.   There is less variation in pronunciation in West Cornwall than in East Cornwall.

His analysis of the tape-recorded interviews showed that:

1.   In West Cornwall, as well as in East Cornwall, the pronunciation of upper social classes show less variation from the prestige variant RP ('Received Pronunciation') than the pronunciation of lower socio-economic groups.
2.   In West Cornwall, all three social classes in the survey show less variation from RP than the corresponding groups in East Cornwall. (Bremann 1979: 2)

These were interesting finds for anyone concerned with Cornu-English speech patterns across the territory, not least because in identity terms the 'West' has often been regarded as more Cornish than the 'East.' The study upturned this misnomer. Considering this survey, it would be interesting to speculate on such a survey of global Cornu-English. Does, for example, the Cornu-English of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan have more variation from RP than say the Yorke Peninsula of Australia?

At home, the important arguments had actually been made prior to the Second World War, by Arthur Wilfred Rablen (1917-1973) in a 1937 essay titled "Cornish Dialect Words." In this essay, Rablen undertook for the period in which he was writing a progressive and wide-ranging study of dialect and in Thomas's words, "it marks a very notable contribution" (Thomas 1980). Curiously enough, much of Rablen's argument is applicable onto the Cornu-English features of Cousin Jack narratives; particularly in terms of the technical terms used in mining processes, which had emigrated across the Atlantic with the miners who spoke them. Rablen makes a pertinent observation about the use of dialect after travel:

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[16] For example, *bannel* ('a broom'), *bucca* ('hobgoblin,' 'ghost' or 'scarecrow'), *bullhorn* ('snail'), *bussa* ('a coarse earthernware vessel'), *clunk* ('to swallow'), *fuggan* ('pastry dinner cake'), *gook* ('bonnet'), *griglans* ('heather'), *groushans* ('dregs'), *muryans* ('ants'), *piggy-whidden* ('weakling of a litter of pigs').

> By Travel I mean also that sons and daughters go away from home, and by being laughed at, learn which of their words and senses are dialectal. They return in pride of knowledge and annoy the people who have never been away by their comments on rural usage. Thus social snobbery awakes linguistic consciousness. … (cited in Thomas 1980: 37-47)

The Cousin Jack narratives work in complete antithesis of this, because in the case of the mining communities overseas, social snobbery did not awake linguistic consciousness, since they did not have to modulate their speech according to the other speakers and listeners.[17] In this sense, then, we can hypothesize that Cousin Jack narratives ought to be a cultural location where genuine dialect continued longer than in Cornwall itself, since there, linguistic consciousness has continually been raised by the post-Second World War in-migrants to the territory.

This process has led to the current position where Cornish children resist speaking naturally by their peer group and a mass media continually working against the survival of their grammar and lexicon. This is not just the case in Cornwall; it is happening to other dialects across the islands of Britain, Europe and the rest of the world. It is also happening to children and speakers in the Upper Peninsula, and it takes a good deal of linguistic dissent to retain the unmodulated voice, or modulate (as many Cornish do on a daily basis)[18] between non-dialect speakers (usually at work or in education) and dialect speakers whom they are comfortable with. We may contrast this twenty-first-century situation with Walter Gries's un-modulated phonetically spelt of two Cousin Jacks observing, for the first time, an American Football match:

> I took nawtice that the ground was a bit of a muck. Right opperzyte where us stood to, there was a paund o' water.
> I remarked to Percy, "Daun look very much a place for playin' vootball." I said, "Part o't look zif it had been ploughed up."
> "Aw, that's nort," he saith. "They weun matter that. I've seed it tain times wiss'n that."
> Wull, him-by everybody beginned to shout, an' us zeed a string o' chaps comin' out from the previllion an' runnin' on to the vield. Butifule an' clane they looked, with nice new jerseys ... Wull, an' there was wan chap dressed in black cloas. He wad'n much of a player; he wad'n. I never seed 'en titch the ball wance. All he de'd was to rin about blawin up a li'l tin trumpet like a cheel to a crissmas party. He aunly got in the way o' the rest, he did, an' 'winder they did'n putt'n off the vield. He putt me in mind o' thik stoobid valler into the circus, what rins about makin' up a terrible amount o' vuss but daun' do nort to assist. (Kinsey n.d.: 92f.)

Ken Phillipps would instantly recognise not only the lexical choices here, but also the grammar. Unlike most other observers of Cornu-English, Phillipps is not reticent to deal with grammar, and that is why his contribution had been so important in our understanding of Cornu-English at home *and* away. He also argues that there are grammatical rules to be followed to speak Cornu-English properly. In summary, his conclusions include Cornish dialect's propensity towards reversals, archaisms, the retention of *thou* and *ye* (*thee* and *ye* ('ee)), the

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[17] In Butte, Montana, the Cornish were known as 'assassins of grammar.'
[18] Cornu-English speakers who use Standard English artificially are described as 'speakin' cut up.' Those who speak unmodulated Cornu-English are said to be 'broad.'

use of double plurals, irregular use of the definite article, use of the definite article with proper names, the omission of prepositions, the extra 'y' suffix on the infinitive of verbs, 'they' as a demonstrative adjective, frequent use of the word 'up' and the use of 'some' as an adverb of degree (Phillipps 1993: 9-13).

All of these survived the trans-Atlantic journey to the Upper Peninsula, and may be found in the above text from Gries. Gries also incorporated a limited quantity of poetry into his canon, and here, in "'Ansome 'Arry weth the H'Auburn 'Air," tricks of the narrative trade, not to mention core elements of Phillipps's observations, are developed in what we might describe as a 'poetic plod.' The poem works as a tribute to the Cornu-English's habit of dropping of appropriate 'h's and placing them where they are lacking, ahead of vowels. It seems this signifier of Cornish dialect was crucial to many of the Cornu-English speakers at home and Cousin Jack storytellers, but in contemporary dialect writings and the oral continuum it is now seen as less important; a good example of how Cornu-English does not stay fossilized:

> 'Ansome 'Arry's 'air was h'auburn,
> The color of red 'ematite.
> 'E comed 'ere from dear 'ol Camborne,
> Minen core was 'is delight. (Kinsey n.d.: 94f.)

There is not the space here to enter into a full discussion of the effect of such texts, nor all of their dialect origins. The significant point is that Cornu-English must not, cannot stay still. One further point is worth making, though. Compared to Cornwall, dialect studies of Cousin Jack narratives are embryonic to say the least, with one exception. This is Hadley Tremaine's 1980 study "Cornish Folk Speech in America." Tremaine examines survivals in Massachusetts, which "was settled c.1629 as a plantation of Salem by fishermen from the Channel Islands and Cornwall," but also considers the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. He makes the following observation, very applicable, onto Gries's collection:

> Most striking is the Cornish habit of mixing up pronouns, perhaps a compensation for the lack of the Celtic emphatics; obliquely, at least Celtic Cornish "survives" in this tendency. The effect is coupled with the h-dropping typically, but of course not uniquely.

Tremaine provides an illustrative, very common Cousin Jack story to demonstrate this:

> Harry Soady complains to an old Cornish friend about his use of language. "I dearly love to visit with the Cornish people. But there's one thing about them that has always bothered me."
> "What is it, 'Arry?"
> "It's the way you Cornish use your pronouns and verbs. You don't seem to have any rhyme or reasons, any rules or regulations for the way you use them."

Jimmer said, "I tell 'ee 'Arry, 'ere's 'ow it is about they pronouns; we got a rule for they."
"You have?"
"Yes, we 'ave. We do call anything she excepting a tomcat, and we call 'er 'e." (Tremaine 1980: 17-25)

There is an inherently Cornish sense of logic within this narrative that is to be found in most Cousin Jack stories. Tremaine was aware of the corpus that existed in the Upper Peninsula, but while he was writing, he did not find Gries's collection, despite what he terms leaving "no menhir unturned." Paradoxically, and perhaps showing the illogical nature of Cornu-English, Gries's collection, often adds initial 'h's for effect, as can be seen below. Gries has this to say about Cornish dialect:

There is a juggling in the use of pronouns, as well as a confusion and contradiction in words that often results in astonishing expressions. Yet, the listener knows what the speaker means in spite of the abuse of grammar … Cousin Jack and Jenny invented the art of positive contradiction in grammar: "H'I though t'were she, an' she thought t'were h'I," said Gracie Specott. "But w'en we got h'up to where we were, we found t'wudn' nayther of us." (Kinsey n.d.: 98-100)

Such grammar is dissenting because it requires the listener to be coded into the 'astonishing expressions.' In essence, modern political and cultural nationalism could learn much from the 'positive contradiction in grammar' since it was actually one of the mechanisms of Cornish independence, both at home and abroad. Hence the way the common story of when an employer asks a Cornishman if he knew of anybody else who could fill a vacancy, the Cornishman would always know of a Cousin Jack who could step into the position. This is symptomatic of something else: there was a linguistic and industrial unity demonstrating independence and difference. Dialect, therefore, could be used much more successfully as a political voice of dissent by a larger number of the population within contemporary Cornwall.

5. Cornu-English in the Cabinet: Some Preserved Specimens

One of the earliest literary renderings of Cornu-English comes from an English writer, Andrew Boorde, who lived between c. 1500 and c. 1560. He wrote a fascinating elementary tourist handbook of Britain, titled the *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, dedicated to Princess (later Queen) Mary, written in 1542 but published in 1547. Boorde writes this text just a few years before the Prayer Book Rebellion, so we have an idea of the context for this piece. He writes that, "In Cornwall is two speeches, the one is naughty Englysshe and the other is Cornysshe speech. And there be many men and women the which cannot speake one word of Englyssch, but all Cornysshe." It is of course Boorde's notion of "naughty English" that concerns us here, since he differentiates this from standard Englishes found elsewhere. The same observation, for example, is not made about Devon. In this case, he seems therefore to be arguing that, by

this time, Cornu-English had developed into a separate dialect. However, the number of people speaking it is still limited, due to the higher proportion of Cornish speakers. As we know, however, this was to change rapidly over the course of the next 100 years. Additionally, Boorde wrote several lines of his rendering of Cornu-English, which Wakelin (1974: 25) argues is of an East Cornwall variety; an example of which is given here:

> Iche cham a Cornyshe man, al[e] che can brew;
> It wyll make one to kacke, also to spew;
> It is dycke and smoky, and also it is dyn;
> It is lyke wash, as pygges had wrestled dryn...
> ...Now, gosse, farewell! yche can no lenger abyde;
> Iche must ouer to the ale howse at the yender syde;
> And now come myd me, gosse, I thee pray,
> And let vs make merry, as long as we may. (cited in Kent, ed., 2000: 26)

Boorde's text is significant because it is perhaps the earliest extant example of a Cornu-English dialect literature, and the fact that it is written in couplets, suggests a more satirical and witty edge. The categorical assertion of identity ("Iche cham a Cornyshe man") is important since it suggests that although the transition from Cornish has taken place in this imagined speaker, Cornish independence is retained. Wakelin notes that it has characteristics of "Mummerset stage dialect as conceived in the sixteenth century" (1975: 210), but this misses some of the meaning of the piece which was partly political, for it demonstrates the complexity of literary politics in early modern Cornwall. By 1542, the dissolution of the monasteries in Cornwall had just been ordered by Henry VIII and his government knew they would have to keep a careful eye on the Cornish. The delay of some five years from its composition to publication tells us something of how turbulent this period of history was. The piece does poke fun at the propensity of the Cornish to take each other to court, but also depicts the now stereotypical Cornishman of the age, rebelling against Centralist Law.

In terms of vocabulary, the piece is of note because it uses the term 'gos' or 'gosse,' an archaic form of cousin, a concept joked about by Richard Carew (1555-1620) in his *The Survey of Cornwall* (Halliday 1953), that all Cornishmen are cousins and therefore by implication inbred.[19] However as we shall see, the term has come to be standard equipment in the development of Cornu-English and, by the nineteenth century, was used in the context of Cousin Jack, denoting any Cornishman living and working away from Cornwall.

As linguistic change steadily occurred in Cornwall after the Act of Uniformity, we note an absence of published material in Cornu-English. This was perhaps to be expected, since there were few outlets for such writings. Any scholarship tended to be devoted to the retention of Cornish, rather than recording the

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[19] Carew fully embraced the shift to English, and celebrated this in an essay titled *The Excellency of the English Tongue*, published c. 1600.

Cornu-English of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[20] For one thing,
there was no obvious danger of that regressing. It is in the nineteenth century
where we see Cornu-English reach its literary zenith in the writings of specific
Cornu-English authors such as John Tabois Tregellas (1792-1863), William
Sandys (1792-1874) and William Bentinck Forfar (1810-1895). Tregellas was
born in St Agnes, where his family had lived for many generations, and much of
his work captures the Methodist-mining culture of the north coast during the
opening decades of the nineteenth century. His poem *St Agnes Bear Hunt* is per-
haps one of the most absurd, but equally entertaining pieces of nineteenth-cen-
tury Cornu-English literature, involving a frantic search for an escaped bear. The
form and structure is typical of this phase:

> "We caan't stand this, ef we be men,
> To see our cheldurn deer
> Toar lemb from lemb, and their heart's blood
> Sucked by a furrin' Beer.
>
> We'll arm ourselves with ugly things,
> Stoanes, biddixes, and boords,
> And picks and gads,[21] and showls and dags,
> And bagonetts and swords. (cited in Kent, ed., 2000: 85f.)

In *Visit to Lunnon* meanwhile, Sandys takes typical subject-matter for the
Cornu-English narrative, the trip by two Cornishmen to London. This narrative
drew on many threads of Cornish experience, not least a hark back to the rebel-
lious nature of old, but also the need for comic potential of encountering the
middle class standard English of London. Sandys reinforces Celticity by incor-
porating a good peppering of Cornish language words which had survived into
Cornu-English: *quilkin* is a toad, a *padgitepooe* is a newt or lizard, an *angletich*
an earthworm. These are not archaisms, but were used commonly by Cornu-
English speakers until relatively recently. Sandys was educated at Westminster
School (1800-08) and became a solicitor, later becoming the Commissioner of
Affidavits in the Stannary Court, and it was here that he very likely encountered
speakers of Cornu-English.

> Dost thee knaw, Sos, I've ben up to Lunnon church-town?
> A fine passel of things I seed theere to put down.
> Were I sliced ento slivers so thin as a straw,
> I cud na tell thee haalf the braave things as I saw.
> Why, now, what do'ee thenk? they've got timberen roadds,
> Which es fitty at times, but for quilkins, and toaads;
> Pure sport for tom-toddies, or a padgitepooe:
> And when et do come, cheel, but a bit of a skew,

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[20] See the observations of William Scawen (d. 1686), Thomas Browne (1605-1682), John Ray
(1627-1705) and George Hickes (1642-1715).
[21] A pointed wedge used in mining.

Why the rain et do make em so slippy, and slottery,
'Tes no wonder they hosses, do get stogged, or trot awry.
Then the Cabs as they caalls 'em, keeps pooten about,
Like an Angletich twisten etself en and out. (cited in Kent, ed., 2000: 90)

Although no doubt deliberately constructed for effect, and perhaps containing a few archaisms, Forfar's Cornu-English now seems remarkably fresh and authentic. The same might be said for another preserved example from the mid-Cornwall writer Jack Clemo (1916-1994).[22] Clemo's position regarding Cornu-English is remarkable, since after becoming both deaf in his youth and blind in his thirties, he spent the bulk of his later life writing in standard English, hardly daring to touch Cornu-English, for fear that he could not reproduce it accurately. This was after, however, he completed three novels *Wilding Graft* (1948), *The Shadowed Bed* (1986) and *The Clay Kiln* (2000),[23] all containing Cornu-English dialogue and set in the Cornu-English stronghold that is the china clay district of mid-Cornwall. Clemo also wrote a number of early Cornu-English stories published in the 1930s in *Saundry's Almanack* at Penzance, *Netherton's Almanack* at Truro and the *One and All Almanack* of Truro. Clemo completely eschewed the Cornish Revival, viewing it as irrelevant to the bulk of the Cornish people and viewing the supporters of it as "pathetic pretentiousness" (1949: 121). It is likely, therefore, that Clemo's literary version of Cornu-English will be more accurate, since it was not romanticised and because Cornu-English had been retained longer in the china clay district, as this section from "Maria and the Milkman" demonstrates:

Sammy Chegwidden had traipsed around Polgooth village four times that evening afore he catched sight o' Maria Blake; and he wad'n much better off when he did see her. 'Twas out beginning the lane that they mit, where the village ended, and nobody could'n see 'em. Maria bin pickin' smitties[24] and was carrying a gurt pile in her arms, wearing a ole sack over her dress to catch the dirt. (Clemo 1983: 9)

The grim and realistic fatalism of dialect speakers in Clemo's narratives are never quite found in the work of Robert Morton Nance. Although he embraced Cornu-English, his agenda comes out in the preface for the *Cledry Plays* where the lament is foremost and where he is hopeful of "some anciency that lingers" (Nance 1956: 8). There seems to be a lack of acceptance of linguistic change, as well as a re-assertion of a cult of loss. This is clear in the artificiality of the dialogue of Joan the housekeeper from the first play, *Duffy: A Tale of Trove*. Here the language is more pantomimic and extreme, Nance wanting it to match a Cornwall that was seemingly slipping away. In effect, this was a modernist project of recording in a dramatic forum, but it was one filled with ideological flaws

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[22] See also the writing of Hocking 2003 (1903) for an accurate imagining of mid-Cornwall Cornu-English.
[23] These latter two novels were drafted in the 1940s, but published later.
[24] Burnt gorse used as a home fuel.

from the outset. Nance, like the synthesis he was trying to achieve with Cornish, was trying to emulate a period of Cornish history long since passed:

> Aw! 'Tis a wisht poor old piliack I've comed to bem sure 'nough – what weth the wan eye clin gone, and t'other jist upon, my woorkin' dyas es most avver! – Why, I caen't sa mooch as knitty like I da belong – this'll make the fower times, now, I've been an' took back the turnin' o' this wan heel, and nothen the better of et! (Nance 1956: 9)

Nonetheless, Nance's efforts at the time were highly praised, and the model offered by *The Cledry Plays* became the standard forum for Cornu-English writing until relatively recently. Kathleen Hawke is a regular Cornu-English writer who has achieved success in Cornish Gorseth competitions. Her "Aw Braa Pedickyment Sure Nuff," for example, had not progressed the form very much from Nance's efforts in the 1920s, despite the fact that it was composed in the early 1980s:

> Ta tell ee tha truth I dawn't knaw what things es comin' to thaise days what weth prices gwain up an' up an this, that an' t'other thing gittin' scare. Tak' toilet rolls fur enstance, vore we da knaw where we'm to we shall be cutting up tha noospaaper in neat lil' squares like we ews to an' 'anging em up back of W.C. doar. Then they'm squashin' up soya banes and puttin' they in weth tha dennar to make ee think 'tes mait. (Pearson 1982: 26)

Perhaps for writers such as Hawke and Tangye – alluded to at the start of this chapter – progression is actually not sought. Rather, it is retention that is wanted, to imitate earlier generations of speakers who were more genuinely Cornish, again unpolluted by the ravaging effects of mass media and in-migration. In effect, it was a view remarkably in tune with *Kemmyn* speakers of Cornish, who sought a "target bull's eye" of correct pronunciation and vocabulary (George 1986: 38). Any cursory study of the last twenty years of prize-winning entries to any of the Cornish Gorseth's Dialect competitions in either prose or verse (Pearson 1982) will show a picture of careful retention, rather than embracing new words and concepts. This therefore reinforces an agrarian, non-technological, provincial view of the Cornish, paradoxically in complete contrast to their actual identity, which was global and technological. In many ways, much of twentieth-century dialect literature has been limiting, fearful and residual.

N.R. Phillips (*b.*1930) has been one writer who has been willing to embrace Cornu-English within his fiction, but does not see the necessity of using archaisms or outmoded expressions. He feels that Cornish identity comes across strongly enough in smaller, more subtle alterations of English, which reflect contemporary speech patterns, as in this sequence from *Horn of Strangers*:

> 'Where's the boy?' Barny said.
> 'Gone to a meetin'. About fish quotas. He'll be here dreckly.'
> 'Still not married?'
> 'Don't seem to be interested. He ab'm settled down since he came home from abroad, not really. Anyway, he got too much on his mind, at the moment to worry about women.' (Phillips 1996: 16)

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, despite the assertion by some older speakers, that the young take up too easily the phrases of mass media and give up the old expressions, Cornu-English actually shows no real sign of dissipating. One of the best recorded phonetic preservations of the present language is to be found in an anonymous A4 sized poster, sold all over Cornwall, and specially created for the tourist market to make 'translation' easy. Here the standard English of the translation perhaps exaggerates the incomprehensibility of the dialect, not to mention internal differences in pronunciation between west, mid and east Cornwall, and yet the imitative accuracy of the original is at least partially valid, in that it recreates how Cornu-English is spoken in the early twenty-first century by a considerable size of the population:

Aveedunun?	Have you taken the necessary steps to complete your course of action?
Aveegotun?	Have you found what you are seeking?
Betturgogitten	I had better depart and fetch the article for which I was sent.
Bin-un-dunun	I have been and carried out my allowed task.
Costy much dida?	Are you prepared to tell me how much it cost you?
Caintelly	I cannot or will not give you the information you seek.
Diddynawn?	Did you known the person of whom we speak?
Ellydoinov	I don't agree with the way you are performing your task.
Evveeizza?	How much does the article you are holding weigh?[25]

It is, however, moving in new directions, as we shall see below with its interaction with surfing lingo, as well as other new technologies. The best example that this author has come across is the Cornu-English expression for an automatic teller or cash-point: 'bank hole.' This is somehow utterly Cornish.

6. The New Cornu-English

While some writers, mainly those treading the boards of the dialect-speaker circuit, perform at Old Cornwall Societies and Cornish Gatherings,[26] the 1990s witnessed a rise in both the quantity and quality of Cornu-English literature, patterning literary expression elsewhere in English and in Cornish. Several new writers wished to see Cornu-English removed from its position of marginalisation and started to express concepts beyond the provincial "Bringin' the dunkey down from the carn"-style narratives, yet in many cases wanted to retain the sharp and cutting wit that Cornu-English expressions could give.[27]

The context for this was threefold: as Angarrack (1999 and 2002) and Deacon, Cole and Tregidga (2003) have shown, the post-war period had witnessed a slow but steady rise in cultural and political nationalism, manifested in events

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[25] This poster is titled "Cornish Words and Phrases" and is commonly available.

[26] Often these are female, giving a second level of marginalisation. The most famous are Brenda Wooton, Joy Stevenson and Marion Howard.

[27] The magazines *Poetry Cornwall/Bardhonyeth Kernow* and *Scryfa* have been influential in this process.

during the decade such as the recreation in 1997 of the 1497 rebellion, the call for a Cornish Assembly, as well as the on-going recognition by the UK government and the European Union of the legal position of both the Cornish language and the Cornish themselves as an ethnic minority. Paradoxically, many of the writers, although wanting to express this nationalism and identity, also wanted to distance themselves from the Cornish Gorseth (Kent, ed., 2004: 15-18), since this was redolent of the limiting Cornu-English of the past and that cultural activity in Cornwall need not necessarily have to be attached to the revival of Cornish. Finally, there was a sense that elsewhere Cornwall was being put on the cultural map of these islands again. Projects such as the Eden Project, the development of a Combined University of Cornwall and European Union Objective One Funding made it clear that Cornu-English need not necessarily be conceived as symbolic of a linguistic backwater. It could be 'cool Kernow' once more.

The fact that elsewhere mainstream media started to use regional accents assisted this new confidence (Smyth 1997: 243-276), and yet, while Welsh, Scottish, Irish and English Liverpudlian and North-Eastern accents began to be heard more often, there was still a particular lack of Cornish and south-west English accents to be heard on television and radio (Kent 2003: 100-141). These writers looked back at the writers who they felt had most realistically captured Cornu-English expression at particular historical moments. They were not interested in the amalgam that had grown up with the dialecticians. They realised that the most extreme usage of dialect could be as effective a badge of difference (in particular from England) as the Cornish language itself.

One playwright in the midst of this range of new Cornu-English is the St Eval born Nick Darke. Among his Cornish themed plays are *The King of Prussia* (about the lives of famed smugglers Harry and John Carter of Prussia Cove) and *Ting Tang Mine* (Darke 1999 a). Darke's skills as a dramatist are manifested in both his dialogue, which is full of brusque and direct Cornish humour, integrated into realistic Cornu-English speech, and his ability to maintain the pace of often epic stories. Nowhere is this better seen than in his 1999 play *The Riot*, which dramatises the Newlyn fishermen's dispute over Sunday observance. Here the dialogue is stark and powerful:

> Billy: Make im swear an oath.
> Tack: Oo's e with now?
> Billy: Primitive Methodists.
> Tack: E left em after e broke a circuit preacher's back.
> (Darke 1999 b: 8)

Darke's ongoing association with the Kneehigh Theatre Company (a company who make continued use of actors with Cornish accents and who regularly act using Cornu-English) has proved particularly productive (Hosken 1996: 20f.). His subject matter is often maritime and mining culture in Cornwall, culled mainly from the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, perhaps principally because it is when he sees a fully operational Cornu-English culture operating not in isolation, but on European (with links to Brittany and Ireland)

and on global levels (mining in Australasia, North and South America and South Africa). Cornu-English writing has been able to progress via use of the monologue as short story, developed by Simon Parker in his ground-breaking *A Star on the Mizzen* (1997), which looked, like Darke, at the Newlyn fishermen who in 1896 refused to go to sea on Sundays. Their livelihoods were threatened by Sabbath-breaking English crews from the East Coast. In May of that year, more than 300 fully armed troops of the Royal Berkshire Regiment were stationed on the streets of Newlyn, whiles three navy gunboats patrolled Mount's Bay, culminating in pitched battles being fought on the promenade. It is this moment which Parker chooses to recreate. We notice a more political voice than the one offered by writers such as Tangye:

> We should ha' just stanked on over the top of 'en but instead we hesitated and squared up. Some of the boys started linging stones and ellins[28] and when one well aimed bully caught Nicholas on the chacks and scat 'en over, that was it … We soon scattered and retreated to the Esplanade. There were whacks injured. (Parker 1997: 21f.)

Kent, meanwhile took a different direction in his 1998 narrative *Dreaming in Cornish*, wishing to explore the interrelationship between Cornish and Cornu-English. In so doing, he chose the moment when in 1700, Edward Lhuyd came to Cornwall, keen to seek out what remained of the Cornish language,[29] and writes a monologue from the point of view of the native scholar John Keigwin of Mousehole. Keigwin understood and spoke Cornish, but Kent chooses his voice to be a Cornu-English one. Here, he describes the moment when Lhuyd arrives in Mousehole:

> Still, on his head he wore his periwig, even though it looked more like a geat gannet's nest than the attire of a gennelman. His face itself was prop'ly drawn, with his mouth screwed up like a duck's fert. ... So this was of 'un – Edward Lhuyd – a man who, despite being without drawing room and closet, looked like he had grabbed hold o'the world by the ass'ole. (Kent 1998: 5)

Parker and Kent's development in particular was to use Cornu-English metaphor and simile in new ways, giving Cornu-English literature a new agenda. Kent was further commissioned to complete an English language verse rendition of the Cornish trilogy of mystery plays known as *Ordinalia*. Symbolic of medieval Celto-Catholic Cornwall, the three plays of the cycle are certainly the most important texts within the canon of Cornish literature (Murdoch 1993: 41-74). The re-rendering of the text maintained the rhyme scheme of the Cornish, yet made ideological decisions about the level of Cornu-English the characters speak. Thus Caiaphas and Pilate tend to speak in Standard English, and thus allowed the Biblical landscape to be transformed onto Cornwall; in a way recreating the desired effect of the original. Below is a Unified Cornish version of

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[28] Cornish: An *ellin* is a thin flat stone, usually used for roofing.
[29] See Williams, D.R., 1993.

the words of the Trader in Passio Christi ('The Passion'), followed by the English translation, followed by Kent's Cornu-English version:

> Hayl! Syr Cayphas, Epscop stowt!
> M'aides! Jhesu an gwas prowt
> re wruk re maystry y'n dre;
> hag ef dhyn re leverys,
> kyn fe an Temple dyswrys,
> yn treddeth y'n drehafsa.
>
> [Hail! Sir Caiaphas haughty Bishop!
> Help me! Jesus, the proud fellow,
> has been blustering overmuch in the town;
> and He has said to us
> that though the Temple were demolished,
> in three days He would raise it up.].
> (Nance, Smith and Sandercock 1982: 26f.)
>
> Yew! Caiaphas, haughty Bishop Sir!
> Help me! Jesus, all puffed up and full of stir,
> has been bedolin' and blustering in the stannon.[30]
> and He has said to us straight
> that if the Temple was in a demolished state,
> in three days, He'd up and raise 'un. (Kent 2005: 120)

In such ways, a larger proportion of the population is able to engage with the cultural revival, since it does not require knowledge of Cornish to understand the text, and connect more immediately with their linguistic experience, a mistake which as the chapter shows, the early revivalists paid a price for in the slow take of Cornish language and the desire for political devolution. Kent, Darke and Parker have realised that often Cornu-English works culturally best, when it is juxtaposed with Standard English. These writers were also unafraid to notice emergent hybridisations, new words and grammars, which informed the experience of many Cornish people, and not just those from the Cornish Gorseth, who viewed dialect as a comedic side-show to the main event: the project of a fully Cornish-speaking Cornwall. That way the readers and audiences can see Cornish difference more clearly.

This was also the case with *Hell Fire Corner* (2004) by D.M. Thomas,[31] which deliberately sets English characters against Cornish ones, the climax of the drama being the moment when an illiterate Cornish miner and pigeon-breeder, Bert Solomon, is selected to play rugby for England against Wales in 1910. Yet following his moment of glory, he never turned out again for England. Thomas indicates that the reason he did not return was because he felt linguistically uncomfortable among the other top players of his days, mostly educated men from upper class backgrounds. Since the 1960s, however, Thomas had been incorpo-

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[30] Cornish: A stall at a market.
[31] This was first performed at the Hall for Cornwall, Truro on 29th April 2004. The play concludes with the Cornu-English expression "I dun 'un."

rating Cornu-English into his poetry (see Thomas 1983). This fear had also been expressed earlier in the poetry of A.L. Rowse, who though growing up in the china clay mining area of mid-Cornwall (still today a rich bed of Cornu-English), he recorded his difficulties dealing with his Cornish dialect and that he would have been prevented from progressing at Oxford if he did not alter his Cornu-English:

> It does arise directly from the consideration of the struggle to get away from speaking Cornish dialect and to speak correct English, a struggle which I began thus early and pursued constantly with no regret, for was it not the key which unlocked the door to all that lay beyond – Oxford, the world of letters, the community of all who speak the King's English, from which I should otherwise have been infallibly barred? But the struggle made me very sensitive about language; I hated to be corrected; nothing is more humiliating: and it left me with a complex about Cornish dialect. (Rowse 1982 (1942): 106)

As Ollard (1999 and 2003) has shown, Rowse is perhaps best known now for his acerbic and shrill misanthropy, yet as the above sequence demonstrates and as his own poetry shows, the issue of Cornu-English and Cornish identity within these islands was at the heart of his poetry and prose. Payton (2003) affirms this in his recent studies, arguing that Rowse was caught between periods of academic discourse.[32] He was a pioneer of the New British historiography and its Archipelagic debate, but the academic climate was not sufficiently developed, or 'devolved' for his identity and Cornu-English background to be accepted. The fear is of no consequence, however, to a writer such as Les Merton, who perhaps has managed to transcend the world of dialectician poetry with his new investigations of Cornish experience. For Merton, the trick would be to handle the delicate negotiation between the retention of comedy, but to match this with a subsequent progression of the form. This is best seen in his poem "Arfurr," where the reader encounters the self-confident identity of a very manly, and modern Cornish "King Arthur" in a non-compromising form of Cornu-English:

> Ee wuz fo-wur fut nothun,
> eed go to a do un sey,
> 'Who wuz tha tallust bloke
> furr I cum un.' (Merton 2000: 24)[33]

It is also to be found in work for children, such as the films for the production company "Three S Films." Their production *How Madge Figgey Got Her Pig* (1997), was an adaptation of a nineteenth-century folktale and told the narrative in an uncompromising Cornu-English voice.[34] Another new direction taken by Cornu-English in the 1990s was its meeting with the vocabulary of world-wide surf culture. Cornish surfing resorts such as Newquay and Perranporth had retained enough of a Cornu-English population, but had also received in-migrants

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[32] See also Payton 2004.
[33] Cf. Herbert, 1994.
[34] This film won the Young People's Award Torc at the 1998 Celtic Film and Television Festival at Tralee in Ireland.

from California and Australia, who had brought with them the terminology of surfing.[35] A hybridisation is currently taking place where terms, such as *grommet* (for a young novice surfer), *muppet* (for an arrogant south-eastern English surfer) become politicised pieces of dialect, since they show new ownership of the sport and culture.[36] Cornu-English should not be viewed as provincial or narrow. When compared with Arthuriana, Tristan and Iseult, the medieval dramatic tradition, the folktales, not to mention the historical romantic continuum of Cornwall, the Cornu-English or Cousin Jack story might seem slight and unrefined. But as this chapter has shown, we should not be dismissive of them, for their popularity since 1549 demonstrates their centrality in the corpus of populist telling and writing emerging from Cornwall. We should revise our view of Cornu-English not just as a cultural space for simple yarns or jokes, but relocate them at the contemporary end of a dynamic continuum of oral culture. Likewise, it should also make 'us' reconsider our response to Cornu-English and its use as a dissenting voice. The dunkey then has well and truly been brought down off the Carn. Cornu-English is no better considered than in Ronald Davies's poem, *Yours: Ours*, which evokes displacement, memory, reclamation and in Kenneth MacKinnon's words, the "replenishment"[37] of Cornish culture, that is as apt in the twenty-first century as in 1965 when it appeared in the groundbreaking political magazine *New Cornwall*:

> We speak your language now
> The hammer words
> The gouging phrase
> But we sing it to our tune
> An ancient song
> Lilting before you came
> And the words in our way we say
> In the old accents
> Singing to a question
> And because we say it is so
> So chanting in our memories
> It is not your language
> It is ours. (Davies 1965: 49)

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35 There is some evidence of a cultural reversal here, since Cornu-English entered Australian English with terms such as 'beauty' and 'mate' (Cornu-English: *bewdy* and *maate*). Cf. the Cornish language word *moaz* ('to go') used in the western USA in the expression 'mozey on down.'

36 This culture is considered in Prechezer, C., dir., 1995, *Blue Juice*, Channel Four Films and Pandora Cinema.

37 A comment made to the author by Prof. Kenneth MacKinnon during Government Office South West's audit of Cornish Language in April 2000.

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Anthroponyms as Markers of 'Celticity' in Brittany, Cornwall and Wales[1]

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Introduction

The theme which unifies this volume is the 'Celticity' of the Celtic Englishes. From a linguistic perspective, we may take this to mean the identification of phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical influences that extinct or extant Celtic languages have exercised in the past, or continue to exercise to this day, on the varieties of English where Celtic languages were once dominant. This, in fact, has been the focus of much of the research published in the first three volumes of the *Celtic Englishes*. However, for those in search of inherited, symbolically-weighted features of language within the Brythonic social, cultural and historical framework, it would be hard to imagine anything more revealing as beacons of 'Celticity' than the anthroponymic systems of these cultures, given that they are so intimately bound to the changing modes of enculturation that have distinguished them for the past two millennia. It is with this in mind that I seek to explore the Brythonic naming traditions as they have developed in Brittany, Cornwall and Wales.

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1. Objectives

My underlying hypothesis is that Brythonic-speaking societies once shared similar naming practices, many of which closely resemble those found in Goidelic-speaking countries (cf. Mac Mathúna's article in this volume). In this respect, I shall try to demonstrate that significant aspects of the anthroponymic systems of Celtic origin are not particularly 'Breton,' 'Cornish' or 'Welsh' at all but, in a fundamental way, the linguistic and cultural heritage of the "British Heroic Age" (Chadwick 1976), a period broadly spanning the 4th to the 9th centuries.

In a book almost entirely devoted to the 'Celtic Englishes,' it may thus come as a surprise that it is in Brittany, which was settled by the Brythons between the 4th and early 8th centuries, that the 'British' or 'Brythonic' naming system has displayed the most resilience and continuity.[2] For this reason, much of the evidence presented in this paper will revolve around Breton data. Considerable attention will thus be paid to the commonality of these three modern naming traditions and the manner in which they evolved from a single Brythonic source.[3]

2. Sociohistorical Background

2.1. The Cornish

The fate of the Breton, Cornish and Welsh aristocracies had a crucial impact on the development of their respective cultures. In the wake of the successive conquests of the Brythonic kingdoms by the Anglo-Saxons, which included the loss of Elmet, Gododdin, Rheged, Strathclyde and other regions whose names have been lost, the southwestern Brythons, too, were finally defeated, in 936, by Aethelstan, their most redoubtable opponent at that time. After the 'West Welsh' had been driven from Exeter, the border separating the English and Cornish was fixed at the Tamar (Ellis 1974: 26). As the territories in which Brythonic culture and language had once predominated were whittled away, more localised regional identities gradually arose, most notably in Brittany, Cornwall, Cumbria and Wales.

In the conquered areas, the Brythonic-speaking aristocracy was replaced by an Old English-speaking elite. Evidence of this process is revealed in the 10th

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[2] There is obviously a large number of Breton surnames of French origin, *Martin*, *Richard*, *Thomas*, *Daniel* and *Gauthier* being among the most popular. Although very interesting in their own right, the study of non-Celtic names does not fall in within the scope of this article.

[3] Armorica was almost certainly populated by Gaulish-speaking inhabitants when the first Brythons arrived (Falc'hun 1963, 1981; Fleuriot 1980) and there was probably a large-scale fusion of the two populations. Considering that the Gaulish and Brythonic languages and cultures were extremely close, it is not impossible that the original Armorican naming traditions may also have provided some input. Nevertheless, the immigrant Brythonic culture was by far the most dominant, as can be seen from both toponymic and anthroponymic evidence.

century Bodmin Manumissions, a document which shows that the majority of the manumittors mentioned in the document bore Anglo-Saxon names (Bice 1970: 5; Jones 2001), while 98 of 122 Cornish slaves carried Brythonic names of a kind still found in Brittany (see below p. 43, 56, Jones 2001 reference). A century later, however, the Normans conquered England provoking yet another power-shift and … name-shift. As a result, by the 12th or 13th centuries, Brythonic and Anglo-Saxon names fell out of use among the general population. Only a couple of generations after Hastings, 44% of the male population of Cornwall bore four names – all of them Norman: *William*, *Robert*, *Richard* and *Ralph* (Bice 1970: 3). By 1327, 25% of the Cornish males cited in the *Lay Subsidy Rolls* for the western half of Cornwall were named *John*. Bice (*ibid.*) adds that the Cornish-language 'surnames' came into existence between 1250 and 1450, possibly to distinguish between so many individuals bearing the same fore-names. These new surnames were often derived from nicknames, occupational names and, especially, place names and, as such, were rather ephemeral.

Significantly, the Norman-French influence on Cornwall appears to have been similar to that which was exerted on Anglo-Saxon England as a whole. Bice (1970: 3) states that, in England, Old English (fore)names were replaced by Norman ones within two or three generations after the Conquest, although he suspects that they may have lingered on a bit among the Old English-speaking peasantry. In a document known as the *Eyre of Kent* (1313-14), out of a total of 800 jurors and bailiffs only seven bear Anglo-Saxon names (*ibid.*). As in Cornwall, the rest are Norman: *William*, *Robert*, *Hugh*, *Richard*, *Walter*, *Ralph* and *Odo*, etc.

This is highly significant in demonstrating that the process of culture shift involving names and languages occurred without any significant population replacement. This is a point one should keep in mind when considering the linguistic implications of the 'anglicisation' of other formerly Brythonic regions of England.

2.2. The Welsh

Whereas the English and Cornish submitted rapidly to Norman authority after Hastings, this was not the case for Wales. The Welsh struggled against Anglo-Norman rule for generations and thus succeeded in preserving their culture, language and institutions for a much longer period (Davis 1993: 103). This is pertinent to my discussion because, although the acculturation of Wales intensified throughout the Middle Ages, it was part of a rather gradual process which, in social terms, seems to have occurred mainly from the top down.

One of the indirect consequences of the survival of the Welsh aristocratic elite in the centuries following the Norman Conquest was that Welshmen retained their traditional Brythonic names as well as their cultural traditions. This conservatism was encouraged by a class of professional poets whose *raison d'être* was to compose panegyric poetry for their noble patrons and to preserve the col-

lective cultural and historical memory, not only of the 'Welsh' but of all the Brythons.[4] Indeed, most of the geographical regions mentioned in the *Canu Hengerdd* (Early Bardic Poetry), a body of Welsh-language poetry representing the oldest aspects of this tradition, lie outside Wales with most events taking place in the 'Old North,' that is, in formerly Brythonic regions which are today northern England and southern Scotland.

As Brinley Roberts (1975: xvif.) pointed out, the primary theme uniting traditional Welsh history for over a thousand years was the "violation of the sovereignty of Britain" by the *Saeson* (Saxons), the sovereignty of the island being symbolised by the crown of London. The ascension of Henry Tudor, the 'Welshman,' to the throne in 1485 was viewed by his Welsh followers as the realisation of ancient prophesies which had predicted the return of a messianic figure named *Arthur* (*Cynan* and *Cadwaladr* were two other candidates), who would reclaim the sovereignty of Britain on behalf of the Brythons.[5] The result of this new pro-'British' climate was that Welsh noblemen were no longer excluded from positions of influence at the royal court. The *Acts of Union* of 1536 served as a catalyst that accelerated the anglicisation of the Welsh gentry. This development was to have dramatic consequences, since it was now the Welsh peasantry, or *gwerin*, who preserved the Welsh linguistic and cultural identity, an identity which increasingly revolved around their new Protestant faith. Nevertheless, as might be expected, the common people followed the trend set by the upper classes and took on secular Anglo-Norman and Biblical names of the same kind we have observed in England and Cornwall. Paradoxically, many of the names commonly considered as 'typically Welsh' today, such as *Williams*, *Roberts*, *Hughes*, *Humphreys*, *Thomas*, *Gwilym*, (< *Guillaume*), are of unambiguous Anglo-Norman origin. Even *Evans* and *Jones* are, in fact, merely variant forms of *John* (< *Ievan*, *Ieuan*). *Jenkins*, on the other hand, would be another form of *John*, from Welsh *Sioncin* or *Ionkyn* (Morgan and Morgan 1985: 137).

2.3. The Bretons

Humphreys (1991: 97) has contended that the Bretons were the victims of their own military success against the Franks and, later, the French and Normans.[6] By pushing so far east and establishing their capital in Rennes (and later in Nantes), well within the Gallo-speaking zone, the aristocratic elite inevitably adopted the Old French language and culture. By the end of the 11th century, the process was largely complete. In spite of this, Breton remained the medium of communica-

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[4] It is important to recall that the Welsh (*Cymry*) and Cornish (*Kernowyon*) also described themselves 'Brythons,' the former until early modern times.

[5] The Tudors and Stuarts exploited the prophesy of Arthur's return for political purposes posing as the guarantors of British sovereignty in an attempt to legitimise their power.

[6] Indeed, despite punitive raids by the Normans of the kind featured on the Bayeux tapestry, in the end, the Bretons defeated William the Conqueror and drove the Norman invaders from Brittany in 1086.

tion for significant numbers of petty noblemen, clergymen and all of the peasantry, west of a line stretching from Guérande to St Brieuc until the mid-twentieth century.

Although the relative independence of the Duchy until the end of the 15th century was instrumental in safeguarding the Breton language and culture, administrative policies of the French monarchy and the Catholic Church also played an important role in maintaining the Breton naming tradition. In 1406, for instance, a synod ordered that registers should be kept of the names of all the children who had been baptised, as well as their mothers, fathers, and godparents (Deshayes 1995: 15). In 1539, only seven years after the Treaty of Union between Brittany and France, François I signed the royal edict of Villers-Cotterêts making French the official language of all documents and registers. We can conclude that the recording of names in registers, whether in Latin or in French, must have had a profound effect in rendering names hereditary. Indeed, we see that the process was nearly complete by the 17th century, although Deshayes (*ibid.*, 14) shows that some instability remained in the system.[7] Considering that the mass of the people were still linguistically, culturally and geographically isolated from France, a high percentage of Breton names of Celtic origin were now permanently fixed as official, hereditary family names. Meanwhile, in Cornwall, and especially in Wales, the de-Celticisiation of the naming system proceeded. Note, however, that with the exception of a few Celtic saints' names, Breton first names were almost exclusively Christian, albeit in Bretonised form: *Marie > Mari, Mai*; *Catherine > Rin, Katell*; *Marguerite > Marc'harid, Margaid, Gaid*; *Jeanne > Chann*; *Jean > Yann*; *François > Seig, Siz, Fañch*; *Joseph > Jos*; *Jerôme > Jerm*; *Pierre > Per*; *Corentin > Kaour*, etc. (cf. German fc.).

3. Characteristics of the Brythonic Naming System

The Brythonic family names which have survived to the present day in Brittany, Cornwall and Wales can, in very broad terms, be divided into five categories.

Type 1 names: patronymic lineage
Type 2 names: place of origin
Type 3 names: occupation
Type 4 names: physical or moral characteristics (often nicknames)
Type 5 names: epithets related to warfare or extolling warlike virtues

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[7] He cites the example of an individual from Ergué-Armel whose name is given as *Alan Donnarz* 'dit *Guillou*' in 1625 and is recorded three years later as *Alan Guillou* 'dit *Donnarz*' (< *Doenerth* 'God's strength').

3.1. Type 1 Names: Patronymic Lineage

The earliest Brythonic sources show clear evidence of a patrilinear system which consists in naming a son or daughter after his/her father.

Y *mab* Z ('Y son of Z'); X *merch* Z ('X daughter of Z')

This can be seen on early 6th century stone inscriptions such as one in Western Cornwall: *Rialobrani Cunovali fili* ('*Rialobran* son of *Cunoval*'). The poetry of the *cynfeirdd* ('early bardic poets') provides further evidence. Williams (1975: xxxvi) gives the following example of Urien Rheged's genealogy preserved in B.M. Harley 3859 (MS British Library):

Urbgen map Cinmarc map Merchianum map Gurgust [map Ceneu] map Coilhen.

Female names such as

Rhiannon verch Hefeydd Hen
Branwen verch Llyr
Modron verch Avallach

also abound in Middle Welsh sources.[8]

Ironically, the disappearance of the indigenous Welsh name stock seems to result directly from the retention of this patronymic system which survived in Wales until the 17th and 18th centuries and, among the poorest elements of society, as late as the 19th century (Morgan and Morgan 1985: 18). In the 15th century, for instance, if a man named *Llewelyn ap Cadwgan* ('*Llewellyn* son of *Cadwgan*') had a son named *Owain*, the son was known as *Owain ap Llewelyn ap Cadwgan* ('*Owain* son of *Llewelyn* son of *Cadwgan*'). By the 17th century, as we have seen, Anglo-Norman names had now come into fashion and were fast replacing the Welsh ones. For example, if a man by the name of *James* (*ap Ievan*) *Evans* had a son named *William*, the son would be known as *William James*, not *William Evans*. By the time hereditary family names were established in Wales, it is these kinds of English names that had been adopted as permanent family names, leaving a mere handful of native Welsh names. Survivals of these include, *Blethyn* (*Bleiddyn*), *Cadwalader* (< *Cadwaladr*), *Craddock* (*Caradog*), *Griffith* (< *Gruffydd*), *Howell* (*Hywel*), *Llewelyn* (< *Llewelyn*), *Lloyd/Floyd* (< *Llwyd*), *Maddox* (< *Madog*), *Morgan* (*Morgan/Morcant*), *Owen* (< *Owain, Ewein*), *Rice* (< *Rhŷs*), *Roderick* (< *Rhodri or Rhydderch*), etc.[9]

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8 Note that when feminine nouns and masculine or feminine Christian names are followed by a word (usually an adjective) beginning with the occlusives /p/, /t/, /k/, /b/, /d/ or the bilabial nasal (historically weak) /m/, these consonants are generally lenited to /b/, /d/, /g/, /v/, /ð/ and /v/ respectively. Orthographic <m> is realised as either <v> or <u> in Middle Welsh texts (and <f> in Modern Welsh). Middle Welsh <v>, <u> and Modern Welsh <f> are all pronounced /v/.

9 Many of these names are used both as first and last names in Wales: *Evan Evans*, *Griffith Griffiths*, etc. The final <s> in *Evans* or *Griffiths* is the English genitive marker <'s> and is probably an echo of the original system signalling a paternal bond – *Evan son of Evan*, *Griffith son of Griffith*, etc.

Many similar names are still found in Cornwall: *Blythe*, *Cadwalader*, *Craddock/Craddick*, *Loze* (W. *Lloyd*, Br. *Louet*), *Howell*, *Maddock/Maddox*, *Morgan*, etc., as well as other old names that have since disappeared in Wales: *Biddock* (*Budoc*), *Maile/Male* (*Mael*), *Mabyn*, etc. (cf. Type 5 names below).

3.1.1. Ap *and* Ach

According to Ifor Williams (1975: 112), the Welsh word for 'son,' *map/mab/vab*, was reduced to *ap* in Welsh texts by the 12th century: [ab] before a vowel or voiced consonant, [ap] before a voiceless consonant. Morgan and Morgan (1985: 18) state that *ap* was still dominant in the 16th century which explains pairs such as *Evan > Bevan* (*ap Evan*), *Hugh > Pugh* (*ap Huw*), *Harry > Parry* (*ap Harri*), *Howell > Powell* (*ap Hywel*), *Owen > Bowen* (*ap Owain*), *Rice > Price* (*ap Rhŷs*), *Richard > Pritchard* (*ap Rhitsiard*) and so on. The Cornish conserved a number of such names including *Powell*, *Prichard*, *Prynne* (< *ap Rynne*) (cf. Thompson 2003). It is also interesting to note that an identical evolution took place in the Léon region of northern Brittany, where many *ab* names have survived to this day: *Abalan* (*ab Alan*), *Abiven* (*ab Iven*), *Abriwallon* (*ab Riwallon*), *Abeguile* (*ab egile*, i.e. 'son of the other one!'), etc. Given that the *ap/ab* forms are common to Breton, Cornish and Welsh, one is tempted to ask whether the reduction of *mab/vab* to *ab* may have been common in older Brythonic vernacular speech.

Eventually, <ap> was lost altogether. Although Morgan and Morgan (1985: 15) stress, that this evolution was part of a natural process, he also suggests that English administrative influence may have precipitated matters. English records provide evidence of this: '*William Evans*, alias *William ap Ievan*,' '*Thomas Jones* of London alias *Thomas ap Ieuan ap …*' and so on. Likewise, in the Welsh system, *merch* ('daughter') was reduced to *ach* and was later also elided (*ibid.*): *Tanno verch David*, *Katherine verch Thomas*, but *Anne ach Richard*.

In the Léon region of rural northwestern Brittany, (Madec, Pondaven and Riou (Madec, et al., 2006: 6) have thoroughly explored the tradition of stringing names together to indicate patrilineal bonds (without *ap* or *merch*): for instance, *Lomm Yann Olier* ('*Guillaume* son of *Jean* son of *Olivier*'). They also cite examples where ancestry is traced matrilineally with reference to mothers and grandmothers (cf. below): *Mari Gid Bi Louiz* meaning '*Marie* the daughter of *Marguerite*, the grand-daughter of *Jean-Marie*, great-grand-daughter of *Louis*' (*ibid.*, 7). Once again the existence of this system implies that one cannot rule out the possibility that it may once have been used at the colloquial level among all the Brythons. Quite remarkably, Liam Mac Mathúna (this volume) also shows an identical system at work in Ireland suggesting the tradition could be very ancient indeed.[10]

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[10] Furthermore, the system functions the same way the Brythonic languages express genitival relationships (N + N); Breton *Ti Yann* 'John's house;' *Ti Mamm Doue* 'The house of the Mother of God,' etc.

3.1.2. Other Ways of Expressing Paternal and Maternal Bonds

Another way of expressing one's relationship to one's father in Brittany is as follows. A man whose official French name is *Jean Manchec* and who bears the same name as his father is often known within his own family and by his friends as *Yann Bihan* ('Little *Jean*') so as to avoid confusion between the two. The father, on the other hand, would be known as *Yann Manchec koz* ('Old *Yann Manchec*'). This tradition has been carried over into French so that, today, when one speaks of *petit Jean*, everyone understands that he is the son of *Jean* senior.

A fascinating Welsh parallel to this system is recorded by Morgan and Morgan (1985: 59), where *Maredydd Fychan ab yr Hen Faredydd* (1350-1415) means literally '*Maredudd* the small son of the old *Maredudd*.' Just as in the Breton tradition, here *Bychan* ('small') does not have anything to do with the person's size – although it can in other contexts – but rather the person's relationship to his father. Paternity is marked by the adjective *Hên* ('old'). Similarly, *Dafydd Leia ap Dafydd Fychan ap Dafydd Ddu* is another interesting example: 'David least (i.e. 'grandson' of Dafydd Black) son of David Small 'son' of Dafydd Black' (Morgan and Morgan 1985: 59).

The diminutive/affective morpheme //-ig// (which corresponds closely to English //-y//: *Yannig-Johnny*, *Channig-Janey*, etc.) can also indicate parent-child relationships, although perhaps less frequently than the system just described. Yann Riou (2005: 12) offers the following example of three generations of men (son, father, grandfather) from Lampaul-Plouarzel, Léon, who had the same official French name: *François Elias*. In Breton, however, they were known as *Feñchig* (born 1891) son of *Saig* (born 1847) son of *Feñch* (born 1818). Note that both *Saig* and *Feñchig* are diminutive forms of *Feñch* ('François'). The morpheme //-ig// can thus indicate a parental bond and, indeed, this is may be how we could interpret the name *Budic Bud Berhouc*, one of the early 11th century lords of Cornouaille (see below fn. 16).

3.1.3. Husbands and Wives

In rural Brittany today, older men and women are still known by their spouses' first names, not necessarily by their official married names (Madec, et al., 2006: 7): *Gwillou Jofi* ('*Guillaume*, husband of *Joséphine*') and *Von Silver* ('*Yvonne*, wife of *Sylvain*,' *ibid.*, 8). The practice appears to be in use throughout Brittany: *Fin Secretaire* ('*Joséphine* Secretary') because her husband was the assistant mayor (i.e. *secrétaire de mairie*); *Fin Albert* ('*Joséphine* wife of *Albert*'), also known as *Fin Sosis* ('*Joséphine* 'Sausage''), because she and her husband owned a *charcuterie* (German 2004 personal notes, Saint Yvi, Cornouaille).

A more elaborate version of this system is also encountered: (the woman's first name + *ti* (house) + the husband's first name). *Susanne Guiffant*, also of Saint Yvi, is better known locally as *Susanne Ti Viktor* ('*Susanne* of the house of *Victor*,' her husband), while her neighbour *Yvonne Litybran* was known both

as *Von Vran* ('*Yvonne* the Raven'), the hypocoristic form of *Litybran* (lit. 'milk-house/dairy of the raven,' her official maiden name; Cornish *laiti* and Breton *letty*, § 3.2, p. 43 below), or as *Von Ti Per an Gall* ('*Yvonne* of the house of *Pierre Le Gall*,' her husband).[11]

3.2. Type 2 Names: Geographic Origin or Place of Residence

Type 2 names are found in all Brythonic-speaking cultures. Here, men and women are named after their place of residence or origin. This is undoubtedly a very old feature and was common to both the aristocracy and peasantry. In the poetry of the *cynfeirdd* (early bardic poets), for instance, there are numerous references to warriors who are associated with their place of origin: *Brochfael Brolet*, *Urien Rheged*, *Cian Maen Gwyngwn*, *Cynddilig Aeron*, *Madog Elfed*, *Clydno Eidyn* … (Williams 1975, 1978).

Morgan and Morgan (1985: 27) write that in Wales: "the usage of attaching a place-name to a personal name is very common *at the colloquial level* and always has been. It is probably the practice in all areas for farm-names to be used in this way: *Wil Cwmcyrnach*, *Llew'r Garth*, etc." They add (*ibid.*: 52) that although the 'colloquial' usage is prevalent, "place-names have become Welsh surnames only in very special conditions and the proportion of official surnames originating in place-names is very small." An example where a toponym is adopted as a second name for symbolic reasons is the case of John *Berwen*, originally Jones, of Glyndyfrdwy, one of those who led the Welsh expedition to Patagonia and who took on this name once he arrived there, "no doubt an assertion, and an overt sign, of his nationalism" (*ibid.*, 52).

The relative rarity of such names in Wales lies in stark contrast to the situation in Brittany and Cornwall, where they are often constructed around the following roots: *Tre(v)-* ('hamlet/farmstead'), *Lan-* ('hallowed ground'), *Plou* ('parish;' Cornish *plu*), *Poul-* ('pool;' Cornish *pol*), *Pen-* ('summit, end'), *Ros-* ('hillside, heathland'), and *Ker-* ('farmstead'). Here are some examples of Cornish family names: *Hendry*, ('old farmstead'), *Innis* ('island'), *Laity* ('dairy'), *Mendue* ('black mountain'), *Nance* ('valley'), *Pendennis* ('headland with a fort'), *Pender* ('end of the land'), *Pengilly* ('end of a grove'), *Penrose* ('end of a heath,' 'top of a hill'), *Pentreath* ('end of a beach'), *Polglaze* ('blue/green pool') *Trevean* ('small farm'), *Trengov* ('farm of the smith'), *Tremenheere* ('farm of the long stone'), etc. (Thompson 2003).

In Brittany hundreds of similar toponyms, often identical to the aforementioned ones, were adopted as official family names. They normally include reference to a man's name or some geographical feature. Here are a few examples:

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[11] This woman's daughter, whose official French name was *Catherine Le Gall*, was also considered as 'belonging' to her father's household: *Rin Ti Per an Gall* ('*Rin* of the house of *Per an Gall*'). She was also known by the hamlet in which she lived: *Rin Keronsal* (cf. Type 2 names).

Tremadec ('Madec's hamlet'), *Lannurien* ('hallowed ground dedicated to *Urien*'), *Plougonven* ('parish of *Conven*'), *Penaneac'h* ('mountain summit'), *Rosconval* ('*Conval*'s Hill,' < *Cunoval*; cf. above reference to Cornish inscription *Rialobrani Cunovali fili*), *Kerguelen* ('holly farm'), *Kervabon* ('Mabon's farm'), *Guillygomarc'h* (< *Gwely Conmarch*, 'from the bed of *Conmarc'h*,' i.e. the descendant of *Conmarc'h*), *Creac'hcadic* ('Cadic's hill'), *Letty* (*Letty* < Old Breton *Laedti*, lit. 'milk-house, dairy'), *Brenterc'h* ('boar mountain,' cf. *Bryntyrch*, *Caernarvon*), etc. (see Deshayes 1995: 324; Gourvil 1993).

In informal speech, post-posing the place of residence or origin after the person's baptismal name was and still is commonplace. Confusion can result between such informal names and official family names which started off as place names. Take for example several women in Saint Yvi: *Fin Ty an Douar* (official French name: '*Jospéhine Kerveant* of *Ty an Douar*'); *Louch Kerequel* (official French name: '*Louise Bleuzen* of *Kerequel* farm,' cf. Old Breton *Caer Iudhael*) and *Odile Kervren* (official French name: '*Odile Goarant* of *Kervren* farm;' cf. Welsh *Caerfryn*).

The last people to actively use this system generally live in rural communities and are over the age of 60, but then again, this kind of assessment is often difficult to make and depends on whether one is within the subject's intimate sphere of social relations where such names are normally given.

A subcategory of this class is linked to ethnic origin: *Le Picard*, *Le Normand*, *Le Flamand* (the Fleming), *Le Gall* (the foreigner, the Frenchman) and *Le Saoz* (the Saxon). Jean Le Dû (1988) proposed an intriguing hypothesis in which he posits that *Le Saoz* names, three quarters of which are to be found in the Trégor region of northern Brittany, may have been introduced during the Brythonic colonisation of Armorica. The areal spread of this name corresponds closely to a number of linguistic features which are common to Cornish but unknown in other Breton dialects. Given the conservative nature of Breton anthroponyms, this idea is not as farfetched as it may first appear (cf. Tristram 1995; German 1996).

3.3. Type 3 Names: Occupational Activities (Generally Linked to Peasantry)

Morgan and Morgan (1985: 51) have gleaned examples of occupational names from Welsh records such as *Gwehydd Bergam* ('the bandy-legged weaver'). Nevertheless, few existing Welsh surnames originate from such sources nor are there many examples in Cornwall (examples: *Angove* 'the smith,' Breton *An Goff*; *Tyack* 'farmer'). This contrasts sharply with the situation in Brittany, where dozens have survived. The Breton evidence is extremely valuable in this respect in that it could provide us with precious insight into the kinds of occupations and names which the Brythonic peasantry must have carried prior to the anglicisation of Britain.

Here are some common examples of modern Breton family names derived from former occupational epithets: *Le Dorner* ('the thresher' < Breton *dorn* 'hand;' *dorna* 'to strike, thresh'), *Le Falc'her* ('the reaper, mower;' *falc'hi* 'to

reap, mow' < *falc'h* 'sythe'), *Baraer* ('the baker' < *bara* 'bread'), *Quiguer* ('the butcher' < *kig* 'meat;' Welsh *cig*), *Le Bosser* ('the butcher' < Fr. *boucher*), *Quéguiner* ('cook' < *kegin* 'kitchen;' Welsh *cegin*), *Le Gonidec* ('the farmer'), *Le Mao* ('the servant'), *Le Mevel* ('servant'), *Le Calvez* ('the carpenter'), *Quéméner* ('the tailor'), *Le Guyader* ('the weaver'), *Le Goff* ('the smith'), *Le Tiek* ('the farmer'), *L'Ozac'h* ('the head of the household/farm-owner'), etc.

Just as confusion can arise between unofficial and official names originating in place names, the same can occur with respect to occupational names. *Bosser*, meaning 'butcher,' can be either an official family name (*Le Bosser*) or, if the person is really a butcher, an epithet. Until the 1970s, for instance, there were two butchers in the village of Saint Yvi who were known locally as *an bosser braz* ('the big butcher') and *an bosser bihan* ('the little butcher').[12] The epithet was given because the *bosser braz*'s shop was inside the village. *Bosser bihan*'s was at the bottom of the hill leading into it. Likewise, *Per an Toer* and his son *Louis an Toer*, also of Saint Yvi, were so called because they were both roofers.[13] Per Pondaven, (Saint Yvi, pc. 2004) informs me that he knew a *Marie an Toer* of Landunvez, Northern Finistère, who inherited her grandfather's occupational name. *Le Toer* also exists as an official family name.

Also tied to the labouring classes are a number of Breton names which provide some idea of the misery that reigned among the poor: *Droumaguet* < *droug-maget* ('badly-nourished'); *Naouennec* (< *naon* 'hunger'); *Toullec, Tollec* (< *toull* 'hole'), possibly referring to the pierced clothing of a vagabond, while *Crouan* probably means 'beggar,' or 'poor person.' *Le Déventec* is derived from *tavanteg* 'indigent, poor, in need.' *Diguer* probably means 'homeless' (Deshayes 1995: 221, 234f.).

3.4. Type 4 Names: Physical Characteristics, Moral Flaws

The difference in meaning between the English word 'surname' (family name) and the French word *surnom* ('nickname') provides us with a hint as to how family names were originally given and perceived. Most 'surnames' started off as highly personalised epithets. It is important to recall that these *surnoms* (i.e. 'nicknames') were generally not hereditary and disappeared when the individual passed away.

Among the Breton peasantry, nicknames (called *lezanoiou* 'half-names') are still a common method of identifying people. Until recently, in fact, they were by far the most used. It is still often the case that people are better known by their informal names than by their official surnames. As one 84-year-old informant from Pluzunet, Trégor, put it: "Everyone knew what his own (official) name was but, generally speaking, hardly anyone else did." Considering the high rate of illiteracy of the Breton peasantry until recent times, the dominant nature

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[12] In this area, the definite article *an*, not *ar*, appears before bilabial and velar voiced stops.
[13] No one I have interviewed remembers their official name.

of the oral tradition should come as no surprise. In my studies of the communal registers of Elliant, Saint Yvi and Melgven in southern Finistère, for instance, I have found that, until the last quarter of the 19th century, well over 95 per cent of the fathers (and their two witnesses) declaring their children's birth at the town hall were unable to sign their names.[14]

This unofficial naming tradition was thus the product of close-knit communities in which individuals were/are intimately aware, for better or for worse, of the slightest details of their neighbours' lives, not to mention those of their respective families, past and present. In such contexts, no mistake, humiliating or amusing incident, physical defect, character flaw, etc. ever went unnoticed and was rarely forgotten. Inevitably, all of these were translated into nicknames.

As a consequence, confusion sometimes arose between official family names (preserved in the town registers in writing) and oral epithets, a state of affairs that can still provoke embarrassing situations. One of my informants from the Trégor region of northern Brittany explains how she once addressed a friend of her father's as *Monsieur Denthir* ('long-teeth'), when it was, in fact, his nickname (he had very long teeth indeed!). Another informant, from Saint Yvi, Cornouaille, greeted an older woman as *Madame Toulli.* As it turned out, the woman was an alcoholic and this inglorious epithet ('sediment-hole'), known to all but her, was a reference to the dregs found in the bottom of a keg of hard cider (*toull* hole, *li* (Gaulish *liga*) 'sediment').

More colourful names were employed, such as *Paotr e hibil dir* (literally 'lad his peg of steel,' i.e. 'the lad with the steel penis'), which was given to a man from Bégard, Trégor, after he was surprised in bed with a woman on the morning of his wedding. She was not the future bride … . Another man, the local artificial inseminator, also in the Trégor region, was known as *Kwele Roc'h* ('the stud bull of La Roche Derrien').[15] *Yann Troc'h-chakot* (John 'cut-pocket') of Trégunc, southern Finistère, was so called, because he was known to be a thief (German 2004, personal notes). Such names are legion (cf. Madec 1989).

Not all nicknames were negative, however. *An Heolig* ('the little sun') was the name by which the "prettiest girl in Elliant" was known (circa 1910). Often people had several nicknames. One young girl with reddish-blond hair was known variously as *Channig Ru(z)* (little Jane 'red-hair') or, more playfully, *Chann amann* ('*Jane* butter') (German 2003: 393).

Tanguy (1998: 53) points out that, in the Cartulary of Redon, one of the earliest sources for Breton names dating to the 9th century, there are 20 examples of epithets: *Cumahel Boric* ('the little fat one'), *Berran* ('the little short one'), *Coric* ('the little dwarf'); both epithets have survived as family names under the forms of (*Le*) *Bour* and *Couric*. Three of these ancient names deal with beards: *Barbatil* ('well-kept beard'), *Barbdifeith* ('unkempt beard'), *Henbarb* ('old

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14 This also speaks volumes about the nature of French language acquisition in the region.

15 A nearly identical nickname is documented by MacKinnon (1977: 23) in his study of the Isle of Harris, where the local artificial inseminator was known as: *Tairbh an aide* ('the bull with a hat') and his wife as *Bean an tarbh* ('the bull's wife').

beard'). One also notes *Haeluuocon Sqrenic* (*Haeluucon* 'who trembles') and *Riwallon an coent*, meaning *Riwallon* ('valorous-king') *an coent* ('the handsome,' from Old French and related to English *quaint*, also of French origin). Note that, once again, both *Rivallon* and (*Le*) *Coant* are still common family names today. [16]

Such evidence suggests that epithets describing individuals' physical or moral attributes must have been plentiful throughout pre-Anglo-Saxon Britain. Warriors mentioned in the *Canu Hengerdd* (Early Bardic Poetry) often bear them. If one takes the *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn* ('Eulogy for Kynan Garwyn'), purportedly composed by the bard Taliesin in the late 6th century, one observes that the subject of the poem, *Kynan* (Breton and Cornish *Conan*), is known as *Kynan Garwyn* ('white leg') *son of Brochfael Ysgithrog* ('noble-badger (long) fang'). The name *Garwyn*, is still perfectly understandable to a modern Breton under the form *Garwen* and, although I have found no modern examples of it in Brittany, it certainly could exist. *Gargam* ('lame leg'), for instance, is very common. Morgan and Morgan (1985: 16, 60f.) show that a system closely resembling this one clearly survived in Wales until the anglicisation of the gentry in the 16th century and similar names are indicated: *Einion Bolledan* (*bol* + *ledan* 'wide-belly'), *Iuan Vechan Penbul* (Evan 'small block head,' early 15th c.), *Maredudd Benhir* ('long-head'), *Wion Pengam* ('bent-head'),[17] *Iorwerth Penwyn* ('white-head'), *Gwehydd Bergam* ('weaver crooked-shank'), *Ellis Byddar* ('deaf Ellis,' 1611), *Dafydd tew/dew* ('fat Dafydd (David)'). *Dafydd Gam* ('cripple/limping David') and *Rhosier Fychan* (Roger *Vaughan* 'the small/son'), *Hywel Felyn* ('blond Howell'), *Gwladys wen* ('white/fair Gladys'), *Adda fras* ('thick/broad Adam'), *Einion Lygliw* ('mouse-coloured Einion'), *Ieuan ap y Brych Cadarn* ('*Ieuan* the son of the freckled-strong one').

Once again, Morgan and Morgan (*ibid.*, 25) points out that these kinds of epithets are still common in colloquial Welsh today: *Twm Mawr* ('big Tom'); *Twm Gwyllt* ('wild Tom'), etc. As a glance through any telephone directory of Finistère, Côtes-d'Armor and Morbihan will prove, such names still abound in Brittany. Note, however, that while in Welsh names the qualifier functions as an adjective, and is often lenited, in Breton it is often nominalised: *Tudfwlch Hir* as opposed to *Yann an Hir*, translated in French as *Jean Le Hir* ('*John* the tall'). Cornish family names function as in Breton: *Annear* (< *an hir* 'the tall'), *Angarrack* (< *an garrek* 'the rock'), *Angwin* (< *an gwin* 'the fair'), *Andean/Endean* (< *an den* 'the chief man') (Thompson 2003).

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[16] An early Breton genealogy of lords of Cornouaille conserved in the Cartulary of Landevennec, published by Chédeville and Guillotel (1984: 78), is interesting in that nearly all of the individuals listed have epithets: *Rivelen Mor Marthou* ('*Rivelen* of great miracles') *Daniel Dremm Rud* ('*Daniel* red-face'), *Iahan Reith* ('*Iahan* the just'), *Budic Bud Berhouc* (*Budic* ('Little Victor son of?'), *Bud* (Victor) 'short-neck'), *Gradlon Flam* ('*Gradlon* the flame/impetuous'), etc.

[17] This probably meant, as it still does in Breton, that the person tends to tilt his/her head to the side, not that the person's head is deformed in any way.

The following are common Breton examples: *Berrhouc* ('short neck'), *Corf-dir* ('steel body,' perhaps a warrior's name), *Corfec* ('big body'), *Couric* ('little dwarf'), *Daoudal* ('two-foreheads,' i.e. large forehead), *Friec* ('big nose'), *Gargam* ('cripple leg'), *Lagadec* ('big eye'), *Le Bihan* ('the small,' Welsh *by-chan*, anglicised as *Vaughan*; Cornish *Bain*, *Bean*), *Le Bour* ('the fat'), *Le Bouzar* ('the deaf'), *Le Bras* ('the big/thick'), *Le Cam* ('the cripple')[18], *Le Corre* ('the dwarf')[19], *Le Dantec* ('the big tooth'), *Le Du, Le Duff* ('the black'), *Le Garrec* ('the big leg'), *Le Meur* ('the big;' W. *Mawr*), *Le Guen* ('the fair'), *Le Moal* ('the bald'), *Le Quellec*, *Calloc'h* (< *kell* 'the big testicles'), *Le Teodec* ('the big tongue, talkative'), *Le Treut* ('the skinny'), *Le Teo* ('the fat'), *Morzadec* ('big thigh'), *Pennec* ('big head'), *Scouarnec* ('big ear'), *Tallec* ('big brow'), *Troadec* ('big foot').

This list is far from exhaustive but, once again, it does demonstrate that the Breton evidence offers broad insight into peasant culture. The fact that a few identical names can be found in the 10th century Cornish Bodmin Manumissions suggests that these name types are very archaic indeed: *Freoc* 'big nose' corresponds to Breton *Friec*. While Cornish *Talan* 'small brow' has no direct equivalent in modern Breton, one does still encounter similar names in Cornwall today such as *Tallack* ('big brow'). Note also *Bain/Bean* ('small'), *Moyle* ('bald'), etc. (cf. *Le Bihan*, *Le Moal*, *Le Tallec* above) (see Thompson 2003).

3.5. Type 5 Names: Epithets Relating to Character, Titles of Nobility, etc.

3.5.1. Background

The difference between the patronyms I have examined so far and those I am about to explore is that most of the preceding ones are still intelligible to modern Breton speakers. There is a large body of names, however, which is extremely ancient and whose meanings are generally opaque. Thanks to abundant early evidence offered by the Breton cartularies (9th-14th centuries), as well as parallel evidence found in the poetry of the *cynfeirdd* (Early Bardic Poets) and in Breton, Cornish and Welsh genealogies, these names belong to an unbroken tradition having its roots in the British Heroic Age. It is therefore likely that many of the names I shall study below were originally borne by the Brythons who migrated to Armorica between the 4th and 8th centuries.

Tanguy (1998: 52) points out that over 1,440 personal names appear in the Cartulary of Redon alone. Of these, 90% date to the 9th and 10th centuries. Most of the personal names cited herein are drawn from this source. I shall also cite a scattering of names from the cartularies of Quimperlé, Quimper and Landevennec.

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[18] Morgan and Morgan (1985: 67) give several names for the 17th century ex. *Dafydd Gam* of Breckonshire, *Thomas Cam* 1633. The English expression 'to have a *game* leg' looks like a Brythonic borrowing. Note also that in American slang of the 1930s 'gam(s)' meant 'legs:' "She has a nice pair of gams."

[19] Triad 36 (Bromwich 1978) *Coraniaid.* See also Breton: *korrigan* (also Welsh: *Corgi*).

3.5.2. Epithets

Tanguy (*ibid.*, 53) points out that these names nearly always appear as compounds and that the most frequently occurring constituent in the Cartulary of Redon relates to 'iron.' Considering the relative scarcity of this precious metal, iron weapons were most probably reserved for elite warriors (§ 3.6.). References to it occur 95 times and appear under the forms *iarn,* usually prefixed, and *hoiarn* usually suffixed (see § 3.6., p. 52 below). One of the most remarkable survivals of Brythonic names containing *hoiarn* is the modern Breton family name *Talhouarn* ('iron brow' or 'iron front'), a name cognate with none other than *Talhaearn tad awen* (*Talhaearn* 'the father of poetic inspiration'), one of the chief bards of Britain during the 6th century who is mentioned alongside *Aneirin* and *Taliesin* in Nennius's *Historia Brittonum* (Williams 1975: xi).

The second and third most common terms are *cat* and *guethen* both meaning 'battle' and, by association, 'warrior.' There are 34 and 48 occurrences of these names respectively. Furthermore, there are 33 occurrences in which *hoiarn* is bound to either *cat* or *guethen* (*ibid.*). As I have already said, these are still well-known constituents of modern Breton names. It is not impossible that these references to iron were already ancient in the 9th century and may reach back into the *La Tène* period. Due to the scarcity of this precious metal and its association with weapons, it may have meant something like 'noble,' 'powerful' or 'courageous.'

The mass of these names thus reflects the values of the Brythonic warrior cast, values which dealt almost exclusively with heroism, steadfastness, ferocity, etc. of warriors and their chieftains in battle. As such, my working hypothesis is that these epithets were originally formulaic in nature and part and parcel of the bards' poetic inventory from the earliest times. An in-depth comparative analysis of the entire corpus of the earliest Breton names and the language of the *cynfeirdd* might therefore yield a few more precious bits of information about the nature of the language of heroic-age Brythonic poetry more generally. [20]

3.5.3. Anthroponyms and the Brythonic Literary Tradition
in Brittany and Wales

Turning once again to the *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn* ('Eulogy for Kynan Garwyn,' Williams 1975), we have an example of how the Breton naming system ties into medieval Welsh literary tradition. In the very first line of this poem we encounter the following heroic epithet: *Kynan kat diffret*, (*Kynan* 'battle-refuge').[21] The idea here is that the chieftain must provide protection to his fellow warriors on the battlefield, a central theme of the heroic warrior ethic. This

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[20] For some insightful studies concerning the history and transmission of the *Gododdin*, *Gweith Gwen Ystrat* and the Northern Heroic Age of the Sixth Century, see Isaac (1998, 1999 a, 1999 b).

[21] One is tempted to link this word to the modern Breton verb *difretañ*, meaning 'to fight or struggle (with someone who is trying to hold you down).'

concept appears again in another of Taliesin's poems dedicated to *Urien Rheged* to whom he refers as *kad gwortho* ('protector of warriors').[22] Likewise, the Cartulary of Redon preserves a similar name under the 9th century form of *Catuuoret* and, in a more evolved form, *Catguoret* (< *Cad* 'battle' + *guoret* 'protection'). The modern form of the name, *Cadoret*, is a very widespread Breton family name today.

The use of heroic epithets of this type is perhaps most spectacular in the *Gododdin*, a collection of panegyric poems chronicling the deaths of the three hundred British chieftains who purportedly fell at the battle of Catterick (*Catraeth*) around the year 590 (Davis 1993). One concerns the hero *Tudfwlch* (B. 14) and is composed of a string of epithets extolling heroic virtues associated with the *comitatus*:

Angor deor dain	Anchor, scatterer of the men of Deira
sarff saffwy graen	serpent with the terrible sting
anysgoget vaen	immovable rock
blaen bedin	forefront of the army
arall arlwy	vigour in reinforcement
treis tra chynnivyn.	violence in great straits
Rwy gobrwy	Meritorious lord
gordwy lain.	force of spears.
Enwir yt elwir oth gywir weithret	For your loyal deeds truly are you called the ruler,
rector rwyfyadur mvr pob kyuyeith.	prince, rampart of every compatriot
Tutvwlch treissic aer caer o dileith.	Tudfwlch, forceful in slaughter, barrier of the fortress.[23]

Despite the fact that there is little concrete evidence proving that the Armorican Brythons preserved a similar body of bardic poetry after they arrived on the continent, a vital clue suggesting that they might have is to be found in an 11th century Latin poem in honour of King Iudicael of Brittany (who died in 639). Fleuriot (1971: 157-159) argues convincingly in favour of the idea that it is a literal translation of a Brythonic-language *gorchan* (i.e., a panegyic poem of about 50-80 lines). He identifies numerous formulas which are close to those found in the poems of the *cynfeirdd* (early bardic poetry; cf. footnotes 16-21). Not only are the themes and structure similar, but also the clipped, stark language.

The source of the poem is the *Chronique de Saint-Brieuc* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin ms n° 6003, fol. 49 verso, 14th century; ms n° 9888, fol. 52 verso, 15th century). The Latin poem is quoted in full by Fleuriot (1971: 157f.):

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[22] *Urien* is known by a series of heroic epithets such as *wledic gweithuudic* 'battle-victorious prince,' *gwarthegyd* 'cattle-raider,' *rwyf bedyd* 'leader of the baptised ones' (i.e. Christians), but also *Glyw Reged* ('brave-one of Rheged;' cf. Breton *Gleu* under Type 5 names below), etc.

[23] My translation is a slightly simplified adaptation of K. Jackson's *Gododdin*: *The Earliest Scottish Poem* (1969: 104).

Multas hostium cateruas quibus circumfundebatur, ex agilibus et robustis manibus, pros-ternebat in quemcumque enim locum, ille armipotens strenue dimicans. (lines 1-6)

Uel, more inquilinorum in campo iactantium, Iudicaelus iactaret; ubicumque uoluisset ibi iaculum suum descendebat. (lines 7-12)

Et interea quoque more bellatorum in pugno robustorum contra aduersarios pergebat ad bellum. (lines 13-17)

Armigeri(s) eius post se leti exeuntes plurimos faleratos diuidebat equos. Et nonnulli hastecule qui post se ibant pedestres plurimas exuuias inuenientes reuertentes domum ueniebant equites. (lines 18-26)

Et ex cadaueribus de post se super terram inhumatis iacentibus, canes, uulturi, (corui) milui, piceue, saturabantur. (lines 27-32)

Et plurimae super uicis in domibus ululantes uiduae manebant mulieres. (lines 33-35)

Quoniam sicut fortis taurus inter boues incognitos et robustus uerris inter porcos alienos aquilaque inter anseres, falco inter grues, yrundo inter apes ita Iudicaelus – rex Brito-num Armoricanorum – uelox et agilis, durus bellator, in bellam hastabat inter inimicos in agonem contra se insurgentes. (lines 36-49)

Et precipue multas strages in Francos fecit et prouincias eorum multoties deuastauit, pro eo quod Franci uolebat Britanniam subuigare. (lines 50-56)

'A host of enemy warriors surrounding him, with agile and robust hands, he cut them down where they stood.[24] This warrior, with powerful weapons, fought with ardour.

Like a farmer sowing in the fields, Iudicael sowed spears. Wherever he wished them to strike, they found their mark.[25]

And in the manner of robust warriors in battle, he went to war and confronted his adver-saries.

With his young warriors (cf. *ceneu* below) marching joyfully[26] behind him, he shared many horses bearing rich trappings (*faleratos*, cf. Middle Welsh *tudet* in the Kynan Gar-wyn poem below). Several lancers following him brought back many spoils. They came as foot soldiers; they returned as horsemen (see reference below to *Uuiu-ho-march* 'wor-thy of a good horse' and the first lines of the *Kynan Garwyn* poem below).

After his passage dead bodies lay strewn over the earth. Dogs, vultures, ravens, kites and magpies were satiated.[27]

Numerous were the widows dwelling in towns who wailed in their houses.[28]

[He was] like a courageous bull among anonymous oxen, a robust boar among foreign swine, an eagle among geese, a falcon among cranes, a swallow among bees.[29] Thus, Iudichael, Iudicael King of the Armorican Brythons, supple and agile, a hard fighter in war, rushed into battle surrounded by the enemies who rose up against him;

He provoked great carnage, especially among the Franks and often devastated their prov-inces because the Franks sought to subjugate Brittany.' (translation by G. German).

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[24] *Canu Aneirin* (verse 60): *gwnaeth gwynnyeith gwreith y law* 'the action of his hand caused a massacre.'

[25] *Canu Aneirin* (verses 262f.): *Heesit eis … yg cat vereu* 'He sowed his spears in the battle of javelins.'

[26] *Canu Aneirin* (verse 420): *rieu ryuel chwerthin* 'lords with warrior laughter.' Note also the Breton name *Cadlaouen* 'happy in battle.'

[27] *Canu Aneirin* (verse 218): *ermygei galaned* 'He furnished dead bodies;' (verse 205): *bwyt e eryr ysmygei* 'He provided food for eagles;' (verse 124): *Gochore brein du ar vur* 'He nourished black ravens near the rampart,' etc.

[28] *Canu Aneirin* (verse 265): *goruc wyr lludw / a gwraged gwydw kyn no e agheu* 'Before he died, he transformed men into ash, and wives into widows.'

[29] *Canu Llywarch Hên* (XI, verse 7): *Kyndylan callon hebawc* 'Cynddylan falcon heart;' *Canu Taliesin* (III, verses 5-6): *Uryen Reget, greidyawl gafael eryr* 'Urien Rheged, ardent like a claws of an eagle;' *Canu Aneirin* (verse: 422): *tarw trin* 'bull of battle.'

The theme of generosity, so important a part of the heroic ideal, is found in the king's name itself: *Iudic* 'Lord' and *hael* 'generous' and by extension 'noble.' Iudicael's willingness to give horses to his warriors is echoed in the introductory lines of *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn* ('Eulogy for Kynan Garwyn') in which Taliesin lists the gifts that his lord, *Kynan*, has offered him, among which are horses:

Kynan kat diffret	*am anllofes ket.*
(Conan battle-defence)	(handed me gifts)[30]
Kanyt geu gofyget	*gwrth heliwr trefbret.*
(Since it is not a lie to praise)	(the hunter of the land)
Kant gorwyd kyfret	*aryant eu tudet*
(100 steeds of equal speed)	(with silver trappings)
Cant llen echoec	*o vn o vaen gyffret.*
(with 100 purple covers)	(of the same size)

(Williams 1975: 1, ll. 1-4)

Not only does Iudicael's *gorchan* suggest that a bardic poetic tradition survived in Brittany, but that the Breton naming system is an integral part of this tradition. There can be little doubt that the warlike patronyms listed below reflect the mindset and ideals of the Brythonic warrior caste of the early Middle Ages.[31]

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[30] The first and second lines of this extract were emended by Ifor Williams (1975: 16) and L. Fleuriot (1981: 28) respectively.

[31] William of Poitiers paints an eye-opening, if unflattering, picture of the Breton warrior aristocracy of his day in his 11th century *Life of William the Conqueror*. The similarity between the thematic content of Iudichael's *gorchan* and William's testimony is striking:

> *Homini acrioris naturae, fervidae aetatis, ministravit plurimum fiduciae regio longe lateque diffusa, milite, magis quam credibile sit, referta.*

> *Partibus equidem in illis miles unus quinquaginta generat, sortitus more barbaro denas aut amplius uxores: quod de Mauris veteribus refertur, legis divini atque pudici ritus ignaris. Ad hoc populositas ipsa armis et equis maxime, arvorum culturae, aut morum, minime student. Uberrimo lacte, parcissimo pane, sese transigunt. Pinguia pabula gignunt percoribus loca vasta et ferme nescia segetum. Cum vacant a bello, rapinis, latrociniis, caedibus domesticis aluntur, sive exercentur. Praelia cum ardenti alacritate ineunt; dum praeliantur, furibundi saeviunt. Pellere soliti, difficile cedunt. Victoria et laude pugnando parta nimium laetantur atque extolluntur: interemptorum spolia diripere, ut opus decorum voluptuosumque, amant.*

> This man (Conan, Duke of Brittany), violent in nature and hot-blooded, owing to his age, enjoyed the steadfast allegiance of a vast country which, more than it is possible to imagine, is populated by an incredible number of warriors.

> For in this country, a single warrior will engender fifty others, by sharing, in the manner of the barbarians, ten women or more: this is a custom which goes back to the ancient Moors, a people ignorant of divine law and virtuous customs. This large population devotes itself principally to the warfare and horsemanship; they neglect the cultivation of fields and morality. They nourish themselves with abundant quantities of milk but eat very little bread. Fertile pasturelands nourish their herds, vast tracts of land where harvests are practically unknown. When not waging war (outside of their borders?), they live off what they

3.6. Epithets Containing References to Victory, War, Warriors, Weapons

This first section consists of names containing the following roots: *Bud-* 'victory,' *Cad-* 'battle,' *Cor-* 'warband/warrior,' *dron* 'warband,' *Guethen* 'battle/ warrior,' *Uuicon* 'warrior,' *Iarn-/Hoiarn* 'iron' (one with iron weapons, i.e. noble; see § 3.5.2., p. 48 above). My translations are interpreted principally from the work of Fleuriot (1964), Fleuriot and Evans (1985) and Tanguy (1981, 1986, 1998).[32]

Old Breton Source	Constituents	Literal Translation	Modern Breton Form
Budoc	*Bud-oc*	Victory-like/victorious	Beuzec[33]
Budhoiarn	*Bud-hoiarn*	Victory-iron	Bizouarn
Butuuoreth	*But-uuoret*	Victory-protection	Buzoret[34]
Cadoc	*Cad-oc*	Battle-like	Cadec[35]
Catuuallon	*Cat-uuallon*	Battle-valorous	Cadoalen, Cadalen[36]
Caduual	*Cad-uual*	Battle-valorous	Cadol
Cadiou	*Cad-iou*	Of warlike nature	Cadiou[37]

have obtained through pillaging, plundering and domestic wars, or they engage in military training. They rush into battle with *joyous ardor and, when in combat, they fight savagely.* Since they are used to driving their enemies before them, it is difficult to make them yield. Victory and glory acquired in battle give rise to great rejoicing and excessive pride; *they enjoy looting the bodies of those they have slain. For them it is an honour and a pleasure.* (translation by G. German).

    I wish to take this opportunity to thank Prof. Jean-Christophe Cassard (University of Brest) for having brought Foreville's Latin-French edition to my attention (1952: 109-111).

[32] Deshayes' (1995, 1999, 2000) painstaking work provides a very useful synthesis of huge numbers of these names, their possible sources and modern derivatives.

[33] Cf. Cornish *Biddock*.

[34] Near Coray, southern Finistère, there is a farm named Kerdreoret, possibly from **Caer + Trech-uuoret* 'victory-protection.' That the name actually existed is confirmed by Fleuriot (1964: 399).

[35] *Caddick* and *Caddock* are Welsh equivalents.

[36] This is none other than the *Cadwallawn*, a well-known figure of Brythonic/Welsh tradition. The name is related to the *Catuvellauni*, the name of a famous Gaulish/British tribe.

[37] According to Fleuriot (1964: 80), the *-iou* suffix is related to **yugo* 'yoke' (cf. *Ver-iugo-dumnus*, Welsh *cyfiaw* 'equality, friendship'). It possibly means something like 'having the nature of:' *Cadiou* (trisyllabic [ka`di-u]) 'having the nature of a warrior, warlike;' *Cariou* (trisyllabic [ka`ri-u]) 'having the nature of a kinsman/friend;' and *Riou* (disyllabic [ri-u]) 'having the nature of a king,' etc.

Old Breton Source	Constituents	Literal Translation	Modern Breton Form
Catuuoret	*Cat-uuoret*	Battle-protection	Cadoret
Cathoiarn	*Cat-hoiarn*	Battle-iron	Catouarn[38]
Catnemed	*Cat-nemed*	Battle-sacred/venerated	Canevet[39]
Corguethen	*Cor-guethen*	Warband-warrior	Corvezen, Corven
Druniou	*Drun-iou*	Nature of the warband	Droniou[40]
Euhoiarn	*Eu-hoiarn*	Good-iron	Ehouarn, Nihouarn
Guethenoc	*Guethen-oc*	War(rior)-like	Guezenec, Guézenoc
Guethengar	*Guethen-car*	Warrior-friend/kinsman	Guézengar
Hoiarnscoit	*Hoiarn-scoit*	Iron-shield	Harscouet, Hascoet[41]
Haer-uuethen	*Haer-uuethen*	Fearless/bold-warrior	Hervezen[42]
Haelguethen	*Hael-guethen*	Generous-warrior	Hélézen
Hoiarnviu	*Hoiarn-biu*	Iron-lively	St. Houarno, Hervé
Iarnogan	*Iarn-ogan < uuocon*	Iron-deed	Jarnigon, Hernigou
Iarnhouuen	*Iarn-houuen*	Iron-friendly	Jarnouen
Kenguethen	*Ken-guethen*	Handsome-warrior	Quenven
Loeshoiarn	*Loes-hoiarn*	Hunt/expel (with) iron	Loussouarn
Moruuethen	*Mor-uuethen*	Great warrior	Morvézen, Morvéen

3.7. Epithets Containing References to Courage, Strength, Impetuousness and War-like Animals

Courage, strength and impetuousness were often expressed using the following epithets: *fram* 'surging forward,' 'ardent,' *gleu* 'brave,' *hitr/hedr/haer* 'bold,' 'vigorous,' *maen* 'great,' 'powerful,' *uual* 'valour,' 'valorous,' *uallon* 'full of valour,' *uuocon* 'deed,' 'glory,' *tan* 'fire,' 'frenzy' and so on. It is interesting that the emphasis is placed almost entirely on emotional or physical attributes rather than any reference to strategy or tactics.

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[38] Morgan and Morgan (1985: 61) note that Welsh *Catharn* (ex. Henry Catharn 1533) may come from Welsh *Cadhaearn* (< Catihernus) and not *Cadarn*.

[39] *Nemed* here is related to *nemeton* meaning 'sanctuary' or 'sacred place.'

[40] Fleuriot and Evans (1985, vol. 1: 152) ties Old Breton *drogn* to Old Irish *drong* 'gathering, troop, warband.' It would have the same root as Old English *dryht* meaning 'people, army.'

[41] Modern Cornish: *Arscott*.

[42] *Haer*, itself from older *hitr/hedr*, is found in the Welsh *Canu Hengerdd* (Early Bardic Poetry). The word exists in Modern Breton, *her*, and means 'hardy, fearless or energetic.'

Old Breton Source	Constituents	Literal Translation	Modern Breton Form
Arth	*Arth*	Bear	Arzic, Narzic
Arthmael	*Arth-mael*	Bear-prince	Armel, Armelle
Broch	*Broch*	Badger	Broc'h, Broc'han [43]
Brochfael	*Broch-mael*	Badger-prince	Pronval
Fram-uual	*Fram-uual*	Ardent-valorous	Fraval, Fravallo
Gleuhedr	*Gleu-hedr*	Brave-bold/fearless one	Le Gléver
Gleumaroc	*Gleu-maroc*	Brave-horseman	Glémarec [44]
Gleuuethen	*Gleu-uuethen*	Brave-warrior	Glévezen
Gourgan	*Gour-cant*	Warrior/man-perfection	Gourguen
Gurgual	*Gur-gual*	Warrior/man-valorous	Gurval [45]
Guoidnou	*Guoid-gnou*	War cry-renowned	Gouennou, Gouesnou
Maenceneu	*Maen-ceneu*	Powerful-warrior	Mainguéné [46]
Maenuuoret	*Maen-uuoret*	Powerful-protection	Menoret
Maengi	*Maen-gi*	Powerful hound	Menguy, Mainguy
Moruuan	*Mor-uuan*	Great-assault	Morvan, Morvannou
Tangi	*Tan-gi*	Fire-hound	Tanguy [47]

3.8. Epithets Containing References to Honorific Titles, Noble Lineage, Social Status and Aristocratic Values

Anau 'wealth,' *bri* 'power,' 'dignity,' *car* 'friend,' 'kinsman,' *cant* 'perfect-(ion),' *con* 'elevated/illustrious' or 'hound,' *drech* 'appearance,' *dumn* 'world/deep' (cf. Gaulish *dobno* 'the world below;' Delamarre 2003: 427), *eun* 'straight,' 'honest,' *-gen* 'descendent of,' *hael* 'generous,' *iud* 'lord/prince,' *iunet* 'desired,' *mael* 'lord/prince,' *monoc* 'lord/prince,' *pir* 'lord/prince,' *naf* 'lord/prince,' *ne-med* 'sanctified' or 'venerated,' *ri* 'king,' *roen/roeant* 'of royal' (lineage),' *tiern*

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[43] Modern Cornish: *Brock*.

[44] Modern Cornish: *Marrack*.

[45] In some of these examples, *gur* might represent Old Breton *uuor-* (Gaulish *ver-*) meaning 'super' which has survived in Modern Breton in words such as *gourdeiziou* 'super-days' (the last six days of the year and first six days of the following year) and *gournozañ* 'to carouse all night long.'

[46] *Maen* 'great, powerful' from Latin *magnus* may very well have been confused with Breton *maen* meaning 'stone.' *Ceneu* 'young warrior' is found in modern *Quinou and Kerguinou*. *Quiniou* could mean 'having the nature of a young warrior.' Deshayes (1995: 48) gives the name *Iunkeneu* (*iun* 'desire' + *keneu* 'young warrior,' *Cartulary of Redon* (C/R)) as the source of modern *Jinguéné, Junguené, Ginguené*.

[47] Modern Cornish: *Tangye*.

'lord/prince,' *uuere* 'eminent,' *uuiu* 'worthy,' *uuin* 'blessed, pure' (cf. Fleuriot 1964: 400; Tanguy 1998: 54).

Old Breton Source	Constituents	Literal Translation	Modern Breton Form
Brioc	*Brioc*	Dignified/powerful	Briec
Brient	*Brient*	Privilege, free man(?)	Brient
Briuual	*Bri-uual*	Powerful-valour	Brioual, Brivoal
Conan	*Con-an*	Little hound	Conan, Connan[48]
Dumnuuallon	*Dumn-uuallon*	World-valorous	Donval, Donal[49]
Dumnuuoret	*Dumn-uuoret*	World-protection	Donoret
Drechanau	*Drech-anau*	Appearance-rich	Dréanno, Le Drian
Haelcomarch	*Hael-comarch*	Generous-succour	Helgouarc'h
Haelguethen	*Hael-guethen*	Generous-warrior	Hélézen, Helguen
Haeluuocan	*Hael-uuocan*	Generous-deed	Hélégan
Haelouuri	*Hael-ouuri*	Generous-dignity	Hellouvry, Héloury
Haeluuoret	*Hael-uuoret*	Generous-protection	Héloret
Iudhael	*Iud-hael*	Lord/prince-generous	Jéquel, Giquel, Juhel[50]
Iedechael	*Iedec-hael*	Lord/prince-generous	Jézequel
Iudcum	*Iud-cum*	Lord/prince-gentle	Kericuff
Mael	*Mael*	Prince	Le Mael/ Mel, Maelan
Maeloc	*Mael-oc*	Prince-like	Le Mellec[51]
Maelogon	*Mael-ogon*	Prince-deed	Mélégan
Maelscuet	*Mael-scuet*	Prince-shield	Melscoet
Uuormael	*Uuor-mael*	Warrior/super?-prince	Gourmel Gorvel
Gourmaeloc	*Gour-mael-oc*	Super?-prince-like	Gorvellec
Catamel	*Cata-mel*	Battle prince	Canvel

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[48] As in the Goidelic languages, *Con-* is an extremely common root and means 'elevated,' 'eminent' or 'hound.' The most common of these names in Brittany is *Conan*. The earliest reference to it is found in 835 in the *Cartulary of Redon*, where it appears 19 times. It was also borne by several Dukes of Brittany as well as by the traditional founder of Brittany, *Conan Meriadec*. *Meriadec* is now reappearing as a first name.

[49] This very old name already appears in 5th century Roman inscriptions as *Dumnovellaunos* (var. of *Dubnovellaunus*) and appears to come from *Dumn-* ('world' or *Dubn-* ('deep') + *uual* ('valour'). This is an earlier form of *Dwfnwal* and is cognate with Irish *Domhnaill* (> Donald).

[50] Lambert (1994: 228) derives *iud* from Latin *iudex* with the meaning of 'judge.' *Iudhael* was introduced in England by Breton followers of William the Conqueror and took on the form *Jekyll*.

[51] Modern Cornish: *Maile*.

Old Breton Source	Constituents	Literal Translation	Modern Breton Form
Haermael	*Haer-mael*	Bold-prince	Hervel
Rimael	*Ri-mael*	King-prince/great	Rimel, Kerivel
Uurmonoc	*Uur-monoc*	Super-prince	Gourvennec[52]
Roennuuallon	*Roen-nuuallon*	Noble-valorous	Ronvallon, Rouello
Roenuualoc	*Roen-uualoc*	Noble-valorous	Roualec
Roinoc	*Roin-oc*	Noble-like	Ronec
Roenhael	*Roen-hael*	Noble/generous lineage	Ronhel
Altroen	*Alt-roen*	High-lineage/nobility	Audren, Audran
Uuiumarch	*Uuiu-march*	Worthy-stallion	Guivar'h, Guimarc'h
Uuiuhomarch	*Uuiu-ho-march*	Worthy-good-stallion	Guyomarc'h
Riuual	*Ri-uual*	King-valorous	Rivoal, Rivoallan[53]
Uuinhael	*Uuin-hael*	Blessed/pure-generous	Guinhael
Guenn	*Guenn*	Pure/blessed	St. Guen, Le Guen
Uuinoc	*Uuin-oc*	Pure/blessed-like	Le Guennec Guéneuc
Uuincant	*Uuin-cant*	Blessed-perfect(ion)	Guengant
Uuincar	*Uuin-car*	Blessed-friend/kinsman	Guengar, Guenguéno
Uuinuualoe	*Uuin-uualoe*	Blessed-valorous	Gwenolé

As already mentioned, the Cornish *Bodmin Manumissions* manuscript contains a considerable number of Type 5 names proving that Cornish serfs still bore similar heroic epithets as late as the 10th century: *Beli*, *Bleidiud*, *Bleidcum*, *Brithael*, *Budic*, *Cantgueithen*, *Conmonoc*, *Guentanet*, *Guentigirn*, *Gurguaret*, *Gurbodu*, *Gurcant*, *Gurlouen*, *Iarnguallon*, *Iudicael*, *Iudnerth*, *Maeloc*, *Morcant*, etc. (Jones 2001, see above p. 36).

3.8.1. Historical Figures

A number of Breton names comes from well-known historical figures of the British Dark Ages. I have already made numerous references to *Urien* (< *Urbgen*) which is still a common family name in Brittany and appears under the forms of *Urien*, *Irien* as well as *Lannurien*, etc. Morgan and Morgan (1985: 202) demonstrate that variants of *Urien* are also found in the northwestern counties of England and in Scotland under the spellings of *Urion*, *Uren* and *Youren*. The

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[52] Cf. *Vortigern* > *Gwrtheyrn* 'super-chieftain/ruler.'
[53] *Riwal* was an early 6th century king possessing lands in both Cornwall and in the North of Brittany (Domnonée).

question is whether this name is a survival from Brythonic times or a later importation from Brittany, Cornwall or Wales. How many other such Brythonic names exist in England or Scotland? Answers could provide us with some interesting insight into the anglicisation of Britain. Urien's son, *Owain* (in modern Welsh orthography), was also the subject of a number of panegyric poems attributed to Taliesin. *Ewen* is a modern Breton cognate and is currently making a come back as forename. Other forms, such as *Yvain*, *Yvin* are also well attested Breton family names.

Guorthigern (< *Uuortigern*), a title meaning 'super/over-lord,' is a modernised form of the *Vortigern* of Arthurian tradition. It appears today as a place name in several areas of Brittany (cf. Ile de Groix), under the form of *St. Gurthiern* (Middle Welsh *Gwrtheyrn*), and also as a patronym, *Gouziern* (Tanguy 1989). Note that *teyrn* (< *tigernos*) is also the second element of another family name *Mordiern* ('Great-Lord' < *Maro-Tigernos*).

Madec is a common Breton family name and corresponds to Welsh *Madog*, *Maddock/Maddox* being the English forms. *Caradec* is even more ancient. *Caratacus* was the Brythonic leader who led the Brythons against the Romans until his capture in 52 AD. The name is still heard in Wales and Cornwall under the anglicised form *Cradock/Craddock* and, more recently, as a neo-Brythonic forename, *Caradog*.

3.8.2. Mythological Characters

One might be surprised to encounter such family names as *Prédéry* (Welsh *Pryderi*, Old Breton *Pritiri* 'worry,' 'consternation'), one of the main characters of the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, i.e. the son of *Pwyll* and *Rhiannon*. According to Fleuriot (1964: 399), *Billy* (*Bili*, recorded in the *Cartulary of Quimperlé* (C/Qé) in the year 1084), meaning 'brilliant,' has survived until the present day in a number of place names, such as *Lambili*, *Lanvily*, *Saint Bily*. Fleuriot (1985 a: 64) associates the name with *Bel-* of Old Irish *Beltene* and Gaulish *Belinus*. It occurs in the *Cartulary of Redon* under the form of *Uurbili*, which may mean 'very-brilliant' and could be linked to *Gourvili*, a toponym to the north of Quimper. It is probably also linked to *Beli* who appears as the father of both *Lludd* and *Caswallawn* in Welsh sources. There is a *Bili* who figures as one of the abbots of the Abbey of Redon and a *Bili* mentioned in the Cornish *Bodmin Manumissions*.

The parish of *Plougonvelin* near Brest contains the name *Convelin*, a modernised form of *Cunobelinos* (*Con* 'elevated' + *Belin* < *bel-* 'brilliant'), cognate with Welsh *Cynfelin* (Tanguy 1981: 137). Deshayes (1995: 35) postulates that *Riuuelin* (recorded in the *Cartulary of Redon* (C/R) in the year 863) also stems from *Rigobelinos* ('king Belin'), which has yielded modern family name *Rivélin* and is also the source of place names such as *Kervélen* < *Kerrivelen* in Elliant near Quimper (cf. fn. 16), concerning the 11th century *Rivelen Mor Marthou*, Lord of Cornouaille).

Names associated with *Mabon* (*mab/map* 'son') are extremely numerous, mainly in toponyms such as *Kervabon*, *Runmabon*, *Creac'h-Mabon*, *Lesmabon*, etc. This name is identical to Welsh and Cornish *Mabon* (cf. Gaulish *Maponos* the 'divine son'). Note that both *Mabon* and *Modron* (< *Matrona* 'divine mother') who gave her name to the river Marne (Mac Cana 1970: 33), are still found as Cornish family names (Thompson 2003).

Finally, there is the Breton patronym *Le Nuz*, first attested in the *Cartulary of Landevennec* for the year 1050 as *Nut*[54] and a century later in the *Cartulary of Quimperlé* as *Nud* (Le Menn 1993: 60f.). It is cognate with Welsh *Nudd* (*Nudd/Lludd Llaw Ereint* and Irish *Nuadha* (*airgedlamh* 'silver hand') (Mac Cana 1970: 67-69).

4. Summary

This summary hopefully provides the reader with an idea of the abundance of type 5 names in Brittany today as well as their relationship with similar Cornish and Welsh names of Brythonic origin. In my view, the data presented above could suggest the following:

a) Traces of the prestige of type 5 names may well have lingered on in Brittany until the late Middle Ages, even among the common people. Otherwise, given the ephemeral nature of the naming tradition of the time, one wonders why such names, whose meanings were probably no longer understood, would have been passed down.

b) Although there are no texts proving that there ever existed a Breton poetic tradition of the kind preserved in the Welsh *Canu Hengerdd* (Early Bardic Poetry), given that many Old Breton type 5 names are often composed of constituents which are similar (when not identical) to vocabulary found in Middle Welsh heroic poetry, it is hard to believe that these Breton names are not the legacy of a similar caste of professional poets.

c) The very existence of so many type 5 names informs us that the nature of the traditions and value systems of the Brythons who settled Armorica between the 4th and 8th centuries were not entirely peaceful. They highlight a blatantly warlike dimension of the Brythonic settlement of Brittany which suggests that a significant number of settlers may have been Brythonic *foederatii*, mercenaries, whose purpose was to defend the northwestern sector of the Roman Empire. This would lend credence to Welsh historical traditions found in the *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* ('Triads of the Islands of Britain;' Bromwich 1978) and the *Breuddwyd Macsen Wledic* ('Dream of Macsen Wledig'). Nora Chadwick (1969: 191f.) was among the first to propose this hypothesis and the idea was also taken up by Fleuriot (1980). It therefore seems likely that the Brythons set-

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[54] *Nut*, father of *Ydier*, also appears in the works of Chrétien de Troyes.

tled Armorica for a variety of complex reasons. The widely held theory that they were fleeing the Anglo-Saxons would appear to be overly simplistic.

Conclusion

I began this article discussing the concept of 'Celticity' and, more specifically, the manner in which the naming systems of Brittany, Wales and Cornwall reflect, each in its own way, the Brythonic cultural traditions of Celtic Britain. In so doing, I have attempted to sketch the way this Brythonic system has adapted over the centuries to sociocultural, economic and political pressures and influences both from within and from without their respective communities.

The supreme irony is that it is in Brittany, a French province with no official identity whatsoever, that the 'British' naming tradition has been most faithfully maintained. Moreover, as Fleuriot and Evans (1985, vol. 2: 1f.) point out, the Bretons are the only Brythonic-speaking people who still bear the name of the 'Brython.' Paradoxically, however, relatively few Bretons today have even the faintest understanding of their surnames or, except in the vaguest sense, any consciousness of the historical context in which they evolved (roughly 10% in informal polls I have conducted to date). This may be partly due to the fact that the names are so common that no one gives them much thought. A second reason is that only a minority of students choose to study either Breton language or history since they are not required school subjects.

I have also observed that, just as in Ireland, Scotland and Wales, two naming systems have co-existed in Brittany for generations. One is official and administrative, but originating from Brythonic naming practices, the other, is unofficial, oral and part of the intimate sphere of personal relationships characteristic of small rural communities. The latter most probably represents a continuance of the original Brythonic naming habits. We have also seen how the two systems can be confused by the uninitiated. This colloquial naming tradition certainly also flourished in Cornwall while Cornish remained a living language.

What I have not discussed in this article is the recent trend in all the Brythonic countries to give 'neo-Brythonic' *forenames* to children (*Awenna*, *Blodwen*, *Maelle*, *Morwenna*, *Aneirin*, *Cadwgan*, *Gwendal*, *Taliesin*, *Tugdual*, etc.), a custom which was abandoned hundreds of years ago. What is perhaps most striking about this development is that, independently of one another, many Breton, Cornish and Welsh parents are once again bestowing the most venerable names of their respective traditions on their children. (The picture is more complex regarding celticised names of non-Brythonic origin). After centuries of steady cultural and linguistic acculturation, this change signals a radical about-face, even if it is only symbolic and limited to a relatively small proportion of these populations. In a sequel to this article (German fc.), I shall attempt to explain the rise of neo-Brythonic forenames in Brittany, Cornwall and Wales within the broader context of the 'Celtic ethnic revival(s)' and explore the social and linguistic implications of this process.

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What's in an Irish Name?
A Study of the Personal Naming Systems
of Irish and Irish English

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1. Introduction: The Irish Patronymic System Prior to 1600

While the history of Irish personal names displays general similarities with the fortunes of the country's place-names, it also shows significant differences, as both first and second names are closely bound up with the ego-identity of those to whom they belong.[1]

This paper examines how the indigenous system of Gaelic personal names was moulded to the requirements of a foreign, English-medium administration, and how the early twentieth-century cultural revival prompted the re-establishment of an Irish-language nomenclature. It sets out the native Irish system of surnames, which distinguishes formally between male and female (married/ unmarried) and shows how this was assimilated into the very different English system, where one surname is applied to all. A distinguishing feature of nomenclature in Ireland today is the phenomenon of dual Irish and English language naming, with most individuals accepting that there are two versions of their name. The uneasy relationship between these two versions, on the fault-line of language contact, as it were, is also examined. Thus, the paper demonstrates that personal names, at once the pivots of individual and group identity, are a rich source of continuing insight into the dynamics of Irish and English language contact in Ireland.

Irish personal names have a long history. Many of the earliest records of Irish are preserved on standing stones incised with the strokes and dots of *ogam*, a

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[1] See the paper given at the *Celtic Englishes II* Colloquium on the theme of "Toponyms across Languages: The Role of Toponymy in Ireland's Language Shifts" (Mac Mathúna 2000).

form of writing which has a one-to-one correspondence with the letters of the Latin alphabet. These inscriptions, mostly dated to the period AD 400-700, consist very largely of personal names, composed to a formula "of X son of Y," with a minority signifying wider tribal or group filiation. The transition to manuscripts facilitated the recording of genealogical descent over several generations, thus giving ruling elites the retrospective legitimisation expected of them within the native Irish culture and polity. The position with regard to Irish personal names in the period AD 400-1000 was reviewed by M.A. O'Brien in the Rhŷs Memorial Lecture which he delivered to the British Academy in 1957, the notes for which were edited posthumously by Rolf Baumgarten (O'Brien 1973). O'Brien observed that he had collected over 12,000 individual names from this period, the vast majority being those of males, noting that surnames began to replace "X son of Y" patronymics from about the year 900, a development which coincided with the transition from the Old Irish to the Middle Irish period.

Brian Ó Cuív later carried out a detailed analysis of O'Brien's corpus, and showed that the listing of 12,000 individuals included over 3,500 separate names, most of which were of infrequent occurrence: over 4,000 of the persons listed shared just 100 of the names, while the other 3,400 names were distributed among less than 8,000 persons (Ó Cuív 1986: 156). Of the 3,500 or so different names, Ó Cuív noted only 102 women's names, while a few others were common to both sexes. These latter included *Cellach*, *Colum* and *Flann* (Ó Cuív 1986: 157). Other sources examined by Ó Cuív yielded some 300 female names for the same period (Ó Cuív 1986: 161f.).

The majority of Irish surnames are based on the prefixes *Ua*, later *Ó*, 'grandson, descendant' and *Mac* 'son.' These are regularly anglicised *O'* and *Mac*, *Mc*. The first instance of an *Ua* surname seems to be *Comaltan H. Cleirigh* in the Annals of Ulster at AD 980 (Ó Cuív 1986: 182). However, strong arguments in favour of awarding precedence as a surname to an inflected form of *Ua Canannáin* in a *Chronicum Scotorum* entry for AD 943 are advanced by Tomás G. Ó Canann (1993: 113f.). Ó Cuív's earliest example of a *Mac* surname is *Diarmait Mac Murchada* from the Book of Leinster in his death notice (AD 1171) (Ó Cuív 1986: 181). Of course, the central issue relates to the timing of the introduction and general adoption of the new naming system and only secondarily to the pioneering role of a particular family and name. The main difficulty in identifying the transition from patronymic to surname in Irish derives from the fact that a great many surnames are formed from first names, and can only be identified with certainty as surnames when it can be demonstrated that a particular individual described as "X ua Y" is not actually the grandson of Y, and that an individual described as "X mac Y," is not the son of Y. Given the relative paucity of documentation, it will be appreciated that corroborating evidence, which would settle the matter one way or another, is frequently not available.

From the testimony of the Annals and other sources, it would seem that the surname system may not have been in universal use until the thirteenth century. This and similar matters still await thorough investigation. For instance, it would

be important to know what regional and social variation there was in the adoption of surnames. Similarly, one would like to know if the inter-generational patronymic system lived on, side by side with surnames, for, as will be seen below, this system has continued to the present day in both Irish- and English-speaking communities in Ireland.

It may also be noted that not all Irish surnames conform to the *Ua/Ó* and *Mac* patterns. A small number are adjectival in form, e.g. *Caomhánach*, later anglicised *Kavanagh*, *Déiseach* from which came *Deasy*, and *Laighneach*, which gave *Lynagh*. It is to this category that *Breat(h)nach* belongs. *Breat(h)nach* is the Irish version of the Anglo-Norman surname *Walsh(e)* and it was destined to become one of the most frequent of all names in Ireland today.

The Anglo-Normans brought with them names such as *FitzX* and these were adopted into Irish as *Mac X*, thus *Fitzgerald* corresponds to *Mac Gearailt* and *Fitzmaurice* to *Mac Muiris*. The originally Irish name of *Mac Giolla Phádraig* was anglicised as *Fitzpatrick*. Some Anglo-Norman surnames still retain their original *de* in Irish, but not in English. So, we have *de Búrca* from *de Bourgo*, now generally *Burke* in English, while *de Paor* is now *Power*. In cases such as *de Buitléir*, anglicised *Butler*, the original article *le* of the Norman-French has been assimilated to *de*. Another pattern is seen in the correspondences between Irish *Feiritéir* and English *Ferriter*, Irish *Ruiséil* and English *Russell* (MacLysaght 1978).

2. Anglicisation Pressure

The fourteenth century saw English resurgent in England, as it moved to displace French. In Ireland steps were taken by the English administration to counter the influence of Irish. The 1366 Statutes of Kilkenny reflect concern at the adoption of Gaelic naming patterns by the colonists: "Also, it is ordained and established that every Englishman do use the English language, and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming used by the Irish" (Crowley 2000: 15).

A hundred years later an act was passed which sought the assimilation of those Irish who dwelt among the English of the Pale:

> *Stat.Ire.* An Act that the Irishmen Dwelling in the Counties of Dublin, Meath, Uriel, and Kildare, Shall go Apparelled like Englishmen, and wear their beards after the English manner, Swear Allegiance, and Take English Surname, 1465.

> At the request of the commons it is ordained and established by authority of the said Parliament, that every Irishman, that dwells betwixt or amongst Englishmen in the county of Dublin, Meath, Uriel and Kildare, shall go like to one Englishman in apparel and shaving of his beard above the mouth, and shall be within one year sworn the liege man of the king in the hands of the lieutenant or deputy, or such as he will assign to receive this oath, for the multitude that is to be sworn and shall take him to an English surname of one town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Cork or Kinsale: or colour, as white, black, brown: or art or science, as smith or carpenter: or office, as cook, butler, and that he and his issue shall use this name, under pain of forfeiting of his good

yearly, till the premises be done to be levied two times by the year to the King's wars, according to the direction of the lieutenant of the King or his deputy. (Crowley 2000: 16)

However, this Act seems to have had little effect, as Douglas Hyde observed: "This, however, the parliament was unable to carry through, none of the great Irish names within or alongside the Pale, Mac Murroughs, O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, O'Mores, O'Ryans, O'Conor Falys, O'Kellys, etc., seem to have been in the least influenced by it" (Hyde 1980: 610). Indeed, it was the continuing disparity in naming systems which prompted the Dublin apothecary, Thomas Smyth, to speak disparagingly in 1561 of those who were descended "of the septs of Ose or Max" (Quiggin 1911: 20). This convenient assignation, based on the most prevalent initial elements in native Irish surnames, served to identify readily the Pale's troublesome neighbours.

For much of the sixteenth century the Irish language continued to press the English. The English poet Edmund Spenser, who had large domains of lands in Munster, took a jaundiced view of the assimilation of the English to Gaelic ways. He lets his character Irenius argue that the English planted outside the English pale "are degenerate and grown to be as very patchocks as the wild Irish, yea and some of them have quite shaken off their English names and put on Irish that they might be altogether Irish." Irenius reported that the Fitz-Ursulas appeared by the signification of their Irish names, and that the Mac-swineys now in Ulster were anciently of the Veres of England. Lord Breming-ham now named himself, Irish-like, Maccorish. Similarly, "the great Mortimer, who forgetting how great he was once in England, or English at all, is now become the most barbarous of them all, and is called Macnemmara" (Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 1596, in: Crowley 2000: 41-49, at 47f.).

3. Anglicisation: 1600-1900

The defeat of the Irish by the English at the battle of Kinsale in 1601 was the turning point in the Nine Years War, 1594-1603. English success in war was inevitably followed by administrative manipulation of the peace. The Ulster chiefs decided to abandon their patrimony and go into exile in Rome in a move which became known as "The Flight of the Earls." The replacement of the native Irish Brehon laws by the English common law system saw English become the language of administration and the courts. The native Irish had to have recourse to it in a (frequently vain) effort to retain or regain their lands. At any rate, it was this process, which institutionalised anglicisation of Irish language place-names and personal names. This involved, not so much a new departure, but rather the consummation of a process which had been part and parcel of the Anglo-Norman conquest and expansion of influence in Ireland from the twelfth century on. For, just as Irish-language names had acquired latinised by-forms for

ecclesiastical purposes from the fifth century onwards, so anglicised variants of Irish names had been generated by the English. Of course, for as long as these forms were primarily in use among the English themselves, they had little impact on the Irish and their culture. As the sixteenth century advanced, however, the Irish found themselves grappling with a militarily stronger power. They realised that they could only contest their rights within the English administrative and legal systems, if they recognised the new nomenclature bestowed on their lands and assumed the alien personal designations being used to refer to themselves. This was all played out in the Irish Fiants of the Tudors, as observed by Tomás G. Ó Canann in his Introduction to a recent edition: "In most cases the fiants represent the first attempt to anglicize native Irish names and, thus, reflect the initial step in the changeover in the vernacular language that so transformed the cultural landscape of Ireland" (*Irish Fiants* 1994: I iii). In these documents one can see how English laws operated from the sixteenth century on, and were embedded in the seventeenth-century legal system.

This in effect is the background to and the basis for most public law and administration in Ireland down to the present day. It informs the attitudes to officialdom of much of the population, including that of the Irish-speaking or Gaeltacht regions, and it is the basis for the ongoing tension with the conflicting aspirations of the language revival movement.

The anglicisation of Gaelic surnames took several forms: phonetic approximation, translation and the establishment of equivalences with existing English surnames, combinations of these approaches being not infrequent. However, the principal process was that of phonetic approximation, whereby the sounds occurring in the Irish name were assimilated to the sound system of English, and represented according to the conventions of English orthography. In the illustrative examples in the following tables, the current standard orthography of Irish is used: this facilitates reference and reflects the pronunciation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on which the anglicised version is regularly based.

3.1. Phonetic Approximation

Irish Version of Surname	Anglicised Version of Surname
Mac Gabhann	McGowan
Mac Mánais	McManus
Ó Dálaigh	O'Daly
Ó Flaitheartaigh	O'Flaherty
Ó hAilpín	Halpin
Ó hAilpíne	Hal(f)penny
Ó Lachtnáin	Loughnane

3.2. Simplification

Irish Version of Surname	Anglicised Version of Surname
Mac Giolla Iasachta	Lysaght < MacLysaght < Macgillysaghta

3.3. Translation

Irish Version of Surname	Anglicised Version of Surname
Mac Gabhann	Smith < (*gabha* 'smith')
Mac an Iomaire	Ridge < (*iomaire* 'ridge')
Ó Draighneáin	Thornton < (*draighean* 'blackthorn')
Ó Gaoithín	Wyndham < (*gaoth* 'wind')

3.4. Mistranslation

Irish Version of Surname	Anglicised Version of Surname
Mac Conraoi	King (< *rí* 'king')
Mac Giolla Eoin	Monday < MacAloon (< *Luan* 'Monday')
Ó Dubháin	Kidney (< *duán* 'kidney')

3.5. Equivalence with Existing English Surname

Irish Version of Surname	Anglicised Version of Surname
Ó Lachtnáin	Loftus

3.6. Multiplicity of Anglicised Forms

A single Irish surname may give rise to a host of variants, e.g.:

Irish Version of Surname	Anglicised Version of Surname
Mac an Bhreithiún (lit. 'son of the judge')	MacEbrehowne MacEbrehan MacAbrehan MacAbreham Abraham Breheny Judge

The anglicised forms can be legion. For instance, MacLysaght (1978: xiii) quotes some twelve variants for Cullen: *Cullen, Colins, Collen, Collins, Colquhoun, Culhoun, Culheeny, Cillinane, Cullion, Culloon, Cully, Quillan, Quillen*. One family of six members had six different tombstone versions of their surname in America: *McEneaney, McAneaney, McAneny, McEnaney, McEneany, Bird* (< *éan* 'bird'). Similarly, siblings used both *Sruffaun* and *Bywater* (< *sruthán* 'stream') (*ibid.*).

3.7. Anglicisation of Prefixes

The following table sets out the current position as regards prefix usage:

Irish Version of Prefix Usage	Anglicised Version of Prefix Usage
Mac + space + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. Mac Mánais Mc occurs in manuscripts with suspension mark above both letters	Mac + space + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. Mac Manus Mac + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. MacManus [Scotland: Mac + initial letter of second element of surname in lower case] Mc + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. McManus M^c + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. McManus M' + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case; no longer in use e.g. M'Manus
Ó + space + initial letter of second element of prefix in upper case e.g. Ó Dónaill	O + space + initial letter of second element of surname of prefix in upper case e.g. O Donnell O' + initial letter of second element of surname in upper case e.g. O'Donnell

In general, the *McManus* pattern would be most common, with that of the *MacManus* type being considerably more frequent than that of *Mac Manus*. Similarly, the *O'Donnell* pattern would be a lot more common than that of *O Donnell*.

MacLysaght (1978: x) points out that *O* names are slightly more numerous in Ireland than *Mac* names. From the seventeenth century on, the prefixes *Mac* and *O* were widely dropped, but were re-adopted as the nineteenth century progressed. The following statistics were taken by MacLysaght from birth registration and voters' lists to illustrate the point:

Year	Percentage Using the Prefix O
1866	4
1890	13
1914	20
1944	60
1972	70

The figure for 1972 is MacLysaght's estimate for the country as a whole, given a telephone directory estimate of 85% for urban areas. In the case of the surname *O'Connell*, MacLysaght attributes the even more marked increase from 9% to 33% in the period from 1866 to 1890, to the use of *O* by Daniel O'Connell, whose father was just Morgan Connell (MacLysaght 1978: xi). MacLysaght notes that many original *O* names resisted the reintroduction of the prefix, the figure for the surname *Kelly* standing at only 8% in 1972. *Mac* names were rarely reinstated (MacLysaght 1978: xi).[2]

4. The Call to De-Anglicise

In his famous lecture entitled "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland" delivered to The National Literary Society, Dublin, 25 November 1892, which inspired the founding of the Gaelic League just over six months later, Douglas Hyde dwelt on the history of adoption of English surnames by the Irish: "It was, however, only after Aughrim and the Boyne that Irish names began to be changed in great numbers, and O'Conors to become 'Conyers,' O'Reillys 'Ridleys,' O'Donnells 'Daniels,' O'Sullivans 'Silvans,' MacCarthys 'Carters,' and so on" (Hyde, in: Ó Conaire 1986: 162). Hyde's seminal lecture was as much a rallying cry as an academic exposition and he railed against this practice – ironically voicing concerns similar to those which had once moved Moryson, Spenser and Davies to indignation against the contrary process of linguistic-cum-cultural assimilation:

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[2] The author himself had adopted *MacLysaght* rather than his inherited *Lysaght*, when writing in English. In Irish he was known as *Éamonn Mac Giolla Iasachta*.

> But it is the last sixty years that have made most havoc with our Milesian names. It seemed as if the people were possessed with a mania for changing them to something – anything at all, only to get rid of the Milesian sound. ... In Connacht alone I know scores of Gatleys, Sextons, Baldwins, Foxes, Coxes, Footes, Greenes, Keatings, who are really O'Gatlies, O'Sesnans, O'Mulligans, O'Shanahans, MacGillacullys, O'Trehys, O'Honeens, and O'Keateys. The O'Hennesys are Harringtons, the O'Kinsellaghs, Kingsleys and Tinslys, the O'Feehillys, Pickleys, and so on. (Hyde, in: Ó Conaire 1986: 162f.)

Even while still predominantly Irish-speaking, the Irish had felt it judicious to adopt anglicised names, which allowed them to interact with the authorities without drawing particular attention to themselves personally. However, the tension between a private Irish-speaking existence and public English-speaking interaction was ultimately resolved by the great majority of the population by switching to English as the language for all domains. In this, the process of name anglicisation gained momentum, as both surnames and first names conformed to the new linguistic reality. However, personal names have a deeply embedded psychological relationship with personal and community identity. It was this which Hyde astutely recognised and judged to be of such importance that he strove to get the Irish people to reverse the trend. Rhetorically, Hyde came into his stride when he turned his attention to the demise of the Irish Christian names, first male and then female. The effectiveness with which he marshalled his arguments and the impact they had and continue to have on identity in Ireland warrant the inclusion of a lengthy extract:

> The man whom you call Diarmuid when you speak Irish, a low, pernicious, un-Irish, detestable custom, begot by slavery, propagated by cringing, and fostered by flunkeyism, forces you to call Jeremiah when you speak English, or as a concession, Darby. In like manner, the indigenous Teig is West-britonised into Thaddeus or Thady, for no earthly reason than that both begin with a T. Donough is Denis, Cahal is Charles, Murtagh and Murough are Mortimer, Dómhnall is Daniel, Partholan, the name of the earliest coloniser of Ireland, is Bartholomew or Batty, Eoghan (Owen) is frequently Eugene, ... Félim is Felix, Finghin (Finneen) is Florence, Conor is Corney, Turlough is Terence, Éamon is Edmond or Neddy, and so on. In fact, of the great wealth of Gaelic Christian names in use a century or two ago, only Owen, Brian, Cormac, and Patrick seem to have survived in general use.

> Nor have our female names fared one bit better; we have discarded them even more ruthlessly than those of our men. Surely Sadhbh (Sive) is a prettier name than Sabina or Sibby, and Nóra than Onny, Honny, or Honour (so translated simply because Nóra sounds like *onóir*, the Irish for 'honour'); surely Una is prettier than Winny, which it becomes when West-Britonised. ... Aoife (Eefy), Sighle (Sheela), Móirín (Moreen), Nuala and Fionnuala (Finnoola), are all beautiful names which were in use until quite recently. Maurya and Anya are still common, but are not indigenous Irish names at all, so that I do not mind their rejection, whilst three other very common ones, Suraha, Shinéad, and Shuwaun, sound so bad in English that I do not very much regret their being translated into Sarah, Jane, and Joan, respectively; but I must put in a plea for the retention of such beautiful names as Eefee, Oona, Eileen, Mève, Sive, and Nuala. (Hyde, in: Ó Conaire 1986: 164f)[3]

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[3]   Interestingly, Hyde's own daughters were named *Nuala* and *Úna*.

Hyde's analysis struck a chord and has been resonating ever since. The wider issue of language revival formed the background to his proposals regarding personal names. Hyde's immediate concern at this point in his lecture was with the actual anglicised form of particular surnames. In the absence of specific investigation it is not possible to say whether or not his views have had an impact, apart, that is, from the gradual movement to reinstate the *O* and *Mac* prefixes. However, although not alluded to directly in his talk, the advance of the revival went hand in hand with a return to the actual original Irish language version of surnames, primarily in contexts where Irish was being used. This depended on the provision of lists giving Irish language equivalences for the anglicised versions. Such lists began to be published in 1900 on the pages of the newspaper *An Claidheamh Soluis* (lit. 'The Sword of Light'). A major outcome was the rise of dual versions of names, thus *Pádraic Mac Piarais* alongside *Patrick Pearse*, *Pádraig Ua Duinnín* beside *Patrick Dinneen*, *Peadar Ua Laoghaire* beside *Peter O'Leary* and of course *Douglas Hyde* alongside *Dúbhglas de hÍde*.[4] The influence is even to be seen in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, where Barnie Kiernan's pub on Little Britain street becomes "the ancient hall of *Brian O'Ciarnain*'s in *Sraid na Bretaine Bheag*" in order to render it a fit setting for a discussion on the revival of Gaelic sports and the importance of physical culture (Joyce 1982: 315).

However, in some cases exclusive use was made of the Irish version of a name, e.g. by the writer *Pádraic Ó Conaire*. The promotion of Irish in the educational system and the civil service in general after the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 contributed to the widespread understanding that there were two versions of names, an original Irish language one and an anglicised version, either of which might be used. Although dual naming is still common in the nationwide voluntary sports organisation, the Gaelic Athletic Association, the trend in recent years has been for the adoption of one or other version of the name by an individual for all official purposes. Although this, of course, means that the anglicised version is regularly used by the vast majority of people, nonetheless Irish-language versions are preferred by a significant minority and now enjoy a normalised status in the broadcast and print media. However, this often leads to the typographical substitution of a hybrid form such as *O'Conchúir* for *Ó Conchúir*, corresponding to anglicised *O'Connor*.

The official proscribing of Irish forms of personal names became an issue in the post-1900 period, when some cart-owners, all of whom were obliged to display their name on their cart, chose to do so in Irish. A number of these were served with summonses by the Royal Irish Constabulary for allegedly having "illegible" names on their carts. Ruth Dudley Edwards sets the scene for Patrick Pearse's one and only court case, effectively contrasting the diplomatic bent of Hyde with the younger man's desire for action: "It was legally necessary for a

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[4] It may be mentioned in passing that *noms de plume* enjoyed a great vogue in the first generation or two of the Revival, Hyde himself being well known as *An Craoibhín Aoibhinn* (lit. 'The Sweet Little Branch,' an eighteenth-century term of affection for the House of Stuart Pretender to the English throne).

cart-owner to put his name on his cart, and with the spread of the League's ideas on the use of Irish forms where possible, individual cart-owners began painting their Irish names in Irish characters. There were one or two prosecutions on this account, with small fines resulting" (Edwards 1977: 79). Hyde had "wanted the placing of the Irish forms on carts to become so common that it could not be interfered with, and the government was not interfering" (*ibid.*). However, Pearse appealed to the higher courts in the case brought against Niall Mac Giolla Brighde (Neil McBride) in 1905, and lost: "Thus it was made illegal not only to have the name in Irish letters but to have it in any form except the correct English form" (*ibid.*, 80f.). Pearse's own account of what transpired has quite a heroic ring to it:

> On Tuesday last the language movement marched boldly into the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland, and for five hours counsel discussed with the Lord Chief Justice, Mr Justice Andrews, and Mr Justice Gibson, various questions ranging from the origin of the Irish alphabet to the position of the Pan-Celts with regard to the Irish language.

> We are only carrying out the spirit of the resolution of the Ard-Fheis when we advise all Gaels to simply ignore the British Law that makes it penal for them to use their own language to the exclusion of English. If they are summoned and fined, let them refuse to pay; if they are sent to prison, let them go to prison. The question can be brought to a head no other way. (*ibid.*)

Mac Giolla Brighde lived in an Irish-speaking area and had been fined for having the Irish form of his name on his cart, the judge deciding that the Irish language had no standing in law. The Gaelic League said that the court had, in effect, called Irish a foreign language. In another case, in an English-speaking district, Tomás Mac Seoin, was sentenced to a week's hard labour when he refused to pay a fine of one shilling on being summoned for having his name in Irish on his cart (Ó Fearaíl 1975: 29).

A macaronic ballad-style song was composed, celebrating one such encounter between a representative of the state, a policeman named Thingyme, and the humble owner of an ass and cart. It tells how Mícheál an gabha (lit. 'Michael the smith') was accosted as he made his way across a bridge in Muileann na hAbhann:

> *Ba ghairid go bhfaca mé asal a's trucail bheag,*
> *Chugainn ar a shodar faoi Mhícheál an gabha*
> *Siúd leis an Bobby*: "This cart has no signature
> Only a lingo I cannot make out."

> "Your name my good man, and answer[ed] right quickly now."
> *"Amharc ar an trucail an bhfuileann tú dall?*
> *Tá m'ainmse breacaithe i dteanga a thuigimse,*
> *Agus fógraím thusa go hIfreann lom."*

> "Ten shillings with costs or a fortnight's imprisonment.
> Next on the list. Take this reprobate down."
> *"Cuirtear faoi ghlasa mé feasta a ghlagaire,*
> *Pingin de m' sheilbh ní fheicfidh sibh ann."*

It wasn't long till I saw a donkey and a little cart,
Coming towards us at a trot with Mícheál the smith
Out steps the Bobby: "This cart has no signature
Only a lingo I cannot make out."

"Your name my good man, and answer[ed] right quickly now."
"Look at the cart, are you blind,
My name is written out in a language I understand,
And I damn you to the bareness of Hell."

"Ten shillings with costs or a fortnight's imprisonment.
Next on the list. Take this reprobate down."
"Let me be locked up now you prattler,
Not a penny of my money will you see there." (Cumann an Ógra 1998: 32f.)[5]

However, it is in the area of first names that the change since Hyde's day is most clear, for not only has there been a resurgence in most of the names then in decline, but there has been wave after wave of older Gaelic names adopted from the earlier literature. Popular male names include *Pádraig*, *Ciarán*, *Colm* and *Rónán*, while female names such as *Deirdre*, *Gráinne*, *Éadaoin* and *Caoimhe* have become quite commonplace. Indeed, some Irish-language names such as *Deirdre* and *Seán* enjoy considerable vogue outside Ireland in English-speaking countries, as ably demonstrated by Heidi Lazar-Meyn in her contribution on this topic to the 2004 Potsdam Colloquium and in her paper entitled "Irish First Names in the Diaspora: Leaping across Sociolinguistic Boundaries," read at the 12th International Congress of Celtic Studies, held at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, August 2003. Of course, alongside these native-based names one has many personal names inspired by the stars of screen and soap opera, thus *Errol*, *Glen*, *Kylie* and *Britney*. At any rate, the outcome is that the dominant unmarked naming pattern current in Ireland today is that of native-based first name and anglicised surname.

5. Current Personal Naming Patterns in Ireland

The following table summarises the predominant naming patterns to be found in Ireland today:

First Name	Surname
Native-based name Irish-language e.g. Eoghan Anglicised e.g. Eugene, Owen	Anglicised surname Complemented on occasions by Irish-language original e.g. Eugene Watters / Eoghan Ó Tuairisc
Foreign media-based name, e.g. Errol	Anglicised surname
Irish-language name e.g. Nuala	Irish-language surname e.g. Ní Dhomhnaill

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[5] The sections in italics correspond to those in Irish in the original.

5.1. Current Modern Irish

5.1.1. The Traditional Irish System

The tables below set out the inherited traditional system of naming with *Mac* and *Ó* prefixes in Irish, with illustrative examples:

Male Surname	Female Surname
Mac (husband)	(Bean) Mhic (+ lenition) (wife)
Mac (son)	Nic (+ lenition) (daughter)

Thus, corresponding to anglicised *MacMullan* and *MacAndrew*, *Andrews* one has:

Male Surname	Female Surname
Mac Maoláin	Mhic Mhaoláin
Mac Maoláin	Nic Mhaoláin

Male Surname	Female Surname
Mac Aindriú	Mhic Aindriú
Mac Aindriú	Nic Aindriú

Male Surname	Female Surname
Ó (+ h prefixed to vowel) (father)	(Bean) Uí (+ lenition) (wife)
Ó (+ h prefixed to vowel) (son)	Ní (+ lenition) (daughter)

Therefore, corresponding to anglicised *O'Gorman* and *O'Houlahan*, *Hoolahan*, *Holland* one has:

Male Surname	Female Surname
Ó Gormáin	Uí Ghormáin
Ó Gormáin	Ní Ghormáin

Male Surname	Female Surname
Ó hUallacháin	Uí Uallacháin
Ó hUallacháin	Ní Uallacháin

As is clear from these examples, the anglicised surname is based on that of the (unmarked) male form. An early and rare instance of the whole anglicised surname project being called into question for its failure to reproduce the male/female differentiation of Irish is the following by Conor McSweeny in 1843:

... It is proper here to warn Irish ladies that they commit a blunder in writing their names with O or Mac instead of ní. They should bear in mind that O'Neil, Mac Carthy, O'Loghlen, O'Connell, are not sirnames (sic) like the English – Baggs, Daggs, Scraggs, Drake, Hog, Moneypenny, Bastard &c. but simply mean son of Nial, son of Connell, son of Loghlen, &c. as the Jews say, son of Judah, son of Joseph &c. and that a lady who writes O or Mac to her name calls herself son instead of a daughter ... I therefore advise every Irish lady to substitute ni (sic), pronounced nee, for O or Mac, Julia ni Connell, Catherine ni Donnell, Ellen ni Neil, will at first sound strange, but they are not a whit less euphonious than the others, and use will make them agreeable. (quoted in Ó Drisceoil 2003: 148)

An amusing instance of the generalisation of the specific female *Ní* form is recounted by Angela Bourke, regarding one Nan Brennan, who happened to be looking after the children of her nephew about 1958:

... Richard Sinnott remembers that she sewed nametapes on to all his clothes before he went as a boarder to the Irish College at Ring, County Waterford. A nationalist and a seamstress, Nan wrote his name in Irish and stitched the labels securely, but she had no husband or son, and hadn't used Irish in years, so his name appeared as though it were a girl's: Risteárd Ní Shionóid. (Bourke 2004: 311)

5.1.2. Female Surname Forms in Irish Today

As we have seen, Irish – like Icelandic and the Slavic languages – differs from English and other western European languages, in having distinct male and female forms of surnames, with a further traditional subdivision of the female forms into "married (wife of)" and "daughter (of)" categories. Strangeness is always in the eye of the beholder. And those of us familiar in the first instance with what Whorf termed 'Standard Average European' (SAE) languages may look askance at the relational distinctions traditionally drawn by Irish in its sur-naming system. However, someone coming to other naming systems from within the Irish perspective may find the lack of differentiation just as strange, and pose a question such as – "*Mammy Quilty*, *Daddy Quilty*, *Sinéad Quilty*, why are they all the same?" When it comes to dealing with the indexing and cataloguing of surnames belonging to the Irish system, a certain creativity is needed to deal coherently and systematically with the challenges involved. A number of approaches have been tried in the last generation or two.

5.1.2.1. Cross-Referencing to Male Surname

Muiris Ó Droighneáin (1982) proposed that reference indexes such as telephone directories and library catalogues should use the male forms as the norm, cross-referencing to this from the female forms. Although this approach has had a limited success in Irish-language usage, it was handicapped from the start by the restricted familiarity even among Irish speakers with all the intricacies of the language's naming system. More recently it has been a casualty of the rise of femi-

nism in Anglo-America. In general, the simplest approach would seem to be to accept the form of the name used by the individual, male or female, and index this.[6]

The following table outlines the approach of Ó Droighneáin (1982), which records female surnames by redirection from the male forms:

Male Surname in Irish	First Name (and Female Form of Surname) in Irish	Anglicised Surname	First Name (and Female Title)
Mac Airt	Seán	MacArt	Seán
Mac Airt	Máire (Bean) Mhic Airt	MacArt	Mrs Máire
Mac Airt	Máire Nic Airt	MacArt	Miss Máire

Male Surname in Irish	First Name (and Female Form of Surname) in Irish	Anglicised Surname	First Name (and Female Title)
Ó Briain	Seán	O'Brien	Seán
Ó Briain	Máire (Bean) Uí Bhriain	O'Brien	Mrs Máire
Ó Briain	Máire Ní Bhriain	O'Brien	Miss Máire

5.1.2.2. Gaeltacht Practice

A different solution has been adopted in Gaeltacht areas, especially in Conamara, Co. Galway:

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations
Mac X (husband)	Nic X, Nic/Ní Y [father's surname] (wife)
Mac X (son)	Nic X (daughter)

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations
Ó X (husband)	Ní X, Nic/Ní Y [father's surname] (wife)
Ó X (son)	Ní X (daughter)

As can be seen from these tables, the specific married forms are not used. However, as a woman may, and frequently does, retain her maiden name (i.e. the surname of her father) after marriage, one has no way of knowing from the

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[6] It may be observed in passing that the ability of the dominant indexing systems to deal in a logical alphabetical order with Irish surnames, be they original or anglicised is doubtful, as they grapple with the challenges of Mac#, Mac, Mc and Ó, O#, and O'. Irish telephone directories, for instance, normally do not distinguish between the prefixes Mc, Mac, M' and the spacing after them, the index order being determined by the next element of the name.

name itself, "Nic X" or "Ní Y," whether the "X" or "Y" is that of the female's pre-marriage status (based on her father's surname), or that of her husband.

5.1.2.3. Practice outside the Gaeltacht

Outside the Gaeltacht, among a small number of women active in academic and Irish language circles, the following system has shown signs of expansion over the last thirty years or so:

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations
Mac X (husband)	Mac X (wife)
Mac X (son)	Nic X (daughter)

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations
Ó X (husband)	Ó X (wife)
Ó X (son)	Ní X (daughter)

The effect of this development is to isolate the daughter assignation somewhat, leaving it at variance with the strengthened male category, now including father, son and wife. The motivation for this development was the difficulty experienced in using different versions of surnames for husband and wife in Irish in an environment accustomed to the uniformity of English, a difficulty compounded by the morphological complexity of the married female form in Irish. This approach now seems to be in decline, having yielded to the fourth and final category.

5.1.2.4. Retention of Maiden Name

Increasingly nowadays outside the Gaeltacht, Irish-speaking females retain their maiden name after marriage, in line with current practice in English in the western world. The surname of their children, however, is regularly that of their husband. It would seem that this is the case also in the increasing number of instances where children are reared by an unmarried, cohabiting couple. This was often the case in the Gaeltacht in the past, e.g. Peig Sayers retained her inherited surname, *Sayers* – interestingly in its anglicised form, rather than in an Irish version – after marrying *Pádraig Ó Gaoithín*. However, when formal occasions demanded it, her children, used the surname *Ó Gaoithín*, not *Sayers*. Thus, this approach presents no inherent difficulty in the Gaeltacht areas:

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations
Mac X	Nic/Ní Y [maiden name]
Mac X	Nic X

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations
Mac Donncha	Ní Mhurchú [maiden name]
Mac Donncha	Nic Dhonncha

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish over Two Generations
Ó X	Nic/Ní Y [maiden name]
Ó X	Ní X

Male Surname in Irish over Two Generations	Female Surname in Irish/English over Two Generations
Ó Gaoithín	Sayers [maiden name]
Ó Gaoithín	Ní Ghaoithín

In these cases then, the female adult's name remains apart from the new family unit, and harks back to the earlier generation in a different unit.

5.1.2.5. Summary

The impetus for all of this variation in Irish female surname designations is coming from the change of concept in English from the situation of a generation ago:

Male Title over Two Generations	Female Title over Two Generations
Mr, esq.	Mrs
Master	Miss

This situation has given way to the one next tabulated, where the motivation is to ensure that the marital and inter-generational status of women is no more transparent than that of males:

Male Title over Two Generations	Female Title over Two Generations
Mr	Ms
Mr	Ms

The main thrust for this change has come from the United States, where the precedence accorded to the use of first names reflects a society, which sets a premium on the individual, and has little time for inter-generational or marriage affiliation social capital. It is small wonder that the thousand-year-old system of Irish naming, in a society which set such store on identifying one's relations – *Cér díobh thú?* ('Who are your people?') – and place/community of origin – *Cad as duit?* ('Where are you from?') – should sit uneasily alongside the outlook inherent in all-American introductions such as: *Hi!, I'm Bob, this is Kate*. So, ironically, a global village encounter which may last all of five minutes dispenses with surnames in a way that brings us back to the one-to-one personal names of a village, where as often as not they were embedded in a close community with a five-generation memory-span.

The intermediate stage we are currently in allows the following variation, with the titles in order of perceived frequency from left to right:

Male Title over Two Generations	Female Title over Two Generations
Mr	Mrs, Ms
Mr, Master	Ms, Miss

6. Traditional Naming: "X (Son/Daughter) of Y (Son/Daughter) of Z"

A further naming system is well established in the traditional Irish-speaking areas, and lived on in Hiberno-English, following the language shift in other rural areas. The pattern involved is "first name + father's (less frequently mother's) first name + grandfather's (less frequently grandmother's) first name." An example would be that of the fictional West-Kerry hero of the work *Jimín Mháire Thaidhg* (An Seabhac, i.e. Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha[7] 1921). From the perspective of the dominant West-European naming pattern of first/personal/ Christian name + surname, systems such as this may seem exotic at first. Of course, the West-European pattern must seem just as odd to one unacquainted with it, as John Millington Synge discovered. He recorded just such an experience on the Aran Islands at the beginning of the twentieth century, recounting how on one occasion, a boy of about fifteen, who used to read Irish to him every evening, brought up the subject of naming systems:

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[7] *An Seabhac*, Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha's *nom de plume* literally means 'The Hawk' in English.

One day he asked me if there was great wonder on their names out in the country.

I said there was no wonder on them at all.

'Well,' he said, 'there is great wonder on your name in the island, and I was thinking maybe there would be great wonder on our names out in the country.'

In a sense he is right. Though the names here are ordinary enough, they are used in a way that differs altogether from the modern system of surnames.

When a child begins to wander about on the island, the neighbours speak of it by its Christian name, followed by the Christian name of its father. If this is not enough to identify it, the father's epithet – whether it is a nickname or the name of his own father – is added.

Sometimes when the father's name does not lend itself, the mother's Christian name is adopted as epithet for the children. ...

Occasionally the surname is employed in its Irish form, but I have not heard them using the 'Mac' prefix when speaking Irish among themselves. (Synge 1979: 108f.)

Fox (1978: 74) states that the situation on the Co. Donegal island of Tory was similar, with the exception that "the islanders know about, and use, the formal surname system with 'Mac' and 'O,' but only on very formal occasions: calling someone's name in church; writing on documents when using Gaelic; requesting someone to sing or dance in the hall; carving on a tombstone." As Fox's analysis confirms, within the family only a first name was needed – this would regularly be complemented by hypocoristic or pet forms. The name in everyday use within the local community, the one employed in ordinary conversation to locate an individual regularly had two or three elements, thus:

John-Tom	John, son of Tom
Séamus-Uilliaim	James son of William
Máire-Shéamuis Bháin	Mary, daughter of Fair James
Jimmy-Mháiri-Bhilli	Jimmy (of) Marie (of) Billy
Johnny-Dhonnchadha-Eoin	Johnny, Dennis, Iain
Anton-Phaidí-Anton	Anthony, Paddy, Anthony

Four-name strings are known, e.g.:

Peigi-Phaidí-Shéamuis-Dhomhnaill	Peggy, Paddy, James, Donal

However, those expert in the genealogy of the community could cite strings of names such as the following, straddling six generations:

Nora-Thomáis-John-John-Eoin-Neilí (Fox 1978: 75f.)

7. Nicknames

Nicknames, too, formerly had an important role in Gaeltacht society, often totally eclipsing the bearer's actual given name. These can be said to be of two main kinds. In one case, the first name of the bearer is retained but differentiated from others with the same first name, either by being accompanied by an adjective, often referring to hair colouring, or by a location marker.

One of the features which distinguishes the Irish physically from many other peoples is the variety in their hair colouring. This distinction has been traditionally reflected in epithets. Thus adjectives referring to colour of hair, including *rua* 'red,' *dubh* 'black' and *bán* 'white, fair,' are often employed in names, e.g. *Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin*, an eighteenth-century Kerry poet, *Eibhlín Dubh Ní Chonaill*, composer of *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire* (c. 1775), *Seán Bán Breathnach*, a well-known contemporary Irish-language broadcaster. Such colour designations regularly referred to the hair and not to the skin, for which a second series was required, e.g. *geal* 'white,' *gorm* 'black,' *buí* 'yellow' and *dearg* 'red.'[8] A name might be qualified by the use of a location marker, thus *Peig na Croise* (lit. 'Peig of the Crossroads'), who was so called because she lived in a house at a crossroads (Ó Cuív 1986: 175).

The second type of nickname is more thorough-going in that a new word becomes a name and replaces the original. Thus in West-Kerry in the first half of the twentieth century one had *Kruger* (Muiris Caomhánach, Engl. Maurice Kavanagh) (Ó Lúing 1986: 7), *Flint*, *Pound* and *Common Noun*, the origins of which might be generally known or guessed at. In the case of *Kruger*, for instance, the name apparently arose in the school yard when the Boer leader in South Africa was in the news (*ibid.*).

Two linked novels by Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin (1978, 1984) are set in his native part of the West-Kerry Gaeltacht in the nineteen-thirties. Although they have received relatively little critical attention, they derive much of their significance from the linguistically and culturally nuanced depiction of life in an area where Irish and English interact differently in the various generations, depending on their contact with the English-speaking world outside the Gaeltacht in Ireland and America. The following example is cited:

> Dálamán [nickname]
> Connie Mhicí Neilí [patronymic]
> Conchúr Ó Ceallacháin [formal name in Irish]
> Cornelius O Callaghan [formal name in English] (Ó Súilleabháin 1984: 37-40)

Therefore, as here and regularly for males there would be a nickname (local, informal), a patronymic "X of Y of Z" (local, unmarked), an anglicised personal name and surname (formal, unmarked) and an Irish language personal name and surname (formal, marked). A series of nicknames for the (fictional) members of a football team are outlined: *Jug*, *Pláta*, *Cócó*, *Geá-geá*, *Rajah*, *Bindo*, *Eisirt* and *Bébó*, one of the book's characters observing wryly to himself that these names are based on everything from kitchen utensils to historical and mythological personages (Ó Súilleabháin 1984: 116). These of course are all male names and it would seem that such nicknames may in fact have been predominantly used of males and reflect their camaraderie. At any rate, in the case of another character (female) one is not provided with a nickname, but rather with a patronymic, "X of Y" (local unmarked), Irish versions of personal name and surname (formal,

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[8] For further discussion of the use of colour epithets in Irish see Mac Mathúna 1990: 95f.

marked), anglicised version of personal name and surname (formal, unmarked), americanised anglicisation of personal name and surname (informal and formal, unmarked), as well as a variety of hypocoristic forms of *Bríd*, used by family members, as the fancy took them:

> Brídín Jamesy [her common name when she lived in the glen]
> Bríd Ní Dhuibhne [her formal name in Irish]
> Bridget Deeny [her formal name in English, used in Ireland and on the way over to America]
> Bessie Devine [her choice of new formal name in English in Springfield, Massachusetts]

This character is called *Bid* by her brother and mother, *Brídín* by her father and *Bríde* elsewhere in the text (Ó Súilleabháin 1978: 111f.). On the other hand, one *Neill Rua* (lit. 'Red-haired Neill') was better known as *An Bheach Rua* (lit. 'The Red-haired Bee') and *Bannrín na Bruíne* (lit. 'The Queen of Trouble') because of her bad temper (Ó Cróinín 1971, quoted in Ó Cuív 1986: 175f.). The latter two nicknames presumably belong to a subset, which would not have been used in the bearer's presence.

Apart from Fox (1978), no comprehensive survey of the local naming systems of Irish-speaking and post-Irish-speaking areas has been published. This general lack is regretted by Prof. Tomás de Bhaldraithe in a brief discussion of the situation as it obtained in the Gaeltacht area of Mionlach, Co. Galway, in the first half of the twentieth century (de Bhaldraithe 1977). This book of lore was gleaned from Tomás Laighléis (1895-1984) who sets out the naming system of his youth as follows. His father (1852-1927) was known as *Pádraig Thomás Eibhlín*. He himself and his siblings were generally called after their mother, *Máire Ní Fhathaigh*, thus:

> Seán Mháire Ní Fhathaigh
> Team Mháire Ní Fhathaigh
> Cáit Mháire Ni Fhathaigh

However, he informs us that a few people adhered to the older system and called his generation *Seán Phádraig Thomás Eibhlín*, and so on.

Tomás Laighléis's own children were known as *Pádraig Lawless* and the like, that is their first name was in Irish, their surname in English, a circumstance which the informant attributed to the effect of the school they attended in Galway. This of course is in agreement with the general pattern throughout the country nowadays, as noted above. The editor, Tomás de Bhaldraithe, draws attention to the fact that one name might be used locally, e.g. *Tomás Áine* and another, by inhabitants of a different area, e.g. *Dúgán Rua* (de Bhaldraithe 1977: 8, 282).

Although many parallels could be drawn with the history of Welsh naming, with regard to origins, sources and development, space permits only the briefest of comments. Like Irish, Welsh experienced progression from a patronymic system to one of surnames. Cognate with Irish *mac*, Welsh *mab* 'son' (also *ab*, *ap*) was the vehicle for this change, which involved subsuming the earlier complementary role of *merch*, *ferch* 'daughter.' As in rural Ireland, retention of female

maiden surnames continued in Wales after marriage. In common with Irish usage, Welsh also favoured hypocoristic forms, but showed a greater propensity for generating surnames based on places. A good historical overview is available in Morgan and Morgan (1985: 5-35).

8. Conclusion

The Gaelic tradition set great store by the diachronic anchoring of the individual in the inter-generational community, as evidenced above by the ability of latter-day Tory islanders to trace their ancestry back some five generations. One or two further examples must suffice to confirm how pervasive a societal construct this was. In the well-known late eighteenth-century keen *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire*, composed by Eibhlín Dubh Ní Laoghaire (aunt of Daniel O'Connell) for her murdered husband Art Ó Laoghaire, Eibhlín Dubh addresses his dead body, tracing his ancestry back to his great-grand-father:

> A Airt Uí Laoghaire
> Mhic Conchubhair, Mhic Céadaigh,
> Mhic Laoisigh Uí Laoghaire
>
> "O Art Ó Laoghaire,
> son of Conchubhar,
> son of Céadach,
> son of Laoiseach Ó Laoghaire"   (Ó Tuama 1963: 40, lines 212-214)

Similarly, in his autobiography An tAthair Peadar Ua Laoghaire traces his own ancestry back over four generations to two brothers, *Diarmuid ua Laoghaire* and *Conchubhar ua Laoghaire*. He himself was born in 1839 and was able to trace his ancestry on one side, for instance, from the aforementioned Diarmuid as follows: Diarmuid / Conchubhar Máighistir / Barnabí Peadar / Diarmuid / Peadar (Ua Laoghaire 1915: 5-9).

As we have seen, Douglas Hyde's reaction against the abandonment of this rich cultural tradition of names was a central pillar of the Gaelic League's endeavour to make the present a rational continuation of the past.

The communal importance attaching to personal names and place-names is well illustrated by a song entitled *Sgoil Bharr d'Inse* ('Barr d'Inse School'), concerning a fight which broke out at a dance held in this small national school in the Muskerry Gaeltacht of Co. Cork, in the early part of the twentieth century. Composed by Dan Eoin a' Bhab Ó Súilleabháin it enumerates some fifty families and the townlands from which they hailed (Ní Shúilleabháin 1983: 5-7).

At this synchronic level, a multiplicity of systems jostle each other at the present day, particularly in Gaeltacht areas. There language-cum-cultural considerations vie with the varying demands of officialdom on the formal plane (surnames in Irish, English), while the community role of the individual and the strength of societal bonding are reflected in the tenacity of informal naming systems (patronymics and nicknames).

We may recall that a celebrated folklorist from the West-Kerry Gaeltacht encapsulated Ireland's ambivalent name inheritance which intersects with its two languages, when he declared that he himself was known by two names, "*Joe Daly* in Irish" and "*Seosaimh Ó Dálaigh* in English" (de Barra 1985: 162). Others enjoy a simpler, if still somewhat schizoid, existence, bearing their English name in English and their Irish name in Irish (e.g. the writer *Eugene Watters / Eoghan Ó Tuairisc*, the poet *Michael Hartnett / Mícheál Ó hAirtnéide*); still others have one name only, be it Irish (e.g. the poet *Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill*) or English (e.g. the poets *Pearse Hutchinson*, *Michael Davitt*). The pattern of having one's first name in Irish and surname in English is now so widespread that the name *Pádraig Pearse / Pádraic Pearse* has been bequeathed retrospectively on the patriot, known in his own life-time either as *Patrick Pearse* or *Pádraic Mac Piarais*.

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Irish Standard English: How Celticised? How Standardised?

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1. Introduction

In this paper, we will identify 'standardisation' and 'Celticity' empirically on the basis of the evidence provided by the British and Irish components of the International Corpus of English (ICE). With this approach, 'Celticity' amounts to those features of lexis, grammar, and discourse which appear in ICE-corpora and for which there exists a plausible case of transfer or reinforcing influence from Irish. We will show that such features, by appearing across a range of spoken texts from both the Republic of Ireland and from Northern Ireland, make those texts unmistakably Celticised. Despite this salient level of Celticisation, ICE-Ireland texts remain essentially standard, sharing features with standard English globally and showing few of the features historically associated with traditional dialects of Irish English. It is in this sense that we discuss the dual nature of Irish standard English, showing both the effects of the standardisation process common to all standard Englishes and the effects of Celticisation arising from a variety of circumstances. First, however, we feel it necessary briefly to describe the ICE methodology upon which our results and conclusions are based.

For the study of Irish English, the ICE methodology offers several innovations.[1] ICE does not depend on introspection, casual observation or question-

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naire elicitation. It is based on a collection of texts (each of 2,000 words) in 15 different situational categories of the spoken language and in 11 functional types or domains of the written language. Together, these categories generate 300 spoken texts and 200 written texts, totalling one million words in machine-readable form.[2] The categories and the number of texts in each are identical across national components, so that each text category may be directly and systematically compared across corpora: for details see Greenbaum (1996), Nelson, Wallis and Aarts (2002), and the ICE website. When we address 'the Celticity question,' it will be our approach to compare equivalent categories of spoken texts in ICE Northern Ireland (NI) and ICE Republic of Ireland (ROI) with the same category in ICE-GB. Though this paper can only sample the available data, our basic method will be to examine the extent to which putatively Celtic features are shared across identical categories in each corpus.

The question of 'Celticity' in Irish English is as old as the interest in Irish English itself. Stanyhurst, writing in the 16th century, was not a linguist or a historian in the modern sense, but his note concerning speakers in Wexford who "have so acquainted themselves with the Irishe, as they have made a mingle mangle, or gallamaulfrey of both the languages … as commonly the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake neyther good English nor good Irishe" (Stanyhurst 1577: 2v) sets a tone – both in recognising the fact of language contact and in a prescriptivist antipathy towards it – which has continued down to the present day. Early writers such as Hume (1877-78), Burke (1896), and most notably Hayden and Hartog (1909) and Joyce (1910) all assume a crucial role for Irish in the development of Irish English, with Hayden and Hartog making a clear distinction between the transfer of features from Irish into English by Irish-speakers and the retention of Irish-influenced features by English speakers for whom Irish "is an unknown tongue" (1909: 941). In phonology, syntax, and lexicon, the themes of historical retention from British English and transfer from Irish have remained as the foundation on which much of the study of English in Ireland has been based, regardless of whether the focus is historical (Hogan 1927; Bliss 1979; Harris 1993), dialectological (Henry 1957, 1958; see also Adams 1986), theoretical (Corrigan 2000 a, b), or otherwise (e.g. Lass 1987; Filppula 1986, 1991, 1999; Hickey 1986, 2000, 2004; Moylan 1996; Todd 1999; Kallen 1996, 2000, 2005) and so on (see also Kirk 1997 and Kallen 1999 for reviews).

Accepting, then, the conventional view that Irish English – whether dialectal or reflecting the normative pressures of standardisation – inevitably raises questions of its relations to Irish, we point out that Celticity is not a uniform phenomenon. It may refer to processes in which the English of native Irish speakers is influenced by language transfer or by convergence with English-language interlocutors (suggesting a transfer model); it may refer to the remote historical

2 For further information about ICE-Ireland, see Kallen and Kirk (2001), Kirk, et al. (2004), and Kallen and Kirk (fc.).

effects of language transfer among English-language native speakers (suggesting a substratum model); or it may refer not to structural aspects of Irish English at all, but rather to psycholinguistic orientations as found in metaphorical code-switching (Blom and Gumperz 1972) or other ways in which the Irish use of English points to the co-existing use of Irish.[3]

Though space limitations preclude a full discussion of these three models of Celticity in Irish English, we also suggest three ways in which Celticity could be measured empirically, relying on structure, frequency, and salience. We presume that where a structure is found only in a supposedly Celtic English, but not found in other types of English, and where that structure matches one found in a historically relevant Celtic language, there is a prima facie case for Celticity. Structural comparison requires subtle analysis: two Englishes may show similar structures over a range of data, but analysis of the constraints on the use of some structure may show affinities with Celtic languages in one type of English, but not in another. One advantage of corpus methodology is that it allows for calculation beyond simple structural comparison: frequencies of use can also be compared. Though our discussion here lacks comparative corpus data with Irish, we find that comparisons across varieties of English have at least suggestive value for determining Celticity. Salience is a more difficult concept to operationalise, but as Auer, Barden, and Grosskopf (1998) demonstrate, a mixture of structural and perceptual features (which include stereotyping and representation in lay dialect literature) may provide vital insights into the factors which promote or inhibit what they refer to as "long-term dialect accommodation." The discussion which follows concentrates on structures and frequencies within ICE corpora, since these are the topics which our material is best designed to illustrate. We suggest, however, that further research across a wider range of topics – including the use of Irish-language corpora – will prove valuable for further investigations of Celtic English.

2. ICE-Ireland and the Irish Language

It is not obvious how to view the question of the Celticity of Irish standard English in relation to uses of the Irish language. Wigger (2000) gives one of the few ethnographically-based treatments of code-switching between Irish and English in the contemporary language. Analysing the use of etymologically English words in Irish and the use of Irish words in Irish English dialects, Wigger (2000: 187) makes the point that "a question of deciding whether a word used in a given context and in some form belongs to L1 or L2" is "irrelevant in many common instances." Instead, he proposes the existence of an entire category of

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[3] This third orientation is anticipated in the review by Vendryes (1958-59) of Henry (1957), in which Vendryes rejected terms such as 'substrat,' 'superstrat,' and 'adstrat,' and observed instead that "le fait essential du bilinguisme n'est pas à chercher sur le terrain, mais dans le cerveau et dans la volonté de ceux qui parlent."

'interlingual lexemes' which, rather than calling for a definite analysis in terms of borrowing or code-switching, allow for a more realistic account of the "coexistence and mutual infiltration of the two spoken languages," Irish and English. In the setting of the Connemara Gaeltacht which Wigger (2000) describes, the easy interplay between the two languages gives credibility to this concept of 'interlingual lexemes.' Wigger makes the point that similar kinds of bilingualism – which would be part of a transfer model as we suggest above – have held at various times and places in Ireland over the last two centuries, and, indeed, his comments are foreshadowed by the observations of Ní Eochaidh (1922: 140), speaking about Irish and English speakers in Co. Clare: "is dóigh liom nach raibh fhios ag mórán dóibh ciaca Gaedhilge nó Béarla a bí labhairt aca" ('I think that not many of them knew whether it was Irish or English they were speaking'). Kallen (1996) also discusses the non-exclusive etymology of a considerable number of words of Irish and Irish English (e.g. *blather*/*bladar*, *crack*/ *craic*, *gombeen*/*gaimbín*, and a host of others), making the point that words may cycle back and forth between the two languages, sometimes being adapted from English into Irish, then from Irish back into English at another time and place, and so on.

   The bilingual situations which give rise to the interlingual phenomena cited above, whether in the relatively recent past as described by Wigger or in more remote times, give clear evidence of Celticity in Irish English. During the societal transition from Irish to English as the majority first language, it would appear only natural for large numbers of words to be brought from one language to another in the process of relexification and informal learning. Allsopp (1980) applies the term *apports* to such transfers in creole situations, and it is suggested in Kallen (1996) that this concept is also apt for this level of lexical transfer in Irish English dialects. Yet the very notion of a standard language, and indeed that of standard English, usually presupposes the enforcement of definite boundaries between one language and another: arguments for purity and the elimination of loanwords and influences from other languages as opposed to words of 'native' derivation are very common in the standardisation process. Standard English in general allows for the use of non-English lexicon in controlled circumstances: examples of words and phrases of Latin in education, law, art, etc. or French loanwords in the cultural domain show the permeability of English, yet they also show the resistance of the language to structural changes coming as the result of such loanwords. Prescriptive attempts to impose aspects of Latin grammar on English have met with limited success, and loanwords, whether the Latin plural *data* or the Italian plural *panini*, follow a path of incorporation into native English morphology. In short, while the importation of words from one language into another may co-occur with radical restructuring of the language (as in the influence of Norman French in Middle English), and while periods of productive bilingualism and language shift in informal situations may lead to complex interlanguage phenomena and restructurings of the type generally hypothesised for Ireland in the 18th to 20th centuries, they may also – especially where the standard language is concerned – have relatively little structural impact in themselves.

These observations bring us to assess the Celticity of the lexicon in ICE-Ireland in a complex way. First, we may be inclined to look for evidence of the Irish-based or interlingual dialect lexicon as documented by research focused on Irish English dialects (see, for example, Clark 1917; Traynor 1953; Henry 1958; Ó hAnnracháin 1964; Todd 1990; Montgomery 1993; Moylan 1996; Macafee 1996; Kallen 1999, 1997, and Dolan 2004; for review see also Görlach 1995 and van Ryckeghem 1997). Secondly, and with special relevance to the question of standard English, we might look for the use of Irish which reflects its status as the first official language in the Republic of Ireland, and as a language which is widely learned as a second language in the Republic, taught also in Northern Ireland, and maintained in broadcasting, print, and a host of more specialised domains. The existence of Irish as a living language for at least one third of the population in the Republic, albeit a second language when compared to English, thus puts Irish lexicon at this level in a different position from, say, legal Latin, scientific Greek, or restaurant Italian – it represents a window on another linguistic code which co-exists with English, even though it may not exert a deep structural influence on the English of speakers for whom it is a second (or third) language. Finally, though ICE protocols exclude non-English material from consideration, it would be overlooking a major difference between standard English usage in Ireland and that in other countries to ignore examples of code-switching which occur within the ICE-Ireland corpus. The availability of Irish as a language for code-switching, its cultural and historical significance, and its official role in the Republic of Ireland all put Irish on a different level from other non-English languages that may show up in ICE-Ireland and reflect one potential aspect of Celticity.

Our preliminary searches of ICE-Ireland reveal virtually little of the Irish-based dialect lexicon which has been commented upon elsewhere. From the spoken texts, we may cite words such as Irish *poitín* 'illicit spirits;' *craic* 'fun, enjoyment, conversation;' *fáinne*, literally Irish 'ring,' but in this context a specific type of lapel ring worn in association with the speaking of Irish; *féile*, literally a festival, but used in ICE (ROI) to refer to a specific annual music festival; *fleadh*, a traditional music festival; *Gaeltacht*, a designated area where Irish is retained as a community language; *uaigneas* 'loneliness;' and *scór* 'tally.' *Fleadh* occurs in ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI), but the other Irish words given here all occur only in ICE (ROI). Thus, the English described in the classical dialectology of Irish English, heavily laden with apports and interlinguistic lexicon, is largely absent from the ICE-Ireland corpus. We have no evidence to say that this vocabulary is lost in general, or that it could not arise from the right speakers in the right contexts. What we do observe is that, given the topics and discourse contexts of ICE, and given the status of the language found in ICE corpora as 'standard' English, very little of this lexicon is in evidence.

Consideration of the official terminology in ICE-Ireland (cf. also Share 2001) yields a somewhat different picture. A lexical search of the text categories of Administrative prose, Learned natural science, Parliamentary debates, Broadcast

news, Legal presentations, and Face to face conversation (categories which include both the informal and more formal domains), reveals that, as expected, terminology from Irish is much more commonly used in ICE (ROI) than in ICE (NI). This difference reflects the different governmental, administrative, and economic environments of the two subcorpora and gives ample opportunity to support the hypothesis that governments affect the development of standard language. The occurrence of terminology arising from official activity in the Republic of Ireland within ICE (NI), however, shows that the two language zones are by no means isolated from each other, but, instead, share features that are not found in other ICE corpora. Though terminology of this kind may not have deeper structural consequences, our argument is that it represents a distinctive kind of cross-linguistic influence, since it provides a ready reference to productive use of the Irish language. Table 1 presents the results of the search indicated above, showing terms used in both ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI), as well as those found only in ICE (ROI). Note that none of these terms is to be found in the comparable ICE-GB categories.

Name	Reference
	Found in ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI)
Aer Lingus	Irish national (state-supported) airline
Radio Telefís Éireann	RTÉ; Irish public service broadcasting organisation
Gardaí	Refers to *Garda Siochána* (plural of *Garda*)
Taoiseach	Head of parliamentary government, prime minister
	Found only in ICE (ROI)
An Bord Pleanála	The Irish planning appeals board
Ceann Comhairle	Presiding officer of the *Dáil*
Cultúrlann na hÉireann	Irish cultural center
Dáil	*Dáil Éireann*; the main Irish legislative body
Fianna Fáil	Irish political party
Garda Siochána	Irish national police force
Oireachtas	National parliament of Ireland (combined houses)
Seanad	The Senate (upper house) of the *Oireachtas*
Tánaiste	Deputy head of parliamentary government
Taoisigh	Plural of *Taoiseach*
TD	Member of *Dáil*, from Irish *Teachta Dála*

Table 1   Sample of Irish-language titles and designations in ICE-Ireland

Finally, let us note some examples of code-switching that help to differentiate ICE-Ireland from other ICE corpora: these are given in their ICE markup form, and all come from ICE (ROI). Example (1) is from a radio discussion, where the speaker uses an Irish proverb, followed by an English rendition of the same sentiment:

(1)   <S1B-040$C> <#> Yeah there is obviously like it gets back to probably you know <&Irish> ar sca/th a ce/ile a mhaireann na daoine </&Irish> <,> in everybody 's shadow everybody else lives basically and if 'twas over 'twould be very sad for Ireland

In (2), the writer signs off a letter with the use of Irish which, while not grammatically standard, can be interpreted in this context to mean 'and (from) me too.' Examples (3) and (4) demonstrate switches into Irish in the course of conversation. In (3) the speaker emphasises her inability to see into a darkened house; in (4) it appears that the speaker is signalling a shift of conversational topic, asking first if her friends are listening to her.

(2)   <W1B-010> <p> <#> Love from all here – <&Irish> agus mise fos. </&Irish> <#> I hope the good Lord will look after you both. </p>
(3)   <S1A-050$C> <#> You <{> <[> can't see </[>
       <S1A-050$A> <#> <&Irish> <[> Ni/l me/ </[> </{> in ann e/ a fheicea/il a chaili/ni/ </&Irish>
(4)   <S1A-066$C> <#> <&Irish> An bhfuil sibh ag e/isteacht liomsa </&Irish>
       <S1A-066$B> <#> <&Irish> Ta/im </&Irish>
       <S1A-066$C> <#> Rock band Van Halen who once <unclear> </unclear> <#> Stop <#> Had an M&M supply waiting back stage right <#> They want M&Ms every place they stopped okay <#> Van Halen are a band <#> You know Jump <#> Okay

The availability of Irish as a second language for speakers as in (1)-(4) above, and the way in which such speakers are able to switch in and out of Irish for various conversational purposes, demonstrate that even at the standard level as defined by ICE, there is a link between Irish and English that cannot be ignored. This kind of usage is not the same as that described for traditional dialects of Irish and English, nor is it the same as it might have been in earlier times. We do not see evidence that this code-switching exerts a strong structural influence on the contemporary standard language. Yet we do see that these usages make ICE-Ireland different from ICE elsewhere, and they show that because of the Celtic dimension, the linguistic experience for the speaker of Irish standard English, especially in the Republic of Ireland, will be different from the experience of speakers elsewhere.

3. Grammatical Features

Our treatment of grammatical features here is based primarily on their occurrence in selected ICE text categories which range across formal and informal contexts; we have only occasionally analysed data from the corpus as a whole.

Our preference at this point for preferring such small-scale analyses recognises their role in the consideration of text-type specific patterns that may be lost in the wealth of data found within the larger corpus: a feature may be rare in the corpus overall, but common within a given category, and it strikes us as unwise to overlook the details in such cases. The number of grammatical features that could be analysed for potential Celticity is extensive; what follows is a selection of variables which have received particular attention in previous studies.

3.1. Perfective Aspect

No single topic in Irish English syntax has inspired more research than that of perfective aspect.[4] From the early commentators such as Hayden and Hartog (1909) and van Hamel (1912), down to the present (e.g. McCafferty, this volume), one form or another of what can loosely be termed perfective aspect has attracted the attention of substratumist, retentionist, theoretical, and other approaches alike. The contrast between the perfect in Irish English and in 'standard' English as put forward by Harris (1984) has remained influential, not only for its categorisation of types (or uses) of the perfect, but for the strong case put for the non-identity of different dialects of English; approaches suggested by Kallen (1989, 1990, 1991), Filppula (1997 a, 1999), Hickey (2000), and others have all to be considered as well. All the types found in typologies such as those of Harris (1984) and Filppula (1999) are to be found in ICE-Ireland; without discussing whether typologies should be based on form, meaning, or discourse status, we concentrate here on four categories which are particularly relevant due to their salience in ICE-Ireland and their potential as a mark of Celticity: (a) the perfect with *after*, (b) the form which typically uses auxiliary *have* followed by an object NP and a perfect participle (the 'Accomplishment Perfect' in Kallen 1989 or the 'Medial Object Perfect' for Filppula 1999), (c) what Harris (1984) termed the 'Extended Now' perfect in which a present-tense form of a stative verb is extended in its temporal reference, and (d) what Filppula (1999) refers to as the 'indefinite anterior' perfect (or IAP), in which the past tense form carries perfective force.

3.1.1. The After-*perfect*

The perfect in Irish English has attracted attention since the earliest scientific treatments, e.g. Hume (1877-78), Hayden and Hartog (1909), and van Hamel (1912). It has long been asserted that the use of *after* as a marker of the perfect in Irish English owes its origins to transfer from an Irish-language substratum. The issue is somewhat complicated because of other uses of *after* in British Eng-

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[4] Our discussion does not distinguish grammatically between perfect and perfective; we simply use the former as a noun and the latter as a modifier.

lish, but recognising the historical arguments put forward most recently by Ó Sé (2004) and pointing out the uniqueness of perfective *after* within ICE corpora, we test the use of perfective *after* as evidence of Celtic influence in the standard language in Ireland.

As pointed out in previous research (e.g. Kallen 1989), the use of the *after*-perfect is sensitive to a variety of semantic, discoursal, and sociolinguistic factors. Harris's (1993) well-known use of the designation 'hot news' for the *after*-perfect emphasises recency and immediacy in the use of this form, and while empirical study in Dublin (Kallen 1991) and Galway (Fieß 2000) shows that the form is not restricted to what can reasonably be called 'hot news,' it is nevertheless relatively rare in more temporally and referentially remote contexts.[5] The social class factors identified in Kallen (1991) also suggest that middle-class speakers are less liable to use the form in public contexts than are working-class speakers. Given these conditioning factors, *after*-perfects could not be expected to be equally prominent in all ICE categories: speeches and parliamentary debates, for example, are far less likely to contain such forms than Face to face conversations.

The entire spoken component of the ICE-Ireland corpus (comprising approximately 623,350 words) contains seven examples of the *after*-perfect with BE + verb, each of them in southern texts. These examples are given here: (5)-(7) are from Face to face conversations, (8) from a classroom discussion, (9) from a business transaction, and (10) from a sports commentary.

(5) <S1A-046$A> <#> Yeah <#> Lads <#> A new fella **is after taking over** uhm one of the pubs at home <#> And he **'s after coming back** from England you <{> <[> know </[> <#> And he 's an old family friend of ours <#> And he 's a howl

(6) <S1A-055$E> <# > And his blood sugar was real low <#> They thought he **was after going** into a coma with diabetes

(7) <S1A-067$D> <#> The wife and children **are after going** off there the other day

(8) <S1B-017$A> <#> <[> But I think </[> <{> you were saying all the copies are out <{> <[> in the libraries </[>
<S1B-017$D> <#> <[> Yeah all the copies </[> </{> are out when I was looking <#> <{> <[> I **'m after booking** one </[>

(9) <S1B-077$A> <#> No <.> pro </.> No <,> Jesus you 're not <#> That 's no problem <#> There **'s nothing new after coming** in anyway so <#> Try again in another couple of days

(10) <S2A-012$A> <#> There 's a comeback from Barrett ... <#> In the opening round I thought for a while that Walsh was going to win inside the distance but he **'s after running** into a couple of hard ones here from Barrett <,> <#> And Barrett the sort of

Although there are no examples in ICE (NI) of the verbal *-ing* construction with *after*, there is at least one example with a noun phrase which is interpretable as a perfect:

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[5] The comprehensive treatment by Ó Sé points out that, especially in Munster Irish, many attested examples of the Irish perfect with *tar éis* or *tréis* 'after' "cannot sensibly be translated as recent perfects" (2004: 232). The possibility that dialectal variation in the use of the perfect in Irish maps on to variation in the use of the Irish English perfect has yet to be explored in detail.

(11) I **'m** not that long **after** my dinner.

Filppula (1999: 105f.) notes this form as being rather rare, but we have certainly heard it often enough from a variety of speakers to consider it unremarkable.

This low occurrence of the *after*-perfect is also reflected within interviews from the *Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English* (TRS; Adams, Barry and Tilling 1985). Harris's (1984: 316f.) analysis of TRS material revealed only three examples of the *after*-perfect, each of which had been spoken by 'urban speakers' – no rural speakers in the sample used the construction at all. In contrast, the speakers identified by Harris as urban use 50 examples of the 'standard' perfect with *have*, while the rural speakers show 48 such uses.

Also based on TRS material, the *Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech* (Kirk 1991; see also Kirk 1992) yields five examples of the *after*-perfect from approximately 240,000 words, as seen in (12)-(16) below. In these examples, the co-occurrence of *only* and *just* with *after* lends support to the 'hot news' interpretation which may be lacking in other examples.

(12) {<I FW>} {And **was** she **only after just coming**, like?} (nitcs.36, CABRAGH, DOWN)

(13) <I NG3> And she was just home, and she hear(d), heard the news {ahah}, and she said, she done the 11-plus too, she's the same age as me, and she said that she**'d just after hearing** that somebody seen the papers in Derry, and we would have to do it again {oh, my, mm}. And I didn't believe her, really, and I, and I went home, and I heard it on the news. (nitcs.10, CRANAGH, TYRONE)

(14) And they couldn't get a middle-aged person, and the girl that was doing the, the re-cording at that time, left the project. And so they just, she left it without ever having got a person in the middle category, and we**'re** only **just after finding** you, you see [LAUGHS], to do it (nitcs.14, BALLYCARRY, ANTRIM)

(15) <I OM53> No, aye, it's the second day you go to bed at nine o'clock {mm} And when the bell goes at six you just think you **were** only **after going over**, and you get out and up again. Get to mass, make another station, and then scramble then for home, and you get in, on your shoes you would think that you were lifted into the clouds (nitcs.15, SCRAGHEY, TYRONE)

(16) <I DF63> They're just, they call them IQ tests {ahah} They're just questions, like the ones that you **were** only **after asking** me there {ahah}, only a little harder {mm} And that's what we've got to answer, and we've to get 83 out of 100 (nitcs.19, CRUMLIN, ANTRIM)

Filppula (1999: 101) describes the occurrence of *after*-perfects in his corpus of recorded interviews as being "generally low," noting that 25 *after*-perfects in a sample of 158,000 words show the construction to be virtually absent in material from Clare and Kerry (accounting for only three tokens in 74,000 words), even though a higher level of usage can be found in Dublin, with twelve tokens in 42,000 words.

How should we view such data as evidence for the Celticisation of Irish standard English? From the amount of interest generated in the *after*-perfect in Ireland, it might appear that this form is used consistently instead of the 'standard' international perfect with HAVE; indeed, Harris's (1984) approach excluded the

HAVE perfect from the Irish English system. By this logic, the low occurrence of *after*-perfects in ICE-Ireland would appear anomalous. The possible anomaly is underscored by further searching of the corpus, where HAVE perfects are plentiful: within the ICE (NI) Face to face conversation files alone, there are some 44 tokens of the present perfect (using auxiliary HAVE) with the main verb form *been* alone. Counting other main verbs and other tenses of HAVE would multiply the number of 'standard' perfects in the corpus greatly. From this perspective, it might appear that the perfect in standard Irish English is mostly 'standard' and shows only residual use of the Irish-influenced *after*-perfect.

Comparisons between ICE-Ireland and the more dialectal material of the TRS and Filppula's corpus, however, suggest that the *after* construction is not as pervasive generally as the amount of scholarly attention devoted to it would suggest. When we consider the sociolinguistic and discourse constraints on the use of the *after*-perfect which have been noted in other studies cited here, it is fair to say that Irish standard English, in displaying the *after*-perfect, does stand out from other standard Englishes in ways that are salient to language users, and that may contribute to the cross-dialectal breakdowns in communication or other such effects referred to, for example, by Milroy (1984), Harris (1985), and Wall (1990). In this sense, despite the low statistical occurrence of *after* relative to HAVE perfects in the ICE-Ireland corpus, we are satisfied that it reaches a level of frequency which gives it salience and corresponds to more vernacular levels of usage in a way that indicates meaningful Celticity.

3.1.2. 'I have my dinner eaten': The Pseudo-Perfect

The labels 'Accomplishment Perfect' (Kallen 1989) and 'Medial Object Perfect' (Filppula 1999) have been applied to our second category of perfect, but we refrain from using such labels here. The structure in question is transitive and includes a form of HAVE plus an associated noun phrase, followed by a perfect-marked verb form. Kallen's (1989) term focuses on the relationship between the noun phrase and the verb, suggesting that the main verb refers to a dynamic state of affairs in which the noun phrase represents a culmination of activity (as in *I have half the grass now cut*). Filppula's term is more purely structural, suggesting that the object of the transitive main verb is simply interposed between the auxiliary and main verb, rather than following it. Though neither analysis goes into great detail, it is assumed in both that the agent of the action denoted by the main verb is co-referential to the subject of the clause, thus ruling out, *inter alia*, causatives such as *I had a dress made* in which the agent of *made* is not the subject of the clause. Though the identification of this type of perfect usage is not as straightforward as with the *after*-perfect, we have identified 34 examples of such a construction in ICE-Ireland. As exemplified by (17)-(19), all taken from ICE (NI) Face to face conversations, many tokens of this form could be seen as simple structural reversals, in which reversing the order of

the noun phrase and the perfect participle would make no difference to the meaning, at least as far as literal truth value is concerned:

(17) <S1A-001$B> <#> She 's very pleased with it so she is <,> very pleased <#> So **she has her schoolbag packed** with her pencil case and that and her <,> bits and pieces that she 'll never have out for the first six months you know <&> laughs </&>

(18) <S1A-003$E> <#> <[> No this was on Friday </[> </{> <#> You see **I have Jona-than 's number written** on his card <#> **I have his home number written** on it which I 'd taken and that was the only phone number in the wallet

(19) <S1A-006$C> <#> But he cos I cos when he said last night then I was saying I was thinking och no maybe **he has something organised** cos he was saying aw you know.

While it is even arguable that in examples such as (18), the subject of the clause in bold is not necessarily the agent of the action denoted by the main verb (thus making the form non-equivalent to the 'standard' English perfect), example (20), from an ICE (ROI) broadcast discussion, goes one step further: the agent of the main verb of the clause is clearly not the subject of the clause. Reversal into 'standard' perfect order [HAVE + participle + object] would change the meaning dramatically.

(20) <S1B-035$E> <#> Oh I 've fantastic memories of Christmas Tom ... <#> And up till in my time I I have own family myself two boys and two girls and I carried on that tradition <,> <#> And my daughters <,> **I 've two daughters married today** <,> and they are carrying on that tradition still that the sitting room door is locked until Christmas morning and then in and presents are opened

In some cases, it is not entirely clear who the agent of the main verb is, or if the main verb should be read as an agentless passive form. Either way, the subject of the clause is not the agent of the action denoted by the main verb, calling into question the status of such tokens as equivalents to the 'standard' perfect. Examples (21), from an ICE (ROI) broadcast discussion, and (22), from an ICE (ROI) news broadcast, are typical:

(21) <S1B-035$D> <#> Yeah obviously it 's slightly different probably from the picture painted now in Alice Taylor 's recent book ... <#> Uh obviously you 've had lot of changes in farming practice now <#> Personally we 're not in winter milk <,> I still have a few cows milking but obviously you 've **a lot of people who 've cows calved already** at this time of the year

(22) <S2B-015$D> <#> Quiet <,> it 's <,> people aren't on the street still <#> **We 've had no post delivered** this morning

These examples raise questions about Celticity. Perfect forms which denote an outcome representing a present state of affairs – what is sometimes referred to as the resultative stative perfect – are not restricted to Ireland: we doubt that *she has her schoolbag packed* will strike anyone as distinctively Irish. Yet as we stray into examples where the clausal subject and the agent of the main verb differ, we show examples that we do expect to be considerably less common outside of Irish English. At the very least, as we have suggested in Kallen and Kirk (2005), the frequency of such constructions in ICE-Ireland appears to be consid-

erably greater than in, for example, ICE-GB. In order to come to some conclusions considering the status of this construction, let us consider some further data.

3.1.2.1. First Person Subjects

In (23)-(25), it is clear that the subject of the clause is also the subject of the main verb.

(23)   <S1A-029$B> <#> And uhm <,> sweets were rationed and not that I bought many of them but they were <.> ra </.> rationed and we had to give coupons for them <#> And of course when I went into the shop to get some sweets <,> and handed in the coupons I thought **I had them paid for** <&> laughs </&> [ICE (NI) Face to face]

(24)   <S1A-049$A> <#> Can you imagine <,> if Eamonn found out
       <S1A-049$B> <#> I had you
       <S1A-049$A> <#> <{> <[> I know yeah yeah </[>
       <S1A-049$B> <#> <[> **I had you decked** </[> </{> [ICE (ROI) Face to face]

(25)   <S2A-058$A> ... <#> And what I have actually done is <,> I won't draw it out for you because **I have it already drawn** on a piece of yellow crepe paper this time

Other first person examples, however, do not involve the same co-reference between agent and subject: (21) and (22) have already been cited, and we may add (26), from the same speaker as in (21):

(26)   <S1B-035$D> <#> Yeah like we we would still have a <.> sh </.> uh names on a share of them like you 'd have Cronin 's Black and you 'd have Polly and there was a horse won the Grand National there a few years ago **we had a cow calved that day** I think it was Grit Arse I would have a cow of that name.[6]

3.1.2.2. Second Person Examples

The small set of second person examples in ICE-Ireland shows considerable variety. Whereas the speaker in (27), taken from the same text as (8) above, is giving instructions to students to evaluate their session plans, the context of (28), from ICE (NI) Face to face conversation, shows that the subject of the clause in bold is not expected to perform the action denoted by *done*. It is tempting to read (29), from a broadcast talk in ICE (ROI), as a reduced form of a relative clause in the passive voice.

(27)   <S1B-017$C> <#> <[> When </[> </{> when do you want them for sorry
       <S1B-017$A> <#> Uhm today is it <,,> <#> Well I suppose if **you can have them done** by this afternoon yeah great <,> <#> Is that possible

(28)   <S1A-007$A> <#> Oh look at your nails Oh my God <{> <[> They 're absolutely </[> gorgeous
       <S1A-007$B> <#> <[> Oh I got the gel thing <,> do you know the gel tips you can get </[> </{> <#> They 're great

---

[6]   Grittar won the 1982 Grand National horse race; we assume a humorous reference.

<S1A-007$F> <#> Apparently they do all sorts of weird and wonderful things
<S1A-007$B> <#> They do <,> they do sort of like silk tips and fibreglass and you know <#> I think you start off with gel <{1> <[1> and </[1> then you can sort of <{2> <[2> <,> </[2> work your way up ...
<S1A-007$F> <#> Once **you have them done** then do you sort of do you need to always like you 'll probably have those for like ten years or something will you <#> <{> <[> You know do you keep getting topped up </[>

(29) <S2B-033$A> ... <#> So for instance in Gulliver 's Travels <,> **you have a tremendous contrast set up** between the massive Brobdingnagians on the one hand and the pygmy-like Lilliputians on the other

3.1.2.3. Third Person Examples

Again, we have perfect-type examples where the subject of the clause is co-referential to the agent of the main verb:

(30) <S1A-087$A> <#> **They probably have him chained** <,> so he won't get out [ICE (ROI) Face to face]

(31) <S1B-078$D> <#> I think **she had people lined up** for the four posts but because it was so delayed they 've all since got other jobs [ICE (ROI) Business transactions]

(32) <S2A-042$A> ... <#> So <,> if a company are using a spreadsheet to uh budget <,> we 'll say for the coming six months <,> and they think that they **they have their spreadsheet done** <,> then they hear that the price of petrol is going to go up [ICE (ROI) Unscripted speech]

Other cases, though, suggest third party or unspecified agents of the main verb, not equivalent to the subject of the relevant clause:

(33) <S1A-058$D> ... <#> But she 's was saying about the magnets that this guy <,> who she met at this conference had he goes around he travels around to all these conferences <#> I think he was American <,> but **he had a rucksack specially made** with a magnetic strip in the back so that when he had it the magnet was directly on his spine [ICE (ROI) Face to face conversation]

(34) <S1B-007$A> ... <#> Can you tell us what a primary victim is then
<S1B-007$C> <#> Uhm that was <,> that 's somebody **who has had the actual harm done** to them <,> no in fact was actually at the accident or the incident personally there [ICE (NI) Classroom discussion]

(35) <S2B-027$A> <#> Last night here in Sebastapol Street as we were leaving my Dad 's house <,> we saw a man being arrested ... <#> They got the guy here near the bottom of the street and they ran him up the street to some jeeps waiting up at the top <#> And **he had a gun held to his neck** with the hammer cocked <,> running full pace up this street [ICE (NI) Broadcast talk]

Example (36), from ICE (ROI) Face to face conversation, is decidedly stative; the subject is not intended as the agent of the main verb:

(36) <S1A-047$A> <#> **My sister has that framed** at home and <{> <[> it 's lovely

In (37), from ICE (ROI) Parliamentary debates, the surface similarity to a perfect is deceptive, since the subject of the clauses in bold is not the agent of the verb forms *requested* or *sought*; again it is possible to read these as reduced rela-

tives, as in *He hadn't the full information (which had been) requested*. This analysis, however, would not tell the full story, (a) because it overlooks the possibility that such reduced relatives are also more common in Irish English than elsewhere, perhaps supported by the popularity of the related forms under discussion here, and (b) because it ignores the stative parallelism with the non-verbal, but semantically very similar, form underlined in this text, *he had that information available*.

(37) <S1B-058$F> <#> Ceann Comhairle just on a point of <{> <[> information </[> for the House and for Deputy de Rossa ... <#> Uhm I outlined <.> t </.> two options to two of the whips ... that that we would start almost immediately when we got the mechanics of this out of the way <,> that we would start almost immediately but because **the Taoiseach hadn't the full information requested** in the House earlier this morning that the Minister for Finance would lead on <,> and that the Taoiseach would come into the House when <u>he had that information available</u> but no later than ten o'clock tomorrow or half ten tomorrow morning to explain to the House whether or not **he had the information sought**

Because so many examples in the ICE corpus (and indeed in other Irish English material) share the surface form [HAVE + NP + participle] and yet do not function like 'medial object perfects,' or indeed any perfects where clausal subject and verbal agent are equivalent, we feel justified in calling them 'pseudo-perfects.' They resemble the perfect, and frequently overlap with well-known uses in historical English (cf. *Have you the lion's part written?* from Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream"), but they are not necessarily perfects in any rigorous sense. Their apparent focus on state and possession, rather than on activity, appears compatible with Ó Sé's (2004) analysis of many comparable forms in Irish, and invites further comparison to the non-verbal *had that information available* form in (37). Full consideration of the syntax and semantics of the closely-related forms we would label as pseudo-perfects in ICE-Ireland and elsewhere, will, however, need to wait for another day.

3.1.3. 'Are you here long?': Simple Tense Forms, Perfect Reference

Another feature of Irish English perfect marking which has often been treated as characteristic is the use of the present tense with perfective reference, i.e., reference to a point in the past with current relevance for the present. As Filppula (1997 a) points out, a similar effect can occur with past tense forms and past perfect reference, as in:

(38) After I coming here, **I wasn't long here**, and an old woman died down here in the cottage. (Filppula 1997 a: 56)

where the 'standard' English rendering would be *I hadn't been here long*. Though the Celticity of such structures could be a matter of debate, the distinctiveness of the 'Extended now' (Harris 1984; Filppula 1997 a, 1999) or 'Extended present' (Kallen 1989) perfects led us to examine its frequency in the ICE-Ireland sub-

corpora of Business transactions, Classroom discussion, Broadcast discussion, and Parliamentary debate. For this preliminary investigation, we examined occurrences of the present or past tense with perfect reference as demonstrated by the co-occurrence of durative temporal adverbials such as *for*, *since*, *days*, *months*, and *years*. Example (39) comes from ICE (ROI) Broadcast discussion:

> (39) <S1B-040$D> <#> Yeah I think Tom <&> 2 sylls </&> that the giving aspect here in this country fascinates me always you know I 'm what **I 'm twenty-seven years at at the money business now** and uh always at Christmas time especially

In this preliminary investigation of ICE-Ireland, 82 tokens were identified as having adverbials that were indicative of perfective reference relative to the moment of speaking: 8.5% of these used the simple past or present tense, while the remainder used the 'standard' perfect form. Again, this distribution suggests not an overwhelming use of a form considered by some critics to be indicative of Celticity, but a sufficient level to mark out Irish standard English as distinctive.

3.1.4. Standard English Have-*perfects and Celticity*

All our investigations, whether of selected text types or of the entire spoken component of ICE-Ireland, show that reputedly Irish realisations of the perfect are low relative to perfects with HAVE + participle. Nevertheless, we argue that the presence of those instances of other forms of the perfect as do occur in ICE-Ireland make Irish English distinct – linking Irish standard English both to distinctive vernacular forms and to elements of the Irish language. In these ways, Irish standard English can be seen as 'Celticised.'

3.2. Reflexive Pronouns

It has also long been noted that, relative to other dialects of English, Irish English allows for the use of pronouns which are morphologically marked as reflexives (*myself*, *herself*, *himself*, etc.), but which do not have the syntax associated with reflexivity: see, for example, Hayden and Hartog (1909), Bliss (1979), and Filppula (1997 b, 1999). In a wider geographical and linguistic context, Claudia Lange (see this volume) has also considered the question of Irish English reflexives. While Filppula, Lange, and others have gone into some detail on the question of the putative Celticity of so-called unbound reflexives in Irish English, we will not examine the question in detail here. Earlier treatments give us enough evidence for at least a prima facie case that the use of relative pronouns in subject positions may go back to an Irish-language substratum. What we test here is whether or not the rules that govern the distribution of reflexive-marked pronouns in standard English differ between the ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI) subcorpora, and differ from other standard Englishes. If the use of reflexive pronouns in Irish standard English differs from other standard Eng-

lishes, and if that difference is shown by independent evidence to be derived from Irish influence, then we have further evidence of Celticity in Irish standard English. If not, mindful of Miller's (2003: 101) claim about Scottish English that "the reflexive pronoun *myself* is frequently used in speech and writing where Standard English requires just *me* or *I*," we can suggest that variation at the level of local dialects has been minimalised at the standard level.

This section is based on data from the Face to face conversation, Unscripted speeches, and Social letter text categories of ICE-Ireland. We divide the reflexive data into four categories, as shown below: data are summarised in Table 2.

1. True reflexives (R), in which the subject and object of the clause are coreferential:

    (40) **I**'ve committed **myself** to it and must continue (ICE (NI))
    (41) **He** has to present **himself** as a good prospect. (ICE (ROI))

2. Anaphora (A), a broad category involving other forms of co-reference between a noun phrase and a pronoun:

    (42) So it's like **life itself** really one minute you're on cloud nine (ICE (ROI))
    (43) How are **you** getting on **yourself** down in Belfast. (ICE (NI))

3. Object (O), in which the reflexive pronoun is in object position but not coreferential to another noun:

    (44) A bit like **yourself** (ICE (NI))
    (45) Again it's up to **yourself** which type of pricing policy you use. (ICE (ROI))

4. Subject (S), usually conjoined as in (46) and (47):

    (46) **Mum and myself** are still hoping a separation will not take place (ICE (NI))
    (47) **Myself and Tom** were locked ('drunk') anyway. (ICE (ROI))

Our examination of the data shows that reflexive pronouns in subject position are certainly a feature of ICE-Ireland. Our preliminary searches show no such occurrences in ICE-GB. While the use of reflexive pronouns as subjects is still far less than the use of internationally-standard subject forms, it is nevertheless a hallmark of distinctiveness within Irish standard English. Note, too, that while subject *myself* is especially robust in Face to face conversations in ICE (ROI), it is absent within this category in ICE (NI); conversely, the main use of subject *myself* in ICE (NI) is in Social letters, a category where the form does not occur in ICE (ROI). Although further research will be needed to account for such variation within ICE-Ireland, we think the evidence shows clearly that Irish usage differs from that found in ICE-GB.

Table 2 illustrates the relevant patterns for ICE-Ireland: note that since each ICE corpus contains approximately the same number of words, each subcorpus of ICE-Ireland contains only half as many words as a full ICE corpus. For this

reason, Table 2 gives combined totals for the occurrence of reflexive forms within ICE-Ireland as a whole, as well as giving the totals for each subcorpus.

Corpus	Social letters				Unscripted speeches				Face to face			
	R	A	O	S	R	A	O	S	R	A	O	S
ICE-GB												
herself	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	4	4	1	-
himself	1	-	1	-	1	4	-	-	13	11	-	-
itself	1	-	-	-	5	16	-	-	1	4	-	-
myself	12	3	5	-	4	5	2	1	21	20	3	-
yourself	7	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	24	5	4	-
GB TOTAL	**21**	**3**	**9**	**0**	**11**	**29**	**3**	**1**	**63**	**44**	**8**	**0**
ICE (NI)												
herself	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	-	-
himself	1	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	3	2	-	-
itself	1	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	4	-	-
myself	7	1	1	5	-	1	-	-	10	4	3	-
yourself	10	2	3	-	3	-	3	-	7	5	3	-
NI TOTAL	*21*	*4*	*4*	*6*	*6*	*6*	*3*	*0*	*20*	*20*	*6*	*0*
ICE (ROI)												
herself	2	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	1	-	1
himself	1	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	7	-	4	1
itself	-	1	-	-	1	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
myself	6	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	12	6	3	11
yourself	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	3	3	1
ROI TOTAL	*13*	*5*	*0*	*2*	*4*	*7*	*2*	*0*	*30*	*10*	*10*	*14*
ICE-Ireland	**34**	**9**	**4**	**8**	**10**	**13**	**5**	**0**	**50**	**30**	**18**	**14**

Table 2   Distribution of reflexive pronouns, selected ICE texts

The data of Table 2 are based on partial sampling and do not include contrasts with non-reflexive pronoun forms, yet they indicate important differences between the two corpora. In particular, we note in ICE-Ireland 8 subject reflexives in Social Letters and 14 in Face to face conversations, where no such examples are found in ICE-GB. Though subject reflexives are not impossible in British standard English, their frequency and distribution suggest a real difference from Irish standard English, pointing towards more possible Celticity in the latter.

3.3. Inversion and Embedded Clauses

The use of Auxiliary inversion without complementisers has also long been noted as a feature of Irish English: Shee (1882: 372), for example, cites *You would wonder what colour was the horse*, while Hayden and Hartog (1909: 938) comment on *I wonder was the horse well bred*. Both these examples involve clauses introduced by *wonder*. Filppula (1999: 168), however, also cites *I don't know was it a priest or who went in there one time* from Co. Kerry and *Ehm = oh, how long, wait till I see how long would it be* from a Dublin speaker. We acknowledge that the case for inversion in embedded clauses as a further marker for Celtic substratum influence is disputed; howsoever, we consider the treatment in Filppula (1999) to give ample evidence that the Celtic derivation is at least worth exploring as a credible hypothesis. To give an illustration of the frequency of such constructions in ICE-Ireland, we focus on four syntactic frames into which embedded clauses are inserted with or without Auxiliary inversion: we will refer to them as ASK, DON'T KNOW, SEE, and WONDER. Definitions of inversion and non-inversion are given below, with examples from ICE-Ireland and ICE-GB: data are summarised in Table 3.

ASK. Non-inversion, as in (48) and (49) below, usually follows *if* or *whether* and shows the subject preceding an auxiliary, HAVE, or BE in the embedded clause. Inversion, shown in (50) and (51), lacks *if* and *whether*, but may allow for a *wh*-complementiser; an auxiliary precedes the subject in the embedded clause.

(48) I was going to **ask** *whether* **we could** have put the children up here. (ICE-GB)
(49) and **ask** Toni **where it is** (ICE-GB)
(50) Like Tommy's going to **ask** this printer at work **does he have** any. (ICE (ROI))
(51) Could you **ask** Marion **could you get** a babysitter for the Saturday night. (ICE (ROI))

DON'T KNOW (abbreviated as 'dk'). Non-inversion typically involves *if*, a related complementiser, or a *wh*-word, as in (52) and (53). Inverted examples as in (54)-(55), allow for *wh*-words but only where an inverted auxiliary also occurs.

(52) I **don't know** *if* **I'll** live with it. (ICE (NI))
(53) I **don't know** *why* **he's** allowed to stay on the committee. (ICE (ROI))
(54) I **don't know are they** getting the lads from the town to do the band. (ICE (ROI))
(55) I **don't know is it** dodgy or is it legit. (ICE (ROI))

SEE. Very common uses of *see*, as with simple transitive verbs or embeddings such as *I see that George is wrong* are, of course, not included in this analysis. The semantics involved here usually express doubt or lack of evidence on the part of the speaker. As with the other types under consideration, *if*, *whether*, and *wh*-words are common complementisers in non-inverted embed-

dings, while inversion is typically bare or may allow for a preceding *wh*-word. Types are exemplified in (56)-(59) below.

(56) I'll **see** *what* **the craic is** you know. (ICE (NI))
(57) Taste it and **see** *whether* **it's** going to be sweet enough. (ICE (ROI))
(58) to ring her bell to **see was she** there. (ICE (ROI))
(59) down to Parson's and **see would I** go down. (ICE (ROI))

WONDER (abbreviated as 'wo'). As with the preceding examples, the choice for *wonder* is between embeddings which do not show Auxiliary inversion (and therefore generally require a complementiser of some kind) and those which do. In the latter category, *wh*-complementisers may be possible, but other kinds are not. Types are illustrated in (60)-(63) below.

(60) I **wonder** *who* **the big hunk's** waiting for. (ICE (NI))
(61) I **wonder** *if* **buttermilk** you know **tastes** okay in tea. (ICE (ROI))
(62) I **wonder were they** ever able to. (ICE (NI))
(63) I **wonder will it** all be worth it. (ICE (ROI))

Table 3 offers comparative insight into the use of inversion in embeddings of this type: this table is based on results from the categories of Creative Writing, Demonstrations, and Face to face conversation. Table 3 shows that inversion in the relevant syntactic contexts is not entirely absent from ICE-GB, though the amount of inversion in ICE-GB is small compared to that in ICE (ROI). The uses of inversion within this sample are not evenly distributed: examples with *wonder* in ICE (ROI) far outweigh the use of inversion in other contexts, although inversion is always a possibility in the ROI texts. ICE (NI) lies somewhere between the norms of ICE-GB and those of ICE (ROI): inversion is equal to non-inversion with *wonder*, but is not found elsewhere. Small numbers of relevant examples in some text types call for fuller investigation, both in the search for more examples of variation within the syntax and for factors which determine the occurrence or non-occurrence of the syntactic frames in question. We note, for example, that much of the data considered here consists of sentences in which the speaker refers to a lack of evidence for a particular state of affairs: speakers may *ask* if something is true, may state that they *do not know* if it is true, may wish to *see* if something is true, or may even *wonder* if something is the case. It may be that such lack of evidence is absent from Demonstrations just because they are designed to demonstrate things taken to be true by the speaker. The high British use of *see* relative to Irish use in the same sense within Face to face conversations also calls for further investigation. Overall, though, if we take Auxiliary inversion in embeddings as a possible sign of Celticity, we see both factors at work: a strong preference for inversion with *wonder* in ICE (ROI), a weaker preference for this kind of inversion in ICE (NI), general convergence between ICE (NI) and ICE-GB in other relevant embedded contexts, and weaker evidence for the use of inversion in ICE (ROI). In saying that for this feature, Irish standard English is somewhat Celticised and somewhat stan-

dardised, we point, respectively, to the putative Celtic origins of inversion and to the general tendency within standard English (at least as seen in ICE-GB) not to use inversion in embedded contexts.

Corpus	Creative writing				Demonstrations				Face to face			
	ask	*dk*	*see*	*wo*	*ask*	*dk*	*see*	*wo*	*ask*	*dk*	*see*	*wo*
ICE-GB												
non-inversion	**2**	**6**	**6**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**6**	**0**	**8**	**61**	**43**	**12**
inversion	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**
ICE (NI)												
non-inversion	*2*	*-*	*3*	*1*	*-*	*-*	*1*	*-*	*-*	*17*	*2*	*3*
inversion	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*3*
ICE (ROI)												
non-inversion	*2*	*1*	*2*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*2*	*-*	*-*	*29*	*4*	*4*
inversion	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*2*	*3*	*2*	*11*
ICE-Ireland												
non-inversion	**4**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**6**	**7**
inversion	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**14**

Table 3   Inversion in selected embedded clauses, selected ICE texts

4. Conclusion

If, as we have shown, Celticity in standard English is demonstrated on the basis of contact phenomena in the form of lexical borrowings and syntactic transfers, together with the salience of such features in corpus texts, how many features or how much salience would be required to demonstrate Celticity? We believe our preliminary investigation into code-switching, lexical borrowing, and grammatical transfer (perfects, reflexives, and inversion in embedded clauses) to be sufficient to demonstrate the case for Celticity in Irish standard English.

Although our analyses have demonstrated low frequencies of Celticisms, we do not believe that frequencies or other quantitative answers are decisive on their own. Tempting though it might be for some to write off Celticity on the grounds of the high percentages of non-Celtic features in ICE-Ireland, we suggest that Celticity manifests accumulatively at more than one level, any feature of one level reinforcing that of another: one example of a Celtic-type perfect in close proximity to an Irish lexical item or a Celtic-type reflexive pattern may give a flavour of Celticity which is more than the sum of its parts. Moreover, we point out that lexical and syntactic markers have more than referential or propositional value alone, since they serve both to point to wider cultural values associated with Ireland and the Irish people and to create solidarity between spea-

kers who share these values. Such Celtic features in discourse have the function of establishing and defining a speech community, no matter whether the speaker is on the radio or talking to a single addressee. In a particular context, the use of one token of a salient feature may be enough to define the speech community.

If the standard language is that variety which most strongly suppresses variation, then we have shown both how strong that pressure towards standardisation in Ireland is and yet also how resistance to that pressure persists. Standardising pressure may be due to education, the influence of the standardised written form on individuals represented in those categories under investigation, or the prescriptivising ideology of an invariant standard language. Our present results for ICE-Ireland show that, in all instances, standardisation is never quite fully achieved and that elements of variation – indeed we might suggest necessary elements of variation – persevere in standard contexts.

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Remarks on Standardisation in Irish English, Irish and Welsh

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1. Introduction

The following remarks on the subject of standardisation have developed on foot of my response at the Colloquium to John M. Kirk and Jeffrey L. Kallen's paper "Standard Irish English: How Celticised? How Standardised?" The material collected and analysed by the authors is of great importance and raises a number of issues with regard to matters of standardisation and regional variation in general, and, more particularly, with regard to the nature and status of the varieties of English spoken in countries or regions in which a Celtic language is spoken or was spoken in the past. While the aim and basic content of the original response still stands, namely, to examine and assess some of the views expressed in the paper relating to such matters as standardisation and Celticity, it has been developed to also include remarks on standardisation and language convergence in Irish and Welsh.

2. Standardisation and Celticity

In the John Kirk/Jeffrey Kallen paper, we are presented with an analysis of Standard Irish English as extrapolated from the material contained in the ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI) corpora of oral and written texts. These texts were spoken or authored by people of 18 years or over who had been educated through the medium of English to at least the end of secondary schooling.[1] Each corpus consists of one million words composed of two hundred texts of written language and three hundred texts of spoken language. The ICE project is not a study of variation but rather of national varieties of Standard English (StE). It emerges from this study that Standard Irish English is essentially Standard English plus

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[1] See the Kirk/Kallen paper in this volume for further particulars and also the ICE website for an account of the methodology associated with the ICE-corpora in general.

those features of lexis and grammar appearing across a range of spoken texts which may plausibly be assumed to be of Irish origin. It is not exactly the same as Standard British English or Received Pronunciation (RP), however, since the spoken texts are also "unmistakably celticised." Paradoxically, despite the apparent "celticised" nature of the texts, features which are taken to be of Irish language origin appear very infrequently in the corpus. It is pointed out, for example, that many of the features of Irish English described in classical accounts of regional dialects are largely absent from the ICE-Ireland corpus. Code-switching does not exert a strong structural influence on the contemporary standard language, and words borrowed from Irish have had "relatively little structural import in themselves." The authors therefore adopt a minimalist position, whereby the existence of one feature in a text is enough to establish its Celticity.

It is now taken to be a maxim that a standard language is a variety which contains minimum of variation in form with maximum variation in function (Haugen 1966). It develops mainly as the result of socio-political and cultural factors and is closely associated with, and maintained by, normative agencies and regulatory bodies in society, such as school, government, the media, and language academies. It is an artificial abstract entity which is pursued through the spread, acceptance and codification of the forms of a prestige dialect or through the levelling of the regional and urban dialects of the language to a common core of elements shared by many of its variants. It is created and maintained by conscious planning (Romaine 1994). Since, unlike Irish, there has been no deliberate planning of a standard form of Irish English, and since no regulatory body exists with control over its language norms, the question arises if we can speak at all about such a thing as standard Irish English. As Kallen remarks:

> Applied work such as establishing an Irish Standard English, writing relevant materials for Irish students (such as phonetic or linguistic textbooks), and similar activities associated with linguistic authors in non-British varieties of English have hardly been attempted. (Kallen 1986: 127f.)[2]

Is educated Irish English a standard or a mainstream variety of English, or is it both of these?

> The vast majority of native speakers of English around the world differ linguistically from one another relatively little, with more differentiation in their phonetics and phonology than at other linguistic levels. Most people betray their geographic origins more through their accents than through their vocabulary or grammar. The vast majority speak mainstream varieties of English, Standard and non-Standard, which resemble one another quite closely, and are all reasonably readily mutually intelligible. Grammatically in particular, these varieties are very close to Standard English. We associate mainstream dialects with upper- and middle-class speakers throughout the English-speaking world; with areas out of which Standard English as a social dialect grew historically, *ie* the south-east of England; with most urban areas; *with areas which have shifted to English only rela-*

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[2] See, however, recent codification of the language in works such as Macafee (1996), Dolan (1998), Filppula (1999), and in other studies referred to in Tristram (1997, 2000, 2003, 2006).

tively recently, such as the Scottish Highlands and western Wales (my emphasis, SMacM);
and with recently mixed colonial dialect-speaking areas, such as most of North America
and Australia. (Trudgill and Chambers 1991: 2f.)

It is not clear to me why the authors did not include the speech of educated
Irish English speakers along with that of speakers of the Scottish Highlands and
Wales in the italicised quotation above. Do they imply that there is no such
mainstream variety or have they simply not bothered to add it to the list? We
know that there exists a range of Irish English regional and local dialects, some
of which are quite traditional, including some urban ones, and others which are
less conservative and traditional. The middle-class speakers of each of these
various dialects have *a kind of* standard speech which they can avail of as ap-
propriate and felicitous and it may be postulated that the varieties in question
share a sufficient number of distinctive markers to constitute *a kind of* main-
stream variety. I italicise the words *kind of* to draw attention to the vagueness
and imprecision of our knowledge at present and to pinpoint the importance of
the Kirk/Kallen study. Prior to this study, we did not know precisely the charac-
teristic markers of these presumed standard/mainstream varieties. The words
kind of are also appropriate perhaps to the relationship which holds between the
centre and the periphery or, to be more precise, between the standard and the
non-standard varieties. Are the regional and local dialects of Irish English to be
sharply differentiated from the middle-class varieties or are we dealing with a
continuum, the end point of which is this presumed standard? If we have a con-
tinuum, then there must exist a range of temporary points on it. Using the idea of
the continuum, for example, it is possible to see differences between *Gaeltacht*
English and other forms of Irish English, while simultaneously recognising that
they are on the same line. Such an analysis has been made in respect of Island or
Contact English in Scotland on the one hand and Highland English on the other.
Sabban explains as follows:

> Das gälische Substrat im Hochlandenglischen geht auf Interferenzerscheinungen in der
> Richtung vom G zum E in der Phase der Zweisprachigkeit – der Zeit des „Kontakteng-
> lischen" – zurück, die sich über den Zeitpunkt des Sprachwechsels hinaus gehalten haben.
> Dabei sind KE und Hochlandenglisch nicht als streng voneinander geschiedene Varie-
> täten, sondern vielmehr als Endpunkte eines Kontinuums zu begreifen, zwischen denen es
> eine Vielzahl von Übergangformen gibt. Entsprechendes gilt für das Verhältnis von Hoch-
> landenglisch und (schottischem) StE. (Sabban 1982: 13f.; see also Catford 1957: 111)

> 'The Gaelic substrat in Highland English goes back to interference phenomena in the di-
> rection of G to E (*ie*, Gaelic to English, SMacM) during the bilingual phase – the time of
> 'Contact English' – which have been maintained beyond the time of the language shift.
> CE (*ie*, Contact English, SMacM) and Highland English are therefore not strictly distinct
> variants, but are to be taken rather as the final stages of a continuum, between which
> there are many temporary forms. The same applies to the relationship between Highland
> English and (Scottish) StE.'

Let us assume with ICE and the authors of the paper that standard national varieties do exist. If so, in the case of standard written English in Ireland, we need to look beyond Ireland for the planning and regulatory bodies. And it is abundantly clear that, as far as the written language is concerned, the norm is that of the so-called King's or Queen's English. The conquest of Ireland by England led, amongst other things, to the acceptance of the cultural and social institutions of the coloniser, one of which was Standard English. The fact that Ireland achieved independence in 1922 did not necessarily lead to a fracture of all ties of loyalty to, and dependence upon, the former nation. It is true that, as far as language policy was concerned, there was an attempt to ensure that political liberation was accompanied by linguistic liberation, and a concerted effort was made to restore the Irish language as the first national language of the new state. The national effort was geared towards enunciating and developing plans for attaining this goal. However, since the country was already in effect an English-speaking nation, there were bound to be great difficulties associated with this strategy. A pragmatic English language strategy was therefore also pursued simultaneously. Naturally enough, the standard written variety which was accepted and enforced in the normative agencies of the new state was the one already in existence, namely, Standard British English. Hence, the ties of loyalty to the old colonial standard language remained intact and were inculcated even by those who preferred that a change of language should take place. Consider the comment by Romaine:

> Every liberation not accompanied by a defeat of the linguistic superstructure is not a liberation of the people who speak the dominated language. It is instead a liberation of the social class that continues to speak the dominant language. (Romaine 1994: 94)

Standardisation is perhaps more generally associated with the written form of languages than with the spoken. As with Irish English, the standard of grammar, spelling and punctuation in other variants such as Standard Scottish English (SScE) or Standard Welsh English (SWE) is that of Standard written English as codified in works such as the Oxford English Dictionary. The position of a spoken standard is a rather different matter. The phonetics and grammar of educated speakers of English in Scotland and Wales approximate to some degree to RP, just as do the phonetics and grammar of educated speakers who come from various regions in England. Nevertheless, there is a sufficient number of distinctive features in spoken mainstream IE, SScE and SWE to make them different to RP. RP is not the desired norm in Ireland, either north or south; nor is it taught in Irish schools. In a recently liberated country, such as the Republic of Ireland, the use of RP is still associated with the colonising nation and it is not the standard to which the majority of indigenous educated people aspire. Not surprisingly, Standard written English has always been the norm adopted in the schools of Northern Ireland. For example, in her study of Belfast English, Henry remarks that education is totally based on Standard British English and that:

> This is a variety of English which has little status and which is not officially recognised. Schools devote a great deal of time to the teaching of correct standard English and the ability to use standard syntax is considered a mark of education and lack of it a badge of the lack of it. (Henry 1995: 8)

Moreover, children who use dialect forms in their school work, "*with a couple of exceptions that have acquired the status of a local standard* (my emphasis, SMacM) will simply be marked wrong" (Henry 1995: 8). The quantity of Irish, Gaelic, Scots and Welsh features in the Celtic varieties depends on a number of factors, such as:

- the subject of discourse
- the point on the high-low spectrum at which a particular speech act takes place
- the background, age and class of the speakers and listeners
- the areas and communities in which they have been raised and educated
- the nature and extent of their local networks
- the interaction with central dispersal zones
- the socio-psychological factors operating in the communities, regions or countries to which they belong.

In other words, not all speakers, or perhaps no speakers at all, will conform to the ideal standard variety, nor will they conform to it in the same way. As Alan R. Thomas (1997: 76) points out, the fact that his description of Welsh features in Welsh English is couched in absolute terms does not suggest "that speakers do not universally and continually vary their usage." Moreover, some general features of WE "are clearly recognised as being non-standard and are replaced early in the process of standardising."

It emerges from the statistical analysis of the ICE (RI) and ICE (NI) corpora that some of the distinctive features associated with Irish English urban dialects are more likely to appear in the speech of the working class than in that of the middle class. While working class areas often have dense local networks which contribute to the maintenance of local and regional norms, the middle class tend to have more open networks and are influenced to a greater extent by standard speech (Lesley Milroy 1980; James Milroy 1991). It is not entirely surprising therefore that the putative Celtic features examined by Kirk and Kallen in their paper are very sparse. There is only one instance of the use of the *after* perfect in the NI corpus and a mere four out of seventy four in the ICE-Ireland corpus in Face to face conversations, which is where it is most likely to occur; in general, the five classes of *perfective* aspect with varying degrees of claim to an Irish language origin (Filppula 1999, ch. 6) yield an overall score of only 3.3%. As regards the use of reflexives, *subject reflexives* are much more common in ICE-Ireland in Face to face than in British Standard English and the only example of its use in ICE (NI) is in the category of social letters. Inasmuch as there is a good deal of variation between *auxiliary inversion* in embeddings with and without complementisers across a range of syntactic frames in British Standard

English, it is difficult to determine the distinctiveness of the non-complementising variant as a Celticism in the Irish corpora. There is a strong preference for inversion with *wonder* in ICE (ROI), not as strong in ICE (NI). As to the analysis of the *Progressive* aspect as not constituting a distinctive marker of 'Celticity,' this will no doubt be the subject of continuing research and debate.[3]

In Scotland, Gaelic substrate features are much more numerous in the speech of those who come from the Islands and Highlands, that is, from areas which have only recently shifted to English or which are in the process of shifting (Sabban 1982). However, many educated speakers from these areas will seek to approximate to the standard and it may be only on the basis of a small range of features that their original home can be identified.

> The features of HebE (Hebridean English, SMacM) are indeed variable. Most speakers do not use a particular phenomenon all the time, but typically alternate between the HebE variant and its StE counterpart. Some speakers use HebE variants more often than others … whereas speakers at the opposite end ('of the scale,' SMacM) consistently use the StE equivalent. (Sabban 1984: 25f.)

It should be emphasised then that the concept of spoken Standard Irish English only becomes meaningful when the sparsely populated features of lexis and syntax referred to in the Kirk/Kallen paper are combined with other characteristics of Irish English, such as the widespread existence and use of a number of phonetic forms which are markedly different to British English, prosodic features of accent and tone, and specific phatic and stylistic functions of the language. In other words, it is a whole package of language features, from phonology through syntax and lexis to the pragmatics of speech acts (cf. Barron and Schneider 2005), which determines the nature and peculiar characteristics of Standard Irish English. Indeed, during their interrogation of the term 'Celticity,' the authors specifically refer to pragmatics and style and point out that they will have more to say about these matters in future work. The final suggestion that frequency is not the only criterion which determines if a text is celticised, but rather that other factors such as accent, pronunciation and style, or the fact that a particular feature has a specially close association with Ireland, coincides roughly with my own view on the matter. The statement that "some impact of certain features may also be deepened by the accompanying accent or intonation, so that no matter what is said or how it is expressed, Celticity is implicit through the signal being heard," suggests that they consider accent to be paramount. Otherwise we have a somewhat circular argument in that the question is begged as to what constitutes the distinctive features of the signal.

The broader definition of Celticity suggested here, and in parts of the Kirk/ Kallen paper, permits of flexibility and releases researchers from the frantic hunt for Gaelic origins. In other words, the hunt for Gaelicisms is a different game to the description of Irish English as it presently exists synchronically and the two

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[3] With regard to the position of Ulster Scots in ICE (NI), see Kirk and Kallen. Further work is required on this matter.

approaches should be properly distinguished. Essentially, to avoid fuzziness, the distinction between synchronic and diachronic descriptions needs to be borne in mind. This does not mean that it is not possible to apply a global model which draws on both diachronic and sociolinguistic/synchronic approaches permitting the games to be played in the same arena, merely that the games should only be joined up at the appropriate junctures.[4] For example, the fact that certain distinctive linguistic features may be restricted to the speech of particular age-groups or specific communities may be both described synchronically, say in a generative transformational approach, and explained historically on the basis of a historical contact situation. In any event, the headlong rush to find so-called Celtic features in significant quantities may induce panic and lead to false conclusions. This could easily occur if the point of departure is Standard English or mainstream Irish English.

To determine if certain features and structures in Irish English have been derived from Irish, it is necessary to examine the two languages in a range of time frames, from early Hiberno-English and Early Modern Irish to modern times. This historical contact linguistic approach, which requires a profound understanding of the two languages in both their earlier and more modern phases, is exemplified by a range of recent work, such as that of Filppula (1999), or that on the 'After Perfect' in the present volume. For example, by paying close attention to the earlier Irish source material, Ó Corráin presents strong evidence to suggest that the use of the After Perfect to denote future reference in early Irish English derives from a similar structure in Early Modern Irish and that the restriction in reference to the recent perfect in Irish and Hiberno-English has arisen due to the development of a new structure in Irish, i.e. Substantive Verb + Object + Verbal Adjective + Inflected Preposition

> *tá sé déanta agam*
> is it done at me
>
> 'I have it done'

corresponding to Retrospective II (Henry 1957) or 'Medial Object' perfect (Filppula 1999) in Irish English.

Returning to terminology, to avoid misunderstandings, if reference is made to the 'Celticity' of Irish English, this should signify linguistic features which are of Irish origin, while the term Irish English would include all features which are demonstrably peculiar to the forms of English spoken in Ireland, that is, it would include not only features which have been proven to be of Irish origin, or which have a high probability of being of this origin, but also those features which may, or may not at all, be of Irish origin, including data instanced in other Englishes which are also characteristic and distinctive of Irish English. This would include possible superstrate and universal features together with characteristic stylistic forms and devices. As fuzziness and *a priori* assumptions are increasingly set aside, these are the approaches by and large being adopted by scholars of Irish English.

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[4] See, for example, Kallen (1986); Corrigan (1993), (1997); Filppula (1993).

3. Standardisation in Irish and Other Celtic Languages

With regard to standardisation of the Celtic languages, Leith argues:

> Since the imposition of English, the absence of a centre in either branch of Celtic (ie., the Goidelic and Brythonic branches, consisting respectively of Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx on the one hand, and Welsh, Cornish and Breton on the other, SMacM) has precluded the cultivation of standard varieties and hastened the proliferation of regional ones. We cannot therefore speak of a regional Welsh, or a standard Scottish Gaelic, in the same way as we can speak of a standard English. (Leith 1983: 154)

Clearly, this does not apply to the *written* forms of the languages. Written Standard Irish, for example, is, in the words of Breatnach (1964), "an artificial standardized amalgam of dialects" in which grammatical irregularity has been purged in the interests of uniformity. There had been a written standard throughout the Gaelic world of Ireland and Scotland during the Bardic period, but following the dissolution of the poetic schools in the seventeenth century, texts in which there were many colloquialisms appeared in the regional dialects, unlike much of the classical writing of the earlier period. This state of affairs lasted for nearly three hundred years. Efforts to establish a standard based either on the dialects – the speech of the people (*caint na ndaoine*) – or on the old classical forms of the Bardic schools and the great prose writers of the Early Modern period, such as Geoffrey Keating, had been attempted since the time of the Gaelic Revival at the end of the nineteenth century and the turn of the twentieth, but they had not been successful. Despite the fact that the champions of a written standard based on *caint na ndaoine* were, as time progressed, winning the battle, there were many who refused to accept that a standard was necessary at all. The debate was often quarrelsome, and the situation remained quite anarchic for a considerable period of time. There was a reluctance to accept a variant which was so far removed from the richness and naturalness contained in the speech of the regional dialects on the one hand, and which deviated orthographically from Classical Irish on the other.

It became increasingly clear, however, that such a written grammatical and orthographic standard, based on the modern spoken dialects, was required for teaching and other formal societal domains, if the language was to survive and be developed as a national medium of written communication. Following important developments in the immediate post-war period, the process was brought to a conclusion with the publication and codification of the standard in the landmark *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge: An Caighdeán Oifigiúil* ("Irish Grammar and the Orthography of Irish: The Official Standard," 1958), and later in such works as de Bhaldraithe's *English-Irish Dictionary* (1959), *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí* ("The Christian Brothers' Irish Grammar," 1960), and Ó Dónaill's *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* ("Irish-English Dictionary," 1977). Although there has been a number of modifications to the written standard over the years and that it is not yet entirely satisfactory, it has served its purpose well in providing a uniform written variant which is generally accepted by users of the language (see Ó Baoill 1988).

Welsh also had a standard written language common to all regions of the country during the Bardic period which was the result of conscious and deliberate planning. The dissolution of the Bardic schools led, as in Ireland, to a relaxation of the Standard and the introduction of numerous dialect forms and colloquialisms. However, when William Morgan produced the complete Welsh Bible in 1588, he followed the policy of William Salesbury who had translated the New Testament in 1563 by availing of the old Bardic standard. William Morgan's translation was to have a profound effect on the fortunes of the language right up until the present day. The Standard, for example, was further codified in dictionaries and grammars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was generally accepted as the norm. It was not all plain sailing, however, and, as happened in Ireland, the question of Standard orthography led to bitter disputes and the process was only completed with the publication of *Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg* ("The Orthography of the Welsh Language") in 1928.

There is not yet a *spoken* Irish language Standard. The most recent planned attempt at providing a Standard available is that of Dónall Ó Baoill in *Lárchanúint don Ghaeilge* ("A Central Dialect for Irish," 1987). As was the case with the Standard *written* language, an attempt is made to establish a common core based on all the dialects. No forms are recommended which are not instanced in at least one of the main regional variants. It may take a considerable period of time before a standard of this kind is accepted, however, as many take the view that, despite the laudatory aims, it leads to a dilution of dialect forms and the loss of local identity and language richness. Nevertheless, the recommendations constitute a theory as to how things might develop as the language increasingly occupies central domains of diffusion, such as radio and television and as dialect mixing and convergence continue to take place at an increasingly quicker rate.

While Welsh has no codified model of standard pronunciation (Thomas 1987: 105), the literary standard of the Bible gave rise to a Standard 'Pulpit Welsh' which was used for oratory and public speaking. However, as the diglossic situation in the country decreased in modern times and Welsh-medium television, newspapers and education began to develop, it was considered by many that this traditional Standard was too conservative and difficult and that a compromise between the standard orthography and the dialects was required, particularly for the teaching of Welsh to learners. Hence *Cymraeg Byw* ("Living Welsh") was developed with the aim of incorporating those dialect forms which coincided with the standard orthography and excluding other correlatives (Thomas 1987: 103). It was not intended to replace any of the dialects, but it has caused controversy and was attacked by opponents as constituting an artificial fusion of Northern and Southern dialects with no basis in reality.

The comparison between regional and standard dialects also raises the question of the extent of diglossia, whereby the high variety is used as standard and the low in informal situations. The Kirk/Kallen study implies that there is a high degree of diglossia involved in the ICE corpus. Note, for example, their comment that the virtual total absence of the dialect lexicon indicates that this ele-

ment of Celticity observable in traditional dialects does not appear within the standard, thus pointing to a division rather than a continuum between these different types of language usage. (see p. 88 and 92 above) If this is indeed intended to be a comment on diglossia, then the evidence which emerges from this paper is that it applies not only at the lexical level but at most other levels also. Moreover, the nature of bilingualism and diglossia obtaining in the *Gaeltacht* of Ireland and Scotland, and in Welsh and Breton-speaking areas, some of which are in the process of language change, has proven to be particularly revealing. It is generally held that the *Gaeltacht* may be characterised as being in a state of *bilingualism without diglossia*, a typically unstable situation which often leads to language shift and language death (see Ó Murchú 1993: 485; Fasold 1984: 41; also Sabban 2000 for another view).

4. Borrowing and Code-Switching

This brings us neatly to a discussion of borrowing, code-mixing and code-switching as it is presented in Kirk and Kallen's paper. In Ireland, there has been extensive contact between Irish and English over the centuries, resulting at various times in a high degree of bilingual competence. This has led to substantial and significant lexical and structural borrowing. While borrowing refers to linguistic items which have been taken from the source language and naturalised in the recipient language, code-switching refers to stretches of discourse being used in the same conversation in two languages simultaneously, both within and without the sentence. The participants may not necessarily have equal proficiency in both languages, a matter which is exploited to great comic and satiric effect in many well-known Irish literary texts, such as the seventeenth century *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* ("The Parliament of Clan Thomas"), the writings of Tadhg and Seán Ó Neachtain who flourished in a bilingual environment in Dublin at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the humorous macaronic songs and poems of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and code-mixing and code-switching in later Revival and post-Revival works.

This long period of over three hundred years of interaction between the two languages provided Irish-language writers and authors with a creative window of opportunity during which new and exciting registers and styles of composition came into being. These works have the added value of throwing light on the intercultural forces at play in society at various times during the period in question.

Although ICE protocols normally exclude non-English material from consideration, Kirk and Kallen rightly remark that Irish terms and words such as *Aer Lingus*, *Dáil*, *Taoiseach*, *Radio Teilifís Éireann*, *féile*, *fleadh*, *craic* etc. have become embedded in the English of Ireland and are felt to be part of the language. They also give examples of code-switching. Four examples are given, one from a Radio discussion in which the speaker uses an Irish proverb, *Is ar scáth céile a*

mhaireann na daoine.[5] The speaker's literal translation of this saying, "In every-body's shadow everyone else lives," while fairly accurate, is of little assistance to the non-Irish speaker and may indicate that, while he understands the individual words which make up the expression, he may not fully understand the idiom as a whole. It actually means, 'It is by mutual help and cooperation people exist'/'No man is an island.' The speaker may simply be aware in a rather vague way that this idiom is appropriate in the context.

The second example in which the writer signs off a letter with the words *agus mise fós* is not a grammatically formed clause in Irish, and the rendering "and me also" is unacceptable to competent speakers of the language as a translation of the words as they stand. The example demonstrates an inadequate knowledge of the language on the part of the writer. The use of the emphasised form 'liomsa' in the example *An bhfuil sibh ag éisteacht liomsa* ('are you listening to me') seems also to be inappropriate and demonstrates the same point. Two of the other examples are quite interesting in that one is said for emphasis, the other as a signal for a shift in topic. Overall, however, the ability of some speakers in ICE-Ireland to switch between the two languages distinguishes this corpus form other ICE corpora.

While no comprehensive study of *Gaeltacht* English comparable to Sabban's 1982 work on Island English has yet been carried out, a number of recent studies have examined borrowing and code-switching from Irish to English and the subject is now beginning to be given the attention it deserves (see Stenson 1991; Ó Donnaile 1995; Wigger 2000). Some of the switching among younger speakers is deep and penetrative, encompassing not only lexis but also the basic syntactic structures of the language. It is indicative of language shift and language death and involves both word substitution and significant calquing. Here are some examples (mostly from Ó Donnaile 1995):

1) Use of interjections, tags and exclamations (adverbs, conjunctions etc): *actu-ally*, *and*, *anyway*, *because*, *you know*, *I mean*, *okay*, *right*, *so*, *sorry*, *sure*, *you know*, *like*, *well*. Example: *Sweet divine Jesus*, tá mo chóta imithe ('Sweet di-vine Jesus, my coat is gone').

2) Word substitution, which occurs intra-sententially, for example: Tá na *wires* briste ('The wires are broken'); Tá mé *happyáilte* ('I am happy,' English with Irish suffix *-áilte*); Chonaic mé féin í agus bhí sí *just beautiful* ('I myself saw her and she was just beautiful'); and inter-sententially, where the switch in the final word of the first sentence below gives the cue for a full switch to English in the next sentence: An bhfuil sibh *hungry*? *Do ye want to go for something to eat*? ('Are you hungry?' etc.)

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[5] In correct Irish the proverb should read, *is ar scáth a chéile a mhaireann na daoine*. The use of the word *céile* for correct *a chéile* may be a transcription error or it may represent an inadequate knowledge of Irish on the part of the speaker.

3) Calquing in which native words acquire the meaning of those in the donor language, meanings which they would not normally have in the native language. A comic example, sometimes used by good speakers of the language to poke fun at the preponderance of calquing, is based on a mistranslation into Irish of the English word 'suit.' The sentence *Leanfaidh muid culaith* ('We will follow suit/Let's follow suit') is based on the English idiom 'to follow suit' ('to act in the same way as someone else'). The word 'suit' has the meaning of 'suit of cards' in English here, but is translated into Irish as 'a suit of clothes' (Ir. *culaith*). Hence the comic effect. There are numerous instances of calques in the language of the *Gaeltacht*, particularly among younger speakers. It is also very common among learners of the language.

4) English syntactic structures are often borrowed intact without substitution of native words. In the following example, the English verb has been placed initially in the sentence which, despite the fact that most of the words are English, gives the structure an Irish feel: *Chommiteáil* sé *suicide* ('He committed suicide,' with the English word 'commit' as first word followed by the Irish verbal suffix -*eáil*). The normal and traditional Irish syntax here is quite different: *chuir sé lámh ina bhás féin* (lit. 'put he a hand in his own death').

5) Consider also the following two examples: Bíonn *Irish night* again *every other Friday night* ('We have an Irish night' etc.); Bhí mé *flat out* ag *mixeáil cement* ('I was flat out mixing cement').

These examples go well beyond the use of interlingual lexemes in the two languages and bring to mind the acute observation of Ní Eochaidh, one of the informants of the ICE-corpus (see p. 91 above):

6) *Is dóigh liom nach raibh fios ag mórán dóibh ciaca Gaedhilge nó Béarla a bí* (*recte*: a bhí, SMacM) *á labhairt aca* ('I think that many of them did not know if they were speaking Irish or English').

The data referred to above reflect the language of a set of speakers which is being severely tested and undermined and which is probably on the road to extinction.

The extent of borrowing and calquing among certain groups of speakers of other extant Celtic languages, particularly among younger speakers, matches that outlined above for Irish (for examples from Welsh, see Jones 1998: 81-90). In the dialect examined by Wigger (2000), this is not the case. It is essentially a healthy variety in which borrowing and code-switching take place in quite a different way to that discussed above. Interlingual lexemes and word substitution in healthy varieties of this kind are not a cause for major concern and code-switching is primarily confined to direct speech quotes and to marking this speech "by frequent insertion of *adeir sé/sí* (or another quotation particle)" (Wigger 2000: 165):

7) "Níor chuala sibh," adeir sé, "gur caitheadh *Joe Howley* inné … yesterday," adeir sé. Meastú an bhfuil aon dochar dhom a bheith dhá rá i mBéarla? *"…that it's dangerous for ye to be here tonight"* adeir [sé]. *"Why is that?"* a d'úirt mé féin leis (Wigger 2000: 165).[6]

8) "Ere yesterday," adeir sé, "I broke that boom" adeir sé, "when I was about ten miles" adeir sé "south of Waterford" (Wigger 2000: 165).

5. Conclusion

Let us return briefly by way of conclusion to the question of the traditional understanding of a Standard outlined at the beginning of the paper and the nature of Standard Irish English which can be established from the ICE-corpora on the basis of a set of texts uttered or written by educated speakers. As far as the written language is concerned, both orthographic convention and grammar demonstrate clearly that the traditional definition of what constitutes a Standard variety applies to the data in the corpora. As pointed out earlier, the written Standard is taught in the schools, so that the results are fairly predictable. The Standard tolerates very little deviance from the norm. Furthermore, when compared to the classical accounts of Irish English dialects in which large quantities of 'Celticised' features appear, the spoken Standard emerging from the texts studied here seems to lack regionalisms to a great extent. The immediate inclination is to call into question this lack of variation in the corpus and to question the methodology. A more nuanced and detailed social profile of respondents according to factors and variables such as origin, age, background (urban/rural etc.), education, residence, occupation, networking and mobility might have proved to be enlightening.

It should be borne in mind, on the other hand, that the authors have not examined all the distinctive Irish English structures in the corpora, the focus having been placed on the grammatical structures referred to earlier in their paper. Analyses of other Irish English structures, together with a presentation and discussion of the intonational, accentual, phonetic and stylistic data are required, before an estimate can be made of the overall distinctiveness of the mainstream variety or varieties of speech. It may very well emerge that there are various Standard regional or local dialects, all quite similar in their core elements but differing in accent, intonation and phonetics and with varying percentages of distinctive grammatical features. Be that as it may, factors such as the growth of the media and technology, greater social and geographic mobility, centralisation, and the extension of education, accelerate the processes of dialect convergence and dialect-mixing not only in the indigenous Celtic languages but also in the Celtic Englishes.

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[6]   It should be noted that the material referred to in Wigger was recorded in 1964 (see Wigger 2000: 163, fn. 4).

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Be after V-ing on the Past Grammaticalisation Path: How Far Is It after Coming?[1]

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1. Perfect to Preterite?

The Irish English *be after V-ing* gram is undoubtedly a transfer from Irish Gaelic (e.g. Filppula 1999: 275; Heine and Kuteva 2003: 540).[2] This gram is based on a prepositional structure – 'X is after Y' – that has rarely been grammaticalised as a perfect in other languages or dialects (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 94). It is typically used to refer to situations in the recent or immediate past, and is often referred to as the 'hot-news perfect' (e.g. Harris 1984, 1991; Kallen 1989).[3] An example of hot-news use is (1), where the addressee is informed about an event of which he was previously unaware:

(1) "'Patrick, Patrick, the cows **are after breakin'** into the turnips,' I heard cried loudly." (Kavanagh 1938: 198)

In other varieties of English, (1) might be rendered by *the cows have just broken into the turnips*, using a *have*-perfect and the adverb *just* to underscore the immediacy of the event. Occasional claims that there might be another source of this gram in the English dialects of England itself, or even that English might be the ultimate source of the Irish gram, introduce the intriguing possibility of long-term exchange of grammatical material to and fro between the two languages. However, to the best of my knowledge, these suggestions remain undocumented by empirical diachronic research on either Irish or IrE.

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[2] Henceforth 'Irish English' is abbreviated as IrE; 'Irish Gaelic' is referred to as Irish.

[3] Other terms used in accounts of the *be after V-ing* gram include 'immediate perfective' (Hickey 1995) and '*after* perfect' (Filppula 1999; Ronan 2005).

Some studies of present-day IrE observe *be after V-ing* to be extending its semantic range to cover other senses of the perfect, too (Kallen 1989, 1990, 1991; Harris 1993; Fieß 2000; Ronan 2005). This range is also present in the diachronic literary data used for the present study.[4] For instance, (2) is a resultative perfect, focused on the present result of past actions; (3) is a continuative perfect, referring to a situation that persists up to, and possibly beyond, the discourse now; and (4) is an existential perfect, referring to an event that has occurred at some unspecified time prior to the discourse now:[5]

(2)   "'No reflection on yourself,' he said, 'but this lad **is after becoming** a danger to people.'" (O'Connor 1998: 78)

(3)   "I mean, **I'm after bein' cooped up** for an age, Homer." (*ibid.*, 338)

(4)   "She's heading back to America on Tuesday, where **she's after getting born again**." (Bolger 1997: 25)

In oral history interview data from Dublin, Ronan (2005) finds hot news the most frequent meaning, but only by a small margin, as Table 1 shows. In Ronan's data, 32% (n = 12/37) of *be after V-ing* tokens express hot news exclusively. But there are almost as many resultative uses (n = 11/37, or 30%), and a further 19% of tokens combine these two meanings. The gram is also found in what Ronan calls 'experiential' meanings (referred to as 'existential' in the present study) and a single token (3%) combined the experiential sense with her 'persistent' (my 'continuative') category.

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[4]   Literary representations of IrE dialect remain the richest source available for study of this gram. As a brief but exhaustive survey of studies to date indicates, only literary data permits any kind of diachronic survey, as well as providing sufficient material for study of the full semantic range of *be after V-ing*. While some 1347 literary tokens are used for the historical survey reported in McCafferty (2004), other studies to date are based on much smaller data sets. From more vernacular written sources, Filppula (1999: 100, 105) uses four examples from emigrant letters, and the present author has located eight tokens in the letters reproduced in Fitzpatrick (1994), which is also one of Filppula's sources. Kallen's study of spoken Dublin English (1989, 1990, 1991) is based on 114 or 140 tokens in its various versions. Filppula (1997, 1999) has 25 or 26 examples from four localities throughout the south of Ireland, and Ronan (2005) has 37 examples from Dublin and Wexford speakers. Other studies where the gram is mentioned use data sets containing only three to four occurrences (Harris 1984; Kirk 1992; Corrigan 1997; Fieß 2000). And finally, Hickey (2005: 120) cites a couple of examples from his Dublin corpus.

[5]   The distinctiveness of these four senses of the perfect is debated, and hot news, in particular, is often treated as a subcategory of one of the other meanings. Thus, McCawley (1971: 109, 1981) allows that the hot-news perfect might be a type of existential perfect. Brinton (1988: 10-12, 45) regards hot-news, existential and continuative senses as subcategories of the resultative perfect. While Michaelis (1998: 157-159) views hot news as a subtype of the resultative perfect, her analysis retains the other three senses. For Elsness (1997: 77), the perfect has just two uses: it refers either to situations not attached to a (definite) past-time anchor or to situations continuing up to the discourse now. For the moment, it is useful to bracket discussion of how many senses of the perfect there are and retain all four senses for the present discussion, because these have been a central part of accounts of *be after V-ing* since Harris (1984) at least.

Meaning	n	%
Hot news	12	32
Resultative	11	30
Resultative/Hot news	7	19
Experiential	6	16
Experiential/persistent	1	3
TOTAL	**37**	

Table 1   Meanings of *be after V-ing* (after Ronan 2005)

If such patterns were to emerge in other studies of present-day IrE, too, it would be necessary to reconsider the view that hot news is currently the core meaning of the *be after V-ing* gram. In a diachronic perspective, however, as the pilot survey reported below shows, hot news is indeed the core past-time semantics of the construction (Hickey 1995, 1997, 2000) until the twentieth century.

An important caveat as regards the findings reported by Kallen, Fieß and Ronan is that they are based on synchronic data and do not allow us to determine the direction of any past or ongoing changes. The view that *be after V-ing* is extending its semantic range to other senses of the perfect might imply that the construction was already a hot-news perfect when transferred from Irish. While there can be no doubt that it is a transfer from Irish, there is as yet no study of the full semantic range of the Irish construction either synchronically or diachronically (Ronan 2005). However, Ronan (*ibid.*) reports that the Early Modern Irish construction had resultative meaning; in present-day Gaeltacht Irish, it denotes recency or hot news (Greene 1979: 128), but in non-Gaeltacht Irish, i.e., largely among second-language users, it reportedly covers a wider range of perfect senses (*ibid.*, 129).

If, as Ronan (2005) notes, the Early Modern Irish gram on which it is calqued was a resultative perfect that later came to express hot news, and if a diachronic study of the semantics of *be after V-ing* with past-time reference shows it to have had a wide range of perfect functions in its earliest documented stages, then these wider perfect uses might be inherited from Irish, too. Continuity in the use of *be after V-ing* across the perfect senses in (1)-(4) would then be evidence of 'layering' or survival of older meanings (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 124-126), rather than change. It is important, therefore, to establish the time-depth of this range of uses, and this is the first aim of the present study, which examines a subset of past-time occurrences of *be after V-ing* in literary texts by writers born from the seventeenth century to the twentieth. The data, from a large collection of examples of the construction in literary representations of IrE, consists of 105 tokens that co-occur with past-time adverbials. This subset has been chosen for the pilot survey because the presence of temporal adverbials allows comparatively objective classification across semantic categories. The

result shows that all perfect senses are present in the earliest period (1601-1750), and continuity of this range can be documented to the present day.[6]

The second stage of the analysis is prompted by the presence of examples like (5), which raise the issue of whether *be after V-ing* might be grammaticalising further into a preterite:

> (5)   The chairman of the East's Residents' Association and the mother of Tommy O'Rourke who has that pub in the village **are after both kicking the bucket** yester-day. (Bolger 1990: 87)

In (5), the deictic punctual adverb *yesterday* violates the constraint prohibiting adverbials with specific time reference in perfect contexts (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 62; Klein 1992: 525). The adverb invites interpretation of (5) as referring simply to past events, without necessarily conveying any other sense associated with the perfect. This suggests that *be after V-ing* may be undergoing change from perfect to preterite for some users. The diachronic data shows this use to have appeared later than any of the perfect senses, occurring first in the language of writers born in the early nineteenth century. It remains relatively infrequent, but might nevertheless point to the possibility of further semantic change in this gram.

A perspective in grammaticalisation theory (Hopper and Traugott 2003), more specifically Bybee, et al.'s (1994) evolutionary approach to syntax, allows us to place the senses conveyed by this gram in a developmental relationship that points in the opposite direction to suggestions that *be after V-ing* is a hot-news perfect that is spreading into other semantic domains of the perfect. This offers an alternative account of the range of perfect uses since the seventeenth century and the emergence of apparently preterite uses: a perfect gram used in the hot-news sense has reached a late evolutionary stage – which for this gram might have happened before transfer from Irish to IrE – and might hence be a candidate for further evolution into a preterite, a development that has clearly happened for some IrE-speakers.

2. A Past Grammaticalisation Path for Be after V-ing

Change from perfect to preterite is far from unusual, although it has not, to my knowledge, been suggested before in connection with this gram. In many languages, constructions formerly used as perfects have grammaticalised into perfectives or preterites. Well-known examples are found in French and Dutch, as well as varieties of Spanish, Italian and German, including standard spoken German, where perfects formed with 'have' and/or 'be' plus a past participial verb have replaced preterites. Such change entails generalisation (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 104-106), or bleaching and eventually loss of core semantic characteristics, making a gram available for use in more general contexts.

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[6]   Ronan (2005) offers resultative as a possible reading of all the examples in Bliss (1979).

A perfect that becomes a preterite loses the connotation of current relevance that is regarded by many as part of the semantic core of the perfect (Comrie 1976; Bybee, et al. 1994; Michaelis 1998). While the perfect views an anterior situation in relation to the 'now' of an ongoing discourse, referring simultaneously to past and present, and inviting implicatures concerning the relevance of the past situation to the present, the preterite simply locates a situation in time. Besides current relevance, the perfect, of course, typically conveys a set of further semantic nuances (cf. Leech 1971; McCawley 1971, 1973; Comrie 1976). Various labels have been used for these functions; for present purposes, they are referred to as the resultative, continuative, existential and hot-news senses discussed above in relation to examples (1)-(4). These additional senses are likewise lost, as a perfect becomes a preterite.

Bybee, et al.'s (1994: 51-124) crosslinguistic survey of syntactic evolution sees the perfect as a stage on a grammaticalisation path, the endpoint of which is the preterite, and places the various perfect senses in a broad diachronic relationship: the first perfect sense to emerge is the resultative, while hot news arises late. Elaborating on this model, Carey's (1994, 1995, 1996) work on the Old and Middle English perfect shows hot news developing last, after the resultative, continuative and existential uses, in that order. Finally, looking at the perfect in English and Spanish, Schwenter (1994 a, 1994 b) makes the case for hot news as the end of the line for the perfect, a stepping-stone to the preterite, with hodiernal uses, referring to situations completed on the *today* of the discourse, as a further indication that perfect meanings are giving way to the preterite.

2.1. Perfect Grams and Sources

Be after V-ing is not an independent development in IrE, but a syntactic transfer from Irish (Harris 1984: 319; Filppula 1997: 233; Hickey 2000: 100).[7] And the fact that the gram might already have covered much of the full range of perfect semantics when transferred implies that the Irish source construction might already have evolved far along the past grammaticalisation path prior to transfer.

The Irish construction on which *be after V-ing* is based may be regarded as deriving from a locational source proposition – 'X is *after* Y' – of a type that is often found underlying verbal aspects cross-linguistically (Heine, et al. 1991: 153). Such aspectual grams are common in Irish (Ó Corráin 1997 a, 1997 b).

Although the periphrasis with *tar éis* (> *tréis*) or *i ndiaidh* 'after' is not documented until Modern Irish, the Irish language has long had a perfect construc-

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[7] Discussing IrE, Heine and Kuteva (2003: 540) "… are not aware of any other language in the world that has undergone a similar process – a fact that may be taken as compelling evidence to consider this to be an instance of replica grammaticalization." Similar grams are found in Scottish Gaelic, Welsh, Hebridean English and Newfoundland English. Welsh and Scottish Gaelic are related typologically and genetically to Irish, while the presence of this gram in Hebridean and Newfoundland English is clearly due to language contact in the former case and migration from Ireland in the latter.

tion formed using prepositions (*iar*, *air*, *ar*) or prepositional phrases (*tar éis*, *d'éis*, *i ndiaidh*, etc.) meaning 'after' (Ó Sé 2004: 186-198). The periphrasis *tá* + 'after' + Verbal Noun (VN) has been used as a perfect since the twelfth century (Dillon 1941; Thurneysen 1946; Gagnepain 1963; Greene 1979, 1980; Ó Corráin 1997 a, 1997 b; Ó Sé 2004), some 500 years before its appearance in representations of Irish English. Greene (1979) notes that the Irish gram had more general perfect semantics by the time large-scale British settlement of Ireland began in the late sixteenth century. In present-day Irish, the construction also carries wider perfect senses (*ibid.*; Ó Sé 2004; Ronan 2005).

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the original meaning as "farther off, at a greater distance from the front, or from a point in front," and hence "more to the rear, behind, later" (OED, s.v. *after*). But *after* may also denote movement in the sense of 'following,' which refers either to 'pursuit' (i.e. goalward movement) – from which derive the future senses discussed in McCafferty (2003, 2004) – or 'order,' with reference not only to locational or temporal, but also causal sequence. This range renders *be after V-ing*, and its Irish source, capable of grammaticalising into either a completive (via 'temporal sequence') or resultative (via 'causal sequence'), and thence into a perfect.

Perfect grams often derive from lexical sources that have earlier conveyed resultative or completive meanings. The GRAMCATS survey (Bybee, et al. 1994) proposes a past grammaticalisation path that places these senses, the perfect, preterite and related tense-aspect categories in an evolutionary relationship. The major sources of grams on this path are certain types of stative verbs, dynamic verbs, and directional adverbs (*ibid.*, 55). Grams from such sources may first acquire completive or resultative meanings, then become perfects, and might ultimately develop into preterites (*ibid.*, 51-105). The stative verbs are frequently copulas, but *have*, *remain* and *wait* are also common sources. Dynamic verbs include verbs of movement (especially 'movement from source;' cf. Bybee and Dahl 1989: 58) and verbs meaning *finish* or *be finished*. Adverbial sources tend to be directional, e.g. *away*, *up* or *into* (Bybee, et al. 1994: 55). Like its Irish source gram, *be after V-ing* overlaps with all three major source categories. It is a construction containing a copula verb *be* and a preposition *after* which in context is capable of conveying sequential ordering in the directional sense of movement away from a source. And the collocation *be after* is capable of interpretation as equivalent to *be finished (with)* in the sense of 'having something behind one.'

Figure 1, adapted from Bybee, et al. (1994), traces semantic change from the relevant lexical sources through perfect meanings to preterite. Grams with sources in stative verbs like *be* and *have* typically proceed through a resultative stage to the perfect, while those from dynamic verbal sources like *finish* signal completive meanings before becoming perfects, as do grams whose lexical sources are directional adverbs (*ibid.*, 51). Having reached the perfect stage, grams from these sources may then become preterites (*ibid.*). While the grams at all stages refer to situations completed prior to some temporal reference point,

they differ in their additional implications (*ibid.*, 52). In a study of *be after V-ing*, which was transferred from Irish in the seventeenth century with perfect meanings from the outset – albeit as a minority semantics, at least in the written record – the relevant segment of the grammaticalisation path stretches from perfect to preterite, so that the remainder of this study is concerned with shifts within this range.

'be'/'have' ⟶ resultative ⟶
'come [from]' ⟶ perfect ⟶ preterite
'finish' ⟶ completive ⟶
directionals
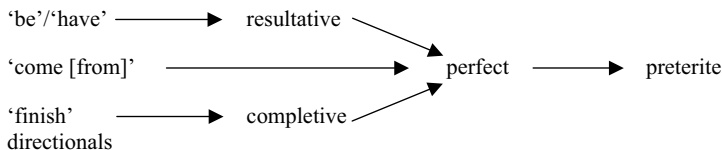
Fig. 1   Paths of development leading to preterite
          (after Bybee, et al. 1994: 105, Fig. 3.1.)

2.2. Perfect Distinctions and Perfect-Preterite Evolution

The perfect denotes past action with current relevance, but within that broad characterisation, other semantic nuances are identified – the resultative, continuative, existential and hot-news uses discussed above. In the GRAMCATS survey, the additional sense most frequently associated with the perfect at early stages is resultative: a resultative perfect describes a present state as the result of a past action (*ibid.*, 62). In Bybee, et al.'s terms, a gram that only conveys current relevance and resultative meaning is a young perfect. As they develop into old perfects, grams add further nuances, expressing the continuative sense (*ibid.*, 78) as well as others like future perfect, past perfect and hot news (*ibid.*, 79f.). However, this model is based on reference material containing few mentions of these other senses (*ibid.*, 62), so that evolutionary relationships between them are not specified in detail. Nevertheless, hot-news use in this view indicates an old perfect, i.e. one that might be a candidate for development into a preterite.

Work on the perfect in English and Spanish (Carey 1994, 1995, 1996; Schwenter 1994 a, 1994 b) also suggests that next to arise after the resultative are continuative senses, while hot news evolves last. The English perfect with *have* plus a past participial verb was originally a resultative construction that became a true perfect in Old English (Traugott 1992: 190-193; Denison 1993: 346-348) and was fully grammaticalised in Middle English (Fischer 1992: 256-262). In its early stages, the Old English construction had resultative perfect meanings (Carey 1990: 374). Increasing use of this resultative perfect in iterative or durative contexts facilitated emergence of the up-to-the-present temporal sense that gave rise to the continuative sense (Carey 1996: 37-39; cf. also Schwenter 1994 a: 1008). As for hot news, Carey (1995: 94) cites an early example from Laya-

mon's *Brut* (c. 1225) that looks like incipient hot news,[8] but this use is not con-
ventionalised until Early Modern English (*ibid.*, 94f.), and even then, such uses
are rare. Citing examples from the Early Modern part of the *Helsinki Corpus of
English Texts* (Kytö 1991), Schwenter remarks on the dearth of hot-news exam-
ples in Early Modern and present-day English and suggests that hot-news re-
mains rare because it is typical of media registers (Schwenter 1994 a: 1010f.).

In summary, a perfect gram might be expected to develop along the past gram-
maticalisation path towards the preterite. This is a process of grammaticalisation
and subjectification (Traugott 1995; Hopper and Traugott 2003: 104-106): from
its beginnings in the relatively objective resultative perfect of Old English,
where the result of an event is present, the perfect proceeds through increasingly
subjective uses to the maximally subjective hot-news sense, which encodes a
speaker's construal of the immediacy and newness of an event rather than any
aspect of the event itself (Carey 1995: 95-97; Schwenter 1994 a: 1007). A gram
expressing such subjective meanings is more grammaticalised than one lacking
this kind of subjectivity (Traugott 1989, 1995; Hopper and Traugott 2003: 92).
Later, the semantic element of newness bleaches, permitting hodiernal and ulti-
mately preterite meanings that are arguably more objective again, referring sim-
ply to the anteriority of a situation. How does this path relate to documented
uses of *be after V-ing* with past-time reference?

3. Semantic History of Past-Time Be After V-ing

Studies of present-day Dublin English (Kallen 1989, 1990, 1991) show that
be after V-ing is used with all the meanings conveyed by the *have*-perfect in
other Englishes. This range is not restricted to Dublin. Fieß (2000: 197) reports
resultative perfect usage in east Galway. And among Ronan's (2005) Dublin and
Wexford speakers, some of those who did not use the *have*-perfect used *be after
V-ing* across the full perfect range, while users of the *have*-perfect restricted *be
after V-ing* to hot news only. Findings like these for present-day IrE raise the
issue of how long the gram has been used across this range. The survey pre-
sented below documents a time-depth of more than three centuries and continu-
ity to the present.

3.1. Perfect Uses, 1670-1800

Use of *be after V-ing* right across the semantic range of the perfect is present
in the earliest data from the seventeenth century. Of 21 examples in Bliss'
(1979) anthology of texts from 1600 to 1740 – in which the earliest example of

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[8] Carey's example is: *Lauerd king queð þe cniht to soðe ich þe cuðe her riht. / he hafueð
     inome þine maye hahliche strenðe ....* (Layamon 25667) "Lord king," quoth the knight, "in
     sooth I make known to thee right here, he hath taken away thy relative, with great strength,
     … ." (Carey 1995: 94)

be after V-ing is recorded in a text dated 1670-75 – there are only three perfect tokens. Bliss regards just one of these (6) as equivalent to present-day (i.e. hot-news) usage (*ibid.*, 300):

> (6)   ... you shee here de cause dat **is after bringing** you to dis plaace .... (Dunton 1698; in Bliss 1979: 133)

However, if a hot-news perfect typically conveys information that is 'news' to addressees, (6) is anomalous, since the addressees already know what has brought them to their present location. Rather, (6) is a resultative perfect, with focus on a present state resulting from a past event.

The other perfect uses in Bliss (*ibid.*) are cited in (7) and (8). These hybrids combine elements of *be after V-ing* and the *have*-perfect. Neither has hot-news meaning. Example (7) is another resultative use, referring to a present state (the treasure is hidden) brought about by the act of hiding. The existential perfect in (8) refers to a situation (the wearing of Irish brogues rather than English shoes) that has occurred on some unspecified occasion(s) in the past.

> (7)   ... but what do dee say to Chests full of Plaat, Barrels of de Money, dat **have been after hid**, dare is Treasure upon Treasure in *Darry*. (Michelburne 1705; in Bliss 1979: 147)

> (8)   … day tell me, his Graash *Tirconnel* fill not let de Officer go in Brogue, or be in his Shamber, wearing de *Irish* Brogue, fait Joy, he **has been after wearing** dem himself. (Michelburne 1705; in Bliss 1979: 146)

There are just four further examples of perfect use by writers born to 1750 in other sources, listed as (9)-(12). Example (9) is a conditional perfect ('would have been slain'), the only such instance to 1750. (10) is a hybrid existential perfect, referring in this case to a situation that has *not* occurred in the past. In (11), the adverbial *all along* indicates a continuative perfect: the situation has persisted up to the time of speaking (and may continue into the future). Finally, (12) is the only clear example of hot-news semantics from a writer born before 1750, and the recency of the event is underscored here by the adverb *just*. Hot news is also implied in that (12) introduces by name someone hitherto unknown to the addressees and provides information about him that may be assumed to be news to them.

> (9)   Have I Converted sho many Hereticks dogs and was sho deep in your braave Plott, and **had like to have bin after being slain** upon a Gibbet, and been a great Martyr for de Plott, and dosht dou require a Reashon of mee? (Shadwell 1690: 21)

> (10)   'Upon my Shoul I do love the King very well, and I **have not been after breaking** any Thing of his that I do know …' (Fielding 1752: 9)

> (11)   Now, in troth, 'tis a pity, quoth mine Irish host, that all this good courtship should be lost; for the young gentlewoman **has been after going** out of hearing of it all along. (Sterne 1760, VII: 25)

> (12)   Why, friend, my master is *Mr. Delamour*, who **is just after coming** from *Paris*, … (O'Keeffe 1767: 23)

Analysis of the semantics of all 72 past-time tokens of *be after V-ing* to 1800 is presented in Table 2. Hot news was already the predominant past-time semantics of the gram, although it must be emphasised that past-time reference remained a minority semantics throughout this period, when future uses are much more frequent in the data (cf. McCafferty 2003, 2004). Hot-news uses account for 61% (n = 44/72) of perfect tokens in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of the other perfect senses, the existential is the next most frequent, with 10 tokens (14%), and there are 5 resultative (7%) and 4 continuative perfects (6%). There are also 3 future and 5 conditional perfects (4% and 7%, respectively). And finally, the material contains one genuinely ambiguous example (1%): "(...) give him to me if **you're after leaving** the life in him! (...)" (Banim 1830, II: 287). Here, it is unclear whether we are dealing with a resultative perfect or a desiderative future meaning: the sentence may mean either 'if you want the victim to live' or 'if you haven't already killed him.' Ambiguity of this kind reflects the Janus-like quality of *after* (McCafferty 2003, 2004) and is suggestive of how *be after V-ing* could persist as a future and a perfect gram simultaneously in the language of Irish and Anglo-Irish writers born as late as the latter half of the eighteenth century (cf. also survey in McCafferty 2005: 355f.).

Meaning	1601-1800	%
Hot news	44	61
Existential	10	14
Resultative	5	7
Continuative	4	6
Future perfect	3	4
Conditional perfect	5	7
Hot news/fut. (des.)	1	1
TOTAL	**72**	

Table 2   *Be after V-ing*: distribution among perfect senses, 1601-1800

The first part of this survey, then, finds all the major perfect uses in the admittedly small amount of data for the period to 1750. Examples (6)-(12), from writers born in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, show that the situation highlighted by Kallen (1989, 1990, 1991) and others for present-day IrE is not new: *be after V-ing* has been used with perfect meanings other than hot news since the earliest recorded examples, and this situation persisted to 1800. Moreover, the presence of not only hot-news but also other categories, like future and conditional perfects, suggests *be after V-ing* was already an old perfect. It does not, however, show any sign of evolving into a preterite in this period.

3.2. Perfect Uses, 1801-2000

Continuity in this range of perfect senses can be traced to the present. In (13)-(15), examples of each use are listed from 1801 to 2000. All four uses are found throughout the recorded history of the gram. The resultative senses in (13) are focused on the present results of past actions or processes. The continuative uses in (14) refer to situations that persist up to the discourse now.[9] The existential senses in (15) refer to events at unspecified points in the past. And hot-news examples are given in (16).

(13) *Resultative*

    a. "... here – taste this – musha, bad end to id, but **it's affther makin'** idsef empty." (Banim 1826, I: 256f.)

    b. "You think it's a grand thing **you're after doing** with your letting on to be dead, but what is it at all?" (Synge 1903/1968, III: 57)

    c. "'No reflection on yourself,' he said, 'but this lad **is after becoming** a danger to people.'" (O'Connor 1998: 78)

(14) *Continuative*

    a. "**Is it after bein'** up all night on the road betune Hollywood and Rathdown; sure you have had no rest at all?" (Boucicault 1868: 120)

    b. "I'm half thinking if it wasn't that I'm destroyed wanting to see herself **is after being** ten years beside me I'd do the way I am, for it isn't a bad way at all, Timmy the smith." (Synge 1903/1968, III: 86)

    c. "I mean, **I'm after bein' cooped up** for an age, Homer." (O'Connor 1998: 338)

(15) *Existential*

    a. "I lay my life **you're affther gettin'** money from the masther." (Griffin 1829, II: 98)

    b. "You did not, mother; it wasn't Michael you seen, for his body **is after being found** in the far north, and he's got a clean burial by the grace of God." (Synge 1904/1968, III: 19)

    c. "... She's heading back to America on Tuesday, where **she's after getting born again**." (Bolger 1997: 25)

(16) *Hot news*

    a. "... I have a little spot av ground at a fair rint, an' the ould parson – good luck to him! – **is just affther givin'** me a laise. ...." (Kickham 1882: 31)

    b. "**I am just after reading** in the paper that St. Cecilia – you remember St. Cecilia, Jack! – is at present on her honeymoon – married to a policeman." (O'Brien 1890: 282)

    c. "**The bar's just after closing**, Father." (O'Connor 2000: 309)

In summary, *be after V-ing* was used with the full range of perfect semantics to 1800, and has continued to be so used to the present day. Resultative, continuative and existential senses alongside hot-news uses in contemporary IrE might, therefore, be evidence of the survival of older semantics rather than ex-

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[9] In (14c), and also in (21a, b and d) below, the gram is used in a subordinate *and*-clause.

tension to other perfect senses. In this respect, there has been no change in the range of past-time uses in the last 330 years, although we have, of course, not yet looked at the relative strengths of these meanings. This is one of the issues that will be addressed when we now turn to the question of whether *be after V-ing* is evolving beyond the perfect. The next section presents a diachronic analysis of uses of *be after V-ing* with temporal adverbials.

4. Temporal Adverbials and Uses of Be After V-ing, *1701-2000*

The hypothesis examined here is that co-occurrence of *be after V-ing* with different types of temporal adverbials may reveal its progress along the past grammaticalisation path. As, for instance, Michaelis (1998: 163ff.) shows, the preterite and various senses of the perfect co-occur with certain types of temporal adverbial. Present or indefinite past-time adverbs (e.g. *now*, *ever*, *before*, *already*) and time-span adverbials (e.g. *since*) specifying the starting point of a phase, all co-occur with resultative, continuative or existential perfects, and may thus indicate a pre-hot-news stage of perfect development. The same applies to durational adverbials (e.g. *for*-phrases), which co-occur with the continuative perfect. The hot-news stage is indicated by adverbs referring to immediate or recent past time, e.g. *just*, *only*, *just now*, *this minute*, *there now*, *lately*, etc. In the final stages, we find co-occurrence with hodiernal and punctual past-time adverbials that refer to a gradually more distant past and signal grammaticalisation beyond the perfect stage. Hodiernal adverbials like *this day*, *this morning* and *today*, which may convey punctual past-time meaning at a greater distance to the discourse now, show post-hot-news uses of *be after V-ing*. Definite deictic and punctual past-time adverbials like *yesterday* and *in 1954*, respectively, indicate the even more distant past-time meanings usually associated with the preterite.

This evolutionary grammaticalisation path from resultative, continuative and existential perfect to hot-news perfect, and then on to hodiernal and preterite uses owes a great deal to Schwenter (1994 a, 1994 b). A preliminary comparison of the results of judgments by present-day speakers of IrE (Kallen 1989: 24-27) suggests the same developmental order. Only 17% of Kallen's judges (n = 4/24) accepted the test sentence *John is after working at 8:00* with its definite past-time adverbial. However, examples with arguably hodiernal meanings – *It's after being a nice day* and *I'm after being hungry all morning* – were judged grammatical by, respectively, 58% (n = 14/24) and 54% (n = 13/24) of respondents (Kallen 1989: 24f., Tables 3 and 4). Greater acceptability for the hodiernal sense might indicate that it is more likely to have emerged before preterite uses and occurs more frequently. As we will see, uses with hodiernal adverbials are documented from writers born in the late eighteenth century, and examples with punctual past-time adverbials from writers born in the 1830s.

4.1. Hodiernal Uses

In Schwenter's (1994 a, 1994 b) view, hodiernal uses referring to situations on the same day as the utterance point to a shift from perfect towards preterite meaning. In the Irish English data, this use first occurs in a work by John Banim (born 1798), cited as (17a). Hodiernal uses are also found to the present day, as illustrated by (17b-c), in works by writers born in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Only one example of *be after V-ing* with a hodiernal adverbial (from present-day Dublin) is cited in the previous literature on this gram (18).

(17) *Be after V-ing* with hodiernal reference
   a. "'There you go, an' may you never know what it is to have a heart as heavy as the hearts **you're afther makin'** happy this day!' – added Peery." (Banim 1839: 241)

   b. "Con Cooney remarked to his sister Mave, as they passed over the bridge in the jennet's cart on their way home from the butter market, that Mr. Armstrong '**must be after doing** great work on the river to-day.'" (Kickham 1886: 179)

   c. "But **I'm after been** [*sic*] out for a walk already today, Homer." (O'Connor 1998: 247)

(18) Hodiernal *be after V-ing* in present-day speech
   I'm after falling over that about ten times this morning. (Kallen 1989: 10)

Hodiernal senses might, as Schwenter (1994 a, 1994 b) observes, play an important role in the shift from perfect to preterite because, with hodiernal adverbials, *be after V-ing* refers to situations prior to the discourse now on the same day as the utterance. While these situations belong to the recent past, hodiernal adverbials also refer to a period of time (the discourse today) that is still ongoing up to the discourse now, which is the semantic core of the continuative perfect. But it is also possible to interpret adverbials like *this morning* as having punctual past-time reference to a morning viewed as firmly in the past. The latter reading, Schwenter (1994 b: 99) argues, makes this kind of adverbial co-occurrence a bridge linking perfect and preterite senses, and might reinforce a tendency to use *be after V-ing* with adverbials that, strictly speaking, violate the constraint on definite past-time reference with a perfect gram.

4.2. Preterite Uses

Since definite past-time adverbials like *yesterday* and *in 1954* are not used with the perfect (Michaelis 1998: 164; Bybee, et al. 1994: 62), co-occurrence of such adverbials with *be after V-ing* might be evidence of generalisation to preterite meanings. In (19), the definite punctual adverbial *forty-seven years ago* locates an event in the very distant past. The perfect is incompatible with such time reference, but perfects grammaticalising into preterites must at some point begin to be used with adverbials of this category.

(19) **I'm after paying** £12 for pram for Tony forty-seven years ago that wasn't worth £1! (Kearns 1994: 190)

The example in (19) is from an interview with a Dubliner born in 1919, suggesting that the possibility of using *be after V-ing* as a preterite stretches back to the early twentieth century at least.[10] A further instance of such use in present-day spoken IrE is cited in (20).

(20) They know **they're after dirtying** it the day before. (Kallen 1989: 12)

Further evidence comes from the list of adverbs co-occurring with *be after V-ing* in Kallen's Dublin English data. Included there are single occurrences of *only yesterday* and *about ten minutes ago* (Kallen 1989: 14), both of which locate their situations at definite points in the past and indicate uses interpretable as preterites.

The first example with a definite past-time adverbial occurred in a work by Charles Kickham (born 1828), cited as (21a), and there are four such uses in the data for this study (4%). Here, too, there is continuity to the present (21b-d), with uses of this kind attested in modern written representations of IrE. In (21b-c), the deictic punctual adverbs *last night* and *yesterday* co-occur with *be after V-ing*, while (21d) contains the adverbial *only last Christmas*, which combines deictic punctual and recent adverbials.[11]

(21) Preterite *be after V-ing* 1801-2000
   a. "An' are they all gone wudout mindin' me, or takin' the laste notice uv me, **an' I afther houldin'** my breath for the bullets to go through my heart tin minutes ago?" (Kickham 1882: 82)
   b. "... I'm thinking it's my own bloody destiny this day is making circuit here, **and I after thinking** last night as I sat on this stool I was shut of the great lonesomeness of the world, ..." (Synge 1904/1968, IV: 108, fn. 5)
   c. "The chairman of the East's Residents' Association and the mother of Tommy O'Rourke who has that pub in the village **are after both kicking the bucket** yesterday." (Bolger 1990: 87)
   d. "What? **And her after scooping** all before her only last Christmas?" (McCabe 2001: 14)

This small amount of data makes a *prima facie* case that, for at least some users of IrE over the last two centuries, *be after V-ing* has undergone further generalisation, losing core characteristics of the perfect and becoming possible with preterite meaning, too. It must be emphasised, however, that this kind of use is by no means frequent in the data used here.

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[10] Ronan (2005) cites this as an 'experiential' (or existential) perfect. In my view, the definite past-time adverbial makes this reading unlikely.

[11] I read (21a), (21b) and (21d) not as non-finite, but rather as examples where the gram appears in clauses introduced by subordinating *and*. Thus, (21a-b) might be paraphrased '… when I held/was holding my breath …' and '… when I thought/was thinking …,' while (21d) refers to an attendant circumstance that has consequences for the person(s) concerned.

So far, then, we have suggested that the occurrence of hodiernal and definite past-time adverbials with *be after V-ing* might indicate incipient shift towards preterite meaning. These uses are attested in the language of writers born from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century to the present day, and a small amount of data from native speaker judgements and studies of spoken IrE in the twentieth century also shows usage like this to be part of the language of some speakers of IrE. While the answer to the question of whether *be after V-ing* is becoming a preterite must be in the negative, it is still worth examining the pattern of semantic variation in past-time *be after V-ing* to give a more detailed picture of how far it has progressed along the past grammaticalisation path.

4.3. How Far Is It after Coming?

Table 3 summarises patterns of adverbial co-occurrence in past-time uses of the gram since the seventeenth century. Here, light shading is used for collocation with temporal adverbials (indefinite past, durational and present) that are indicative of perfect senses that, in the model outlined above, develop prior to hot news (i.e. resultative, continuative and existential). Lack of shading indicates co-occurrence with the adverbials of recent and immediate time typically found in hot-news contexts; and darker shading represents collocation with hodiernal and definite past-time adverbials that are taken as evidence of development in the direction of preterite meaning.

	1701-1800	%	1801-1900	%	1901-2000	%	Total (n)
Indef. past	2	17	2	4	5	10	9
Durational	2	17	2	4	4	8	8
Present	-		4	9	8	17	12
Imm./rec.	7	58	34	76	26	54	67
Hodiernal	1	8	1	2	3	6	5
Def. past	-	-	2	4	2	4	4
TOTAL	**12**		**45**		**48**		**105**

Table 3   *Be after V-ing* with temporal adverbials, 1701-2000
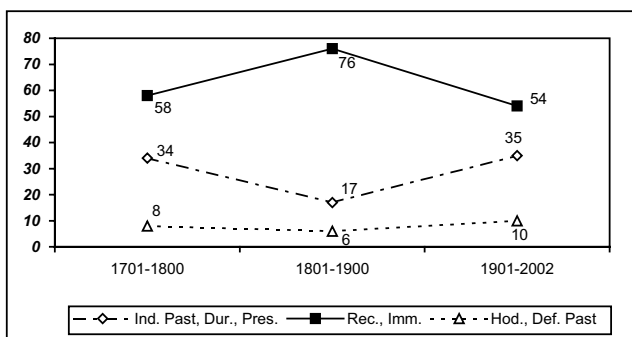
Fig. 2   Adverbial co-occurrence with perfect and past senses of *be after V-ing*, 1701-2000

Figure 2 plots the relative proportions over time of co-occurrence of *be after V-ing* with these three categories of temporal adverbials. The immediate and recent time adverbials associated with the hot-news sense dominate throughout the period since 1701, accounting for a minimum of 54% of tokens, but showing a peak in the nineteenth-century data (76%). The pre-hot-news categories of indefinite past, continuative and present adverbials occur with some frequency throughout, accounting for between 17% and 35% of tokens across the last three centuries. The dip in use of this type of adverbial in the nineteenth century, followed by an increase in frequency since 1901, might be read as supporting the findings of Kallen (1989, 1990, 1991), Fieß (2000) and Ronan (2005), who suggest that perfect senses other than hot news are spreading in present-day IrE.

However, the fact that this data shows these wider perfect senses to have been minority uses throughout the last three centuries supports the hypothesis that they are as old as the prototypical hot-news meaning. Nonetheless, the upturn in frequency suggests that the evolution of this gram is not unidirectional. Increased use of senses other than hot news since 1901 represents bleaching of the hot-news sense, but not in the direction that the past grammaticalisation path might lead us to expect. The wider perfect uses previously documented for present-day IrE are found throughout the recorded history of the gram, but relative to the nineteenth century, they show a marked increase in the twentieth century, during which they have become more vigorous variants.

For hodiernal and definite past-time adverbials, the pattern revealed by this analysis is one of stability. Combined scores for these two post-hot-news categories range from 6% to 10% from 1701 to the present. Co-occurrence with hodiernal adverbials from the late eighteenth century, and with definite past adverbials from the early nineteenth century, is evidence of semantic innovations that show the *be after V-ing* gram to have taken further steps along the past grammaticalisation path for some users. However, the combined frequency for these two categories remains low. Some 200 years on, they must still be regarded as evidence of potential change in the direction of preterite use.

5. Conclusion

The *be after V-ing* gram has never been an exclusively hot-news perfect in IrE. Besides predominantly future uses until 1800 (McCafferty 2003, 2004, 2005), it has also throughout its history been used across the full range of perfect meanings, occurring in resultative, continuative and existential as well as hot-news senses. There is a possibility that the Irish source gram was not an exclusively hot-news gram at the time of transfer (Greene 1979; Ronan 2005), although as yet no empirical study examines the relative strengths of these senses in the Irish language. Perfect uses other than hot news have also become more frequent in IrE since 1901, partly confirming synchronic findings on usage in the spoken language reported by Kallen, Fieß and Ronan.

While all perfect senses are documented from the seventeenth century onwards, hot-news use itself suggests the gram had already reached a late stage of perfect development in terms of the model proposed by Bybee, et al. (1994), Carey (1994, 1995, 1996) and Schwenter (1994 a, 1994 b). This IrE gram has also apparently evolved further along the past grammaticalisation path, being possible with preterite meanings for some users. Preterite uses emerge relatively late, in the usage of writers born in the early nineteenth century, and this shift might have been facilitated by uses of *be after V-ing* with hodiernal adverbials, which first appear in the language of writers born in the late eighteenth century. While certainly conveying recency or even hot news, some hodiernal adverbials are also capable of punctual interpretation, and thus prepare the way for use with the definite past-time adverbials that suggest evolution towards preterite meaning. Grammaticality judgments by late twentieth-century speakers from all parts of Ireland, reported by Kallen (1989: 24f.), offer further support for this view, showing fairly high acceptability rates for hodiernal adverbials and much lower acceptability for definite past-time adverbials with this gram.

It is suggested, then, that the Irish construction that is the source of *be after V-ing* might already have reached a late stage of evolution when transferred into IrE. If so, *be after V-ing* was transferred as an old perfect and was as such a candidate for evolution into a preterite. The analysis of adverbial co-occurrence provides some evidence of semantic shift in this direction. For users who allow *be after V-ing* to co-occur with hodiernal adverbials, this gram has progressed to the next stage beyond hot news, while for those who use it with definite past-time adverbials, preterite meaning is already possible.

This pilot study indicates that it may be worth pursuing the question of the grammatical evolution of *be after V-ing* as a gram with past-time reference. But further work along these lines will have to address several important issues. First, before taking the next step in the analysis of my own data on past-time *be after V-ing*, it is necessary to find reliable means of determining the meaning expressed by the gram in the absence of a time adverbial. The wider textual context of tokens is likely to provide pointers to the sense intended by users. Second, a diachronic study of the Irish source gram would be useful for scholars of

Irish and IrE alike, and also for scholars interested in language contact more generally. Only a diachronic survey of this type will permit us to assess the semantic range of the Irish gram that was transferred into IrE. Third, it would be an advantage to be able to compare the findings of a survey like the present one, based on literary data, with the results of diachronic studies using, e.g. emigrant letters, journals and other writings by less literate writers, whose language may be more representative of vernacular IrE in the past. As more of this kind of material comes into the public domain, comparative studies along these lines may become a real possibility. Finally, synchronic studies based not only on larger collections of modern data than those reported hitherto in the literature but also with a wider, systematic geographical spread, are necessary for charting the present-day status of *be after V-ing*.

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On the 'After Perfect' in Irish and Hiberno-English

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1. Introduction

The *after* perfect (AFP), which is one of the most characteristic features of Irish English, has given rise to a certain amount of debate and a great deal of confusion. It is generally accepted that this formation has arisen in Hiberno-English (HE) under the influence of a similar construction in Irish, since there would seem to be no other obvious parallel or model (see, for example, Joyce 1910: 85; van Hamel 1912: 276; Henry 1957: 177-179; Bliss 1979: 302; Greene 1979: 125f.; Filppula 1999: 106). The formation in recent Hiberno-English is similar in function and distribution to the equivalent construction in present-day Irish, where it expresses for the most part a recent perfect. However, the situation is complicated by the fact that in early Hiberno-English texts, the majority of instances refer not as one might expect to the past but rather to the future (or in one or two instances the present). As Filppula remarks:

> these kinds of *after* constructions have become something of a mystery in the history of HE and have so far defied every attempt to explain how they developed their present-day meanings – if, indeed, the present-day AFPs have evolved from the early constructions. (Filppula 1999: 102)

The aim of the present article is to see if it may be possible to unravel some of the mystery.

2. Early Examples of the AFP in Hiberno-English

Examples of the construction in Hiberno-English from the 17th and early 18th centuries have been gathered together in Bliss (1979). Only one example is exactly comparable to present-day usage:

(1)   *you shee here de cause dat is after bringing you to dis plaace*

'which has brought you'
(John Dunton, *Report of a Sermon*, 1698, quoted in Bliss 1979: 133, xviii, 5)

As mentioned above, and as Bliss himself reports: "In every other instance the reference is either certainly or probably to the future, not to the past" (Bliss 1979: 300). A number of examples will suffice:

(2)   *and de Caatholicks do shay, dat you vill be after being damn'd.*
(Thomas Shadwell, *The Lancashire Witches*, 1681/2, quoted in Bliss 1979: 122, xiv, 36f.)

(3)   *I vill tell you it is a veniall Sinn, and I vill be after absolving you for it.*
(*ibid.*, 122, 62f.)

(4)   *I'll bee after telling dee de Raison.*
(John Michelburne, *Ireland Preserved*, 1705, quoted in Bliss 1979: 146, xx, 53f.)

(5)   *but day did ferry fell for demshelves, I fill be after doing fell for my shelf.*
(*ibid.*, 146, 63f.)

3. Assessments of the Evidence

The first impulse of most commentators was to dismiss examples such as these as spurious stage Irishisms. As Bliss says: "Such usages have generally been ridiculed as due to the ignorance of English writers, who have not the sense to understand the construction used by Irishmen" (Bliss 1979: 300). For instance, Bartley (1954: 130) had dismissed them as instances of satire and parody. Greene (1966: 47) dubbed them "laboured Hibernicisms" which "have no basis in the English of Ireland" and in a later work claims that they are "at variance with Hiberno-English usage" (Greene 1979: 126). In defence of his texts, Bliss would say that "not all the writers are English and in other respects they reflect Hiberno-English usage with such accuracy that it seems more profitable to accept their evidence as trustworthy and to seek an explanation for it" (Bliss 1979: 300). Nevertheless, a number of reviews of Bliss's work, without dealing in detail with the construction in question, echoed the general scepticism of earlier commentators about the trustworthiness of the evidence (cf. Canny 1980; Henry 1981; Ó Cuív 1983) and Greene, in dealing particularly with the *after* perfect, was to pronounce:

neither he (Bliss) nor any of those whom he has consulted can offer any explanation of this use of *after*… . Whatever the explanation of this use of *after*, it has no counterpart in recent Hiberno-English, such as the dialect described by Henry, where the status of the construction is that of the Recent Perfect. (Greene 1979: 126)

Now there is no doubt that many of the texts gathered together by Bliss have to be approached with a certain amount of caution, as the elements of parody and caricature are clearly there for all to see. However, as will become apparent,

it would be a mistake to dismiss these enigmatic examples of the AFP in early HE without first examining in detail the distribution and function of this formation, not in current Hiberno-English or current Irish, but in Early Modern Irish (EMI), the language in which the construction originated. First, however, it will be appropriate to look briefly at previous efforts to explain the use of the construction in early HE.

4. Attempts to Explain the Early HE Construction

As we have noted above, the modern Hiberno-English construction functions for the most part as a recent perfect (like its modern Irish equivalent) and examples with the future tense would be unusual in current Hiberno-English or for that matter in current Irish. Bliss therefore drew the conclusion that:

> The origin of the *after writing* and *after write* constructions is far from clear. In the single instance where the *after writing* construction refers to the past, it is no doubt derived from Ir. *iar*, *ar* (ScG. *air*, Manx *er*) 'after,' used with the verbal noun in all dialects of Gaelic, but this *could never refer to the future* (my italics, AÓC). It seems that when it refers to the future the *after writing* construction must have some quite different origin, in which *after* reflects some other preposition. (Bliss 1979: 302)

This statement, and the general dismissiveness of the scholars mentioned above, has led to many more or less tortured attempts to explain the provenance of these early uses of the formation. Bliss himself offered an explanation based on the Irish preposition *ar* 'on' used with verbal nouns in stative expressions such as *ar díol* 'for sale,' arguing that "a bilingual speaker seeking a rendering for *ar* might perhaps choose *after*" (Bliss 1978: 303). Kelly (1989), in an unpublished paper, suggested that these uses originated in British dialects, but as McCafferty (2003: 304) has pointed out, "there is only a minimal amount of evidence anywhere relating to its use in British English, none of it earlier than the late-nineteenth century." Kallen proposed a merger of the anterior and prospective readings of English *after* and conjectured that:

> the merger would have arisen by universally-motivated principles of TMA (tense, mood and aspect, AÓC) categorization. If this latter understanding is correct, the role of 17th century language learning and contact may not have been to affect a transfer of syntactic structures from Irish to English … but to allow universal grammatical principles to restructure the grammar of English in the context situation. (Kallen 1990: 132)

This somewhat complex speculation is followed by the suggestion that the modern restriction of the construction "to perfective situations without prospective or similar non-actual reference could then be seen as part of a decreolisation process" (*ibid.*, 132). In a somewhat similar if less complicated vein, Filppula was to suggest that:

> One possibility would be to consider the *after* of the early construction as a genuine marker of future time, modeled on related uses of *after* as a preposition denoting intention or imminence of action in other dialects of English. (Filppula 1999: 103)

Hickey was to maintain that these early examples are "combinations of *irrealis* and perfective which have receded in Irish English since" (Hickey 2000: 100). McCafferty, who has examined the HE material statistically and provided useful examples of the construction, has claimed that:

> this situation was the outcome of a process of poly-grammaticalisation by which *be after V-ing* came to be used in two senses, one originating in Irish, the other in British interpretations of the calqued Irish construction as a future gram – and, of course, in the interaction between the structure and semantics of *after*. (McCafferty 2003: 317)

Subsequent to my talk in Potsdam where the points contained in this paper were first made, a well-illustrated article on perfects in Gaelic dialects has appeared (Ó Sé 2004), a section of which is devoted to the *after* perfect in HE. However, as will become apparent from the discussion below, I cannot agree with Ó Sé who concludes that:

> the 'after' perfect has had the same meaning and function in Hiberno-English since it arose. Bliss's counterexamples are therefore most economically explained as due to the unfamiliarity of earlier English authors with genuine Irish speech. (Ó Sé 2004: 243)

Apart from other considerations, many more examples have been identified since those given by Bliss (1979), providing cumulative and convergent evidence which makes the 'silly Englishman' hypothesis less and less tenable. The examples supplied by Bliss for the period 1600-1740 have been more than quadrupled by the searches of McCafferty (2003: 312) who also makes it clear that the overwhelming majority of occurrences refer to the simple future. Moreover, Filppula (1999: 104) has identified "numerous occurrences" of the AFP with future time reference, right up to the middle of the 19th century, in sources which cannot be dismissed as counterfeit. He cites instances from the writings of Irishmen such as Carleton, a native speaker of Irish, and he quotes examples such as those below from a manuscript of about 1830, *Cathal Croibdearg or The Old Nurse's Tale or Tales told in Connaught* (National Library of Ireland MS 4: 696):

(6) '… that's too much for my poor ould heart, *it will be after breaking* outright, so it will, if you be going on at that rate, …' i.e. 'it will break' (Filppula 1999: 104)

(7) '… *I will be after curing* the poor baste, sure enough; - but it will take a power of time, before ye's be able to back him' i.e. 'I will cure' (Filppula 1999: 104)

If this cumulative evidence indicates anything, it demonstrates clearly that the syntactic distribution and functional range of the AFP in current Irish English is very different from that of early HE, and McCafferty's (2003: 312) statistical analysis of the material from 1600 to 1900 indicates what can only be described as a profound functional shift.[1]

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[1] McCafferty shows that 93% of examples in the period 1601-1750 are future rather than perfect, while this is down to 34% in texts from 1751-1850 and "from the mid-nineteenth cen-

As we have indicated above and as will become clear below, it would be a mistake to explain the semantics of the AFP in early HE based upon current HE or current Irish. Neither may we dismiss a very substantial amount of evidence (no matter how inconvenient) as simply bogus. Nor, as we hope to demonstrate, will it be necessary to resort to some of the more complex speculations alluded to above. In determining the origins and development of the AFP in combination with future tenses in early Hiberno-English, we must look a little closer at the distribution, functional range and semantic development of the AFP in Early Modern Irish.

5. Distribution and Function of the AFP in EMI and HE

It is clear from an examination of relevant texts that the syntactic distribution and functional range of the *iar/ar*[2] (after) perfect in EMI was greater than its equivalent in the modern Irish dialects. It may seem surprising that a scholar of Greene's accomplishments did not point this out. However, in a number of articles (1979 and 1979/80), Greene was to profess his belief that the *iar/ar* 'after' perfect was not part of normal Irish speech but was, rather, a formation only used by the literati. As I have indicated elsewhere (Ó Corráin fc.), this was certainly not the case (cf. now Ó Sé 2004, who comes to the same conclusion). Indeed, if the *iar/ar* 'after' perfect was not an intrinsic part of spoken EMI, one would be very hard pressed to explain its appearance in any shape or form in 17th century Hiberno-English.

For a number of reasons, the functional range of the construction was to become severely restricted in later modern Irish (as indeed in later HE). The textual evidence clearly demonstrates, however, that the *iar/ar* 'after' perfect in EMI could occur not only with the past but also with a range of tenses and moods involving future or non-actual time reference, including the future tense, the secondary future or conditional, the present subjunctive, the past subjunctive and, as we shall see, it could even be used in collocation with the imperative. It will also be apparent that it occurs in a wide variety of main and subordinate clause types.

We may begin by giving some examples of the *iar + Verbal Noun* (VN) formation involving the future tense (in the interests of economy, only a number of examples will be annotated).[3]

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tury onwards, future usage is negligible" (McCafferty 2003: 312). He has identified only three future perfects and five conditional perfects in texts from 1601-1800 (McCafferty 2004).

2   The vacillation in spelling reflects the fact that in speech *iar* was being reduced to *ar* (/ər/). As we shall see below, it was eventually to be superseded by the compound prepositions *a haithle*, *d'éis*, *tar éis* and *i ndiaidh*, all signifying 'after.'

3   Unfortunately, we have few texts in Irish from the period that explicitly reveal common speech and we are forced to rely upon examples gleaned from a range of disparate and varied source material. In what follows, translations from Latin, Spanish, English and French, mostly of religious material for common consumption, some by the likes of Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, who wrote in his own words for "simple people unversed in abstruse Irish,"

5.1. The AFP with the Future Tense in Irish

(8) *bheth   ullamh   do chum   résúin   do   thabhairt   ar son   a gcredmhe*
SVB-VN   prepared   to/for   reason   to   giving VN   for   their faith

gach   uair   bhias   sé   arna   iaruidh   orro
each   time   SVB-FUT-REL-3SG   it   after its   asking VN   on them

translating 'to be readye to geue a reason of their faith when they shal be there unto required' (lit. '… when it will be after its asking on them') (Ó Cuív 1994: 133)

(9) *do chum   go mbeam   arnar   bhfollamhnadh   go diágha*
for   that SVB-FUT-1PL   after our   governing VN   godly

cumhsgnaighthe   fúithaigh
quietly   under her

translating 'that vnder her we maie be godly and quietly gouerned' (lit. 'so that we will be after our governing …,' i.e. 'that we will be governed' (Ó Cuív 1994: 117)

(10) *Agus   do bhrigh go   mbía   a   néagcóir   arna*
and   because   SVB-FUT-3SG   their   injustice   after its

meadughadh   fúairéochuidh   carthannachd   mhóráin
increasing VN   GET COLD-FUT-SG3   love   many-GEN

'because of the increase of wickedness, the love of most will grow cold'
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Math 24:12, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(11) *bíaidh   an ghrían   arna   dhorchughadh*
SVB-FUT-3SG   the sun   after its   darkening VN

'the sun will be darkened,' Vulgate: 'sol obscurabitur'
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Math 24:29, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(12) *7 gach ceartuighthe ele bhiás arná chur ar in drém bhús ciontach 7 bhús maidnneachdach ann so do chóimhlíonadh*

translating 'or other cohercion, as shal be imposed upon suche as shall herein make default' (lit. 'will be after its putting') (Ó Cuív 1994: 133)

(13) *"go mbia tusa ad Thighearna iar nad h'onórughadh, 7 iarnad ghlórughadh."*

'so that you as Lord will be honoured and glorified'
(lit. 'will be after your honouring')
(*Desiderius*, published 1616, ll. 6947-9, (O'Rahilly 1941: 226))

(14) *'biaidh mé arnam shásadh, an tan bhus léir dhamh do ghlóire-se'*

translating 'satiabor cum apparuerit Gloria tua'
(*Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis*, completed 1631, ll. 3970f., (Bergin 1931: 125))

(15) *biaidh tú arnad chonnlughadh it tomba féin*

'you will be confined in your own tomb' translating 'colligeris ad sepulcrum tuum'
(*Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis*, ll. 6095f., (Bergin 1931: 192))

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are complemented by original compositions, by reference to sermons directed at the populace and by evidence provided by early grammarians.

(16) *an feadh bhiam arnar bhfolach fá ualach na feóla sa [in]ar ttimcheall*

translating 'dum hac mole carnis tegimur'
(*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, translated from the Latin in 1650 by Bonaveantúr Ó
Conchúir, ll. 8264f., (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 233))

(17) *beidh tú ar do fhliuchadh le drúcht nimhe*

'you will be made moist by the dew of heaven'
(*Stair an Bhíobla III*, Uáitéar Ua Ceallaigh, c. 1726, (Ní Mhuirgheasa 1942: 133))

(18) *béid siad uile ar na dTeagasc le Dia*

translated 'They shall be all taught of (i.e. by) God'
(*An Teagasg Críosduidhe*, pre 1741, (Donlevy 1848: 412)), (cf. *Tiomna Nuadh*, Eoin
6:45 with *ó Dhia*)

(19) *Iomchraithfidh tu Íosóip oram, a Thighearna, agus biaidh mé air mo ghlanadh*[4]

'Thou shalt sprinkle me, O Lord, with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed'
(*An Teagasg Críosduidhe*, (Donlevy 1848: 390), (cf. *Trompa na bhFlaitheas*, c.
1755, l. 555, (O'Rahilly 1955: 22), translating 'mundabor')

While the above examples are in the passive, the voice in which the majority
of examples occur in our texts, *iar + Verbal Noun* (VN) also occurs in active
propositions with future or with non-actual time reference:[5]

(20) *nuáir bheithí   ar   tteachd   anall tar   Iordan   go tír*
      when SBV-FUT-2PL   after   COME-VN   over   Jordan   to land

Chánaain
of Canann

'when you cross the Jordan into Canaan'
(*Leabhuir na Seintiomna*, Uimhreacha 35:10, (Uilliam Bedell 1685))

(21) *dénaidh gérchoimét nó biad ar siubal uaib*

'be vigilant or I will be gone from you' (the equivalent of a participle, but literally 'I
will be after going/moving from you')
(*Silva Gadelica* 1: 278)

(22) *Beidh me iar do bhualadh*

'I will be after beating you; i.e. I will have beaten you.'
(Neilson 1808 (1990): 124)

(23) *biad iar nglanadh*

'I will be after cleansing'
(O'Donovan 1845: 183)

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4 I have corrected the misprint in the original which has *a hTighearna*.
5 Considering the relative dirth of actives, O'Rahilly (1932: 234, note 2) may well be right
   when he suggests that the active construction "was a popular one and not favoured by the
   literary class."

(24)   *mar dhíbereadh caora a huan féin uaidhche da bhfaiceadh si cuma, deilbh, no de-anamh madraigh no mic tíre* air *tteacht air*

    'as a sheep would banish its lamb if she were to see the shape, form or appearance of a dog or wolf (after) coming upon it'
(*Seanmónta Chuige Uladh*, l. 100, (Ó Maonaigh 1965: 4))

5.2. The AFP with the Secondary Future or Conditional

(25)   *Ar an n-ádhbhar so, a áirdThighearna, do chum go mbeithea* iarnad *th'aithne agus íarnad ghrádhughodh 7* iarnad *h'onórughadh ód chréatúiribh*

    'so that you would be known and loved and honoured by your creatures'
(*Desiderius*, 94-97, (O'Rahilly 1941: 4))

(26)   *Go mbéimís … * air *ar sáoradh ó láimh ar námhad*

    'that we would be rescued from the hand of our enemies'
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Lúcas 1:74, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(27)   *staid fhoírfidh do bheith aige anna mbiadh na mílte maith* arna *ccomhchruin-niughadh*

    'status omnium bonorum aggregatione perfectus'
(*An Bheatha Dhiadha*, 1092-94, (Ó Fachtna 1967: 30))

(28)   *an aimsir sin … ina mbeith féin* arna *bháthadh i ttobar an doilghis*

    'that time … when he himself would be immersed in the well of sorrow (baptismo doloris).'
(*An Bheatha Dhiadha*, 5359-5363, (Ó Fachtna 1967: 145)).

(29)   *ní bheithdís* arna *mealladh ris an mblas mbeag gan tábhacht sin*

    'they would not be enticed by that little insignificant taste'
(*An Bheatha Dhiadha*, 5594f., (Ó Fachtna 1967: 151))

(30)   *Ná meas gur fearr thú féin ná cách, d'eagla go mbéitheá* ar *do mheas níos measa i láthair Dé*

    'do not think yourself better than others lest, perhaps, you be accounted worse before God,' (Non te reputes aliis meliorem, ne forte coram Deo deterior habearis)
(*Tóraidheacht ar Lorg Chríosta*, translated 1762, (Ua Tuathail 1915 (1951): 32))

5.3. The AFP with the Subjunctive

Without labouring the point, it will be useful to add a few examples of the AFP in collocation with the present subjunctive (31) and past subjunctive (32), (33), the first two examples being passive, the last active:

(31)   *Ní héidir lé duine éinnidh do ghlacadh, muna raibh sé* arna *thabhairt dó ó neamh*

    'a man can receive only what may be given him from heaven,'
    'non potest homo accipere quicquam nisi fuerit ei datum de caelo'
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Eoin 3:27, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(32) *muna mbeith* arna *chomhchur d'anam 7 do chorp*

     'si homo non esset aliquid compositum ex anima, et corpore'
     (*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, 1258, (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 37))

(33) *muna mbeithdís* iar *ccruadhughadh 7* iar *gcalcughadh a bpeacadh an díchreidimh*

     'nisi ex demerito perfidae suae indurate essent'
     (*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, 7314f., (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 207))

It should be clear from the above that Bliss was led badly astray, for his contention that *iar/ar* 'after' plus the *Verbal Noun (VN)* construction "could never refer to the future" (Bliss 1979: 302) is patently wrong. On the contrary, the formation exhibits a particularly extensive distribution in tenses and moods with future and non-actual time reference.

5.5. Functions of the AFP in Early Modern Irish and HE

Moreover, apart from exhibiting a greater temporal and modal distribution, it is also evident that the *after* perfect had a wider functional range than its current counterpart. The examples below (in a variety of tenses) will give some indication of its functions.[6]

The primary function of the construction was to signify a simple state or a state resulting from previous action. Here we have some passive examples (34) and (35) followed by active examples (36) and (37):

(34) *óir is mar so atá sé* arna *sgríobhadh ag an bhfáidh*

     'for so is it written (or has been written) by the prophet'
     'sic enim scriptum est per prophetam' (Vulgate)
     (*Tiomna Nuadh*, Matthew 2:5, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(35) *tar éis na n-argumainteadh atá* arna *suidioghadh ar chreideamh Chríost*

     'after the arguments that are based (or 'have been based') on the faith of Christ,'
     translating 'post argumenta super Christi Fidem extructa.'
     (*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, ll. 1995f., (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 57))

(36) *Scandlan mor mac Cind Faelad, do bi* ar *tuitim a mbraighdenus ag righ Erend*

     'Scannlan Mor, son of Cennfaelad, that had fallen under the bondage of the King of Erin'
     (*Betha Colaim Chille* § 345, compiled 1532, (O'Kelleher and Schoepperle 1918 (1994): 368))

(37) *atá an saoghal uile* iarnad *sheachna 7* iar *dteitheamh ód chaidreabh chaoinmhilis*

     'the whole world has avoided thee and has fled from thy sweet company'
     (*Desiderius*, ll. 90-92, (O'Rahilly 1941: 4))

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[6] For some active and passive examples in non-future tenses see Ó Corráin (1997: 166).

Although in the modern language, as we noted above, the formation functions mainly as a recent perfect,[7] clear examples of the recent perfect are few and far between in EMI texts. Paradoxically, however, our earliest attested example, from a 12th century translation of the *Thebaid* of Statius (quoted by Greene 1979/80: 88) would appear to be just such a case (38). Further examples from somewhat later Irish are given at (39) and (40).

(38) *Et robai claideb in rig lan d'fhuil ina laim, mar bad ar marbad a hathar robeth 7 arna adluccun*

'And the king's blood-stained sword was in her hand, as if it were so that she had just slain and buried her father.'
(*Togail na Tebe*, l. 1932, (Calder 1922: 122))

(39) *fear mór ... agus sgian lán fola ionna láimh aige ... agus é tar éis[8] a theacht ó fhion-nadh mairt*

lit. 'a big man … with a knife covered in blood in his hand … and he after coming from flaying a cow'
(*Stair Éamoinn Uí Chleire*, circa 1700, (Ó Neachtain 1918: 32))

(40) *Ta me iar teacht o hAlbain,*

'I am after coming from Scotland; i.e. I have just come'
(Neilson 1808 (1990): 124)

In keeping with its primary function, the formation could, of course, express a future perfect and it is possible to interpret a number of our future reference examples above as future perfects. However, as is well known, perfects have a recurring tendency to extend their semantic range and this is precisely what has happened with the AFP in Scottish Gaelic (especially in relation to future reference) and also in Manx. As T.F. O'Rahilly has put it in his authorative survey of Gaelic dialects:

> constructions of the latter type (*ar + possessive + verbal-noun*) are sometimes used in Scottish, and very often in Manx, when action rather than state is indicated; thus in a Scottish folk-tale we read: *bidh an rígheachd air a sgrios agus tu féin air do mharbhadh* ('the kingdom will be destroyed and you will be killed,' AOC) where Irish would use the inflected passive *sgriosfar an r. agus muirbhfear (or muireófar,* etc.*) thú féin'.* Similarly one finds in Sc.: *dh'ordaich e a' bhean a bhith air a cur gu bás* 'he ordered the woman to be put to death,' where Irish would say: *d'órda sé an bhean a chur chun báis.* (O'Rahilly 1932: 135)[9]

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[7] Ó Sé (2004) has shown how the formation has now extended its meaning beyond the recent perfect, especially in Munster.

[8] We have here an early example with *tar éis* rather than *iar*, for the development of which, see our discussion below.

[9] Compare: *gum feum Mac an duine moran fhulang, a bhith air a dhiultadh leis na se-anairean, … 'sa bhith air a chur gu bas* 'that the Son of Man must suffer many things and be rejected by the elders … and that he must be put to death.' (*Gaelic Bible*, Mark 8:31, (Mac-Eachan 1875))

Compare the Scottish Gaelic examples below (41)-(43) and some examples from the Manx Bible (44) and (45):

(41) *gach dachaidh anns am bi mo ghuth air a chluinntinn an nochd*

'every home in which my voice will be heard tonight'
(*Am Measg nam Bodach*, 1938: 43)

(42) *Bha cuid de dhaoine … nach fuilingeadh sgeulachd idir a bhi air a h-aithris 'nan éisdeachd*

'there were some people … who would not allow any tales to be told in their hearing'
(MacFadyen (Mac Phaidein), 1913: 68)

(43) *nach bu chòir sgeòil de'n t-seòrsa a bhi idir air an ionnsachadh do chloinn bhig*

'that stories of that sort should not be taught at all to small children'
(MacFadyen (Mac Phaidein), 1913: 73)

(44) | *son* | *nagh* | *bee* | | *leigh* | *Voses* | *er ny vrishey* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| so that | not | SVB-FUT-SSG | | law | of Moses | after its breaking VN |

'so that the law of Moses will not be broken'
(*Yn Conaat Noa*, John 7:23)

(45) *Bee shiu er nyn yannoo seyr*

'you shall be set free' (lit. 'you will be after your making free')
(*ibid.*, John 8:33)

Now it is clear from the Irish examples quoted above that, before its demise, the Irish *iar + VN* formation had (in a similar manner to Scottish Gaelic and Manx) begun to extend its range and in certain contexts could indicate, especially in relation to the future, action rather than state. It is significant that it often translates the Latin simple future rather than the future perfect (cf., for instance, examples (14), (15) and (16) above). Similarly, it may also translate English simple futures rather than future perfects (cf. examples (8), (9), (12), (18) and (19)). Indeed, of the instances quoted above, many simply do not admit of a future perfect interpretation. Consider again a cross-section of our examples:

Ná meas gur fearr thú féin ná cách, d'eagla go mbéitheá ar do mheas níos measa i lathair Dé

which means 'do not think yourself better than others lest you be accounted worse before God' (clearly 'lest you will/would have been accounted worse' is impossible)

gach uair bhias sé arna iaruidh orro

means quite simply 'each time it will be asked of them'

go mbia tusa ad Thighearna iarnad h'onórughadh, 7 iarnad ghlórughadh

means 'so that you as Lord will be honoured and glorified' (certainly not 'will have been honoured etc.')

beidh tú ar do fhliuchadh le drúcht nimhe

'you will be moistened by the dew of heaven'

Iomchraithfidh tu Íosóip oram, a Thighearna, agus biaidh mé air mo ghlanadh

translating 'asperges me hyssopo et mundabor'
lit. 'I will be after my cleansing'

béidh siad uile arna dTeagasc le Dia

is translated into English as 'they shall be all taught of (i.e. by) God'

Compare also the instances below of the present tense with prospective or non-actual reference:

(46) *atá ós gach maith, & gurab fiu é bheith iar n-a ghrádhughadh go síordhoidhi*

'He is greater than every good and deserves to be loved eternally'
(*Desiderius*, 5474f., (O'Rahilly 1941: 178))
(again, 'to have been loved' is impossible)

(47) *As romhaith iomorró stiúradh na hiomadamhlachta madh bhíonn arna stiúradh 7 arna riaghladh ré haon*

translating 'multitudinis autem regimen optimum est, si per unum regatur'
(*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, ll. 7674f., (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 217))

(48) *ba mian leis é féin do bheith arna iodhbairt i n-éinfheacht léithe*

'he wished to be sacrificed along with her'
(*Stair an Bhíobla II*, Uáitéar Ua Ceallaigh, c. 1726, (Ní Mhuirgheasa 1942: 133))

Compare, further, the following future tense example from c. 1610 with *d'éis* rather than *iar/ar*:

(49) *gach rogha seoch láneascar / nó biaidh tú d'éis do chéasta,*

which we may render roughly as 'choose wisely rather than utter ruination, or you will be tormented'
(*Dánta Mhuiris Mhic Dháibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt*, 8, l. 168, (Williams 1979: 53))

The fact that these Irish examples function as simple futures rather than future perfects is of key significance in relation to the much discussed HE examples, as one of the most puzzling features of these for scholars of Irish English is that most, as we have seen above, signify the simple future rather than the future perfect.

It is not my intention to provide a detailed analysis of the functions of the AFP in early Hiberno-English. However, it is worth pointing out that a similar range of uses to that which we have delineated for EMI also appears in our early HE examples. As in Early Modern Irish (EMI), the formation could function as a *stative/resultative* (this is particularly evident in hybrid examples):

(50) *Barrels of de Money, dat have been after hid*
      (John Michelburne, *Ireland Preserved*, 1705, (Bliss 1979: 147))

(51) *I have not been after breaking any Thing of his that I know ...*
      (Fielding 1750: 9, quoted in McCafferty 2004)

(52) *the young gentleman has been after going out of hearing it all along*
      (Sterne 1760, VII: 25, quoted in McCafferty 2004)

Again, in keeping with our Irish material, the *recent perfect*, while clearly another function of the construction, is only sparsely represented before the mid 19th century although a few examples can be identified:

(53) *You shee here de cause dat is after bringing you to dis plaace*

'which has brought you'
(John Dunton, *Report of a Sermon*, 1698, quoted in Bliss 1979: 133, xviii, 5), (example 1, above)

(54) *Why, friend, my master is Mr. Delamour, who is just after coming from Paris …*
(O'Keefe 1767: 23, quoted in McCafferty 2004)

(55) *"I'm after travelling the half of the parish for that poor bag of oats that you see standing against the ditch."*
(Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1842-44 (1990): 74)
'I have just travelled' (quoted by Filppula 1999: 105)

As we have seen, the AFP commonly appears in early HE texts in reference to future time and in a number of cases, these are clearly future perfects or conditional perfects: [10]

(56) *when you and Master Patrick O'Burke are after settling with their pious majesties,*

i.e. 'will have settled' (John Banim, *The Denounced*, 1830, vol. I: 287)

(57) *when both are after making some settlement* (*ibid.*, 287)

(58) *for if they were left all night in the bog, your Honor, they'd be after getting the cruppan in respect of eating the keebduh*
(Lady Morgan, *O'Donnel*, 1814: 276)

and they are comparable to equivalent propositions in Irish such as:

(59) *Beidh me iar do bhualadh*

'I will be after beating you; i.e. I will have beaten you'
(Neilson 1808 (1990): 124)

(60) *muna mbeithdís iar ccruadhughadh 7 iar gcalcughadh a bpeacadh an díchreidimh*

'nisi ex demerito perfidae suae indurate essent'
(*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, 7314f., (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 207))[11]

In most such cases in early HE, however, the AFP expresses action rather than state and, as I have demonstrated, there is no lack of similar examples with future time reference from earlier stages of Irish. While in both languages the formation could be used both actively and passively, it is particularly prevalent in our Irish texts as a passive and it is there that we must look for the source of 'after' referring to the simple future in HE. We may remind ourselves of some examples:

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[10] I would like to thank Kevin McCafferty for providing me with these examples.
[11] The substantive verb is in the past subjunctive here.

(61) *you vill be after being damn'd*,

i.e. 'you will be damned'[12]
(Thomas Shadwell, *The Lancashire Witches*, 1681/2, xiv, 37)

(62) *when I do go home, I vill be after being absolv'd for it*,

i.e. 'I will be absolved' (*ibid.*, 174)

(63) *if you don't go to dinner this instant every thing will be after being spoil'd*
(Stephens, *The Fair Orphan*, LOL, 1771, quoted in McCafferty 2003: 314)

(64) *and had like to have bin after being slain upon a Gibbet*
(Shadwell 1690: 21, quoted in McCafferty 2004)

The syntactic, functional and semantic congruence between this and the Irish construction is patently obvious. We need do no more than point to the correspondence between, for instance, *You vill be after being damn'd* and *beidh tú ar do fhliuchadh* (examples 17 above) or between *I vill be after being absolv'd* and *biaidh mé air mo ghlanadh* (19 above).

Furthermore, it is clear that other apparently mysterious uses of the formation in HE can without difficulty be derived from the substrate language. McCafferty, draws attention to the occurrence of the HE formation in the imperative (66), seeing there evidence that the early Hiberno-English AFP had become a "highly developed future gram" (McCafferty 2003: 314):

(65) *be after going before me*
(Garrick, *The Irish Widow*, LOL, 1772: 26, quoted by McCafferty 2003: 314)

But compare Irish examples with the imperative such as the following from a 17th century manuscript:

(66) *"Agus bí-se air siubhal anois," air sí*

literally '"and be after going now," said she'
(*Dhá Sgéal Artúraíochta*, Mhac an tSaoi 1984: 14) [13]

Note also the following passive examples with the imperative from 17th century Irish:

(67) *bí arnad ghlanadh ód pheacadhaibh*

'ablue peccata tua,' 'be cleansed from your sins,'
lit. 'be after your cleansing from your sins'
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Gníomhartha 22:16, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

and these examples of the AFP with the imperative from Manx and Scottish Gaelic:

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[12] Ó Sé (2004) sees this as a future perfect, but it is clear from the context that this is not the case.

[13] The manuscript would appear to have *bhise*, but the editorial emendation is quite acceptable; compare *bíom ar siobhal* 'let us depart' (*Desiderius*, l. 3410, (O'Rahilly 1941: 112)).

(68) *bee er dty ghlenney*

    'be clean,' lit. 'be after your cleansing'
    (*Yn Conaat Noa*, Luke 5:13)

(69) *falbh ann an sith, is bi air do leigheas bho d' eucail*

    'go in peace and be freed from your suffering'
    (*Gaelic Bible*, Mark 5:34, (MacEachan 1875)).

Finally, Filppula (1999: 105) directs our attention to the appearance in 19th century emigrant letters of *after* followed by a noun phrase rather than a participle and asserts that he has been informed that no parallel construction exists in Irish. He draws the conclusion that "the HE usage has here 'overgeneralised' the substratal model" (Filppula 1999: 302, note 12). However, rather like Bliss before him, Filppula has been led astray by faulty information. Below is just one example from a 17th century text of *after* (here *tar éis*) followed by a noun: [14]

(70) *Ní bhfachtar sochar ná somhaoin ón muic nó go mbí sí tar éis bháis*

    'no profit is derived from the pig until after it has died,'
    lit. 'until she bees after death.'
    (*Párliament na mBan*, probably composed 1697, ll. 1123f., (Ó Cuív 1970: 36))

It should be clear from this brief survey that the various functions assignable to the early Hiberno-English AFP may be derived from attestable uses in earlier stages of Irish. The mistake of previous scholars was to attempt to explain 17th century HE in the light of present day HE or present day Irish, rather than from the evidence of 16th and 17th century Irish.

6. The Restriction of the AFP to the Recent Perfect

However, this does not completely solve our mystery for it raises another question. If at earlier stages of both Irish and HE, the formation could refer to the future and could in future contexts express action rather than state, why in both languages was the construction restricted to having the status of a recent perfect (and referring normally only to the past)? Again, we have to look at what was happening in Irish for the answer. The detailed analysis of developments in Irish is given in Ó Corráin (fc.) but a summary for Hiberno-English scholars may be given here.

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[14] Filppula (1999: 105) quotes the example *I am after my breakfast* from Hayden and Hartog (1909: 933), but says "for some reason or other it does not appear to survive in modern HE usage." His note reads: "Dónall Ó Baoill (pc.) points out to me that Irish has no parallel construction in which the preposition would be followed by a noun, instead of the usual verbal noun" (Filppula 1999: 302, note 12). But sentences such as *I'm only after my dinner* are frequent in my dialect of HE (AÓC) and the equivalent *Níl mé ach i ndiaidh mo dhinnéara* (literally 'I am not but after my dinner') is also common in Irish.

It is demonstrably clear that the preposition *iar/ar* 'after,' gradually became phonetically indistinguishable from the preposition *ar* 'on' and was consequently becoming ambiguous. For instance, in the following examples, *iar/ar* plus Verbal Noun means 'while' or 'when' rather than 'after:'

(71) *Agus iar mbeith ag teitheadh do Absolon*

 'and while Absolon was fleeing'
 (*Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis*, l. 999, (Bergin 1931: 34))

(72) *agus ar dtriall san dturus soin do Cheallachán*

 'and when Ceallachán was going'
 (Bergin 1930: 50)

Presumably as a consequence, we find *iar/ar* being substituted in the AFP construction by less ambiguous perfect markers such as *a haithle* and *d'éis* (compound prepositions meaning 'after,' subsequently superseded by *tar éis*, *i ndiaidh*, etc.). This occurs as early as the 15th century:

(73) *dá mbia nech a haili fola do c[h]ur amach*
 (an example from 1459, quoted by O'Rahilly 1932: 235)

(74) *d'eis a sgagtha do bhi in bhen*

 'the woman had been proved'
 (Irish Texts 109 § 49, an example from 1551, quoted by Greene 1979)

Furthermore, in the following century we can discern the expansion of a rival formation based on the substantive verb + verbal adjective + preposition (*tá sé déanta agam*, etc.). This is the equivalent of the HE 'I have it done,' (Retrospective II (Henry 1957), the 'medial-object' perfect (Filppula 1999)). We will refer to it simply as (Periphrastic) Perfect 2.[15] This formation is already apparent in texts from the 16th century and we have evidence that it was frowned upon at that stage by the learned. Bonaventura Ó hEodhasa in his *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae* which was written in Louvain between 1607 and 1614, after dealing with the *iar/ar* plus verbal noun construction, states explicitly that there is a tendency for this to be substituted by a newer formation with the verbal adjective:

 Pro participio activo praeterito, verbale et[iam] nomen cum praepositione *ar* vel *iar* accipiunt, ut *atā Tadhg ar mb[u]aladh < nō iar mbualadh > Bhriain*. E[a]dem illa etiam accipiuntur pro participijs passivis praesentis et praeteriti quando nomen ponitur expresse vel implicite cum praepositione *le* vel *ó*, ut *atā Brian gā b[h]ualadh nó ar na bhualadh le nó ó Thadhg*. Pro isto praeterito saepe dicitur *atā Brian buailte*, sed hoc reprobatur a peritis, … (*Rudimenta Gramaticae Hibernicae*, 64, caput xxxiii, (Mac Aogáin 1968: 64))

The tendency for the AFP to be superseded by the new formation is also apparent in our sample of texts. The change is neatly captured in separate versions of the New Testament. In the original 1603 version (as noted above) we find:

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[15] The Irish construction is referred to as PII by Greene (1979).

(75) *óir   is   mar so   atá sé   **arna sgríobhadh**   ag an bhfáidh*
     for   it is   like this   that it is   after its writing   at the prophet

'for so is it written by the prophet'
'sic enim scriptum est per prophetam' (Vulgate)
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Matha 2:5, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

Whereas by the time of the 1837 edition this has been updated to:

(76) *oir   is   mar so   atá sé   **sgríobhtha**   ag an bhfáidh*
     for   it is   like this   that it is   written   at the prophet

(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Matha 2:5, (O'Domhnaill 1837 edition))

A similar relationship holds between (78) and (79):

(77) *Ataíd na huile neithe **arna ndéunamh** trí san mbréithirsi: agus ní fhuil ní ar bioth dá ndéarnadh **arna dhéunamh** na féugmais* (as below)
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Eoin 1:3, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(78) *Leisean a táid na huile neithe **déunta**; 7 gan é ní bhfuil éinnídh **déunta**, da ndéarnadh*

'All things were made by him and without him was not anything made that was made'
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Eoin 1:3, (O'Domhnaill 1837 edition))

The range of functions of Periphrastic Perfect 2, at an earlier stage of Irish and its rather complicated if fascinating development is detailed in Ó Corráin (fc.). Suffice to say here that like the *after* perfect, it could function as a stative/resultative (80) and like the AFP it could occur in the context of future time reference (81):

(79) *an ní atá **toirmisgthe** ó aithne na heaglaise*[16]

'that which is prohibited by the precepts of the church'
(*Rialachas San Froinsias*, § 66, (Ó Súilleabháin 1953: 32))

(80) *chuir an tighearna meisi, ... dochum aisig do radharc dhfaghail dhuit agus do bheith **líonta** ón spiorad náomh*

'the Lord sent me … so that you may see again and be filled with the Holy Spirit'
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Gníomhartha 9:17, (O'Domhnaill 1603)) [17]

With the rise of Periphrastic Perfect 2 we get the concomitant demise of Periphrastic Perfect 1 (the AFP). Furthermore, it happens in accordance with sound linguistic principles: in conformation with Kuryłowicz's fourth law of analogy (Kuryłowicz 1947), the new formation takes over the core functions of the older construction and the latter is left with a subsidiary function (in this case the

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[16] For the early use of the prepositions *ó* and *le* rather than *ag* to mark the agent, see Ó Corráin (fc.).
[17] The original has *liónta*.

marking of the recent perfect).[18] What is particularly remarkable is that the evolution of the AFP in Irish (now with *tar éis*, *i ndiaidh*) is mirrored by the evolution of the AFP in HE. In Irish, by the middle of the 19th century, as a result of the developments outlined above, the AFP (Perfect 1) occurs predominantly as a recent perfect and Perfect 2 becomes progressively productive. From his study of the relevant data in Hiberno-English, Filppula suggests that the older uses of the AFP in HE had become "almost obsolete" by about the mid 19th century and the older type does not seem to occur in the latter half of that century (although Carlton, a native speaker of Irish writing in the 1840s, provides examples of both the older and newer uses of the formation) (Filppula 1999: 104ff). Furthermore, the equivalent of Perfect 2 ('I have it done' etc.) emerges late in HE. There are no examples in the Bliss collection of texts, but Visser gives an example from Farquhar's *Twin Rivals* (1702/3) (see Kallen 1990: 129; Filppula 1999: 111). Once again, this concurs rather well with the evidence from Irish.[19]

7. Conclusions

It is clear, then, that the mystery of the early Hiberno-English AFP is amenable to rational resolution. The use of the AFP with future time reference in HE has undoubtedly been calqued on equivalent uses of the AFP formation in Irish. Rather than being "mere stupid errors committed by Englishmen who failed to understand the construction," the earliest Hiberno-English examples reflect the fact that the Irish formation had a wider syntactic distribution and a greater functional range than its current counterpart: it could act as a stative/resultative perfect as well as a recent perfect and, particularly in reference to the future, it could express an action rather than a state. The syntactic distribution and functional range of the formation in Early Modern Irish is replicated in early Hiberno-English.

For a variety of reasons, the *iar/ar + VN* formation was becoming progressively ambiguous and, perhaps as a consequence, a rival construction developed. This newer formation took over the core functions of the earlier formation and the latter was limited to the subsidiary function of marking the recent perfect. What is particularly striking is how faithfully HE reflects developments in Irish. As the parent formation in Irish contracts in syntactic distribution and functional range, the calqued formation in HE also contracts, becoming likewise a marker

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[18] Kuryłowicz's fourth is a particularly dependable 'law' and has validity not only for phonology and morphology but also within the areas of syntax and semantics.

[19] It is noteworthy that the AFP is resilient in earlier functions in Manx and in Scottish Gaelic. It is most likely that Perfect 2 developed in the south west of Ireland (see Greene 1979: 141) and it is entirely possible that the *iar* perfect was most resilient in the eastern parts of Ireland (where of course the language has now disappeared). Without wishing to read too much into it, it is interesting that the AFP in Filppula's data from HE is much more common in eastern HE (Dublin and Wexford) than in the south west (Clare and Kerry) and, conversely, that the equivalent of Irish Perfect 2 is more commonly used in the south west than in the east (see Filppula 1999: 101 and 109).

of the recent perfect. In Irish, by the 19th century the older functions of the AFP appear but seldom. In HE, the older functions of the AFP do not occur in texts from about the 1840s on. There could hardly be a clearer indication of how inextricably intertwined Irish and Irish-English are and a more emphatic demonstration of the necessity to fully explore the former in attempting to elucidate the latter.

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How to *put up* with *cur suas le rud* and the Bidirectionality of Contact[1]

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> "The verb-particle construction in English is one of the most controversial and written about subjects in the syntactic literature of this language." (Aidan Doyle 2001: 98)

1. Preverbal Composition in Old Irish and Old English

When looking at an arbitrary sample of an Old Irish text, among the first things one notices is the high frequency of preverbal compounds.[2] At the older stages of the Irish language, the vast majority of verbs was compound, i.e. combined with a preverbal prefix. This was usually a local preposition in origin, a process well known from other Indo-European languages like Sanskrit, Greek or Latin. Even for verbs which are simple in other languages, Old Irish very often employs compound verbs, so we have e.g. *do-téit* 'comes,' *do-tuit* 'falls,' *as-beir* 'says,' *fo-ceird* 'puts,' *ad-cí* 'sees,' *ro-cluinethar* 'hears' etc.

As far as the frequency of verbal composition is concerned, similar observations can be made in any Old English text. Roughly estimated, at least one third of the verbs in e.g. *Beowulf* are preverbal compounds, which is definitely not the case in Modern English. We find examples with a local preposition which now stands after the verb like *þurhwadan* 'pass through,' *forgyldan* 'pay for' on the one hand and verbs which are replaced by simple verbs nowadays like *forlætan*

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[2] Cf. Veselinović (2003: 48 and 2005 passim). I regard the process of adding a preverb to a verb as composition, not derivation, since most Indo-European preverbs are meaningful lexical units and not merely derivational morphemes.

'leave,' *tobrecan* 'shatter' on the other. The neglectful treatment of compound verbs in dictionaries of Old English might have been to some extent influenced by the native speakers of Modern English.[3] A good survey of the research conducted in this field is given by Brinton (1988: ch. 5 "The Development of Phrasal Verbs in English;" see also Bolinger 1971).

The purpose of this paper is to show that Irish and English, two languages that were once typologically rather different, but similar in that they both made extensive use of the device of verbal composition, have undergone a very similar development as far as the abolition of preverbal compounds and the increase of analytic constructions, i.e. multi-word verbs, is concerned.

Preverbal composition and most of the inflexional system in Irish were given up during the Middle Irish period leading to a dramatic change in morphosyntax. From a language with a highly complex verbal morphology, Irish developed into a language with just a few remnants of the once so extensive inflection. Preverbs had become obsolete both as aspectual markers[4] and as lexical complements of the verbal content by the time of Early Modern Irish (approximately the beginning of the 13th century). A strikingly similar development occurred in English, distinguishing it from other modern Germanic languages, where preverbal composition is still highly productive.

A shift from preverbal compounds to constructions with postverbal particles can be noticed in Early Middle English and is firmly established around 1200 (Claridge 2000: 84), which corresponds to the time estimated above for the same process in Irish. The fact that English underwent a rather different development to other Germanic languages in this respect, as well as in its basic word order, leads us towards various speculations about language contact that can be held responsible for these tendencies. I will try to find evidence that supports the assumption that English and Irish cannot be viewed separately as far as the emergence and origin of verbal formations containing more than one word are concerned.

The paper is organised as follows: In chapter 2, a brief attempt towards a typology of the Modern Irish verbal lexeme – particularly the periphrastic constructions and their idiosyncrasies – is given. This is followed in chapter 3 by a synchronic comparison of Irish and English, based on the awareness that we may presuppose language contact, in chapter 4 an attempt towards a diachronic explanation is made and in chapter 5 some preliminary conclusions are drawn. As most examples in this paper serve to illustrate amply attested phenomena from a living language, they are not a product of a corpus analysis or of elicitation, but simply a collection of sentences which were constructed by the author and confirmed by native speakers and, in some instances, the result of internet searches or slightly simplified versions of original oral utterances from the *Caint Chonamara* database (Wigger 2000).

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[3] Kornexl (1994: 447), Dietz (2004 passim).

[4] As far as the aspect and aktionsart dichotomy is concerned, I refer to previous terminological discussions, e.g. in Sasse (1990 passim, 2001: 6), Veselinović (2003: 10f.), and recently Wischer and Habermann (2004: 264).

2. The Shape of the Modern Irish Verbal Lexeme

Irish has overtaken English in the extreme analyticisation of the verbal system. Modern Irish possesses a multitude of complex verbal structures to denote verbal actions usually expressed by simple verbs in other languages:

(1)   Stative possessive constructions, where a state is expressed through a construction with a possessive pronoun:

   Tá mé i mo chodladh 'I am sleeping' (lit. 'I am in my sleep')

   Tá mé i mo sheasamh 'I am standing' (lit. 'I am in my standing')

(2)   Semantically transitive light verb constructions[5]

   caith tobac 'smoke' (lit. 'to use tobacco')

   déan dearmad 'forget' (lit. 'to make a mistake, an omission')

(3)   Semantically intransitive light verb constructions[6]

   faigh bás 'die' (lit. 'to get death')

   lig sraoith 'sneeze' (lit. 'to let a sneezing')

   tarraing anáil (lit. 'to pull breath')

(4)   Constructions with verbal nouns without a corresponding verb

   Tá an madra ag tafann. 'The dog is barking.'

   Tá siad ag gáire. 'They are laughing.'

Old Irish had single-word expressions for most of these concepts, most of which were compound verbs: *con-tuili* 'sleeps,' *at-baill* 'dies' (lit. 'throws it out'), *fo-áitbi* 'laughs,' *do-ruimnethar* 'forgets,' *glommaid* 'barks.'

Using the example of the very frequent and highly polysemous verb *cuir* 'to put,' one can describe to which extent periphrastic constructions are used in Irish, and how the use of particle verbs has replaced a verbal system once dominated by preverbal composition. Ten different types of verbal lexemes can be exemplified in Modern Irish.

(1)   Simple / primary verb: *cuir* 'put'

Chuir	*sé*	*an*	*leabhar*	*ar*	*an*	*mbord.*
put PAST	he	ART	book	on	ART	table

'He **put** the book on the table.'

(2)   Verbs with restricted or elliptic object:

cuir 'sow, plant,' 'bury,' 'engage'

Níor	**chuir**	*siad*	*aon*	*fhata*	*ariamh.*
NEG	put PAST	they	any	potato	ever

'They never **planted** any potato.'

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[5]   The term *light verb* goes back to Jespersen (1961: 117). It is used to describe the verb in constructions like **make** *a guess*, **take** *a walk*, **give** *a sigh*, which is extremely general in meaning and conveys only the tense/aspect/modality (TAM) features, whereas the lexical content is expressed by the noun in the respective constructions.

[6]   I call them 'semantically intransitive,' since they formally represent transitive constructions.

*Tá   sé **curtha**   anois, go   ndéana Dia   trócaire   air.*
EXIST he bury PPP   now,   PART make   God   mercy   on3SG

'He is **buried** now, may God have mercy on him.'   (cf. Germ. *beisetzen*)

*Bhí   sé ag ullmhú   chun **cogadh** a   **chur** ar an   Iaráic*
EXIST PAST he at preparing to   war   PART put   at   ART Iraq

'He was **preparing** to wage war against Iraq.'

(3)   Verbs with full selection restriction:

   cur (VN of *cuir*) + PROGR. 'rain'

   *Bhí   sé **ag cur**   go   trom   aréir.*
   EXIST it   at   put VN PART heavy   last night

   'It was **raining** heavily last night.'

(4)   Prepositional verbs:

   cuir le (*le* 'with') 'add to sth.'

   *Níl   sé sin   ach **ag cur**   **le**   deacrachtaí an   ghnáthduine.*
   EXIST NEG it DEM but at   put VN with difficulties   ART common people

   'This is only **adding to** the problems of the common people.'

(5)   Phrasal verbs with reduced valency:

   cuir as 'put out, extinguish'

   ***Cuir   as**   na   coinnle.*
   put IMP   out   ART candles

   '**Put out** the candles.'

(6)   Phrasal verbs:

   cuir amach (*amach* 'out') 'spit out, vomit; report'
   cuir síos (*síos* 'down') 'describe'

   ***Cuir   síos**   ar do   tháirge nó seirbhís.*
   put IMP down   at   POSS 2SG product or   service

   '**Describe** your product or service.'

(7)   Phrasal prepositional verbs:

   cuir isteach ar (*isteach* 'in') 1. 'to apply for,' 2. 'disturb sb.'
   cuir suas le (*suas* 'up') 'bear, endure'

   *Níl   a   fhios   agamsa   cén chaoi ar   **chuir**   duine*
   exist neg poss knowledge at 1sg-emph how   part past put past person

   *ar bith **suas leis**   siúd.*
   at all   up   with 3sg dem

   'I don't know how anybody **put up with** him.'

(8)   Prepositional support verb constructions:[7]

cuir ar ceal 'cancel;' *cuir chun cinn* 'complete, bring to an end;'
cuir i gcás '(pre)suppose' (lit.: 'put in case;' cf. Germ. 'gesetzt den Fall,...')

Bhí	*páidreacha*	*acu*	*le*	*chuile*	*shórt*	***Cuir***	***i***	***gcás***
exist PAST	prayers	at 3PL	with	every	kind.	put	in	case

dhá	*ndéanadh*	*duine*	*sraofairt.*
if	make PAST	someone	sneeze

'They had prayers for everything. **Suppose** someone sneezed.'

(9)   Prepositional support verb constructions with object:

(a)   *cuir ruaig ar* 'put to flight, drive away'

Cuir	*an*	***ruaig***	*i*	*bhfad*	*uait*	***ar***	*an*	*mbrón*
put IMP	ART	chase	in	far	from 2SG	at	ART	sorrow

'**Drive** resentment **far away** from you'

(b)   *cuir araoid ar* 'address somebody'

Níor	***chuir***	*siad ceist*	*ná*	***araoid***	*orm*	*agus*
NEG	put PAST	they question	nor	address	at 1SG	and

níor	***chuir***	*mé ceist*	*ná*	***araoid***	*orthu.*
NEG	put PAST	me question	nor	address	at 3PL

'They neither asked nor addressed me, and I neither asked nor addressed them.'

(c)   *cuir fios ar* 'send for somebody'

Cuireadh fios	***ar***	*an*	*dochtúr*
put IMPERS knowledge	at	ART	doctor

'The doctor was **sent for**.'

(d)   *cuir geall le* 'bet'

Chuir	*mé féin*	***geall***	*leis*
put PAST	me myself	bet	with-3SG

'I **bet** with him'

(e)   *cuir tús le* 'start'

Is	*tú*	*a*	***chuir***	***tús***	*leis*	*an*	*troid*
COP	you	REL	put PAST	start	with	ART	fight

'It was you who **started** the fight.'

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[7]   *Support verb construction* is the most suitable English translation of the German term 'Funktionsverbgefüge,' such as "zu Ende führen," "in Frage stellen."

(10) Support verb constructions with object (as "replacement" for intransitive verbs):

cuir fuil 'bleed' (lit. 'to put blood')
cuir scread 'scream' (lit. 'to put a scream')

Chuir   sí   **scread**   beag aisti.
put PAST   she   scream   little   out 3SG

'She **let out** a little scream'

In the last case (10) we can observe a transitivisation strategy: whereas 'bleed' and 'scream' are clearly intransitive verbs, 'to put a scream' or 'to put blood' are formally transitive. For the vast majority of intransitive constructions Modern Irish resorts to such light verb constructions. Among these are verbs of bodily processes, nonverbal expressions, sounds made by animals, sound emission, smell emission etc.

The question that arises from the classification outlined above could be formulated as follows: What do we identify as a verb in Irish and in English? From a practical point of view, we have to bear in mind the possibility of finding the verb in a dictionary and the transparency of the idiom, since the meaning of a multi word lexeme is not always to be computed from its constituents. In the case of verbs consisting of more than one lexical element, we are dealing with what is commonly known as a paraphrase or *periphrastic construction* (Gr. periphrasis 'circumlocution'). All these periphrases are lexicalised, which means that a specific lexical meaning is attributed to every single such entity. They are therefore to be distinguished from periphrases that serve as expressions for morphosyntactic categories, e.g. the *have*-perfect or the *going to*-future. They are also not to be treated under the label of grammaticalisation, since the multi-word verbs still consist of clearly defined phonological and grammatical words, even though the verbal element is partly depleted of its full lexical meaning or the particles of their spatial reference, i.e., they are lexical units in Cruse's sense of the word[8] – pairing of one sense and grammatical form. The increasing occurrence of these structures is usually ascribed to the general tendency of analyticisation in English by historical linguists.

Since in lexical semantics every (conventionalised) mapping of sense and form is defined as a lexical unit, regardless of the number of words it consists of, we already face the first difficulty in placing the complex entities we are describing in a suitable context between lexicon and grammar. We are dealing with a lexical unit that behaves like a word on the one hand and like a syntactic construction on the other. The approach I favour in this context is a lexical one, i.e. I assume that multi-word verbs are to be viewed as parts of the lexicon (cf. Stiebels and Wunderlich 1994 for German particle verbs).[9]

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[8] Cruse (1986: 49) defines a *lexical unit* as participating in semantic contextual relations, whereas a *lexeme* is just the orthographic representation of a word.

[9] Jackendoff (in: Dehé, et al., 2002: 67) suggests to draw a distinction between *lexical item* and *grammatical word*, according to their storing in the mental lexicon.

3. Particle Verbs in Irish and English

3.1. Definitions: Phrasal Verb or Prepositional Verb?

In English the difference between a phrasal verb and a prepositional verb is usually clear, depending on the function of the particle in the construction. Nevertheless, the treatment in grammar books varies considerably. Most commonly a verb is called phrasal verb if the particle is functioning as an adverb and the construction does not include a prepositional object, like *to fall apart*, *to settle down*; and a prepositional verb if the verb governs a preposition which in turn governs an object, like *to opt for sth.*, *to look into sth*. In prepositional verbs, the primary stress is on the verb, whereas in phrasal verbs it lies on the particle.[10]

In Irish, the line is not as easily drawn. The first difference lies in the word order. Irish, as is well known, is a verb-initial (VSO) language. Since in a VSO-language the subject stands between the verb and the particle, these two cannot form a close stress unit as in English, and the particle is always stressed. Consequently, the tests with adverbs and pronouns which can be inserted into phrasal or prepositional verbs respectively are of no use for Irish, and neither is the movability of the particle in transitive constructions.

Another criterion that does not seem applicable for a classification of Irish particle verbs is transitivity. Here we need to distinguish between formal and semantic transitivity, where formal transitivity means that a direct object is expressed, whereas semantic transitivity means that there are at least two participants involved in the situation. As mentioned above, Modern Irish has virtually no simple semantically intransitive verbs but employs various complex constructions to express intransitive verbal actions. Consequently, most phrasal verbs are formally transitive, since nearly all the verbs that are at the speaker's disposal to be involved in the constructions are transitive.

So how do we classify Irish particle verbs? One cannot neglect the Latin influence behind the traditional grammatical categories applied to Old Irish, so a pragmatic solution that suggests itself is to make use of the categories of particle verbs gained from the English language when classifying the Irish ones. I shall therefore speak of phrasal verbs when there is no indication that the object is governed by the particle appearing with the verb, and of prepositional verbs when the government relationship between the preposition and the object is obvious. In Irish, particular attention has to be paid to numerous prepositional verbs that occur in certain set phrases (prepositional support verb constructions, cf. example (9) in §2. above), like **bain** *meabhair* **as** *rud* 'to find a meaning in something,' **tabhair** *cuntas* **ar** *rud* 'to give account of something,' **lig** *rún* **chuig** *duine* 'to reveal a secret to somebody.'

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[10] For a precise definition, cf. Quirk, et al. (1972: 811).

3.2. Examples

Unfortunately, there is as yet no such thing as a phrasal verb dictionary for the Irish language. According to a careful scrutiny of the two most common dictionaries (Ó Dónaill 1977; de Bhaldraithe 1959), the following verbal lexemes occur in phrasal or prepositional constructions in Irish: *bain* 'extract, release,' *beir* 'bear, take, catch,' *bris* 'break,' *buail* 'hit, beat, strike,' *cuir* 'put,' *déan* 'do, make,' *éirigh* 'rise,' *fág* 'leave,' *faigh* 'get,' *gabh* 'take,' *imigh* 'leave, depart,' *leag* 'lay, set,' *lean* 'follow,' *lig* 'let,' *rith* 'run,' *scaoil* 'loosen, release,' *tabhair* 'give,' *tar* 'come,' *tarraing* 'pull,' *téigh* 'go,' *tit* 'fall,' *tóg* 'take, lift.'

We can notice that they all have rather basic meanings and that most of them are monosyllables. As will become obvious, most of the Irish particle verbs have English counterparts. A simple example to start with would be Ir. *bris* 'break.' Most phrasal verbs with Ir. *bris* look very similar to their English equivalents, e.g.: *bris amach* 'break out,' *bris síos* 'break down,' *bris isteach* 'break in.' These occur frequently and are listed in most dictionaries. Especially for 'break out' and 'break down,' the metaphorical dimension of their connotation is obvious, but the meaning is roughly identical in both languages.

Even though it is neither listed in a dictionary nor does it appear in recorded texts from the '60s,[11] the construction *bris suas* 'break up' is rather common in contemporary Irish texts, especially in texts on the internet for which it is more probable that they were generated by semi-speakers or non-native learners of Irish. Therefore one has to be more aware of the probability that this particular phrasal verb is a loan-construction modelled on the basis of English 'break up' or 'split up.'

A clear counterexample as far as the comparison with English is concerned would be *bain* (lit. 'extract, release'). It occurs in eleven phrasal verb constructions (that means with nearly every available preposition) and in one phrasal prepositional construction (*bain siar as* 'to surprise, cause sb. to be taken aback'). There is no English verb that fully corresponds to *bain* in these constructions; in some of them it translates roughly as 'take' (*bain aníos* 'take up,' *bain ó* 'take from'), in others the whole phrase is translated as 'touch, interfere' (*bain do*, *bain le*). This shows that the individual status of phrasal verbs in the respective languages is well established and that there are seldom any 1:1 correspondences between them.

3.3. Obvious Similarities

As already indicated, Modern Irish has a great deal of multi-word verbs that exactly match their English counterparts: *cur suas le* = 'put up with,' *coinnigh suas le* = 'to keep up with,' *tabhair suas* = 'to give up,' *lig síos* = 'let down,' to name only a few.

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[11] The database Wigger (2000) was meticulously searched previous to this study.

It is not easy to tell in which direction the idioms were borrowed (if they were borrowed at all), but the respective expressions are too similar in this respect to neglect the possibility of contact as a cause for these correspondences.

In a comprehensive study of the construction *cur suas le* 'to put up with' in Modern Irish (Veselinović 2004), I have tried to show that, even though it looks very much like an English loan formation, the phrase is neither colloquial nor a product of language contact. This is probably valid for most such constructions – the fact that they occur both in Irish and English reinforces the impression, since English is perceived as the dominant language, that they are necessarily borrowed, but this must by no means be true. Another very similar construction *cuirid suas de* 'give up, renounce, repudiate,' is well attested in older stages of the language (cf. *DIL* s.v.). This phrase does not have an English counterpart and therefore strengthens the assumption that such constructions might be old.

The overall impression is that English does not necessarily always has to be the source of such phrases, but the possibility of borrowing in both directions has to be considered. The striking similarities between certain idioms probably have to be traced back to contact, but others can be products of an independent but typologically parallel development.

3.3.1. The Lexical Stock of Comparable Constructions

The following is a list of Irish multi-word verbs that have a direct English equivalent and are therefore easily suspected of having been borrowed:

(1) *bris amach* 'break out'

> **Bhris** *an cogadh* **amach**.
> break PAST ART war out
>
> 'The war **broke out**.'

(2) *coinnigh siar* 'keep back'

> *Ní raibh an samhradh go maith againn, agus tharla sé*
> NEG be PAST ART summer part good at 1PL, and happen PAST it
>
> *gur* **choinnigh** *sé* **siar** *go mór muid.*
> that keep PAST it back part big us
>
> 'We didn't have a good summer, and it happened that it **kept** us **back** a lot.'

(3) *déan suas* 'to make up' in all senses of the idiom:

> **Rinne** *mé* **suas** *na huaireanta.*
> make PAST me up ART hours
>
> 'I **made up** the hours (i.e. compensated for).'

> **Rinne** *sí* **suas** *an scéal.*
> make PAST she up ART story
>
> 'She **made up** the story (i.e. invented it).'

*Caithfidh sé a   intinn a   **dhéanamh suas**.*
must FUT he POSS mind PART make   up

'He has to **make up** his mind.'

(4) *déan amach* 'to make out'

*Níl   mé   in ann   a   **dhéanamh amach***
NEG be me in ability PART make   out

céard is brí   leis.
what   COP meaning   with 3SG

'I can't **make out** what it means.'

(5) *leag síos* 'to lay down'

Leag   síos   na gunnaí
lay IMP down ART guns

'**lay down** the guns'

(6) *teacht anuas ar* 'come down on sb. (i.e. blame sb. for sth., be severe)'

Tháinig   sé **anuas orm**   go   crua.
come PAST he down on 1SG PART hard

'He **came down** hard **on** me.'

(7) *lig síos* 'let down'

Lig   siad **síos**   muid go   minic.
let PAST they down us   PART often

'They **let** us **down** often.'

alternative constructions:

Loic/chlis sé orm
fail PAST   he on 1SG

'He failed me / It failed me'

(8) *teacht suas* 'to come up'

Tháinig   sé **suas** sa   scrúdú.
come PAST it up   in ART exam

'It **came up** in the exam.'

***Tháinig   sé **suas** le*is an   airgead.*
come PAST he up   with ART money

'He **came up with** the money.'

(9) *rith as* 'to run out of sth.'

Rith   muid **as**   airgead.
run PAST   we   out money

'We **ran out of** money.'

In his comprehensive study of the syntax and formal semantics of such constructions, Doyle (2001: 91) lists a few more idiomatic correspondences: *cuir amach* 'put out, i.e. vomit,' *leag suas* 'lay up, i.e. make pregnant' and *tabhair suas* 'bring up, i.e. rear, educate,' Apart from the fact that the lexical content is nearly identical (i.e. both the verb and the particle mean roughly the same in both languages) a few more parameters can be compared: both in Irish and English the stress is on the particle, not on the verb, most verbs used in phrasal verb constructions are commonly monosyllables in both languages.

One has to be particularly careful with verbs that are borrowed: the fact that Ir. *pioc* means 'pick,' for example, does not justify the invention of a phrasal verb **pioc suas* 'pick up.' A native verb *tóg* exists for this purpose. Nevertheless, the trend among semi-speakers to resort to such constructions is evident, as any arbitrary search for such calques would be bound to prove. It is, in any case, interesting to observe the (in)tolerance of genuine native speakers to such constructions and the degree to which a loan-translation is conjectured by them, as I have argued elsewhere (Veselinović 2004: 98).

3.3.2. An Example of a Parallel Grammaticalisation Path

For the particle *up* in English, a development towards a marker of completive/telic aspectual nuances with no spatial/directional connotation can be noticed in many phrasal verbs like *eat up*, *finish up*, *clean up*. The shift from literal to resultative use of adverbial *up* can be traced back as far as Early Middle English (cf. Hiltunen 1983: 208ff.) and probably even to Old English (Brinton 1988: 225).

This partly seems to be the case in Irish, where we would probably arrive at a chronology of grammaticalisation comparable to the English example referred to above, as illustrated in the following:

> **Ghléas**   *sí*   **suas** *í*   *féin.*
> dress PAST she   up   she ACC herself
>
> 'She **dressed up**.'

> *Caithfidh muid an   teach a   **ghlanadh suas**.*
> must FUT   we   ART   house PART   clean VN   up
>
> 'We have to **clean up** the house'

There is a case where the adverb is both directional and perfective: *fág aníos* / *fág suas* 'to grow up.' The preposition *siar* 'back' has a similar effect on verbs of consuming drink:

> **Caith**   **siar** *é agus* *ná lig*   *aniar*   *é*
> consume IMP back   it and   NEG let IMP forward it
>
> '**Drink it up** and don't let it come back' (proverb)

Caithigí	***siar***	*iad!*
consume IMP PL	back	them

'**Drink** them **up**!' (used in pubs at closing-time)[12]

3.4. Irish English Peculiarities

There are some phrasal verbs that are peculiar to the English spoken in Ireland, some of them with clear correspondences in Irish.

One good example is the phrasal verb *to give out* (in the sense of 'to criticize, to scold'), which exists only in Irish English and has a well established parallel in Irish *tabhairt amach* (Dolan 1998 s.v.).

Bhí	*Deirdre*	*i gcónaí*	***ag***	***tabhairt***	***amach***	*faoi*	*Pheadar.*
be PAST	Deirdre	always	at	give VN	out	about	Peadar

'Deirdre was always **giving out** about Peter.'

*I remember her **giving out** about the people who'd bought the place, as if they hadn't payed for it.* (Roddy Doyle: *Rory and Ita*)

A further specifically Irish English prepositional verb is *to cop on* 'understand,' 'become alert' (also nominalised, meaning 'common sense' as in "anyone with a bit of cop on would have understood what I mean"). There is no indicator whatsoever that this could have been borrowed from Irish.

This, of course, is just a first random finding, as the present author is by no means an expert in dialectology. A detailed study of multi-word expressions in the Celtic varieties of English would certainly unearth many more such phrases.

Another Irish English idiom is also worth mentioning, as it contains a sequence of three prepositions: *go away out of that* / *go on out of that* meaning something like 'I don't believe you.' The possibility of being borrowed from Irish can easily be excluded for this construction, since there is no simple preposition meaning 'away' in the Irish language, and also since no similar constructions (i.e. accumulation of prepositions) can be observed in Irish.

4. The Abolition of Verbal Composition in Irish and English – Parallels and Differences in Historical Syntax

By now I have shown various possible interferences between the English and Irish verbal system. This chapter will be dedicated to the parallel grammatical developments which could have led to the fact that preverbal composition was abolished and particle verbs were established as an end product of a pragmatically similar but structurally different process of syntactic reorganisation both in English and Irish.

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[12] *caith*, lit. 'throw.'

Both English and Irish gave up preverbal composition within the period that is well known to us through attestation, probably leading to the most radical changes we can observe in the development of both languages, and significantly influencing their present day structure.

In English this tendency started some time after the Norman Conquest and reached its peak in late Middle English. In the Irish language preverbs became obsolete between Middle Irish and Early Modern Irish.

Once preverbal compounds were given up and case morphology was largely abandoned, the functional load of prepositions both as markers of aspectual properties and semantic roles increased substantially, so that the overall syntactic structure was reorganised at the expense of complex morphology.

Another crucial factor which gave rise to the large amount of verb-particle combinations in English was the change-over from SOV to SVO word order which took place between Old and Middle English (cf. Hiltunen 1983: 125f.). An argument which supports this hypothesis is that in Germanic languages which preserved the SOV basic word order, like Dutch and German, preverbal compounds are still very productive. Another equally important factor that has to be taken into account is the language contact situation with Old Norse. Old Norse was the only Germanic language which had hardly any preverbs; from its earliest stages on it had postverbal particles, often in fully lexicalised constructions (e.g. *koma at* 'to arrive,' *sœkja at* 'to attack').[13] This was not always the case: we have to presume that the preverbs were lost shortly before attestation began. The same is assumed also for Old Frisian. It is probably safer to view the Scandinavian influence as a kind of catalyst for the corresponding development in English (Hiltunen 1983: 43). Baugh and Cable (2002: 181f.) hold the Norman Conquest responsible for the decrease in the use of compounding. Most authors seem to neglect the possibility of Celtic influence, even though the Celtic languages experienced precisely the same change within the same time span.

The transition from SOV to SVO on a larger scale implies a general transition from a premodificational to a postmodificational syntax in the sense of Vennemann (1974), meaning that the predominant order determinans-determinatum was gradually replaced by the order determinatum-determinans. On the level of verbal lexemes, the original order of elements preverb (determinans) – verb (determinatum) was thus changed into the order verb (determinatum) – particle (determinans).

Along with the change from SOV to SVO goes the tendency that all basic/new information has to be expressed in the postverbal syntactic slot. This leads to the following changes:

a) Preverbs move from the beginning of the verb towards the end of the verb phrase. Presumably the first verbs treated like that were motion verbs and position verbs in loose composition, whereas the process was later extended to include all telic and ultimately all formerly compound verbs.

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[13] Cf. Roberts (1936: 475), Samuels (1972: 163f.).

b) Loosely incorporated objects follow the verb.
c) The focus, i.e. the relevant information in the sentence follows the verb:
  I read the BOOK *(not the newspaper).*
  Tell them to read it THROUGH *first.*

There is evidence from other languages that particles, incorporated objects and focus tend to occupy the same position syntactically (e.g. in Hungarian they stand directly before the verb, see below).[14]

A crucial difference between the development in Irish and English is that in English composition was simply given up, leaving behind simple verbs (apart from some exceptions like *withdraw*, *underlie*, *overtake*, *outnumber*, where the metaphorical meaning probably reinforced the preservation), whereas in Irish many compounds survive in petrified (i.e. synchronically not analysable) forms. E.g. *abair < as-beir* or *fágann < fo-ácaib*. The disappearance of compound verbs in Irish has to do with the general process of giving up the deuterotonic form of a verb and keeping just the prototonic form, i.e. the one with the stress on the preverb.[15]

A very interesting development worth mentioning here is that of the support verb construction *tabhairt faoi deara* 'to notice.' It developed from the Old Irish compound verb *fo-fera* 'prepares, provides; causes' via a relative form *fodera* with petrified infixed pronoun *-d-*, which already occurs in the Glosses (Wb 3c33, 14c42). Today *deara* neither means anything, nor is there a justification

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[14] See Hungarian

(1) preverb:

> *János* **fel***olvasta*   *a*   *verseit.*
> János   UP read PAST 3SG.DEF   DEF   poem POSS PL ACC

> 'János read up his poems' (Kiss 2002: 56)

(2) incorporated objects (i.e. bare/articleless objects):

> *János* **újságot**   *olvas.*
> János   newspaper ACC   read 3SG.INDEF

> 'János is newspaper-reading' or 'is involved in reading newspapers' (Kiss 2002: 57)

(3) focus:

> *János* **TEGNAP** *olvasta*   *fel*   *a*   *verseit.*
> János   yesterday   read PAST 3SG.DEF UP   DEF   poem POSS PL ACC

> 'It was yesterday that János read up his poems.' (Kiss 2002: 57)

Note that the identity of the preverbal position occupied by preverbs, incorporated objects and focus is proved by the fact that preverbs and incorporated objects have to stand behind the verb if the sentence contains a focus.

[15] In Old Irish compound verbs, the stress falls on the second syllable, which is the verbal stem or the second preverb if there is more than one. These are the 'regular' or *deuterotonic* forms. After most particles, due to the phonological reduction of unstressed syllables, a corresponding *prototonic* form with the stress on the first syllable is employed. See Thurneysen (1975: 27-29, 351).

for the spelling *faoi*, but apparently it was easier to treat the construction as a light verb construction reinterpreting *faoi* as a preposition and adding a light verb *tabhairt* 'to give' to it after the original verbal meaning was lost, than to add a verbal ending to the phrase.

It is remarkable that in Indo-Iranian, a language family rather remote from Germanic or Celtic, we can observe precisely the same development as far as preverbs are concerned. Sanskrit had a huge variety of preverbal compounds. In Vedic the preverbs are still separable with independent syntactic status and accent. In Classical Sanskrit univerbation is obligatory, i.e. the preverb necessarily precedes the verb. The modern Indo-Aryan languages (Urdu, Hindi, Bengali etc.) do not have preverbs but have developed an increase in light verb constructions since the Middle Ages (cf. Butt 2003 passim). It is plausible that the analyticisation tendency is similar to that in English, where we can notice a high increase of multi-word verb constructions as preverbal compounds fall into oblivion.

5. Conclusions

The crucial changes that have taken place in the English and Irish languages in the course of their development concerning the rise of complex verbal constructions are obviously too similar to be analysed separately. Only a comparative analysis of the two languages can give us insight into the possible causes for the morphosyntactic restructuring that took place. One important syntactic isogloss between Goidelic, English and Norwegian – which e.g. German does not share – is preposition stranding and especially the final position of the preposition in infinitive constructions – like *níl leabhar agam le caint faoi* 'I have no book to talk about' (cf. de la Cruz 1972 a: 175). As possible factors that could have influenced the increasing affinity to build complex verbal expressions, changes in the basic word order have to be equally considered as the possibility of mutual contact between English and Irish.

What should be taken into account is not only the fact that many multi-word verbs seem to exist in both languages, but the fact that many idioms with virtually unlimited metaphoric extensions seem to have crossed the linguistic border between English and Irish without giving us a chance to decide which language borrowed from which one, if at all. Thus, in this context we cannot really speak about contact features in the standard meaning of the term, as in the case of loanwords, but simply about comparable typological structures which lead to a similar linguistic outcome. Once the foundation for a typological similarity is laid, in this case a structural similarity which consists in the ability to form lexical units consisting of a verb and a particle following it, constructions can be transferred more easily from one language to the other. The process of language contact, at least as far as this phenomenon is concerned, has to be viewed as some kind of cogwheel, where there is a permanent taking and giving in both directions.

Nevertheless, there are differences between Irish and English as far as multi-word verbs are concerned. One point worth mentioning here is that there are differences between the two languages as far as synonyms (i.e. register differences) are concerned. For English, it is claimed that multi-word verbs in most cases have a more formal equivalent, which is usually a polysyllabic word of Romance origin. Hiltunen (1999: 161) notices that multi-word verbs in Early Modern English were extensively used in dramatic texts, where the language is more informal. However, there are clear counterexamples of phrasal verbs that are very literary/bookish, e.g. those with the adverb *asunder* (*put asunder*, *break asunder*). In Irish no observations of different registers according to the frequency of particle verbs can be made, and it seems as if the particle verbs entered the formal language earlier (cf. Veselinović 2004).

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Celtic Influence on English Relative Clauses?

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1. The Problem

In recent discussions of the Celticity of Standard English, various formal features of English relative clauses have been attributed to Celtic influence. Thus, Tristram lists prepositional relative clauses and zero-relatives among an admittedly tentative "number of salient morpho-syntactic features of Present Day Standard English and Present Day Welsh" which she takes to be "the result of the significant typological disruption which affected both Anglo-Saxon and Brythonic when they came into contact" (Tristram 1999: 19):

> The English relative particle *that* cannot be preceded by a preposition. The preposition is therefore placed after the verb of the relative clause. The same is true in Welsh, where the relative particle precedes the verb and the preposition follows it. The Welsh pronoun in the clause final position may be inflected for person and number and is therefore stressed. (Tristram 1999: 23f.)
> Both Welsh and English can have relative clauses without relative particles. In English, these are sometimes called "contact clauses". Different constraints obtain in Welsh and English for this type of relative clause. In Welsh, there is no restriction as to whether the relative antecedent is a subject or object, whereas in Present Day Standard English contact clauses are only permitted for object antecedents, while subject antecedents were common in historical English and are still common in various regional Englishes. (Tristram 1999: 24)

Tristram refers to Preusler (1956) and Molyneux (1987) for relative clauses with hanging/stranded prepositions and again to Preusler (1956) for zero-relatives/contact clauses as the sources which advance and support these proposals. White (2002: 169) gives zero-relatives in his "list of possible Brittonicisms, direct or indirect indications of Brittonic influence in English," with two examples, *the man I know* and *the question I am looking into*. Filppula, et al. (2002: 9) identify Preusler (1956) as the scholar who introduced contact clauses/zero-relative clauses as well as preposition stranding with relative *that* into the discussion of Celtic models for linguistic features of English.

In order to assess the validity of the hypothesis of Celtic influences on English relative clauses, it is necessary to go back to the authors quoted as authorities in this matter, namely Preusler and Molyneux, and to have a closer look at their arguments and at possible counter-arguments.

2. Preusler

Preusler (1956) singled out three characteristics of English relative clauses which he thought are due to Celtic influence, namely contact clauses, preposition stranding, and anaphoric possessive pronouns in genitival relative clauses – the last feature has not played a role in subsequent discussions of the Celticity of English relative clauses, because it does not occur in Standard English.

With regard to contact clauses, Preusler argued that Welsh has special relative forms of verbs which are used without a relative particle and that these provided the trigger for English contact clauses in the language of English-speaking Britons:

> Die kymrischen relativsätze haben … oft kein relativum, sondern werden durch bestimmte verbformen gekennzeichnet. Im munde englisch sprechender briten konnte sich also leicht der sog. contact-clause einstellen, der im heutigen Englisch so beliebt ist *she might have become the woman you expected her to be*. (Preusler 1956: 337)

Relevant examples and further discussion are provided in the context of his treatment of Welsh cleft sentences:

> Soll ein betontes wort an die spitze treten, so tritt eine relativische umschreibung ein: das hervorzuhebende wort wird prädikatsnomen der (oft nicht ausgedrückten) kopula und beziehungswort eines relativsatzes, der die eigentliche aussage enthält. ... Im Britischen fehlt die kopula meist; der nachdruck ist gering. All dies gilt seit alters. Heute treten besondere verbformen, die dem relativsatz eigentümlich sind, ohne relativpartikel, oder relativpartikeln mit anderen als relativen verben auf. Während *y mae John yn gryf* (= ist johann + partikel + stark) die gewöhnliche, nichts hervorhebende wortstellung zeigt, wird der satz bei voranstellung des subjekts zu *John sydd yn gryf* (= [es ist] John [der] ist stark) ohne relativ; ähnlich bei bestimmtem prädikatsnomen *John yw y meddyg* (= [es ist] John [der] ist der arzt). (Preusler 1956: 336f.)

On the basis of his examples such special relative forms appear to be *sydd*, and probably *yw* in (1.1) – contrast (1.2) with a relative clause with a particle.

(1.1) *fy mrawd yw'r dyn sy'n canu*
      (= mein bruder [ist es, der] ist der mann, [der] ist beim singen) (Preusler 1956: 337)

      'the man who is singing, is my brother'

(1.2) *dyma'r genethod a fu'n canu*
      (= [es ist] hier die Mädchen + partikel + waren beim singen) (Preusler 1956: 337)

      'here are the girls who were singing'

With regard to the chronological horizon of the Welsh influence on English, Preusler seems to suggest a date in, or slightly prior to, the thirteenth century: "Doch hat sich der contact-clause im Englischen seit dem 13. jh. stark entwickelt" (Preusler 1956: 337).

If I understand Preusler correctly, he also suggests that another argument for Celtic influences on English contact clauses is the occurrence in earlier stages of English of contact clauses with the antecedent in subject function, which he relates to the situation in Celtic where contact clauses with the antecedent in subject and object function can be realised without particles:

> Noch eine besonderheit der entwicklung dieser fügung [i.e., relative clauses without particle] im Englischen spricht für keltischen einfluß. Im Keltischen findet sie sich ohne rücksicht darauf, ob das relativ einen nominativ oder einen akkusativ ausdrücken müßte; das moderne Englisch begrenzt die fälle, in denen es sich um den nominativ handelt, während die ältere sprache an solchen fällen überfluß hat. … Die annahme, daß keltischer einfluß die entwicklung entscheidend gefördert habe, erklärt so auch diese besonderheit. (Preusler 1956: 338)

Perhaps confusingly, Preusler also acknowledges the possibility of Goidelic influences on regional variants of the English contact clause:

> Bei dem unmittelbaren anschluß des attributsatzes geht das Nordenglische dem Südenglischen voraus …; auch hier ist der gälische einfluß von früherer und stärkerer wirkung als der kymrisch-kornische. (Preusler 1956: 338)

Concerning prepositional relative clauses and stranded prepositions, Preusler's arguments seem to rest on a perceived identical distribution in Welsh and English of two options for the construction of such clauses, namely both stranding and pied-piped, in which the preposition is drawn to the clause-initial relative marker. Preusler's equation seems to have been Welsh *y(r) ... ar* + pers.pron. = English *that ... on* versus Welsh *ar yr hwn* = English *on which*.

> Die englische relativpartikel *that* duldet keine präposition vor sich; die präposition wird an das ende gestellt, h i n t e r das verb …; dasselbe gilt bei einem contact-clause … . Das Kymrische zeigt, wieder seit alters, genau entsprechendes. Nach einer präposition steht das volle relativpronomen: *oddiamgylch yr ochrau yr oedd gwely y teulu, ar yr hwn yr eisteddid y dydd ac y cy[s]gid y nos* (= rundum die seiten + rel. + war bett der familie, auf welchem + rel. + man-saß den tag und + rel. + schlief die nacht). Sonst steht das relativ *y, yr* und die präposition in ihrer betonten (konjugierten) form am ende des satzes …: *y wlad y daeth ef ohoni* (= das land + relativ + kam er von). (Preusler 1956: 338f.)

With regard to genitival relative clauses, Preusler (1956: 339) draws attention to the parallel construction of this type in Welsh and in older stages and regional varieties of English, which all use an anaphoric possessive pronoun in the relative clause referring back to the antecedent:

> Das Kymrische verwendet statt des genitivs des relativs folgende fügung: *y weddw y lladwyd*
> *ei gwr yn y rhyfel* (= die witwe + relativ + man tötete ihren mann in dem krieg). Die fügung
> kommt schon ae. vor; Jespersen … zitiert Elene 161 *Se god þe þis his beacen wæs* etc.;
> sie verbreitet sich stark im Me., wo sie bis ins 15./16. jh. häufig ist; die volkssprache be-
> wahrt die alte tradition bis heute. (Preusler 1956: 339)

Preusler's terminology for the relative markers of Welsh is not quite consis-
tent; he uses "partikel" for *a* and *y* (Preusler 1956: 337), but also "relativ" for
y(r) (Preusler 1956: 338, 339), and he calls *yr hwn* etc. "volles relativpronomen"
(Preusler 1956: 338).

3. Molyneux

Molyneux (1987) presents a competing and somewhat different analysis of
the relation between Welsh and English prepositional relative clauses, presuma-
bly independently of Preusler, which collapses two features Preusler kept sepa-
rate, namely the contact clause without a relative and prepositional relative
clauses with stranded prepositions:

> A further peculiarity of English is the use of relative clauses in which the relative is omit-
> ted and a preposition appears 'hanging' at the end of the sentence:
>   *The chair you are sitting on.*
> … Once again, the English construction has an exact parallel in Welsh:
>   *The chair you are sitting on is shaky.*
>   *Y mae'r gadair yr ydych chi'n eistedd arni'n sigledig.*
>   lit. *"Is the chair you are sitting on (it) shaky."*
>   *Note: Welsh has compound preposition-pronouns,* arni *means "on it."*
>   (Molyneux 1987: 88)

Note that Molyneux's analysis rests on the assumption that the Welsh relative
clause he quotes qualifies as a contact clause without a relative, in spite of the
presence of a marker *y(r)*.

4. Discussion

4.1. Preusler on Contact Clauses

In Preusler's view, Welsh relative clauses with special relative verbal forms
and without particles provided the trigger for the rise of English contact clauses
in the language of British learners of English. My main reservation is that the
only specifically relative form in all verbal paradigms of Welsh is *sydd*, the third
person singular present indicative of *bod* 'to be.' Although this form may be of
high frequency, particularly because of its use in the periphrastic present exem-
plified in (1.1) above, I am not convinced that the presence of this single form,
which is in competition with other and more frequent markers of relative subor-
dination, is sufficient to provide the motivation for the spread of the contact

clause "(i)m munde englisch sprechender briten," i.e. through imperfect language acquisition. Furthermore, *sydd* only occurs when the antecedent takes the role of the subject in the relative clause (cf. Thorne 1993: 258). The form *yw* as in (1.1) is not classified as a relative form in grammars of Welsh, but as the form of the copula used "(i)n a copula clause that selects Complement + Predicate + Subject structure" (Thorne 1993: 255), and (1.1) is therefore not a cleft sentence in the strict sense.

The analysis of Preusler's position is further complicated by his passing reference to possible Goidelic influences on Northern varieties of English. Old Irish had a limited set of specifically relative verbal forms which are used with an antecedent with the function of subject or object and which are characterised by a specific ending. Such forms exist for simple verbs in absolute flexion for the third person singular, the impersonal singular, the first person plural, the third person plural, and the impersonal/passive plural. In all other instances, the relative relation is typically marked within the verbal complex by the mutation of the initial consonant of the stressed syllable. Old Irish does not use relative pronouns or relative particles, when the antecedent functions as subject or object in the relative clause, but has a typologically distinct set of relative marking.[1]

For argument's sake let me play the devil's advocate for a moment and try to rescue Preusler's proposal concerning the importance of the absence of relative particles in the language of English-speaking/learning Britons by reference to the attested loss of relative markers *a* and *y(r)* in sub-literary varieties of Welsh, probably already in the medieval period. Morris-Jones has summarised the relevant facts:

> The elision of the relative *a*, except before the verb 'to be' is comparatively rare in standard Welsh. It occurs before vowels …; more rarely it occurs between two consonants … . [T]he effect of the lost *a* remains in the *softened* [= lenited] *initial* of the verb. In the dialects the relative is generally lost … . Before a consonant, *y* [not *yr*] must always be used [but *y* may be elided after a vowel], and if this is elided after a vowel there remains nothing to represent the relative, except the *radical initial* of the verb. (Morris-Jones 1931: 92f.)[2]

If the relative marker *a* is elided and the verb begins with a consonant susceptible to lenition, subordination is still formally marked, as in (2.1). Contexts in which relative clauses without formal subordination can occur in Middle Welsh,

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[1] For further details compare Thurneysen (1946: 313-320). The history of the Goidelic system of relative marking and the question of its possible influence on (regional varieties of) English relative clauses are separate issues, which require separate treatment and will not be explored here. On Irish prepositional relative clauses see below § 4.2. Kurzová (1981: 92) notes that "[d]er uneingeleitete Relativsatz ... stellt eine grammatikalisierte und normalisierte Form des Relativsatzes im Englischen und den skandinavischen Sprachen einerseits und im Altirischen andererseits dar."

[2] Many of his examples are so-called 'abnormal sentences' in which one sentence constituent precedes the verb in an unmarked construction, which shows formal similarities to relative clauses rather than straightforward relative clauses. For the term and a standard account, see Evans (1964: 179f.).

the relevant period for linguistic contact, according to Preusler, are therefore ra-
ther restricted and comprise instances in which (i) *a* is elided before a vowel or
before a consonant not susceptible to lenition (2.2) or (ii) *y* is elided between a
vowel and a consonant.[3]

> (2.1) *val kyt bei brenhin Ø vei bob un onadunt* (*YdCM* 186: 21f.)
>   as if were king (which) were each one from(-them)
>
>   'as if it were a king which each one of them was'

> (2.2) *ar benn gorssed uch penn llyn Ø oed yn Iwerdon* (*PKM* 35.12f.)
>   on top hill over top lake (which) was in Ireland
>
>   'on top of a hill above a lake which was in Ireland'

This hypothetical scenario, that tries to relate the elision of relative markers in
spoken varieties of (medieval and modern) Welsh with the rise of contact clau-
ses in English, does not contradict Preusler's thirteenth century date for the rise
of the English contact clause due to Celtic/Welsh influence. Note that Keller
(1925) suggested a fourteenth century date for the influence of the Celtic Eng-
lishes, i.e., the regional varieties of English directly or indirectly influenced by
the speech habits of speakers of Celtic languages (and learners of English), on
the emergence of the progressive in English. In both scenarios, the decisive
phase of interference would postdate probably at least 1200.

At this point of the discussion, it will be necessary to turn to some other com-
paranda of Modern English contact clauses. The history as well as the question
of the existence of asyndetic relative clauses in earlier phases of English, and in
other early Germanic languages, appears to be a contested area:

> Asyndetische Relativsätze, wie *in droume sie in zelitun then weg sie faren scoltun* '... den
> Weg, [den] sie fahren sollten' (Otfrid), begegnen im Nordischen, Englischen und Deut-
> schen. Vielleicht sind sie als ältester Typ anzusehen [4] ... . Die entgegengesetzte Auffas-
> sung, daß sie ein durch Wegfall eines Relativpronomens erst sekundär entstandenes Ge-
> bilde darstellen[5] ..., wird durch die historische Verteilung der Belege unterstützt: die
> asyndetische Konstruktion ist im ältesten Englischen und Nordischen selten belegt, da-
> gegen in jüngeren Stufen dieser Sprachen häufig. Asyndetische Relativsätze kommen
> nach der ahd. Zeit nur selten vor. (Ebert 1978: 22)

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3   I have not found a convincing example for this type, the example given by Morris-Jones
    (1931: 93), *Ac yno'trîc enaid R(h)ys* 'there Rhŷs's soul rests,' is again an abnormal rather
    than a relative clause.

4   Cf. Johansen (1935: 174) for a summary of this position: "primäre Gebilde, die unmittelbar
    aus asyndetisch angeschlossenen Hauptsätzen ohne pronominale und konjunktionale Einlei-
    tung entstanden sind."

5   Cf. Johansen (1935: 176) for a summary of this position, which he shares: "Die uneinge-
    leiteten Relativsätze kommen nämlich nur in Texten vor, die einen jüngeren Sprachzustand
    vertreten; auf nordischem Gebiet kommen uneingeleitete Relativsätze häufig im Alt- on.
    und im jüngeren Norw. vor, fehlen aber im ältesten Wn. fast gänzlich. Auf wgm. Gebiet
    kommen sie vereinzelt in ahd., mhd. und mnd. Quellen vor und sind in jüngeren englischen
    Texten ausserordentlich häufig belegt, fehlen aber im Aws. ... sowie in der Sprache des
    Heliand."

Mustanoja (1960: 203-205) suggests that there are no asyndetic relative clauses in Old English[6] and Early Middle English, and he dates clear examples to around the end of the fourteenth century, for both subject and object function of the antecedent. Dekeyser (1986) argues that it is necessary to keep the histories separate of contact clauses without an overt subject and without an overt object or prepositional phrase respectively, and states that "(a)ll scholars who have dealt with this matter are agreed that SCC's (subject contact clauses) were rare in OE," but that "sparse examples of SCC, mainly with the verb *hatan* 'to be called' or a copula" are attested (Dekeyser 1986: 108). Non-subject contact clauses are "extremely rare" in Old English (Dekeyser 1986: 109). In the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, non-subject contact clauses begin to outnumber subject contact clauses; subject contact clauses with cleft and existential constructions emerge in Late Middle English (Dekeyser 1986: 110).[7] Dekeyser (1986: 109) observes that "some (Middle English) manuscripts contain hardly any examples of CC's (contact clauses) at all (e.g. *Trevisa*)," and this should be contrasted with Keller's views on the emergence of the English progressive under the "Einfluß von englisch sprechenden Briten" (Keller 1925: 66), such as John Trevisa (1326-1412), who, according to Keller (1925: 61), is one of the first authors in whose works the progressive is used in the fourteenth century. In Dekeyser's view, subject contact clauses originally arose in Old English from the

> non-expression of the shared NP in the modifier clause, either as a full NP or a relative pronoun, [which] should be seen as an offshoot of a much wider phenomenon inherent to all the "primitive" Germanic dialects, viz. the optionality of an overt subject if this is identical with an NP in a preceding clause or even sentence. (Dekeyser 1986: 112f.)

He suggests that the asyndetic type was gradually lost in German and Dutch, but grammaticalised in English as well as in the Scandinavian languages. He does not discuss the development of the Scandinavian contact clauses, but relates the emergence of the two English types to "the Old Germanic asyndetic parataxis without an overt subject," for the original subject contact clause, and to "the introduction of a new relativization strategy with a deletable *that* and fixed word-order," for the non-subject contact clause (Dekeyser 1986: 115).[8] He also insists that for the subject contact clauses "there is a world of difference between the OE stereotyped parataxis with *hatan*/*beon* on the one hand, and clefts and existential sentences on the other," the Old and Early Middle English subject

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[6] For a more detailed discussion of the Old English situation, see Mitchell (1985 a: 184-196) and Dekeyser (1986).

[7] See also Erdmann (1980). For the distribution of subject contact clauses in modern regional varieties of English, cf. Erdmann (1980: 142-144) and, specifically for Dorset English, Van den Eynden Morpeth (2002: 187f.). It is perhaps significant that, according to Erdmann's maps, subject contact clauses are hardly attested in the areas immediately adjacent to Wales and the same holds true for the use of *as*/*at*/*what his* instead of *whose*; see Poussa (2002: 5) and below § 4.3.

[8] For the importance of word order in subordination without subordinator, cf. also Lehmann (1984: 160f.).

contact clause therefore being "in no way the ancestor of its MOD[ERN] E[NG-LISH] "equivalent"" (Dekeyser 1986: 115).

For the problem of possible British influences on the English contact clause, it is methodologically important that scholars such as Dekeyser argued for the existence of a pan-Germanic asyndetic parataxis and that Gärtner (1981) adduced evidence for Old High German asyndetic relative clauses, "die ... im heutigen Englisch eine direkte Entsprechung haben in den sogenannten 'contact-clauses'" (Gärtner 1981: 152):

> *Asyndetische RS mit nominalem Bezugswort im übergeordneten Satz, an das der RS ohne einleitendes Pronomen angeschlossen ist.* Als Beispiel für diesen nur im Ahd. belegten Typ gebe ich einen Satz aus Otfrieds 'Evangelienbuch' (ed. Erdmann/Wolff); er stammt aus der Partie, in der Otfried nach Mt. 2,12 berichtet, daß den drei Weisen aus dem Morgenland die Engel im Traum erschienen und sie ermahnten, nicht zu Herodes zurückzukehren; sie wiesen ihnen einen anderen Weg, heißt es, auf dem sie in ihre Heimat zurückkehren sollten. Im ahd. Text nach Otfried I.17,74 lautet das:
>
> > *in dróume sie in zélitun t h e n w e g sie fáran scoltun*;
>
> Der RS ist in diesem Beispiel ohne verbindendes Pronomen, d.h. asyndetisch, mit dem Bezugswort im übergeordneten Satz verknüpft. Das Bezugswort *then weg* und der RS *sie fáran scoltun* gehören aber eng zusammen, denn sie stehen in einem Kurzvers beieinander und sind durch keine metrische Pause getrennt, vielmehr liegt eine metrische Pause *vor* dem Bezugswort ... Asyndetische RS vom Typus des ersten Otfried-Beispiels (I.17,74) sind im heutigen Englisch und in den skandinavischen Sprachen ganz geläufig. Die Übersetzung des Otfriedschen Satzes ins Englische wäre ...:
>
> > *In a dream they told them t h e w a y they should go.*
>
> Wie bei Otfried wird auch in dem äquivalenten englischen Satz beim Sprechen keine Pause gemacht zwischen Bezugswort und asyndetisch angefügtem RS, dem sogenannten 'contact-clause' nach Jespersens treffender Terminologie. ... Dieser RS-Typ ist im Ahd. mit sicheren Beispielen belegt; im Mhd. dagegen gibt es kaum noch Vergleichbares. (Gärtner 1981: 154f.)

The three other types of asyndetic relative clauses Gärtner accepts for Old High German are:[9]

> ... durch ein Relativum eingeleitete RS, das aber keine Stütze (Bezugswort) im übergeordneten Satz hat und deshalb gewissermaßen in Doppelfunktion steht, als Demonstrativum und Relativum zugleich zu funktionieren scheint. Solche Sätze sind vom Ahd. bis zum Frühnhd. ganz geläufig. (Gärtner 1981: 153; (3.1), (3.2)).[10]
> Dem Typus mit Pronomen in Doppelfunktion verwandt sind die komplizierteren Fälle, wo das zwischen HS und RS stehende Pronomen sachlich zu beiden Sätzen gehören kann, aber wegen der unterschiedlichen Kasus, die HS und RS verlangen, nur zu einem Satz – und zwar meist dem übergeordneten – konstruiert wird. Auch dafür sind die Beispiele vom Ahd. bis zum Frühnhd. zahlreich. (Gärtner 1981: 153; (3.3))

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[9] For a useful English summary of Gärtner's position see Davis and Bernhardt. (2002: 106-108)

[10] Cf. also Paul, et al. (1969: 424) for Middle High German, "(d)as Pronomen *der diu daz*, substantivisch und ohne Widerholung gebraucht, kann Bezugswort und Relativum zugleich bezeichnen," as in *er gienc als der buchsen treit* 'he went as one who carries boxes' or *du zîhst in daz doch nie geschach* 'you blamed him for that that never happened.'

Schließlich gehören zu den asyndetischen RS auch noch die sogenannten *hiez*-Konstruktionen, eine im Mhd. und Frühnhd. zahlreich belegte Form der asyndetischen Verbindung eines RS mit seinem Bezugswort. Seinen Namen verdankt dieser RS-Typ dem Umstand, daß sein Prädikat meist mit *hiez* oder einer anderen finiten Form von passivischem *heizen* gebildet ist. (Gärtner 1981: 153; (3.4))

Some of Gärtner's examples for these types are:

(3.1) *Maria uúas t h i u da salbota trohtin.*   (Old High German)
   'it was Mary who rubbed the Lord with ointment'

(3.2) *Maria aber war, d i e den Herrn gesalbt hat.*   (Early Modern High German)
   'but it was Mary who rubbed the Lord with ointment'

(3.3) *enti quad z u d e m dar uuarun.*   (Old High German)
   'and said to those who were there'

(3.4) *e i n k ü n e c hiez Anfortas.*   (Middle High German)
   'a king who was called Anfortas'

Gärtner's views were shared by Hermann Paul, et al. (1969: 423) who suggest that asyndetic relative clauses are not attested as a distinct type in Middle High German, "(v)ereinzelte Fälle, die sich so auffassen lassen, können als leicht anakoluthisch empfunden werden."[11] Asyndetic relative clauses occur only rarely in Early Modern High German:

> Der asyndetische Relativsatz ist ohne einleitendes Element an einen das Bezugswort enthaltenden übergeordneten Satz angeschlossen; die syntaktisch-semantische Rolle des Bezugsworts im Relativsatz muß aus der syntaktisch-semantischen Lehrstelle im Relativsatz erschlossen werden. Dieser Typus begegnet nur vereinzelt im 14.-16. Jh. und ist danach untergegangen: *den ersten fisch du fehist, den nym*, Luther, Freiheit 36, *danck im auch von meinet wegen seines manchfeltigin grues, er mir hat durch dich entpietten lassen* Michel Behaim 122. Häufiger als der asyndetische Relativsatz mit Späterstellung des Verbs ist der parataktische Typus mit Anfangsstellung des Verbum finitum, besonders *heißen*: *Ez waz ein swester, hiez Alheit von Trochaw.* (Reichmann and Wegera 1993: 444)

In Fleischer's sample of relative constructions in modern German dialects the asyndetic type is only found in some North Saxon dialects of Schleswig (Fleischer 2004: 226).[12]

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[11] Cf. their example, Paul, et al. (1969: 423) *der grôzen sûl* [v.l. *die da*] *dâ zwischen stuont* 'of the strong pillar which stood inbetween.' For a brief summary of relevant research, see Haugann (1974: 236-238).

[12] Fleischer (2004: 234f.) comments on the possible areal implications of this situation: "Regardless of whether the zero relatives in this dialect [of Husby] are due to contact with Danish, in an areal perspective this dialect turns out to be in the south-west of a larger area that has zero relatives. The fact that this dialect has zero relatives, which makes it quite exotic within the German varieties, is thus nothing very remarkable in a broader areal perspective."

Typologically in a pan-Germanic perspective, it is interesting to note that the so-called *hiez*-construction is also attested in Old English, as pointed out by Mitchell (1985 a: 186), who says that the "(a)pparent absence of a relative pronoun in a definite adjective clause referring to an expressed antecedent," in which the adjective clause requires the nominative case, "manifests itself most frequently in OE with forms of the verb *hatan* 'to be named,' namely *hatte*, *hatton*," as in (3.5) from the Old English *Orosius*. Dekeyser (1986: 108) mentions that "topicalization of the proper name" is a characteristic feature of this type in Old English.

(3.5) betux þære ie Indus ⁊ þære þe be westan hiere is, Tigris hatte.   (Old English)
       (Mitchell 1985 a: 186, Or 70.8)

Asyndetic relative clauses are not attested in the Old Norse language of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Heusler 1932: 159), but are found in modern Scandinavian languages (5),[13] as the following examples from Platzack (2002: 82f.) show, in which the complementizers (cpl) *sum/ið* and *som* can be left out:

(4.1) *Eg kenni tann mann (sum/ið) tu hitti i gjar.*   (Faroese)
       I know the man (cpl) you met yesterday.

(4.2) *Den ny bil (som) vi købte er japansk.*   (Danish)
       the new car (cpl) we bought is Japanese.

(4.3) *Har du sett den lampa (som) eg kjøbte i går?*   (Norwegian)
       have you seen the lamp (cpl) I bought yesterday?

(4.4) *Den kvinnan (som) jag sålde huset till är danska.*   (Swedish)
       The woman-the (cpl) I sold house-the to is Danish.

                                                                (Platzack 2002: 82f.)

In the examples under (4.1-4.4), the antecedent has the function of object in the relative clause, just as in Modern English contact clauses. At least in Faroese and Old Swedish, asyndetic relative clauses are also possible with the antecedent as subject in the relative clause, but in these instances a specifically marked word-order in the relative clause is required, probably in order to demarcate clause-boundaries and to eliminate processual difficulties:

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[13] For some further information on the distribution of contact clauses in Germanic languages, see Platzack (2002: 77-79, 86). Relative clauses without overt subordinators appear to be rare in European languages: "Postnominale RS (Relativsätze) ohne Subordinator kommen als sekundäre Strategie in europäischen Sprachen vor, und zwar im Englischen und in den festlandskandinavischen Sprachen sowie im umgangssprachlichen Walisischen" (Zifonun 2001: 25). For the restrictions applying in Colloquial Welsh see above. Typologically, literary Modern Welsh is classified by Lehmann (1984: 85) as having a post-nominal relative clause with initial subordinator.

It is interesting to notice that Faroese differs from all the modern Germanic languages in having relative clauses without a relative marker also when the subject is relativized. In this case, there must be a stylistically fronted element at the left periphery of the embedded clause. (Platzack 2002: 82f.)[14]

(4.5) *Tær konurnar (sum) heima skuldu vera, eru burturstaddar.*   (Faroese)
       the woman (cpl) home should be are away.

       'The women who should be at home, are away.'

In conclusion then I think that the Welsh trigger suggested by Preusler for English contact clauses, namely special relative forms of Welsh verbs, is probably numerically not sufficient, since there is only one such form, the third person singular present indicative *sydd* of the verb 'to be.' A somewhat extended version tentatively advanced here, based on the loss of relative markers in special contexts in the spoken language, also comes up against serious objections, since in many instances these non-introduced relative clauses would be marked by an initial mutation on the verbal form. Even more important are the pan-Germanic parallels for asyndetic relative clauses, especially the German examples adduced by Gärtner (1981), which suggest that the origin and development of such clauses should be explained internally within Germanic, as resulting from asyndetic parataxis. Many scholars, from Curme (1912)[15] to Dekeyser (1986), seem to agree that at least the subject contact clause is of Common Germanic origin. As Dekeyser (1986) has shown, it is probably best to treat separately the rise in English of subject and non-subject contact clauses respectively, and he also suggests that the latter can be adequately explained as having arisen within English.

4.2. Preusler on Prepositional Relatives

Preusler's hypothesis of the existence in Welsh and English of a parallel formal and systematic contrast of pied-piped and preposition stranding – i.e., Welsh *ar yr hwn* = English *on which* versus Welsh *y … ohoni* = English *that … from* – rests on slim grounds, even if one disregards for the time being the formal and typological differences between the English stranded preposition *from* and the Welsh preposition with an anaphoric personal pronoun *ohoni*. Preusler accepted

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[14] This element is *heima* in (4.5); cf. Platzack (2002: 85) for a discussion of Old Swedish example. The subject contact clauses of Modern English are also restricted to specific syntactic contexts, typically existential *there is/are* and cleft sentences (cf. Dekeyser 1986: 111; Erdmann 1980: 140-142). For the processual difficulties, cf. Zifonun's remark that in constructions such as **The man [_] came yesterday was my friend* "wäre die Satzgrenze zum RS nicht erkennbar, die Setzung eines Subordinators ist also functional" (Zifonun 2001: 25). See also Lehmann (1984: 160f.) and Kurzová (1981: 93f.) for the impact of word order in subordination without subordinators/contact clauses.

[15] In view of Dekeyser's analysis, it is probably not necessary to argue that subject contact clauses were colloquial even in Common Germanic, as suggested, for example, by Curme (1912).

(5), with a preposition followed by definite article and demonstrative, as a genuine Welsh mode of relative construction, parallel to English *on which*:[16]

(5) *gwely y teulu, **ar yr hwn yr** eisteddid y dydd*
     'the bed of the family on which one sat during the day'

However, as Morris-Jones (1931: 103) has shown, this mode of expression in which "the definite pronoun (*yr hwn* etc.) is the object of the preposition which should govern the relative" is "un-idiomatic" in Welsh and derived from foreign (Latin, perhaps also English) models. Morris-Jones contrasts it with the idiomatic mode, in which the demonstrative is not part of the relative clause, but stands in apposition to the antecedent:

> When the antecedent is expressed, the definite pronouns *yr hwn*, *yr hon*, etc., properly stand in apposition to it, even when the relative … is the object of a preposition [(6.1) …]. But the translators, like the grammarians, regarded *yr hwn*, etc., as relatives, and considered the true relatives to be meaningless particles; hence … they often make the definite pronoun the object of the preposition which should govern the relative [(6.2) …]. (Morris-Jones 1931: 102f.)[17]

(6.1) *Y lety eu **estavell** e brenyn, **er hon e** bo en kescu **endy**.*
       'his accomodation is the chamber of the king, the one that he sleeps in.'

(6.2) *Y lle teckaf yw yn y dwyrein, **yn yr hwnn y** gossodet amravaelyon genedyloeδ o'r gwyδ.*
       'the most beautiful place is in the east, in which trees of different kinds were planted.'

Example (6.2) is taken from a manuscript of 1346, called *Llyvyr Agkyr* Llandewivrevi ('Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewibrefi'), a Welsh translation of the Latin *Elucidarium*, in which the relevant sentence has a pied-piped prepositional relative *in quo*, on which *yn yr hwnn (y)* is modelled:

(6.3) *Locus amoenissium in oriente, in quo arbores diversi generis erant consitae.*
       (Morris-Jones 1931: 103)

       'the most beautiful place in the east, in which trees of different kinds were planted'

Preusler's suggestion that the pied-piped construction as in *yn yr hwnn (y)* is genuine and idiomatic in Welsh lacks support in the linguistic facts of Welsh relatives, as does the correlation he perceives to exist between the distribution of variants such as Welsh *e ... endy* versus *yn yr hwnn …* and English *Ø … in* versus *in which*.

Prepositional relatives with pied-piping exist in the history of Insular Celtic relative clauses (cf. Isaac 2003 b). It was the dominant mode in Old Irish (7.1) and a marginal one in Middle Welsh (7.2), whereas the type with preposition and suffixed anaphoric pronoun is marginal in Old Irish (7.3) and dominant in Middle Welsh (7.4). In Modern Irish the pied-piped type is marginally retained, but generally supplanted by the anaphoric one (7.5).

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[16] Preusler gives no source reference for this seemingly Early Modern Welsh example (Tr).
[17] Cf. Evans (1964: 66).

(7.1) *is torbe namáa tra **ara**-tobarr labrad ilbelre*[18] (Old Irish)
  'it is the only profit then for which speaking
  many languages is given'

(7.2) *gwelet y bed a uynnei **trw yt** gaffei wreicca*[19] (Middle Welsh)
  'he wanted to see the grave by which he would
  be allowed to seek a wife'

(7.3) *nech suidigther loc daingen dó* (Old Irish)
  'anyone (that) is established a strong place to(-him)'

(7.4) *y coedyd y foassant vdunt* (Middle Welsh)
  'the woods that they fled to(-them)'

(7.5) *hon yw'r gadair yr eisteddai ef arni*[20] (Modern Welsh)
  'this is the chair on which he would sit on(-it)'

(7.6) *áit a dtugann said An Lag air*[21] (Modern Irish)
  'a place they give An Lag on(-it)'

  (= 'a place they call An Lag')

Various forms of preposition stranding are attested in the Germanic languages. For Old English, Mitchell (1985 a: 151-158) has shown that pied-piped and preposition stranding existed side by side, depending on the form of the relative. He also showed that the relative *þæt* prefers preposition stranding. At least one constituent intervenes between the relative marker and the stranded preposition (Pilch 1970: 189) which typically appears to be placed before the verb (Mitchell 1985: 447f.). Middle English shows variation with regard to the position of the stranded preposition within the relative clause:

> Prepositions occurring in connection with *that* are placed immediately before the verb [...*the place that I of spake* ...], particularly in early ME. Less frequently in early ME, but commonly in late ME, the preposition is placed at the end of the clause (*preciouse stanes þat he myght by a kingdom with* ...). (Mustanoja 1960: 197)

As noted by Preusler (1956: 338), preposition stranding into clause-final position is also a feature of the Scandinavian languages.

(8.1) *land er hann kom frá* (Old Icelandic)
  'the land that he came from'

(8.2) *den piken som du danset med* (Norwegian)
  'the girl that you danced with'

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[18] Isaac (2003 b: 76), from the Würzburg Glosses.
[19] Example from Isaac (2003 b: 81). Instances of preposition plus relative *a* quoted by Morris-Jones (1931: 95) are best taken as relative clauses without an expressed antecedent, as indicated in his translation, e.g., *Aeth yr Unduw a Thrindawd / **ag a** wnaeth les gwan a thlawd* 'the One God and Three has taken (lit. gone with) [him] who benefited weak and poor,' rather than as prepositional relatives proper, i.e. 'with whom benefited.'
[20] Williams (1980: 167).
[21] Isaac (2003 b: 76).

Heusler (1932: 162f.) remarks on the normal situation in Old Icelandic that the prepositions are placed at the end of the clause as adverbs bearing stress ("sie (die Präpositionen) treten als starktonige Adverbia nach hinten"). However, he also quotes instances of prepositional relative clauses with an anaphoric pronoun (8.3), with a prepositional phrase followed by a relative particle (8.4), and with an inflected interrogative following a preposition (8.5).

(8.3) *þann konung,* **er under honom** *ero skattkonungar.*
       'the king under whom are tributary kings' (lit. that under him)

(8.4) *i þorpe nøkkoro er ein kurteis kona,* **til þeirar er** *Heinrekr konungr venr sínar ferþer*[22]
       'in a village there is a noble woman to whom king Henry rides'

(8.5) *þetta sama orþ war ok upphaf,* **i huerio** *ok* **fyrer huat er** *guþ skapaþe allan heimenn*
       'this same word was also the origin, in which and through which God created the whole world'

Heusler (1932: 163) considers these to be artificial and learned formations in order to make grammatical relations more transparent and to avoid "(die) Unempfindlichkeit (der starren Relativpartikel) gegen die Rektion der Verba." The Old Norse example (8.4) is similar to the Welsh examples (5) and (6.2); they share the same motivation and the same model, namely Latin pied-piped prepositional relatives in which a preposition is followed by a relative pronoun, as in, for example, *in quo* (6.3), the Latin model for (6.2) above.

In our context it is again relevant that the earlier English type with the preposition in non-final position is also attested in other West Germanic languages. In Middle High German, relative adverbials ('relative Adverbien') may introduce a semantically prepositional relative clause and the required preposition then appears as a stressed adverb within the relative clause, as in (9.1).[23]

(9.1) *man huop in von der bâre,* **dâ** *er* **ûfe** *lac*   (Middle High German)
       'he was lifted up from the stretcher that he was lying on'

In dialects of Modern German, a similar type is realised, with the relative particle *wo* ('where') and either a prepositional adverb, as in (9.2), or the simple preposition, as in (9.3). According to Fleischer (2002: maps 3 and 6), type (9.2) occurs south of a line from Aachen in the west to Berlin in the east, whereas type (9.3) is found north of this line, namely in the Low German dialects – only preposition stranding with *mit* ('with') as in (9.3) being attested nearly everywhere

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[22] For more idiomatic *sú er Heinrekr konungr venr sínar ferþer til*.

[23] Cf. Paul, et al. (1969: 421). Alternatively, a relative adverb may introduce the relative clause on its own, as in *santin si den edelin Cesarem,* **dannin** *noch hiude kuninge heizzint keisere* 'they sent noble Caesar after whom kings are still called today 'keisere.'' For rare examples parallel to (9.1) from Modern German dialects see Fleischer (2002: 173), who suggests "dass es sich bei dieser Verwendung der Spaltungskonstruktion um ein Relikt handelt" which has been supplanted by the construction with *wo* ('where').

in the German speaking area ("fast über das gesamte Sprachgebiet des Deutschen") (Fleischer 2002: 196).[24]

(9.2) *Drei milioone, **wo** s **drum** schtriited* (Fleischer 2002: 268)
  'three millions that they argue about'

(9.3) *de ddern, **wo** he **mit** utgaan is* (Fleischer 2002: 194)
  'the girl that he went out with'

The same types also occur in substandard/colloquial Modern German, (9.4) and (9.5). The constructions of (9.3) and (9.5) are also an option in (standard) Dutch (9.6).[25]

(9.4) *Die deutschen Kicker sind an ein Limit gekommen,*
  ***wo** es im Moment nicht **drüber** geht.*   (colloquial Modern German)
  'The German football players have attained a standard
  that cannot be surpassed at the moment.'

(9.5) *Das Mädchen, **wo** du **mit** getanzt hast, hat langes Haar.* (colloquial Modern German)
  'The girl you danced with has long hair.'

(9.6.) *De tafel **waar** het brood **op** ligt, is van mij.*   (Dutch)
  'the table which the bread is lying on is mine.'

Preposition stranding appears to be rare in a typological perspective,[26] and is probably connected with an adverbial characterisation of the prepositions as Lehmann und Kurzová suggest:

> Nur Englisch, die skandinavischen Sprachen, Ewe, Koyo und Kambodschanisch repräsentieren den Nukleus auch dann nicht im RS, wenn er das Komplement einer Adposition ist. (Lehmann 1984: 230)[27]
> Adpositionen kann man in den meisten Sprachen nicht einfach ohne ein Komplement stehen lassen; Englisch, Kambodschanisch und Koyo, wo dies nicht nur in RSen möglich ist, gehören da sicher einer Minderheit an. Wahrscheinlich hängt die Möglichkeit des 'preposition stranding' damit zusammen, daß die Adpositionen gleichzeitig als Adverbien fungieren (die ja kein Komplement erfordern). (Lehmann 1984: 232)

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[24] For further examples and discussion, including the positions available for the stranded prepositions in the relative clause, see Fleischer (2002: 190-202, with map 3, 255-276, with map 6). On significant differences in relative-clause formation between Standard German and German dialects in a typological perspective, see Fleischer (2004: 236f.).

[25] There is also a pied-piped variant, *De tafel waarop het brood ligt* 'the table on which the bread is lying,' see Donaldson (1981: 63-66) and Gm. *der Tisch, worauf das Brot liegt* and its colloquial variant *der Tisch, wo das Brot drauf liegt*. I wish to thank Graham Isaac for pointing out to me the existence of preposition stranding in Dutch. Note Dekeyser's claim, reported by Van den Eynden Morpeth (2002: 189), that "there is a correlation between particle strategies and preposition stranding."

[26] I cannot offer a survey of the distribution of the 'Welsh type' of prepositional relatives in which an anaphoric personal pronoun is used; this type is found, for example, in Egyptian and Modern Persian (Isaac 2003 b: 79), and also in substandard French, *le patron **que** je travaille **pour lui*** 'the man whom I work for(-him),' and in Modern Greek, *i kopela **pu** kathisa **konda tis*** 'the girl whom I sat next to(-her).'

[27] See also Tallerman (1990: 307).

> Die Endstellung der Präposition ist durch gewisse strukturelle Voraussetzungen der germanischen Sprachen bedingt. Die Trennung der Präposition von der Nominalphrase und ihre enge Verbindung mit dem Verb im Englischen und in den skandinavischen Sprachen beruht auf den strukturellen Eigenschaften der germanischen Sprachen, die sich im Deutschen anders, nämlich in der Trennung des Präverbs vom Verb äußern. Beiden Erscheinungen liegt die Autonomie, der überlebende Adverbialcharakter von Präposition-Präverb zugrunde. (Kurzová 1981: 86)[28]

Following Lehmann and Kurzová and pending further more detailed investigation of the Insular Celtic situation, I am inclined to accept that Insular Celtic and Germanic languages are typologically different with regard to the extent to which they allow an adverbial characterisation of prepositions. This would appear to be reflected in the differences between their idiomatic prepositional relative clauses, namely the 'Celtic type' with particle plus preposition and anaphoric personal pronoun versus the 'Germanic type' with particle plus clause-internal preposition or prepositional adverb. I would also like to suggest that the clause-final position of the stranded preposition in English and of the prepositional phrase in Welsh respectively is coincidental, rather than diagnostic for contact, and probably related to basic word order rules in the two languages, but this requires further scrutiny, particularly in the light of the Scandinavian examples.

It should be noted, however, that stranded prepositions of the Germanic/English type occur in colloquial Modern Welsh, as in (10).

(10) *y   papur   roeddwn   i'n   edrych   ar*
       the   paper   COMP-was-ISG   I-PROG   look   at

      'the paper that I was looking at'
      (Tallerman 1990: 305)

Tallerman (1990: 307) and Isaac (2003 a: 49) agree that the rise of this type in Welsh is due to English influence; and I think it is methodologically interesting to note that contact here straddles typological boundaries in a situation described by Isaac as one of a "minority language being distorted by contact with the majority language of political hegemony" (Isaac 2003 a: 49, fn.).

Isaac, in his contribution to *Celtic Englishes III*, has in my view rightly insisted that Welsh has no stranded prepositions in the strict sense in relative clauses, "(t)he English construction with isolated prepositions could not be more foreign to Celtic syntax" (Isaac 2003 a: 47), and he therefore rules out any possibilities of contact in this area. I have shown above that one central part of

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[28] Wagner (1959) and, following him, Veselinović (2004) suggest that verbal composition in Old Irish was gradually supplanted by phrasal verbs in Early Modern Irish. Wagner even posits a geographical relationship ("einen geographischen Zusammenhang") between this development and similar developments at the transition from Old English to Middle English and from Proto-Norse to Old Norse ("im Übergang vom Altengl. zum Mittelengl. und vom Urnord. zum Altnordischen") (Wagner 1959: 122). See, however, Veselinović's rather more sceptical assessment in her contribution to this volume. The situation in Welsh requires further investigation. In spite of the typological change, Modern Irish still uses a prepositional relative clause with a prepositional phrase containing an anaphoric pronoun, see (7.5.) above.

Preusler's argument – presumed systematic parallels between Welsh and English, variants such as *e … endy* versus *yn yr hwnn …*, parallel to English *Ø … in* versus *in which ...* – lacks support in the linguistic facts of Welsh relatives. Preposition stranding, with admittedly some variation of the position of the stranded preposition within the relative clause, appears to be a pan-Germanic option connected with the adverbial characterisation of prepositions in this group of languages, as suggested by Lehmann and Kurzová.[29]

4.3. Preusler on Genitival Relative Clauses

Finally on Preusler, I would like to discuss very briefly his suggestion that genitival relative clauses with anaphoric possessives in earlier and regional varieties of English are related to a formally identical construction of Welsh genitival relative clauses.[30] It would seem, however, that functionally this type is intimately connected with other relative clauses which contain anaphoric personal pronouns:

> A not infrequent construction in ME texts is *that* followed by a personal pronoun or a possessive. ((11.1) and (11.2))[31] ... The personal pronoun and the possessive seem to be used partly for emphasis, partly to indicate the case of the indeclinable relative pronoun ... The same desire for clarity of expression seems to account for the use of the personal or possessive pronoun in *which*-clauses. (Mustanoja 1960: 202f.)

> (11.1) *þat he ne was robbed*
> 'who was not robbed'

> (11.2) *þat wrong is his name*
> 'whose name is wrong'

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[29] Note in this context that in Welsh the syntax of prepositional questions is different from that of prepositional relatives, in that in the former the preposition precedes the interrogative, e.g., *i bwy ...?* 'to whom ...?,' whereas in the latter a relative particle and a preposition plus anaphoric pronoun within the relative clause is used, e.g. *y ... iddo* 'who ... to(-him).' The map for the syntactic variation in the SED frame for TO WHOM, in the embedded question *I wonder to whom I shall give it?* has therefore no bearing on our problem. Poussa (2004: 186) considers *who ... to* to be "the incoming form, spreading from the Northern Midlands" – and in her oral response to this paper at the Colloquium she suggested a strong association of preposition stranding with the Scandinavian-settled areas of England.

[30] For Preusler's examples from Welsh and English, see above § 2. The construction in which the subordinator *that* or *at* is followed by a possessive pronoun, as in *the man **at his** weyfe's deid* or *the crew **that their** boat wis vrackit*, is common in Scots, according to Seppänen (1999: 22f.), but it also occurs in other dialects of English. For a map showing the distribution of *as*/*at*/*what his* see Poussa (2002: 5). The largest part of the area immediately adjacent to Wales seems to prefer *whose*.

[31] Mustanoja (1960: 202), from *Piers Plowman*.

Relative clauses with anaphoric personal pronouns are only very marginally attested in Middle Welsh, if at all.[32] Heusler (1932: 163) quotes similar examples from Old Norse for the use of a pronoun in the genitive in relative clauses as a rescue strategy to guarantee clarity. It is therefore perhaps more likely that in spite of the formal parallels between the Welsh and English clauses these have arisen independently in exploitation of available linguistic means to enhance clarity, regularly in Welsh, marginally in English and Old Norse.[33]

4.4. Molyneux

Molyneux argues that English contact clauses without an explicit subordinator are equivalent to Welsh relative clauses with the subordinators *a* and *y(r)* – the two types are, however, different with regard to the making of subordination and I can see no reason why they should be collapsed into a single category. Problems relating to the typological differences between stranded prepositions with adverbial characterisation in English and other Germanic languages and prepositions plus anaphoric pronouns in the Insular Celtic languages have already been addressed above (§ 4.2).

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, I need to stress that my aim here was to review and assess Preusler's and Molyneux's arguments for possible Celtic/British/Welsh influences on English relative clauses. I am currently inclined to remain sceptical with regard to the arguments for Insular Celtic influences on the formation of English relative clauses they put forward. There are robust parallels for contact clauses and various forms of preposition stranding in other Germanic languages, including West Germanic ones, which point towards the likelihood of language-internal motivations. Patricia Poussa stressed the possibility of linguistic influence from the Scandinavian settlements in her oral response to this paper at the Col-

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[32] For some contexts in which such anaphoric pronouns may be used in Middle Welsh, cf. Evans (1964: 63, 64), namely the form *ae* of the relative marker which sometimes occurs in early Middle Welsh, as in *E Betev ae gulich y glav*, lit. 'the graves which the rains wets (them)' (*Black Book of Carmarthen*), and which "may be explained as consisting of *a* and '*e*, '*y*, the infixed pronoun," as well as negative relative clauses in which the antecedent functions as object, as in *llyna beth nys gwrthodaf i*, lit. 'that is a thing which I will not refuse (it)' (*Ystorya de Carolo Magno*).

[33] See Fleischer (2004: 223f.) for rare examples from German dialects and Lehmann (1984: 88f.) for the attestation of relative clauses with anaphoric pronouns in modern Indo-European languages: "In allen slavischen und romanischen Sprachen außer dem Rumänischen existiert diese Konstruktion; Unterschiede bestehen nur in dem Grad der Verbreitung und in der Höhe des stilistischen oder soziolektalen Niveaus, auf dem die Konstruktion zulässig ist (meist kein sehr hohes Niveau). ... Dieselbe Strategie ist ferner die übliche im Neugriechischen." The use of the so-called 'pronomen coniunctum' in Modern Greek is typologically instructive: "It is the personal pronoun by which the meaning of the rather vague relative pronoun που is rendered clearer" (Bakker 1974: 9).

loquium; and I would not want to rule out the possibility that some developments within English could perhaps be reinforced by British influences through imperfect acquisition of English by speakers of Welsh and/or Goidelic languages, but this is methodologically difficult to demonstrate.

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HS   Hauptsatz ('main clause')
PKM   *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. by Ifor Williams, Caerdydd (Cardiff): Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1930.
RS   Relativsatz ('relative clause')
YdCM   *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, ed. by Stephen J. Williams, Caerdydd (Cardiff): Gwasg Prifsygol Cymru, 1930.

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Response to Erich Poppe's Contribution on "Celtic Influence on English Relative Clauses?"

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Just when we thought that the question of stranded prepositions in Modern English had been laid to rest once and for all in Isaac's contribution to CE III – "the easiest [grammatical feature] to dispose of"[1] (Tristram 2003: 47) – along comes Erich Poppe's paper in this volume to remind us that the issue is very much alive and well. He comes to the same basic conclusions as Isaac, that contact with Celtic languages, in particular with Welsh, is less likely an explanation than developments which are intrinsic to the English language itself. At most, these intrinsic developments could have been reinforced by contact. Both authors rightly point out that there is no such thing as preposition stranding *per se* in Welsh; but the seemingly logical conclusion, that the question of contact therefore simply does not arise, is in my view a rather hasty one. The other feature of English relative clauses – 'contact clauses,' in which the relative pronoun is apparently absent – is also considered to be probably due to language internal developments, thus leaving little or no room for explanations "resorting to" language contact. The very choice of vocabulary (see Poppe, this volume, p. 208f above) suggests that language contact should be invoked only when all else fails. As Theo Vennemann pointed out in the ensuing discussion, there is no reason to consider language contact as a last resort.

Non-Welsh speakers will, I am sure, welcome a short summary of the features in Welsh which could have given rise to both preposition stranding and contact clauses in English. I shall then attempt to clear up a few points, then point out how language contact could have taken place after all.

There are just two configurations. For the sake of convenience, I shall call them *A* and *Y*, both of which may involve something akin to preposition stranding and/or surface omission of the 'relative pronoun' or 'particle.'

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[1] Itself a fine example of preposition stranding.

A

The antecedent is Subject or Direct Object of the 'relative clause:' [*a* + lenition (°) of verb]

(1) *Y dyn a °werthodd y ci*   (sell = *gwerthu*)
  The man [S/O] sold the dog

As *a* can be Subject or Direct Object, this could mean 'The man who sold the dog' or 'The man whom the dog sold,' depending on the context… In this type of clause, if there is a preposition, it has to govern an element (underlined) which is not represented by *a*:[2]

(2) *Y neges a °anfonais i at<u>at</u>* (send = *anfon*)[3]
  The message [O] sent I to-<u>you</u>
  'The message I sent you'

Since *a* stands for the element in the main clause which is to function in the 'relative clause' as Subject or Object, it can be regarded as a genuine relative pronoun, not simply a 'particle.' In speech, it is often omitted, as are unstressed, semantically weak elements in any language (Wudga say? = What did you say? / *Weiß ich nich = Das weiß ich nicht / Chais pas = Je ne le sais pas*). But it does not always disappear altogether: there is usually a surface trace of its presence in the lenition of the verb.

Y

All other cases: [*y* or *yr* or *'r* + anaphoric element somewhere in 'relative clause']. Important: the above should not be confused with the definite article *y* or *yr* or *'r* …

Here, there is an anaphoric element – some sort of pronoun – which picks up that part of the main clause which is to play a role other than Subject or Direct Object in the 'relative clause.' But this anaphoric element is not at the beginning of the 'relative clause.' It is either a possessive:

(3) *Y weddw y lladdwyd <u>ei</u> gŵr yn y rhyfel*
  The widow was-killed <u>her</u> husband in the war
  'The widow whose husband was killed in the war'

or governed by a preposition, as in example 2 above:

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[2] Isaac (Tristram 2003: 48, note 5) maintains that the pronoun in clause final position has to be third person. This is probably true only in the *Y*-configuration; in the *A*-configuration it can be any person, not necessarily third.
[3] Vowels are not affected by lenition.

(4) Y^a *mae* *y* *gadair yr*^{b} *ydych* *yn* *eistedd* *ar<u>ni</u>* *yn* *sigledig*
      is   the   chair   you-are   sit   on-<u>her</u>   shaky

'The chair you're sitting on is shaky'

The relative pronoun *a* may be semantically weak, but *y* (or *yr*, or *'r*) carries no semantic weight whatsoever[4], and can therefore not be called a pronoun. All the more reason for leaving it out in speech. Furthermore, unlike *a*, it never leaves any surface trace at all when left out, as it is not followed by lenition or any other mutation. Like the operator (Y^a) that begins the above main clause with a form of *bod* ('to be'), the second *y* (in this case *yr*) is there simply to indicate that what follows is an affirmative statement. In fact, both may well be exactly the same operator, despite the fact that one introduces what grammarians would call a 'main clause,' and the other a 'relative clause.' This would mean that in Welsh, the distinction between the two is irrelevant, hence the inverted commas. This view echoes that of Evans (1964: 64, quoted by Poppe), who argues in favour of the juxtaposition of two independent clauses, rather than the subordination of one of them.

There are three points I would like to clarify before proceeding. The first two concern Tristram's assertion (1999: 23f., quoted by Poppe) that "[t]he Welsh pronoun in the clause final position may be inflected for person and number and is therefore stressed." Firstly, as this pronoun is anaphoric, picking up given information in the utterance, there is no more reason to stress it than a relative pronoun in any other language. Hard as I try, I am unable to imagine any utterance in which this would apply. What is stressed – as in almost all words in Welsh – is the penultimate syllable, in this case the preposition. Secondly, she is perfectly right in saying that it *may* be inflected, notwithstanding Isaac's claim that it "*is, must be*, inflected" (Tristram 2003: 48, note 5; author's italics). The simple reason is that many common prepositions do not inflect at all, like *gyda*, *efo* ('with'), and all combinations of *ar*: *ar ôl* ('after'), *ar ben* ('on top of') etc. In these cases, the pronoun is present as a separate lexical item, not as part of the preposition-pronoun lexeme. Thirdly, there is the issue of verbal forms which, according to Preusler, fulfil the function of relative pronouns. My personal view is that this is a red herring with which Poppe deals more than adequately in his paper, and I have no more to add to his discussion.

My main point concerns the following question: How could contact with Welsh, which has no preposition stranding as such, have given rise to preposition stranding in English? The answer I propose may appear quite superficial, to say the least: Because the structure in Welsh involving prepositions, inflected or otherwise, *looks like*, or rather *sounds like* preposition stranding. Languages come into contact – need I remind anybody? – on the acoustic rather than on the

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[4] Erich Poppe and I agree to differ on this issue. His position is that "*a* and *y* are not semantically empty, but have the syntactic function to define the function of the element they follow, i.e., subject/object or adverbial" (pc.).

written level, and most definitely not on the level of linguistic analysis. And what comes over on the acoustic level are stressed items, those which carry semantic weight. In example 4:

Y^a	*mae*	*y*	*gadair*	*yr^b*	*ydych*	*yn*	*eistedd*	*ar<u>ni</u>*	*yn*	*sigledig*
	is	the	chair		you-are		sit	on-<u>her</u>		shaky

the invitation to get off one's chair is unequivocal, since what is heard goes something like [chair – you're – sit – on – shaky]. This is probably quite independent of which language is being used by the bilingual whose native tongue is the contact language, since any attempt at using the target language will favourise meaningful, semantically significant elements at the expense of metalinguistic operators.

In the above example, what comes over closely resembles the Modern English equivalent given in the translation: 'The chair you're sitting on is shaky.' There is little or no audible trace of the relative particle or pronoun, and what is left of *arni* (literally 'on-her') is only the preposition, since it is this part that carries stress. Even if the speaker is attempting to use English and comes up with 'on her' or 'on it,' the addressee would tend to ignore the pronoun since, as far as he is concerned, the anaphoric element – the relative pronoun –'should be' at the very beginning of the relative clause. This is perfectly consistent with the different (one could even say incompatible) strategies of information packaging in the two languages. In Welsh, new information tends to precede 'old' or 'given' – in this case the anaphoric pronoun –, whereas in English the opposite is true: 'old' or 'given' information in the form of the relative pronoun precedes the new.

In other words, language contact in this area between Welsh and English seems to me to be a distinct and plausible possibility. The structures involving preposition stranding and contact clauses are part and parcel of the modern standardised language, which is not necessarily the case in other European languages. In French and German, any variation on the theme of relative clauses is confined to oral, non-standardised varieties, and this domain is particularly prone to non-standard flights of fancy. Oral French, for example, has constraints which may or may not obtain elsewhere: for some reason, only the prepositions *avec* ('with') and *sans* ('without') can be stranded (*celle que j'suis avec* = the 'girl I'm with;' from a song by Renaud), despite the fact that French speakers seem to be allergic to the only standardised structure there is, namely pied-piping, and go out of their way to avoid it in speech. As for oral German, it is interesting to note that the examples given by Poppe reflect almost exactly the Welsh *Y*-configuration: the linking particle, *wo*, has lost all semantic content (it no longer means 'where') and the anaphoric element (*da-* or simply *d-*) comes later in the clause and is combined with the preposition. In general, the domain of relative clauses seems to be a highly volatile one in several languages, and the best thing we can do for now is to keep all our options open. That includes "resorting to" language contact.

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Irish Presence in Colonial Cameroon
and Its Linguistic Legacy

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This paper describes the historical circumstances in which the Irish came and lived in the then British Cameroons between the end of the First World War and 1961, the year of independence of the territory; in broad terms this is the *colonial* period, in strict terms the years of *trusteeship* to Britain under the League of Nations, after the period of the German protectorate from 1884. The paper also highlights the aspects of language policy which can be traced back to the presence of the Irish in the educational and religious sectors, and more importantly the features of Cameroon English phonology which arguably had an Irish input. The description is preceded by a review of earlier foreign influences on English in Cameroon. This review of the earlier period is justified by the fact that features inherited from that period are still attested in Cameroon Pidgin English and/or Cameroon English, and are often in variation with those inherited from the Irish.

1. Survey of Foreign Influences on English in Cameroon

1.1. Early Foreign Influences in the Formation of English in Cameroon

Europeans of various nationalities, namely the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the Germans, the French, the Italians and the British, have plied the Cameroonian coast since 1472, the year of the supposed "discovery" of Cameroon by the Portuguese. These Europeans have been coming in turn as explorers, traders, missionaries or administrators. The diversity of foreign influences is clearly reflected in the lexis of Cameroon Pidgin English (CamPE), the oldest English-derived tongue in Cameroon. The literature (e.g. Mbangwana 1983: 79-91, after previous writers) often focuses on Portuguese-derived words like *pikin* (*child*, from Portuguese *piqueno*), *sabi* (*know*, from *saber*), *kaka* (*excrement*, *dung*, from *caca*), *dash* (*gift*, *tip* from *dache*), and *palaba*, *palava* (*speech*, *con-*

ference, *dispute*, from *palava*). But other European languages have also significantly contributed to the lexicon of CamPE. For example, *boku* (*plenty*, *much*, *many*) from French *beaucoup* found in old forms of the idiom;[1] *man* (*husband*, or impersonal pronoun) from German *Mann* ('man').

1.2. Later Influences

1.2.1. African Influences

The greatest African influence on English in Cameroon came from the Krios of Sierra Leone. The Krios, it will be recalled, were the occupants of a settlement created in 1787 in present-day Freetown, Sierra Leone, made up of freed slaves from Britain, namely from Portsmouth, from Nova Scotia in Canada, from Jamaica (the Maroons), and from slave ships bound for America intercepted by abolitionists after the formal end of the slave trade. The new settlers spoke an English-based Creole, subsequently called *Krio*, a term eventually used to designate the speakers. The Krios became very influential in Sierra Leone, but also far beyond, and disseminated to various parts of West Africa, and sometimes farther, as preachers, teachers, traders and administrators. Quoting Fyfe (1956: 118), Todd (1982: 284) reports that, by the middle of the 19th century, Creoles could be found from Gambia to Fernando Po (now Malabo), and that, by the end of the century, they filled the government offices in Nigeria and were scattered as far away as the Cape of Good Hope. Todd further reports after Gwei (1966: 140-144) that when the Baptist Society of Britain established a mission station in Cameroon, 29 per cent of the missionaries were Krios, either directly from Sierra Leone, or via Fernando Po.

In the same vein, Holm (1989: 412) reports that, before the beginning of colonisation proper by the end of the century, the British government, having taken over all British trading settlements in West Africa in 1821, and having begun to expand and consolidate its control in certain areas, employed, in the majority as administrators, missionaries, traders and teachers Sierra Leonean Creoles rather than British-born subjects.

Sierra Leone's Fourrah Bay College was very important in the training of the initial "reservoir of fluent speakers" (Odumuh 1987: 24), who were going to spread English among the whole of West Africa, including Cameroon. Fourrah Bay College provided a centre for the training of teachers, administrators and evangelists as fluent speakers of English (*ibid.*).

It is of interest to note that much of the Krio influence did not reach Cameroon directly from Sierra Leone, but from Nigeria. This is first of all because many freed slaves from overseas as well as those from intercepted ships were of

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[1]   More convincing illustrations of the influence of French in the development of Pidgin English on the West African coast can be found in the fact that, in addition to *boku*, French-derived words like *bato* (French *bateau* 'ship') are attested in the Krio and Pidgin English of Sierra Leone and Nigeria, which do not use French like Cameroon.

Nigerian, and particularly of Yoruba origin. Prof. Ayo Bamgbose (pc.) notes in this connection that the first Yoruba lesson on African soil was not in Nigeria, but in Sierra Leone. When these Krios of Nigerian origin moved out of Sierra Leone, their preferred place of re-settlement was Yorubaland. From there, like the other Krios, they moved to other parts of West Africa, including neighbouring Cameroon, taking along not only the Bible and the teacher's and clerk's pen, but their knowledge of Krio, and its predictable influence on West African pidgins and more standard varieties of the English idiom. The Krio influence was mostly felt on the Cameroonian coast, namely around Victoria (present day Limbe) where family names like *Burnley* and *Martins* are borne till today by Krio descendants. Krio influence on CamPE, however, was felt farther hinterland, including the CamPE varieties and even some indigenous languages of French Cameroon, where words like *kasala*, *trɔsi*, *tɛm* (cassava, trousers, time) are fully integrated.

Later on, the influence of Nigeria on Cameroon English continued and increased, as the British part of Cameroon came to be administered from Nigeria during the time of British trusteeship. Cameroon mostly underwent the influence of Yoruba English in the west of Nigeria and of Igbo English in the east, an influence which was due to several factors. In addition to the Krio influence from Sierra Leone through the Nigerian Yorubas, Yorubaland exerted an influence on Cameroon English, because Lagos the capital of the Federation of Nigeria, from which Cameroon was administered, was situated in this region. Lagos was also a large seaport and an educational centre like Ibaban, also situated in Yorubaland, which hosted one of the first and the most prestigious universities in colonial West Africa. Many members of the Cameroonian religious, educational and administrative elite had either been trained in Lagos or Ibadan, or had worked there, or both.

The influence of Eastern Nigeria on Cameroon was due to the fact that, as an administrative region of the Nigerian Federation, the then British Cameroons shared their western border with the Eastern Region. Many Cameroonians crossed over to the Eastern Region of the Nigerian Federation for trade and education. The influence of Eastern Nigeria on Cameroon through religion, very important in colonial days, will be discussed later.

It should be added that in the colonial days Nigerians, mostly from the Yoruba and Ibo ethnic groups, held very important positions in the British Cameroonian clergy, in education and administration.

For an overview of major countries whose nationals have had an influence on the shaping of Cameroon English, see Map 1.

1.2.2. European Influences and the Place of the Irish

The non-British Europeans present in Cameroon in the colonial period included the Dutch, the French, the Germans, the Italians and the Swiss. They all held positions in different sectors including the teaching of English. The British set-

tlers migrated from different parts of the United Kingdom, but the Irish clearly dominated. Irish English is, therefore, arguably the native English variety which has exerted the greatest influence on the formation of Cameroon English in the colonial period. The Irish came to Cameroon through the Catholic Mission and its social works, under a number of organisations. These organisations included the Mill Hill Fathers, the Spiritans (Holy Ghost Fathers), the Missionary Sisters of the Holy Rosary and the Killeshandra nuns. Names of Irish missionaries like Bishop Peter Rogan (after whom Bishop Rogan College in Buea was named), Father Thomas Burke-Kennedy and Bishop Joseph Ignatius Shanahan, whose achievements are further discussed below, are legend in Cameroon. It may not be irrelevant to mention that Prof. Loreto Todd came to Cameroon in the early 1960s as a volunteer and worked for the Catholic Mission. She taught in secondary and higher education for many years.

Many Irish missionaries came to Cameroon within the context of the Irish Missionary Movement, which held sway in Ireland in the 19th and 20th centuries. The Irish involved in this movement felt called upon, or were encouraged, to go abroad to preach the Word of God, in response to Christ's command "Go ye therefore, teach all nations" (Hogan 1990: 153). The Irish Missionary Movement was supported by a heavy propaganda machinery, which included religious magazines. Hogan (1990: 146) reports that "the appeal to Catholics carried out in the pages of the missionary magazines was a mixture of argument and exhortation, persuasion and encouragement," which presented the pursuit of religious aspirations as the "highest form of idealism" which "alone provides true satisfaction" (*ibid.*).

The missionaries, many of whom sacrificed everything, including their life, to the cause, were celebrated as heroes. Hogan (1990: 150) reports the following piece written on the departure of a group of missionaries for Africa in 1922:

> We in Ireland who live in a period of heroism and self-sacrifice appreciate the grand motive which urged these five young apostles to deny themselves home comforts and Irish surroundings to bring to the benighted African Negroes a foretaste of the joys of heaven.

One of the celebrated Irish missionary heroes in Cameroon was Bishop Joseph Shanahan, who "came to Cameroon from Nigeria in 1918 and trekked 1000 miles to visit all the mission stations where the German priests had been before the beginning of the World War" (Anonymous 2004: 16).

One important motivation for the Catholic missionary action was the need to counter the threat of Protestantism and above all of Islam which had preceded Catholicism in Africa, and were therefore more firmly implanted. The Catholic missionaries had the task of saving the "pagan souls" from the "heresy" of Protestantism and the "abomination" of Islam (Hogan 1990: 155).

The geographical areas of predilection of the Irish missionaries included Africa, where the Irish gradually supplanted missionaries from the other European nationalities. In fact, Hogan (1990: 164) reports that, in 1957, there were more Irish priests deployed in Africa and Asia than Italians, Germans and Spanish, and "that Dutch and German totals were gradually overhauled." Hogan (*ibid.*)

further notes that "there were more Irish sisters than Dutch, Italian or Spanish, while French totals were already within range." Hogan finally indicates that, by the early 1960s, the Irish missionary totals were higher than those of all the European mission-sending countries, and by the 1970s Irish totals were the highest in Europe. Specific statistics are not available for Cameroon, but it can safely be inferred that Cameroonian statistics reflect the general trends.

The most notable and one of the earliest of the missionary organisations was Saint Joseph's Missionary Society, more commonly known as the Mill Hill Missionary Society. The Mill Hill missionaries arrived in Victoria (now Limbe) in 1922, after Germany's defeat in the First World War, replacing the German Pallotines who had been active in Cameroon since 1884.

Most of the early Mill Hill missionaries in Cameroon were actually Dutch, who did not use the Dutch language, but English. However, the majority of the native English speakers among the missionaries was Irish. Anglophone Cameroon owes a great deal of the early education and training of its colonial and postcolonial elite to the Mill Hill and other Roman Catholic missionaries. For example, the first primary school for boys in the British Cameroons to have the Standard Six class was Saint Anthony's Primary School in Njinikom. In Standard Six, pupils sat for the then prestigious End of Primary School Certificate, and were absorbed as senior staff into various educational, religious and administrative positions. The foundation and development of the Njinikom Saint Anthony's Primary School are associated with an Irish priest, Father Thomas Burke-Kennedy who opened the Babanki-Tungo station in 1938 (O'Neil 1990: 170). Father Burke-Kennedy stayed at Njinikom till he died, and was buried in the churchyard. One of the most notable products of Saint Anthony's Primary School was the late Prof. Bernard Fonlon, a very influential figure in Cameroonian politics and university education. Bernard Fonlon obtained his BA, MA and PhD degrees from Cork (Ireland) and was the first Cameroonian to hold a PhD degree. He also obtained qualifications from Oxford and the Sorbonne. He became a cabinet minister in the early 1960s, later resigned and took up a teaching position at the University of Yaounde, where he became a professor of Literature and Head of Department of African Literature.

The first primary school for girls leading up to Standard Six at Shisong was also opened by the Roman Catholic Church. Many of the Sisters who taught there were Irish. The Shisong parish, like that of Njinikom, played a very important role in early education and evangelisation in the British Cameroons.

Other memorable Roman Catholic educational landmarks include Saint Joseph's College, Sasse, and the Queen of the Rosary College, Okoyong. Saint Joseph's College, Sasse, commonly known as "Sasse," was the first secondary school for boys, opened by the Mill Hill missionaries in 1939. Many members of its staff were Irish. The Cameroonian elite trained in Sasse included several current and former cabinet ministers, leading academics, eminent lawyers, etc. The first secondary school for girls, also opened by Catholic missionaries, the Holy Rosary Sisters, was the Queen of the Rosary College, Okoyong, generally

known as "Okoyong," in 1956. It was opened to ease the plight of the Cameroonian girls who, for their education, had been crossing to the Queen of the Rosary College, Onitsha, in Nigeria. Many of Okoyong's teaching staff were Irish Sisters. Okoyong, the female parallel of Sasse, has produced Cameroonian personalities who have made a mark in their respective fields.

It is important to note, in addition to the earlier survey of Nigerian influence on Cameroon English, that a good amount of Irish influence through the Catholic Mission came through Nigeria. It came through eastern Nigeria where the Catholic Mission was well established, and was mostly staffed by the Irish (see, for example, Awonusi 1986). The missionary associations whose mission extended to Cameroon included St Patrick's Missionary Society, the Killeshandra nuns, very largely represented in Iboland (Loreto Todd, pc.), and the Missionary Sisters of the Holy Rosary. For example, the anonymous article in *Cameroon Panorama* (2004: 16) reports that the early Missionary Sisters of the Holy Rosary and their founder Bishop Joseph Ignatius Shanahan "traveled the roads from Ireland through Nigeria to Cameroon bringing with them the Gospel as well as sharing in the life of the people." The travels of Cameroonians for missionary training among the Irish in Nigeria, many of whose cases are cited in O'Neil's (1991) *Mission to British Cameroons*, are further evidence of the exposure of Cameroonians to the Irish through neighbouring Nigeria. Map 1 gives a comprehensive view of the major foreign influences on English in Cameroon from the Portuguese period to the 20th century, while Map 2 shows the Catholic missionary impact on the British Cameroons from 1922 to 1960.

Irish missionaries were involved in a wide range of activities including health, social welfare, handicraft. But this paper focuses on their impact on education, for the obvious reason of the link between school and the moulding of language. While education in French Cameroon was handled by the State, it was mostly the affair of the Church in British Cameroons. Wolf (2001) negatively perceives this phenomenon as the hands-off policy of the British government for which it was often blamed (e.g. by the League of Nations). But other authors perceive the situation as the result of an accepted distribution of tasks between the state and the Church (cf. Hogan 1990; O'Neil 1991; Shu 2000). For example, Shu (2000: 4), quoting the report of the UK Colonial Office to the League of Nations, explains that all schools were entrusted to the Mission Societies because they "are in a better position to develop discipline and character with aid of those moral … sanctions without which all knowledge becomes harmful to the individual and a danger to the State."

The above survey stresses the role of the Catholic Church in the provision of the education in Cameroon. The other churches were side-trapped, not only because they were not generally staffed by the Irish, but because the role of the Catholic Church in the establishment of schools was far greater. Recall the fact that the first full-fledged primary and secondary schools for boys and girls were founded by the Catholics, and that indeed most of the early Cameroonian intellectual elite graduated from these schools.

Note that a minority of Irish people also came to Cameroon under the Commonwealth, the British Council or as Protestant (namely Presbyterian) missionaries, or as members of staff of the Protestant schools. For example, D.H. O'Neil, the first principal of Cameroon Protestant College (CPC), Bali, was Irish and headed this school from 1949 to 1956.

2. Irish Linguistic Legacy

The Irish linguistic legacy in Cameroon includes elements of language policy but, above all, structural aspects of the English language as spoken in the country today.

2.1. Language Policy

Although there were, among the Europeans living in Cameroon in the colonial period, large numbers of people (mostly the Dutch, but also the French, the Germans, the Swiss, the Belgians), especially in the clergy, whose mother tongue was not English, English was, predictably, generally the language of administration. The use of English after the German period was not a new phenomenon, as this language is reported to have been widely used during the German rule. For example, Ze Amvela (1993) reports that English was used in court at that time in the settlement of disputes between German and British traders.

The colonial period saw the encouragement of local languages and Pidgin English, a continuation of the German language policy. The Germans are reported to have been doubtful about the Africans' ability to learn their language (Mazrui and Mazrui 1996: 273) and often preferred to promote the indigenous languages and Pidgin English, which they called "Neger-Englisch" ('Negro English') (Simo Bobda and Wolf 2001: 103).

The promotion of indigenous languages was in keeping with Lord Lugard's policy of *Indirect Rule*, whereby the British coloniser was to give the colonised some opening to Western civilisation, while at the same time preserving their cultures and traditions. The Bible and prayers (e.g. the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary) were translated into Pidgin English and other major local languages, notably Duala. Duala is the language of the Douala ethnic group in the French-speaking part of Cameroon. It had been adopted since the German period as the language of evangelisation in many parts of the present (English-speaking) South West Province, while Lamnso and Mungaka were adopted in the present North West. The fact that the Irish in particular rarely appreciated learning local languages (Hogan 1991: 163) did not affect the high status of these languages, which were more enthusiastically learnt by other Europeans (*ibid.*).

The Church today in Anglophone Cameroon basically pursues the same language policy as in British Cameroons, marked by the wide use, in addition to English, of local languages, but mainly of Pidgin English.

Pidgin English at the time was already (like today in many circles) shunned because of its feared negative consequences on English. O'Neil (1991: 89) cites an instance where one Inspector of Education in the Kom school reported that "the teachers wallowed in a morass of Pidgin" and indicated that Mgr Rogan "would prefer teaching to be done in 'High English.'" Because of its many advantages, Pidgin English, however, was eventually retained for religious teaching, a policy which continues to prevail today despite its lack of official status.

As for the indigenous languages today, there is a revival of enthusiasm after a drastic decline in interest in the first decades of Independence which was gained in 1960. This decline was partly due to the influence of French colonial policy inherited from the dominant Francophone part of the country and also due to the fact that the few efforts undertaken in terms of language policy are, as a priority for government, concentrated on French-English bilingualism.

2.2. Structural Aspects of English

It is an easy guess that the long Irish presence in colonial Cameroon must have left marks on Cameroon English. Although lexical and grammatical elements can be found in Cameroon English whose similarity with Irish English suggests the latter as the input, pronunciation provides more convincing evidence of the influence of Irish English on Cameroon.

Even if there were doubts about the use of Irish English on Cameroonian soil and its influence on the local speakers of English in the colonial period, such doubts would be dissipated not only by the testimony of the informants for this study, but also by some anecdotes. One such anecdote is about Father Aloysius Wankui who, in 1941, had been coached by Father Koster (Irish) in his learning of Latin in order to be given a place at the Onitsa seminary in Nigeria. At the end of a two-year Latin course which Wankui covered in six months, Bishop Rogan is reported to have joked that "He is already knee deep into O'Growneys' Irish Grammar, swatting up the Ulster, Munster and Leinster pronunciation of *bonus, bona, bonum….*" (O'Neil 1991: 82).

The pronunciations which can be regarded, in various degrees, as the legacy of the Irish presence in Cameroon, or may have at least been influenced by it, include the realisations of the NURSE, STRUT and SQUARE vowels, the /hw/ sequence, the pronunciation of <th>, and some syllable stress patterns.

The NURSE Vowel

The patterns of realisation of the NURSE vowel across African accents of English are /a, ɛ, ɔ/; e.g. east African [wak] *work*, southern African [wɛk], Ghanaian [wɛk], Sierra Leonean [wɔk]. These variants depend on a number of factors, which include the colonial input, the spelling and other factors which intervened in the process of the acquisition/learning of the language. CamE exhib-

its all of the three substitutes. The vowel /ɔ/ stands for <or, our, ur> as in [tɔk, wɔm, dʒɔne, kɔtesi, pɔpɔs, tɔn] *work*, *worm*, *journey*, *courtesy*, *purpose*, *turn*. The vowel /ɛ/, which tenses into [e] in some word-medial environments (Simo Bobda 1994: 181), characteristically occurs for orthographic <er, ear, ir, yr> as in [tɛm, pɛsən, lɛn, jɛn, fɛm, tɛd, mɛ] *term*, *person*, *learn*, *yearn*, *firm*, *third*, *myrrh.* The vowel /ɛ/ also occurs for <or, our, ur> in acrolectal speech, as in [wɛk, dʒene, bɛn] *work*, *journey*, *burn*, often in competition with /ɔ/. The vowel /a/ occurs only in a handful of words: *her* [ha], basilectal *Sir* [sa], (verb) *trans-f[a]r*, *s[a]rvant*, *mat[a]rnal*, *mat[a]rnity*.

There are strong arguments for Irish English (IrE) to have been the input for some of the common realisations of the NURSE vowel in Cameroon. The cardinal argument obviously is the similarity between CamE pronunciation and the IrE forms. CamE /ɔ/ for <or, our, ur> (also the West African mainstream pronunciation, as seen above) is a characteristically Irish feature. CamE /ɛ/ for <er, ear, ir, yr> roughly corresponds to the Irish pronunciation of most of the NURSE vowels, which is /ɛ, e:/ (Wells 1982: 421; Hughes and Trudgill 1987: 66).

Two realisations of the NURSE vowel in <er, ear, ir, yr> are clearly in competition in West Africa and correspond to the dominant historical input /a/ and /ɛ/. The vowel /a/ is firmly established in those areas, where the Krios (though present in the whole of West Africa) were most dominant, in Sierra Leone, where Krios settled on their return to the African soil, in Gambia, where another (smaller) settlement was created around Bathurst (present day Banjul), and in Western Nigeria, the preferred place of relocation of the Krios (mainly of Yoruba origin as indicated above). These three countries constitute the "Krio connection" (Simo Bobda 2003: 28). It is clearly established in the literature (e.g. Montgomery 1999: 8) that the 19th century Black immigrants to Sierra Leone provided /a/ as the input for the NURSE vowel with <er, ear, ir, yr>, saying, for example, [masi, savant] *mercy*, *servant*. The areas which underwent less Krio domination and more Irish influence, have mostly /ɛ/. CamE falls into the latter category.

The analysis offered here is not altogether new in the study of pronunciation variations in West Africa. Awonusi (1986: 550) already indicates that, in Nigeria, while /a/ for *learn* predominates in the west, /ɛ/ is more common in the east, being the legacy of the speech of the early Scottish teachers in Iboland. It can be added that, on the basis of the historical background provided above, the influence of the Irish missionaries in this area was at least as important.

While Nigeria is divided between /ɛ/ and /a/ for the NURSE vowel in <er, ear, ir, yr>, Cameroon has basically only /ɛ/. This feature can be attributed to the influence of the Irish or to the influence of neighbouring eastern Nigeria, itself influenced by Irish English. The almost total absence in Cameroon of /a/ so common in Sierra Leone, Gambia and Nigeria is very striking. The cases of [ha] *her* and basilectal [sa] *Sir* discussed above are the only real exceptions. The occurrence of /a/ in (verb) [transˊfa], in (noun) [ˊsavant], [maˊtaniti] and in (adjective) [maˊtanal] is arguably the result of vowel harmony with the neighbouring vow-

els. This explanation is supported by the fact that, in cases where /a/ does not occur in a neighbouring syllable, the NURSE vowel is not rendered as /a/. For example, Cameroonians say [maˊtaniti] but [juniˊvε̠siti] *university* (not *[juniˊvasiti]), [transˊfa] *transfer* but [priˊfε̠] (not *[priˊfa]) and, more significantly, [ˊsavant] but [sεv, sεvis] *serve*, *service* (not *[sav, savis]).

Furthermore, consider the following sub-set of NURSE words with <ir, er>: *first*, *third*, *bird*, *person*. Each of the words has a distribution parallel to the above cases with regard to the dichotomy between those parts of West Africa where Krio influence was greatest, and the other parts, which include areas of Irish influence like Cameroon.

Like IrE, CamE has /ε/ for the following words: *first*, *third*, *bird*, *person* [fεst, tεd, bεt ~ bεd, pεsən ~ pεsin]. In areas where the Krio impact was greatest, /ɔ/ occurs with varying degrees of frequency: *first* has the highest frequency in Sierra Leone, in Nigeria (especially Yoruba English), and in Gambia, followed in decreasing order by *third*, *bird*, and less commonly *person*. The vowel /a/ tends to occur for all of the words in Nigerian Hausa English, and for *person* in Gambia. If we exclude /a/ in these geographical areas, we will notice that /ε/ and /ɔ/ are in competition in West Africa for the four words under consideration. The areas where /ε/ recurs include those with Irish missionary impact, while /ɔ/ is mostly common in the "Krio connection." Evidence that /ɔ/ in these words is attributable to Krio influence is that the Krio cognates of these words have /ɔ/, as is attested by Fyle and Jones's (1980) dictionary: *fɔs*, *tɔd*, *bɔd*, *pɔsin*.

Conforming with the distribution analysed above, CamE predictably has /ε/, normally exclusive in the standard CamE variety. *Fɔs* ('first') and variants like *fɔsi* occur only in some basilectal and/or older forms of Cameroon Pidgin English, being presumably a Krio residue.

The final illustration of the likely influence of the Irish on the pronunciation of the NURSE vowel in CamE is, interestingly, the word *nurse* itself, whose common realisation is [nεs]. This corresponds to what Wells (1982: 419) reports to be the Irish pronunciation, where /ε/ is in variation with /ʌ/. CamE /ε/ for *nurse* contrasts with /ɔ/, which is, as we have seen earlier, the mainstream realisation of most other NURSE words in <or, our, ur>.

The STRUT Vowel

The STRUT vowel has the following five realisations in Africa: /ɔ, a, ε, u, au/. Factors determining the occurrence of a substitute include the colonial input, spelling, and the analogy with a common form. The vowel /ɔ/ occurs in most of West Africa, except in Ghanaian English and Nigerian Hausa English in the north. The vowel /a/ typically occurs in Ghana, in Nigerian Hausa English as well as in east and southern Africa. The vowel /ε/ typically occurs in some words like *just*, *us* in Ghana, but also in acrolectal speech in some words in Nigeria (e.g. *but*) and in Cameroon (e.g. *but*, *cut*). The vowel /u/ occurs, induced by the spelling, in words like *buffalo*, *buttock*, *culprit* in many parts of West Africa. Right

across Africa, the vowel /au/ occurs in a large number of words with <ou> spellings like *country*, *southern*, *abundance*, *pronunciation* (the latter two pronunciations often influence, and are influenced by, the deviant spellings of **abundance*, **pronounciation*). They are induced by analogy with pronunciations like *count*, *counter* and *sound.*

The distribution of /ɔ/ and /a/, the two main realisations, largely reflects the colonial input and can, in the case of Cameroon, be associated with the Irish presence in the country. Already Jowitt (1991: 73) asserted that the influence of the Irish missionaries played a part in the realisation of the STRUT vowel as /ɔ/ in *love*, *money*, etc. in Nigeria. If we accept Jowitt's thesis, we can safely infer that CamE /ɔ/ for the STRUT vowel derives from the same source, given Cameroon's historical links with Nigeria on the one hand and the direct presence of the Irish on Cameroonian soil on the other. Awonusi's (1986: 550) and Harris's (1996) explanations of the occurrence of /ɔ/ in southern Nigeria, and in West Africa in general do not contradict Jowitt's thesis. According to Awonusi (*ibid.*), the occurrence of /ɔ/ in the south of Nigeria, contrasting with /a/ in the Hausa north, is due to the fact that the earlier British settlers in the south were not from the RP backgrounds of the south of Britain, whereas those who later settled in the north were. Harris's explanation is that, in general, West Africa has /ɔ/, contrasting with east and southern African /a/, because the British settled in these two parts of the continent at two different periods in the development of the STRUT vowel. At the time English was transplanted to West Africa, the STRUT vowel was still an /ɔ/-like segment, which eventually started fronting to /a/ later.[2]

It should be noted that the transplantation referred to was one yielding basically some pidginised form of English, since English proper was not to be used in on a large scale before the 20th century. At that period, while the fronting of STRUT was already in progress in the south of England, Irish English and many accents of the north of England still had, and have up till today, a rounded /ɔ/, which was taken to Cameroon by the Irish and was arguably reinforced by the /ɔ/ of the existing pidginised forms of English.

For a small number of STRUT words, CamPE cognates have /a/, a residue of their Krio cognates, as shown in Fyle and Jones's (1980) dictionary. These words include *come*, *one*, *wonder*, *wonderful*, *nothing*, *humbug*, corresponding to Krio *kam*, *wan*, *wanda*, *wandafu(l)*, *natin*, *hambok*. CamPE has the same forms, while CamE has /ɔ/ for *nothing* and *wonder* and its derivatives, and it varies between /ɔ/ and /a/ for *come* and *one*. The word *humbug* is heard mostly in its CamPE form. It would be interesting to investigate the source of /a/ for the subset of STRUT words shown here.

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2   Outside Africa, Harris's theory explains why the STRUT vowel is realised as /ɔ/ in most of the West Indies where English was transported to from the 16th century onwards, and /a/ in Asia where the British settled much later, i.e. at the end of the 19th century.

The SQUARE Vowel

In CamE, the SQUARE vowel is realised as /ɛ/ except in a handful of well documented words. These include *their*, which has /ea, eɛ, iɛ, ia/, *pear* [piɛ], words in *-aire* (e.g. *millionaire*, *billionaire*, *questionnaire*), *chair*, (occasionally) *share*, and (even less often) *where*, which may have /iə, iɛ/. A spelling-induced /a/ also occurs in words like *v*[*a*]*ry* and its derivatives as well as *Sarah*, *hilarious*, *nefarious*.

CamE /ɛ/ is a possible legacy of IrE, where Arthur and Trudgill (1987: 66) report *fair* and *fir* to be homophonous as [fɛ]. The quasi-systematic /ɛ/ for the SQUARE vowel in CamE (also a feature of Ghanaian English) contrasts with the equally frequent diphthongal sequence /iɛ, ia, eɛ, ea/ found in the "Krio connection" for *there*, *where*, *care*, *bare*, *bear*, *fair*, *fare*, *repair*, *prepare*, etc.

/hw/

Wh- words are rendered by some CamE speakers as [hw-]; e.g. [hwɔt, hwai] *what*, *why*. The same form exists in IrE (Wells 1982: 428), which could well have been the input.

TH

The major realisations of the TH sounds (RP /θ, ð/) across accents of English worldwide are /f, v/, /s, z/ and /t, d/. /f, v/, which occur in the south of England, namely in Cockney/Estuary English, are not normally attested in mainstream African accents of English. Realisations as /s, z/ occur in Nigerian Hausa English, but more typically in East Africa. CamE and most West African Englishes have /t, d/. This is probably not a random phenomenon and could be traced back to IrE. "The English stereotype of an Irish accent ('brogue') includes the use of /t, d/ instead of /θ, ð/ and/or vice-versa" (Wells 1982: 428).

Some Syllable-Stress Patterns

The CamE syllable-stress patterns which are reminiscent of IrE (Wells 1982: 436), Scottish English (*ibid.*, 414) and Northern English accents (Jones 1958: 143) include those of verbs in *-ate* and *-ise*: *adjudi´cate*, *concen´trate*, *edu´cate*, *exagge´rate*, *recog´nise*, *recon´cile*, *specia´lise*.

Like IrE, CamE lacks the Alternating Stress Rule (Chomsky and Halle 1968) which is responsible for pulling the underlying final stress of these words to the antepenultimate syllable, for (RP) *ad´judicate*, *´educate*, *´recognise*, *´reconcile*, *´specialise*.

Some General Evaluative Comments

The foregoing analysis undoubtedly triggers many questions, the answers to which are necessary to validate the claims made in this paper. The first question may be to know *which* IrE is considered here, since this variety of English, like any other, has developed and changed over the years. The Irish presence discussed here is that from the 1920s to the early '60s, which suggests that the IrE transplanted in Cameroon was contemporary IrE, broadly speaking, that described by Wells (1982), Hughes and Trudgill (1987) and others. A second question may relate to other factors in the formation of CamE. It is not claimed that the Irish input is the exclusive explanation for any of the features. For example, it is principally because /θ/ and /ð/ do not occur in Cameroonian languages that the TH sounds are realised as /t/ and /d/ which occur in the substratum languages. In some cases, the Irish factor may simply have been instrumental in consolidating the output of some *sui generis* rules, already found in the grammar of CamE. For instance, a stress placement rule in CamE assigns stress to the ultimate syllable in verbs ending in obstruents or strong syllables (Simo Bobda 1994: 279). The final stress in *-ate*, *-fy*, and *-ise* words is in keeping with that rule.

It is acknowledged, confirming the findings of an earlier study (Simo Bobda 2003) that there is a network of factors which contributed to the moulding of African English accents. For example, a given British accent may have arrived in Africa in several ways, namely directly, via the American continent or through a British route. The latter case is illustrated by Hughes and Trudgill (1987: 66) who report "large numbers of Irish people, especially from Southern Ireland, who settled in Liverpool over the last hundred years." Some IrE features found in Liverpool English (e.g. the realisation of the NURSE vowel with <er, ear, ir> as /ɛ/) reflect this movement of population, and could well have been exported to Cameroon through Britain.

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Map 1 : MAJOR PAST FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON ENGLISH IN CAMEROON

NORTH
IRELAND   GREAT
            BRITAIN

                    HOLLAND
                    GERMANY
                    BELGIUM

            FRANCE

                    SWITZERLAND

PORTUGAL
SPAIN   ITALY

N

SIERRA
LEONE   ③   NIGERIA

②   ④   CAMEROON

ATLANTIC   OCEAN

KEY

① Explorers, merchants or missionaries 1472 – 19th. C.
② Sierra Leone Krios 19th – Early 20th C.
③ Sierra Leone Krios via Nigeria
④ Yoruba and Ibo influences when British Cameroons
   was part of Nigerian Federation
⑤ 20th C. European influences, with notable Irish
   missionary impact

→ Spread routes

0   500   1000   1500 Km

Map 2. CATHOLIC MISSION EDUCATIONAL IMPACT IN BRITISH CAMEROONS (1922-1961)

KEY

PRIMARY SCHOOLS
First Boys Standard Six
First Girls Standard Six

SECONDARY SCHOOLS
First Boys
First Girls

OTHER ASPECTS
Notable Irish Presence
Some Major Towns
British Cameroons Boundary

Source: conceived by the author based on information from Oneil, R.J. (1991) and one in-
formant, Simon Awasum

Contact, Shift and Language Change
Irish English and South African Indian English[1]

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In order to determine the likelihood of sources, the salient features of Irish English and South African English are compared with each other. Both varieties owe their existence to a shift from an original indigenous language to English. The relevant populations in both countries initially acquired English in manners which were largely similar, i.e. in a process of imperfect second language learning in adulthood. For these reasons the structures in both kinds of English are considered with a view to whether they might have their source in the background languages (substratum interference) or in the nature of the sociolinguistic situation in which the shift took place. The latter would have favoured the foregrounding of features typical of grammatically simplified registers. As always, multiple causation must be considered. In the case of Irish English, archaic and/or regional input from Britain must also be allowed for as a possible source.

1. Introduction

The examination of features of Irish English has generally been accompanied by considerations of Irish as the substrate language and of regional input from England during the formative period inasmuch as this can be ascertained. If comparisons with other contact varieties have been made then these have been within the arena of Celtic Englishes, see Filppula (1997), who compares features of Irish and Hebridean English, as a typical example. However, varieties of English world-wide show similarities in the social situations in which they arose and in the features which came to characterise them (Hickey, ed., 2004) and so it might well be beneficial to compare Irish English with varieties which show cer-

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[1] I am indebted to Rajend Mesthrie, the foremost authority on South African Indian English, for his help with many of the statements and examples included here. Needless to say, he is not to be associated with any shortcomings in this contribution.

tain similarities in their genesis. To begin with, one can list the four main scenarios for the development of English overseas which occurred during the colonial period of the language, roughly from the early 17th to the late 19th century.

Scenarios for English overseas

(1) *Language maintenance*: typical of those who take English abroad and continue to speak it, passing the language on regularly to future generations (Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, the British-based community in South Africa).

(2) *Language shift*: a section of the overseas community abandons its own language and adopts English as their new native language (Ireland, Natal in South Africa and at other locations in this country, very small groups such as native Americans, Aborigines in Australia and Maori in New Zealand).

(3) *Language creation*: because of deficient linguistic input from the previous generation children begin to create their own form of English on the basis of the makeshift variety they hear around them (creolisation). This applies historically to those parts of the Caribbean and of Melanesia (Papua New Guinea) where English was introduced.

(4) *Functional bilingualism*: common in countries like India, Malaysia, many parts of Africa, where English functions as a *lingua franca* and is used for communication with the outside world. This situation is different from (1) – (3) because English is only used sporadically and in the public domain. It is not a native variety, as speakers always have a different first language.

In the arena of Englishes throughout the world, there are not that many which have their origin in a shift from a non-Germanic indigenous language to English (Scenario 2 above). Or if there are, then records are missing because this shift took place without the attention of European writers and scholars. For instance, the Native American peoples – inasmuch as they have shifted from their ancestral language to English – have done so without any documentation for the shift period. Furthermore, because they were absorbed into contemporary American society, they did not maintain forms of English with unique profiles. Hence there is no such thing as Sioux English or Iroquoian English or whatever. Even groups of Native Americans of considerable size, like the Navajo in the southwest of the United States (over a quarter of a million), do not appear to speak forms of English distinct from their other American neighbours in this region (Leap 1993). The other major anglophone area with a considerable indigenous population is Australia. The variety of native languages is, if anything, greater than in the United States or Canada but more attention has been paid to the English spoken by these groups (Arthur 1996; Kaldor and Malcolm 1982; Malcolm 2001; on possible Maori English in New Zealand, see Benton 1991). The time depth is slighter than in north America (Australia was mainly settled in the first half of the 19th century), so that the period of shift is more recent and hence the influence of the native languages is deemed still to be felt (see Kiesling, in: Hickey, ed., 2004 – the English of Australian aborigines will be discussed briefly towards the end of this chapter).

Reviewing anglophone locations overseas, one can turn one's attention to South Africa (Branford 1994; Lanham 1996). In the main it is a country with in-

put from two European languages, Dutch for Afrikaans and British English for South African English. And of course there is a large number of indigenous languages of the Bantu phylum. But South Africa is interesting for the present discussion in one other respect: there is a form of English spoken there which resulted from language shift: the English of the Indian population in the country. To understand more about the rise and nature of this form of English, a brief historical sketch of the Indian section of South African society is offered.

2. English in South Africa

In 1652 the Cape of Good Hope was colonialised by Dutch navigators, thus establishing the Dutch claim to this part of Africa. For about 150 years the English did not disturb the colony. However, in 1806 they invaded the region and brought the English language, thus initiating the dual European language tradition which exists to the present day. After the Napoleonic wars the number of permanent English settlers increased, forming the group known as the '1820s settlers,' who represented the backbone of English settlement in South Africa. Many of these settled in the Eastern Cape region (approximately that around Port Elizabeth and East London). Throughout the 19th century new settlements in South Africa continued. In Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal), a wave of settlement occurred in the years 1848-1862.

Western Cape, settled as of 1795   Eastern Cape, settled in 1820's

With the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834, a shortage of labour arose in various parts of the world then under British rule. A solution adopted by the British government was to move inhabitants of India, then the most populous part of the Empire, to those regions in need of labour. Many small islands were affected by the movement of Indians overseas, notable Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, Fiji in the South Pacific and parts of the Caribbean such as British Guyana (mainland South America), Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

South Africa was also affected by this movement. Due to labour needs on the estates and plantations of Natal, assisted immigration from India set in during the latter half of the 19th century which was to have a lasting effect on the demographic composition of South Africa. From 1860 to 1911 Indians arrived in South Africa, firstly as indentured labourers in Natal, later on in the rest of the country (there are other varieties in Transvaal (Gauteng) and the Cape region, but these have not been investigated (Mesthrie 1996: 79)). Smaller numbers of other Indians, notably speakers of Gujarati, Konkani (Marathi) and Meman (Sindhi) arrived after 1875. Nearly all Indian immigrants had little or no knowledge of English when they settled in South Africa, although there were some teachers of English among these immigrants (Mesthrie, pc.).

To begin with, the Indians would appear to have learned the pidgin Fanagalo which derived from English with much Zulu and Afrikaans lexis and which was common among black workers, using the Indian language of their background for community-internal communication (it was also spoken by whites and by Indians across the Indic-Dravidian divide, frequently by speakers of Tamil and Bhojpuri respectively). For their part, the Bantu population of Natal, the Zulus, were largely confined to reserves by the British who favoured the Indians for work on the sugar, tea and coffee plantations (Bhana and Brain 1990). Because of the nature of their work, the Indian population was segregated in housing and education and they shared the common experience of indentured labour and/or minor trade at the new location.

Knowledge and use of English in the 19th century Indian population was more the exception than the rule (Mesthrie 1996: 80). Fanagalo does not seem to have been the input to South African Indian English (SAIE) according to Mesthrie (1992: 186-204), as it only shares two features with later SAIE. Nor did existing basilectal Indian English, like Butler English (Hickey 2004 c), provide any significant input to SAIE. However, Mesthrie does show that there are structural parallels between pidgins/creoles and early forms of shift-induced varieties given the similar situation of imperfect second language learning in adulthood found with both types of language. In his consideration of early SAIE, he puts forward arguments similar to those found in Corrigan (1993) and Hickey (1997) for Irish English. Indeed he concludes his 1996 article by explicitly stating that "language shift varieties may well "provide a missing link in the chain of possible contact varieties" (Siegel 1994: 89), especially between creole and non-creole" (Mesthrie 1996: 95).

Shift of population from India to South Africa
(Natal) due to shortage of labour after the
abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834
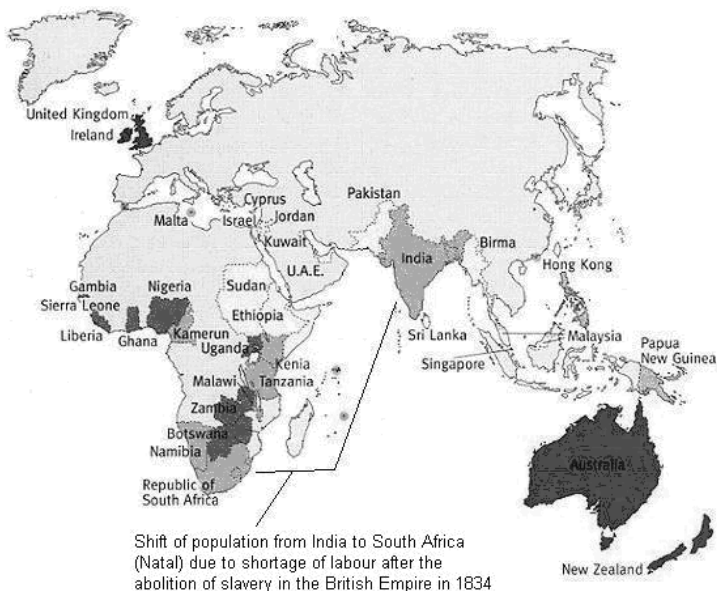
A number of facts should be borne in mind here. Perhaps the most important
for the present discussion is that the Indians were largely speakers of Tamil, a
Dravidian language of southern India and Sri Lanka (there were also speakers of
Telegu (Mesthrie 1996: 80) and Bhojpuri (an Indic language spoken by about
30m people in north-eastern India and Nepal)). Although the input was from two
language families, these showed (and still show) considerable typological simi-
larities due to prolonged contact in South Asia. Another fact to remember is that
the Indians in South Africa were, well into the 20th century, a fairly homogenous
community located racially between the black and the whites. Yet a further fact
of relevance here is that South African Indian English is an established variety
(Bughwan 1988). Of course there is a continuum, just as with the English lan-
guage in Ireland, but the native Indian languages are no longer spoken to any
significant extent so that code-mixing or nonce grammatical features, typical of
a pre-shift stage of a variety, need not be considered here.

The continuum of SAIE ranges from basilectal forms typical of older speakers
with little education to acrolectal forms found among younger speakers with
considerably more education. The acrolect merges imperceptibly into general
South African English (Branford 1994). Mesolectal usage, that of the majority
of Indians in KwaZulu-Natal, is the object of focus for the present discussion. It
is a focussed variety in the sense of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (Mesthrie
1996: 79). However, as Mesthrie readily admits, a certain degree of diffusion of
general South African English into SAIE has occurred and will continue to do so

given the nature of post-apartheid South African society. New non-vernacular norms are arising which are increasingly removed from traditional SAIE, especially among the middle classes.

KwaZulu-Natal, the province to which Indian labourers were transported between 1860-1911, mainly speakers of Bhojpuri, along with other groups such as Tamil. Their descendants are speakers of South African Indian English.
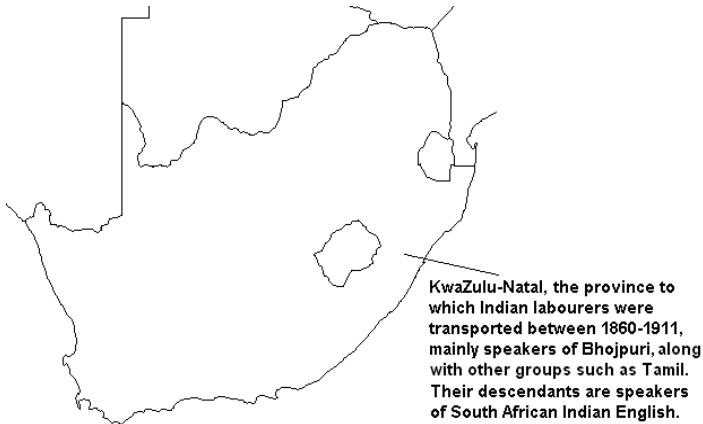
2.1. Transmission of English

The transmission of English to the Indian population shows remarkable similarities to the situation in 18th and 19th century Ireland. Certainly, before the establishment of primary schools for the Catholic population in Ireland in the 1830s, the main exposure to English for the Irish would have been through contact with other Irish people who would somehow have known some English (Hickey 1995). These in turn would have picked it up from others, from mainly urban dwellers or from people from the east of Ireland where knowledge of English had a stronger hold and a longer history. Mesthrie states (1996: 80f.) that many Indians learned their English from other members of their communities and in schools where not all the teachers were necessarily native speakers of English, as missionaries in 19th century Natal (and other parts of Africa) were often from continental Europe. Mesthrie also concedes there may have been an influence from the Indian English of teachers operative in Natal in the late 19th century, as can be seen from certain lexical compounds typical of Indian English (Hickey 2004 c), e.g. *cousin-brother* 'male first cousin,' *further-studies* 'higher education,' *butter-bread* 'bread and butter.'

2.2. The Language Shift

The time scale for shift of SAIE is very different from that for Irish English. By the early 20th century, the pattern of language learning had not changed. The

1904 census returned 5% of Indians (5,211 out of 100,918, Mesthrie 1996: 85) as literate in English, though the number with some knowledge of English was probably higher. It was not until the 1950s that English began to be introduced to the Indian community in their homes (though it was of course present externally, in missionary-led schools). The children – and most often the youngest – were responsible for this as they acquired English in school and then transmitted it back to the older members of their community, chiefly their parents and older members of their families, much as second-generation children of Turks have done vis à vis their parents in the past few decades in Germany. Like the latter group of immigrants, Mesthrie (1996: 86) states that many of the Indians may had a reduced motivation to learn English in South Africa because they expected to return to India, irrespective of how unrealistic this expectation was.

The upshot of this setting for SAIE is that in principle the same type of language shift scenario seems to have obtained as in Ireland. A community shifted to the dominant language of their country (for Indians, their host country); a variety became established through the transfer of structures from the background language (substratum influence) on a community-wide scale. Features which resulted from imperfect group learning became iconic for the community's variety of English (Hickey 2003 b) and may well have been imposed (Guy 1990) on later generations who would have been exposed to more standard varieties of English but nonetheless intuitively recognised the covert prestige of the language-shift variety. This gave the variety a fairly distinctive profile, particularly in phonology and syntax as one would expect in a shift-induced variety, going on the models for describing the genesis of such varieties which have been the subject of renewed interest since Thomason and Kaufman (1988). Lastly it should be pointed out that the introduction of apartheid in South Africa in 1948 reduced significantly the contact between the Indian community and that of native speakers of English in Natal.

Comparative external history of Irish English and South African Indian English

Irish English	South African Indian English
Outset a single language (Irish), native language maintained for community-internal purposes during learning of English. A substantial period of overlapping bilingualism is attested.	Outset more or less one language (Bhojpuri and closely related varieties of Hindi-Urdu). Also Dravidians (Tamil and Telegu) from south India. Native language(s) maintained for community-internal purposes during learning of English. A substantial period of overlapping bilingualism is attested.
Phonological and grammatical features of the shift-induced variety maintained beyond knowledge of the outset language (Irish).	Phonological and grammatical features of the shift-induced variety maintained beyond knowledge of the outset Indian languages.

Irish English	South African Indian English
Community remains at source (Ireland). Initial community was rural.	Community moved from source (North-East, South India). Community was initially rural.
Main language shift over three centuries (early 17c to early 20c) and earlier (Corrigan 1999).	Language shift over one century (mid 19c to mid 20c).
English largely learned by uncontrolled adult bilingualism, later through schooling.	English largely learned by uncontrolled adult bilingualism, later through schooling.
Population several million, largely rural at time of shift (western half of Ireland).	Population approx. one million in Natal, in increasingly urban settings which date back to around the 1930s.

3. Features of South African Indian English

The purpose of this section is to compare features of Irish English and SAIE. Before beginning it is necessary to state that SAIE shows considerable variation depending on the quality of English acquisition by individuals, exposure to native speaker English, role and function in the community, etc. Mesthrie (1992, 1996) uses the threefold distinction 'basilect,' 'mesolect' and 'acrolect' which is common in creole studies. In works on Irish English this division is not normally found. Instead authors make distinctions like rural versus urban (Filppula 1991) or mainstream versus local/supraregional versus vernacular (Hickey 1999 a, 2003 c), quite apart from the distinctions needed to separate varieties in the north from those in the south. But by and large, the discussion of Irish English refers to a broad, majority variety which embodies a set of features easily recognisable by speakers as indicative of Irish English. It is true that some structures are stigmatised, such as the use of the habitual with *do* + *be* + V-*ing* in the south of Ireland, but rather than assigning such structures to a separate variety labelled 'basilect,' authors tend just to point out that certain patterns are not part of the supraregional variety. Mesthrie sees the mesolect as mediating between the forms above and below it on a scale of vernacularity and specifies that the mesolect is the language of the majority of South African Indians. This use corresponds to that of 'Irish English' to refer to a set of varieties which are used widely across the island of Ireland (see discussion of Ireland as a linguistic area in Hickey 1999 b and 2005) and which are clearly distinguished from forms of English outside Ireland.

Any discussion of features should entail an assessment of their value for linguistic analysis. For instance, if one looks at non-standard features in overseas forms of English one finds many parallels which might suggest a common source. An example of this would be 'diphthong flattening' (Wells 1982: 614), a term used to refer to the lack of an upward glide with the /ai/ and /au/ diph-

thongs in particular, i.e. *wife* when realised as [waːf, wɑːf]. Such 'flattening' is found today in areas as far apart as the southern United States and South Africa (Lass 1987: 305f.), but because it is a common phonetic development its value as an indicator of common ancestry is relatively slight.

Another aspect to bear in mind in the present discussion is that a shift-induced variety may show features reminiscent of grammatically simplified registers, typical of rudimentary L2 which can, but need not, represent an early stage in the formation of a pidgin. With reference to the English language, several features of such registers can be registered as shown below.

Features of grammatically simplified registers of English

(1)   Omission of the definite article

(2)   Omission of finite *be* (at least in equative sentences)

(3)   Reduction and/or generalisation of verbal inflections

(4)   Reduction of tense distinctions, e.g. use of present for present perfect

(5)   Avoidance of subordinating conjunctions (parataxis favoured over hypotaxis)

(6)   Various topicalisation strategies such as fronting

Some of these features can be found in SAIE, for instance the omission of finite *be*, the reduction of verbal inflections and the preferred use of parataxis and fronting for topicalisation or an extended use of the present, e.g. *I'm staying this house seven years* (Mesthrie 2004: 975). Such features can become typical of a later established variety, e.g. the omission of finite *be* in African American English. Furthermore, a typical feature of simplified registers may also be one which is present in the original language from which a community shifts, e.g. the preference for parataxis in concessive clauses in Irish which led to structures like *He went out walking and it raining* (cf. Irish *Chuaigh sé amach agus é ag cur báistí*) in Irish English (see the discussion in Filppula 1991; Tristram 1999, esp. 262-273).

On the opposite side of this spectrum, there are features which are strong candidates for substratum influence. A feature of a background language may be diametrically opposed to a tendency of simplified registers. If this is the case, then it is a strong indication of substrate influence, if this surfaces in a shift-induced variety. An example would be the embedding of relative clauses in front of a head noun in SAIE (see below) similar to German *Sie mag diese im Ursprungsland sonnengereiften Tomaten*, lit. 'She likes these in the country of origin sun-ripened tomatoes.'

A common feature in the dialects of the British Isles and which may well have had a contact source there (see Klemola 2000) is the so-called 'northern subject rule' which – variably or categorically – determines the use of verbal *-s* according to a variety of syntactic factors such as subject proximity to the governed verb, subject form (pronoun versus noun) or subject weight (noun or noun phrase). Both the case for contact and for the reanalysis of moribund inflections in later Middle English are among the explanations which have been put forward for the

syntactic behaviour of present tense inflections among dialects. While Irish English (especially the older varieties on the east coast) has verbal *-s* on plural verb forms, especially the third person plural, e.g. *They gets caught by the gardai very often*, SAIE does not show this feature which would suggest that it was not present in the input forms of English to Natal nor was it triggered by any similar syntactic patterning in the substrate languages of the Indian community there (it occurs as a minor variant in Cape Flats English among 'coloured' people, Mesthrie, pc.). This is not to say that the English input for Indians was free of traits from dialects of British English. Non-standard morphological forms such as *seen* and *done*, as preterite forms of *see* and *do* respectively, must have been present as these surfaced in SAIE (Mesthrie 2004: 974).

Features of South African Indian English

Phonology

(1) Syllable timing in informal speech.

(2) Retroflexion of alveolars /t, d/ particularly in syllable-final, open position, e.g. *but* [bʌʈ], *bud* [bʌɖ].

(3) Use of dental stops /t̪/ and /d̪/ in the THIN and THIS lexical sets, i.e. one has [t̪ɪn] and [d̪ɪs] respectively.

Grammar

(1) Second person plural pronoun formed by eliding *you* and *all*: *Are y'all coming?* A possessive form also exists with genitive *'s*: *Is that y'all's dog?*

(2) Copula/auxiliary deletion is common: *Harry not there.*

(3) Fronting: in SAIE this can take place without clefting, simply by moving the topicalised element to the front: *Banana you want*; *Near to Margate that is*.

(4) Zero subject relative pronoun: *We talking about my friend Ø lives down there. I'm a man Ø I don't go church at all.*

(5) Preference of parataxis over hypotaxis: *I went to Derek – Derek filled that form in – he sent it.*

(6) Relative clauses precede the head noun of the main clause: *You can't beat that (= those) Vijay's- planted tomatoes.*

(7) Non-inversion of subject and auxiliary in main clause *wh*-questions: *I don't know when is the plane going to land.*

(8) Recasting of passives into an active form in basilectal SAIE: *In TV that sees.* 'That can be seen on TV.' Other examples could be cases of *be*-deletion: *I born La Mercy.* 'I was born in La Mercy.' *I donno where he educated.* 'I don't know where he was educated.' *We brought up here.* 'We were brought up here.'

(9) Possessive for existential: *Small broom haven' got?* 'Don't you have a small broom?' � *Got one big dog there.* 'There's a big dog there.'

(10) Word order of Indian languages can be maintained with titles, e.g. *Johnny Uncle*.

(11) Reduplication of *wh*-words: *who-who* 'who of several people,' *where-where* 'where of several places,' *what-what* 'what of several things.' *Who-who's coming today? Where-where they sent you? What-what she told me I listened nicely.* 'I listened carefully to whatever she told me.'

(12) Extended partitive genitive: *She put too much of nuts in the cake. There's too much of nonsense at work.*

(13) Presupposed versus specific usage: whereas standard English generally determines article usage along the parameter definite/indefinite, SAIE uses the criterion presupposed / asserted, combined with a notion of specificity.

(The ➔ ø) Food is lovely.	Presupposed + specific
At the stall I bought <u>one</u> soda water.	Asserted + specific
If they give us (a ➔ ø) chance...	Non-specific

(14) Aspectual structures (i): Habitual. This can be formed in one of three ways, either with the verb *stay*, with invariant *be* or with *should* in the past.

They used to fight and stay. 'They used to be continually quarrelling'
Every time I go he be there. 'Whenever I go, he's there'
Whole day she be alone, it's so dangerous. 'She's usually alone for the whole day...'
That time we shouldn't listen radio, nothing. 'We never used to listen to the radio then.'
That time she should drink normal tea. 'She used to drink tea with sugar then.'

(15) Aspectual structures (ii): Perfective. This category can be expressed by one of two means, either via the verb *leave* or the verb *finish*.

She filled the bottle an' left it. 'She filled the bottle up.'
We finish play. 'We've played.'

3.1. Discussion of Features

When viewing the features above one can recognise that some are obviously the result of transfer from background Indian languages. This is true of phonological features like the retroflexion of alveolars /t, d/ or the occurrence of the dental stops /t̪/ and /d̪/ in the THIN and THIS lexical sets. In this respect SAIE is like Irish English in that it has transferred the nearest equivalent to the interdental fricatives of standard English from the substratum language. In the case of Irish the equivalents were the dental stops of Irish, hence the use of /t̪, d̪/ for THIN and THIS respectively in Irish English (see the many attestations in Hickey 2004 a; see Lass 1990 for a retentionist view of Irish English phonology).

The grammatical features are not quite so easy to assess. Some are clearly the result of substratum influence, e.g. feature (6) above, the embedding of relative clauses before nominal heads. Mesthrie assures us that there are clear structural parallels in Indian languages which have given rise to this patterning in SAIE. But even if there were not, one would be right in suspecting that substratum languages were responsible for this feature. The reason is that prenominal embedding of this kind is unknown in both pidgins/creoles and in grammatically simplified registers. Instead of *You can't beat that Vijay's-planted tomatoes*, one would expect something like *Vijay planted them tomatoes and you can't beat them* with parataxis rather than hypotaxis. Even if one had hypotaxis then the relative clause would definitely follow the nominal head as it does in standard English. Other features are a little more difficult to assess. In the following, a selection of features is examined in the hope of throwing light on the question of substratum influence versus independent developments.

Y'all *as plural pronoun.* The creation of a special form for the second person plural pronoun – see (1) above – can be regarded as filling an obvious gap in the morphological paradigms of standard English, something which so many non-standard varieties of English have done in their own ways (see the detailed discussion in Hickey 2003 c). In the case of SAIE (Mesthrie 2004: 986), it is remarkable that it shares the *y'all* form with English in the southern United States (Butters 2001; Montgomery 2000, 2001: 151). SAIE did not, however, opt to use the forms from the substratum languages directly, as did many Caribbean varieties (and Gullah) which show *unu*, or a related form, from West African languages.

Irish English has two counterparts to *y'all* and a hybrid form as well. The two equivalents are *youse* (on this in South Africa, see Wright 1997) and *ye*, the former created by simply adding the productive {S} plural morpheme to the singular *you*, and the latter a second person plural form which has been retained in Irish English. The hybrid form *ye* + {S}, phonetically /ji(:)z/ is also attested. Because standard English is typologically very unusual in having an empty slot for the second person plural, the appearance of a form to fill this should not be accorded undue weight in any variety.

Non-inversion of subject and auxiliary in main clause wh-*questions.* Although this feature – see (7) above – does not occur in Irish English the latter is well known for showing the order of questions in sentential complements as seen in *I don't know will she come* 'I don't know if she will come.' This is usually traced back to Irish usage, but both this order and that of SAIE with *wh*-questions shows a simplification vis à vis standard English which has inversion in such instances. The lack of inversion would then be viewed as in keeping with simplification tendencies in the syntax of pidgins and grammatically simplified registers.

Reduplication of wh-*words.* This does not seem to be a widespread feature of substratum languages (though it does occur in Bhojpuri, Mesthrie, pc.) and hence might be an indication of a pidgin phase for SAIE – see (11) above – where reduplication is quite common, either for intensification or for the partitive use found in SAIE, e.g. *who-who* 'who of several people.' Such reduplication does not seem to have ever been typical of Irish English.

Passives. There is no doubt that passive structures – see (8) above – are not typical of grammatically simplified registers. Passives require additional processing of sentences, as the object and subject roles are reversed. Of all the cases cited by Mesthrie only *In TV that sees* 'On TV that can be seen' would seem to be a genuine case of passive recasting, that is, where an active form is used without a pronoun and is hence interpreted passively. In this context, it is interesting to note that Irish has precisely such a form, the autonomous verb form as in *Briseadh an gloine*, lit. 'Broke the glass,' i.e. 'The glass was broken.' There does not seem to be any evidence for a direct equivalent to this structure being used in Irish English, not even among the earliest attestations such as those of the 17th century (see the collection in Bliss 1979 and the texts in *A Corpus of Irish English* in Hickey 2003 a).

Copula/auxiliary deletion. Copula deletion – see (2) above – is found in many simplified registers of English and is an established feature not only of African American English, but also occurs in south-east Irish English where instances can be found (Hickey 2001). It may apply to the verb *be* in different functions: *She a farmer's daughter* (copula), *He gone home* (auxiliary). In SAIE, this deletion may be the result of phonological reduction, but it also exists as a special construction, e.g. *My brother that* 'That's my brother' (Mesthrie 1996: 92f. and pc.).

Zero subject relative pronoun. This is a well-known feature of many varieties of English such as local forms of London English. Its occurrence in SAIE – see (4) above – might just be an influence from earlier vernacular varieties of South African English in Natal or it might represent an extension of the deletion of the relative pronoun already present with the object relative.

Possessive for existential. Metaphorical extension would seem to be the source of this feature – see (9) above. Such instances are known from many languages, such as German where existence and location are linked, cf. *Dasein* 'existence' ~ *da sein* 'be there, at a given location.' What may be the case is that in the language shift situation the type of extension embodied in sentences like <u>Got</u> *one big dog there* 'There's a big dog there' was particularly favoured.

Front (left dislocation). Topicalisation by fronting – see (3) above – is a widespread feature in languages and is particularly well attested in Irish English where its great range is often attributed to a similarly broad range in Irish, e.g. *It's to Galway she went yesterday*, Irish: *Is go Gaillimhe a chuaigh sí inné*. In both Irish and Irish English, clefting is the preferred syntactic device for fronting but in SAIE left dislocation is found (with the same aim of topicalisation), often with a resumptive pronoun: *Change I haven't got. Hilda, I can't stand her.* (Mesthrie 1992: 110f.) Object and prepositional objects may also be left dislocated: *Banana I want. For Blind Society we collect.* This kind of fronting did not develop in Irish English, but that may be simply because clefting was already widely available.

3.1.1. Aspectual Structures

The features of SAIE grammar discussed so far represent simplifications or at best extensions of usages already present in superstrate English. However, it is when one comes to look at aspectual structures that one finds more substantial evidence for grammatical reanalysis and restructuring of the kind known to have occurred in pidgins and creoles.

First of all, one should note that SAIE shows the range of aspectual distinctions which are typical of pidgins, that is of varieties of language which arose in situations of uncontrolled adult learning of the superstrate language. In such situations scholars – most notably Derek Bickerton, but also John Holm, Suz-

anne Romaine, John Rickford, Donald Winford, to mention only some of these – have noted that prototypical aspectual distinctions are at a premium and the categories of habitual (with or without a formally distinguished progressive) and of perfective (possibly with subtypes) tend to be present and have explicit morphosyntactic exponence. Above all, Derek Bickerton interprets 'prototypical' in this sense as characteristic of human language at a pristine stage – embodied in 'new' languages like creoles – before all the additions and deletions occur, which arise throughout history and which are responsible for differences among languages. Although different in many details, such assumptions are also made in models of universal grammar, where unmarked values for certain parameters like word order are also assumed to be characteristic of creoles (arising from pidgins).

There is an essential difference between the external situation under which creolisation took place, e.g. scenarios like the 17th/18th century anglophone Caribbean, and that of the language shift in Ireland or Natal with the Indian population. In the former there was a break in linguistic continuity, whereas in the latter speakers still had access to the substrate language from which they where shifting to English. The language shift situation out of which both Irish English and SAIE arose is the closest one finds among anglophone scenarios in recent centuries to the specific historical situation of creolisation in the early colonial period in areas such as the Caribbean. The similarity in the situation of language learning – specifically the non-restrictive surroundings in which adults would have acquired their rudimentary knowledge of superstrate English – accounts for the structural similarities between shift-induced varieties and pidgins/later creoles (see the discussions in Winford 1997-8). On the other hand, the break in linguistic continuity in the creolisation scenario accounts for the differences between varieties here and those of a language-shift situation.

Aspectual structures in SAIE

Category	Exponence
Habitual	(i) with verb *stay* (ii) with invariant *be* (iii) with *should* in the past
Perfective	(i) with verb *leave* (ii) with verb *finish*

SAIE shows similarities with many established creoles in the exponence of aspectual categories. The use of *stay* for the habitual, as in *They used to fight and stay* 'They used to be continually quarrelling,' is similar to that recorded for Hawaiian creole. The use of invariant *be*, as in *Every time I go he be there* 'Whenever I go, he's there,' is of course well attested in Caribbean creoles and African American English. The use of *finish* to indicate the perfective is parallel to cases like the use of *finir* 'to finish' in the French-based creole of Haiti.

The other kinds of exponence show a reanalysis of elements already present in English. *Leave* can be interpreted as implying completion – '(depart when) something is finished' – and hence was co-opted in SAIE for the perfective. The other case of reanalysis attested here is that of *should* for the perfective where its semantic element of 'obligation' was interpreted as indicating 'repetition,' hence the habitual use as in *That time she should drink normal tea* 'She used to drink tea with sugar then.'

The occurrence of these structures shows a certain distribution among forms of SAIE: the use of aspectual *stay* and *leave* (Mesthrie 2004: 976) are characteristic of basilectal varieties, whereas the remaining structures are very common throughout other forms of SAIE (Mesthrie, pc.).

Aspectual structures in Irish English

Category	Exponence
Habitual	(i) *do* + *be* + V-*ing* (southern) (ii) invariant *bees* (northern) (iii) -*s* on lexical verb
Perfective (i), immediate Perfective (ii), resultative	*after* + V-*ing* OV word order

Irish English aspectual structures are similar to those in SAIE in the categories they embody – habitual and perfective – but quite different in their exponence. The perfective furthermore shows two subtypes in Irish English, the first, as in *He is after breaking the glass*, is clearly a gloss on an Irish source structure (Hickey 2001 a), while the second, as in *She has the work done*, could also have resulted from the similar OV word order of Irish with some possible support from archaic word-order patterns in English (Harris 1991), though this is somewhat doubtful given the demise of OV word order already in the Middle English period in Britain (for a detailed discussion of the situation in Irish, see the contribution by Ailbhe Ó Corráin in this volume and the relevant chapter in Hickey 2006).

Aspectual structures of Irish English not shared in their exponence by SAIE

Feature	Possible source
Immediate perfective aspect with *after*	Transfer from Irish
Resultative perfective with OV word order	Possible convergence with archaic patterns in English, primarily due to Irish influence
Habitual aspect expressed by *do* + *be* or *bees* or inflectional *-s* on a lexical verb	Divergent views on sources: (i) refunctionalisation of unstressed *do*, (ii) reanalysis of verbal *-s* as aspectual marker

Lastly one should note that SAIE partakes in features found in the English of other groups in South Africa, particularly among the Afrikaans speakers (Lass and Wright 1986), many of which do not occur in standard English. Notable among these are the use of the present progressive with stative and 'psych'-verbs, e.g. as in *Who's that car outside belonging to? He's not knowing much French* (Watermeyer 1996: 110). One could also mention the confusion of verbs with complementary meanings, e.g. *bring* and *take*, *rent* and *let*, *lend* and *borrow* (Watermeyer 1996: 120). In some cases one is dealing with a greater range for one of the verbs in a pair rather than true complementarity, e.g. *learn* which is often found for *teach*, e.g. *He learned him his language*. Such usage is also typical of vernacular Irish English as it is for other varieties of English including earlier forms of the language. Another feature would be the lack of reverse concord with tags (McArthur 2002: 291), e.g. *He's gone now*, *is it?* found in South African English and in other varieties of English, e.g. Tyneside English (Beal 1993: 202) Finally, one could mention the extension in range of *busy* (Mesthrie 2002) which has become a clear indicator for South African English in general.

4. Further Shift-induced Varieties

4.1. Aboriginal English

At the outset of this article mention was made of Aboriginal English in Australia as a shift-induced variety of English. When comparing it to both Irish English and SAIE one must bear in mind that Aboriginal English is not a single, focussed variety. It is really only spoken – in a rather diffuse form – by speakers with little contact with non-aborigines as in various community settlements. In all these areas, the aboriginal languages are in various stages of decline.

Features of Aboriginal English

1) Finite *be* in equative sentences optional

2) Reduction and/or generalisation of verbal inflections

3) Verbal -*s* in present tense may be dropped (Malcolm 1996: 151f.)

4) Avoidance of subordinating conjunctions (parataxis favoured over hypotaxis)

5) Nouns not always formally marked for plural

6) Questions often formed by intonation rather than inversion or via *wh*-forms

7) Distinctions found between singular and plural personal pronouns

In the realm of personal pronouns – see the last feature above – a distinction between a dual and a plural may be found, as can one between inclusive and exclusive forms for the first person plural similar to that in Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea: *yumi* 'inclusive *we*' and *mipela* 'exclusive *we*.' Australian creoles, and perhaps Aboriginal English, may indeed have been affected by Melanesian pidgins brought by workers on sugar plantations to Queensland in the late 19th century (Dixon 1980: 73). The distinctions just mentioned suggest a substrate influence from Australian languages which show such categories. Only two or three languages do not have a dual and approximately half have the inclusive/exclusive distinction (Dixon 1980: 275-277). Another substrate feature, sometimes carried over into English, is the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession where possessive pronouns are not necessarily used when an object is part of the body (Dixon 1980: 74f.), compare German which also has this distinction, e.g. *Er hat sich das Bein gebrochen*, lit. 'He broke himself the leg,' but *Sie hat ihr Auto verkauft*, 'She sold her car.'

The remaining features of Aboriginal English – (1) to (6) above – are all typical of grammatically simplified registers, which occur in imperfect adult second language learning. There would appear to have been no restructuring of input English among the aborigines, in contrast to what happened in Melanesia and with the various creoles attested historically in Australia such as Torres Strait Creole (Shnukal 1991), Cape York Creole and Kriol (Arthur 1996; Sandefur 1991) or even the assumed, but non-attested earlier New South Wales pidgin of the early 19th century (Malcolm 2001: 210). Some authors, such as Troy (1990, 1993), assume that New South Wales (NSW) jargon – a phase preceding the formation of a stabilised pidgin – would have been used among aboriginal groups, especially after displacement to areas where languages were spoken which they did not understand. Irrespective of the probability of this scenario, there is no way that present-day Aboriginal English can be classified as a pidgin, or even a pre-pidgin jargon. In order to use such a label with conviction, Aboriginal English would have to be a much more focussed variety with specifiable features occurring on a community-wide scale.

4.2. Hebridean English

The label 'Hebridean English' is used as a cover term for varieties of English which arose in the Hebrides in western Scotland as a result of language shift from Scottish Gaelic to English. There have been various investigations of these varieties, notably in Sabban (1982, 1984, 1985), Shuken (1984, 1985) and Filppula (1991, 1997). Odlin (1992, 1997) are based on Irish and Hebridean data respectively and should thus be mentioned here.

All authors stress the close relatedness of Hebridean English to Irish English, e.g. Sabban (1982) has a whole chapter dedicated to this (see 'Anglo-Irische Parallelen' in which she looks at the use of the progressive and at the *after*-perfective). With the above authors, the similarities between Irish English and Hebridean English are attributed to the syntactic sameness of the background languages Irish and Scottish Gaelic respectively. It is understandable that key substrate or substrate-enhanced features of Irish English are mirrored in Hebridean English as can be seen in the following table.

Common features of Irish English and Hebridean English

(1) The use of clefts as in *It's to Dublin he's gone today* (Odlin 1997)

(2) The use of unbound reflexives as in *Himself and his wife were buried...*

(3) Preposition *on* used to express relevance as in *Don't get lost on me.*

(4) Paratactic *and* as in *But when the house is quiet and us alone...*

(5) The use of the *after* + V-*ing* construction to express the immediate perfective as in *He's after going away*.

(6) The use of OV word order to express the resultative perfective as in *That's the way he had him deceived...* (Filppula 1997: 947).

Frequency of occurrence. In his investigation of cross-dialectal parallels, Filppula explicitly points out that frequency of occurrence among shared constructions can vary considerably, for instance the *after* + V-*ing* construction only occurred once in his Hebridean English database (Filppula 1997: 946), a fact which cannot simply be attributed to the type of interview situation for the data in his collection. Various proposals could be made to account for this, but what is important in trying to explain the much higher Irish frequency is the fact that the *after* + V-*ing* construction became established very early on in Irish English, albeit initially with future reference as McCafferty (2003) has shown conclusively (see also the detailed treatment of this issue by Ailbhe Ó Corráin in the current volume and the relevant chapter in Hickey 2006). Thus this construction had a considerable length of time (from the 17th century onwards) during which it became iconic (either consciously or unconsciously) for the emerging focussed variety of Irish English.

Habitual aspect. One feature is conspicuously absent from the above list, namely the use of *do* + V-*ing*, as in *She does be worrying about the children*, to express habitual aspect (Filppula 1997: 952). Indeed one might expect the typical northern Irish English means of indicating the habitual – inflected *be* (Montgomery and Kirk 1996) as in *She bees worrying about the children* – to be found in Hebridean English, given its closer geographical proximity to Ulster than to the south of Ireland. But this is also absent. This clear lack of attestation may in fact support the attestational situation in Irish English (see the text collection in Hickey 2003 a), where the habitual with either *do* + V-*ing* or inflected *be* does not occur until the mid-19th century (see the detailed discussion in Hickey 2005). It may just be that the late attestation of the habitual in Irish English and its non-occurrence in Hebridean English are both indicative of its independence of any substratal source and its status as a recent phenomenon. There are, however, two facts which nonetheless point to an earlier rise of the habitual in Irish English. The first is its existence in the anglophone Caribbean where unstressed, declarative *do* was also co-opted for its expression (as in Irish English), seemingly from the initial settlement in the early 17th century onwards (see the detailed discussion in Hickey 2004 b; see Rickford 1986 for a conventional view of the rise of the habitual in the Caribbean). The second fact is that the habitual with *do* + V-*ing* is attested in Newfoundland English which would point to an origin before the mid 19th century (as the main Irish emigration to Newfoundland took place in the 18th century and had petered out by the 1830s, see Hickey 2002; Kirwin 1993, 2001). It would also point to a geographical source in the south of Ireland.

5. Conclusion

The consideration of a shift-induced variety like SAIE shows that the genesis of such varieties involves quite a number of features which are characteristic of grammatically simplified registers found primarily in uncontrolled adult second language learning. This does not by any means exclude features which are of substrate origin (see comparative tables and discussions above). Of the various features of grammatically simplified registers which point further towards pidginisation, one should mention aspectual structures which appear to be given preference in shift-induced varieties and which survive into later more focussed forms of these varieties. The preference for aspectual distinctions – at least the perfective and the habitual – would go a long way to explaining why unstressed, declarative *do* came to be reanalysed and refunctionalised in Irish English given the non-restrictive nature of the original shift scenario. It would also account for the rise of inflected *be* in those varieties where this occurs. There are, however, still difficulties in trying to synchronise the late textual attestations (mid 19th century onwards) of the habitual – expressed by either *do* + *be* + V-*ing* or inflected *be* – and the known period of language shift which was earlier.

Finally one can mention that the range of features discussed here and the various explanations offered do not appeal to the retention of archaic input features, either for Irish English or for SAIE. With the latter one would not expect such features, as the anglophone settlement of South Africa is largely a 19th century phenomenon, though there are some lexical archaisms (Mesthrie, pc.). But with Irish English, which has a much longer history, one might expect archaic features to be present. Here it is useful to differentiate language levels. Certainly, in lexis there are many archaisms (and/or dialectisms) in Irish English (see the many examples in Dolan 2005 (1998)), and the varieties on the east coast of Ireland (the original settlement area) show many older phonological features along with the archaic morphological form *ye* for the plural. But in syntax it would seem that the non-standard constructions which have been investigated so thoroughly over the past thirty years or so can be traced in the main to substrate transfer into emergent forms of Irish English and/or to a scenario with grammatically simplified registers which was the external setting in which this shift-induced variety of English arose.

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Reflexivity and Intensification in Irish English
and Other New Englishes

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Considerable attention has been directed at the complex interaction between reflexivity and intensification in English and other languages; following the initial analysis of *self*-forms proposed by König and Siemund (1998, 2000 a, b), a large number of studies have explored the syntax and semantics of *self*-forms and related expressions and have established parameters of variation on the basis of wide-ranging crosslinguistic observations. Those uses of *self*-forms in Irish English (IrE) that are unexpected from a standard British English viewpoint have already received detailed treatment (cf. Odlin 1997; Filppula 1999; Siemund 2002). However, the question whether unexpected *self*-forms in Irish English are a matter of substrate or superstrate influence is still largely unaccounted for.

Arguments in favour of substrate influence naturally draw on the structural properties of Irish and try to find parallel constructions. Arguments in favour of superstrate influence typically evoke the presence of a particular construction in earlier stages of the language, which was then retained. Another line of reasoning is concerned with establishing areal typological influence: it has repeatedly been pointed out (cf. Haspelmath 2001; Siemund 2002, 2003) that English together with Finnish and Celtic is exceptional among the European languages in that the reflexive and the intensifier are formally identical. Yet another possibility was raised by Andrea Sand at the third *Celtic Englishes* Colloquium. She suggested to look for "a universal trend in contact varieties of English" (Sand 2003: 428).

In this paper, I would like to reconsider some of the well-known treatments of *self*-forms against the background of data from Indian English (IndE).[1] The motivation for bringing Indian English into the picture is similar to Sand's who

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noted the remarkable similarity between Indian English and Irish English in the area of definiteness/article usage; the same holds for the domain of reflexivity and intensification. To my knowledge, there is no detailed treatment of this topic for Indian English, which may partly be due to the fact that a comprehensive reference grammar of Indian English has yet to be written. My paper will not attempt to close this gap; I will focus mainly on two constructions: x-*self* in subject position (cf. Filppula 1999 on 'unbound reflexives') and some uses of *itself* (corresponding to 'even') noted by Wales (1996) and Siemund (2002). The outline of this paper is as follows: I will first give a brief typological survey, summarizing the main hypotheses and arguments in favour of 'Celtic syntax' in English or even a *Sprachbund* comprising insular Celtic and English. I will then move on to an overview of the distribution and development of *self*-forms in Middle English. This is crucial to evaluate the retention-hypothesis (cf. Harris 1991), the assumption that certain features derive from earlier stages and mainly nonstandard varieties of the superstrate. Data from Indian English will then serve to illustrate the striking parallels in usage, a fact that clearly defies any straightforward substrate account. Finally, I will try to arrive at an explanation, or at least at spelling out the empirical preconditions for a satisfactory explanation.

1. Celtic Syntax in English and the European Sprachbund

Haspelmath draws on "a dozen grammatical features that are characteristic of the core European languages and that together define the SAE [Standard Average European] *Sprachbund*" (Haspelmath 2001: 1493). Two of these features are relevant in the present context: the distribution of external possessors and the distribution of separate forms for intensifiers and reflexives across European languages.
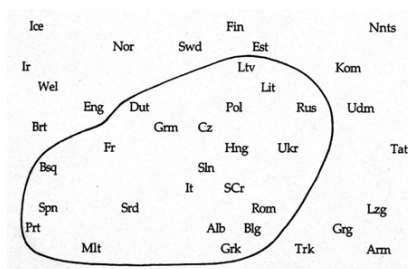
Fig. 1: Dative external possessors (Haspelmath 2001: 1498)

König's definition captures the relevant properties of external possessor constructions:

> External possessor constructions are constructions in which a semantic possessor-possessum relation is expressed (i) by coding the possessor as a core grammatical relation of the verb and (ii) in a constituent separate from that which contains the possessum. ... In European languages which have such constructions, external possessors are invariably expressed by a dative phrase or an 'indirect object.' (König 2001: 971f.)

A German example may serve as illustration: in *ich habe mir den Arm gebrochen* (literally 'I broke me the arm'), the pronoun *mir* has dative case, does not belong to the argument frame of the verb and is not a part of the possessed NP; a literal translation is impossible because English marks possession only with NP-internal possessive pronouns ('I broke [my arm]$_{NP}$'). Old English was more like German in this respect, e.g.:

(1) *him on bearme læg mādma mænigo* (him on lap lay many treasures) 'on his lap lay many treasures' (Beowulf 40f.)

This construction survives only with some isolated instances into Middle English before dying out. Similarly, early Middle English witnessed the replacement of the old intensifier *self* by a fused form pronoun + *self*; when plain pronouns ceased to be used reflexively and the compound form became obligatory as the reflexive marker in Early Modern English, the modern pattern of formal identity between intensifier and reflexive pronoun was established (cf. König and Siemund 2000 a, b; Lange 2005).
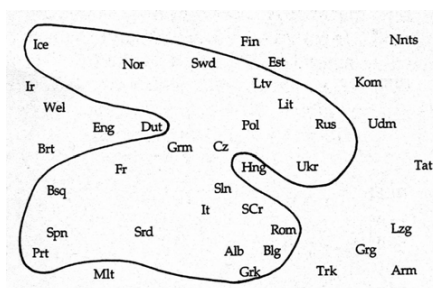
Fig. 2: Intensifier-reflexive differentiation (Haspelmath 2001: 1501)

As Fig. 2 indicates, "England stands somewhere apart from the European nucleus" (Haspelmath 2001: 1505) which comprises German and French; English patterns with the Celtic languages with respect to those two features. These figures are highly suggestive of a *Sprachbund* formed by English and the Celtic languages arising out of language contact, and it is precisely this suggestion that Vennemann (2002) has made to account for the loss of the external possessor construction in Middle English. Vezzosi (2005, fc. 2006) has recently stipulated

that contact with Welsh is responsible for the somewhat unexpected fusion of a pronoun with the intensifier *self*. Tristram (1999: 27ff.) has explored the possibilities and consequences of Celtic-English language contact further and suggested that many, if not all of the developments which set English aside from the other West Germanic languages, may be due to contact with insular Celtic. She points out that "most of the morphosyntactic parallels between Welsh and English ... only surfaced *in writing* in the 12th or 13th century, a time lag of some 500 or 600 years" after the original "rapid language shift of the indigenous population." The rise of the compound form pronoun + *self* in Middle English texts from exactly that time will be discussed below.

2. Unpredictable Self-forms across Varieties of English

As mentioned above, many accounts have dealt with the phenomenon of 'untriggered,' 'unbound,' 'locally free,' 'headless' or simply 'unexpected reflexive' *self*-forms (König and Gast 2002; Siemund 2002; Hole 2002, to name just a few), which show up in positions where according to Binding Theory plain pronouns should occur. The following examples from *Harry Potter* (taken from Hole 2002: 285f.) illustrate the phenomenon:

(2) *This was exactly what Harry had been hoping for. He slipped his wand back into his robes, waited until Cedric's friends had disappeared into their classroom, and hurried up the corridor, which was now empty of everyone except himself and Cedric.* (HP 4: 298)

(3) *Even Muggles like yourself should be celebrating, this happy, happy day!* (HP 1: 10)

(4) *Harry and Ron exchanged panic-stricken looks, they threw the Invisibility Cloak back over themselves and retreated into a corner.* (HP 2: 193)

Several scholars have provided taxonomies for all the contexts which act as triggers for unexpected *self*-forms (Wales 1996; Keenan 2002; Hole 2002); the following distinctions are typically made:

- 'Group' constructions: *like/as well as/but/except himself* (cf. examples (2) and (3))[2]
- Coordination: *myself and John*
- Comparatives: *taller than myself*
- Prepositional phrases: *wrapping the cloak around himself*[3]

As mentioned above, studies by Odlin (1997), Filppula (1999), and Siemund (2002, 2003) have focussed on such uses of *self*-forms in IrE and Hebridean English. Odlin provides relevant examples from bilingual speakers of Hebridean English (HebE) and stresses the structural similarity to parallel constructions

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[2] Hole (2002) makes a further distinction between "coreference with otherwise disfavoured antecedents" (*ibid.*, 9), e.g. 'nobody except/but themselves,' and attributive-like phrases, e.g. 'even Muggles like yourself.'

[3] These contexts have acquired the label 'snake sentences' following the widely quoted example *John saw a snake near him/himself*. Hole (2002) proposes the terms 'logophors' and 'somatophors;' for details see his paper.

found in the substrate language, "reflections of a system found widely in Ireland and the Hebrides, a system owing a great deal to the language contact that has taken place for centuries in those regions" (Odlin 1997: 45). Filppula is less sure about the issue of substrate versus superstrate influence: he notes that Hiberno-English unbound reflexives "reflect input from both earlier English and the Irish substratum" (1999: 87). Siemund (2003) is mainly concerned with showing that unexpected *self*-forms "are frequently in harmony with cross-linguistic findings, generalisations and widely attested paths of development, and find their natural position in the great underlying groundplan" (*ibid.*, 502). Siemund is certainly right in stating that from a typological and historical perspective, few uses of *self*-forms are really unexpected, but the fact that some use of *self* has parallels somewhere in some period, taken out of context, has little explanatory value. In the following, I will focus upon possible source constructions in the earlier stages of English in order to make a more substantial evaluation of the retentionist view possible.

Self-forms in the contexts mentioned above are not restricted to regional varieties of English, but are found in the standard spoken and written language as well. All these contexts were already available in Middle English, as the following examples demonstrate:[4]

2.1.1. 'Group' Constructions

ME:

(5) *He stablist hym lord of hys hous and prince of alle hys habbynge, þat he lered hys prynces as hym self and tauȝt hys elde quaintyse.*

'He established him as lord of his house and prince of all his possessions, so that he could teach his princes like himself and teach his eldermen wisdom.'
(CMEARLPS, 128.5591).[5]

BrE:

(6) *What shall I say a well worn gardener like myself aren't you Sir.* (ICE-GB S1B-025-162)

IrE:

(7) *Now, there's at least four men up there in the same predicament as meself, heart trouble.* (quoted from Filppula 1999: 83)

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[4] Again, many thanks to Prof. Sand who lent support to my hypothesis by providing additional corpus examples. I owe all the examples from the British English (ICE-GB), New Zealand English (ICE-NZ), Jamaican English (ICE-JAM), and Kenyan English (ICE-EA(K)) corpora to her.

[5] All texts prefixed *CM-* come from the *PPCME2* (Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Second Edition), available online at <www.ling.upenn.edu/midengl/>. See the references for the editions used.

IndE:

(8) *I mean the curd <,> and as I told you ghee but it should not be used too much but in-*
     spite of that uh <,> it is <w> one's </w> liking they will use it <,,> <O> laughs
     </O> And as far as myself I will have cup of tea in the morning. (ICE-IND:S1A-
     072#206:1:A)[6]

NZE:

(9) *I've got no support for that from either colleagues except for yourself or panel mem-*
     bers. (ICE-NZ S1B-072)

JamE:

(10) *For students like myself ... .* (ICE-JAM W1A-005)

KenE:

(11) *We are happy to offer selective Corporate or Group discounts for reservations made*
     by reputable organizations as yourselves. (ICE-EA(K) business letters1)

2.1.2. Coordinate NPs

ME:

(12) *himself and al his hoste / Were for defalte of drinke almost / Distruid.*

     'Himself and all his host were almost destroyed for lack of drink.'
     (Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, 178, 413f.)

(13) *but Kyng Goffar was discomfyted & al his folk, & hym-self fledde in-to ffraunce to*
     seche help & socour,

     'but king Goffar was defeated and all his people and (he) himself fled to France to
     seek help.'
     (CMBRUT3, 9.218)

BrE:

(14) *And more than once Bobby Moore and myself from our eagle's eyrie high above the*
     pitch winced as the challenges came in ... . (ICE-GB S2A-017)

IrE:

(15) *His brother was a shoe-maker. And himself and his brother was up in the Orkney*
     Isles ... . (quoted from Filppula 1999: 85)

IndE:

(16) A: *Do you meet everyday <,> ?*
     B: *Myself <,,> and <@> Rajan </@> <,,> used to meet everyday* (ICE-IND: S1B-
     068#263:1:B)
(17) *Both my cousin and myself <,> are always used to sound sleep <,,> in the night <,>*
     immaterial of the time <,> place etcetera <,,> (ICE-IND: S2B-036#20:1:A)

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[6] See the appendix for the markup symbols used in the transcription of spoken texts.

NZE:

(18) *And constable Christiansen and yourself had a conversation with constable Williams didn't you*. (ICE-NZ S1B-061)

JamE:

(19) *Her brother and myself went to K C.* (ICE-JAM S1A-098)

KenE:

(20) *He had to write back to the Othoya Secretary to explain about himself and Mathenge.* (ICE-EA(K) creative1)

2.1.3. Comparatives[7]

ME:

(21) *and he þat spekes ay þe gode, and haldes ilk a man better þan hymselfe, he schewes wele þat he es stabel in godenes in hys hert, and ful of charite til God and til his neghbor*,

'and he who speaks always good, and holds each man better than himself, he shows well that he is stable in goodness in his heart, and full of charity towards God and towards his neighbour.'
(CMROLLEP, 74.165)

BrE:

(22) *A woman who is conspicuously generous to others less fortunate than herself* (ICE-GB W2B-010)

IndE:

(23) *<quote> "Let me tell you that if I love in this world anybody more than even myself, my daughter, son or brothers, it is my grandson.* (ICE-IND: W2A-006#64:1)

(24) *<[> Yes in your </[> </{> your department <w> you're </w> the student of this department you know much better than <,> myself <O> cough </O>* (ICE-IND: S1A-004#114:1:A)

NZE:

(25) *And if it's any good who <.>b</.> who better to try it than myself.* (ICE-NZ S2A-051)

JamE:

(26) *It felt only awkward that a boy two years older than myself was responsible for my laundry.* (ICE-JAM W2F-013)

KenE:

(27) *Mr Kirema Thahu is holding the same rank as myself.* (ICE-EA(K) creative writing1)

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[7] There was no relevant example for IrE in the literature, but there is no reason to assume that the construction does not exist in IrE.

2.1.4. Prepositional Phrases

ME:

(28) *For many a man wenyth to put hys enemy to a rebuke, and ofte hit fallith on hymselff,*

'For many a man thinks to rebuke his enemy, and often it falls on himself.'
(CMMALORY, 51.1694)

(29) *'Alas!' seyde the dwarff, 'thou hast done grete damage unto thyself.'*

''Alas!' said the dwarf, 'you have done great damage to yourself.''
(CMMALORY, 53.1768)

BrE:

(30) *We could formalise our arrangement with Tokyo via yourself, ...* (ICE-GB W1B-019-19)

IrE:

(31) *... when Cromwell came over here ... he was s'posed to say, he'd drive the Irish to hell or to Connacht ... The Irish used to say ... the Irish went to Connacht and left hell for himself.* (quoted from Filppula 1999: 78)

IndE:

(32) *Kuku has well adjusted himself to this ship. He keeps both of us busy alongwith himself with his infinite energy, sometimes driving us crazy.* (ICE-IND: W1B-010#145:1)

(33) *Mr Narayana Rao gave you <,,> an introduction about myself. He said many nice things he said so many nice things that I thought he was describing somebody else <,,> <O> laughter </O>* (ICE-IND: S2A-048#9:1:A)

NZE:

(34) *Pakeha people worrying about the overall effect on on* (sic!) *themselves* (ICE-NZ S1B-049)

JamE:

(35) *...; religion has to take on for itself a new role.* (ICE-JAM W1A-018)

KenE:

(36) *..., any Kenyan who thinks that tribalistic jingoism can redress past real or imaginary ills, is merely wishing destruction upon himself, ...* (ICE-EA(K) press column)

The evidence accumulated so far suggests that we are dealing with a superstrate phenomenon: intensifying pronoun + *self* was created in early Middle English in precisely those syntactic contexts which are 'unexpected' from the perspective of Binding Theory; these *self*-forms have been a stable feature of English in its regional varieties from Middle English onwards, and there is no reason to refer to Celtic syntax for an explanation. The case for substrate influence can only be made for one specific use, namely pronoun + *self* as the only

NP in subject position, an environment that is excluded from standard English but apparent in New Englishes, e.g.:

IrE:

(37) *And by God, he said, it would = he'd be the devil, if himself wouldn't make him laugh.* (quoted from Filppula 1999: 78)

IndE:[8]

(38) B: *Sir <,> may I know your name <,>*
    A: *Uh myself uh Prof D A Joshi <,> <{> <[> welcome <,> I come from Umerkhed* (ICE-IND: S1A-067# 4:1f.)
(39) B: *I will tell you in detail <,,> myself from Shahada <,> district Dhulia <,>* (ICE-IND: S1A-067#18:1)
(40) *Myself Dr Padmaja Patil <,>* (ICE-IND:S1A-088#5:1:B)
(41) A: *What course you are doing <,>*
    B: *Myself?* (ICE-IND: S1A-049#47:1)

Singapore English:

(42) A: *Normally what would be who would be supervising this group leader this assistant production.*
    B: *Myself is the supervisor.* (ICE-SIN: S1B-066#61:1)

I will now give a brief account of how the compound intensifier emerged in Middle English before I return to this issue.

2.2. The Development of himself

I have shown elsewhere (Lange 2006) that from early ME onwards, the fused form pronoun + *self* appears in two environments: either as adjunct, forming a constituent with a subject, or as argument in subject position. In the contexts where pronoun + *self* occurs as adjunct to a subject, the pronoun can be interpreted as resumptive, as a pronominal copy of its focus:

(43) [*godd him-seolf*]$_{SUBJ}$ *seið þurh þe prophete*

'God himself says through the prophet'
(CMHALI 140.185)

The claim that the pronoun in pronoun + *self* is "a disjunctive pronominal reinforcement," a repetition of the subject, had already been made by Farr (1905: 42). Put differently, the pronoun is a resumptive element introduced into the clause so that a kind of left dislocation structure is created; accordingly, the example above should be read with an intonational break after the subject NP and with stress on *self*:

(44) *godd // him-SEOLF seið þurh þe prophete*

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[8]   The examples are all drawn from the text category S1A (spoken dialogue).

This construction is familiar from OE, but the case of the resumptive pronoun was then determined by the syntactic slot of the NP it was repeating: we would expect *he self* rather than *him self*. However, in ME the oblique pronoun was also used independently "in apposition with a noun ... as part of subject" (MED vol. 4/2: 782), e.g.:

(45) *And Carich king him isah þat he ouercume wæs*

    'And king Carich, he saw that he was defeated.'
    (LayBrut, 29311) (MED)

For subject *him + self*, several source patterns emerge: topicalised *himself, (he)* with omission of the subject pronoun or *himself* simply as variant of *he self*:

(46) *him-seolf he nom from Humbre./ þat lond into Lundene.* (Lay (Caligula) 10190)
    and him-seolf nam fram Humbre þat lond into Londene. (Lay (Otho) 10190)

    'himself, (he) took the land from the Humber to London'

(47) *he seolf draf him forð.* (Lay (Caligula) 9214)
    and him-seolf drof heom forþ. (Lay (Otho) 9214)

    'and he himself drove them forth'

I would argue that the formation of the new form is linked to conceptually spoken expressive strategies: the pronominal part in pronoun + *self* can be traced to two source contexts, both of them emphatic: either as stressed variant of a subject pronoun or as resumptive pronoun, a copy of its focus. The case of the pronoun has a discourse-pragmatic rather than syntactic function and indicates stress, an observation already made by Visser (1963), who noted

> the tendency which English had in common with other Germanic languages ... for the personal pronoun morpheme to develop two allomorphs: (a) the unstressed, mostly pro-clitic ones (*I, he, she* etc.) and (b) the stressed (oblique) ones (*me, him, her* etc.). ... The use of the oblique allomorphs as subject ... may be due to a desire to give the subject more prominence than the use of the non-oblique allomorphs would have done. (Visser 1963/I: 244ff.)

The "'instability' of the subjective/objective case system" (Wales 1996: 19) in varieties of English is well-known to scholars who have investigated English dialects; Wales concludes: "It would appear that all object forms can function as subjects in some dialect of English around the world" (*ibid.*), testifying to the fact that up to the present day case within the pronoun paradigm is driven by the speakers' discourse-pragmatic strategies to indicate stress.

The domain of reflexivity is not affected by this development and displays more or less the same patterns as in OE: reflexivity continues to be marked by the plain pronoun, *self* could optionally be added for intensification (cf. Peitsara 1997). The development of the compound reflexive is clearly semantically and pragmatically driven and well represented in all texts throughout all periods (differences in frequency between individual genres notwithstanding). Its main effect, disambiguation or establishment of unambiguous reference, is a typical

universal feature of textualisation, and it is therefore not really surprising that the compound form ultimately ousted the simple reflexive when the vernacular language underwent standardisation. A communicative strategy that had been there all along was generalised to all texts and contexts once the original intensifying meaning of *self* (in that particular construction) was sufficiently bleached. The emergence of the compound intensifier, on the other hand, is a different matter. Its initial formation owes much to typical oral modes of expression, such as topicalisation and left-dislocation, which only became apparent in the written language after the breakdown of the OE standard. It is an innovation that gained momentum in quite different discourse traditions and became established quite rapidly. The compound intensifier is then a combination of a syntactic and a semantic device for indicating emphasis or foregrounding salient topics. It is tempting to assume that the new form was inspired by the parallel construction in Welsh and surfaced in early ME when wide-ranging variation took over from the former standard, as Vezzosi has recently argued (Vezzosi 2005, fc. 2006). She states:

> The ME univerbated and not univerbated *himself* formally and functionally reminds more of MW [Middle Welsh] *e hun* than OE *self*. In Old English *self* is just occasionally added to the simple pronoun with the function of co-reference marker, and normally is an intensifier in both adnominal and adverbial (inclusive and exclusive) use. On the other hand, the ME *self*-form consistently expresses co-reference both in concrete and abstract other-directed situations; it is used as an adverbial intensifier, but only exclusively, and as an adjunct to noun phrases to pick out the most central and salient discourse topic, like MW *e hun*. ... If compared with the OE intensifier *self*, ME *himself* seems to have lost some functional properties, namely the adverbial inclusive meaning, and acquired a new one, namely co-reference marking. (Vezzosi 2005: 239)

The starting point for Vezzosi's hypothesis is the striking parallelism between Middle Welsh, Middle Breton and Middle English intensifiers: "In Middle Welsh (MW) and Middle Breton (MB), the intensifier is represented by a complex form (prefixed pronoun + *hun/hunan*) ... *Hun-hunan* corresponds to the numeral 'one'" (*ibid*., 236). This parallelism in form is matched by a parallelism in function, as the quote above indicates. Still, I would hesitate to jump to conclusions. Some of the arguments she puts forward in support of her hypothesis are not as unambiguous as presented. One piece of evidence concerns the alleged loss of adverbial-inclusive x-*self* in ME, which supposedly happened due to Neobrittonic contact: examples which display the adverbial-inclusive use of x-*self* in ME are readily available, e.g.:

(48) *Than seyd owr Lord Ihesu Crist to hys creatur, Be þes tokenys mayst þu wel wetyn þat I loue þe, for þu art to me a very modir & to al þe world for þat gret charite þat is in þe, & ȝet I am cawse of þat charite my-self,*

> 'Then said our Lord Jesus Christ to his creation: 'By the tokens you may well know that I love you, for you are to me a true mother and to all the world for that great charity that is in you, and yet I am the cause of that charity myself.'
> (CMKEMPE, 91.2066-68)

(49) *Ther ben many that complayne on other and ben in the defaute them self.*

    'There were many who complain about others and were wrong themselves.'
    (CMREYNAR, 54.380)

A second point is related to the emergence of the compound form x-*self* as the new reflexive pronoun: as is apparent from the quote above, Vezzosi claims that the new compound form was widely used in ME to express coreference. This is indeed the case, but is it only *after* the ME period that this use becomes grammaticalised: "until the 16th century, there was no real need for a separate reflexive pronoun, except for particular markedness ... a separate set of reflexive pronouns was rapidly grammaticalized around 1500" (Peitsara 1997: 351). If the breakdown of the OE standard for writing facilitated the intrusion of a Neobrittonic use pattern, then this process should have happened much earlier.

Finally, a more general point can be made with reference to McWhorter (2002). In his study, McWhorter discusses a selection of structural properties that make English quite unusual from a typological perspective. Interestingly, he also looks at two features named at the beginning of this paper, namely external possessor marking and reflexivity, more specifically what he calls "inherent reflexivity" (McWhorter 2002: 220). Under his analysis, it is the contact situation with Scandinavian that is most likely to have contributed to the typological 'oddity' of English in many respects; he is very doubtful about the "Celtic" contact (*ibid.*, 252f.). Clearly, much more research is needed to clarify this issue; for the problem under discussion, I think that any study of *self*-forms in all their uses requires a close scrutiny of texts in their contexts in order not to miss the subtle differences in meaning that may ultimately be responsible for different grammaticalisation paths.

To return to Irish English: so far, all the evidence in the domain of reflexivity and intensification clearly points to superstrate influence: unexpected reflexives are pretty common and not restricted to IrE. This picture changes when we consider the notorious cases of subject pronoun + *self* in IrE. Here the case for substrate or superstrate influence is less clear. Pronoun + *self* as the sole subject is impossible in standard English, and relevant examples from ME are few and typically found only within specific discourse traditions:[9]

(50) *Orpheo most of ony thing / Lovede the gle of harpyng / Syker was every gode harpure / Of hym to have moche honour. / Himself loved for-to harpe / And layde theron his wittes scharpe*

    '*Orfeo*, more than anything else, loved the glee of harping; every good harper was sure to receive much honour from him. Himself [he] loved to harp and thereto devoted his sharp wit.'
    (*Sir Orfeo*, line 25ff.)

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[9] For the notion of 'discourse traditions' and their significance for language change see Oesterreicher (2001).

(51) *His hert he has set al bydene / Whare himself dar noght be sene.*

    'He has altogether set his heart where (he) himself dare not be seen.'
    (*Ywain and Gawain*, line 875)

(52) *Hymself drank water of the wel / As did the knyght sire Percywell.*

    '(He) himself drank water from the well, as the knight Sir Percival did.'
    (Chaucer, *Tale of Sir Topas*, 915)

(53) *This is to seyn myself have been the whippe*

    'That is to say, (I) myself have been the whip'
    (Chaucer, *Wife of Bath*, *Prologue*, 175)

Examples (50) and (51) occur in romances, while (52), the most frequently quoted example, comes from Chaucer and occurs within a parody of the romance genre. Instances of subject pronoun + *self* in late ME are isolated, only two texts within the Helsinki Corpus have any examples at all, namely *The Book of Margery Kempe* (54) and Richard Fitzjames' *Sermo die Lune* (55):

(54) *& answyrd not, as hymself had comawndyd hir to do.*

    'and [she] did not answer, as he himself had commanded her to do.'
    (CMKEMPE, 63.1420)

(55) *by reason of his laudable wysdom left behynde hym in wrytyng in the boke of wysdom callyd Ecclesiasticus. whyche boke. hymself fyrste made and wrote in Hebrewe tonge. and after translatyd the same in to Grekes tonge*

    'because of his praiseworthy wisdom left behind (him) in writing in the book of wisdom called Ecclesiasticus, a book which (he) himself first made and wrote in Hebrew, and afterwards translated the same into Greek.'
    (CMFITZJA, B2R.126)

Apparently, subject x-*self* is genre-specific; appearing relatively frequently in narrative poetry while being less frequent in narrative prose and totally absent from 'official' expository prose as for example Chancery texts. Those examples of subject x-*self* which are still found in EModE are again associated with poetic (or dramatic) contexts:

(56) *Myself hath often heard them say, / When I have walked like a private man / That Lucius' banishment was wrongfully, / And they have wished that Lucius were their emperor.* (Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus* IV, iv)

To sum up: with one exception, all contexts for unexpected *self*-forms emerge in ME and are well represented throughout different periods and genres; they are an integral part of the language in all its varieties. The one exception concerns pronoun + *self* as a 'plain' subject, that is, outside of constructions such as the group subjects listed above. Parallel examples from ME are few and highly restricted, so that a straightforward retentionist view is not feasible.

If we exclude superstrate influence and claim substrate influence for this particular construction with pronoun + *self*, how do we account for similar examples from IndE and Singaporean English? Filppula (1999: 87) quotes an example from Irish to make a point for substrate influence:

> *É féin a rinne an obair*
> 'It was himself who did the work' ...
>
> The Irish pattern ... seems the most likely model especially for those HE uses in which the reflexive is on its own in subject position. *É féin* has the same structure as *himself*, which – like all reflexives – was earlier understood and also written as two words.

It is highly unlikely that speakers of Irish were responsible for the diffusion of this pattern in both India and Singapore. It is difficult at this point to come to a convincing explanation; first and foremost, there is not enough data available. The Indian corpus has only a few more examples like the ones I listed above, the Singaporean example is actually the only one in the whole corpus, and the Irish corpus is not yet available.[10] My tentative hypothesis is that contact languages make use of similar lexical devices from their donor languages to replace morphosyntactic or especially intonational features of the background languages. Irish, as all the other insular Celtic languages, relies on clefting to express focussing because intonation is not available for this purpose. Asian languages similarly are either tone languages (e.g. Chinese as substrate language in Singapore) or have morphosyntactic means of indicating focus, such as the Hindi focus marker *-bhi* that can be attached to its focus and indicates emphasis (cf. McGregor 1972: 27). I will develop this hypothesis further in the next section on some uses of *itself* that are totally unrelated to standard English.

2.3. Itself *in Irish and Indian English*

The examples below illustrate the typical use of IndE *itself* in locative and temporal expressions in both the spoken and the written language. *Itself* in these contexts invariably appears right-adjacent to its focus and takes scope only over the focus NP:

(57) A: *Do you think you have any simple exercises for people who do a lot of driving?*
      C: *Yeah sure <,>*
      A: *Could you please show us some ?*
      C: *Yes <w> I'll </w> show here itself <,>* (ICE-IND: S2A-056#111:2)
(58) *I think you <{> <[> should start </[> going to the gym from now itself* (<ICE-IND: S1A-061#86:1:B)

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[10] Prof. Sand observed in her response to this section: "the Indian examples all occur in the context of personal introductions or one-word answers. Since Indian English has a lot of text-type specific formulaic language for such situations, I would hesitate to interpret these as genuine examples of bare reflexives as subjects." She further pointed out that she found no relevant examples for IrE in the Potsdam Corpus of Northern Irish English (PNIE) or in other ICE-corpora.

(59) *Last year also uh <,> I did one refresher course <,> in the month of June itself <,,> and uh the duration of that was was <,> <,> <{> <[> actually <,> twenty-four days* (<ICE-IND: S1A-075#167:1:A)

(60) *[...] Ambegaon, Manchar, Kondhwal and neighbouring villages have been facing acute water shortage from December itself.* (Times of India, Pune edition, 5.3.2004: 2)

Nihalani, et al. (1979) have already commented on *itself* in such contexts and provided a tentative explanation:

> This use of the reflexive pronoun 'itself' for the purpose of emphasizing the word or phrase (usually indicating time, but sometimes place) which precedes it is characteristic of the IVE [Indian Variant(s) of English] variety of English. BS [British Standard] speakers would probably provide the emphasis in all four instances by means of intonation. (Nihalani, et al. 1979: 105)

This use of *itself* is specific to IndE and seems to belong to a domain of focus marking in IndE which is markedly different from other varieties of English and includes the use of *only* as focus particle: "*Only* is widely used for emphasis: *They live like that only* ('That is how they live'); *He is working there only* ('He really only works there')" (McArthur 2003: 322). The precise relationship of *itself* and *only* as intensifiers is not quite clear; in Nihalani et al.'s description the two expressions seem to be interchangeable:

> *'He came here today only.'*
> *'Now only he's done it.'*

> The very frequent use of 'only' for the purpose of emphasizing the word or phrase (usually indicating time) which precedes it is characteristic of IVE. (Nihalani, et al. 1979: 132)

K.S. Yadurajan, on the other hand, comments from a prescriptive point of view. Judging from his account, *only* is not restricted to temporal phrases and is synonymous with the adnominal intensifier:

> Surprisingly, we don't seem to use the *-self* form for emphasis. We find people saying (and writing): *You only told me. He only did it*. This use of *only* with a noun/pronoun is incorrect. Its correct use is seen in sentences like: *Only he can do it. John alone knows the answer*. But where emphasis is needed the form is: *He himself did it*. (Yadurajan 2001: 104)

A more precise analysis of all meanings and contexts for *self*-forms in IndE is outside the scope of this paper, but there is one further use of *itself* which is relevant to our discussion and will be treated next.

2.3.1. Itself *Meaning 'Even'*

One use of *self* so far not known outside Irish English, but familiar from German, is the use which can be paraphrased by 'even.' A detailed account of the focus particle *even* is given in König (1991); briefly, *even* belongs to the group of scalar additive particles and

induces an ordering for the values under consideration. The values included by this parti-
cle are characterised as ranking lower than the one given ... The values included by *even*
are the more likely candidates for the variable of the relevant open sentence ... than the
value given. As a consequence, the focus value is characterised as an unexpected or sur-
prising one. (König 1991: 38)

Itself with this meaning either occurs adnominally, as in:

(61) *Death itself couldn't make me forget her.* (quoted from Siemund 2002: 266)[11]

or in concessive and conditional clauses, e.g.:

(62) *He would look down into her eyes, though she was a tall young woman itself.* (quoted
      from Siemund 2002: 266)

Siemund refers to a similar polysemy in German, where prenominal *selbst*
also means 'even;' he does not offer any more detailed explanations in terms of
substrate or superstrate influence. Superstrate influence can definitely be ruled
out, since 'even' has never been part of the meaning of *self* throughout the his-
tory of English, which leaves substrate influence. The latter is tacitly assumed
by Wales (1996: 193) who provides an example from James Joyce's *Dubliners*:

(63) *'Is there any chance of a drink itself?' asked Mr O Connor.*

According to her, the *self*-form in this construction is a loan-translation from
Gaelic *féin*, 'even.' This meaning of *féin* is attested for the early stages of Irish
(*Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL), F 4.31-9.75, 'fadéin'). Ó hÚrdail
(1997: 194) confirms that "*itself* often replaces *even*, e.g. *if I had that much it-
self.*" Filppula also briefly comments on this use of *itself*, but finds only one in-
stance in his corpus "recorded from the oldest Wicklow informant" (Filppula
1999: 82).

(64) *I'm sure, it's about seventy-one years. Even if I'm wrong itself what matter.*

In Indian English, this meaning of *itself* is quite productive, as the examples
show:

(65) *A World Zoroastrian Association could periodically collect and distribute reports to
      its member bodies, collect social and economic data of different Zoroastrian com-
      munities, keep a record of Zoroastrian studies all over the world and establish a cen-
      tre itself for research into the religion.* (Kolhapur Corpus, text ED17, P89)[12]

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[11] All of Siemund's examples are taken from a study of "Artistic Representations of Irish
      English" by Jiro Taniguchi (1972), a study that according to Kallen (1997: 5) belongs to
      "(a)n older linguistic tradition (... that) has taken literary material at face value, more or
      less treating it as if it were an accurate record of spoken IrE and basing any analysis on that
      assumption." Clearly more Irish data are needed to arrive at a more conclusive picture.
[12] The Kolhapur Corpus of Indian English is available from ICAME
      <http://www.hit.uib.no/icame.html>.

(66) *Later, like Gandhiji, he adopted service of the lowliest and the least itself as the pathway to God.* (Kolhapur Corpus, text EG04, P74)

(67) *Different ragas evoke different sentiments, but sometimes one Raga itself evokes two different sentiments.* (Kolhapur Corpus, text EG46, P61)

(68) *But even if the goal appears distant, it is well worth striving for because movement in this direction itself reduces the causes of conflict.* (Kolhapur Corpus, text EG58, P39)

(69) *Sometimes when I sat alone beneath a tree I would feel a little lonely or lost. But as soon as my father joined me, the garden would become a happy place, the tree itself more friendly.* (ICE-IND: W2F-003#12:1)

(70) *To the patients who were previously physically independent, stroke may turn out to be an illness worse than death itself.* (ICE-IND: W2D-010#78:1)

A similar use of *itself* is attested in Singapore English:

(71) *It's selling more than a million copies per month so what and and it is primarily being uh uh available uh or being run on on a desktop environment itself.* (ICE-SIN: S2A-027#9:1:A)

(72) *In fact it has been the number two uh in the computer book uh best selling list. In fact it outsell the famous book by Madonna itself.* (ICE-SIN: S2A-027#36:1:A)

I would like to suggest that in all the Englishes mentioned above, the frequent use of *itself* as intensifying marker serves the function carried by intonation in standard British English. A lexical item is appropriated to express emphasis, foregrounding, or focussing, discourse-pragmatic devices that are otherwise achieved by intonation. For IrE, Harris (1991) has summarised the well-known facts relating to clefting, but the basic strategy of <u>not</u> relying on intonation for focussing holds for other contexts as well:

> In Irish, thematic markedness in speech is typically not achieved by intonational means, and clefting is virtually the only device available for achieving thematic fronting. It is not surprising, then, that the use of this construction in speech is much more common in Irish than in English. (Harris 1991: 198)

Both Englishes exploit lexical and morphosyntactic means that are connected to their substrate language(s) in order to express different focussing strategies: clefting of intensified pronouns as in the example above (*É féin a rinne an obair* 'It was himself who did the work,' quoted from Filppula (1999: 87)) produces syntactic contexts which are very similar to the ones I identified as source contexts for the emergence of the compound intensifier in early ME. In the case of *itself* in the sense of 'even,' the multifunctionality of the substrate form is carried over into the superstrate language: the invariant Irish expression *féin* is polysemous and can be used attributively ('own'), as intensifier ('self') and as focus particle ('even'); the latter use is simply extended to IrE. IndE, on the other hand, draws on its substrate language(s) in a different fashion: in Hindi and related languages, the reflexive marker and the focus marker parallel in meaning to 'even' are not related (cf. McGregor 1972), which probably gives rise to the intensifying uses of *only* and *itself* that are not altogether clear-cut. Hindi has two enclitic focus markers, the additive/inclusive particle *-bhi* that corresponds to 'even' or German *selbst*, and a restrictive/exclusive particle *-hi*

that is frequently translated as 'only' (*ibid.*, 27). It seems that at least for speakers of Hindi and related languages, *itself* and *only* are multifunctional focus markers that are used to recreate the morphosyntactic focussing strategies of their substrate languages in the superstrate language English.[13]

What IrE and IndE have in common is the need to find a replacement for meanings expressed by intonation in standard British English, which leads to remarkably similar results, at least within a specific domain. Platt, et al. (1984) have stressed that the most pronounced differences between 'old' and New Englishes concern intonation: if both IrE and IndE display structural similarities because of their diverging intonational patterns, then the original classification of what counts as a New English might have to be revised. Platt, et al.'s criteria are based on the distribution and range of functions/uses of English within a country; they explicitly exclude Pidgins and Creoles as well as "the newer Englishes of the British isles:"

> In some of these areas the movement to English occurred before education was generally available and furthermore this change has taken place in areas relatively close to a large population of native speakers of English. (*ibid.*, 10)

Kallen (1997) explicitly stresses that despite the long-standing presence of English and English speakers in Ireland which dates back to the 12th century, the large-scale language shift from Irish to English occurred only in the 18th century. Thus, the proximity "to a large population of native speakers of English" does not play such a significant role in the case of Irish English. India, on the other hand, is a multilingual country, there is no pattern of language shift as in Ireland, and bi- or multilingualism is the norm rather than the exception, so it is slightly misleading to speak of 'substrate influence.' This point has been made repeatedly by Kachru (1986, 1992), but its significance for the development of New Englishes has not been fully explored. Further research on specific domains across a wider range of New Englishes is desperately needed to arrive at more precise generalisations.

3. Concluding Remarks

The preceding discussion leaves a rather messy impression: we do not end up with a neat rule, principle or constraint that accounts for either substrate influence, superstrate influence, or universal tendencies in the domain of reflexivity and intensification. There is undoubtedly good evidence for assuming "Celtic" influence for the loss of the external possessor construction and the formation of pronoun + *self* as intensifier. On the other hand, both Irish and Welsh use the same form to express attributive and adnominal/adverbial intensification just as

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[13] I was told by an Indian student whose first language belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family that he was quite surprised by the frequent use of 'only' by speakers of IndE with Hindi or Marathi as first languages.

OE did, but the possessive-attributive use of *self* quickly died out in early ME, at exactly that time where 'Celtic syntax' supposedly became apparent in the written language. If we imagine a situation of extended language contact and ultimately language shift, which typically accounts for syntactic influence on the superstrate language (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988), why should one part within the domain of intensification be exempt from shifting? This leads us to the question of constraints: what are the constraints on syntactic borrowing, what are likely scenarios for the transmission of structural properties in a situation of language shift, what exactly does the notion of 'structural property' include? For me, these are questions that are well worth pursuing even if easy answers are unlikely. In studies of (mainly syntactic) variation, IrE has been singled out as a "contact vernacular[s] for which a single substrate language can be unambiguously identified" (Harris 1991: 191); research has typically focused on specific constructions absent from standard English. Recent research on dialect syntax (cf. Kortmann 2002, 2004) is concerned with broadening the picture: the aim is to investigate patterns of variation within a specific domain across as many Englishes as possible to achieve "a unified account of intra- and cross-linguistic variation" (Kortmann 2004: 2). Applying this research program to the topic under discussion requires a comprehensive account of the whole domain of reflexivity and intensification; before we can hypothesise about the effects of transfer, interference, universal tendencies etc., we need to know exactly how the domain of reflexivity and intensification is structured and by which (lexical and/or morphosyntactic) means it is realised in all the available contact languages, both past and present. Eventually, we will arrive at much profounder and more general insights into the patterns of language contact and their linguistic consequences.

Appendix: Markup Symbols Used for ICE-India Texts

<$A>, <$B>, *etc*	Speaker identification
<I>…</I>	Subtext marker
<#>	Text unit marker. Marks the beginning of every "text unit," which corresponds loosely to the orthographic sentence.
<O>…</O>	Untranscribed text, e.g., <O> speech by George Bush </O>
<?>…</?>	Uncertain transcription
<.>…</.>	Incomplete word(s)
<[>…</[>	Overlapping string
<{>…</{>	Overlapping string set
<,>	Short pause
<,,>	Long pause
<X>…</X>	Extra-corpus text
<&>…</&>	Editorial comment
<@>…</@>	Changed name or word
<quote>…</quote>	Quotation
<mention>…</mention>	Mention, e.g., the word <mention> of </mention>
<foreign>…</foreign>	Foreign word(s)
<indig>…</indig>	Indigenous word(s)
<unclear>…</unclear>	Unclear word(s)

Source: ICE-India Manual (cf. also the *ICE Markup Manual for Spoken Texts*, available
         from <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/ice/manuals.htm>)

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Independent Developments in the Genesis of Irish English[1]

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1. Introduction

A recurrent and possibly the most debated topic in the study of Irish (Hiberno-) English (IrE) is the historical source or sources of the various non-standard features this variety of English possesses. It has become a widespread practice to look for the source of the non-standard features in either earlier dialects of English or in Irish, which is the language English has been in contact with for centuries. The former approach has been referred to by labels such as 'retentionist view' or 'superstratum account,' whereas the latter is widely known as the 'transfer' or 'substratum analysis' (Filppula 1999).

In restricting the possible sources of the non-standard features of IrE to either substratum or superstratum, most – if not all – approaches implicitly or explicitly adopt the methodology of historical linguistics, specifically the comparative method. To be sure, in this particular case the comparative method is not used to establish genetic relationships between languages. It rather operates in the opposite direction. On the assumption that the specific properties of IrE may either have been passed on from earlier dialects of English or be due to influence from Irish, the systematic comparison of morphosyntactic forms and their respective functions is used to establish their historical source. An additional assumption is that English and Irish are genetically distant enough to allow a precise localisation of the sources.

The application of the comparative method for the analysis of IrE has been highly successful in that, for an overwhelming number of the non-standard phenomena, it has been possible to say with a good amount of certainty what their origin is. For example, it appears unambiguously clear that the *after*-perfect as well as subordinating *and* are due to influence from Irish. Equally, there is little doubt that multiple negation and *a*-prefixation are phenomena that have simply been passed on from earlier dialects of English and preserved in IrE.

In spite of the success of the comparative method in the study of IrE, it has also become clear over the past couple of years that there is an interesting and fruitful alternative to the traditional methodology. Rather than looking for the origin of the non-standard features of IrE in Irish or earlier dialects of English, it has been suggested that the specific properties of the contact situation itself may offer important clues for our understanding of some of these features. As is well known, the emergence of IrE is the result of a massive and fairly rapid shift of the originally Irish speaking population of Ireland to English and it appears intuitively plausible that this shifting situation – mainly due to imperfect learning, overgeneralisation, speaker creativity, pressure from linguistic universals, etc. – could have given rise to at least some of the morphosyntactic peculiarities of IrE. Such an approach will be in the centre of the subsequent discussion.

In concentrating on the language contact situation itself, the approach advocated here crucially draws on the results as well as the methodologies of language universals and grammaticalisation research mainly understood within the tradition of functionalism, but by no means excluding those linguistic universals discussed in formal models of grammars. The central idea to be explored in the following is that an unstable linguistic situation like the one found in Ireland during the shift from Irish to English, i.e. roughly between 1700 and 1900, will inevitably trigger the activation of linguistic universals in a sense to be made precise and spark off grammaticalisation processes. It is hoped that, by taking recourse to such notions and processes, the benefits of a universalist approach to the study of IrE can be demonstrated. It is not my aim in this paper to harm the reputation of the traditional methodology, but rather offer new insights into hitherto neglected phenomena or into those phenomena where the comparative method went into a deadlock.

The structure of the present paper is as follows. Section 2 will provide an overview of the major insights and the strong as well as the weak points of the retention/transfer debate. Section 3 will introduce the major tenets of the universalist approach advocated here and make some vital remarks on the methodology pursued. Some information regarding the empirical basis is offered in section 4. Section 5 will discuss two case studies that demonstrate the value of the universalist approach.

2. Retention versus Transfer

The traditional retention-versus-transfer-debate, in the following referred to as the 'traditional approach,' works on the assumption that – at least in principle – every linguistic phenomenon has a traceable history. As pointed out above, it shares this assumption with historical linguistics. In the same way as the comparative method of historical linguistics assumes that a proto-language or parent language can be entirely reconstructed from its daughter languages, the traditional approach assumes that the specific morphosyntactic properties of a contact variety like IrE should – at least in theory – be completely traceable to either earlier English dialects or Irish (*tertium non datur*).

The traditional approach, again as most of historical linguistics, is surface-oriented in the sense that what is compared and traced are surface forms per se and not the underlying structures, features, functional heads and the like. Surface orientation is explicitly mentioned in Filppula (1999: 53) who also characterises his own approach, which can be taken as typical of the field, as functional and pragmatic, stressing in particular the importance of the context of a linguistic form for recovering its meaning.

By way of illustration, consider the case of the well known *after*-perfect, where it appears clear beyond any doubt that the source of this construction in IrE is Irish (cf. (1)).

(1)   *Tell mother we are just after receiving Her letter*

    'Tell mother we have just received her letter.'
    (HCIEL)[2]

How do we know? The line of argumentation is simple in this case: Since a corresponding construction exists only in Irish, but not in earlier dialects of English, the conclusion seems inescapable that the construction of IrE was calqued on Irish (cf. (2)).

(2)   *Tá*   *sé*   *tar éis*   *imeacht.*
    is   he   after   going

    'He has just gone.'
    (Ó Siadhail 1989: 297; Filppula 1999: 99)

We here encounter a first problem with the alleged surface orientation and also an important difference to historical linguistics, since what has been transferred from Irish to IrE is not a linguistic form, i.e. a morpheme, per se, but rather the function of a morpheme in Irish has been projected on an English morpheme. We can assume – without explicating how – that this transfer was possible, since *tar éis* and *after* shared important functional domains before the transfer.

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[2]   HCIEL = Hamburg Corpus of Irish Emigrant Letters
    < www.uni-hamburg.de/fachbereiche-einrichtungen/sfb538/projekth5.html>

As a matter of fact, I have not been able, neither in the literature nor in our own data, to find a single instance of a direct loan from Irish into IrE. Although the borrowing of morphemes, particularly of grammatical morphemes, is otherwise an important diagnostic of rapid contact-induced language shift (Thomason 2001 a, 2001 b; Thomason and Kaufman 1988), in the contact situation between Irish and English it is conspicuously absent.[3]

Considering additional examples where Irish apparently has influenced the grammar of IrE, it turns out that the process of transfer must have been even more subtle and complicated. In a similar way to the *tar éis* construction, subordinating uses of *and*, like those illustrated in (3), can be conceived of as the transfer of a particular function from an Irish morpheme to an English morpheme (cf. (4)). Again, the reason why this transfer probably works is, because *agus* and *and* had some functional overlap before the contact. However, above and beyond the transfer of the subordinating function of *agus*, which in (3) and (4) is of a temporal type, subordinating *and* in (3) also inherited most of the non-finite syntax of the Irish construction. In other words, this case illustrates the transfer of a function from an Irish morpheme to an English morpheme including the transfer of a bundle of morphosyntactic properties.

(3)	*He fell and him crossing the bridge.*

  'He fell while he was crossing the bridge.'
  (Harris 1984: 305; Filppula 1999: 198)

(4)	*Thit	sé	agus	é	ag	dul	thar	an	droichead.*
  fell	he	and	him	at	going	over	the	bridge

  'He fell while he was crossing the bridge.'
  (Harris 1984: 305; Filppula 1999: 198)

While such influence from Irish on English is relatively complex, it by no means exhausts the possibilities of attested transfer. The example in (5) shows another much discussed non-standard construction of IrE – the so-called 'medial object perfect' –, where the difference with respect to standard English lies in the fact that the participle occurs after the direct object, and not adjacent to the auxiliary.

(5)	*He has a letter written.*

  'He has written a letter.'
  (Filppula 1999: 110)

In this case, influence from Irish has been suspected to stem from constructions like (6), which are roughly equivalent in meaning. Although there are obvious parallels between (5) and (6) – both are possessive constructions containing a secondary predication where the participle occurs behind the object Noun

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3   A noteworthy problem of this generalisation is the word *rapid*. The shift from Irish to English within 200-300 years seems quite rapid from a general European perspective, but is fairly long in comparison to shifts taking place within two or three generations.

Phrase (NP) –, again the alleged transfer from Irish to English must have been quite subtle, since the encoding of possessivity is realised by a locative construction in Irish and not by verb, as in English. Moreover, the Irish construction must be analysed as an extended passive construction, and not a perfect construction, since the main predicator is a form of the verb 'be' and the locative phrase *aige* 'at him' is optional.

(6) *Tá   litir   scríobhtha   aige*
     is   a letter   written   at him

     'He has written a letter.'
     (Filppula 1999: 110)

These remarks are not meant to discount influence from Irish in these and similar cases, but they clearly show that a considerable number of 'cognitive steps' are necessary to transfer the relative ordering of object NP and participle from an Irish construction like (6) to the English construction shown in (5).

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the fact that apart from transferring structure from Irish to English, there also appear to be examples where influence from Irish would more appropriately be characterised as negative transfer or loss of structure. The IrE examples in (7) and (8) show the omission of pronominal arguments in subject and object positions in a way that is strikingly different from standard English. As is well known, subject arguments in standard English may be omitted under coordination, but only if the omitted subject is co-referent with the subject of the preceding clause (cf. *They$_i$ married and Ø$_i$ had a baby*). These conditions are violated in (7) and (8), with (7) showing an omitted subject and (8) an omitted object both coreferent with a preceding object.

(7) I expected him$_i$ in at Christmas time & his$_i$ Job was not finished & Ø$_i$ did not come.
     (HCIEL)

(8) But as I happened to take a walk up to south Boston I$_i$ met Michl. Corbot who invited me$_i$ to his House and kept Ø$_i$ for 8 days.
     (HCIEL)

On the basis of evidence like (9) it has been suggested that such an omission of subject and object argument may also be due to contact effects (Pietsch 2004). If this claim could be shown to hold, this would mean that it is possible to transfer structural properties without there being any carrier morphemes involved.

(9) *Bhuail   sé   buille   don   tuairgín   ar an   Olltach   agus   do mhairbh.*
     hit   he   blow   to the   pounder   on the   Ulsterman   and   killed

     'He$_i$ dealt a blow of the pounder to the Ulsterman$_j$ and (he$_i$) killed (him$_j$).'
     (Ó Siadhail 1989: 212)

Even though various other interesting cases could be discussed at this point, the foregoing discussion should have made clear that the explication and explanation of the actual transfer processes is an important challenge for the tradi-

tional approach, which, however, has been relatively parsimoniously addressed in the relevant literature. We can summarise for now that, although the traditional approach has been successful in identifying structural and functional correspondences between IrE and Irish/earlier dialects of English, academic interest has largely eschewed the *hows* and *whys* of the transfer processes.

In the remainder of this section, I would like to raise some additional problems where I think the traditional transfer/retention debate could be successfully extended and complemented.

In view of the fact that the traditional approach aims at reconstructing either transfer from Irish or retention from earlier dialects of English, the empirical scope of this approach is – almost by definition – restricted to those non-standard phenomena found in IrE for which a reconstruction is possible. This entails, however, that non-standard phenomena, for which no parallels have been found in either Irish or earlier dialects of English, must necessarily be left out of the discussion, since they could not advance it. This empirical confinement of the traditional approach would be insignificant, if such non-standard phenomena did not exist, but the data that I have been able to survey so far do not seem to warrant such an assumption. Among the non-standard phenomena for which a substratal or superstratal source is difficult to motivate are copula drop, double perfects, the use of infinitives instead of *ing*-forms and, most importantly for the subsequent discussion, the use of nominative pronouns as subjects of non-finite clauses (Pietsch fc.). Such occurrences of pronouns, as exemplified in (10), appear neither in Irish nor in earlier dialects of English. Evidently, the traditional method has very little to say about such pronouns.

(10) My Sister Bridget stoped with her old Misses after <u>I</u> leaving.
      (HCIEL)

Another problem that has largely been neglected in the traditional paradigm concerns the question why particular morphosyntactic properties of Irish precisely did *not* get transferred, whereas others apparently did. The preceding research work leaves us with a somewhat unbalanced picture, since influence from Irish has been detected and successfully argued for in various subtle grammatical domains. However, once we remind ourselves of the fact that, in other domains of grammar Irish and English differ radically and ostentatiously from one another, this sets oneself asking why the contact situation did not produce any influence – or at least some traces thereof – in these domains. For the purpose of illustration, notice that English and Irish differ substantially in the word order of basic declarative sentences, which is SVO in English, but VSO in Irish. Additional examples of profound grammatical differences between the two languages are certainly not difficult to find (marking of possession, interrogative clauses, etc.), but none of them has led to noticeable influence of Irish on English.

In the same manner, we may ask if some structural elements of earlier English dialects – or earlier Irish dialects for that matter – were lost as a result of the contact situation. This question is highly important from the perspective of con-

tact linguistics, since it has repeatedly been observed that marked structural components are lost during contact situations, i.e. complexity is normally reduced.[4] One explanation that has been proposed for the reduction of complexity is that marked features are harder to learn than unmarked features. Since we can assume extensive bilingualism and imperfect learning in the history of IrE, it should appear promising to look for areas in the grammar of IrE where complexity was reduced.

Apart from the problems addressed in the preceding paragraphs, which I consider the most important ones and where future work on IrE appears most promising, there are also a few less consequential points which, nevertheless, deserve mentioning.

The first point concerns the psycholinguistic basis of the transfer processes (cf. Carroll 2001). The initial paragraphs of the current sections, as well as the examples contained therein ((1) – (9)), made it clear that the observed transfer from Irish to English can be of different kinds. Even more types of transfer can probably be distinguished. Yet it appears inconsistent and somewhat unsatisfactory to say *that* transfer of a certain kind occurred without explaining *how* this transfer happened. In other words, the basis of the transfer, which may lie in principles of language acquisition, needs to be specified.

The second point pertains to the level of linguistic analysis at which parallels between Irish and English are identified and hence transfer is postulated. Much recent work, including my own work, assumes influence on the surface, although the underlying structures (deep structure) are quite different. Recall the notorious case of the medial object perfect in (5) and (6), where in English and Irish possession is encoded by a verb and a locative construction respectively. In my opinion, the traditional approach ought to take these differences more seriously.

Another problem that is typically evaded in the discussion of IrE, but which has been topicalised several times by Tristram (cf. Tristram 2002), is that besides transfer from Irish to English it also appears plausible that there has been transfer from English to Irish. Such transfer could incur serious complications since, in principle, it is possible that English influenced Irish and that the modified Irish subsequently influenced English. At the moment I cannot see how to deal with this undeterminable factor. An additional variable in the calculation is the dialectal variation of Irish and English. Even though the territory where Irish and English met and still meet is relatively small, due to dialectal variation the languages that came into contact were certainly not homogeneous. And clearly, IrE is not either.

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[4] Recently it has been argued that, contrary to traditional assumptions, language contact may also lead to diversification and complexification (Comrie and Kuteva 2004).

3. The Universalist Approach: Basic Concepts

The approach to the analysis of IrE that will be argued for in the following to complement the traditional transfer/retention debate is here referred to as the 'universalist approach' which, as this label suggests, takes the insights, generalisations as well as the methodologies of language typology, grammaticalisation theory and also universal grammar, as formulated within generative grammar, as basis and background for the analysis of IrE. This approach has proved fruitful for the synchronic and diachronic analysis of English in that it offers a perspective on the English language that allows us to identify those properties that are cross-linguistically relevant and not idiosyncratic in this respect. Moreover, and even more important, cross-linguistic, universalist work has identified various implicational connections between different grammatical phenomena as well as general paths of development of grammatical markers.

To be fair, it would not be appropriate to claim that the approach advocated here had not caught the attention of renowned specialists of IrE. At various places in the literature we find hints pointing out the potential and the significance of the universalist approach, as evidenced by the following quotation:[5]

> Research based on linguistic universals in one sense or another is another fresh dimension of HE [Hiberno-English] studies, which has been inspired by the advances made in the last few decades in general linguistic theory. The perspectives opened up by this line of inquiry are potentially vast, not least because of the many different types of universals discussed in the literature. (Filppula 1999: 26)

Nevertheless, with the exception of a few scholars, notably Corrigan (1993), Guilfoyle (1986), Henry (1995), Hickey (1995, 1997) and McCafferty (2003), these perspectives have not been seriously investigated. Moreover, by shifting the research focus to contact-induced effects that can neither be analysed as retentions nor as transfers, the line of inquiry followed up here is probably quite unique.

While the universalist approach pursued here certainly represents a challenging adventure, before embarking on it, it is necessary to take a closer look at the contact situation between Irish and English to see whether this particular contact situation is amenable to a study of this kind.

The main period of Irish-English language contact between approximately 1700 and 1900 represents a classic situation of language shift, since during that period the majority of native speakers of Irish shifted to English. The linguistic situation in Ireland during that period is relatively well documented. The information from various censuses documents the rapid decline of Irish speakers (Ó Cuív 1971: appendix 77-95, maps; Hindley 1990; Kallen 1994) although, since the main aim of these censuses was not the documentation of the linguistic situation and since the assessment of the linguistic situation of a shifting country is a very complicated matter, we have to approach these data with a pinch of salt. The English of that period of massive shift is documented through letters, petitions and similar pieces of writing (cf. Miller, et al. 2003).

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[5] See Kallen (1997: 4) for a quotation similar in spirit.

According to Thomason (2001 a), it is typical of language shift situations that there is a high number of bilinguals as well as a high degree of imperfect learning. In such situations of language shift, we can expect many structural interferences, but few lexical borrowings. Structural interferences tend to affect phonology and syntax first, while the morphological component of a language apparently resists contact-induced effects for a relatively long time. The more rapid the shift of a group of speakers from their native language to a new language proceeds, the more structural interferences can be expected.

The shifting situation in Ireland between ca. 1700 and 1900 seems to match many of the general characteristics of language shift discussed in Thomason (2001 b). IrE shows various structural interferences from Irish, but there are few to none lexical borrowings. In view of the relatively rapid shift from Irish to English by most of the population, the assumption of widespread imperfect learning appears plausible. Moreover, we can assume that various well known mechanisms of contact-induced language change, like code-switching, code-alternation, diverse first and second language acquisition strategies, were widespread among the shifting population and played an important role in the shaping of IrE. Provided that these general assumptions about the contact situation between Irish and English as well as the mechanisms at work in this situation are correct, it would appear natural to follow that more than simply transfer and retention must have played a role during the emergence of IrE. Consequently, one would expect that the contact situation itself left linguistic traces in IrE and, as long as one does not discount cross-linguistically stable principles and patterns, one would also expect that the traces left by the contact situation are not accidental.

Having said that, I would like to hasten to add that I do not wish to analyse IrE on a par with Pidgin and Creole languages for whose genesis the influence of linguistic universals has been extensively discussed, particularly with respect to the so-called Bioprogram Hypothesis (Bickerton 1980, 1981, 2001). Most certainly, IrE is not a Pidgin language, nor can it be analysed as a Creole since the crucial social and linguistic conditions for the emergence of such languages are not met. Equally, it is impossible to bring IrE in the vicinity of bilingual mixed languages like Michif, Ma'a, Media Lengua and the like, since IrE does not contain complete grammatical subsystems of Irish (Thomason 1997, 2001 b).

If it is correct to assume that more than transfer and retention were at stake in the formation of IrE and that this *more* can be adequately captured and explained by linguistic universals, it becomes necessary to say something about the types of universals supposed to be involved and how we imagine them to work.

Current research on linguistic universals distinguishes between mainly two types of universals. On the one hand, we find typological universals in the tradition of Joseph Greenberg (Greenberg 1963), which first of all are inductively established generalisations about structural properties of languages based on a representative sample of languages, but which nevertheless are supposed to be universal. Much discussed and well established universals of that kind are impli-

cational universals like *If the basic word order of a language is VO, it has pre-positions* or *If the basic word order of a language is OV, it has postpositions*. On the other hand, such typological universals contrast with the concept of linguistic universals assumed in Noam Chomsky's universal grammar, which represents a system of abstract principles and a specific genetic endowment of the human species (Newmeyer 1998). Evidence for the existence of such universals is, inter alia, the acquisition of languages, particularly as first languages, which is surprisingly fast and successful in spite of highly underspecified and deficient primary data.

Both concepts of universals have in common that they restrict the space of linguistic variation, i.e. not all logically possible languages and linguistic structures are admitted. There are fundamental differences with respect to the cognitive embedding of the universals as well as the assumptions, as to how they operate. Linguistic universals in the understanding of universal grammar are conceptualised as a genetic disposition and operate primarily during first language acquisition in that they restrict the hypotheses of the learning child (Haider 2001). Typological universals are observable restrictions in the architecture of languages, which are a function of the human linguistic processor and possibly more general cognitive processes (economy, iconicity, frequency, markedness). One of the most convincing examples given so far to explicate the relationship between typological universals and processing principles is Hawkins (1994, 2001), who proposes a strong connection between Greenberg's word order principles and processing preferences of the human parser for strictly left-branching and right-branching structures.

For the study of IrE, it appears most promising to work with both concepts of universals. It appears plausible to assume that it frequently happened in the contact situation of Irish and English, particularly within families, that children in the acquisition of English as their first language were confronted with deficient primary data, mainly by speakers – often their parents – who themselves had no native competence in English. In such situations, deficient primary data could have been compensated by universal grammar. On the other hand it also appears plausible that in such a contact situation speakers primarily select or filter out the 'economical' or 'optimal' structures from the contact languages. In the context of IrE, this scenario seems particularly convincing for speakers who learnt English as their second language. For the explanation of some phenomena, it may even be necessary to fall back on both concepts of universals.

4. Empirical Basis

Before introducing and discussing two case studies that will illustrate and exemplify the aforementioned theoretical discussion, a few brief remarks concerning the empirical basis are in order. As is well known, the major language shift from Irish to English occurred in the period from about 1700 to 1900. Incidentally, this is also the period when Ireland saw a mass exodus to the New World,

particularly North America and Australia, due to severe labour and food short-age in the island. This emigration process has provided us with an important and highly useful source to evaluate the linguistic situation during that period, since an extensive exchange of letters set in between the emigrants and their relatives back in Ireland. Many of these letters have been preserved, either in private collections, libraries or public archives, and can be accessed for linguistic studies.[6]

To be sure, choosing emigrant letters for the study of the shifting situation has proved useful before (Montgomery 1992; Filppula 1999; Fritz 1998, 2000 a, 2000 b; McCafferty 2003, 2004). In addition, such material has successfully been used in sociological and historical studies (Miller, et al. 2003).

For the purposes of the present study a corpus of Irish emigrant letters has been compiled that contains approximately 250,000 words and feeds a relational database.[7] The corpus contains mostly letters, but also some diary notes, petitions and similar text types. The writers of these texts mostly belong to the lower strata of society and write an English that is strongly dialectally coloured.

The following table provides an overview of the corpus. Notice that it is still growing and will reach an estimated size of about 300,000 words.[8]

Period	Words	Texts	Location	Words	Texts
before 1800	26145	35	Ulster	119559	224
1800-1849	58528	114	Con.	10050	19
1850-1899	139200	238	Leinster	37219	65
after 1900	11488	57	Munster	46270	81
unclass.	1405	11	unclass.	23668	66
total	236766	455	total	236766	455

The database contains information concerning the sources of the texts, the writers as well as the time and the location of writing. There is a catalogue of the non-standard grammatical phenomena of IrE (about eighty) that have been observed in the data as well as an associated list of example sentences illustrating them.

Although the corpus cannot claim representativeness and is certainly not elaborate enough for doing sophisticated sociolinguistic analyses, it has nevertheless enough substance for the kind of qualitative investigation pursued here. The subsequent section will illustrate the usefulness of the corpus of emigrant letters by discussing two case studies.

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[6] For example: Public Record Office for Northern Ireland, Irish National Archives, University of Melbourne Archives, State Library of Victoria (Australia), New York Historical Society (NYC, NY, USA) as well as various others.

[7] Lukas Pietsch, Susanne Flach and Meredith Davies take full credit for the compilation of the corpus and for building up the database. Lukas Pietsch collected important material for the corpus during a research stay in Belfast and Dublin in 2004.

[8] It is apparent from this table that letters written by writers from Ulster are overrepresented. This reflects the simple fact that more documents are available from this region, which is probably due to a higher rate of literacy in comparison to other parts of Ireland.

5. Two Case Studies

The two problems or phenomena of IrE to be discussed in what follows are taken from the domains of tense/aspect marking and the distribution of nominative pronouns. As for tense/aspect marking, I will specifically address the well-known problem of the so-called medial object perfect, i.e. the perfect construction with transitive verbs where the object occurs before the perfect participle, and show that this construction underwent a cross-linguistically significant process of grammaticalisation in IrE which can be analysed as an immediate result of the contact situation. Concerning the distribution of nominative pronouns the subsequent discussion will show that IrE possesses a unique distribution of such pronouns as subjects of non-finite clauses, which as such exists neither in earlier dialects of English, nor in standard English, nor in Irish. This phenomenon is extremely suggestive of an independent development in the genesis of IrE due to language contact. The discussion mainly draws on Pietsch (2005 a, 2005 b) and Siemund (2004).

5.1. Medial Object Perfects

Medial object perfects are constructions like those illustrated in (11) and (12), where the *have + participle* construction familiar from standard English is split up by an object in the case of transitive verbs (Filppula 1999; Greene 1979; Harris 1993; Ó Sé 1992).

(11) *They have a local pub bought there.*

'They have bought a local pub there.'
(Filppula 1999: 107)

(12) *She's nearly her course finished.*

'She has nearly finished her course.'
(Harris 1991: 202)

As I have argued in Siemund (2004), it is not plausible to assume that this construction is a transfer from Irish into English, since it is well attested in other and earlier dialects of English. Moreover, as pointed out in section 2, the Irish construction that is sometimes assumed to be the model for the English construction is a passive-cum-possessive construction where possessivity is expressed by a locative phrase. Consider again example (6) repeated as (13).

(13) *Tá   litir   scríobhtha   aige.*

is   a letter   written   at him

'He has written a letter'
(Filppula 1999: 110)

This is not to deny that the Irish construction may have played some indirect role, but a direct transfer can most certainly be ruled out.[9]

Building on work by Filppula (1999), Pietsch (2005 b) convincingly argues that the retention analysis cannot be kept in its most simple form either and needs to be modified, since medial object perfects were nearly obsolete when the colonisation of Ireland started, so that it is equally implausible to assume that they were simply retained. What apparently did exist in the varieties of the colonisers was a construction which – though identical in form to medial object perfects – had a more restricted meaning. Some examples are provided in (14) through (16).

(14) We have some good brick Houses erected … (HCIEL)

(15) Johney has it hung up in his own room … (HCIEL)

(16) Dear Maria we have you and your husband likeness and baby framed. (HCIEL)

The semantic structure of this construction is best described as a double predication. Firstly, there is a relation of possessivity holding between the subject NP and the object NP, or between their referents for that matter, which is expressed by the verb *have*. Secondly, the perfect participle also predicates the object NP and together with it forms what has in some frameworks been referred to as a 'small clause.' The generalised semantic structure of such double predications looks as in (17); a translation of (14) into this structure can be found in (18).

(17) HAVE(x, y) & P(y)

(18) HAVE(we, some good brick houses) & ERECTED(some good brick houses)

Pietsch (2005 b) describes the meaning of such constructions as static-possessive, since the verb *have* (still) expresses a true relation of possessivity and the perfect participle indicates a permanent result state of the referent of the object NP. In terms of its meaning, Pietsch (2005 b) claims, this construction corresponds to a similar construction of Modern English, where *have* occurs in combination with *got*. Example (19) nicely illustrates both possessive and resultative meaning of this construction.

(19) "I've got the letter written," Harry said, holding it up and tossing it to Ron who had Fielding. "I'm sure they'll get it just before they leave, so they'll be late."

(Harry Potter and the Rise of Terror,[10]
<www.fictionalley.org/authors/solidorange13/HPATROT02.html>)

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[9] Tristram (pc.) points out that the Irish construction in (13) may in fact be due to influence from English since it did not exist in Old or Middle Irish and has no parallels in Welsh or Breton.

[10] Note that J.K. Rowling uses 'Scotticisms,' as she writes in Standard Scottish English.

Pietsch (2005 b) goes on to hypothesise that static-possessive resultative constructions of the type shown in (15) – (16) form the starting point of a grammaticalisation process in IrE, at the end of which these constructions come to be used as true perfects, i.e. they are interpreted as expressing pre-time to the moment of utterance as well as current relevance. Such a process of grammaticalisation has been observed in various unrelated languages (cf. Bybee and Dahl 1989; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994; Brinton 1988; Dahl 2000) and hence cross-linguistic studies lend support to the scenario argued for here. Examples of such grammaticalised medial object perfects can be found in (20) and (21).

(20) As for our baby we have not it christened yet. (HCIEL)

(21) he had the landlord shot (Filppula 1999: 108)[11]

Additional support for the grammaticalisation hypothesis can be drawn from observing the frequencies of occurrence of medial object perfects and the static-possessive resultative construction both over time and across different regions of Ireland. Moreover, the two constructions show typical patterns of co-occurrence with other grammatical features of IrE, which potentially says something about their development.

As far as their frequencies of occurrence are concerned, the data taken from our corpus show an increase in the use of medial object perfects over time, whereas the text frequency of resultative constructions remains relatively stable in the same period. This is suggestive of the fact that medial object perfects develop after and on the basis of resultative constructions. In addition, medial object perfects are particularly prominent with Catholic informants from the south of Ireland. Pietsch (2005 b) interprets these findings in such a way that the grammaticalisation process leading from resultative constructions to medial object perfects must be related to the contact with Irish.

Concerning co-occurrence patterns with other grammatical phenomena typical of IrE, it turns out that medial object perfects are predominantly used by speakers whose language exhibits traces of Irish influence, such as subordinating use of *and* (*John came by and he going to the diggings*), free periphrastic *do* (*to you I do address this letter*), Irish phrasal loans (*it turned to a fever on him*), resultative past tense (*there's no rain, all the rivers went dry*), unbound *self*-forms (*he considers myself his friend*) as well as some others. Conversely, the linguistic profiles of the speakers who do not have the medial object perfect in their varieties show various marks of archaic dialectal English, including phenomena like copula drop (*it Ø a good thing*), a-prefixing (*it is a-waiting*), zero plurals (*I went for two mile-Ø*), zero subject relatives (*they lost all Ø was theirs*), demonstrative *them* (*I have them woods sold*), etc.

From the universalist perspective adopted here, these findings are important for two reasons. Firstly, there is a specific grammaticalisation process running

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[11] Note that this example does not have the causative meaning, but is equivalent to 'he had shot the landlord.'

through the history of IrE, and it does not seem too far-fetched to assume that the instability inherent in the contact situation either sparked off this process or at least accelerated it considerably. Secondly, and maybe even more importantly, it is probably no coincidence that the static-possessive resultative construction was so widespread at the beginning of the contact situation. Pietsch (2005 b) proposes two factors for its widespread occurrence. On the one hand, the Irish construction in (13) that comes closest to the English construction in terms of its formal features also has a static-possessive or static-resultative meaning. This semantic parallel may have fostered the use of the English construction. On the other hand, the static-possessive resultative construction is more iconic than the medial object perfect in the sense that the two propositions expressed (recall (17)) find corresponding formal correlates. Since iconic structures require fewer processing capacities than non-iconic structures, so the argument goes, this facilitated the use and the spread of the static-possessive resultative construction.

Provided this line of reasoning is correct, medial object perfects of IrE would appear to be a convincing example of contact-induced grammaticalisation in the sense of Heine and Kuteva (2003, 2005), who propose that, in a contact situation, speakers may replicate a grammaticalisation process they reconstruct to have taken place in the language with which they are in contact – the model language in Heine and Kuteva's terminology. The complete description of this process of replica grammaticalisation runs as follows:

Contact-induced Grammaticalisation (Heine and Kuteva 2003, 2005)
a.   Speakers notice that in language **M** (Irish) there is a grammatical category **Mx** (Irish Perfect)**.**
b.   They create an equivalent category **Rx** (Medial Object Perfect) in language **R** (English), using material available in **R**.
c.   To this end, they replicate a grammaticalisation process they assume to have taken place in language **M**, using an analogical formula of the kind ($\mathbf{My} > \mathbf{Mx}$) : ($\mathbf{Ry} > \mathbf{Rx}$).
d.   They grammaticalise **Ry** (Resultative Perfect) to **Rx** (Medial Object Perfect).

To be sure, what needs to be shown in order to make the IrE medial object perfect a fully convincing example of contact-induced grammaticalisation is that the Irish construction illustrated in (13) above underwent a grammaticalisation process from resultative construction to perfect as well. Moreover, this model process must have occurred before or at least simultaneously to the replication process in (Irish) English. According to Pietsch (2005 b), such evidence is indeed available.[12]

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[12]   For example, the Irish sentence *Tá mo dhinneár ite agam* (lit.: 'is my dinner eaten at me') is structurally equivalent to example (13) above, but differs from it in that the NP *my dinner* is not strictly possessed by the referent encoded in the PP. Hence, there is a shift from resultative construction to perfect.

5.2. Nominative Subject Pronouns in Non-finite Clauses

If it is true that the development of medial object perfects represents a convincing example of the usefulness of the universalist approach for the study of IrE, the topic of nominative pronouns as subjects of non-finite clauses should be even more convincing. Consider (22):

(22) If a an Irishman goes to drive horses or Bullocks here after <u>he</u> comming out from home, he might … (HCIEL)

Such occurrences of nominative pronouns are a challenging topic in so far as they can be analysed neither as a case of transfer nor retention, since corresponding uses of pronouns neither exist in Irish nor in earlier dialects of English. This suggests very strongly that they must be a result of the contact situation. A first treatment of this topic is given in Pietsch (2005 a), but since this topic has not been dealt with before, it is too early to expect a satisfactory analysis.

As is well known, standard English does not mark case distinctions on full NPs and only has a binary contrast between nominative and accusative or subjective case and objective case in the system of personal pronouns.[13] Although nominative and accusative case forms mostly occur in complementary distribution, there are various syntactic environments where complementarity breaks down, maybe not in formal written language, but certainly in dialects and informal registers, and accusative forms appear instead of nominative forms, at least from the point of view of prescriptive grammar. Prominent environments for accusative forms to occur in 'against the rules' proposed by prescriptive grammars are predicative complements (23) and complex coordinated NPs (24).

(23) it was him, this is me, etc.

(24) Me and Mary are going abroad for a holiday.[14]

As far as Irish is concerned, we can equally distinguish between two series of personal pronouns that roughly and by no means completely correspond to the distinction between nominative and accusative case, or subjective and objective case for that matter, but which in the relevant handbooks are assigned the labels 'conjunctive' and 'disjunctive' respectively (Ó Siadhail 1989). The conjunctive forms of the third person are *sé* (3SgM), *sí* (3SgF) and *siad* (3Pl), the corresponding disjunctive forms are *é*, *í* and *iad*.[15] As can be gathered from the table below, a formal contrast between conjunctive and disjunctive forms exists only in the third person.

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[13] I disregard the genitive case, since forms like *my*, *your*, etc. are better analysed as possessive determiners.

[14] My word processor does not like this example and tells me to watch the pronoun use.

[15] Note that the conjunctive forms are identical to the disjunctive forms minus a prefixed particle *s-*.

		1	2	3
sg.	conjunct	mé	tú	sé (m), sí (f)
	disjunct	mé	tú	é (m), í (f)
pl.	conjunct	sinn	sibh	siad
	disjunct	sinn	sibh	iad

The distribution of the third person forms is simple in so far as *sé*, *sí* and *siad* only occur as subjects of finite verbs and in a position immediately adjacent to the verb. For all other positions, the disjunctive forms are used, which thus can be analysed as the unmarked forms – both in terms of morphological substance and distribution.[16] It follows that disjunctive pronouns also occur as subjects of non-finite clauses (Verbal Noun construction), as shown in (25).

(25) *B'fhearr   leis   iad   a fhanacht*
     was better   with him   them   waiting

     'He would prefer for them to wait.'

Although, as shown above, the conjunctive and disjunctive forms of Irish do not neatly correspond to the subjective and objective forms of English, in terms of their distribution the disjunctive forms still come closest to English object pronouns. Judging simply by surface similarities, there thus seem to be no significant differences between Irish and standard English in the distribution of pronominal subjects in non-finite clauses (cf. (26)).

(26) Jack hates <u>her to miss the train</u>. / Jack hates <u>her missing the train</u>.

What is puzzling about IrE in this context is that this variety allows the use of nominative or subjective forms in the subject position of non-finite clauses. To be sure, the puzzlement arises only relative to the facts of standard English, since we should expect subject pronouns to occur in subject positions anyway. It is only due to case assignment of the matrix verb (Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), accusative plus infinitive (a.c.i.)) or the gerund, as has frequently been argued, that the subject of the non-finite clause appears in a non-nominative case. Thus, speakers of IrE do something that would naturally fall out as a default case from traditional and also modern theories of grammar.[17] The (preliminary) analyses proposed below can be understood as refinements of this more general point.

Subject pronouns in non-finite environments are particularly prominent and widespread with subordinate non-finite clauses introduced by a preposition (27), complement clauses (28), object clauses of prepositional verbs (29) as well as object clauses of simple verbs (30).

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[16] The disjunctive forms also occur as subjects of copula clauses, which makes clear that it would not be justified to equate them with the object pronouns of English.

[17] I would like to thank Ruth Kempson (pc.) for pointing out to me this rather obvious fact.

(27) My Sister Bridget stoped with her old Misses <u>after I</u> leaving. (HCIEL)

(28) I [...] would have written an answer to you ere now were it not <u>for I</u> being paying Michl. Moores passage as required by you. (HCIEL)

(29) uncles & aunt was very much disappointed <u>in she</u> not coming. (HCIEL)

(30) I heard <u>she</u> being in this place I went to see her directly. (HCIEL)

The common denominator of these clauses is that they are non-finite and contain nominative pronominal subjects. In view of the fact that standard English as well as earlier dialects of English require the use of accusative or objective forms in these contexts, the phenomenon illustrated in (27) through (30) identifies a morpho-syntactic peculiarity of IrE that is completely unrelated to other varieties of English. Moreover, since the corresponding syntactic contexts of Irish require the use of the disjunctive forms, it is equally implausible to try to relate this phenomenon to the Irish substrate, at least not directly. In sum, neither the transfer nor the retention scenario can account for the occurrence of these pronominal forms. The distribution of 3rd person pronominal forms in Irish, English and IrE is summarised in the following table.

	Irish	English	Irish English
fin. subject	conjunctive	nominative	nominative
object	disjunctive	accusative	accusative
predicative	disjunctive	nom./acc.	accusative
coordination	disjunctive	nom./acc.	accusative
non-fin. subject	disjunctive	accusative	nominative (!)

Although it is too early to present a fully convincing analysis of this problem, a few preliminary considerations are possible. To begin with, the problem may successfully be treated within markedness theory such that the employment of nominative pronouns comes to be the result of a kind of default strategy speakers fall back on during instable linguistic settings like the contact situation under discussion here. Such an analysis presupposes that the nominative case can be considered as the unmarked case – a position that has frequently been defended in typological studies (Croft 1990). In hierarchies of case marking, we typically find the nominative in top position.

As far as present day English is concerned, it appears quite convincing to argue that the nominative pronouns are the unmarked members of the opposition formed by nominative and accusative pronouns. Without going into details, notice that the accusative forms have – at least on average – slightly more phonological substance than the nominative forms, which is one of the criteria frequently discussed in markedness theory. Another argument for showing that one form of a binary opposition is unmarked with respect to the other is the relative frequency of occurrence. On the assumption that unmarked forms are more frequent than the corresponding marked forms, a search through the British National Corpus yields the results shown in the following table, where it is indeed

the case that the nominative forms outnumber the accusative forms – depending on the form considered by factor three to seven – and hence represent the unmarked members of this case opposition.[18]

nominative	#	accusative	#	ratio
I	869,460	me	131,451	≈ 7 : 1
he	640,736	him	153,653	≈ 4 : 1
we	351,032	us	76,351	≈ 5 : 1
they	420,427	them	167,397	≈ 3 : 1

Provided that it is justified to generalise from these contemporary data to historical and dialectal data, we can conjecture that the nominative forms were more frequent and thus more salient for the speakers in the contact situation. It may be possible that speakers picked the nominative forms for this simple reason. In the use of nominative forms as subjects of non-finite clauses, a somewhat more elaborate explanation might try to identify yet another case of iconic motivation: In using these forms, speakers chose a highly salient form for the expression of the most salient grammatical relation.

Pietsch (2005 a) offers a more precise analysis in terms of these markedness relations arguing that even though the occurrence of subject pronouns in non-finite clauses is quite puzzling in IrE, there are nevertheless two facts that these pronouns have in common with the disjunctive forms that appear in the corresponding non-finite clauses of Irish. Firstly, the disjunctive forms are the unmarked member of an opposition in the same way as the nominative forms of English are. Secondly, there is no evidence that the disjunctive forms in Irish non-finite clauses, as in (25) above, need to be licenced by exceptional case marking or some similar mechanism. This, however, means that the subject pronouns occurring in non-finite clauses in IrE can also be understood in terms of a transfer – from Irish into English – of markedness relations or a transfer of case marking conditions. Provided these analyses are correct, it appears that what superficially looks like a case of contact-induced innovation could eventually turn out to be a case of transfer, albeit of a relatively subtle kind.

6. Summary and Conclusion

In spite of the preliminary nature of the foregoing discussion, I hope to have been able to show that the universalist approach is a compelling alternative to the traditional approach that deserves further attention. Of course, it will never replace the traditional methodology, since abandoning the latter would deprive us of a valuable tool for reconstructing the sources of transfer during a language contact situation. Nevertheless, the universalist approach can help us to decide

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[18] I excluded the second person pronouns from the counts, since there are no formal distinctions, equally the third person neuter forms and the third person feminine forms, because the form *her* can be either possessive or objective.

the cases where the traditional methodology is trapped and postulates transfer as well as retention. Moreover, it allows us to focus our attention on phenomena that are beyond an explanation in terms of transfer or retention.

To be sure, I have been able to make only very limited use of the explanatory power of the universalist approach within the confines of this article, basically arguing in terms of markedness theory and iconic motivation. There are certainly other universal generalisations and principles that can be drawn on. What I personally find most promising for future work are the results of language acquisition studies, either of first or second language acquisition. This is for three reasons: First of all, I believe that a situation of language shift like the shift from Irish to English necessarily involves bilingualism, imperfect learning, code-switching and mixing, etc., i.e. phenomena that are of central interest to language acquisition studies. Secondly, it may be the case that many of the so-called language universals in the end turn out to be universals of language acquisition, or at least be based upon them. And thirdly, language acquisition is a process that we can observe and study every day. Since human cognition has not changed over the past 500 years, maybe not even over the past 50,000 years, the language acquisition strategies and processes observable today must be comparable to the ways humans acquired languages hundreds and thousands of years ago. Language acquisition thus can offer us a valuable window into the past and help us to reconstruct past situations of language contact and language shift.

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On the Areal Pattern of 'Brittonicity' in English and Its Implications

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1. Introduction

I begin with the following proposition, which I take as the founding principle of areal linguistics. Where neighboring languages show a pattern of extensive grammatical resemblances not attributable to genetic descent, such resemblances are more probably due to language contact than to coincidence. Since external and internal motivations are rarely mutually exclusive, the existence of 'possible' internal motivations is irrelevant, and does not refute or even affect this argument. From the evidence to be adduced below (sec. 3), it will be seen that if we apply this principle to the area of the British Isles, Brittany,[1] and West Germanic speaking continental Europe, our conclusion must be that language contact has created the extensive grammatical resemblances found in the British half of this spectrum, which fade away as we move into the continental Germanic half. For any number of obvious reasons, language contact in this case can only have taken the form of Celtic substratal influence in English, due to language shift from Celtic to English following the Anglo-Saxon Conquest. The problem is that this conclusion contradicts the conventional wisdom that there is essentially no Celtic influence in English. But this conclusion was based on the rather minimal extent of Celtic *lexical* influence in Old English, without regard for the evidence of Celtic *grammatical* influence in Middle English, and so cannot be regarded as secure.

If the conventional wisdom on the history of English is correct, we would expect to find 1) that within English dialects significant resemblances to Celtic should occur only in the known Celtic Englishes of Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall, 2) that Middle English should show no greater resemblance to Celtic than does Old English, 3) that within Middle English significant resemblances to Celtic should be no

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[1] That Brittany is a legitimate part of the British language area is well-indicated by its name, and, of course, by evidence of significant colonization from Britain.

more common in the SW and N than in the SE, and 4) that within Germanic, especially medieval Germanic, English should show no greater resemblance to Celtic than does other Germanic. Resemblances to Celtic within 1) the English Englishes, 2) Middle English as whole, 3) SW and N Middle English in particular, and 4) English in general should be minimal, no more than would be expected from mere coincidence. All these predictions, though research on the fourth is not complete, are wrong. Therefore the conventional wisdom must be wrong.

If the traditional conventional wisdom on the history of England, that the Anglo-Saxon Conquest was what may be called a 'clean sweep,' is correct, we should find 1) genetic evidence showing that, even in areas without Norse settlement, the modern English are much more similar to the NW Germans, Danes, and Frisians than to the Irish, 2) archeological and toponymic evidence indicating both high Anglo-Saxon settlement and low Brittonic survival all across England. Over the last decades, it has increasingly been recognized that these predictions are in fact wrong, to the point that arguing against the traditional interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest has become kicking a dead horse. Recent evidence of a sort not available to earlier observers has perhaps provided the final nail in the coffin, for the evidence of genetics adduced by Capelli, et al. (2002) makes it quite clear that, outside of the old Danelaw, the English are much more similar genetically, in the paternal line (which might reasonably be expected to over-represent conquerors), to the modern Irish than to the modern NW Germans and Danes, or Frisians.[2] Upon reflection this is hardly surprising, given that serfs are more valuable than corpses. To sum up, it is now recognized, at least among specialists, that the English are not Germans, but linguistically Germanicized Celts.[3]

Or perhaps we should say that the English are *lexically* Germanicized Celts (at least in core lexicon). People who set out to acquire a second language typically wind up speaking something like their first language with second-language lexicon (or morphemes).[4] It is not to be expected then that the process of language shift in early Anglo-Saxon England should have been utterly without linguistic result, at least initially. As speakers of English Brittonic went over to pre-English, the result should have been what will be called Brittonic English, a 'brogue' with a strong Brittonic 'accent,' in grammar as well as phonetic implementation.[5] During the Old English period, characteristic usages of Brittonic

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[2] Among the Frisians and in Frisian we find not only low-level genetic resemblances to Britons (Capelli, et al., 2002: 982f.), but also low-level linguistic resemblances to Brittonic. The traditional conception of the Frisians as pure Germans, is thus problematic at best.

[3] Likewise, the 'Celts' of Roman and earlier Britain were surely Celticized 'something elses.'

[4] The big exception here is fundamental word order, the ordering of elements within 1) sentence and 2) noun-phrase. This, being easily learned, is typically not affected by external influences.

[5] English Brittonic will be taken to be essentially uniform, despite the fact that it quite probably was not. The reason is methodological: arbitrarily stipulating that the Brittonic of a given area just happened to have a given feature is no better than arbitrarily stipulating that a given feature just happened to develop in the English of this area, except that dragging Brittonic influence violates Occam's Razor.

English would have been for the most part stigmatized as vulgar and not used in writing, but the Norman Conquest might well have changed all that. Whether it did or not is a matter for empirical investigation, not theoretical speculation, and the facts adduced below will show that there is no evidence that Brittonic English died out during the Old English period, and strong evidence that it became the primary basis of Middle English, at least in the South.

Yet the new conventional wisdom on English, while admitting that the traditional interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest is wrong, still attempts to maintain that the traditional interpretation of English as having no significant Celtic influence is right. The idea these days seems to be that the 'fact' that there is no evidence of significant Celtic influence in English is surprising. Indeed it would be, save for one very serious problem: it is not a fact. As a general rule, surprise indicates failure of understanding, and it should come as no surprise that there has been a failure of understanding in this case. Perhaps most of those who assert the new conventional wisdom, intend 'influence' to mean 'lexical influence.' But the idea that language shift can confidently be expected to produce a certain 'magic minimum' amount of lexical influence, which 'surprisingly' does not occur in English, has been explicitly dismissed as wrong by specialists in language contact (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 20f.). If, on the other hand, such observers intend 'influence' to mean, or at least include, 'grammatical influence,' then again what they assert is wrong, for there is abundant evidence of Celtic grammatical influence in English. Thus, regardless of what the purveyors of the new conventional wisdom mean by their repeated expressions of surprise, it is, not surprisingly, wrong. The purpose of the present paper is to begin, or perhaps continue, the process of eliminating 'the surprise factor' in our understanding of the history of English, by proposing a scenario of language shift with implications that make the evidence, in particular the general drift of English over time away from other Germanic and toward Brittonic, come out as predictable and motivated for a change rather than unpredictable and unmotivated as they are within the traditional denial of Brittonic influence. Hopefully, a new and improved understanding of the history of English can be integrated with our new and improved understanding of the history of England. There is no problem in the surprising 'fact' that there is not more Brittonic influence in English: there is.

2. Getting to the Seen from the Unseen

2.1. The Theory of the Zones

Among the most powerful reasons to believe that there is Brittonic influence in English is the geographic pattern evident in the dialectal provenance of possible Brittonicisms. Without exception (so far as I have yet been able to determine) they are first attested in, or later associated with, the (greater) SW or N, where independent evidence long known which, due to considerations of length

cannot be given here, strongly suggests a much lower level of Anglo-Saxon set-
tlement than in the (greater) South East. In other words, the linguistic evidence
is consistent with the non-linguistic evidence indicating that, to put it rather
simplistically, the greater South East was more Germanic and the non-South
East more Brittonic, both in language and population. It has long been recog-
nized that Middle English had its Norse and non-Norse zones, going back to the
Norse semi-conquest. Much that is otherwise mysterious in English is explained
if we posit that Middle English also had its Brittonic and non-Brittonic zones,
going back to the Anglo-Saxon Conquest.

The non-Brittonic or Anglo-Saxon zone is basically East Anglia and the
greater London/Kent area, out to about Hampshire. The area of the earlier and
smaller Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, East Anglia, Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Middle-
sex, gives a fairly good idea of what is intended. The rest of England to the west
and north, the area of the later, larger, and more important Anglo-Saxon king-
doms, Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria, is the Brittonic zone. Here the Anglo-
Saxon element was largely an elite lording over masses of Brittonic peasants,
with a few colonies, mostly of 'liberated' federates, thrown in for good measure,
especially in the South.[6]

Since the Norse and Brittonic zones were not co-extensive, combining the two
divisions leads to the four zones: 1) the South East: in neither the Norse zone nor
the Brittonic zone, 2) the East: in the Norse zone but not in the Brittonic zone, 3)
the South West: in the Brittonic zone but not Norse zone, and 4) the North: in both
Norse and Brittonic zones. This scheme is of course simplistic, intended to account
for the forest rather than the trees, but we have to start somewhere.[7] In more detail,
the zones are as follows: the South West is a greater South West, to the southwest
of the Danelaw line and to the west of the usual line dividing SW from SE dia-
lects, more or less from a little east of Oxford south to the coast east of Southamp-
ton. The North is the traditional North plus the north Midlands northeast of the
Danelaw line (including Lincolnshire). The East is a sort of greater East Anglia,
overflowing a bit into the east Midlands north of London, and the South East is the
area around and to the south and east of London. What we would expect to find in
accordance with this scheme is evidence of pure Brittonic influence in the South
West, of mingled Brittonic and Norse influence in the North, of Norse influence
alone in the East, and of neither Brittonic nor Norse influence, or rather of resis-
tance to Brittonic and Norse influences, in the South East. This is basically what
we find.

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[6]   Even in the Anglo-Saxon zone, there is no good reason to posit a 'clean sweep' of the na-
   tive Britons. A rough guess would be that, as of about 600 AD, the Anglo-Saxon element
   in the population of the Anglo-Saxon zone was about 25%, whereas in the Brittonic zone it
   was less than 10% in the SW, and less than 5% in the N. Significantly higher percentages,
   however traditionally assumed, simply cannot be justified on an objective and rational as-
   sessment of the evidence.
[7]   One problem is that the area around the Fens, where much of our early Middle English
   comes from (Peterborough, Ormulum), is of ambiguous status, as there are (non-linguistic)
   indications of Brittonic enclaves there. Evidence from this area has thus had to be thrown out.

The great advantage of the theory of the zones is that the geographic pattern seen in the appearance and spread of innovations in Middle English, traditionally regarded as random, where not connected with Norse influence, which alone is not enough (*pace* McWhorter 2002), can now be seen as non-random. That the North is innovative and the South East conservative is not explained on the basis of Norse influence alone, which would lead us to expect that the most conservative area should have been the South West. Once we have seen that the South West has stronger Brittonic influence than the South East, the pattern is explained. That the South West often rapidly accepts Northern 'Norse' innovations is a mystery under the traditional interpretation, but once we have begun to think in terms of Brittonic influence, we can see what lies behind this: the South West was receptive to the Brittonic half of Northern 'Nordo-Brittonicisms.' Likewise that the South West often innovates in ways, particularly those involved in nominalization of the verbal system, that have the effect of distancing English from other Germanic is not explained under the conventional wisdom, but is explained once we realize that the divergence of English away from other Germanic is also in most cases, particularly those involved in nominalization of the verbal system, a convergence toward Brittonic, obviously motivated by Brittonic substratal influence, which independent considerations would lead us to expect in any case. It is not, of course, traditional to think of developments of Middle English in terms of substrate surfacing, but once we get used to the idea, which is hardly outrageous, it in fact works fairly well.

2.2. Brief Comments on Mechanism

Due to considerations of length, little can be said on the mechanism of Brittonic influence. In terms of the theory of Thomason and Kaufman (1988), which I accept in relevant aspects, what we have here is a garden-variety case of language shift. More specifically, the situation in early Anglo-Saxon England appears to have been a case of the type described by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 47): "… if the shifting group is so large numerically that the TL (target language) model is not fully available to all its members, then imperfect learning is a probability, and the learners' errors are more likely to spread throughout the TL speech community." Applying this rule to Anglo-Saxon England, it is well within the range of reasonable expectation that English would wind up Brittonicized. Two other principles are worth noting. First, in cases of language shift, imperfect acquisition typically results in significant grammatical influence with minimal lexical influence, at least for old or basic meanings. Certainly, there is no securely established 'magic minimum' amount of lexical influence that must occur (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 21). Second, in order to avoid the problem of unfalsifiable *ad hoc* theorizing, it is best to insist on a large number of 'across the board' resemblances, before any given theory of substratal influence can be accepted (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 60). But we surely have that here: the cases are numerous, and occur 'across the board.'

Likewise, little can be said here on the mechanism of Norse influence, but as Brittonic influence, since it appears for the most part during the Middle English period, cannot be treated in isolation from Norse influence, something must be said. The position taken here will be that English and Norse were mutually comprehensible, if just barely, at the time of settlement, so that what happened was in effect extreme dialect leveling during extreme dialect mixture, along with some op-opportunistic incorporation of seemingly free variants like 'they.' The ultimate effect was similar in result, though not in mechanism, to what may be called weak creolization, as has happened with Afrikaans. Even if we have only theoretical reasons to believe this, in the absence of good parallel examples to provide empirical support, the theoretical reasons seem good, and my position has a long and respectable history in English studies, being adopted by Wright (1928: 80), among others.

3. The Areal Evidence: Shared Features and Their Dialectal Provenance

The original idea was to map the extent of 'Celticity' within the Celtic and Germanic languages from various time periods (roughly 1250 to 1950),[8] ignoring Romance on the grounds that the probable presence of an unattested Celtic substrate for the Romance of much France (and Iberia) makes the evidence of Romance difficult to interpret. Theoretically, we might expect roughly nine degrees of Celticity within this spectrum, as found in: 1) Celtic, 2) known Celtic Englishes, 3) SW (Middle) English, 4) N (Middle) English, 5) Standard English, 6) SE (Middle) English, 7) Old English, 8) coastal West Germanic, most notably Frisian, but also some Dutch/Flemish, and 9) non-coastal West Germanic, which is best represented by High (or Middle) German.[9] Due to limits of time and length, it has not proved possible to carry out this project at this point, and my findings in detail are restricted to the British Isles. On continental West Germanic, no more can be said at the moment than 1) that coastal West Germanic shows sporadic resemblances to Brittonic not found in non-coastal West Germanic (Schrijver 1999), paralleled by evidence of genetic similarity to British populations, and 2) Modern German, like Old Germanic, generally shows very low Celticity, and it seems improbable that Middle High German was very different in this regard. But guesses are not facts, and more research is needed.

Yet even within the limited scope of the present project, there is a problem. Not all resemblances to Middle Brittonic that appear in Middle English appear at the same time and, by the time the later resemblances appear, the earlier ones have of-ten spread so widely as to lose their original areal signature. The appear-

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[8] The variation in time periods is made necessary by variations in the time of the evidence. Evidence on 1) phonetic implementation, 2) certain minor aspects of non-standard dialects, and 3) the Celtic Englishes was not generally available till recently.

[9] North Germanic is problematic, as it stands outside the Celtic/West-Germanic spectrum without, of course, being irrelevant to English. The degree of 'Celticity' in North Germanic has at all times been higher, though only by a little, than in non-coastal West Germanic.

ance of Brittonicisms in English, though it has some aspects of a package deal, is not a package deal, since some innovations, like the reduction of various inflections, were supported by the internal motivations already present in the language, while others, like the nominalization of the verbal system, were not. The approach that has been taken therefore is to attempt to determine the dialectal provenance of various innovations, on the understanding that SW or N dialectical provenance itself implies that mappings from one or more periods would show areal patterns, strongly suggesting a connection with Brittonic. The dialectal provenance of texts is generally taken from Laing (1993). But determining dialectal provenance is a labor that is not complete in all cases. In many cases, those, involving innovations that either have been well-studied or involve only one word (so that they are traceable in the OED and MED), the dialectal provenances given below are fairly secure. Other dialectal provenances, often from examples given in various secondary sources such as Mustanoja (1960), Kisbye (1971), and Visser (1969-73), are not necessarily secure, and further research will be required. My method is thus not entirely perfect. But if it is entirely bogus, it should be possible to use it to reach entirely bogus conclusions. For example, it should be possible to show that the Middle English dialect with the greatest resemblance to Brittonic is Kentish, or that the Middle Germanic language with the greatest resemblance to Brittonic is High German. Anyone who thinks this can be done is challenged to actually do it.

For simplicity, the various features have been sorted into several categories, despite the fact that some do not clearly belong in one or the other. Some possibilities that seem rather strained have not been included. Unfortunately, there is and can be no clear standard for identifying suspicious resemblances between languages, as only what is unusual can be regarded as suspicious, and what may be called 'unusuality' exists on a sliding scale. But the things noted below are hardly universals of human language. In general, I have regarded as 'suspicious' cases, where post-Anglo-Saxon English patterns with Brittonic rather than with modern German, but this is more a heuristic than a theory. In some cases involving innovations of the Modern period, when dialectal writing has ceased, information on dialectal provenance is not known, or at least not yet known to me, and will probably have to be gleaned from sources such as private letters. Since we have basically no Old English that is not either from the greater South West or North, or at least suspected (in the case of Kentish) of having been subject to influences from the greater South West or North, all features of Old English may be regarded as having a possibly non-South East provenance. Citations in italics are for a claim of Brittonic influence, or at least an observation of suspicious resemblance. Other citations are for the facts, where these are perhaps obscure. Citations given last are for dialectal provenance.

Innovations Established in Old English

(1) habitual/future BE (*Tolkien 1963: 30-32*; *Keller 1925: 56-60*; *Preusler 1956: 323f.*; *German 2001: 137*)
(2) 3ps habitual BE [biθ] (Tolkien 1963: 30-32)
(3) 3ppl habitual BE incorporating 3ps (Tolkien 1963: 30-32) (N)
(4) form with /b-/ as verbal noun of BE
(5) absence/rarity of /s/ reflexives (pronominal and possessive)
(6) change of front /ɣ/ to /y/ (Jackson 1953: 454)
(7) /an/ > /on/ (Jackson 1953: 272), (SW; Jordan 1974: 53; Strang 1970: 234)

Innovations in Progress during Old English, Mostly Late

(8) internal possession ("you stepped on my foot" vs. *"you stepped on (to) me the foot") (*Preusler 1938*; *Vennemann 2001*, *2002 a*) (non-SE?; MED; Kisbye 1971: 80)
(9) reduplicative progressive comparison ("better and better;" *Preusler 1938*) (SW?; Mustanoja 1960: 282; OED)
(10) distinction of closure in voiced obstruents
(11) fronting of /ng/, change of /ung/ to /ing/ (Schrijver 2002: 99)
(12) (sporadic) masculine gender of verbal nouns (Evans 1964: 159; Hemon 1975: 265) (N; Lass 1992: 107)
(13) adjectival WHAT (Evans 1964: 76; Hemon 1975: 131f.)

Innovations Certainly or Probably of SW, Mostly Middle English

(14) gerundial progressive (*Preusler 1938*; *Keller 1925: 61-65*; *Braaten 1967*; *Vennemann 2001*; *Mittendorf and Poppe 2000*; *Gachelin 1990: 233*; *White 2002: 161-164*; *Filppula 2003*) (Visser 1963-73: 1045)
(15) absence of inherited distinct participle (*Dal 1952*; *Vennemann 2001*; *White 2002: 161-164*) (Grzega 1999: 38)
(16) rise of the gerund (*Preusler 1938*; Evans 1964: 159; Hemon 1975: 264-266) (Mustanoja 1960: 531; Kisbye 1971: 31; Visser 1963-73: 1090)
(17) DO constructions (*Preusler 1938*; *Molyneux 1987: 86f.*; *Tristram 1997*, *2000*; *German 2001: 132f.*; *Gachelin 1990: 238*; *White 2002: 160f.*; *Ureland 1978*) (Mustanoja 1960: 603; Kisbye 1971: 148)
(18) possessively construed reflexive pronouns (*Preusler 1938*; *Tristram 1999: 24*; Evans 1964: 89f.; Hemon 1975: 86f.) (OED)
(19) identity of emphatic and reflexive pronouns (Evans 1964: 89f.; Hemon 1975: 86f.) (OED)
(20) cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions (*it was yesterday they left*) (Preusler *1938*; *Tristram 1999: 22*) (Mustanoja 1960: 131f.)
(21) collapse of prepositional meanings (*Grauer 1936*; *Preusler 1956: 325f.*) (Mustanoja 1960: 350)
(22) absence of 'semi-definite' article (*sum*) (Gregor 1980: 157) (Mustanoja 1960: 261)
(23) special past habitual ("used to") (Evans 1964: 110; Hemon 1975: 253) (Visser 1963-73: 1414; MED)
(24) motion-verb meaning 'become,' loss of *wurth* (*Visser 1955: 292f.*) (OED)
(25) retroflex /r/ (*Tristram 1995 a*)
(26) absence of distinction between /a/ and /æ/ (Hughes and Trudgill 1979: 30)
(27) voicing of initial fricatives (*Tristram 1995 b*)
(28) stressed /ë/ < /u/ (McCone 1996: 21) (Wells 1982: 336)[10]
(29) pronominal /ën/ (*Klemola 2003*)
(30) limited gender (*Klemola 2003*)
(31) 'Pronoun Exchange' (*Klemola 2002*)[11]

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[10] By /ë/ is meant a mid central vowel.

(32) AND/WITH as subordinating conjunction ("and her with three children, with these matters understood;" *Filppula and Klemola 1992*; *Vennemann 2002 b: 305-308*)[12] (OED)

(33) non-finite propositions with verbal nouns ("the tanks crossing the bridge was a surprise;" Evans 1964: 162; Gregor 1980: 241) (Visser 1963-73: 1176)

(34) non-finite propositions with prep as COMP ("for the tanks to cross the bridge would be a surprise;" *Preusler 1938*; *Visser 1955: 279-286*; Lewis and Piette 1990: 315; Gregor 1980: 240f.) (Visser 1963-73: 1097; OED)[13]

(35) specificational OF ("the City of London," "the necessity of treating") (Gregor 1980: 144) (MED)[14]

(36) prop ONE ("the ugly one") (Evans 1964: 88f.; Hemon 1975: 127) (OED)

(37) (limited) prepositional possession ("belong to;" Gregor 1980: 173f.) (OED)

(38) genitival compounds ("dogskennel;" Gregor 1980: 144) (Wakelin 1972: 111)

(39) HEAD as a quantifier with livestock (Hemon 1975: 41) (MED)

(40) identity of NOR and THAN (Stephen Laker, pc.)

(41) distinction of voice in fricatives

(42) loss of /ɣ/ (or [ɣ]) (Jackson 1953: 433-470) (Strang 1970: 229)

(43) absence of BE/HAVE distinction in perfects (Evans 1964: 111, 138; Hemon 1975: 246) (Mustanoja 1960: 501; MED)

(44) BY meaning 'not later than' (Evans 1964: 193; Hemon 1975: 398; *German 2003: 398*) (MED, OED)[15]

(45) predicate WHO (Evans 1964: 74; Hemon 1975: 131) (Mustanoja 1960: 181; Kisbye 1971: 122)

Innovations Certainly or Probably of the N, Mostly Middle English

(46) non-pronominal relative marking, zero-objects ("the man (as) I saw") (*Preusler 1938*; *Poussa 1991*; *Tristram 1999: 24*) (N(SW)?; Kisbye 1971: 134; Poussa 1998 b: 311-313)

(47) possessively construed emphatic pronouns (Evans 1964: 89f.; Hemon 1975: 86f.) (OED)

(48) absence of regular relation between positive and comparative of NEAR (Hemon 1975: 58; Evans 1964: 40) (Mustanoja 1960: 394)

(49) apocope, no final devoicing (*Preusler 1938*; *Hickey 1995*) (Wright 1928: 70-72)

(50) concordially invariable adjective[16] (*Tristram 1999*, *2002*; *White 2002*, *2003*) (N; Mustanoja 1960: 276; Kisbye 1971: 164)

(51) concordially invariable article (*White 2002*, *2003*) (N; Mustanoja 1960: 233; Kisbye 1971: 4f.)

(52) absence of case (*Tristram 1999 a*, *2002*; *German 2001: 129-132*; *White 2002*, *2003*) (N; Mustanoja 1960: 67; Kisbye 1971: 70)

(53) singular verb with plural noun (*Klemola 2000: 329-346*; *German 2001: 135*; *White 2002*; Gregor 1980: 146) (Wright 1928: 176)[17]

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[11] This is not entirely restricted to the SW.

[12] Published suggestions of Brittonic influence mention only AND, but as Brittonic /a/ could mean both AND and WITH, a Brittonic role in subordinating WITH seems possible, though influence from the Latin ablative absolute is perhaps more probable.

[13] For sanity it should be noted that the two Vissers here are not one.

[14] This OF like most OFs is invisible (or 'implied') in Brittonic, but is present nonetheless.

[15] This does not count an early attestation in Peterborough.

[16] This is controversial, since it may not be old in Brittonic. But at least the absence of any strong/weak distinction, retained in all other Germanic standard languages, is an undoubted resemblance. The earliest example of this phenomenon in its own right seems to be SW (Kitson 1997: 233), from very early in the ME period, when there is no N English for comparison.

(54) N singular /-n/ (Wakelin 1972: 109f.; Evans 1964: 31; Hemon 1975: 39-41)[18]
(55) N /xw/ (*Laker 2002*)
(56) absence of indefinite pronoun, indefinite YOU (McWhorter 2002: 245f.)
(57) absence of dative/accusative distinction in personal pronouns (Evans 1964: 57; Lewis and Piette 1990: 24-27) (Mustanoja 1960: 129)
(58) absence of prefix with past participles
(59) distinction between attributive and non-attributive possessives ("mine" vs. "my;" Evans 1964: 53f.; Hemon 1975: 85f.) (Wright 1928: 166)

Innovations without Clear Dialect Provenance and Retentions

(60) tag questions and answers, "yes" [19] (*Preusler 1938*; *Vennemann 2002 b: 316-322*) (Visser 1963-73: 172-174; OED)
(61) prepositional verbs ("give up") (*Tristram 1999: 23*)
(62) co-patterning of verbal syntax in negative and interrogative sentences (*Ureland 1978: 112-119*; Thompson 1957: xxiii; Jenner 1982: 115; Bliss 1972: 78)
(63) non-fricative /w/ (*Tolkien 1963: 20*)
(64) interdental fricatives (*Tolkien 1963: 20*; *Tristram 1999*).[20]
(65) non-case control of pronouns ("(it's) me," "me and her left;" Evans 1964: 49-58; Hemon 1975: 69-86)
(66) rarity/absence of pseudo-locative prepositional pronouns[21] (E. "therewith" vs. G. "damit")
(67) post-posing of complex nominal modifiers ("the people living in New York" vs. "die in New York wohnenden Menschen;" *Tristram 1999: 26*)
(68) interrogatives as emphatics ("was he angry!") (*van Hamel 1912: 278*)
(69) singular with numbers (Evans 1964: 47; Hemon 1975: 168)
(70) non-standard passives with GET ("we are getting beating;" Evans 1964: 164)
(71) consecutive gerunds ("he got on his horse, riding off into the sunset") (Evans 1964: 161; Hemon 1975: 266)
(72) absence of dative or FOR to mean KIND OF (cf. Gm. "was für ein Pferd," N. "hvat hrossi")
(73) post-posing of prepositions with interrogatives ("what for" vs. *"this for;" Evans 1964: 77; Hemon 1975: 133)
(74) late position of temporal adverbs ("he came home yesterday" vs. *"he came yesterday home")
(75) secondary meaning of futures as habitual rather than probable ("That dog will bark at anything that moves" vs. Gm. "Er wird das Buch schon kennen;" Evans 1964: 108-110)
(76) absence of contrastive internal geminates
(77) centralization of short high vowels (McCone 1996: 21)

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[17] This rule is known to exist outside the North, but appears to be less common there than in the North.

[18] In Brittonic, /-n/ can be a 'singulative' ending, which must have occasioned some cross-linguistic confusion, given that in OE /-n/ was (simplifying a bit) a plural ending.

[19] The word 'yes' appears to be a fossilized tag answer (OED).

[20] Most other Germanic languages lost interdental fricatives during the Middle English period. Retentions have been argued to be possibly due to language contact (Lehiste 1988: 72; Tristram 1999: 36; Tristram 2002 b: 260-262), contrary to what might be thought (cf. Isaac 2003: 50-53).

[21] Since these have never fully died out of literary English, though they are surely not colloquial, their decline is not easily traced. But as other West Germanic generally uses 'pseudo-locative' pronouns when the antecedent is inanimate, there can be no doubt that normal spoken English patterns with Brittonic in not having recourse to any such entities.

(78) absence of front/round vowels[22]
(79) absence of static/dynamic distinction in predicative passives (Evans 1964: 114; He-
       mon 1975: 270)[23]
(80) decline of inherited derivational devices, lexical loss
(81) long open /e/ rather than /æ/ (Schrijver 2002: 104)
(82) decline of inherited Germanic V-1 conditionals ("had I known")
(83) decline of impersonal verbs
(84) decline of reflexive verbs
(85) reanalysis of WHETHER as indirect interrogative marker
(86) counting by scores (Gregor 1980: 200)
(87) 'Shepherd's Score' (*Klemola 2000: 342-345*)

Simplifications Rather Than Resemblances

(88) indefinite article with predicate nouns (Gregor 1980: 157) (SW; Mustanoja 1960:
       261f.)
(89) loss of grammatical gender (*Tristram 1999: 21*; *White 2002: 156f.*) (N; Mustanoja
       1960: 44; Kisbye 1971: 44)
(90) generalization of verb-medial position (V-2 > SVO) (SW; Kroch and Taylor 1997:
       311-313, 321-324)
(91) reduced verbal morphology (*German 2001: 134*) (N)
(92) /-on/ (later 'en') for /-aθ/ in the present plural indicative (N).[24]

It is worth noting that possible Brittonicisms show a pronounced tendency to
be first attested 1) in the South West geographically, and 2) in the Middle period
chronologically. This is exactly what we would expect if these *possible* Brittoni-
cisms are *actual* Brittonicisms, but is difficult or impossible to explain otherwise.

Of the features treated above, which with only a few exceptions are resem-
blances to Brittonic, the number that shows evidence of having at one time ex-
isted in the South West but not the South East is 42. More research needs to be
done in many cases, and there can be no firm line between what is certain and
what is doubtful, but if we throw out what seem to be doubtful cases, the num-
ber of features that seem to have certainly existed at one time in the South West
but not in the South East appears to be about 35, which though less than 42 is
not dramatically less, strongly suggesting that the pat-tern in the evidence is not
an artifact of incomplete research. Not counting features subsumed under these
categories, the number of features that show evidence of having at time existed
in the North but not the South East or East is 18. None of these is doubtful in its
geography, so if we add them to the South West features just noted, the total
number of possible Brittonicisms that either certainly or seemingly existed at
some point in the Brittonic zone but not in the Anglo-Saxon zone is somewhere

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[22] It may be noted that certain late OE sound changes, like the change of 'lyht' to 'liht,' make
       more sense if 'y' had become central, as in Welsh, rather than front/round.
[23] This is of course related to loss of 'wurth.' Its replacement 'become' has never become
       part of the English verbal system. Modern 'get' as BECOME has not become a general
       AUX for dynamic passives.
[24] This is probably a case of equivalence interference, as Brittonic had /-ont/ in the present
       and perfect both, whereas Old English had /-on/ only in the past. Identifying the two end-
       ings and then extending OE /-on/ to the present, like its Brittonic equivalent /-ont/, would
       seem logical to Britons.

about 60, while the number of possible Brittonicisms that existed at some point in the Anglo-Saxon zone but not in the Brittonic zone appears to be Ø. It can hardly be stressed too strongly that this is not what we would expect to result from a random distribution of innovations possibly attributable to Brittonic influence, if there is in fact no Brittonic influence in English.

Adding in those features not, or at least not yet, localized, the total number that occurs in English of some period but not in modern Standard German is 87. More research on coastal West Germanic is needed, but even at this point it is clear that Frisian cannot possibly be presented as having anything like the level of 'Brittonicity' that is found in English. To claim that English (of any post-Anglo-Saxon period) is really just like Frisian of the same period, each language having coincidentally developed resemblances to Brittonic for reasons having nothing to do with Brittonic influence, is not plausible and does not solve the problem. As far as I have been able to determine, the number of innovations theoretically attributable to Brittonic influence that appear in non-coastal West Germanic but not also in English is Ø. Again, this is less than ideal for those who might wish to plead 'mere misleading coincidence,' for if English has developed coincidental resemblances to Brittonic not found in German, it is far from clear why German should not have developed coincidental resemblances to Brittonic not found in English. If there has been no Brittonic influence in either English or German, then the 87 possible Brittonicisms that occur in either English or German should be more or less evenly split between English and German. This is not reality. Of the two West Germanic languages, it is only the one independently known to have developed on a Brittonic substrate that developed extensive resemblances to Brittonic. This makes a lot of sense if the Brittonic substrate under English created Brittonic influence in English, as would be expected, but makes absolutely no sense otherwise.

4. Explaining the Evidence Seen

4.1. Why It Is Not Due to Mere Misleading Coincidence

Unfortunately, many historical linguists seem reluctant to accept the reasoning behind speculative language contact. The relevant concept is indirect proof through what may be called 'anti-coincidence leverage:' the argument that the evidence of a certain case cannot plausibly be explained as being due to coincidence, and therefore must be due to something else, in this case language contact.[25] In order to more fully understand 'anti-coincidence leverage,' we will have to digress a bit in to the field of probability. The basic argument, which all observers should be able to tell is valid, is this: the more co-occurring features

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[25] This is, it should be noted, exactly the same type of argument that has traditionally been used to justify proto-languages, which are inherently speculative, and it is to be desired that linguists who think of themselves as rejecting all speculation as a matter of methodological principle might consider more closely whether they really do this.

there are, the more the chance that they are all due to coincidence, as they must be if no language contact has occurred, goes down. If it goes down enough, co-incidence ceases to be a plausible explanation. Linguists are accustomed to making impressionistic judgments about such things, which to an extent is inevitable, since hard numbers cannot be obtained. But linguists do not necessarily understand the power of the relevant math. The math involved in calculating all possibilities is inherently exponential. This quickly generates very large numbers for the denominator, and thus can quickly reduce that chance of coincidence to something very close to zero.

The math of calculating how probable it is that two languages would happen to share a certain number of grammatical features is in principle the same as the math of calculating how probable it is that two families would both happen to have boys at a certain number of birth positions. The chance of both families having a boy at any single birth position is 25%, the square of 50%. In practice, the chance of both families having a boy at any given birth position is the same as the chance of a single family having a boy at any given birth position would be if nature had made this chance 25% instead of 50%. In other words, we can in practice 'abstract away' from the two family scenario and proceed simply by adjusting the percentage chance of the result of interest, having a boy. But there are three differences between the family scenario and the language scenario.

First, in the language scenario the occurrences of interest, various grammatical features, surely have natural incidence of occurrence that is quite a lot less than 50%. No linguist looking over the list of shared features given above would say that they have an incidence of occurrence that is anything close to 50% in languages generally. So let us reduce our theoretical incidence of occurrence from 1 over 2 to 1 over the square root of twenty, which is to say to something between 20% and 25%. This number has been selected in part because 20, which is what we will wind up with when the necessary squaring is done, is a good round number, and in part because it is a 'high side' estimate of the average 'unusuality' of the features listed might be, so that the final estimated chance of coincidental co-occurrence will also be a 'high side' figure. Something closer to 10% might well be closer to reality.

Second, the number of grammatical features that a language might be said to have is quite a lot more than 4. For cases of possible substratal influence it is only what may be called 'readily transferable' features (from the substrate to the superstrate) that are of interest.[26] But even the number of readily transferable features existing in a typical language is surely quite a lot more than 4. For simplicity, just to get a rough grip on the relevant mathematics, let us say that it is about 100, and estimate the chance that 75 of these would just by coincidence happen to be shared between any two languages. There are two reasons 75 has been chosen. First, because it is a low-side estimate about how many shared features there are between Brittonic and English, and second, to cover the possibil-

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[26] How clearly (or not) we are able to draw the line between readily transferable and not readily transferable features is beside the point for the present purposes.

ity of negative evidence: that there might be about 25 readily transferable features of Brittonic, not yet recognized as such, that were not transferred to English.[27]

Third, as mentioned above, the numbers plugged in to the model are necessarily soft, not hard, which is to say that they are guesses, not facts. But they are fairly reasonable and safe guesses.

The chance that two languages would just happen to share at least 75 out of 100 readily transferable features with a frequency of occurrence as given above is the same as the chance that the total number of ones rolled over 100 rolls of a 20-sided die would be 75 or more. It may help to understand this to think of the first roll as being for co-occurrence of the first feature, etc. Unfortunately, calculating this number is a task well beyond the number-crunching abilities of a mere linguist. Fortunately, it is not a task beyond the abilities of a professional statistician, (Daniel Jenske, pc.), and the answer is: 1.8 over 10 to the 75th.

Now this is very small number, very close to zero, and quite probably closer to zero than the average linguist might impressionistically guess, which is of course the whole point of this section. Note that even this calculation assumes both 1) an average incidence of occurrence that is on the high side, and 2) 25 cases of negative evidence, when not even one has yet been found. The chance that 75 out of 75 features would just happen to be shared would of course be even lower: 1 over 20 to the 75th, which is close to 1 over 10 to the 100th. The number reached above is thus a conservative estimate, perhaps even a very conservative estimate.

But it gets worse for the conventional wisdom, for the calculation made above treats English as a monolithic whole, without regard for the evidence of dialectal provenance. In other words, no provision has been made for the theory of the zones. Once such provision is made, the chance that mere coincidence would cause resemblances between Brittonic and English to originate without exception in Brittonic half of England, as the theory of the zones predicts, rather than in the Anglo-Saxon half, would have to be much lower, by a factor of about ½ at each exponentiation. Since 2 to the 40th is more than a trillion, over even as few as 40 co-occurring features the chance of coincidence producing the evidence seen would have to be more than a trillion times lower than was estimated without regard to the evidence of dialectal provenance. Yet the number of shared features appears to be closer to 80 than to 40, which would reduce the chance of coincidence by something on the order of 10 to the 24th.

It might be thought that functional considerations might perhaps provide an explanation in terms of neither coincidence nor Brittonic influence. For example, prop ONE[28] may tend to occur in languages without distinct adjectival plurals. To say this would be to say that the number of truly independent features is

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[27] Of course positives rather than negatives tend to attract attention. At present there does not appear to be even a single unequivocal instance of negative evidence. Sceptics are challenged to find a few, enough to affect the overall conclusion.

[28] I.e. expressions like "the ugly one(s)."

not as high as has been presented.[29] But even upon casual perusal it should be clear to any linguist that the various features listed above do not for the most part imply each other, and it seems quite improbable that the number of truly independent features could ever be reduced enough to yield a different final conclusion. Some sort of language contact is the only remaining realistic possibility.[30]

Sceptics are challenged to justify different guesses, or propose a different theoretical model, or both, in such a way as to lead convincingly to a significantly different final conclusion. Failing that, the conclusion reached above must stand: *the grammatical resemblances seen between Brittonic and English cannot plausibly be regarded as due to coincidence.*

All this is quite relevant to the dismissal of Brittonic influence in English made by Isaac (2002), who selects four cases as 'typical,' and then in effect attempts to show that for each case 'maybe' rather than 'yes' is the answer to the question of whether Brittonic influence has occurred. Like a great many historical linguists, Isaac seems to think that 'maybe' is somehow logically equivalent to 'no,' and leaves the implication that the few resemblances treated must, for some unspecified yet universally agreed upon reason of methodology, be regarded as due to coincidence unless and until they can be directly 'proven' (whatever that would mean). Apart from failure to consider the possibility of indirect proof, the hidden assumption in Isaac's argument is that the number of cases is not relevant, so that his "mere misleading coincidence" explanation, reached on the basis of only four cases, can easily and non-problematically be extended *to any number of cases*. But as a matter of simple math, four cases can by no means stand in for 75. Due to the exponential nature of the math involved, the plausibility of coincidence as an explanation is dramatically affected by the number of cases involved, since this is the number of exponentiations. Isaac's assumption that no amount of 'maybe's can add up to a 'yes' may seem reasonable to a traditionally trained historical linguist (somehow unfamiliar with language areas and areal linguistics), but in practice a high enough number of 'maybe's can indeed add up to a 'yes,' or rather multiply down to a 'no,' for mere misleading coincidence as the explanation.

4.2. Why It Is Not Due to French Influence

First of all, French has no more than half of the features in question, so even if French influence could explain the French half, it could not explain the other half, which would still have to be explained by Brittonic influence. Second, French influence is not consistent with the evidence of geography. We would expect both 1) that French influence would tend to be stronger, if only by a little, around the centers of power in the SE, and 2) that French lexical and grammati-

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[29] For convenience the issue of "semi-independence" will not be considered here.

[30] It is part of the definition of such areal cases that common genetic descent is not a possible explanation.

cal influences should tend to co-occur, there being no reason that any Middle English social-climber would want to resort to one without the other. The first expectation receives some empirical confirmation from the fact that there is indeed at least slightly disproportionate French lexical influence in the South East (Barber 1993: 140). We would expect then that French grammatical influences should occur in the same pattern as French lexical influences: spread throughout the country with a slight prejudice toward the South East. The problem is that this is not reality: the major grammatical innovations of Middle English originate *away from* the centers of power in the South East, and spread *into* rather than *out of* the language of London and the South East. This alone is enough to show that these innovations were of 'vulgar' origin, and spread in a 'bottom-up' rather than 'top-down' manner, which in turn shows that they were certainly not due to French influence. Finally, French influence in English is hardly an unplowed field. The idea that there is significant French grammatical influence in English is these days rightly rejected, for it is generally the case that serious problems arise when any theory of French influence is pressed in detail. If the features listed above were due to French influence, we surely would know it by now.

4.3. Why It Is Not Due to Norse Influence

McWhorter (2002) makes a heroic attempt to attribute just about everything that is odd about English to Norse influence. However, this attempt proceeds by 1) generally ignoring the often important innovations of the South West, particularly those involving nominalization of the verbal system, which cannot possibly be attributed to Norse influence, and 2) frequently ignoring the issue of whether the dialectal provenance of innovations that could conceivably be motivated by Norse influence is consistent with Norse influence. McWhorter's attitude seems to be that if an innovation is associated with the old Danelaw, that is evidence in favor of Norse influence, but if it is not, that is not evidence against Norse influence. Furthermore, many of the 'alienating' innovations of English treated by McWhorter cannot be regarded as predictable results of Norse influence, save perhaps with the most convenient hindsight. For example, there is no clear reason that Norse influence should be expected to lead to the loss of reflexive verbs, which even Afrikaans retains. None of this is meant to imply that there is not significant Norse grammatical influence in English. Of course there is. The point is that Norse influence *alone* cannot explain the pattern in the evidence, either the dialectal provenance of innovations or the divergence of English away from other Germanic. For that, we need *both* Norse and Brittonic influence.

4.4. Why It Is Not Due to English Influence over Brittonic

The short answer is that any English influence over Middle Brittonic, which could only be by prestige, would surely have been accompanied by substantial English lexical influence over Middle Brittonic, as the parallel case of French prestige influence over English shows clearly enough. In the case of Cornish, such influence does exist, but in the case of Welsh and (obviously) Breton it does not. In any case, significant English prestige influence is not historically plausible for Breton, which shows almost all of the features in question, not to mention medieval Irish, which shows many. Finally, positing that the resemblances seen are due to English influence over Brittonic would do nothing to solve the original and basic problem: 1) why English, alone among Germanic languages, develops extensive resemblances to Brittonic, and 2) why the innovations in question are for the most part associated with a) the South West and North and b) the Middle English period.

4.5. Why It Is Due to Brittonic Influence

So far we have seen reason to believe that the evidence is not due to 1) coincidence, 2) French influence, 3) Norse influence, or 4) English influence over Brittonic. This does not in itself mean that the evidence must be due to Brittonic influence, though since this appears to be the only remaining possibility, that would certainly be nice. It is conceivable, however, that Brittonic influence might be just as convincingly dismissed as the other possibilities. The conventional wisdom offers four reasons that Brittonic influence should be dismissed.

First, it is often assumed that the traditional interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest is correct, which would indeed make Brittonic influence in English impossible. The strength of any language in a contact situation is roughly numbers times prestige, so that where prestige is low numbers must be high for any significant effect to result. But it has been seen above that the old 'clean sweep' view is no longer generally, or perhaps even seriously, maintained. In fact, the supposed absence of Brittonic influence in English was one of the main props of the 'clean sweep' interpretation, which when paired with the traditional denial of Brittonic influence in English becomes at least partly circular. In any event, this objection can no longer be regarded as valid on its non-linguistic merits: the Britons of early Anglo-Saxon England quite probably did make up in numbers what they lacked in prestige.

Second, it is often assumed that Brittonicisms in English would be so little stigmatized that they should appear in Old English. This assumes a rather naive view of Anglo-Saxon society, which was by no means an egalitarian community of noble savages. If modern conditions are any guide, where there are classes there are class dialects, and there were surely classes in Anglo-Saxon England. Furthermore, the theory of Brittonic influence itself posits in its historical aspect that the Anglo-Saxon conquerors were for the most part an elite, who would by

no means feel inspired to adopt the 'brogue' of their British peasants. Significant lags in attestation are positively to be expected in substratal situations, because the very process that creates innovations simultaneously stigmatizes innovations. To assert then that the theory of Brittonic influence is somehow falsified by the fact that evidence of Brittonic influence does not appear in Old English is to assert that the theory predicts something that it both *does not* predict and *should not* predict, which is hardly appropriate.

Third, it is often assumed that Brittonicisms would be so greatly stigmatized as to never win acceptance in English, or at least written English. This proposition is the exact opposite of the one treated and dismissed just above, and one wishes Brittonophobes would make up their minds. If the Norman Conquest had not occurred, Brittonicisms might (or might not) have remained permanently consigned to vulgar status or even eliminated by top-down pressure, but it did, and to judge by later events, Brittonicisms began to rise in status from that point. This is hardly surprising, given that there were no longer any Anglo-Saxon nobles around to enforce previous notions of proper Germanic usage. If we average out the idea that Brittonicisms should have been so weakly stigmatized as to appear in Old English and the idea that Brittonicisms should have been so strongly stigmatized as to never appear in any (written) English at all, perhaps what we get is that Brittonicisms would be expected to appear in Middle English. We should hardly faint dead away with surprise then when this is what the evidence appears to show.

Fourth, it is often assumed that grammatical influence can only appear in tandem with what may be called a certain 'magic minimum' amount of lexical influence, which in this case does not occur. This principle, or pseudo-principle, of language contact, however widely invoked it may be, is explicitly rejected by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 21), as has been noted, whose views on such matters are widely regarded as authoritative and must be regarded as within the range of reasonable informed opinion at least. There is no reason that substrate speakers shifting to a superstrate language must *necessarily*, as a convenience to linguists of the inconceivably remote future, bring across a certain 'magic minimum' number of substrate words into their version of the superstrate. Lexical influence, unlike grammatical influence, is fundamentally voluntary, and absence of a certain 'magic minimum' amount of substrate lexical influence indicates precisely nothing, save absence of motivation.

To sum up, there is no reason to think that the theory of Brittonic influence is falsified either by general principles of language contact or sociolinguistics, or by specific facts relating to the history and sociology of medieval England.

Returning now to the issue of coincidence versus language contact, the real question is not whether coincidence is 'impossible,' which it never can be, or at what point 'absolute' certainty is reached, which it never can be, but whether coincidence is more probable than language contact. From the italicized citations given above, it will be seen that specialist studies presenting, perhaps accidentally, the impression that a certain feature is an 'isolated case' of Brittonic

influence in English are not uncommon. Such claims have so far always been rejected, in part on the implicit grounds that coincidence is a more probable explanation, for a few isolated cases, than *ad hoc* or sporadic language contact. Indeed it would be, except that the various cases of possible Brittonic influence in English *are not isolated.* Rather, they occur in precisely the sort of 'across the board' pattern that would be expected. This fact dramatically tips the balance in favor of language contact rather than coincidence as the explanation, for as coincidence becomes less probable with an increasing number of cases, language contact simultaneously becomes more probable.

It should be noted that once we have admitted on probabilistic grounds that there must be at least one case of Brittonic influence in English, *even if this case is not specifically identified*, the game is up, for the theory that predicts even one, external influence through language shift, is by no means *ad hoc* and so predicts much more than one. If even one case is due *at least in part* to Brittonic influence (which is all that the method used above can show by itself) then all (linguistically plausible) cases must be seen as due *at least in part* to Brittonic influence, because these are predicted too, and so 'come along for the ride.' This conclusion may seem radical, but it is both logical and in accord with the nature of second-language acquisition: when people model a second language on their first language, or simplify a second language in order to reduce their learning load, they do so generally, not sporadically or randomly in one or two isolated cases. Externally motivated innovations therefore tend to occur 'across the board,' and as a rule where external influence has produced one innovation it should produce many. This is in part why Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 60) quite rightly insist that any proposed theory of external influence must involve many features, not just one. But clearly we have many features in this case, so the conclusion must be not only that this is not a plausible result of coincidence, but that this *is* a plausible result of language contact.

5. Conclusion

5.1. The Areal Pattern and Its Explanation

The areal pattern of 'Brittonicity' in Middle English (and English generally) is basically this: the highest level is found in the South West, the next highest level in the North, the next lowest level in the East, and the lowest level in the South East. This pattern is not a direct reflection of the strength of the Brittonic element in the population of these areas. The North has a lower level of 'Brittonicity,' not because there were less Britons there, but rather because Norse influence could often have the effect of reducing Brittonicity, and the East has a higher level than the South East, because Norse influence could often, especially in matters relating to reduction of morphology, motivate the same innovations. The critical difference, the only difference not muddled by the effects of Norse influence, is the difference between the South West and the South East. Here the

pattern is quite clear: resemblances to Brittonic without exception (so far as I have yet been able to determine) are first attested in (or are otherwise associated with) the South West rather than the South East. There is nothing about the traditional denial of Brittonic influence in English that predicts this, and the only thing that does predict this would seem to be the theory that South West English developed on a Brittonic substrate, as is indicated by other evidence in any case. Given that many of the innovations in question by no means remain restricted to the South West, but often spread fairly rapidly to the South East, a second conclusion must be that even South East English developed on a significant, though weaker, Brittonic substrate, which is at least consistent with other evidence.

The nature of our world should be clear, however long it has taken for it to be re-cognised. Within the area of the Celtic/West Germanic languages we have a spectrum of 'Celticity' or 'Brittonicity' ranging from very high in the Celtic languages to very low in non-coastal West Germanic. Though further research is needed to establish the whole spectrum, even at this point it is clear that we have a limited version of within the smaller world of Middle Brittonic and Middle English. This is a classic areal situation, and only some form of special pleading can deny that the general explanation in such cases, language contact, is the specific explanation in this case. As matters now stand, the traditional denial of Brittonic influence fails not only to explain *why* the major innovations of the Middle English period originate in the South West and North, but also to recognize *that* these innovations are for the most part resemblances to Brittonic. Likewise, the conventional wisdom fails not only to explain *why* English diverges from other Germanic, but also to recognize *that* in so doing English converges toward Brittonic. Obviously, explanation of the facts requires recognition of the facts, but in this case, the very act of recognition suggests an obvious and hardly improbable explanation: that there is pervasive Brittonic substratal influence in English.

5.2. Substrate versus Superstrate

Perhaps the most remarkable fact about the known Celtic Englishes is not how similar they are to Celtic which, given the nature of second-language acquisition, is hardly surprising, but how similar they are to (non-South East) English.[31] This syndrome has given rise to the characteristic recurring issue in the study of the Celtic Englishes: whether the various features found are due to Celtic substratal influence or English superstratal influence, loosely defined.[32] In other words, in terms of the conference topic, the issue is what (if anything) is truly 'Celtic' about the 'Celtic Englishes.' If we knock out the middle term of the tripartite semi-equation 'Celtic ↔ Celtic Englishes ↔ (non-SE) English,' what we wind up with is 'Celtic ↔ (non-SE) English.' It can hardly be stressed too strong-

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[31] In what follows, "(non-SE) English" will be used as a convenient shorthand for "English, most especially of the greater SW and N."

[32] 'English superstratal influence' should refer to features found in Irish, not English.

ly that, within Germanic in general and English in particular, resemblances to Celtic are by no means confined to the known Celtic Englishes, but overflow significantly into the supposedly non-Celtic Englishes of England, including Standard English. Thus arises what may be called the 'first place' problem: why is English, alone among Germanic languages, similar to Celtic in the first place?

What appears to be the only good answer has been given above. Most of the non-Celtic Englishes of England are what might be called 'guessed' Celtic Englishes, the guessed colonization being the Anglo-Saxon Conquest. As a participant at the conference said, all Englishes are 'Celtic Englishes.' As strange as it may seem, England itself was England's first Celtic colony, and the greater South West and North of England (including the Midlands) were England's first 'Celtic Fringe.' The difference between the known Celtic Englishes of the 'Celtic Fringe' and the 'guessed' Celtic Englishes of (non-SE) England is one of time only, of early medieval language shift vs. recent modern language shift, as the evidence of Middle English alone is enough to show, not of whether the dialects do or do not show Celtic influence, much less of whether their speakers 'are' Celts or Saxons by genetic descent.

We are now in a better position to assess the idea that, positing superstratal influence from non-South East or 'western' English as the cause of various features of the known Celtic Englishes, might permit a somehow reassuring denial that Celtic substral influence has ever occurred in any English. Harris (1986) regards habitual DO and habitual BE in Irish English as having come largely from non-standard western dialects of English, rejecting the idea that Brittonic influence lies behind the developments in British English as impossibly speculative.[33] This might be valid, if the cases in question were isolated, but we have seen that in fact they are not. Each is, but a small part of the larger pattern of areal resemblances between English and Celtic, established long before the modern Celtic Englishes ever came into existence. Harris's "Expanding the Superstrate" argument thus does not solve, or even address, the "first place" problem: why is "western" English[34] so similar to Irish in the first place? Why does this problem, that certain features of Irish (and for that matter Welsh) English can with equal linguistic plausibility be attributed to the Irish substrate or the 'western' English superstrate, keep coming up? Perhaps it is because Brittonic was in many ways similar to Irish, and there is Brittonic substral influence in English, especially 'western' English. We have seen many reasons to think that this is true.

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[33] One thing that is rather disturbing about Harris's article is that he repeatedly refers to Irish as having no habitual forms for regular verbs, when in fact it does (O'Siadhail 1988: 125). As a consequence, his claim that the tense/aspect system of Irish English makes more distinctions than the tense/aspect system of Irish, arguing against Irish influence, is wrong. The Irish English system, though expressed analytically rather than synthetically, is as exactly parallel (in the South at least) to the Irish system as could be desired, as Harris himself at one point notes (1988: 175). What view of the facts Harris intended us to come away with is far from clear.

[34] There is in fact no such dialect as 'Western' English.

As to the issue of whether features of Irish English that are common to both the Celtic substrate and the 'western' English superstrate are to be regarded as derived from one or the other, both theories make the same prediction, and it should go without saying that no evidence that could falsify one would not also falsify the other. Therefore only more indirect, and inherently secondary, considerations can enable us to reject one or the other. Such indirect considerations, specifically that positing Irish influence on Irish English is somehow speculative, seem to be what Lass has in mind when he says (1990: 148): "Given the choice between (demonstrable) residue [of earlier forms of English] and (putative) contact influence, the former is the more parsimonious and hence preferred account." Assuming that "putative" in this context is logically equivalent to 'speculative,' there is in fact nothing particularly speculative about the idea that 'contact influence' has occurred in Irish English, given that second-language acquisition is typically quite imperfect. It would arguably be more speculative to posit that the process of second-language acquisition in Ireland *was* perfect than that it was not. Whether Lass would have us believe that the process of second-language acquisition in Ireland was preternaturally perfect, or perhaps that later 'top-down' influences from non-Irish English soon eliminated Hibernicisms that had once existed, is not clear. But in any event, his conclusion, based on a convenient few selected features, that Irish English is not in any meaningful sense a 'contact language' (1990: 148) is idiosyncratic at best, and cannot be accepted. As Garrett (1998: 296) says: "… it is widely recognized that Irish has massively influenced the English of Ireland."

What has happened in the known Celtic Englishes that makes these not terribly different from most English is not that Celtic substral influence has never occurred in any English, which, if it means that the Celts of the British Isles have demonstrated preternatural abilities as second-language learners, would be quite improbable, but rather that Celtic substral influences in the known Celtic Englishes have for the most part occurred redundantly in a language that already (especially in non-South East varieties) had a lot of Celtic substral influence in it, to the point that there was often little opportunity for additional Celtic substral influences to be distinctively expressed. This syndrome can present the illusion that there is no Celtic influence in any English, which is surely reassuring to substratophobes, but the illusion begins to collapse as soon as we begin to consider why English, alone among Germanic languages, ever developed extensive resemblances to Celtic in the first place. The facts of English as a whole cannot be explained on the assumption that there has never been any Celtic substral influence in any English.

5.3. Some Final Arguments, and Good Questions

The new 'surprising' conventional wisdom on the development of English, in accepting the new and improved version of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, implicitly asserts that one of the following two propositions must be true: 1) that, though language shift on a massive scale did occur in Anglo-Saxon England, the process of second-language acquisition was so (surprisingly) perfect that no significant innovations were introduced into English, or 2) that, though the process of second-language acquisition was, not surprisingly, imperfect, the innovations initially introduced were soon eliminated, before they could be attested in Middle English, by 'top-down' pressure. Neither of these propositions, however reasonable (or not) it might seem in the abstract, is in fact confirmed by the evidence. If we want to know whether either is true, all we have to do is look and see, and for each the answer is a clear and resounding no: there is *no evidence* in favor of either. In view of the actual evidence, traditionalist 'Brittonophobes' must maintain either 1) that it is just a coincidence that resemblances to Brittonic do eventually appear in English, created by some mysterious and unspecified cause other than Brittonic influence, in just the areas where other evidence indicates that evidence of Brittonic influence would be expected to appear, or 2) that it is just a coincidence that the very innovations that had once been created by language shift from Brittonic, only to be stigmatized out of existence before they could ever be attested in Middle English, are in fact attested in Middle English, having in the meantime been recreated by some mysterious and unspecified cause other than Brittonic influence, in just the areas where they had once existed. That each of these propositions verges upon absurdity should be clear. But if it is true 1) that language shift did indeed introduce Brittonicisms into English, and 2) that such Brittonicisms were not later eliminated, then it follows that there are Brittonicisms in English. Any who reject this argument are challenged to say which of the two seemingly absurd propositions given above they would have us believe, and why.

Two competing views on the expected effects of language shift occur in the discussion of whether there is Brittonic substratal influence in English. The older view says that we expect a 'magic minimum' amount of lexical influence, higher than what occurs in English, while saying nothing definite about grammatical influence. The newer view says that we expect minimal lexical influence (for old or basic meanings), without any 'magic minimum,' and fairly high grammatical influence. The older view appears to be the majority view among specialists in the history of English, while the newer view appears to be the majority view among specialists in language contact. It seems reasonable to suppose that specialists in language contact might perhaps know more about language contact than do specialists in the history of English, but be that as it may, the disputed case of English may perhaps help to resolve this issue.

What we get if we assert the older view is that the non-linguistic evidence and the 'linguistic' evidence (which is in fact only the lexical half of the linguistic

evidence) indicate contradictory conclusions concerning the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, so that no coherent account of the history of England is possible. If that is not bad enough, on this view the lexical half of the linguistic evidence and the grammatical half of the linguistic evidence, which cannot rightly be ignored, indicate contradictory conclusions, so that no coherent view of the history of English is possible. On the other hand, what we get if we assert the newer view is that the non-linguistic and linguistic evidence (this time in both its lexical and grammatical halves), indicate the same conclusion, so that a coherent view of the history of England and the history of English is possible: the average peasant of early Anglo-Saxon England, especially in the greater South West and North, was (by genetic descent) a Briton and, as a consequence of this, English is, especially in the greater South West and North, a Brittonicized Germanic language. Granted that we presumably live in a single universe rather than in two parallel alternative universes, it should be clear which view of the expected results of language shift is correct. Brittonic substratal influence in English is the last piece of the puzzle in understanding the history of England and the history of English, and it fits.

The conventional wisdom on Brittonic influence in English is not 1) that there are many suspicious resemblances between Brittonic and English, which we must regard as due to coincidence in order to avoid the horror of speculation, but rather seems to be 2) that there are a few 'isolated' cases of resemblances between Brittonic and English, which we must regard as due to coincidence because a) there is too little Brittonic lexical influence in English for Brittonic grammatical influence to be possible, or b) coincidence is more probable than *ad hoc* or sporadic external influence. Proposition 2b) would be sustainable if it was based on an accurate appreciation of the facts, but we have seen that it is not. On any reasonable definition of 'few,' 'many,' and 'suspicious,' there are not few but many suspicious resemblances between Brittonic and English, which flips the balance between coincidence and language contact as convincing explanations.

Proposition 2a) is wrong in both aspects. It is most unfortunate that ignorance of Brittonic has been allowed to become in effect traditional among Anglicists, so that such an inaccurate view of our world has become entrenched as the conventional wisdom. Such ignorance is maintained in defiance of a general rule of historical linguistics, that *neighboring languages are always relevant*, and is founded largely upon the now discredited 'clean sweep' view of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, itself motivated largely by the desire of English (and German) observers of the late 1800s to regard the English as members of the proud Germanic race. Proposition 1), if it is to become the new conventional wisdom, must now be explicitly argued for. But, unfortunately, for any who might wish to make the attempt, the difference between few resemblances and many resemblances is mathematically very significant, and renders the plausibility of the 'mere coincidence' argument something close to nil.

Any defence of orthodoxy will be expected to provide explicit and adequate answers to the following questions:

1) Why a conclusion reached on the basis of the lexical evidence only, without regard for the grammatical evidence, should be regarded as fully secure.
2) Why the old 'clean sweep' interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest should be regarded as right, in the face of overwhelming evidence from various fields that it is wrong.
3) Why the process of second-language acquisition by Britons in Anglo-Saxon England should have been perfect, when second-language acquisition is as a rule imperfect.
4) Whether stigmatization of Brittonicisms was a) so little that they should appear in Old English, or b) so great that they should never appear in any English at all.
5) If the evidence given above is not evidence of Brittonic influence, what would be, and if nothing would be, why this position is not essentially ideological.
6) Why Brittonic influence would not be expected to take the form of grammatical influences in Middle English rather than of lexical influences in Old English.
7) What the motivation would be for Britons to introduce significant numbers of Brittonic loan words into English, in the absence of any pragmatic need.
8) If there is a 'magic minimum' amount of lexical influence that must co-occur with grammatical influence, what this number is, and how it has been established.
9) What cause can be considered more likely than Brittonic influence to have produced the drift of English away from other Germanic and toward Brittonic.
10) What cause can be considered more likely than Brittonic influence to have resulted in possible Brittonicisms being very strongly associated with the South West and North.
11) Why a theory that achieves superior explanatory coverage in terms of predicting the areal evidence should be considered inferior to its competition.
12) Why speculation is to be seen as outrageous or 'circular' with regard to substratal influences in Germanic, but quite acceptable with regard to proto-Germanic.
13) What cause other than language contact creates language areas, and why the cause that applies to the world generally should not apply to Britain specifically.
14) What, if any, predictions the theory makes that are wrong, and if there are none, why a theory that makes no wrong predictions should be regarded as wrong.

15) How likely it is that mere misleading coincidence should have created the illusory impression that there is Brittonic substratal influence in English.
16) Why extraordinary coincidence should be considered a more probable explanation than ordinary language contact, where this is independently motivated.

6. Addenda:

Response to an Objection Raised by a Respondent: Theo Vennemann objects that my statement (in the original version) that SW Middle English is virtually Brittonic with Germanic words, with Germanic word ordering, is incorrect, since all non-English Germanic, even Afrikaans has Verb-second (V-2) ordering (McWhorter 2002: 247), whereas English over the Middle period gradually develops SVO ordering (at least as its default). Technically this objection is quite correct. My original wording was meant to forestall the objection that English does not have Celtic word-ordering, and was made on the assumption that SVO ordering can reasonably be taken as an acquirer's generalization from V-2 ordering, in a world where subjects are typically initial. Reasons to think that Brittonic influence played a significant role in the change over from V-2 to SVO ordering were given in the original paper, but cannot be given here.

Re example (7) in the list of features: It has become apparent that there is a typographical error, which cannot at this point be corrected. The author apologizes to all concerned.

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Subject Index

What is "Celtic" and what is universal in the "Celtic Englishes?" This was the central concern of the fourth and final colloquium of studies on language contact between English and the Celtic languages at the University of Potsdam in September 2004.

The contributions to this volume discuss the "Celtic" peculiarities of Standard English in England and in Ireland (North and South). They also examine the perceived "Celticity" of personal names in the "Celtic" countries (Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, Brittany). Moreover, they put emphasis on specific grammatical features such as the expression of perfectivity, relativity, intensification and the typological shift of verbal word formation from syntheticity to analycity as well as the emergence of universal contact trends shared by Celtic, African and Indian Englishes.