Universität Potsdam

Hildegard L.C. Tristram (ed.)

The Celtic Languages in Contact

Papers from the Workshop within the Framework of the XIII International Congress of Celtic Studies, Bonn, 26-27 July 2007

Potsdam University Press

Hildegard L.C. Tristram (ed.)

The Celtic Languages in Contact

Papers from the Workshop within the Framework of the XIII International Congress of Celtic Studies, Bonn, 26-27 July 2007

Potsdam University Press 2007

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.d-nb.de abrufbar.

Universitätsverlag Potsdam 2007
http://info.ub.uni-potsdam.de/verlag.htm

Herausgeberin: Prof. Dr. Hildegard L.C. Tristram
Satz: Luminița-Irinel Trașcă
Druck: docupoint GmbH Magdeburg

ISBN 978-3-940793-07-2
URL http://pub.ub.uni-potsdam.de/volltexte/2007/1568/
URN http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:kobv:517-opus-15682

Das Manuskript ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Es darf ohne vorherige Genehmigung der Herausgeberin nicht vervielfältigt werden.

Contents

Hildegard L.C. Tristram (University of Freiburg i.Brsg.)
Introduction……………………………………………………………..1

Ancient Period

Tatyana A. Mikhailova (Moscow State University, Russia)
Macc, *Cailín* and *Céile* – an Altaic Element in Celtic?.…………………..4

Graham R. Isaac (National University of Ireland, Galway)
Celtic and Afro-Asiatic……………………………………………….25

Karin Stüber (University of Zurich)
Effects of Language Contact on Roman and Gaulish Personal Names…..81

Ranko Matasović (University of Zagreb)
Insular Celtic as a Language Area………………………………………93

Gearóid Mac Eoin (National University of Ireland, Galway)
What Language was Spoken in Ireland before Irish?…………………..113

Modern Period

Piotr Stalmaszczyk (University of Łódź)
Prepositional Possessive Constructions in Celtic Languages and
Celtic Englishes……………………………………………………..126

Gary German (University of Western Brittany, Brest)

Language Shift, Diglossia and Dialectal Variation in Western Brittany: the Case of Southern Cornouaille……………………………146

Alan M. Kent (Open University, United Kingdom)

"Mozeying on down …": The Cornish Language in North America….193

Liam Mac Mathúna (University College Dublin)

The Growth of Irish (L1) / English (L2) Literary Code-mixing, 1600-1900: Contexts, Genres and Realisations………………………...217

Raymond Hickey (Essen University)

Syntax and Prosody in Language Contact and Shift…………………...235

Katrin Thier (Oxford English Dictionary)

Of Picts and Penguins – Celtic Languages in the New Edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*……………………………………………..246

Feargal Ó Béarra (National University of Ireland, Galway)

Late Modern Irish and the Dynamics of Language Change and Language Death…………………………………………………………...260

John M. Kirk & Jeffrey L. Kallen (Queen's University Belfast and Trinity College Dublin)

Assessing Celticity in a Corpus of Irish Standard English……………..270

Hildegard L.C. Tristram (University of Freiburg i.Brsg.)

On the 'Celticity' of Irish Newspapers – A Research Report…………299

Göran Wolf (Technical University of Dresden)

Language Contact, Change of Language Status – 'Celtic' National Languages in the British Isles and Ireland……………………………..315

Introduction

Hildegard L.C. Tristram

This e-book contains fifteen papers given at the *Thirteenth International Congress of Celtic Studies*, organised by Sprachwissenschaftliches Institut – Abteilung Keltologie – of the University of Bonn and Rheinisches LandesMuseum Bonn (Germany), most of them at the Workshop of "The Celtic Languages in Contact" on the 26th and 27th of July 2007. The Workshop was organised by Prof. Hildegard L.C. Tristram and the presentations were chaired by both Prof. Tristram and Dr. Patricia Ronan. For various reasons, not all participants in the Workshop agreed to submit their papers for publication. Stefan Schumacher's paper, for instance, on "Lexical and Structural Contact Language Phenomena in the Celtic-Germanic Transition Zone" had already been published in German in 2007.[1]

The fifteen contributions form an impressive collection of papers all dealing with issues of language contact and the resultant language change. The time span is a broad one, beginning with the Nostratic hypothesis in **Tatyana Mikhailova**'s paper and with weighty arguments against the Afro-Asiatic hypothesis in **Graham Isaac**'s paper,[2] continuing with **Gearóid Mac Eoin**'s reflections on

---

[1] **Stefan Schumacher**, 2007, "*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*: *Lexikalische und strukturelle Sprachkontaktphänomene entlang der keltisch-germanischen Übergangszone*," in: *Keltische Forschungen* 2 (Johann Kaspar Zeuß im kultur- und sprachwissenschaftlichen Kontext (19.-21. Jahrhundert), Kronach 21.07.-23.07.2006), ed. Hans Hablitzel & David Stifter, assisted by Johannes Tauber, Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 167-207. On this topic, but with special reference to England, see also **Angelika Lutz**, 2006, "Why is West-Saxon English Different from Old Saxon?" (lecture given at the *International Conference of English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL)*, Bergamo," fc. in: Sauer, Hans & Joanna Story, eds., *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*; and **Hildegard L.C. Tristram**, fc. 2008, "Shifting Britons: The Impact of Late British on Medieval English," in: Stiersdorfer, Klaus, ed., *Anglistentag 2007 Münster*, Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag.

[2] Unfortunately, **Steve Hewitt**'s conference paper on "The Genitive Construct in Celtic and Semitic" could not be included in this collection for reasons of time. But see his "Remarks on the Insular Celtic/Hamito-Semitic question," in: Karl, Raimund & David Stifter, eds.,

the language that might have been spoken in Ireland before the spread and development of Irish there, with **Karin Stüber**'s account of language contact as shown in the mixed naming patterns in ancient Gaul, and with **Ranko Matasović**'s discussion of language contact among the Insular Celtic languages so as to form a specific linguistic area.

Seven papers deal with language contact in the modern period. **Alan Kent** discusses the linguistic legacy of Cornish settlers in North America and **Gary German** the interface between Breton and French, and the effect of the lack of a standard of the Breton language on the dialectal fragmentation of the Breton-speaking areas. **Liam Mac Mathúna** informs us about the code-mixing of Irish and English between about 1600 and about 1900 for literary purposes, **Piotr Stalmaszczyk** about the transfer of specifically Insular Celtic features onto the respective 'Celtic Englishes,' **Raymond Hickey** about the transfer of Irish prosody onto the prosody of Irish English, and **Katrin Thier** about the presence of Insular Celtic entries in the ongoing edition of the Oxford English Dictionary.

Four papers deal with the current demise of Irish as an autochthonous community language even in the Gaeltacht areas and the rise of Irish as a token language used for the construction and maintenance of 'Irishness,' or 'Celticity,' underscoring a sovereign national identity. **Feargal Ó Béarra** reports on the grievously endangered linguistic situation of Irish both in the Gaeltacht and in the Republic in general, in spite of prolongued official efforts to reintroduce the language into public life.[3] **John Kirk & Jeffrey Kallen** use data from the Irish part of the *International Corpus of (Standard) English* (ICE-Ireland) to show that, both in Northern Ireland and in the Republic, the occurrence of Irish words and phrases provides indexical features of language use "in which English in Ireland is used in such a way as to point to the Irish language as a linguistic and cultural reference point." **Hildegard Tristram** deals with the ideological significance of the use of Irish lexis in selected English medium newspapers for sale in the Republic of Ireland in 1995/6.

Finally, **Göran Wolf** presents his reflections on the present-day status of both the Celtic languages and the Celtic Englishes in Great Britain and Ireland.

A systematic analysis of these papers would reveal insights into various topics concerning the linguistic contacts of Celtic as an IE language family over such a long period of time: shared ancestry and diversification, maintenance and demise, import and innovation, borrowing and language shift (*bottom up* and *top down*), bilingualism and diglossia, language creation and *Ausbau* (institutionali-

fc., *The Celtic World. Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*, 4 vols., London & New York: Routledge.

[3] **Brian Ó Curnáin**'s paper at the Conference discussed the current change from syntheticity to analycity of the prepositional pronouns: "Nontraditional and reduced acquisition of Irish in the Conamara Gaeltacht." Cf. Ó Curnáin, 2007, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach, County Galway*, 4 vols., Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, School of Celtic Studies, vol. 1: 35, 59 f.; vol. 2: 1278-81.

sation), shared typological drift from syntheticity to analycity, code-switching, individual and group L2 acquisition, the impact of the oral and the written means of communication, etc. Reflections of this type are, however, left to the readers, who will find ample food for thought about the ways the Celtic languages interacted with their linguistic neighbours over time and also the ways in which the Insular Celtic languages left their marks on both English and French. All of the papers are empirical studies and rely on thorough data analysis.

Hopefully, this volume will stimulate further research into the Celtic languages in contact and thereby reveal patterns of general linguistic interest.

Macc, *Cailín* and *Céile* – an Altaic Element in Celtic?

Tatyana A. Mikhailova
(Moscow State University, Russia)

1. The substratum theory has been so compromised by numerous fantastic speculations (Basque, Uralic, Altaic, Kartvelian, Hamito-Semitic, etc.), that the problem itself has become a *perpetuum mobile* of Celtic and Germanic studies. Yet, what Kenneth Jackson said about the Picts could be applied to the inhabitants of Old North and Central Europe, too: "The people of Scotland before the coming of the Celts must, after all, have spoken *some* language …" (Jackson 1955: 152).

1.1. In Celtic languages (both Continental and Insular) we can find words with uncertain etymology which presumably represent loanwords from other language-families. One can see the traces of the pre-Indo-European substratum of Central and Western Europe, "an original non-Celtic/non-Germanic North West block" according to Kuhn (1961). But we may suppose that this conclusion is not sufficiently justified. This problem can have many different solutions, and we may never be in a position to resolve it definitively.

Celto-Germanic 'horse'?

For example, in both Celtic and Germanic, a special word for 'saddle horse' is used, which is not attested in other Indo-European languages. We mean the root **mark-os*:

> Celtic – OIr. *marc* 'horse,' MIr. *marcach* 'rider,' MW *march* 'horse, stallion,' Bret. *marc'h*;
> Germanic – ON m. *marr*, f. OE *mearh*, ME *mare* (< **marhī-*), MHG *Marah* > *Mähre* 'horse, mare,' OHG *marahscalc* 'groom,' etc.).

This word was also known in Continental Celtic. The same root is attested in the Galatic term *trimarkisia*, which means a special group or set of three horse-riders (a chieftain or nobleman with two attendants). In his *Description of Greece*, Pausanias (II c. A.D.) remarks that the Galatians use a special word for 'horse' which is unknown in Greek:

> [9] The muster of foot amounted to one hundred and fifty-two thousand, with twenty thousand four hundred horses. This was the number of horsemen in action at any one time, but the real number was sixty-one thousand two hundred. For to each horseman were attached two servants, who were themselves skilled riders and, like their masters, had a horse.
>
> [10] When the Gallic horsemen were engaged, the servants remained behind the ranks and proved useful in the following way. Should a horseman or his horse fall, the slave brought him a horse to mount; if the rider was killed, the slave mounted the horse in his master's place; if both rider and horse were killed, there was a mounted man ready. When a rider was wounded, one slave brought back to camp the wounded man, while the other took his vacant place in the ranks.
>
> [11] I believe that the Gauls in adopting these methods copied the Persian regiment of the Ten Thousand, who were called the Immortals. There was, however, this difference. The Persian used to wait until the battle was over before replacing casualties, while the Gauls kept reinforcing the horsemen to their full number during the height of the action. This organization is called in their native speech 'trimarcisia,' for I would have you know that *marca* is the Celtic name for a horse (Pausanias 10, 19, 9-11).[1]

The same element *marc-* is attested in local Gaulish names, such as *Marco-durum* 'Horse-gate' (?), *Marcomagus* 'Horse-valley' (DAG: 221), *Marco-lica* 'horse-stone' (?, Spain; Delamarre 2003: 217). Compare the Gaulish proper names *Marcomarus*, *Marcosena*, *Marcomani*, *Marcus* (?, the king's name in the Tristan legend), *Marcula*, etc. Consider *Ambio-marcis* (dat.pl.), a "Matronen-name" (Schmidt 1957: 123). Furthermore, a plant-name *callio-marcus*, glossed as *epo-calium* ('latine equi ungula uocatur'), may be relevant here. A figurative meaning of the same word is presumably attested in the Gaulish inscription of MARCOSIOR – MATERNIA (RIG II-2: L-117), which can be translated either as 'puisse-je (te) chevaucher les organes maternels' or 'puisse-je être chevauché par Materna' (RIG: 328). In both cases, the metaphorical use of the word (here 'to copulate') demonstrates that the word is well-rooted in the language. But we have to note that the Common Celtic word *mark-o-* does not represent a basic term for 'horse,' but has the specific meaning of 'saddle horse'.

Continental Celts, especially the Gauls became "famous for their prowess in horsemanship. These horsemen are *equites* 'knights' (a word used by Ceasar – T.M.). After the Roman occupation of Gaul, Gaulish cavalry troops became a distinguished feature of the Roman Army and served widely in the Empire" (Ross 1970: 71). Strabo also remarked that "Although they [the Celts and the Germanic peoples] are all naturally fine fighting men, yet they are better as cav-

[1] Lit. The Celts call the horse – a *markan* (acc.).

alry than as infantry, and the best of the Roman cavalry is recruited from among them" (Strabo 1924: IV, IV, 2).

But the saga-material of the Insular Celtic tradition has a different attitude towards horse-riding. In the Irish tale *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* ("The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel") we meet three red horsemen, riding red horses. They are messengers of the Other World: "though we are alive, we are dead". In the original text, these sinister non-mortal beings are called 'triar marcach' (TBDD: 288), just the same term used by Pausanias. In the Middle Welsh tale (mabinogi) "Pwyll Lord of Dyved" the hero sees 'a woman riding a great pale horse,' Riannon – a woman deity, a messenger from the Other World (cf. the same motif in the Ossianic legend – Niam-cinn-óir, a queen of Tír-na-nÓg, riding a white mare). We should also consider a famous image of the Germanic god Odin riding a horse on his road to Hell (cf. the figure of *Mars Corotiacus*, Mars as a horseman from Early Britain (Ross 1993: 244). We could presume that the horse-riding tradition was not familiar to Common Celtic society and this practice was borrowed by the inhabitants of Western and Central Europe later, *after* the migration of part of the Celtic tribes to the British Isles. But the borrowing of the practice presumes the borrowing of the term, as well.

According to Pokorny, the word **mark-o-* represents a Celto-Germanic isogloss, conserved in these two branches of IE languages "a North-West-IE linguistic community" (Ellis Evans 1981: 241), and a presumed IE root is **marko-* (IEW: 700). But Antoine Meillet assumed that this word was an early loanword in Germanic and Celtic from an unknown source (Meillet 1926: 229). This idea was developed by T. Gamkrelidze and V. Ivanov, who had seen in it a borrowing from an Altaic language (or dialect). Indeed, Celto-Germanic **mark-* has parallels with Altaic **morV-* (Mong. *mörin*, Kalm. *morin* 'horse'; cf. Russ. *merin* 'old horse, gelding,' a late borrowing from Mong., cf. also Chin. *ma* < **mra*, Tamil *mā*). Gamkrelidze and Ivanov explain this borrowing by early contacts of IE tribes with Altaic tribes. Moreover, they propose that this represents evidence of early migrations of IE tribes from the East to the West through Asia Minor (Гамкрелидзе (Gamkrelidze), Иванов (Ivanov) 1984: 939). But why in this case should this word be preserved only in Celtic and Germanic, that is in West IE languages? Maybe it would be more logical to qualify **mark-* as a "Wanderwort" of eastern origin that established itself in Celtic and Germanic alongside the inherited PIE word for 'horse' **(h_1)ek'w-os* (Matasović, internet database)? That is, this word was not transported to Europe by IE migratory tribes, but was adopted in Central Europe by IE speaking tribes (Celts and Germans) from some Asiatic people, speaking Altaic and practising horse-riding.

We mean the Scythians (and Sarmats) who came from Central Asia in the seventh century B.C., crossed the Caucasus and appeared in northern Iran and Asia Minor. Scythians may not have been Indo-European, but a mixture of nations of Central Asia, including some Turkish and Altaic elements. Their language, though remaining Iranian, carried a lot of borrowed non-Indo-European features. The Scythian language influenced many tongues of Asia and Europe,

including Slavic, Thracian, Baltic, and Iranian. Actually, there was no single Scythian language, but this classification is used when speaking about all Scythian and Sarmatian dialects existing on the Black Sea's northern shores from the seventh to the fourth century B.C. The early, more archaic forms of this speech can be regarded as Scythian, while the later forms were spoken by Sarmatian tribes.

Scytho-Sarmatian tribes are known to have been good horse-riders, and it is natural that they should have brought to Europe the name for the 'saddle-horse,' as well as the famous 'animal style' of decorative art known in Scandinavia, Russia and Ireland. It is generally assumed that the nature and the extent of borrowing depend entirely on cultural relationships in history. As Edward Sapir pointed out, "one can almost estimate the role which various peoples have played in the development and spread of cultural ideas by taking note of the extent to which their vocabularies have filtered into those of other peoples" (Sapir 1921: 193). This pre-I.E. borrowing can be explained by the late spread of horseback riding to Europe (in contrast with chariot traction).

At the same time, we have to note that if our idea of the Scythian origin of the word **mark-* is right, we are then dealing only with indirect contacts, maybe via Galatians, because this word was well-rooted in Celtic *before* Romanization and before Scythian and Sarmatic tribes moved to Europe in the second to third century A.D.

In his book *Germanen und Kelten*, Helmut Birkhan proposes another source of borrowing of the word **mark-* in Germanic and Celtic: the influence of the Thracians, stating that Thracians had a typical "horse-riding culture". He identifies the element *mark-* in Thracian anthroponyms (Birkhan 1970: 393-402). Being an IE tribe, the Thracians conserved in their language and culture the elements of the pre-IE population of the South of Europe.

> The Indo-Europeanization of Europe did not mean total destruction of the previous cultural achievement, but consisted in an amalgamation (hybridization) of racial and cultural phenomena. Linguistically, the process may (and must) be regarded in a similar way: the Indo-Europeans imposed an idiom which itself then adopted certain elements from the autochthonous languages spoken previously. These non-Indo-European (pre-IE) elements are numerous in Greek, Latin, and arguably, Thracian (Paliga 1986: 27).

In 400-100 B.C. the region of the Balkan Peninsula was a zone of tribal and linguistic mixture. Anyway, the wandering character of our word is now admitted by many scholars and only the strict source of borrowing remains the subject of discussion.

2. Loanword ~ Wandering Word ~ Isogloss?

2.1. As Edgar Polomé has said, "in the case of correspondences restricted to Celtic and Germanic, there are always four possibilities that need to be investigated:

> a. the terms represented either a common regional innovation in a marginal area of the Indo-European territory or the localized survival of an archaic term lost elsewhere throughout the Indo-European linguistic area (isogloss);
> b. the terms have both been taken over from a same third source – be it a pre-Indo-European ("substrate") language or a less well-documented Indo-European language in their vicinity;
> c. the Celtic term was borrowed by Germanic;
> d. the Germanic term was borrowed by Celtic" (Polomé 1983: 284).

Of course, the history of the name of the saddle horse represents, according to Polomé, case b. (in our terms: Altaic source → Scythian/Thracian → Celtic → Germanic?). Could it be a case of source a. above? Presumably not. But at the same time we have to remember that both IE languages and Altaic languages derive from the proto-Nostratic language, that is they belong to a hypothetical language super-family to which, as some linguists suppose, a large number of language families of Europe, Asia and Africa may belong.

2.2. The advocates of this theory suppose that all these language families have descended from a common ancestor, the so-called Proto-Nostratic language. Proponents of the Nostratic hypothesis have assigned various language families to the Nostratic super-family. However, there is general agreement that one include, at a minimum, the Indo-European, Uralic and Altaic languages. Following Holger Pedersen (1903: 535-561), V. M. Illich-Svitych (1971) and A. Dolgopolsky (1964; 1986), many advocates of this theory have also included in the Nostratic macro-family the Afro-Asiatic languages, the Inuit-Aleut family and possibly some others (Starostin 1989). Now a representative grouping would include the Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Indo-European, Uralic, Dravidian, Altaic, and Inuit-Aleut families. The Sumerian and Etruscan languages, regarded as isolates, are thought by some linguists to be Nostratic languages, as well.

However, the Nostratic hypothesis does not enjoy wide acceptance among linguists. Some of the methodology used in its support has been criticized and most scholars remain undecided.[2] While this theory did not make much headway

---

[2] However, in 1913 Morris-Jones wrote: "As Latin, which is the parent of the Romance languages, so Aryan itself must be derived from some remote ancestor, and it is improbable that it is the only descendant of it which survived. Sweet, by a comparison of the pronominal and verbal forms of Aryan and Ugrian, has made out a strong case for supposing that the two families are allied; … On the other hand, Möller, in his *Semitisch und Indoger-*

in the West, it became popular in the Soviet Union (now in Russia, especially in Moscow), and in the USA (by Joseph Greenberg and others). If we compare the process of Indo-European reconstruction, assuming that all the languages in question must have stemmed from one proto-language, with the hypothetical reconstruction of proto-Nostratic, we must come to the simple idea of 'high-level' parenthood. Many languages really have been shown to be related to other languages, forming large families similar to Indo-European. It is thus logical that the family tree could converge at a more remote point and that some language families could be more distantly related to one another.

Theoretically, and only theoretically, IE **mark-* and Altaic **morV-* may be represent an isogloss, preserved only in a few daughter-languages (in our case, Celtic and Germanic). Of course, our suggestion is a fantastic one because we know that the domestication of the horse and its use as a means of transport can be dated to about 2500 B.C. In the Kurgan hypothesis, the domestication of the horses is dated as early as 4500 B.C., cf. also Hamp's suggestion that the horse was domesticated by Indo-Europeans[3] tribes around 6000 B.C. (Hamp 1990). But really the domestication of the horse does not necessarily mean that it was also used for riding. "Sometimes there is evidence as to how horses were used. The animal is relatively common on some Gaulish settlements … On such Gaulish habitation sites, horses were killed young, probably for *food*".

> The use of horses for riding, which allowed warriors to cover ground very fast, transformed methods of warfare. Owning horses – then and now – involved a certain level of wealth, since feed and maintenance were relatively costly. This led to social division, between those who could afford to keep and ride horses and those who could not … There can be no doubt that the introduction of horse-riding had an enormous impact on civilization (Green 1992: 29, 66).

According to the Nostratic theory, however, the splitting of this family is dated to ten thousand B.C. Thus, it is certainly impossible to reconstruct a common word for 'horse' in proto-Nostratic and, even more so, we are also unable to reconstruct the word for 'horse' in proto-IE, especially for the riding horse. The case of the 'horse' is rather simple, because of the archaeological and cultural evidence which helps linguistic reconstruction[4]. Names of plants, natural phenomena, emotions, parts of the body and social terminology represent more complicated material.

---

manisch (1907), has compared the consonant sounds of Aryan in detail with those of Semitic … and claimed to have proved their derivation from a common source" (Morris-Jones 1913: 2).

[3] According to many different hypotheses, the Indo-European language group apparently originated around 4500 B.C., and only the location of the proto-IE *Urheimat* remains a subject of discussion.

[4] Of course, we understand that the names of Indo-European, Altaic and Uralic 'horse' deserve a special investigation. We have taken this example only to demonstrate the general problem of non-IE parallels in Celtic and Germanic.

For example, take the word for 'ice' in Celtic and Germanic (OIr. *aig*, gen. *ega*, W *ia*, MCorn. *iein* gl. frigus, Corn. *yeyn* 'cold,' Bret. *yen* 'cold,' OIsl. *jaki* 'ice,' all having a proto-form **i̯egis*), which Vendryes supposed to be "un mot spécialement celto-germanique" (LEIA-A: 28). This has parallels not only in Hitt. *ega-*, *agan* 'ice,' *ekuna* 'cold' (IEW: 503), but also in Finn. *jää*, Hung. *jég*, Liv. *jej*, Mord. *jej*, *ej*, Lapp. *jiegŋâ*, Vogul. *jöäŋk*, also meaning 'ice' (going back to proto-Uralic **jeng-*). Given this parallel, Julius Pokorny pointed out that "there is no doubt that there exist very old connections between the British Isles and the eastern Baltic countries" (Pokorny 1960: 236). Adding the Germanic material, we could suppose an early borrowing from Uralic languages. According to Pokorny, this was "an Upper-Paleolitic substratum" of an unknown Arctic race which may have been of Uralic origin. But why is the same word also present in Hittite?

The similarities in the form of the word and in its meaning in two (or more) languages can be explained as an isogloss *or* a borrowing when we are dealing with contact languages. In non-contact situations it definitely represents an isogloss. For example, OIr. *dligid* 'has a right, must' and Russian *dolg* 'duty, debt,' as well as Goth. *dulgs* represent a supposed Slavonic (LEIA-D: 108) or Celtic (Lehmann 1986: 97) loanword, but the root itself is conserved only in Celtic and Slavonic (IEW: 271-72?) and, thus, can only be considered an isogloss.[5]

The same holds for OIr. *slóg*, *slúag* 'army' (cf. also W. *llu* 'army,' Gaul. tribe *Catu-slugi* 'armies of the battle') and Russian *sluga* 'servant' (also Lith. *slaugà* 'to serve') (LEIA-R,S: S-137; "nur in keltisch und balto-slavisch" (IEW: 965).

> It stands to reason that if we examine the lexicon of any of the Germanic (and Celtic, too – T.M.) languages, we will find a considerable number of terms without known etymology (Polomé 1990: 276).

Each term, however, has its own history. It may be a wandering word of unknown origin, as for example the name for 'cat' or 'berry' (OIr. *smér*, Lat. *morum*, Russian *smorodina* 'currant,' etc. (LEIA-R,S: S-141), or a new wandering word of known origin, such as *sugar*, *ginger* or *tea*, which can be traced back to Bronze Age Mediterranean trade. To be labelled 'a wandering word,' the term must be found in numerous contact and non-contact languages.

[5] Polomé supposes that Goth. *dulgs* 'debt' can hardly be a loan from Celtic as OCS dlъgъ 'debt' is not a loan from Germanic, but a term inherited directly from Indo-European on account of its intonational pattern, as Meillet had already shown in 1908 (cf. Meillet 1922: 21). Max Fasmer (Fasmer 1953: 359) stresses the derivation of Goth. *dulgs* OIr. *dligid*, OCS dlъgъ from a common IE source, and decisively rejects borrowing of the Slavic term either from Germanic or from Celtic. Pokorny (IEW: 271-2) reconstructs an IE root **dhl̥gh-* 'debt, obligation' under which he brings the Germanic, Celtic and Slavic words" (Polomé 1987: 222). If Goth. *dulgs* really represents a direct IE derivation, it is a very representative example, because we know this word only from the work of Wulfila.

2.3. If the term is attested only in proto-Germanic or proto-Celtic it automatically qualifies as a borrowing from a pre-Indo-European 'substratum' of Northern Europe. But, as Polomé pointed out, "When dealing with pre-Indo-European "substrate" in northern Europe, the major problem is that there is absolutely no direct evidence of the language of the populations that the speakers of Indo-European dialects encountered upon their penetration into the area" (Polomé 1990: 272). We suppose other problems arise here, and the most important of these is, as Alfred Bammesberger has put it, that "We do not know how many members of the IE language family ultimately died out without leaving any direct traces" (Bammesberger 1994). By the 'members of the family' we understand not only 'languages,' but also some small dialectal branches of the big 'language tree' which faded, broke off and died, maybe together with precious traces of 'lost' IE roots.

For instance, Pokorny gives the IE root **bhoudhi-* 'victory' based only on Celtic material (OIr. *búad*, W *budd*, PN *Boudicca*) and a supposed Germ. LN *Baudi-hillia* 'Siegeskämpferin' (IEW: 163). But can we view this as an early continental borrowing from an unknown pre-IE language of Northern Europe?

On the contrary, OIr. *becc* /begg?/ 'small' (W *bychan*, Bret. *bihan*), a word without etymology, could not be considered a loanword (?), but, as Polomé assumes, "the localized survival of an archaic term," i.e. of an IE-Altaic isogloss (cf. Tuv. *biča*, Karag. *bic'ä*, Jakut. *byčyk*, Mong. *biči* 'small').

A Nostratic root *biĆa* is attested in many Altaic languages, but preserved in only one branch of the IE family (cf. also Uralic forms: Veps. *piču* 'small,' Karel. *pićukkani* 'very small,' etc.), and in the wider Dravidic material in Иллич-Свитыч (Illich-Svitych) (1971: 178). Cf. also OIr. *col* 'violation, incest' and Mong. **kul-g-* 'thief,' which Eric Hamp supposed to be a Continental Celtic borrowing from an unknown substratum dialect (Hamp 1974: 199). Consider OIr. *ésce(a)/éisce* 'moon' and Lapp. *aske* 'moon, the god of the Moon,' as well (Vorren, Manker 1962: 119). The list of these parallels could be continued.

The Nostratic hypothesis relies on an application of the comparative method, involving systematic sound-and-meaning correspondences between the constituent families. The Nostratic voiceless affricate *Ć* gives /sk/ in the IE languages, and not /k/ or /g/ (e.g. the verbal suffix *-Ći* > IE -sk-, cf. OIr. verbal present stem *nasc-* 'bind' < **nedh-sk-*, etc.). That is, if the OIr. word for 'small' was indeed derived from the Nostratic root *biĆa*, it would give the form **besk-* and not *becc*.[6] The Nostratic **Ć* gives -kk- only in the Dravidic languages (cf. Malayalam *pīcca* 'small,' Tamil *picca* 'short,' etc.).What do we want to demonstrate by this example? We want to formulate two main ideas:

[6] The relationship between Goidelic and British forms is also disputable. Rudolf Thurneysen supposed that Brittonic forms derive from a word with a voiceless geminate -kk- ("perhaps the influence of some other word has been operative here" (Thurneysen 1946: 93)).

1. The direct derivation of a word from a Nostratic root must be based not only on its meaning correspondences and obvious phonetic similarities, but also on a strict system of phonological correlation.
2. We do not know how many members of the Nostratic super-family ultimately died out without leaving any direct traces.

That is, taking into account the similarity of our *becc* with Altaic (Uralic) data, we could presume that it is may really be a loanword from an unknown, extinct Nostratic language, in which Nostratic **b* gives -b and **Ć* gives -kk.

3. Old Irish ‘macc’ *?*

3.1. Returning now to the problematic etymology of the famous Old Irish *macc*, we must begin by rendering the meaning of this term precisely in different contexts and text traditions.

3.1.1. Ogam inscriptions

In Ogam the form MAQQI (MAQI, MACI, gen. with old case ending *-ī*) is at first sight used as a kind of cliché or formula introducing the patronymic name. But this solution derives rather from the comparison of Ogam names with the traditional Irish name-system. Damian McManus pointed out that “MAQQI- does not denote a filial relationship to the second element – often a dependent genitive of a divine name or the name of a tree or a word associated with a trade – probably with the original meaning of ‘devotee’ or the like (McManus 1991: 109). He proposes to distinguish MAQQI-X names from the patronymic MAQQI X type. The first appear in inscriptions (e.g. MAQI-CAIRATINI AVI INEQAGLAS, etc), but an inscription like X MAQQI Y also can be interpreted as ‘(the grave) of X, of MAQQOS-Y’ and not ‘(the grave) of X, of the son of Y’. Compare here the Gaulish constructions with the idionym and the genitive (possessive) form of the parent’s given name: Doiros Segomari, Martialis Dannotali, etc. (see Lambert 1995).

The same meaning (‘devotee’) is presumably preserved in numerous later constructions and technical expressions of the type of *macc báis*, *mac bronn*, *macc eclaise*, *macc óige*, as well as of its metaphoric use in *macc alla* ‘echo’ (lit. ‘son of a cliff’, (C)DIL-M: 6-7).

3.1.2. Glosses and the Christian Context

In the language of the Glosses *macc* is usually used in its ‘strict’ sense and glosses Lat. *filius*, in particular in the phrase *Macc Dé* ‘Christ’ or in the set expression of *Athair ocus Mac ocus Spirut Nóeb*. We have to note that in general

the influence of Christianity is clearly responsible for the special attitude towards children in Early Irish culture and their high legal status. This influence had in some aspects changed the primary meaning of earlier basic Celtic kinship terminology inherited from proto-Indo-European society or/and borrowed from pre-Indo-European inhabitants of Europe.

3.1.3. Early Irish Law

In the Irish Law-tracts, we suppose that the term *macc* has two different meanings:

1. a *son*, a male heir: in such phrases as *macc béo-athar* 'son of living father,' *macc té* 'warm son' ('subject to proper controls'), *macc úar* 'cold son,' etc. (see Kelly 1988: 80-81). Cf. also the title of the legal tract concerning the rules of inheritance, *Maccshlechta*. Cf. also *leth díri cach gráid túaithe fora mnaí 7 a mac 7 a ingin* "a half-honour-price of every member of the lay grades for his wife and his son and his daughter" (Binchy 1941: 5:126). The person denoted as *macc-1* has no age (like ModIr. *mac*, Engl. *son*, Russian *syn*, etc.), but is generally young.

2. a *child*, a person with neither legal responsibility, nor any right to independent legal action, a young person. In this meaning, the term *macc* can be applied to the female child, too, (i.e. a child between baptism and the age of seven years).

   e.g. In the tract *Bretha Crólige*, the term *maccothrus* 'sick-maintenance of children' is applied both to the small boys and girls (Binchy 1938: 40).
   Ní dligther fothud a thige do neoch céin mbes maice "It is not due hospitality to a person, who is in its childhood" (Binchy 1941: 3:77).
   Asrenar laneraic … im maccailig na díulta cailli "the full payment… for a young nun who has not renounced her veil" ((C)DIL: M, 9).
   Maccléirech 'young cleric' and *maccaillech* 'young nun,' etc.

The person denoted as *macc-2* has no gender (like OIr. *lenab*, Engl. *infant*, *child*, Russian *rebenok*, etc.), but is generally a male.

3.1.4. Early Irish Narrative Tradition

In the saga material, in the annals, in the learning tracts, etc. we find, of course, many different meanings of the word *macc*:

1. The “strict” sense of ‘son’ or ‘male descendant’ (*cethri meic … tri ingena* “four sons and three daughters”; … *no co rucad mac no ingen duit ond uair sin* “Since then neither son, nor daughter has been begotten by you” (SMMD 1927: 10); *maicc Israhel* “the sons of Israel”; *mac duine* “mortal man,” lit. “son of a human being”; *Fergus mac Róich*, etc.);

2. ‘boy, lad’ (*Mac bec doringni in gním sin* … “A little boy who performed that exploit …” (TBC 1970: 25, 915); cf. *Romoch duit-siu sain, a meic bic … – “Cían lim-sa di shodain, a máthair,” ar in mac bec*. “It is too soon for you, my *son*” – “I think it long (to wait) for that, mother,” said the little *boy*” (TBC 1970: 21). Cf. also *maccoím* ‘a boy, lad’ (from childhood to the arm-bearing age).

3. In composites and in further derivations of ‘child, young person’ (cf. for instance *maccbarat* ‘child’s clothes,’ *maccles* ‘juvenile feat,’ *banmacc* ‘daughter,’ *maccrad* ‘children’ (in particular of boys?), etc.).

Joseph Vendryes formulated the conclusion that “Il est d’ailleurs à noter qu’en plus de sa valeur de nom de parenté, il a aussi le sens ‘jeune garçon’; il est donc à la fois l’équivalent de latin *filius* et *puer*” (LEIA-M-N-O-P: M-2). We could add the sense of ‘child’.

But which meaning is the primary one, ‘son,’ [7] ‘boy’ or ‘child’?

3.1.5. Gaulish and Brittonic data

We could say that Middle Welsh texts give us the same complex of meanings of MW *mab* (OW *map*). That is, it has the “strict” sense of ‘son’ in patronymic names and in the law tracts (cf. OIr. *macc ingor* ~ MW *mab anwar* ‘undutiful son’ (Binchy 1956: 228), and the meaning ‘boy, child’ in narrative tradition. E.g.: *‘Paham,’ heb yr Efnissyen, ‘na daw uy nei, uab uy chwaer, attaf i?’… A chyuodi y uynyd, a chymryt y mab erwyd y traet* … “‘Why does my nephew, the *son* of my sister,’ said Efnissyen, ‘not come to me?’ … He rose and took the *boy* by the feet …” (BUL 1961: 14).

The title of the collection of medieval Welsh tales, the *Mabinogion*, is also connected with the same word.

> It has been generally accepted that the term *mabinogi* is based on the word *mab* ‘child, boy, son’ (sic! T.M.), and that it was used like the French *enfances* in the sense of a story about (a hero’s) childhood … More recently, however, Eric Hamp has rejected this ex-

[7] The problem of the semantics of OIr. ‘son’ is very complicated, because of the fosterage institution in medieval Irish society. Cf. the use of *daltae* ‘foster-child’ in the sense of ‘son, daughter’ in the Modern Irish dialects. But we suppose, this practice is rather late and does not prevent the reconstruction of Common Celtic kinship terminology.

planation, arguing instead that the term is a collective noun based on the stem **mapono-* and that it originally meant material or doing pertaining to (the family of) the divine *Maponos* (W *Mabon*) (Mac Cana 1977: 24).

The Welsh personage Mabon uab Modron (from the *mabinogi* "Culhwch ac Olwen") is connected with the Irish 'young god' Macc Óc (O'Rahilly 1946: 516-17) and at the same time derives from the Gaulish god *Mapon-os*, a Celtic Continental deity of Roman time often linked to Apollo, just as his mother *Modron* is derived from *Matrona*, an eponym of the *Marne* River (Olmsted 1994: 380-381; Калыгин (Kalygin) 2006: 109). The théonyme *Mapon-os* represents a typical formation of divine names with the "individualizing n-suffix"[8] (for numerous examples of Celtic names see Stüber 1998: 94 ff.). The name of the god *Maponos* is attested in the Chamalière inscription (Lambert 1979: 146-151) and represents the idea of a 'divine youth'. Cf. also NP *Mapodia*, *Mapinius*, *Mapillus*, etc. and a NL *Mapo-riton* in Britain.

Thus, we could assume that the primary meaning of CC *maq*^{w}*o-* is rather 'a young person, a child' and not 'a son'.

3.2. As the Russian linguist Sergej Kullanda noted,

> The traditional reconstruction of the original meanings of the Indo-European words commonly treated as kinship terms leaves a number of linguistic and historical phenomena unexplained. A reinterpretation of this reconstruction /…/ suggests that the etyma in question were not kinship terms but classifiers of age-sex groups (Kullanda 2002: 89).

We could add that the comparison of the reconstructed proto-IE system with kinship systems of archaic societies permits us to suggest that age-stratification precedes sex stratification. Anyway, the system "children – males/females – old people" remains intact to this time in many traditional cultures. We do not know precisely what stage of sex/age stratification can be reconstructed for the proto-IE society.

The Russian linguist Oleg Trubachev in his investigation *The History of Old Slavonic Kinship Terminology* supposed that early IE society could be compared with an indigenous Australian tribe called Aranta, which not only did not know special terms for 'son' and 'daughter,' but did not understand the difference between man and woman (Трубачев (Trubachev) 1959: 197). At the same time, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov give fifteen IE terms of kinship. We do not know, where the truth really lies, but we suppose that the Common Celtic society would already have had a considerably developed system of kin stratification and presumably would have known the word for 'boy, son, offspring,' the IE **sūnus* (cf. OIr. *suth*). Some social changes, which cannot be discussed here,

---

[8] Cf. "Ce nom **Makw*(*kw*)*onos* signifie "le garçon," "le fils," avec le suffixe *-onos*/*-ona* fréquent dans l'onomastique" (Lambert 1979: 146).

provoked innovations in the vocabulary and thus IE **sūnus* was ousted by the **maqwos* of unknown origin.

3.3. ‘maqu-os’ *and the Problem of Etymology*

Goidelic and Brittonic data give us the obvious proto-Celtic form $*maq^{w}q^{w}$*-os* (in Britt. without a geminate), which has no sure IE etymology (“The IE etymology proposed here is rather uncertain for semantic reasons,” according to Matasovič in his internet database). Among different suggestions we may quote three main views:

1. the term is connected with Germanic **māghu-* ‘son’
2. the term has a specific etymology connected with the idea of growth
3. the term represents a loanword from an unknown non-IE language.

The first view has a considerable following and in its turn diverges into two main branches:

a. The direct derivation from IE **maghos*, *maghu-* (IEW: 696) ‘Knabe, Jüngling’ (may be connected with IE **magh-* ‘force’). From this root, Pokorny derives such Germanic terms as OE *mága* ‘son,’ Goth. *magus* ‘young man, servant,’ ON *mọgr* ‘son,’ Runic *mag-* ‘son,’ Goth. *mawi* ‘girl,’ OHG *magad* ‘young woman’ (> *Mädchen*), etc. Cf. also Av. *maγava-* ‘unmarried’.

Without any doubt, this root resulted in many Celtic forms: Gaul. *Magu-* ‘youth, slave, vassal’ in NP (cf. Ellis Evans 1967: 221-22; Schmidt 1957: 235; Delamarre 2003: 214); W *meudwy* ‘hermit’ (from **magus dēwī* ‘servus Dei’); Corn. *maw* ‘servant’, OIr. *mug* (gen. *moga*, *u*-stem) ‘slave, servant,’ as well as the abstract name *macdacht* fem. ‘youth’ (Corn. *magteth*, Bret. *matez* ‘servant-girl’).

As Vendryes presumed, “dans le cas de l’irlandais, on peut croire au mot *macc*; pour le brittonique, le rapport avec *mab* ‘fils’ n’apparaît pas” (LEIA-M, N, O, P: M-3). We must add that the semantic correlation between ‘boy, child’ and ‘servant’ is universal. Cf. Russian *rebenok* ‘child’ and *rab* ‘servant, slave’ (from IE **orbho-* ‘verwaist, Waise,’ (IEW: 781-782); cf. also Goth. *arbi* ‘das Erbe,’ OIr. *orbe* ditto, but Goth. *arbaiÞs* ‘Arbeit’ and Lat. *orbus* ‘orphan,’ Arm. *orb* ditto), and Akan *abofa* ‘child, servant’ (Popov 1981: 95).

Pokorny reconstructs the Common Celtic proto-form (“Koseform”) as **maggwos* (?). Szemerényi in his *Studies in the Kinship Terminology of the Indo-European Languages* shares this opinion and proposes the interesting idea that OIr. *macc* derives from the “syncopated **magu-ko-s* (> $*mag^{w}$*kos*)” (Szemerényi 1977: 19).

Cf. “Die Entwicklung dürfte demnach etwa folgendermassen verlaufen sein: 1. **maghu-o-*, i.e. **magwo-*, → **makwo-* verschärft (in gall. GN *Maponos* sowie in akymr. korn. breton. *mab*, vielleicht in keltiber. *Magui-aesus*) mit anschliessender semantischer Differenzierung von **maghu-*, kelt. *magu-* ‘Knabe, Jünglig’ → irisch ‘Sklave’ und **makwo-* ‘Knabe’ → ‘Sohn’; 2. **makwo-* → **makwkwo-* geminiert (in Ogam Gen. Sg. *maqqi*, *maqi*, altir. *macc*); 3. *magu* → *mug* im Irischen.” (Schmidt 1979: 121).

In Goidelic, the geminate has an expressive character (?) and *-k-*, as we understand it, has a diminutive meaning (cf. Russian *malčik* ‘boy’ < *malec* + *īk* < *mal* ‘small’). It is, however, difficult to represent a pure athematic suffix *-k-* at this late stage in the development of Celtic. “There seems to have been a progression from an athematic **-k-* and a thematic **-ko-* suffix … to suffixes of the shape *-Vko-*. The vowel in question, usually either *-ā-* or *-ī-*, was probably in origin the stem-vowel of the base, which was resegmented as part of the suffix, leading to the spread of enlarged suffixes” (Russell 1990: 12). Thus, the word in Common Celtic would rather have had the form of **maghuk-* (cf. Szemerényi), and the syncopated form with the short thematic *-o-* of the stem does not seem to be justified (?).

b. The reconstruction for both Germanic and Celtic of an old, pre-Verner form with voiceless labiovelar **k^w-*. Cf. the Celto-Germ. proto-form supposed by Prokosch **makw-os* (Prokosch 1939: 23). Hamp also proposed a hypothetical pre-Verner reconstruction based on the vocalic divergence in IE **mēk-/*mek-/*mək-ú-* (Hamp 1990 b: 297). The primary meaning of this supposed IE root **mVk-* remains obscure. And, more importantly, what should we then do with the other roots given by Pokorny?

The second view involves proposing etymologies connected with Gr. *μάκρος* ‘big, long,’ Lat. *macer* ‘meagre,’ etc. (cf. Matasovič, internet database).

Vendryes rejects all proposed etymologies and supposes the term to be “un mot nouveau, qui ne remonte pas nécessairement à l’indo-européen” (LEIA-MNOP: M-2). But what language or language family had he in mind?

If we compare again our term with Nostratic material in general, we could consider such words as Altaic **mūko-* ‘male, boy’ and Dravidic **maγI* ‘child’ (in particular, Tamil *maka* ‘child, son, boy’). Cf. also Ogamic MUCOI ‘descendant’ which may be of the same origin. The phonetic and semantic similarity is evident, but again we cannot be sure whether we are dealing with a loanword or a direct derivation from Nostratic **mVkV*. Could it be anything else? We propose a compromise. We consider CC **maq^w-* to be a borrowing from the hypothetical pre-IE Nostratic language of North-Central Europe, probably supported semantically by Celtic derivations from IE **maghu-* ‘fellow, unmarried,’ which presumably earlier also had the meaning of ‘son,’ conserved in Germanic.

4. Céile

In the Ogam inscriptions, both CELI (gen. sg. of PI **cēlias*, *yo*-stem) and MAQQI are used for the specification of the name, and we do not know the precise meaning of this word ('companion,' 'kin,' 'client,' 'servent,' 'relative by marriage,' etc.).

In the law tracts, the term *céile* means 'client', i.e. 'client of submission,' *dóerchéile* and 'free client,' *sóerchéile* (Kelly 1988: 29). In the eighth century, a new order of ascetic monks called themselves *Céli Dé* (Eng. *culdees*) 'companions of God' or, as Kathleen Hughes pointed out, "perhaps 'clients' or 'vassals of God'. As Prof. Jackson points out to me, the *céle* enters into a contract of *célsine* with a *flaith* or lord. The *Céle Dé* was the man who took God for his *flaith*, who entered into a contact of service with Him" (Hughes 1966: 173 fn. 3). Cf. Lat. *servus Dei*. Like *macc*, *céile* can also form a name *Céile Críst*, *Céle-Petair*, etc. (O'Brien 1973: 230).

In the saga material, *cé*(*i*)*le* has a wider meaning, i.e. 'fellow, companion, neighbour, husband, mate; a rival, an equal' and 'the other one' (cf. DIL). There are many such examples.

In Modern Irish, *céile* has approximately the same meaning ('companion,' 'the other one'), but adds the meaning of 'relative by marriage' (*fear céile* 'husband,' *bean chéile* 'wife,' *máthair chéile* 'mother-in-law,' cf. Dinneen 1927: 720).

In Welsh, the word *cilydd* has a similar meaning: 'companion, friend, relative, neighbor' and 'the other one'. Cf. "Irish *cāch a chéle*, the exact equivalent of *pawb i gilydd*, [which] is used in the same way" (Morris-Jones 1913: 306).

Thus, the parentship of Irish *céile* and Welsh *cilydd* is obvious, "though the vocalism of the latter, if it derives from **keilios*, presents a problem" (McManus 1991: 119). In Irish, we have a diphthong *ei* and in Brittonic, a long *ī*, and "Cela rend l'étymologie délicate" (LEIA-C: 53).

Vendryes supposed that this word was a derivation from the IE root **k'ei* 'liegen' (IEW: 539-540, as were OIr. *cōem* 'Liebe,' Goth. *haims*, OHG *Heimat*, ME *home*, Russian *semja* 'family,' etc.). The etymology proposed by Pedersen seems to be more logical. It is assumed to have come from IE **keleu-* 'wandern; Weg' (IEW: 554). Thus, the first meaning of **kelios* could have been 'a travelling companion, a concomitant' (cf. Ir. *séttig*). We are tempted to compare the Irish term with Russian *čeliad* 'servants in the house of the nobleman; members of a big family,' deriving from the IE root **k^{w}el-* 'drehen, sich drehen, sich herumbewegen, wohnen' (IEW: 639-640). Cf. also OIr. *cul* 'chariot' or rather 'a wheel of the chariot,' Slav. *kolo* 'wheel,' but also Lith. *kelenas* and Russian *koleno* 'knee' ('generation'). Yet, if not only Irish but also Welsh had derived the term directly from the IE root, would it have had the form of **pelly-*?

In a similar way, as we have done with *macc*, we could compare OIr. *céile* 'friend, companion, servant' (W *cilydd*, Corn. *y-gyla* 'another,' etc.), with such Altaic words as Tung. **kēlu-me* 'person of the opposite moiety, brother-in-law, servant,' Orok. *kele*, Evenk. *kēlūme*, Even. *kēlme* (Starostin 1995: 220) and

Uralic terms such as Finn. *kylä* 'home,' Finn. *kylälinen* 'servants, members of the family' (Illich-Svitych 1971: 363). The supposed Nostratic root is **külV*, and IE **kwel-* presumably derives from it. We thus explain the vocalism of the Celtic (Irish) diphthong by the re-interpretation of the long 'tone' of the original vowel.

We are not insisting that this word *is* a loan from an unknown Nostratic language (or Altaic?). We suppose that it really can have some direct IE derivation, but again the parallels with the Nostratic terms are obvious.

5. 'caile,' 'calin'

In addition, OIr. *caile* 'she-servant, servant-girl, maid,' glossing *famula* (later *cailín* 'servant' or rather 'young girl') is another word without an etymology ("étymologie inconnue," LEIA-C: 12). There are possible parallels with Kart. **kal* 'woman, girl,' Uralic **käly* 'sister-in-law, girl, servant,' Dravidic **kal-* 'a woman of the opposite moiety, sister-in-law, servant'. The supposed Nostratic root is **kälV* with the meaning 'girl; relative by marriage,' the IE root is **g'ló(u)-* 'sister-in-law' (Lat. *glós*, gen. *glóris* 'sister-in-law,' Russian *zolovka* 'sister of the husband,' etc.).

6. Conclusion

First of all, we have to say that we were not dealing with the reconstruction of the Common Celtic system of kinship terminology. We understand, however, that this problem is very interesting and deserves closer investigation.

The essential aim of our present research was to attract the attention of linguists to the evident similarity between some Celtic words without established etymologies and some examples of Nostratic vocabulary. The separation of the Celts from the original IE community has been dated by glotto-chronology to about 3500 B.C. For this period, Kalevi Wiik proposes three broad linguistic locations in Europe: "Basque in Iberia, France and the British Isles, Indo-European in the Balkans and Finno-Ugric in the Ukraine and Scandinavia" (Wiik 2002: 290). We now propose the possible presence in central and northern Europe of another branch of the Nostratic super-family which did not leave direct daughter-languages, but which left vague traces in Celtic and Germanic. We suppose that a new approach to the old problem of a Pre-IE substratum in Europe would represent a useful way forward for future investigations.

References

(C)DIL = *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language*, 1913-1976, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

BUL = Thomson, D.S., ed., 1961, *Branwen Uerch Lyr*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

DAG = Whatmough J., 1970, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul: prolegomena and records of the dialects*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

IEW = Pokorny, J., 1959, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. I-II, Bern & München: Francke Verlag.

LEIA = *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien de J. Vendryes* (Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique: *A* – 1959; *M, N, O, P* – 1960; *R, S* – 1974; *T, U* – Bachellery, E. & P.-Y. Lambert, 1978; *B* – Bachellery, E. & P.-Y. Lambert, 1980; *C* – Bachellery, E. & P.-Y. Lambert, 1987; *D* – Lambert, P.-Y., 1996).

RIG II-2 = Lambert, P.-Y., ed., 2002, *Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises*, vol. II, f. 2.; *Textes Gallo-Latins sur Instrumentum*, Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique.

SMMD = Kershaw Chadwick, N., ed., 1927, "Scel Mucci Mic Datho," in: *An Early Irish Reader*, Kershaw Chadwick, N., ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

TBC = O'Rahilly, C., ed., 1970, *Táin Bó Cúalnge: From the Book of Leinster*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

TBDD = Knott E., ed., 1963, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Bammesberger, A., 1994, "Did the 'Indo-Europeans' collide with 'Pre-Indo-Europeans'?," in: *Lituanus. Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 40, no 1, spring, available online at URL: <http://www.lituanus.org>.

Binchy, D.A., ed., 1934, "Bretha Crólige," in: *Ériu* 12: 1-77.

Binchy, D.A., ed., 1941, *Críth Gablach*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Binchy, D.A., 1956, "Some Celtic Legal Terms," in: *Celtica* 3: 228-29.

Birkhan, H., 1970, *Germanen und Kelten bis zum Ausgang der Römerzeit. Der Aussagewert von Wörten und Sachen für die frühesten keltisch-germanischen Kulturbeziehungen*, Vienna: Hermann Böhlau.

Delamarre, X., 2003, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise. Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*, Paris: Éditions Errance.

Dinneen, P.S., 1927, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla – an Irish-English Dictionary*, Dublin: Educational Company of Ireland.

Dolgopolsky, A.B. / Долгопольский, А.Б., 1964, "Гипотеза древнейшего родства языковых семей Северной Евразии с вероятностной точки зрения," in: *Вопросы языкознания* 2: 53-63 ("A supposed hypothesis of old parentship of languages families of the North Eurasia," in: *Problems of linguistics* 2: 53-63).

Dolgopolsky, A.B., 1986, "Indo-European homeland and language contacts of Proto-Indo-European with other languages," in: *Mediterranean Language Review* 2: 7-31.

Ellis Evans, D., 1967, *Gaulish Personal Names. A Study of some Continental Celtic Formation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ellis Evans, D., 1981, "Celts and Germans," in: *BBCS* 29: 230-255.

Gamkrelidze, T.V. & V.V. Ivanov / Гамкрелидзе, Т.В. & Вяч. Вс. Иванов, 1984, *Индоевропейский язык и индоевропейцы. Реконструкция и историко-типологический анализ праязыка и протокультуры.* Тбилиси, ("Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans: A reconstruction and historical analysis of a proto-language and a proto-culture," transl. by J. Nichols, Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995).

Green, M., 1992, *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth*, London/New York: Routledge.

Hamp, E.P., 1974, "On some sources of primitive Breton *L*," in: *Études celtiques* 14, f. 1, 199.

Hamp, E.P., 1990 a, "The Indo-European Horse," in: *When Worlds Collide: The Indo-Europeans and the Pre-Indo-European*, Markey, T.L. & J.A.C. Greppin, eds., Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, 211-226.

Hamp, E.P., 1990 b, "The pre-Indo-European language of Northern (Central) Europe," in: *When Worlds Collide: The Indo-Europeans and the Pre-Indo-Europeans*, Markey, T.L. & J.A.C. Greppin, eds., Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, 291-309.

Hughes, K., 1966, *The Church in Early Irish Society*, Ithaca/New York: Cornell University Press.

Illich-Svitych, V.M. / Иллич-Свитыч, В.М., 1971, *Опыт сравнения ностратических языков. Сравнительный словарь. B-K*, Москва: Наука ("A Comparative Study of Nostratic languages. Dictionary: B-K," Moscow: Nauka).

Jackson, K.H., 1955, "The Pictish language," in: *The Problem of the Picts*, Wainwright, F.T., ed., Edinburgh: Nelson, 129-160.

Kalygin, V.P. / Калыгин, В.П., 2006, *Этимологический словарь кельтских теонимов*. Москва: Наука ("Etymological Dictionary of Celtic Theonyms," Moscow: Nauka).

Kelly, F., 1988, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Kuhn, H., 1961, "Anlautend P- im Germanischen," in: *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 28: 1-31.

Kullanda S., 2002, "Indo-European 'Kinship Terms' Revisited," in: *Current Anthropology*, vol. 42, no. 1, 89-111.

Lambert, P.-Y., 1979, "La tablette gauloise de Chamalière," in: *Études celtiques* 16: 141-169.

Lambert, P.-Y., 1995, *La langue gauloise*, Paris: Éditions Errance.

Lehmann, W.P., 1986, *Gothic Etymological Dictionary*, Leiden: Brill, 712.

Mac Cana, P., 1977, *The Mabinogi*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Matasovič, R., internet database, *An etymological lexicon of Proto-Celtic* (in progress), available at URL: <http://www.indoeuropean.nl>.

McManus, D., 1991, *A Guide to Ogam*, Maynooth: An Sagart.

Meillet, A., [1908] 1922, *Les dialectes indo-européens*, Paris: Librarie Ancienne Honoré Champion.

Meillet, A., 1926, *Caractères généraux des langues germaniques*, Paris: Hachette. (3rd ed.).

Morris-Jones, J., 1913, *A Welsh Grammar. Historical and Comparative*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

O'Brien, M.A., 1957, "Old Irish Personal Names," in: *Celtica* 10, 211-236.

O'Rahilly, T.F., 1946, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Olmsted, G., 1994, *The Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans*, Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft-Archaeolingua, Sonderheft 92.

Paliga, S., 1986, "Thracian terms for 'township' and 'fortress,' and related place names," in: *World Archeology*, vol. 19, no. 1, 26-29.

Pausanias, 1918, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, with an English transl. by Jones, W.H.S. & H.A. Ormerod, eds., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd.

Pedersen, H., 1903, "Türkische Lautgesetze," in: *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 57: 17-46.

Pokorny, J., 1960, "The Pre-Celtic Inhabitants of Ireland," in: *Celtica* 5: 229-240.

Polomé, E., 1983 "Celto-Germanic Isoglosses (Revisited)," in: *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 11: 281-98.

Polomé, E., 1987, "Who are the Germanic People?," in: *Proto-Indo-European: the archaeology of linguistic problem: Studies in Honor of Marija Gimbutas*, Nacev-Skomal, S. & E.C. Polomé, eds., Washington D.C.: The Institute for the Study of Man, 216-44.

Polomé, E., 1990, "Types of Linguistic Evidence for Early Contact: Indo-Europeans and Non-Indo-Europeans," in: *When Worlds Collide: The Indo-Europeans and the Pre-Indo-Europeans*, Markey, T.L. & J.A.C. Greppin, eds., Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, 267-90.

Popov, V.A. / Попов, В.А., 1981, «Половозрастная стратификация и возрастные классы древнеаканского общества», in: *Советская этнография* 6, 89-97 ["Sex-age stratification and age classes of the Old Acan society], in: *Soviet Ethnology* 6: 89-97.

Prokosh, E., 1939, *A Comparative Germanic Grammar*, Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania.

Ross, A., 1970, *Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts*, London: B.T. Batsford /New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

Ross, A., 1993, *Pagan Celtic Britain*, London: Constable.

Russell, P., 1990, *Celtic Word Formation: the Velar Suffixes*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Sapir, E., 1921, *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*, New York: Harcourt, Bruce & Co.

Schmidt, K.H., 1957, *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Schmidt, K.H., 1979, "Indogermanische Verwandtschaftsnamen im Keltischen," in: *Études celtiques* 16: 117-122.

Starostin, S.A., 1989, "Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian," in: *Explorations in language macrofamilies*, Shevoroshkin, V., ed., Bochum: Universitätsverlag Brockmeyer, 106-24.

Starostin, S.A., 1995, "On Vowel Length and Prosody in Altaic Languages," in: *The Moscow Linguistic Journal* 1: 191-235.

Strabo, 1924, Jones, H.L., ed., *The Geography of Strabo*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd.

Stüber, K., 1998, *The Historical Morphology of n-stems in Celtic*, ser. Maynooth Studies in Celtic Linguistics III, Maynooth: National University of Ireland.

Szemerényi, O., 1977, *Studies in the kinship terminology of the Indo-European languages, with special references to Indian, Iranian, Greek and Latin*, Acta Iranica 16, Teheran-Liège: Édition Bibliothèque Pahlavi/Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Thurneysen, R., 1946, *A Grammar of Old Irish*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Trubatshev, O.N. / Трубачев, О.Н., 1959, *История славянских терминов родства и некоторых древнейших терминов общественного строя. Москва*: Наука (2-изд. Москва: 2006) ("History of Slavonic Kinship Terminology and the reconstruction of some terms of the old social system," repr. Moscow: Nauka, 2006 (2nd ed.))

Vasmer, M., 1953, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1, Heidelberg: Winter.

Vorren, O. & E. Manker, 1962, *Lapp Life and Customs*, London: Oxford University Press.

Wiik, K., 2002, "On the Origin of the Celts," in: *The Celtic Roots of English*, Filppula M., J. Klemola & H. Pitkänen, eds., *Studies in Language* 37, Joensuu: University of Joensuu, Faculty of Humanities, 285-94.

Celtic and Afro-Asiatic

Graham R. Isaac
(National University of Ireland, Galway)

It is not remarkable that structural similarities between the Insular Celtic and some Afro-Asiatic[1] languages continue to exert a fascination on many people. Research into any language may be enlightening with regard to the understanding of all languages, and languages that show similar features are particularly likely to provide useful information. It *is* remarkable that the structural similarities between Insular Celtic and Afro-Asiatic languages continue to be interpreted as diagnostic of some sort of special relationship between them; some sort of affinity or mutual affiliation that goes beyond the fact that they are two groups of human languages. This paper investigates again the fallacious nature of the arguments for the Afro-Asiatic/Insular Celtic contact theory (henceforth AA/IC contact theory). It takes its point of departure from Gensler (1993). That work is as yet unpublished, but has had considerable resonance. Such statements as the following indicate the importance that has been attached to the work: "After the studies of Morris-Jones, Pokorny, Wagner[2] and Gensler it seems impossible to

---

[1] Many recent discussions of the matters in hand retain the older designation 'Hamito-Semitic'. I shall use the more recent term 'Afro-Asiatic' irrespective of what term is used by a particular author whose work I might at any time be discussing. The term is imprecise, insofar as Omotic, Cushitic and Chadic, other Afro-Asiatic subfamilies, are not generally implicated in the theory in question. But with that caveat borne in mind, there is no reason to insist pedantically on a narrowing of the terminology.

[2] I.e. Morris-Jones (1900), Pokorny (1927, 1928, 1930, 1949, 1962, 1964), Wagner (1959, 1967, 1977, 1981, 1987) (selected references). To these may be added some further work on the theory by Shisha-Halevy (1995, 2000 a, 2000 b) and Vennemann (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 a, 2003 b, 2003 c). In the present paper, I shall not be discussing the history of the theory over more than a century. A historiographical summary, together with critique, will be provided by Hewitt (fc.; cf. further Zeidler 2004; McCone 2006: 20-40). Nor shall I be addressing the differences of detail between the various presentations, differences in the features chosen as significant, differences in the mechanisms of contact or of immediate affiliations of the substrate language, etc. The base of all versions of the theory is that there is a continuum of contact between the Insular Celtic languages and the Afro-Asiatic lan-

deny the special links between Insular Celtic and Afro-Asiatic" (Jongeling 2000: 64). And the ideas in question have been propagated in the popular scientific press,[3] with the usual corollary that it is these ideas that are perceived by the interested but non-specialist public as being at the cutting edge of sound new research, when in fact they may simply be recycled ideas of a discredited theory. For these reasons it is appropriate to subject Gensler's unpublished work to detailed critique.[4] In particular, with regard to the twenty features of affinity between Insular Celtic and Afro-Asiatic which Gensler investigated, it will be shown (yet again, in some cases):

1) that several of the features are merely implicational correlates of other features, not genuinely separate features at all;

2) that the triviality of some of the features positively disallows them as being diagnostic of a special relationship (and some consideration will be given to the claim, essential to the contact theory, that a group of individually non-diagnostic features can combine to make a diagnostic ensemble of features, or: how do twenty inconclusive arguments add up to one conclusive argument?);

3) most particularly, many of the features imply positively bizarre realist interpretations:

   a) either there is a causal link between the fact of the Celtic languages gaining certain grammatical features in the tenth century A.D. and the (supposed) fact that they had been in contact with an Afro-Asiatoid language five hundred, seven hundred or over a thousand years earlier (realist comparison: 21st-century English develops a certain syntactic feature because it was in contact with Proto-Norse in the tenth century); or
   b) the Celtic languages were still in contact with that Afro-Asiatoid language in the tenth century A.D.

---

guages which is seen evidentially in their shared typological features. Nowhere are the nature of the features involved and the structure of the arguments relating to them explicated in more detail than by Gensler (1993). All detailed discussion will therefore be restricted to the facts and arguments given in the latter work. I shall assume that any criticism of that treatment is transitively applicable to any other treatment relying on, or derived from, Gensler's or using the same data and argumentative direction. If anyone would challenge that assumption, i.e. if anyone would claim that the theory can be upheld without reliance on *any* of the features discussed by Gensler, or on *any* of the implications of his discussion for the linguistic history and geography of the ancient and medieval world, let the critique of that be the task of another day.

[3] Wuethrich (2000).

[4] The criticisms presented in this paper are harsh. The argumentative context requires this. Gensler has helped the field immensely by formulating the issues in the most explicit manner ever. This will have been in vain if the matter is not treated as deserving the most penetrating attack possible.

Neither of the latter realist positions is empirically defensible. Consequently, either the AA/IC contact theory is a metaphysical theory, in which case its usefulness is questionable, or it is wrong.

Here follow the features of affinity between Afro-Asiatic and Insular Celtic (henceforth AA and IC) which Gensler identifies and discusses. He first presents them as seventeen features,[5] but later separates 2 and 4 into subfeatures and argues for counting them separately,[6] giving the array of twenty features. These twenty features are taken by Gensler as defining a shared AA/IC linguistic-typological 'macrotype'. I have added to most of the features a value T, V and/or D, which are explained immediately following.

1.	Conjugated prepositions	T/V
2a.	Clause-level word order VSO	D^1
2b.	NP-level word order VO (Head-Dependent)	D^1
3.	Relative particle or zero (not relative pronoun)	T/D^2
4a.	Genitival relative clauses: pronoun copying not gapping	D^2
4b.	Prepositional relative clauses: pronoun copying not gapping	D^2/V
4c.	Prepositional relative clauses: preposition moves to verb	D^2
5.	Special relative form of verb	V
6.	Polypersonal verb	T/V
7.	Infixing/suffixing alternation	D^1
8.	Definite article in genitive embedding	V
9.	Non-concord of verb before full-NP subject	V
10.	Verbal noun, not infinitive	
11.	Predicative particle	V
12.	Prepositional periphrastic continuous	T/V
13.	'DO' periphrastic	V
14.	Adverbial clauses 'and …'	
15.	Verbal noun/Infinitive instead of finite main-clause verb	T
16.	Syntactically governed word-initial change (mutation)	V
17.	Non-literal kin-term use[7]	

T = Trivial:

The feature is one that, while unfamiliar in Standard Average European (SAE), is of such widespread occurrence throughout languages of the world that its chance occurrence in the two groups IC and AA is not diagnostic.

---

[5] Gensler (1993: 5-6).

[6] Gensler (1993: 293-4; 298-306). The arguments for separation appear more operational than analytical; it is possible and convenient to count 2a and 2b, 4a, 4b and 4c, separately.

[7] Irish *mac léinn* 'student' lit. 'son of learning', Arabic *ibn al-sabīl* 'traveller' lit. 'son of the road'. This feature will not be discussed descriptively or diachronically. In effect, I might thereby be said to be tacitly conceding its significance for the argument. Whether in the argumentative context its importance is therefore enhanced I doubt, but leave open.

1. Cf. in Europe, Hungarian, and in general, fusion of local markers and pronouns found throughout the world.[8]
3. Relative pronoun usual in Modern Europe, but particle or zero common throughout the world, including early Germanic (patterns with relative pronoun, English *who*, *which*, and German *der*, *die*, *das*, etc., are not inherited Germanic: cf. OE *þe*, ON *er*, *at*).[9]
6. Atypical for Indo-European and SAE (but cf. Basque), but otherwise common for verbal systems of inflexional, agglutinative and polysynthetic types throughout the world.[10]
12. Widespread throughout world, and hardly unique in Europe! (German, Dutch, Icelandic, Georgian, with varying degrees of grammaticalisation).[11]
15. In regard to the use of verbal nouns in main clauses conjoined with an initial clause with a finite verb, this is a simple case of conjunction reduction, a universal principle, and without diagnostic force. Use of the narrative verbal noun without conjunction is a stylistic feature of texts, easily paralleled by the Latin narrative infinitive, so giving no scope for placing it in a group of typological features diagnostic of prehistoric contact.

D = Dependency:

There is an implicational correlation between the features, two series of features thus related indicated by superscript numerals.[12]

a. Given clause level VSO, it is an implicational typological commonplace that at NP level the orders NAdj. and NGen. would be expected; so 2a and 2b cannot be allowed to stand as *two* features in the list: they are *one*

8 See Appendix 1.

9 E.g. Korowai (Papuan), particle (van Enk & de Vries 1997: 114-15); Lake Miwok (Utian), particle (Mithun 1999: 264-5); Bella Coola (Salish), zero with deictic congruence of verb (Davies & Saunders 1997: 97-105), Somali (Cushitic), zero (Kirk 1905: 125); Swahili (Bantu), particle (Ashton 1947: 110-14); Korean, zero (with special relative form of the verb) (Sohn 1999: 309-14). This sample is tiny and useless for statistical analysis. But I assume the ease with which these relativisation procedures can be found is indicative of their triviality for the AA/IC contact theory.

10 It is so common that it appears to me futile to give even token examples. I wonder, in fact, if polypersonality in the verb is not, purely numerically, really the dominant pattern of verb-argument cross-referencing in world languages. I do not know. But it is clearly a typological commonplace.

11 I assume that the minimal survey by Comrie (1976: 98-103), suffices to indicate the relative ease with which this feature can be found in languages throughout the world.

12 Some of these dependencies are explicitly signalled by Gensler through the structure of the numeration, and even discussed, but he still ultimately insists on counting them as separate features (see note 6). I do not take issue with Gensler's observation (293) that the correlation between clause-level and NP-level word order is not deterministic. But it remains trivial for a clause-level VSO language to have NP-level noun-adjective, noun-genitive order, e.g. I refer to the 'Expanded Sample' of Hawkins (1983: 283), in this matter. See further Appendix 2.A.

word-order type. Also, given VSO type, the suffixing/infixing alternation is implicationally preprogrammed, once a system of clitic elements centred on the verb is posited, and this is congruent with the Indo-European background of Celtic (not exotic for Indo-European).

b. The structure of relative clauses forms a single subsystem type. The choice between copying *or* gapping (i.e. *not* relative pronoun) in 4a and 4b is already given by 3, relative particle or zero (i.e. *not* relative pronoun). 4a, copying, not gapping, in genitival relative clauses, is the rule for extant Brittonic and post-Old Irish. But Old Irish has genitival relative gapping *also* (Thurneysen 1946: 321-2, §507b, d), restricted to certain constructions where the genitival case role internal to the relative clause can be read from the construction unambiguously without copying; where this is not possible, copying is obligatory (Thurneysen 1946: 321-2, §507c, e), i.e. structurally inevitable, given 3, relative particle or zero and 5, special relative form of verb (i.e. *not* relative pronoun). Given the syntactic restrictions gapping must be subject to (unambiguous reading of case role from clause), it is trivial that if anything is generalised, then it is the functionally more versatile copying, because it is clearer in more contexts. Further, given copying in genitival relative clauses 4a, then copying, not gapping, in prepositional relative clauses 4b is trivial, though obviously not inevitable, as shown by 4c. Prepositional-pronoun copying 4b and prepositional movement 4c are structurally mutually exclusive; the *historically visible* shift from 4c to 4b in IC therefore represents a transition entirely internal to Celtic, and one cannot have *both* 4b (AA in Ar., He., Eg.) and 4c (AA in Be.) as diagnostic features of the 'macrotype'.[13]

V = Vacuous:

The feature is either of such limited occurrence within IC and/or AA as to be non-diagnostic for the respective groups as a whole (e.g. 12), or is of such demonstrably late emergence within one of the groups as to make it impossible to connect with any 'contact' between prehistoric IC and AA speakers (e.g. 4b, 16).

1. In IC emerging only in the period of apocope rules; the proto-forms of the conjugated prepositions were grammatically analysable syntagmata, e.g. OIr. *airib* < **are swes*; OIr. *intiu* < **ande sūs*; OIr. *duaib* < **do ēbis*;

[13] Gensler (1993: 439), is aware of the mutual exclusivity of 4b and 4c, but only expresses this in terms of the co-occurrence of the features in the AA languages. He misses the point in the diachrony of IC that one cannot self-consistently posit prepositional relative movement as being due to contact with the substrate language, only to posit the later shift to prepositional relative copying as being due to contact with the same language. In Gensler's defense, one can note that the priority of prepositional relative movement in Brittonic was not widely known when he was writing, see Isaac (2003).

W *gennyf* < **kanta mī*; OW *cennin*, OB *centen* < **kanta snī*; MW *yt*, MB *dit* < **do tī*; MW *ynn* < **do snī*, vel sim, etc.[14]

4b. In Irish only later in Old Irish period. So no justification for attribution to prehistoric IC.[15]

5. Emerges in IC only at apocope period; prior to that grammatically analysable syntagmata with enclitic relative particle **yo*: OIr. *bertae* < **beronti-yo* 'who carry' vs. *tuthēgot*[16] < **to-yo·tēgont* 'who come' vs. *aratobarr*[17] < **are-yo·toberor* 'for which is given'; Gaul. *dugiIontiIo*,[18] *toncsiIontIo*[19] vs. OW *emmi guollig*[20] < **ambi-yo·wollunget*, etc.[21]

6. Post-apocope reflex of pre-apocope.

7. Infixing/suffixing.[22]

8. Only definable from phase when definite article itself became grammaticalised, not very long period prior to historical languages (no trace in Old/Continental Celtic sources).

9. In IC only well into the periods of historical attestation of the languages. (Contact with AA in 10th century!)

11. For IC, in historical period, general in Welsh only, develops from use of particle *int* (OW/OB) with adjectives in adverbial use (Mod.Irish *Tá sé go maith*, etc., limited to few adjectives).

12. In AA only Egyptian! So no justification for attribution to the type of AA as a whole. In IC grammaticalisation postdates Brittonic unity (terminus

---

[14] The transparency of the syntagmata behind the IC conjugated prepositions seems not to have been noted by the AA/IC contact theorists. The univerbated treatment of these syntagmata by the rules of apocope indicates that the prepositions were tonic, the pronouns clitic. But that does not in itself imply fusion of preposition and pronoun, merely the usual relationship of tonic and clitic. While the IC conjugated prepositions are synchronically exotic for Indo-European languages of the same period, their proto-historical diachrony is fully in accord with inherited PIE grammatical patterns, not exotic at all in the context. Tonic PIE adverb (> adposition; cf. Beekes 1995: 219) + clitic pronoun is a PIE pattern the reflex of which is also clearly seen in Vedic syntax, e.g. ***práti vāṃ*** *sū́ra údite vidhema* 'when the sun has arisen, we pay homage to you two' (*Rgveda* 7.63.5.) This pattern is also implicated in the development of IC verb-initial syntax, compound verbs and infixed pronouns. Adpositions governing nouns and lexical preverbs compounding with verbs are two parallel developments of the same original elements, things like Vedic *práti* in the above example.

[15] See Isaac (2003) for the structure of prepositional relative clauses in early extant IC languages.

[16] Cambrai Homily (Stokes and Strachan 1903: 247).

[17] Wb. 12d29 (Stokes and Strachan 1901: 579). The nasalisation in the relative clause, in place of inherited lenition, is analogical (Isaac 2003: 89, n. 25, with references).

[18] An inscription of Alise-Sainte-Reine (Lejeune 1988: 149-50).

[19] Inscription of Chamalières (Lambert 2002: 270-1).

[20] Computus Fragment (Williams 1927: 256; Falileyev 2000: 54).

[21] These patterns too are discussed in Isaac (2003).

[22] The verb only becomes polypersonal by virtue of the syllable loss which transformed the transparently suffixed and infixed object pronouns (syntagmata) into more morphology-like affixes.

post quem (tpq.) c. 400 A.D.), since Cornish (*ow* < **writ*) and Breton (*o* < **writ*) use a different preposition to Welsh (*yn* < **onkus* = OIr. *oc*, Isaac 1994).[23]

13. Only Brittonic, and of uncertain priority there, and Egyptian. But cf. German. Trivial, as well?
16. Mutation systems only emerge as side-effect of rules of apocope (5th-6th centuries A.D.); prior to that, there was only trivial sandhi.[24]

I present the features again in a tabular arrangement, to illustrate their range in the languages in question. This data is merely taken from Gensler's work. I have silently added a couple of 'hits' where a language has a feature not, apparently, noted by Gensler (thus, incidentally, ostensibly bolstering his case). In no case have I removed a 'hit' recorded by Gensler. For AA I have restricted the presentation to the languages of Arabic, Hebrew, Berber and Egyptian. These are the languages consistently referred to by Gensler, others, such as Phoenician, Akkadian or Aramaic, being mentioned only occasionally. I am happy to concede for argument's sake that the representation of a feature by all four of the AA languages included here can be taken as equivalent to full representation by all relevant AA (excluding Omotic, Cushitic and Chadic), even though that may not actually be the case. I assume that in the cases where other AA languages do or do not have specific features, the full picture would not differ radically from that given here, based on Gensler's work. This array of features in common between AA and IC may indeed be thought to be 'amazing'.[25] But the present article,

[23] In the conclusion to the cited paper, I pointed out, with respect to the *relative* chronology of the construction in Brittonic and Irish, that it 'might have to be regarded as inherited from their respective, or even common, proto-languages, and of some considerable antiquity' (Isaac 1994: 380). I do not recall whether I had any specific *absolute* chronology in mind when I wrote that. I interpret the extant facts of the prepositions used in the construction as meaning that the development of the construction belongs to the Late British/Late Proto-Irish period, with strong influences of contact between the languages, but with South-West British (> Cornish / Breton) already genetically separate. Hence tpq. c. 400 A.D.

[24] There is no doubt that systems of initial mutation comparable to those of the IC languages are genuinely an extreme rarity in the languages of the world. But I am not persuaded that the comparison with Berber initial vocalic alternations is apposite. There are significant, universal differences between the phonological functions and distributions of vowels vs. consonants in the structures of languages; initial vowel mutation and initial consonant mutation are not really the same thing morphophonologically (the prefixing of *h-* to vowels in the IC languages is also not a 'vowel mutation'; it is a consonant mutation of the structure ø → *h*), and the Berber initial vowel 'mutation' is really far more appropriately described as a sort of ablaut, which is quite a different kettle of typological fish. For the initial *consonant* mutations of IC, Gilyak and Finnish (Jakobson 1971: 86-7, resp. Karlsson 1984: 23; both cases are 'multicategorial' in the term of Gensler 1993: 247) provide far more apposite objects of comparison. But they are useless for the AA/IC contact theory. The case of Gilyak, and some others, is mentioned by Gensler (id.: 247).

[25] Gensler (1993: 6), on the first presentation of the 17 undifferentiated features.

building on what has been observed above, will continue to question the argumentative strength of the array.

But (see Table 1 on the next page and Table 2 below):

1, 5, 6, 16 are contingent on 5th-6th-century apocope rules, so not present in 4th-century Celtic 'macrotype' (6 polypersonal verb, prior to apocope = 7 inf./ suff.).

4b, 9, 11 are developments deep into historical period, i.e. not present in 6th-century Celtic 'macrotype' (11 generalised only Welsh; Irish sporadic, later).

Table 2. Diachronic tabulation:

tpq. c. 900	9^{IWCB}, 11^{IW}
c. 600-c. 900	4b?[26]
c. 400-c. 600	1, 5, 6, 12, 16, (13?$^{\mathrm{WCB}}$)
taq. c. 400	2a, 2b, 3, 4a, 4c, 7, 8, 10, 15?

14. Adverbial clauses 'and …' omitted.[27]
17. Non-literal kin-term use omitted.

[26] There are very rare instances of prepositional relative copying in Old Irish (Thurneysen 1946: 322; McCone 1985: 96). There are no clear data for this for the Old Brittonic languages. The argumentation of Isaac (2003) points to the rise of prepositional relative copying within or immediately prior to the periods of attestation of the languages, so c. 600-900 as given here.

[27] Consensus has not been reached with regard to the antiquity of the IC 'and ...' clauses. The question has not been answered definitively whether OIr. *os mé...* etc. (ostensibly 'and I...,' etc.) really contains a contracted form of *ocus* 'and' (Thurneysen 1946: 548) or is actually originally a participial form of the substantive verb (as O'Brien 1923), or something else again. The prehistoric diachrony of the adverbial 'and ...' clauses is therefore quite unknown at this time. The study of its diachrony in the history of Old and Middle Irish has, however, recently been given a firmer foundation by Ronan (2002) whose data and arguments are not obviously consistent with the proposal that the presence of the construction in Celtic languages is explicable by contact with an Afro-Asiatic or Afro-Asiatoid language. Cf. further Tristram (1999: 271-3).

Summary Table 1.:

		1	2a	2b	3	4a	4b	4c	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
AA	Ar.	■	■	■	■	■	■			■		■	■	■	■			■			■
	He.	■	■	■	■	■	■					■	■					■	■		■
	Be.	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■				■					■	
	Eg.	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■				■	■	■	■		■		
IC	OIr.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■
	MW	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
	Co.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	
	Br.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	

% hits:

- Overall AA = 60 Ar. = 65 He. = 55 Be. = 55 Eg. = 65
- Overall IC = 93 OIr. = 95 MW = 95 Co. = 90 Br. = 90

This injection of diachronic realism into the arguments forces the AA/IC contact theory into a very strong empirical prediction.[28] If the appearance of features in the sixth or seventh centuries, or even after 900 is to be attributed to contact with an Afro-Asiatic or Afro-Asiatoid language, then that language must be visible. We know that the IC languages were in contact with Old English, Proto-Norse, Latin and Romance, in various places at various times during the period in question, as well as with each other at all times. The period is traditionally called the 'Dark Ages,' but we are still dealing with the fully historical period. Hand-waving arguments about invisible languages of conquered pre-Celtic people will not do here for this period. If the contact language were influencing Welsh, Cornish, Breton and Irish at this time, we would have to be able to see it. The AA/IC contact theorists must be able to show it to us.[29]

The cluster of features comprised by prepositional pronouns, relative verbal forms, polypersonal verbs and initial mutations, which are all dependent on the fifth and sixth-century apocope rules, present a particular challenge to the AA/IC contact theory. Not only is their date problematic for the theory, but the mechanism of their development is not obviously consistent with the causal relations posited by the theory. For the mutations, it is true that the apocope rules, before which there was trivial external sandhi and after which there were grammaticalised mutations, are not in themselves sufficient to motivate that grammaticalisation itself. Other languages, including many in Europe, undergo various kinds of apocope, without developing mutations. On the other hand, as I pointed out many

[28] There is a curious instance of such diachronic realism in Gensler's work. At the end of a paragraph discussing the diachrony of Berber initial vowel 'mutations,' the following conclusion is stated: "If valid, such considerations argue that Berber word-initial change as we know it did not come into existence at least until the time of the Arab conquest – much too late to be implicated in any hypothetical pre-Celtic substratum on the British Isles" (Gensler 1993: 248). It has not become clear to me how this conclusion can be reconciled with the subsequent continued inclusion by Gensler of initial mutations in the discussion of the 'macrotype'. Clearly, the tacit assumption would have to be made that 'such considerations' are, after all, not 'valid'. Such seems to be the thrust of Gensler's argument when he returns to the point (455), to suggest that Berber itself is showing the influence of a further non-extant African contact language here, though what that language was is unspecified, and apparently unspecifiable. The question of multiple contact languages is addressed below in the main text. (On Berber 'mutations,' cf. also note 24).

[29] A handful of questionable etymologies would not suffice. It must not be thought that the difficulty of the chronology is ignored in the pleas for AA/IC contact. 'Chronological anomalies' are indeed addressed at length by Gensler (1993: 442-56). It appears to me that he has himself formulated cogent chronological arguments against the AA/IC contact theory. I have not been able to discern that the various dismissals of these arguments in the cited passage amount to a coherent argument. They reduce to the adoption of the license to assume that one can always posit influence from invisible languages, an indefinite period (i.e. as required) prior to the extant language under investigation. Insofar as this license amounts to the renunciation of the need to be consistent with any data at all (if the required language is not extant, then it can just be posited to have been present but invisible and belonging to an indefinitely earlier period), this appears to be a barren principle for an empirical discipline to adopt.

years ago in the context of a discussion of the origins of the IC word-order type, there is a typological correlation between word-initial morphological alternations (which the mutations are) and verb-initial word order.[30] Since it is not in dispute that IC had moved to VSO word-order typology several centuries before the apocope in question, there is a hint here of an additional typological correlation, which would again not need the input of a contact language for explanation. Furthermore, since the infixing/suffixing alternation, and the pre-apocope relative particles which are part of that subsystem, are themselves also connected to the verb-initial syntactic typology, and are also transformed by the apocope rules into the polypersonal verb and the special relative form of the verb, we are seeing here further implicational chains describable and explicable entirely in terms of the grammars and histories of the IC languages themselves. A contact language again adds nothing in the way of explanation to the analysis. It has been suggested, probably many times, that the two types of explanation are not mutually exclusive.[31] But this is obscurantism. The correct logical relations have been deliberately blurred. Given that we are seeking explanations, we find an explanation for a set of phenomena within their own structures and histories (the grammatical and typological links between apocope, conjugated prepositions, polypersonal verbs, relative verbal forms and verb-initial word order). The question is irrelevant how compatible these internal explanations are with an explanation in terms of a contact language. They *are* compatible with the hypothetical *presence* of a contact language. But since the phenomena in question are explained by their own structures and histories, that *presence* need not be hypothesised in the first place. It is not that the internal explanation contradicts the AA/IC contact theory: it is just that it makes it redundant. There is no need to explain that for which there is already an explanation. As a result, there is no need for the hypothesis of an AA contact language in the British Isles in the fifth and sixth centuries.[32] One may of course hypothesise anything. But then, in the case

[30] Isaac (1993: 12-13). See further Appendix 2.B.

[31] Gensler (1993: 436-7).

[32] Why does the 'internal' explanation take precedence over the explanation by contact? This is dictated by parsimony. Parsimony cannot tell us what languages were spoken in the British Isles in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D. We must use other approaches to establish that (analysis of data). But the grammatical features in question in this paragraph all have histories and prehistories, and those histories and prehistories are linked with each other. One would say more precisely that the ontogeny and the ontology of the grammatical features are bound together, e.g. it is in the very nature of the Insular Celtic polypersonal verbs and relative verbal forms that they exist (ontology) because they arose (ontogeny) from the interaction of rules of apocope and syncope with VSO word-order typology and patterns of enclisis: the state of the grammar reflects the history of the grammar, ontology and ontogeny are intertwined. Thus, the explanation for the phenomena in question is derived from the phenomena themselves, and nothing further need be posited to explain their existence and nature. And since nothing further *need* be posited, nothing further *should* be posited. This is parsimony. To posit an unknown contact language is a hypothesis posited 'in vain' ('frustra'), as William of Ockham would have put it.

of hypothesising the existence of a language in Dark-Age Britain and Ireland, that language must be presented.

We may revise the array of features to take into account the diachronic details that have been discussed, and present a typological comparison of AA and IC based on the type of the latter in the fourth century.[33] I also remove 2b, 4a, 4b, 4c and 7 in accordance with points which have been discussed previously:

2a, 2b are a single word-order-typological complex.

4a, 4b, 4c are contingent on 3 (if there is a non-referential relative particle, or zero, then copying or prepositional movement is trivial; also restricted gapping in OIr.).

7 (infixing/suffixing) is contingent on 2a (VSO).

Table 3. Resultant 4th-century picture:

		2a	3	8	10	13	14	15	17
AA	Ar.	■	■	■	■		■		■
	He.	■	■	■			■	■	■
	Be.	■	■						
	Eg.	■	■		■	■		■	
IC	OIr.	■	■	■	■		■	■	■
	MW	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
	Co.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
	Br.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	

% hits:

- Overall AA = 59 Ar. = 75 He. = 75 Be. = 25 Eg. = 63
- Overall IC = 88 OIr. = 88 MW = 88 Co. = 88 Br. = 88

Whereby:

2a (VSO): while this is superficially synchronically exotic for Indo-European, it remains the case that it is unproblematically derivative of the principles of Wackernagel's Law[34] and Vendryes' Restriction.[35] The exot-

[33] These diachronic details apply *only* to IC. I am not at this point discussing AA diachrony.

[34] Enclitics come second in their syntactic domain (Wackernagel 1892).

[35] Enclitic objects are restricted to following part of the verbal predicate (Vendryes 1911-12). Coupled with a universal dynamic tendency (not a rule) to keep the morphosyntactic elements of the same semantic lexeme together, the combination of Wackernagel's Law and Vendryes' Restruction naturally caused the verb to gravitate towards the beginning of its clause. I have argued for recognition of a greater role of communicative function in the developments associated with Celtic word order than is generally posited (Isaac 1996: 146-7).

icism of IC VSO is exaggerated by the AA/IC contact theorists.[36] With the addition of Vendryes' Restriction, the syntax of IC reflects the same basic PIE sentence structure as Vedic or Hittite. The Restriction makes a considerable typological difference, to be sure, but is not, in itself, a startling or puzzling phenomenon. And however 'exotic' a feature may appear when considered diachronically context-free, if that feature is shown to be derivative of – for Indo-European – non-exotic diachronic principles, then its diagnosticity for the presence of an 'exotic' contact language is compromised. Such is the case for IC VSO word-order typology. There is much research still to be done to understand the mechanisms and motivations for diachronic IC word-order changes, but that is research which is being done, and showing successes, and does not point to the presence of any non-extant contact language, AA or otherwise.[37]

3 (non-referential relative particle): trivial and widespread.

13 'DO'-periphrasis is included in the 'macrotype' on the strength of its presence in AA in Egyptian alone, but the grammaticalisation of 'DO'-periphrasis in Late Egyptian (tpq. c. 1500 B.C.)[38] coincides with and is symptomatic of the movement of Egyptian *away* from the 'macrotype'. The outcome of this movement, Coptic, is not as good a representative of the 'macrotype' as Old and Middle Egyptian. It has moved away from VSO (2a), partially through generalisation of the 'DO'-periphrastic, and furthermore cannot be said to have 'DO'-periphrasis synchronically, since the conjugation patterns resulting from Late Egyptian 'DO'-periphrasis are fully grammaticalised and lexically opaque in Coptic. Coptic has also lost the prepositional periphrastic continuous (12). Coptic therefore has only 50% hits for the twenty-feature array constituting the full 'macrotype'.[39] How do we justify including both VSO and 'DO'-periphrasis in the AA 'macrotype,' when the latter is only Egyptian and it is part of the

---

This position opposes both the more mechanistic Indo-Europeanist approaches and the equally function-neutral AA contact approach.

[36] See Appendix 3.

[37] As a postulate, Vendryes' Restriction is relevant to more than the prehistory of the medieval Insular Celtic languages alone, as witnessed by the existence of the inscriptions in Cisalpine Gaulish of Voltino *tomedeclai obalda natina* 'Obalda Natina placed me here' (Thurneysen 1923: 8-10; Meid 1989: 17-26) and Vercelli *akisios arkatoko*[.]*materekos tośokote atom teuoxtonion eu* 'Acisios Argantocommaterecos, he has set it up, the boundary of gods and of men, *ex uoto*' (Lejeune 1988: 26-37; Koch 1983: 187-9; Eska, 1990; there are grounds in the analysis of the latter to posit a left-dislocated topicalisation, Eska, 1990; Isaac 1996: 120-1; I emphasise that none of the insights mentioned in this footnote are due to me). The structures of the verbal segments here, *to-me·deklai* (segmentation as by Eska and Weiss 1996) and *to-so*[*n*]·*ko*[*n*]*de*, and their positions, are in exact accord both with the principles of Indo-European syntax (with the addition of Vendryes's Restriction) *and* the well-attested structures of medieval Insular Celtic word order. I return to this point below in the main text.

[38] Loprieno (1995: 7, 220, 225).

[39] For details of Coptic grammar I rely on Layton (2000).

drift away from VSO there? A further point of argument: the presence of 'DO'-periphrasis in Germanic (NB *not* just English)[40] makes it look typologically rather trivial.

14 It is not at all clear that adverbial 'and …' clauses are that old.[41]

15 is a trivial case of conjunction reduction and/or literary stylistics, and cannot be made part of a diagnostic 'macrotype'.

Taking further account of these considerations gives us the full array of features that can reasonably be posited as being significant points of resemblance between fourth-century IC and AA (with no restrictions on the historical state of the latter) as in Table 4:

Table 4:

		8	10	17
AA	Ar.	■	■	■
	He.	■		■
	Be.			
	Eg.		■	
IC	OIr.	■	■	■
	MW	■	■	
	Co.	■	■	
	Br.	■	■	

8. Definite article in genitive embedding
10. Verbal noun not infinitive[42]
17. Non-literal kin-term use

[40] Lockwood (1968: 157).

[41] See note 27. Exclusion of the feature due to this uncertainty may be arbitrary. I will not labour the point.

[42] With regard to the place of verbal nouns in the arguments for AA/IC contact, there is a double irony. 1) The view is widespread enough to be regarded as consensual that the verbal nouns of IC actually represent the archaic preservation of the original pattern of nonfinite verbal abstracts in Proto-Indo-European (cf. Disterheft 1980: 197; McCone 1994: 175; Russell 1995: 275-6, amongst others), not an 'exotic' divergence from a 'standard Indo-European' pattern. 2) It is only a minority view that this interpretation of the state of affairs is incorrect, and that the IC verbal nouns are actually *relatively* recent innovations (cf. Jeffers 1978; Lehmann 1994: 105-6; Ziegler 1997; and Isaac 1996: 431-6; Isaac fc.). Clearly, only the latter view is compatible with theories of AA/IC contact, though it would be mistaken to conclude that the representatives of the minority view were thereby automatically favourably disposed to the theory. I leave the feature in question in the array for argument's sake, without prejudice to its validity, however this may ultimately be judged.

% hits:

- Overall AA = 50 Ar. = 100 He. = 67 Be. = 0 Eg. = 33
- Overall IC = 75 OIr. = 100 MW = 67 Co. = 67 Br. = 67

These three features are all that can really be said to be left of the AA/IC contact theory from the perspective of fourth-century IC. It is obviously not particularly 'amazing,' in either the number and quality of features involved or in the numbers of hits the languages score.

In this paper, I have started by looking at the finest details of the arguments in question. I have examined the feature array proposed as the 'evidence' for some sort of contact between AA and IC, I have attempted to clarify why this array of features does not stand up to scrutiny, and how it forces us to posit realist interpretations in chronology that go beyond what may properly be defended. In the latter parts of this paper, I shall look at some broader implications of the AA/IC contact theory.

Firstly, there is the question of the argumentative construction of the 'macrotype' itself. The point has been made explicitly that even if the features of the 'macrotype' are individually trivial or susceptible to alternative explanation, it is the whole combination, the 'ensemble,' that is diagnostic.[43] This is a crucial step

[43] "The point is not any individual feature, but the cumulative weight of the ensemble" (Gensler 1993: 439). Gensler's work contains frequent comparisons between the 'typological method' of language comparison which he attempts to develop and 'traditional' comparative-historical method. The 'Assessment' with which the argumentative section of his work concludes largely consists of the assessment of just that comparison (Gensler 1993: 456-63). This ethos of comparison of the two 'methods' can be adopted here, in respect of the argumentative role of 'ensembles' of features in comparative-historical linguistics. One would be mistaken in thinking that the theory of Indo-European (or any other reconstructable genetic language family) is dependent on such arguments. Gensler writes, "It is not *typically* the case that the historical linguist, when dealing with a pair of resemblant word forms in two languages, must make it his or her first task to defend the resemblance against charges of coincidence" (Gensler 1993: 10). Allowing for a certain ambiguity in the term 'word forms,' this observation seems to be based on a common misapprehension of the substance of arguments for Proto-Indo-European. It is not *words*, or *word forms*, that are the core of that substance, but grammar, mostly in the form of paradigms. The mere presence in, say, Latin, Greek and Sanskrit of similar *words* does not, could not, and never has been thought to, suffice for the postulate of a common genetic ancestor of these languages, any more than the presence of many French words in English is indicative of the derivation of English from Latin. The identification in the twentieth century of the Anatolian languages and Tocharian as Indo-European did not follow from the discovery of Indo-European *words* in these languages. If there had just been Indo-European *words* in these languages (be they ever so many, an 'ensemble'), embedded in quite different grammatical systems, then Anatolian and Tocharian would never have been classified as Indo-European (the presence of Indo-European words in these languages in those locations at those periods would have been a matter of considerable interest in itself, of course). They are classified as Indo-European languages because they have Indo-European grammars. It is grammars that form the basis of comparison, and the paradigms of which they consist, a

in the structure of the argument, and I have not seen it explicated just how this step is achieved. If it is conceded that the features may indeed be individually trivial, then it must be a matter of urgency that the nature of this 'cumulative' argument be clarified.

The 'problem' under investigation, the *explicandum* posited, is the appearance of apparently similar grammatical features in the IC languages and the AA languages. The 'solution' proposed, the *explicans*, is that the two sets of languages are linked by influence in some sort of contact situation (further implications of which will be discussed below). But if, for instance, 'conjugated adpositions,' relative particles (not pronouns), polypersonal verbs and prepositional periphrastic continuous tenses are, in fact, *relatively* common features of languages throughout the world (some more than others to be sure), how does this '*explicans*' actually function as such? The contact theory can only explain the commonality in the sets of features if it explains the presence of those features in the languages in question. The argument has the structure of *modus ponens*:

(Major Premiss)	If *A* and *B* are two genetically unrelated languages[44] and have the features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z*,[45] then the presence of those features in the respective languages must be due to a causal link through contact.
(Minor Premiss)	*A* and *B* are two genetically unrelated languages and have the features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z*.
(Conclusion)	Therefore the presence of those features in the respective languages must be due to a causal link through contact.[46]

point that was made already in the classic passage of 1786 by William Jones, which specifically postulates that the evidence for genetic commonality is to be found 'both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar'. The mere presence, in languages from Western Europe to India, of verbal paradigms of systematically relatable structures is sufficient as an indicator of that genetic link. The verbal paradigm is a single feature, a feature with an internal structure, certainly, but nevertheless a single feature, and it is itself diagnostic of the genetic link. The fact that the languages show other similarities in many grammatical subsystems corroborates the postulate of such linkage. But this is not a cumulative argument. This is not an argument from a 'diagnostic ensemble' of individually non-diagnostic features. The paradigmatic features are themselves, individually, diagnostic of genetic linkage. This is therefore a difference *in principle* between the comparative-historical method and the so-called (by Gensler) 'typological method,' not just a difference in degree of some parameter. As a final point of clarification: the typological comparison of languages and the insights to be gained therefrom into the nature and structure of human language, are not in question here, only the application of typological comparison to the argument for prehistoric contact. It is the latter application which is the meaning of Gensler's term 'typological method'.

[44] Or language families. This synthetic distinction has no bearing on the argument structure.

[45] Or up to twenty features. Again, the number has no immediate bearing on the argument structure.

[46] I cannot see how hedging this, as "... are *probably* due to a causal link," could enhance the validity of the argument. We want to know what is the case. Even if a rigorous metric were

But the Major Premiss can only be a valid implication if what is said about the features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z* together is also valid for each individual feature. For it to be true that there must be a causal link to explain the presence of features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z* in languages *A* and *B*, it must also be true that there must be a causal link to explain the presence of feature *z* in languages *A* and *B*. If it is not true that there must be a causal link to explain the presence of feature *z* in languages *A* and *B*, then it cannot be true that there must be a causal link to explain the presence of the set of features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z* in languages *A* and *B*. Thus, if *w*, *x*, *y*, *z* are all individually more or less trivial features of languages, whether in Europe, or in Indo-European languages or taking the languages of the world as a whole, then the mere combination of those features into a set, an 'ensemble,' cannot make them diagnostic of some prehistoric connection between languages *A* and *B* (a more formal proof is given in Appendix 4). I assume it can be seen that the same is true in the case of features that may not exactly be trivial, but which can be shown to arise in the diachrony of the extant structures themselves; an 'ensemble' of such features also cannot attain a degree of diagnosticity that the individual features do not have.

I recognise that Gensler's statistical analyses are an attempt to demonstrate exactly the required diagnosticity. But their adequacy is in question. Firstly, the mere statistical frequencies of the individual features in his survey of 70 languages do not seem very encouraging for the theory. With one exception, the frequencies of the individual features do not, by Gensler's analysis, drop below a possible proportion of 1:8.[47] Granted that, on a scale, 1:8 is 'rarer' than 1:2, nevertheless, 1:8 does not really seem absolutely very rare at all. Given a total of world languages at the estimate of c. 5000, that would give c. 556 languages with a feature of frequency 1:8. The ideal, and probably unattainable, complete survey of all world languages would presumably give a different figure to this, but it is equally presumably Gensler's assumption that the statistical method he adopts guarantees that it would not be radically different.[48] Is this really 'rare,'

being applied by means of the term 'probably' (which I doubt), we would then be lacking an argument that such and such is the case. If the AA/IC contact theorists insist that they are merely presenting a 'probability,' which can *by definition* not be shown not to be the case, i.e. refuted (for what data could refute the assertion that something is 'probably' the case?), then they are *by definition* not presenting an argument about the real world as it is. Hence my earlier assertion that one interpretation of the AA/IC contact theory is that it is a metaphysical theory, and therefore not interesting as a theory within an empirical discipline. I do not myself accept this interpretation. I do not believe that the AA/IC contact theory is a metaphysical theory. I believe it is an empirical theory, i.e. a theory about how the world is, and as such, wrong.

[47] Gensler (1993: 374). The exception is initial mutations, with a proposed frequency of 1:18. I have no reservations conceding that this indeed constitutes a rarity. But it can only be included in the AA/IC 'macrotype' on the basis of Berber initial vocalic alternations, and on these, see above, notes 24 and 28.

[48] Even my formulation here is not entirely accurate, since the full count of approximately 5000 'world languages' (whatever the exact figure) is itself merely a contingent sample. It

rather being just less common than some other features? This is only my impression, but I have not been able to discern how Gensler's method demonstrates that my 'impression' in this matter is incorrect, his, that 1:8 somehow shows something significant for the theory, correct. There does not seem to be any clear statement derivable from the analysis that a feature with a frequency of 1:8, or an 'ensemble' of features with frequencies in the languages of the world ranging from 1:2 to 1:8 must be diagnostic of something.

Secondly, though it must be conceded that Gensler's statistical argument goes beyond mere frequencies of the individual features, it is still not clear that the full analysis reaches a conclusion that can go beyond the impression that there are noteworthy typological similarities between IC and AA (not in dispute). Gensler examines the frequencies of various pairings of features, concluding:

> Our examination of interface correlations provides new confirmation that the exotic features are indeed exotic: they may sporadically recur outside [IC and AA] and Africa, but only minimally do they ever occur together in the same language.[49]

This statement is not in question. But it does not, nor do the analyses it summarises, provide any argumentative, implicational link between the occurrence of the individual features in IC and AA and the postulate of a continuum of contact between those language families. The AA/IC contact theorists conclude on such a basis that those occurrences are 'probably' not coincidental, and therefore that there was 'probably' a contact continuum linking AA and IC in prehistoric Europe. But the latter 'probability' is not derived from the statistical analysis, which only gives us a very rough 'probability,' or rather 'improbability,' of the occurrences and co-occurrences of the features. No deductive path leads from that 'improbability' to a 'probability' that there was AA/IC contact. The latter is a hypothesis posited to explain the observed distribution of the features in the languages. The 'probability' of the occurrence of the features is numerical, based

does not include any non-extant past languages (e.g. the languages spoken around 30,000 B.C.), nor does it include any future languages (of, say, 30,000 A.D.). I assume that it can be agreed that the full number of all 'human languages' is, and always will be, *in principle* inaccessible, any accessible statistics of the sort in question here therefore being very broad approximations. One can make descriptive statistical statements based on the tiny sample of languages extant over the approximately 5,000-year period which is available to us. But to justify the conclusion that the occurrences of features or groups of features in AA and IC are not coincidental, or 'probably' not coincidental, one must make the untestable assumption that the tiny sample of languages available to us is representative not only of the tens or hundreds of thousands of years of languages inaccessible to us in the past, but also of the indefinite (if not infinite) number of potential future languages. In truth, however, there is no justification for the assumptions that either the inaccessible linguistic past or the inaccessible linguistic future of human beings followed the same trends as are visible in the extant sample. Consequently, the 'conclusion' of non-coincidence for the appearance of common features in AA and IC is, and will always be, in fact, an unsupportable assumption.

[49] Gensler (1993: 414).

on the statistical analysis of the sample of languages:[50] the 'probability,' so-called, of there having been AA/IC contact is not. The term 'probability' is thus being used in two different senses in the two parts of the argument. And the use of the term 'probably' in the second sense has been discussed, see note 46. To assert that there was 'probably' AA/IC contact does not tell us anything about how the world is, because no conceivable facts could contradict such an assertion.[51]

So, after all the statistical analysis, we still have no criterion for the answer to the question, why *these* features, why *this* 'ensemble,' are 'diagnostic,' i.e. imply, that there must have been contact between the languages that show them. And if the diagnostic nature of this 'ensemble' cannot be read off the logic or numbers of the argument, it must be derived from elsewhere. The only place it can be derived from is the nature of the features themselves. So we are brought back after all to the dependence of the diagnosticity of the 'ensemble' on the diagnosticity of the individual features. And, as has already been discussed, the latter is wanting.

It seems intuitively 'obvious' that a set of twenty features in common between two language families *must* be indicative of some sort of connection between them. It is just such obviousness which keeps the AA/IC contact theory in the realm of debate. The argument might perhaps be said to reduce thereby to 'common sense'. But it is the task of the scholar to test common sense, not to accept it uncritically. The AA/IC contact theory should consist of arguments that *demonstrate* the diagnosticity for that contact of the 'ensemble' of features, not of arguments that are formulated on the *assumption* of that diagnosticity. The rhetoric of the large 'ensemble' of features is what sustains belief in the theory.[52] But 'obviousness' is only so from certain perspectives, and the choice of perspectives is largely an aesthetic matter. It is not sufficient as an argumentative basis.

I have discussed the nature of the individual features themselves, arguing that they are not such as could support the hypothesis of an AA contact language as a substratum to the IC languages, and I have discussed how these individual features are putatively combined into an organic 'macrotype,' arguing that that pro-

---

[50] For argument's sake, I do not question the validity of the statistical analysis itself, though some may wish to do this.

[51] The statement 'x is not so' does not contradict the statement 'x is probably so'. So even if it were shown without any room for doubt that there was no AA/IC contact, one could still logically maintain that there 'probably' was. Of course, it can be highly improbable that there was no contact, but nevertheless the case. This is the difficulty of all non-metric 'probabilistic' arguments. It is just because the statement 'x is probably so' implies the statement 'either x is so or x is not so,' which is a tautology, analytically true, therefore saying nothing whatsoever about the world.

[52] It is on similar rhetorical turns that statements about 'solid nonimpressionistic method' (Gensler 1993: 458) or the 'specialness' of the AA/IC resemblances (Gensler 1993: 460) depend. But 'solidity,' 'specialness' or the 'ensemble' cannot replace engagement with data and argumentative structure. There have been plenty of data and arguments presented in all expositions of the AA/IC contact theory. The present paper takes issue with the quality of engagement with these things that has been seen.

cess of combination is merely a rhetorical device with no logical basis which could uphold the AA/IC contact theory. Finally, wider issues of the chronology and linguistic geography implied by the AA/IC contact theory are to be addressed.

Old and Middle Egyptian are good representatives of the 'macrotype'. But that means that the type is fully established there c. 3000 B.C. If the contact language in Western Europe was itself AA (remaining invisible the whole time), then it must have been making its presence 'felt' since c. 3000 B.C. But IC only 'joins' the 'macrotype' in the early centuries A.D. In what geolinguistic and sociolinguistic context was a language or language group influencing Egyptian by contact prior to 3000 B.C. *and* IC *after* 100 A.D.?

The combined AA/IC 'macrotype' is better represented by IC languages than by AA languages, a point already made by Hewitt (2003). For all twenty of Gensler's features over the four languages each, AA scores 60%, IC 93%.

This must be interpreted in the light of the following facts:

i) IC's representation of the 'macrotype' is the result of developments in the historical period, from c. 1st century A.D. on; and
ii) the 'classic' AA languages (except Berber) are attested *much* earlier than IC, and must therefore be closer to the 'pure' 'macrotype,' which the IC languages only secondarily reflect.

Therefore:

A. If the language in contact with IC was itself genetically AA, then either

i) it influenced them to be more like the 'macrotype' than it was itself (a paradoxical suggestion?),[53] or
ii) it was itself more like the 'macrotype' than any of the *actually extant* AA languages (a counter-empirical suggestion?).[54]

B. If the language in contact with IC was not itself genetically AA (so 'Afro-Asiatoid'), then either

i) it was itself influenced by AA by contact, thus transitively passing the features on to IC, in which case the features of the 'macrotype' became stronger the more distant they were from the causal source (another paradoxical suggestion?),[55] or

[53] Contact with a non-extant AA language cannot 'explain' the typology of IC if that language did not itself fully represent the type to be explained.

[54] Contact with a non-extant AA language cannot 'explain' the typology of IC if not only must that language be conjectured, but its type too must be conjecturally 'enhanced'.

[55] The suggestion compounds the difficulty in A.(i) by transferring it to the hypothetical intermediary. The logic of this variant of the explanation also requires us to posit that the hypothetical intermediary acted not only as a channel of diffusion, but also as a typological

ii) it was itself the source of the 'macrotype' features in AA, in which case it had already done its work in North-East Africa in AA by 3000 B.C. (Old Egyptian), and yet was present, 'potent,' and *typologically unchanged* over 3000 years later in the British Isles (another counter-empirical suggestion?).[56]

It does not appear to me that these difficulties can be reduced by introducing multiple intermediary languages.[57]

'lens,' 'magnifying' the feature complex involved: the (non-AA) intermediary made IC typologically 'more Afro-Asiatic' than Afro-Asiatic itself, an obviously self-contradictory assertion.

[56] The core assertion of B.(ii) is *in principle* irrefutable, because it is an affirmative existential statement: "There was [such] a language." No conceivable data could refute this assertion (this is probably true of the other assertions in A and B, but in those cases, different problems arise in the arguments leading to them). But we can at least observe that its implications can be shown to be contrary to (though not contradicted by) real data. There are a few languages that have extant histories extending over a period of 3000 years or more. Egyptian itself is one. Greek is another, also Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages. Semitic as a family has a history of up to 4500 years, but no individual Semitic language approaches this length of continuous history. None of the languages just listed show typological stability over the period of the order required by the AA/IC contact theory. More languages are extant for a period of between 2000 and 3000 years. The Romance languages < Latin are an obvious European instance. The Celtic languages themselves fall into this category. There is also Chinese, and possibly a number of others. The typological stability over such a large array of features as implied by the AA/IC contact theory is not given for any of these languages, and typological flux is rather the rule. One or other feature, can, of course, remain stable for very long periods, e.g. noun-phrase-level word order in Semitic languages. But it is surely crucial to the AA/IC contact theory that if it is the whole array of twenty features of the 'macrotype' which is diagnostic of the contact situation in question, then it must be the whole array that remains stable over the period in excess of 3000 years. If it is conceded that not all of the features need remain stable for that time, then it is in effect conceded that no causal link need be posited between the appearances of individual features in the individual languages. But then that unravels the argument for there being any causal link in the first place. I assume it can further be seen that this difficulty besets all variants of the AA/IC contact theory in general to a greater or lesser extant, not just in the extreme formulation of B.(ii): the gap of over 3000 years in attestation of the features between Old Egyptian and IC remains the same whatever variant explanation is adopted.

[57] It should be noted additionally that the arguments have an inherent circularity. Contact with a non-extant language (the *explicans*) is posited to explain the typological similarity of the IC and AA languages (the *explicandum*). The only empirical effect of ('evidence for') this language is the typological similarity of the IC and AA languages. The *explicandum* is the only evidence for the *explicans*: circularity. Contrast the structure of the theory of Proto-Indo-European. In that case, what is posited as *explicans*, to the *explicandum* of the grammatical similarity of the languages involved, is a theory of phonological and morphological correspondences, largely in the form of reconstructive and predictive algorithms, which lead deductively to a hypothetical 'proto-grammar'. The 'Proto-Indo-European language' itself is the realist interpretation of this hypothetical grammar (where there was a grammar, there must have been a language). But the 'Proto-Indo-European language' itself does not have the status of *explicans* within the theory: it is an interpretative result, not an explanation. It should not be necessary to state that the fact that it was *his-*

The comparison with the Balkans is instructive, negatively so for the AA/IC contact theory. It has been suggested that the feature complex for AA/IC compares favourably with that for the Balkan area.[58] But if we are identifying contact areas solely on the basis of feature complexes, then we must do so consistently. Looking *only* at the features and their distributions, without noting their geographical and chronological contexts, then for AA/IC, we would have to conclude that it is IC, the better representative of the feature complex, which is the causal trigger, the 'donor,' for the development of the feature complex in AA. It is only the geographical and chronological details that forbid us from positing this. We are therefore bound to include the geographical and chronological information in our analyses. And that vitiates the comparison with the Balkan area. The feature complex itself is *never* sufficient to posit a contact area. The information on geographical and chronological context is essential input for the establishment of a contact area. The Balkan languages form a contact area *because* they are in geographical and chronological proximity. It matters little whether the chosen language families are on neighbouring continents or at opposite ends of the earth. If they are separated by several thousand miles and, with regard to the appearance of the features, several centuries, if not millennia, then there is no area.

The geographical and chronological contexts of the AA/IC contact theory impose further restrictions on the proposals. There are more data available for these matters than appears to have been taken into account by the theory's advocates. It is not sufficient to wave a hand vaguely over the map of Europe and decree that first there was the contact language and then there was Indo-European. For a realist interpretation of the theory, there are more details that need to be clarified. We have seen that the contact language or languages must link the Egyptian of 3000 B.C. and IC of the early centuries A.D. This cannot be done without taking account of the where and the when. The link must by definition be a continuum, geographically and chronologically defined, with a direction, as a field of vectors of contact. There must be places and times of contact, and there must be paths of contact.

The first path of contact that can be ruled out is the one that would lead from North Africa and the Middle East, through Anatolia and then through Europe in a westerly direction. For the period 2000 B.C. - 100 B.C. we can see sufficiently clearly what is going on in Anatolia to be able to rule this out as one of the paths of the continuum. During this period we see the presence of various Indo-European languages ('Anatolian' Hittite, Luwian, Palaic, later Lycian, Lydian, Carian; otherwise also, Phrygian, Greek, Celtic) and non-Indo-European Hurrian and Hattic. None of these languages remotely show traces of the 'macrotype' in ques-

---

torically the language that was posited first is irrelevant for the logical structure of the theory which was developed.

[58] Gensler (1993: 6).

tion, and there is no trace of any Afro-Asiatic or Afro-Asiatoid continuum through Anatolia during this period.

The documentation for non-Mediterranean Europe in the period 3000 B.C. - 100 B.C. is obviously sparse, and restricted to the later end of the period. But we do know that during this period Indo-European must have been spreading somehow through the continent. It is a matter of sufficient controversy just how it was doing so to force that issue to be avoided here. But that this is exactly the period during which Europe was becoming Indo-European, or, by some models, those parts of it that were not already so, is not in dispute. If the Afro-Asiatoid contact continuum linking Egyptian with IC were to have been in the westerly direction through Europe, then it must have been in place already prior to the Indo-Europeanisation of Europe along the same path. This must therefore have been so before 3000 B.C. It is therefore doubly suspicious not only that IC only develops the features of the 'macrotype' over 3000 years later than they are seen in Egyptian (with the purely chronological problems discussed above), but also that no other Indo-European language so much as approaches the 'macrotype,' even though, in this model, by definition *every* Indo-European language of Europe must have come into contact with the same language or language family.

The points of the last two paragraphs appear to me to be decisive in excluding the east to west direction through Anatolia and Europe as the vector field of the AA/IC contact continuum. I shall go out on a limb and simply assume agreement that the vector of contact cannot have entered Europe directly through the Balkan or Italian peninsulas. To the north of these peninsulas, the problems of this model are identical with those of the preceding paragraph, and there seems to be sufficient material from c. 1400 B.C. in the Greek context and c. 800 B.C. in the Italian context to give us confidence that the reason we do not see an Afro-Asiatoid language in these places is because it was not there. The Balkans in the period 1400 B.C. - 100 B.C. give us Greek, Illyrian, Thracian, Dacian, Pannonian, Celtic (all IE), and Lemnian (non-IE, related to Etruscan).[59] By comparison the more restricted territory of the Italian peninsula in the first millennium BC is also rich in linguistic remains, which, however, include nothing remotely answering the genetic or typological demands of the AA/IC contact theory: very roughly south to north, Sicel (IE?), Greek (IE), Messapic (IE), Oscan-Umbrian (IE), Latin-Faliscan (IE), Etruscan (non-IE), South Picenian (IE), North Picenian (non-IE), Ligurian (IE), Celtic (IE; on the Celtic of northern Italy, see below), Venetic (IE), Raetic (non-IE, related to Etruscan).

The last available possibility, as far as I can see, is to posit the continuum as running primarily through North Africa, and establishing a European vector through the Iberian Peninsula. Since the case of IC is a phenomenon of the European far west, the Iberian vector would at least have the virtue of keeping the

[59] Undeciphered as it is, the language of the Minoan Linear A script could be Afro-Asiatic, and there have been attempts to decipher it on that assumption (Gordon 1982: 131-52). The presence of Afro-Asiatic in the eastern Mediterranean is not in dispute, however, and that does not constitute the evidence needed for a contact continuum through Europe.

language in the right general region. It would avoid all the difficulties mentioned in the preceding paragraphs of having the contact continuum run through the whole of Europe. It can be kept as an exclusive phenomenon of Western Europe.[60] The Iberian Peninsula is nearly as well covered for prehistoric data on linguistic geography as Italy. In the first millennium B.C., the following languages are clearly seen: 'Tartessian' (probably non-IE) in the south-west, Iberian (non-IE) in the east, Proto-Basque (non-IE) in the north, Lusitanian (IE) in the west and Celtic (IE), possibly of more than one variety, in central and north-western areas.[61] None of the non-Indo-European languages in question here are candidates for the contact language that is sought: the peninsula seems rather dominated by SOV typology. For the contact vector through the Iberian Peninsula to be plausible, therefore, we must assume that the contact language must have been present there at a time significantly earlier than the presence of the extant languages. This necessarily implies not only a 'coming' of the Indo-European Celts and Lusitanians,[62] but a 'coming' of, presumably, at least the Proto-Basques and Iberians also. There can have been no continuum of contact between North Africa and the British Isles if these languages, radically incompatible with the AA/IC 'macrotype,' had been blocking the way through the Iberian Peninsula. If there was a continuum of the required Afro-Asiatic or Afro-Asiatoid languages running through prehistoric Iberia in, say, the second millennium B.C., then we must say that all the languages that we actually see in Iberia in the first millennium B.C. got there shortly before their attestation and wiped out the AA contact language without a trace, both genetically and typologically. So where did they all 'come from'? As has already been mentioned, the notion of the 'arrival' of Indo-European, about which we have much information, is difficult enough to model. What do we then do with Iberian and Proto-Basque, to get them 'arriving' in Iberia in such a way as to obliterate all trace of another language, which we have only posited to save another theory? It is important to observe that Proto-Basque and Iberian are extant on both sides of the Pyrenees ('Proto-Basque' = 'Aquitanian').[63] They are still 'in the way' of the continuum north as well as south of the Pyrenees.

---

[60] Obviously, at no point do I address the question of the plausibility of this North-African continuum in its geographical, chronological and linguistic details. This I must leave to others.

[61] The historically visible presence of the Phoenicians in the Iberian Peninsula ensures the existence of Afro-Asiatic linguistic elements there also, but I assume that this is not what is meant by the advocates of the AA/IC contact theory.

[62] In line with certain fashions in archaeology and prehistory, some researchers would probably be uncomfortable with the terminology of 'comings' even for speakers of Celtic languages in the Iberian Peninsula. I would not be one of them, but in the interests of consensus, one must only realise that there must have been a time before which Celtic was not spoken there. It is in that earlier period that the AA/IC contact theorists must posit the presence of the contact language.

[63] Villar (2005) has proposed that the Basque presence in northern Spain is due to linguistic spread from north of the Pyrenees in historical times. This is not the place to examine his arguments critically (a desideratum, certainly, relying heavily as he does on data from ge-

The fact that the Gaulish of northern Italy of the first century B.C. already shows constructions with clause-initial compound verbs in accordance with the combination of Wackernagel's Law and Vendryes' Restriction[64] should give further pause to the AA/IC contact theorists, as VSO typology is one of the major cornerstones of the whole theory. We are not justified in asserting that the language of the inscriptions in question was characterised by VSO basic-word-order typology, nor that it was not. On the other hand, even if those instances are not realisations of full-blown VSO-typology, they do clearly show at least the protohistorical prerequisites for Insular Celtic VSO. While the observed existence of verb-initial syntax in Cisalpine Gaulish of the first century B.C., and Transalpine Gaulish in the first century A.D.,[65] is no certain evidence of basic order, nevertheless, in light of such instances, it hardly stands to reason either that Celtic verb-initial syntax is a phenomenon exclusively restricted to the far north-west, the British Isles. Note that Gaulish is also showing us genitive following head-noun (feature 2b),[66] non-referential relative particle (feature 3)[67] and infixing-suffixing alternation (feature 7).[68]

Gensler is aware of some of these features of Gaulish, though not verb-initial clause structure. He also interprets the instances at notes 18-19 as special relative verbal forms and those of note 37 as cases of polypersonality in the verb. That gives six out of the twenty features already present in Gaulish. It is worth emphasising also that the fragmentary nature of the attestation of Gaulish imposes limits on what could be seen there. We have no data in Gaulish for the structures of genitival or prepositional relative clauses (features 4a, 4b and 4c). There is no evidence that Gaulish had a definite article, so feature 8, the distribution of the article in genitive phrases, is irrelevant. There is no evidence either way for feature 10, verbal noun or infinitive. Features 12, prepositional periphrastic continuous, 13, 'DO'-periphrasis, 14, adverbial 'and ...' clauses, and 15, verbal noun/infinitive as main clause verb, are such that, without an extensive corpus, their absence from the fragmentary Gaulish corpus is not indicative of anything. Features 1, conjugated prepositions, and 16, initial consonant mutations, have been seen to be dependent in IC on the apocope rules of the fifth and sixth centuries. And features 9, non-concord of verb with plural subject, and 11, predicative particle, are recognised as very late developments in IC anyway. Making allowance for the limited nature of the corpus of Gaulish, and consider-

---

netics), but it can be mentioned that Villar's model of the prehistoric linguistic geography of Western Europe is maximally incompatible with the notion of a north-African substratum language there.

64 See above, notes 35 and 37.

65 As seen at La Graufesenque, *sioxti albanos panna extratuθ .xxx.* 'Albanos supplied additional vessels, 300' (Marichal 1988: 136). The instance is not unique as a case of Gaulish verb-initial construction (cf. Isaac 1996: 113-23).

66 E.g. *doiros segomari* 'Doiros [son] of Segomaros' (Lambert 2002: 352-3).

67 E.g. *dugiIonti-Io*, *toncsiIont-Io*, see notes 18-19.

68 In the contrasting positions of the suffixed enclitic relative particle in, e.g. *dugiIonti-Io* vs. the infixed pronoun of, e.g. *to-so*[*n*]·*ko*[*n*]*de*, see note 37.

ing therefore only the features that could reasonably be expected to be visible at all in such circumstances, it is not six out of twenty that Gaulish scores, but six out of ten, a higher percentage than Hebrew and Berber score over the whole array of features (55% each).

In dismissing the difficulties for the theory that the presence of such features in Gaulish creates, it is the argument from the mutual compatibility of the genetic-internal and contact-external explanations on which Gensler relies,[69] on which see note 32, and the main text at that place. I will not push the argument from the figures of the last paragraph any further. The point is just that Gaulish, with the features it *does* have, shows that they were already in place in a Celtic language spread over a large territory of Western Europe in the last centuries B.C., including northern Italy.[70] So either the substrate language was spread throughout that territory around that time also – in which case, where is the independent, non-circular evidence for it? – or, as has been noted before, the hypothesis of a substrate language as causal trigger for the presence of these structures in Celtic is a hypothesis too many, and the language was just not there, anywhere, in the first place. This remains true even if the distinction is made between the origins of the patterns in question and their generalisation. If it is conceded by the AA/IC contact theorists that the structures were present in ancient Celtic anyway, independent of any substratum, then from what is the argumentative *need* derived that their generalisation *must* be due to contact? There is none.

There are, presumably, many ways one might want to tweak the argument in the light of the Gaulish data, and it is indicative of at least the hope of a realist position that Gensler himself does not go very far in doing so. The most obvious to me would be to argue that while the substrate language was originally spread throughout Western Europe, passing on its features to Gaulish before dying out in that territory, it survived long enough in the British Isles to continue influencing IC. The more or less extensive evidence for other languages in southern France and northern Italy has already been noted, with no trace of the required substrate language, which must therefore have been extinct in those places earlier than the first century B.C. But this argument cannot get round the complete invisibility of the language in Roman and early medieval Britain. We have already seen the difficulty of having the contact continuum linking Egyptian of 3000 B.C. and IC of 500 A.D. The difficulty is hardly less in the microcosm of Western Europe itself, whereby we would have to have the invisible contact language influencing Gaulish in the second century B.C., say, and IC between 500 and 1000 A.D. The oft-cited ‘principle’ that features can remain hidden in ‘substandard’ forms of language ‘for generations’ must presumably be invoked at some point here. But how many generations? To fit the theory into the chronol-

[69] Gensler (1993: 453).

[70] Lepontic, the non-Gaulish Celtic of northern Italy, extant several centuries earlier than Gaulish there, gives us three verbal clauses with non-initial verbs (cf. Eska and Evans 1993: 45).

ogy of the real extant data, we seem to have to be thinking in terms of enough generations to fill many hundreds of years. I have not seen a demonstration of the plausibility of this. Apparently, we must just take this on faith.

It seems clear that the AA/IC contact theory fails to provide the possibility of a realist interpretation, by which I mean an interpretation that locates the languages in question in a geographical and chronological context which can be consistently confronted with extant data, of which there are more than the proponents of the theory seem to have taken into account, for the histories and prehistories of the languages in question and for the linguistic geography of prehistoric Europe. This is in addition to the unparalleled typological stability of the contact language over the extraordinary gap of more than 3000 years between the appearance of the features in extant Egyptian and their development in IC, and the remarkable fact that the contact language was able to make its presence felt in the IC languages over an extended period in their *extant* histories, well into the Middle Ages, without, over all this time, there having been the slightest trace in uncontroversial data[71] of the presence of this language anywhere in ancient Europe, let alone in medieval Britain or Ireland.[72]

I do not regard any of the arguments I have stated in this paper as being intrinsically new. Many of them may not have been explicitly stated before, but I believe that in such cases I have merely stated what has been clear as implicit

---

[71] It may be necessary to elaborate on the point about the quality of data. Whether or not such and such a toponym, or even group of toponyms, say, could be shown, with much imagination, to be similar to a Semitic lexeme, would be beside the point in the face of contextualised use of languages in considerable corpora in, say, Anatolia, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula. If no plausible path through the extant languages can be posited, then imaginitive etymologies of West-European toponyms would be neither here nor there. This is a point of principle, independent of the specific arguments for any such etymologies of European toponyms that may have been proposed. An etymology can never be used as specific evidence for a theory of a non-extant language, since that theory, including the assumptions which it incorporates, is the argumentative background upon which the etymology is predicated in the first place. E.g. the Indo-European etymology of OIr. *athair*, Eng. *father*, Lat. *pater*, Gk. πατήρ, Skt. *pitā́*, expressed as the reconstruction PIE *ph$_2$tḗr, is not ‘evidence for’ Proto-Indo-European; rather it is the theory of Proto-Indo-European which provides the means for giving these words the etymology, a kind of historical explanation. Similarly, whether the etymology of the name of Ireland in Semitic *_’iy-weri’um_ ‘Isle of Copper’ (Vennemann 1998) is right or wrong has no bearing as ‘evidence for’ the AA/IC contact theory, since it is the theory of the presence of a Semitic language in ancient Western Europe which provides the theoretical basis for the etymology in the first place. In the context it is apposite to add that the etymology is wrong, because such a proto-form could only result in OIr. **_Íriu_, not correct *Ériu*.

[72] Once again, the following statement should not be necessary, but I make it just in case. The question is not whether or not there were non-Indo-European languages in Britain and Ireland before Celtic languages were spoken there. Of course there were. The question is not even whether or not these influenced the typology of the Insular Celtic languages. Maybe they did, maybe they did not. The question is only and specifically whether these prior languages can be placed in a geographical and chronological continuum with the Afro-Asiatic languages. I have not seen any data or arguments which cause me to think that they can.

counter-arguments to the AA/IC contact theory for many decades. The need to state these things now arises from the fact that the theory has gained new advocates in some quarters in recent years, not from any genuinely new insights gained, on either side of the debate.

A point about which much seems to be made in the arguments for AA/IC contact is that it is unreasonable to demand 'solid proof' of some theory or other in order to accept it as a valid piece of theorising. Such meta-discursive observations in principle invite detailed discussion in their own right, but, at the end of this paper, in which I have tried to show the relationship of the AA/IC contact theory with real data, I believe I have almost come as far as need be in discussion of the theory itself. But I will add a few words on this meta-issue. The first sentence of the present paragraph was in my own formulation. Here is the idea in the words of an AA/IC contact theorist:

> It may seem good sober linguistic practice to say of a problem, this remains unproven and even unprovable. But to say that something is unproven and therefore to dismiss it out of hand is not good science.[73]

I do not recognise in this formulation the careful attitude of countless linguists who have worked diligently on the analysis of real data relating to the diachrony of the Insular Celtic languages, both the extant diachrony and the prehistoric diachrony accessible by the comparative method, and who have accepted that the rigour of the discipline, 'scientific' or however one wishes to characterise it, imposes constraints on what can or cannot be accepted as valid argumentation, postulates or results. I unreservedly include John Morris-Jones amongst those linguists, well aware that much of his own comparative-historical work[74] was flawed from the start and has been duly rejected in the meantime (but by no means all of it). As nominal originator of the AA/IC contact theory,[75] Morris-Jones presented a sound and reasonable hypothesis to explain a puzzling phenomenon. But Morris-Jones was writing at a time when there was no working theory of the diachrony of Insular Celtic phonology, or of the diachrony of initial mutations, or of the diachrony of Insular Celtic verbal syntax. These are all products of the twentieth century (work in progress, to be sure). At the time Morris-Jones put forward his hypothesis, the inscriptions in Iberian writing were undeciphered, and Celtiberian was not recognised as such. For all Morris-Jones could have known, if he had considered the possibility, the undeciphered inscriptions in question could have been instances of the very contact language that he implicitly postulated. Morris-Jones's observations were undoubtedly 'good

---

[73] Gensler (1993: 463).

[74] As embodied primarily in his *Welsh Grammar* (Morris-Jones 1913).

[75] In Morris-Jones (1900). The notion of connections between the Celtic and the Semitic languages are much older than that, but it was Morris-Jones's observations that initiated modern research into the matter in a way compatible with notions of typology and prehistoric linguistic contact.

science'. But it is essential also to recognise the way new data and new theories impinge on the old. We have theories of the diachrony of Insular Celtic phonology, mutations and verbal syntax, and we know that the inscriptions in the Iberian writing are definitely not in a language remotely compatible with the postulate of an Afro-Asiatoid contact language.

The position I have taken in this paper is certainly not that the AA/IC contact theory is unproven and unprovable, therefore to be rejected. On the contrary: it has been my intention to demonstrate as clearly as possible that it is simply wrong. But perhaps I am being too rigorous. Perhaps, in my insistence on details of argumentative logic and objective testing of the theory against real-world data, I am making unreasonable demands of a 'probabilistic' theory, by its nature unprovable, but no less valid for that. In case that is so, I may myself be allowed to end with an unprovable argument of plausibilty. I can hardly be criticised for doing so by those who insist that their own theories are of the same nature. The central empirical postulate of the AA/IC contact theory is that ancient and early medieval Europe, whether as a whole or in the west alone, was permeated by a language or group of languages, which, throughout a period of significantly more than 3000 years, much of it in the full light of extant linguistic history and geography, remained completely invisible and typologically, unwaveringly stable. How rigorous a 'proof' do we need of the implausibility of that?

Appendix 1

Fusion of adpositions and pronouns ('conjugated adpositions')

As a way of doing a spot check on the rarity of conjugated adpositions in languages of the world, I took six grammars off my shelves. In the case of Hungarian (Bánhidi and Jókay 1962), there was no randomness, since I already knew that Hungarian had pronominal suffixation to its adpositions. But in the case of the other five, I had not previously taken note of what structures the languages employed in this domain. The five languages were Amele (Roberts 1987), Itelmen (Georg and Volodin 1999), Tariana (Aikhenvald 2003), Udi (Schulze 1982), Yimas (Foley 1991). I then noted *post facto* that Hungarian and Yimas, both with the feature, were included in Gensler's own sample. So I checked two other languages, not in his sample, Kashmiri (Wali and Koul 1997) and Bella Coola (Davis and Saunders 1997).

It would be futile to pretend to any sort of statistical randomness in this sample. I clearly aimed at a spread over several continents, and I knew in advance that I could have taken 30 grammars of European languages, say, without finding any conjugated adpositions. And there would be my motivation for acquiring grammars of those particular languages in the first place (beyond interest). Still, if they were as rare as they would need to be to constitute 'amazing' evidence for AA/IC contact, I would be surprised that I can find four languages with them out of a sample of eight taken from my own bookshelves.

Hungarian (Finno-Ugric) (Bánhidi and Jókay 1962: 346):

alattam 'under me'	*alattunk*
alattad 'etc.'	*alattatok*
alatta	*alattuk*
etc.	

Tariana (Arawak) (Aikhenvald 2003: 228-9), e.g.:

[<u>*di-wika-se*</u>]	*di-wasa*	*di-swa*	*diha*	*ñaki-ne*
3sgfnf-on.top-LOC	3sgnf-jump	3sgnf-stay	ART	evil.spirit-FOC.A/S

'The evil spirit jumped on top of him.'

[<u>*nu-dalipa*</u>]	*pi-nu*	*pi-ema*
1sg-near	2sg come	2sg-stand

'Come and stay near me.'

Cf. cross-referencing prefixes and pronouns (id.: 122).

Yimas (Papuan) (Foley 1991: 109):

‘*nampan*, *naŋkun*, and *nampayn* contrast with *kantk* in that their objects, when pronouns, must be in the form of the bound possessive prefixes.’

mpu-nampan	*mpu-naŋkun*	*mpu-nampayn*	*pun kantk*
3PL-for	3PL-toward	3PL-like	3PL-with
‘for them’	‘toward their house’	‘like those’	‘with them’

Cf. 179, bound possessive prefixes, (id.: 179); verbal cross-reference prefixes, (id.: 200).

Bella Coola (Salish) (Davis and Saunders 1997: 118):

ʔaɬps-iɬ	*ʔaɬ-cx*
eat-we	Prep-her

‘We’re eating with her’ / ‘We ate with her’

ʔapsuɬ-Ø	*ti-staltmx-tx*	*ʔaɬ-tχʷ*
reside-he	-chief-	Prep-them

‘The chief lived with them’

Cf. deictic suffixes (id.: 86).

Appendix 2

The publication of Haspelmath, et al. (2005) has made available the largest yet sample of typological profiles of languages. The data can be used in connection with some of the typological dependencies referred to in this paper.

A. Correlations of Clause-Level and Noun-Phrase Level Word-Order Types

The data point in the same direction as indicated in footnote 12. Figures have been compiled using the 'Composer' programme on the CD accompanying the *Atlas*; the samples for each binary combination are not identical, languages showing no dominant order in any parameter have been ignored. '$\mathbf{V^{+}}$' = 'verb medial/final,' '$\mathbf{V^{1}}$' = 'verb-initial'; neither here nor in any analysis below have artificial means been used to ensure that rounded percentages for each feature or combination give totals of 100%; not all do:

Position of verb & order of noun and genitive (781 languages)

[$\mathbf{V^{+}}$ & GN]	[$\mathbf{V^{+}}$ & NG]	[$\mathbf{V^{1}}$ & GN]	[$\mathbf{V^{1}}$ & NG]
445 languages	243 languages	6 languages	87 languages
57% of sample	31% of sample	1% of sample	11% of sample
65% of $\mathbf{V^{+}}$	35% of $\mathbf{V^{+}}$	6% of $\mathbf{V^{1}}$	94% of $\mathbf{V^{1}}$
99% of **GN**	74% of **NG**	1% of **GN**	26% of **NG**

Position of verb & order of noun and adjective (850 languages)

[$\mathbf{V^{+}}$ & AN]	[$\mathbf{V^{+}}$ & NA]	[$\mathbf{V^{1}}$ & AN]	[$\mathbf{V^{1}}$ & NA]
224 languages	533 languages	23 languages	70 languages
26% of sample	63% of sample	3% of sample	8% of sample
30% of $\mathbf{V^{+}}$	70% of $\mathbf{V^{+}}$	25% of $\mathbf{V^{1}}$	75% of $\mathbf{V^{1}}$
91% of **AN**	88% of **NA**	9% of **AN**	12% of **NA**

Order of noun and genitive & order of noun and adjective (862 languages)

[GN & AN]	**[GN & NA]**	**[NG & AN]**	**[NG & NA]**
212 languages	289 languages	55 languages	306 languages
25% of sample	34% of sample	6% of sample	35% of sample
42% of **GN**	58% of **GN**	15% of **NG**	85% of **NG**
79% of **AN**	49% of **NA**	21% of **AN**	51% of **NA**

In all three combinations, it is the pattern which matches the AA/IC 'macro-type' (**[V^1 & NG]** as a percentage of **V^1** languages, **[V^1 & NA]** as a percentage of **V^1** languages, **[NG & NA]** as a percentage of **NG** languages) which scores the highest percentage points (except **[NG & NA]** as a percentage of **NA** languages). The data of Haspelmath, et al. (2005) can be combined further for a survey of the ternary correlation of position of verb & order of noun and genitive & order of noun and adjective. This gives a sample of 682 languages with recorded values for all three features, excluding cases, as above, where no dominant order is discernible in one or more feature (more detail is given here than above for clarity in the ternary comparison): **V^+** 599 languages (88% of sample), **V^1** 83 languages (12% of sample), **GN** 382 languages (56% of sample), **NG** 300 languages (44% of sample), **AN** 199 languages (29% of sample), **NA** 483 languages (71% of sample). First of all, the binary comparisons are extracted from the new sample, for comparison with the percentages already given, as a control for the congruence of the now smaller sample with the larger and different, separate samples used above.

Position of verb & order of noun and genitive

[V^+ & GN]	**[V^+ & NG]**	**[V^1 & GN]**	**[V^1 & NG]**
377 languages	222 languages	5 languages	78 languages
55% of sample	33% of sample	1% of sample	11% of sample
63% of **V^+**	37% of **V^+**	6% of **V^1**	94% of **V^1**
99% of **GN**	74% of **NG**	1% of **GN**	26% of **NG**

Position of verb & order of noun and adjective

[V^+ & AN]	**[V^+ & NA]**	**[V^1 & AN]**	**[V^1 & NA]**
180 languages	419 languages	19 languages	64 languages
26% of sample	61% of sample	3% of sample	9% of sample
30% of **V^+**	70% of **V^+**	23% of **V^1**	77% of **V^1**
90% of **AN**	87% of **NA**	10% of **AN**	13% of **NA**

Order of noun and genitive & order of noun and adjective

[GN & AN]	**[GN & NA]**	**[NG & AN]**	**[NG & NA]**
159 languages	223 languages	40 languages	260 languages
23% of sample	33% of sample	6% of sample	38% of sample
42% of **GN**	58% of **GN**	13% of **NG**	87% of **NG**
80% of **AN**	46% of **NA**	20% of **AN**	54% of **NA**

So the different sample makes no significant difference to the proportions of binary types extant. The ternary combinations themselves are now given, with percentages of total languages in the new sample for each of the individual features and the binary combinations.

[V^+ & GN & AN]	**[V^+ & GN & NA]**	**[V^+ & NG & AN]**	**[V^+ & NG & NA]**
157 languages	220 languages	23 languages	199 languages
23% of sample	32% of sample	3% of sample	29% of sample
26% of **V^+**	37% of **V^+**	4% of **V^+**	33% of **V^+**
41% of **GN**	58% of **GN**	8% of **NG**	66% of **NG**
79% of **AN**	46% of **NA**	12% of **AN**	41% of **NA**
42% of **[V^+ & GN]**	58% of **[V^+ & GN]**	10% of **[V^+ & NG]**	90% of **[V^+ & NG]**
87% of **[V^+ & AN]**	53% of **[V^+ & NA]**	13% of **[V^+ & AN]**	47% of **[V^+ & NA]**
99% of **[GN & AN]**	99% of **[GN & NA]**	58% of **[NG & AN]**	77% of **[NG & NA]**

[V^1 & GN & AN]	**[V^1 & GN & NA]**	**[V^1 & NG & AN]**	**[V^1 & NG & NA]**
2 languages	3 languages	17 languages	61 languages
Negligible	Negligible	2% of sample	9% of sample
2% of **V^1**	4% of **V^1**	20% of **V^1**	73% of **V^1**
1% of **GN**	1% of **GN**	6% of **NG**	20% of **NG**
1% of **AN**	1% of **NA**	9% of **AN**	13% of **NA**
40% of **[V^1 & GN]**	60% of **[V^1 & GN]**	22% of **[V^1 & NG]**	78% of **[V^1 & NG]**
11% of **[V^1 & AN]**	5% of **[V^1 & NA]**	89% of **[V^1 & AN]**	95% of **[V^1 & NA]**
1% of **[GN & AN]**	1% of **[GN & NA]**	43% of **[NG & AN]**	23% of **[NG & NA]**

In the matter of correlations of clause-level word order and NP-level word order, the AA/IC 'macrotype' is consistent with obvious general typological trends (verb-initial correlating with **[NG & NA]**), and therefore does not have any significant implications for contact between the two families. It would have been more noteworthy if the 'macrotype' were characterised by some sort of mismatch here (e.g. **[V^1 & GN & NA]**). But given the contrary extant facts, I leave open the question as to *how* noteworthy that would have been. None of the insights of this section of the appendix are original, but previously available observations have been shown to be corroborated by newly available data-sets.

B. Correlation of Verb-Initial Clause Order and Initial Mutations

(Ad footnote 30 and main text thereto). I believe the diffidence with which I suggested this correlation (Isaac 1993: 12-13) is no longer appropriate. The reference that I gave at the time (Lehmann 1978: 23) was not to broad or detailed quantified data. But the data of Haspelmath, et al. (2005) allow a more detailed assessment, by means of the correlation of the feature of order of verb, subject and object with the feature of suffixing vs. prefixing in grammatical morphology. The sample available for this correlation includes 793 languages. Of these, 220 languages can be ignored as not showing a dominant word order and/or significant grammatical affixing. From the remaining sample of 573 languages the following statistical statements are derived, in which 'suffixing' means 'suffixing index > 60% of affixing index,' 'prefixing' means 'prefixing index ≥ 40% of affixing index' (terms as defined by Dryer 2005: 110-11, in Haspelmath, et al. 2005: figures compiled using the 'Composer' programme on the accompanying CD):

V^+ & suffixing	338 languages
V^+ & prefixing	170 languages
V^1 & suffixing	24 languages
V^1 & prefixing	41 languages

Any structurally further unspecified language is more likely to be suffixing (63%) than prefixing (37%).

Any structurally further unspecified language is much more likely to be verb-medial/final (89%) than verb-initial (11%).

However:

A verb-initial language is nearly twice as likely to be prefixing (63%) as suffixing (37%).

A verb-initial language is nearly twice as likely to be prefixing (63%) as a verb-medial/final language (33%).

A prefixing language is nearly three times as likely to be verb-initial (19%) as a suffixing language (7%).

No explanation for the correlation is derivable from these statistics, but a large-scale quantitative survey corroborates a significant correlation between verb-initial word order and prefixing. The initial mutations of IC are not prefixes, but, like prefixes, they are a subtype of word-initial morphological oppositions. When initial consonant mutations were grammaticalised in the fifth to sixth centuries in the already VSO IC languages, it seems reasonable to conjecture that a real linguistic trend was thereby being followed.

Appendix 3

(Ad 'The exoticism of IC VSO is exaggerated by the AA/IC contact theorists,' main text at fn. 36). It has not frequently been noted in the context of historical word-order studies of Indo-European, and never to my knowledge in the Celtic context, that Old Russian and Old Serbian are strongly verb-initial in their extant texts.[76] Berneker (1900: 1-16) surveys several Old Russian texts, and finds, for example, "nicht weniger als 130" instances of verb-initial construction out of 160 verbal sentences in 25 pages of one Old Russian text.[77] Berneker's study jumps from Old Russian to the modern language, so giving no view of the details of word-order practice in the intervening centuries. But it seems reasonable to consider texts from the interim in the same light. The following example has no probative value, but is offered purely illustratively, in view of the general lack of recognition of the phenomenon of Slavic verb-initial constructuion in the relevant contexts. (From the *bylina* of *Volx Vseslav'evič*, edition and translation by Jakobson and Szeftel (1966); verbs = v, subjects = s, direct objects = o; these are shown without prejudice to any actual constituency relations in the syntax):

[*Obvernétsja*]$_v$ [*Vol'x*]$_s$ *jasnym sókolom –*
'Volx now turned into a bright falcon,

[*zvilsjá*]$_v$ [*on*]$_s$ *vysóko po podnébes'ju,*
'Soared high up beneath the vault of heaven,

[*poletél*]$_v$ [*on*]$_s$ *daléče vo čistó pole*
'He flew far away into open plains,

140 *ko svóej ko družíne xoróbryja.*
'To his brave retinue.

[*družína*]$_s$ [*spít*]$_v$, *tak* [*Vol'x*]$_s$ *ne* [*spít*]$_v$,
'The retinue sleeps, but Volx does not sleep.

[*razbudíl*]$_v$ [*on*]$_s$ [*udályx dobryx mólodcov*]$_o$*:*
'He awakened his bold and hardy valiants:

"Goj esí vy, družína xoróbraja.
'"Hail to you, my valiant retinue!

Ne vrémja spat', porá vstavát', –
'No time to sleep, 'tis time to rise,

145 [*pojdém*]$_v$ [*my*]$_s$ *ko cárstvu Indéjskomy."*
'Let's march to the Indian Realm."

I [*prišlí*]$_v$ [*one*]$_s$ *ko stené belokámennoj, –*

---

[76] A notable exception is Friedrich (1975: 61-3), the work which has drawn my attention to the phenomenon.

[77] For Old Serbian, see Berneker (1900: 38-9).

'And they reached the white-stone wall –

krepká stená belokámenna,
'That white-stone wall was strong,

voróty y góroda žeľéznyju,
'The city had gates of iron made,

krjukí, zasóvy vse médnyja,
'The hinges, bars all of copper,

150 [*stoját*]$_{v}$ [*karaúly*]$_{s}$ *denný-noščný,*
'Sentinels stand on watch day and night,

[*stoít*]$_{v}$ [*podvorótnja*]$_{s}$ *– dorog rýbej zub,*
'The gate has an undersill – costly walrus bone,

mydrény výrezy výrezeno,
'Ingenious slots cut out,

a i tól'ko v výrezy [*myrašý*]$_{s}$ [*projtí*]$_{v}$.
'And through the slot only an ant could pass.'

Apart from ll. 141 and 153, where there is transparent motivation for subject focus, this passage illustrates the narrative use of verb-initial construction. But it will correctly be wondered to what extent such a passage is representative. Given the apparent unfamiliarity of the Slavic VSO constructions outside of the field of Slavic linguistics, it seems legitimate to present a more detailed analysis as a case study. I have analysed the constituent orders for all finite clauses in the *bylina* of *Volx Vseslav´evič*. The accessability of the edition of Jakobson and Szeftel should make reproduction of the entire text unnecessary here. I have identified 120 finite clauses in this poem of 204 lines (in this edition). In the discussion that follows within this note, 'initial' means only with respect to the core constituents of verb, subject and object; use of the term does not imply that no material at all (e.g. particles, conjunctions, prepositional modifiers, etc.) precedes the 'initial' constituent of the clause in question. Insofar as it is specifically the relative order of subject and verb that is of primary interest, I ignore for convenience here 31 clauses which do not contain an explicitly expressed subject (18 with just **V**, 6 **VO** and 7 **OV**). I also ignore 9 clauses with imperative or hortative verbs (all initial), as this pragmatic mode is characteristically connected with verb-initial order in many otherwise non-verb-initial languages. Of the 80 clauses left, 43 are subject-initial, 37 verb-initial, in the lines as follows (listed in full for transparency and replicability): **SV** 4, 6-7, 10, 17, 20, 21, 22, 27 (×2), 40, 42, 60, 65, 69 (×2), 70, 76, 81 (×2), 82, 98, 99, 104, 109, 116, 117, 126, 128, 129, 136, 141 (×2), 153, 154, 159, 179, 195, 200; **SVO** 77, 188; **SOV** 167, 199, 202; **VS** 2, 12, 13, 15, 16, 39, 44, 58, 83, 100, 106, 110, 112, 118, 123, 124, 137, 138, 139, 146, 150, 151, 163, 165, 184; **VSO** 53, 73, 79, 84, 89, 142, 156, 162, 191; **OVS** 45, 47, 49 (these three lines in close sequence have three mutually

contrasting objects of the same verb with the same subject). Purely numerically then, subject-initial orders are marginally dominant. Objective criteria for assessing the motivation for this distribution would be welcome. These are provided by a number of easily accessible factors. In the following clauses, the parallelism of construction with different subjects gives transparent motivation for contrastive subject focus:

20 *rýba pošlá v morskúju glubinú,*
21 *ptíca poletéla vysóko v nebesá,*
22 *túry da oléni zá gory pošlí*

'Fishes went into the depth of the sea,
'Birds flew high heavenward,
'The aurochs and deer went o'er the mountains'

27 *Vól´x govorít, kak gróm gremít*

'Volx speaks as the thunder roars'

69 *Družína spít, tak Vól´x ne spít:*

'The retinue sleeps, but Volx sleeps not' (+ 81, 141)

A second factor that can easily be examined is the recoverability of the referents of explicit subject pronouns. I tabulate all clauses with such pronouns in Table 5. Columns: A = line number; B = clause (those marked * have the subject both as a pronoun and as an explicit nominal, in left-dislocation or a related construction); C = number of lines previously the referent of the pronoun was named as an explicit nominal; D = number of lines previously a coreferent pronoun was used, if lower than the number in C. The subsections of the table are ordered by column C (ascending).

Initial subject pronouns (including the constructions with a dislocated subject of some sort) tendentially correlate with low recoverability of the referent (explicitly mentioned up to 23 lines previously, referred to pronominally up to 17 lines previously), subject pronouns following their verbs correlating with high recoverability (explicitly mentioned up to nine lines previously, but only with a pronominal mention in the immediately previous line; previous pronominal mentions otherwise no more than four lines back).

However, in view of the apparent lack of differentiation between subject-initial and verb-initial amongst the instances with the lower figures, some additional detail is called for on the observed patterns of distribution recorded in the table. In ll. 70 and 82, the subject pronoun takes up an explicit nominal referred to only in the previously line, implying high recoverability, contrary to the proposed trend. The passages are given below.

Table 5

A	B	C	D
	Subject-Initial		
4	**Ona** s kámenju **skočíla** [na ljutá zmeja],	1	-
70	**ón obvernétsja** serým volkóm,	1	-
82	**ón obvernétsja** jasnym sókolom,	1	-
128	**on** té-to de réči **povýsplušal**,	2	-
202	**on** zláta-sérebra **výkatil**,	2	-
129	**ón obvernúlsja** gornóstalem,	3	1
188	**On berét** carjá za belý ruki,	4	-
76	**on** zájcam, lisícam ne **brézgival**.	7	3
65	A vtápory **Vól´x on** dogádliv **býl**:*	9	-
136	a vsé **on** v zémlju **zakápival**.	10	7
103 -4	A tút takovój **Vseslav´evič**, **ón obvernétsja** gnedým tyróm,*	14	3
159	**Mólody Vól´x**, **on** dogádliv **býl**:*	18	17
109	**Ón obvernétsja** jasnym sókolom,	20	2
179	A sám **on Vol´x** vo paláty **pošél**,*	20	12
126	A **vtápory Vól´x**, **on** dogádliv **býl**:*	23	14
	Verb-Initial		
53	**stál** sebe **Vól´x on** družínu pribirat´:*	1	-
79	**nosíli one** šúby sobolínyja,	1	-
138	**zvilsjá on** vysóko po podnébes´ju,	1	-
142	**razbudíl on** udályx dobryx mólodcov:	1	-
162	**Prošlí one** sténu belokámennu,	1	-
156	**Govorját** [**oné**] takovó slovo:	2	-
83	**poletél on** daléče na síne more,	2	1
139	**poletél on** daléče vo čistó pole	2	1
84	a **b´ét on** guséj, belyx lébedej,	3	1
106	**pobežál on** ko cárstvu Indéjskomu:	3	2
73	A **b´ét on** zvéri soxátyja,	4	3
146	I **prišlí one** ko stené belokámennoj,	4/5	4
110	**poletél on** ko cárstvu Indéjskomu.	7	1
89	A **stál on Vólx** vražbú činít´:*	8	2
112	i **sél on** na paláty belokámenny,	9	1

69	*Družína spít, tak Vól´x ne spít:*	S^1 V	S^2_i V
70	*ón obvernétsja serým volkóm*	$^{pro}S_i$ V	

'The retinue sleeps, but Volx sleeps not:
'He turned into a grey-haired wolf ...'

81	*Družína spít, tak Vól´x ne spít:*	S^1 V	S^2_i V
82	*ón obvernétsja jasnym sókolom*	$^{pro}S_i$ V	

'The retinue sleeps, but Volx does not sleep:
'He turns into a bright falcon ...'

In both cases, there are two nominal subject referents in the preceding line. The pronoun therefore picks out just one of them. The gender of *on* 'he' is in principle adequate for disambiguation, but the selecting focus of the pronoun is enhanced and therefore clarified by initial placement. This contrasts with the roughly parallel lines (quoted above):

141	*Družína spit, tak Vol´x ne spit,*	S^1_i V	S^2_j V
142	*razbudíl on událуx dobryx mólodcov*	V $^{pro}S_j$ O_i	

'The retinue sleeps, but Volx does not sleep,
'He awakened his bold and hardy valiants ...'

The pronoun *on* again picks 'Volx' as the subject of the second line, but in this case, the other nominal of the first line is also taken up in the second: the 'bold and hardy valiants' are the same as the 'retinue,' and their role in the clause of the second line is syntactically explicit. Consequently, there is no need for contrastive focus on the subject pronoun, which is thus post-verbal. So, although the figures for reference recoverability recorded in the above table come out the same for 70/82 vs. 142, the cases are not identical.

The clauses of ll. 126-9 also have high recoverability values apparently in conflict with the trend for subject-initial construction to be used for low recoverability. Comparison of the lines in their contexts, 126-9, with 81-4, with similar recoverability values, is instructive:

81	*Družína spít, tak Vól´x ne spít:*	S^1 V	S^2_i V
82	*ón obvernétsja jasnym sókolom,*	$^{pro}S_i$ V	
83	*poletél on daléče na síne more,*	V $^{pro}S_i$	
84	*a b´ét on gusé j, belyx lébedej*	V $^{pro}S_i$ O	

'The retinue sleeps, but Volx does not sleep:
'He turns into a bright falcon,
'He flew afar to the blue sea,
'And he strikes the geese, the white swans ...'

126	*A vtápory Vólx, on dogádliv býl:*	$\mathbf{S_i\ {}^{pro}S_i\ V}$
127	*sídjuči na okóške kosjáščatom,*	–
128	*on té-to de réči povýsplušal,*	$\mathbf{{}^{pro}S_i\ V}$
129	*ón obvernúlsja gornóstalem*	$\mathbf{{}^{pro}S_i\ V}$

'And at that time Volx, he was resourceful:
'While perching on the small window in a wooden frame,
'He listed to these very speeches,
'He turned into an ermine ...'

The verb-initial clauses of 83-4 follow the subject-initial clause of 82, with its pronoun in focus for the reasons already discussed above. With such prominence given to the referent over the two lines 81-2, by 83, it is highly recoverable, and the text reverts to verb-initial order, with no special reason to front the pronoun. By contrast, ll. 128-9 are separated from the last nominal and pronominal mention of the referent of the pronominal subjects by a line without mention of that referent at all. There is therefore a small but significant difference in the recoverability of the referent of the pronouns in ll. 128-9 as compared with ll. 83-4, a difference registered in the subject-initial construction of ll. 128-9.

Two other lines in the table have the referent of the pronoun explicitly mentioned two lines previously with no pronominal mention in between, 202 (subject-initial) and 156 (verb-initial). The three-line passages in question are as follows:

154	*I vsé molodcý zakručínilisja,*	$\mathbf{S_i\ V}$
155	*zakručínilisja i zapečálilisja.*	**V V**
156	*Govorját [oné] takovó slovo*	$\mathbf{V\ {}^{pro}S_i\ O}$

'And all the valiants became worried,
'Became worried and grieved.
'They voice this sort of speech …'

200	*A i mólody Vól´x tut carém nasél,*	$\mathbf{S_i\ V}$
201	*a to stáli – ljúdi posádskija:*	– (different subject)
202	*on zláta-sérebra výkatil*	$\mathbf{{}^{pro}S_i\ O\ V}$

'And now young Volx enthroned himself as Tsar,
'And his valiants became townfolk:
'He rolled out many kegs of gold and silver for them ...'

Between ll. 156 and 154, there is a line of two finite verbs still with the same subject as explicitly mentioned in l. 154, the subject taken up pronominally in l. 156, which is therefore maximally recoverable, so verb-initial construction (the pronoun of l. 156 of this edition is admittedly an editorial insertion; it is consistent with the analysis proposed here, but no significant change in the analysis would

be forced by the omission of the pronoun). By contrast, between ll. 202 and 200, a line with completely different subject intervenes, interrupting the recoverability of the referent in l. 202 and motivating fronting focus on the pronominal subject there (the fronting of the object in l. 202 is motivated by parallel contrast with the object, also fronted, in the subsequent l. 203).

All but one of the subject-initial clauses in the table above which have apparently high recoverability values for their pronominal subjects (ll. 70, 82, 128, 129, 202) are therefore seen to have their construction conditioned by additional factors interfering with the recoverability in terms of distance from the referent in lines alone, in contrast to clauses with similar recoverability values for their pronominal subjects in verb-initial construction. The exception in l. 4, *Ona s kámenju skočíla [na ljutá zmeja]* 'She leaped off a stone onto a serpent fierce,' is not obviously explicable in one of the ways discussed so far, but the depiction of the princess leaping onto the snake is, after all, the act which, by leading to the birth of Volx, initiates the events of the whole narrative. 'She,' as subject of this clause, therefore carries a considerable burden of semantic and pragmatic implications, which may well justify sharp foregrounding, and so initial position. I shall assume this is so until it may be demonstrated otherwise.

One final passage will be chosen for special comment with regard to referent recoverability, ll. 141-6, which have already been quoted above. In l. 146, verb-initial, but apparently with quite a distance between it and the nearest previous explicit mention of the referent(s), the pronoun *one* 'they' actually refers to both 'Volx' and his 'retinue' of 'hardy valiants'. Though 'they' have not been mentioned in exactly that way in the immediately preceding lines, 'they' are semantically present in the discourse as 'we' within Volx's speech, directly quoted, and no other argument has intervened as subject in these lines. So recoverability is high. So verb-initial construction in l. 146.

A third criterion which is easily accessible in the analysis of the motivation for different clause types is that of the meanings of the verbs involved. I note that the verbs in subject initial construction in this *bylina* have the following meanings (including negation):

berét 'seized' (188); *ne brézgival* 'disdained not' (76); *govorít* 'speaks' (27, 117); *gremít* 'roars' (27); *narjažáetsja* 'starts outfitting' (60); *nasél* 'enthroned' (195, 200); *obvernétsja* 'turns into' (70, 82, 104, 109); *obvernúlsja* 'turned into' (129); *obviváetsja* 'winds himself' (6-7); *obyvál-onevál* 'shod and clothed' (78); *otdaét* 'gives (order)' (167); *pereženílisja* 'took' (199); *poíl-kormil* 'regaled' (77); *poletéla* 'flew' (21); *ponós poneslá* 'conceived' (10); *pošlá/pošlí/pošél* 'went' (20, 22, 40, 42, 179); *povýsplušal* 'listened' (128); *priklonjáetsja* 'bows down' (99); *pristiláetsja* 'flatten out' (98); *projtí* 'passes' (153); *skočíla* 'leaped' (4); *skolybálosja* 'billowed' (17); *spít* 'sleeps' (69, 81, 141); *ne spít* 'sleeps not' (69, 81, 141); *tjanut* 'blow' (116); *výkatil* 'rolled out' (202); *zakápival* 'buried' (136); *zakručínilisja* 'became worried' (154).

(Three instances of the past-tense copula *býl* in 65, 126, 159, present a different case, insofar as the actual predicates of the sentences in question are the adjectives dependent on the copula, not the copula itself; these cases will not be considered further).

All these verbs denote an action or process prototypically entailing volition on the part of the subject; not necessarily that the subject wills the action or process, as in 'seized, speaks,' etc., but that volition is implied as belonging to the subject, even if that volition is not itself directed to the initiation of the action or process: 'sleeps' can hardly be said to be an action prototypically resulting from the will of the subject, but it does assume that the subject is in possession of will, which, by definition, is suspended in sleep. This analysis includes several figurative usages, either by grammaticalisation, as in *gramota Vólxu v naúk pošlá* (40) lit. 'reading went into knowledge for Volx,' i.e. 'Volx mastered reading,' or metaphorically, as in *gróm grémit* (27) 'thunder roars'.

The verbs in verb-initial construction present a slightly different picture:

b´ét 'strikes' (73, 84); *govoríla* 'spoke' (118); *govorít* 'spoke' (184, 191); *govorját* 'spoke' (156); *nosíli* 'wore' (79); *obernul* 'turned' (165); *obvernétsja* 'turned' (137); *otdavála* 'sent' (39); *otvečájut* 'reply' (100); *pobežál* 'scampered' (106); *podrožála* 'trembled' (15); *poletél* 'flew' (83, 110, 139); *poučílsja* 'was instructed' (44); *prišlí* 'reached' (146); *prošlá* 'travelled' (58); *prošlí* 'crawled' (162); *prosvetjá* 'shone forth' (12, 123); *razbudíl* 'wakened' (142); *rodílsja* 'was born' (13, 124); *sél* 'alighted' (112); *stál* 'started' (53, 89); *stáli* 'stood' (163); *stoít* 'stands' (151); *stoját* 'stand' (150); *strjaslósja* 'shook' (16); *učílsja* 'studied' (45, 47, 49); *xodíla-guljála* 'walked-meandered' (2); *zvilsjá* 'soared' (138).

There is no need to note in detail the verbs which here again entail volition in the subject, but in contrast to the verbs in subject-initial construction, the verbs in verb-initial construction include the following:

prosvetjá 'shone forth' (12, 123)
rodílsja 'was born' (13, 124)
podrožála 'trembled' (15)
strjaslósja 'shook' (intransitive) (16)
stáli/stoít/stoját 'stood/stands/stand' (150, 163, 151)

These nine verbs (out of the 37 in verb-initial construction in total) do not entail volition on the part of the subject, but denote processes or positional states quite independent of the fact of the subject's possession of volition or not (including the reflexive-as-passive *rodílsja* 'was born'; he who was born is, ultimately, possessed of will, but that fact has little if anything to do with the process of his being born itself). This appears to be another objectively accessible difference between subject-initial and verb-initial construction in the text in question: only verbs entailing volition on the part of the subject (regardless of

whether that volition is a prerequisite of the action or process of the verb itself) can take initial subjects. It is possible, and should probably be assumed for argument's sake, that over a suitably larger sample, one would find a wider variety of verb-types in both constructions, with non-subject-volition-entailing verbs in subject-initial construction also. But the distribution of the verb-types in the *bylina* of *Volx Vseslav´evič* remains a notable fact.

There is clearly justification for pursuing such analyses further. Since I shall not do so here, 'basic' VSO clause structure in this Russian text, as in the rest of the relevant corpus, may legitimately be regarded as an incompletely tested hypothesis, rather than as an uncontroversial fact. Be that as it may, my investigation, such as it has been, justifies the statement of that hypothesis in the following form. Of the 43 subject-initial constructions in the *bylina* of *Volx Vseslav´evič*, twelve are motivated by transparent contrastive subject focus (20, 21, 22, 27 (×2), 69 (×2), 81 (×2), 141 (×2) and, with subject pronoun (4), and fifteen, with subject pronouns, by the relatively low recoverability of the referent of those pronouns (4, 65, 70, 76, 82, 103-4, 109, 126, 128, 129, 136, 159, 179, 188, 202). Furthermore, initial position is reserved for those subjects with referents characterised by volition (whether literally or figuratively). Granted that I have not provided any analysis of the motivation for the remaining sixteen instances of subject-initial construction, nevertheless, on the evidence of the twenty-seven that I have analysed, a pattern of subject focus emerges. All these data indicate that the preverbal position is a position of marked focus. The proper domain for verb-initial order in some types of Russian (texts) is thus negatively defined: the verb comes first when there is no pressing reason for anything else to come first. This is as close to a definition of a 'basic' order as may be practical or necessary. Compare the following formulation: "The Basic Sentence Type in a language is that in which the Subject is old or topical, and the focus of new information falls on the Predicate" (Hopper 1986: 124; capitals *sic*). 'Topical' here corresponds with 'maximally recoverable,' as I have put it. And in connection with the textual approach I have taken, note Hopper's warning: "It is only from discourse that we can tell what is 'new,' what is 'old,' what is 'contrastive,' and so on; without textual analysis, the data base for a typology is suspect" (*ibid.*, 125).

As stated at the outset, the discussion of the *bylina* of *Volx Vseslav´evič* is purely illustrative. I have no information at present in what detail the text-grammatical motivation for the word-order patterns of Russian texts of this type and of earlier periods has been analysed. But the references already given show that the phenomenon of verb-initial construction in some phases of Russian is a matter of record, not something for which I have to plead.

There is obviously some difference between the relative freedom of Slavic sentence-structure in general, with verb-initial order favoured in some periods in some traditions, and the 'rigid' verb-initial syntax of IC. It is neither implicit in, nor a prerequisite of, my argument that some varieties of Slavic are to be analysed as 'VSO languages'. But it *is* implicit in, and a prerequisite of, the arguments for AA/IC contact that IC VSO as a structural feature is exotic and iso-

lated within the range of Indo-European languages, something that cannot be explained in Indo-European terms, and to explain which a non-Indo-European substrate language must therefore be invoked. With a substantial corpus of early Russian literature formulated in a 'basic' VSO order (regardless of the overall 'type' of the language), IC VSO order looks considerably less 'exotic' and 'isolated' than is sometimes assumed or claimed.

Appendix 4

The 'cumulative' argument for AA/IC contact from the feature 'ensemble' was formulated above as follows:

(Major Premiss)	If *A* and *B* are two genetically unrelated languages and have the features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z*, then the presence of those features in the respective languages must be due to a causal link through contact.
(Minor Premiss)	*A* and *B* are two genetically unrelated languages and have the features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z*.
(Conclusion)	Therefore the presence of those features in the respective languages must be due to a causal link through contact.

This formulation can be simplified. We assume that '*A*' and '*B*' stand for two specific, genetically unrelated languages. We are talking about the possession of features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z* by both *A* and *B*.[78] And we are assuming that the possession of features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z* by both *A* and *B* implies that *A* and *B* are linked by a continuum of language contact.[79] Using '→' as usual to symbolise the conditional 'if ... then ...,' we may put the whole argument, fairly informally still, thus:

(Major Premiss)	*A* and *B* have (*w*, *x*, *y*, *z*) → *A* and *B* must be linked by contact.
(Minor Premiss)	*A* and *B* have (*w*, *x*, *y*, *z*).
(Conclusion)	Therefore: *A* and *B* must be linked by contact.

This is just *modus ponens*.

Using '∧' to symbolise the conjunction, obviously, the proposition [*A* and *B* have (*w*, *x*, *y*, *z*)] is compounded of

[(*A* and *B* have *w*) ∧ (*A* and *B* have *x*) ∧ (*A* and *B* have *y*) ∧ (*A* and *B* have *z*)]

[*A* and *B* have (*w*, *x*, *y*, *z*)] cannot be true unless (*A* and *B* have *w*), (*A* and *B* have *x*), (*A* and *B* have *y*) and (*A* and *B* have *z*) are all true also.

Since the four propositions of the conjunction all have the same arguments, *A* and *B*, it will be convenient to symbolise them more simply as '***W***,' '***X***,' '***Y***,' '***Z***': i.e. let '***W***' stand for '*A* and *B* have *w*', etc. And let '***C***' stand for '*A* and *B* must be linked by contact'.

---

[78] I am not using any established notational convention for assigning symbols to proposition or variable types: the notation is arbitrary and irrelevant.

[79] It is irrelevant to the formalisation which of the models of this continuum discussed in the body of this paper is thought to be correct.

So the argument has the form:

(Major Premiss) $(\boldsymbol{W} \wedge \boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y} \wedge \boldsymbol{Z}) \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}$

(Minor Premiss) $\boldsymbol{W} \wedge \boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y} \wedge \boldsymbol{Z}$

(Conclusion) Therefore: $\boldsymbol{C}$

The form of this argument is undoubtedly valid.

The form of the conditional $[(\boldsymbol{W} \wedge \boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y} \wedge \boldsymbol{Z}) \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}]$ says that the truth of $\boldsymbol{C}$ is guaranteed by the truth of $(\boldsymbol{W} \wedge \boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y} \wedge \boldsymbol{Z})$ (the 'ensemble' of statements that languages *A* and *B* have the features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z*). It seems from this form of the argument that one could say that the truth of $\boldsymbol{W}$ alone cannot guarantee the truth of $\boldsymbol{C}$, because the truth of $\boldsymbol{W}$ does not guarantee the truth of $\boldsymbol{X}$, $\boldsymbol{Y}$ and $\boldsymbol{Z}$. So $(\boldsymbol{W} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C})$ does not follow from $[(\boldsymbol{W} \wedge \boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y} \wedge \boldsymbol{Z}) \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}]$. So possession by the languages *A* and *B* of the individual feature *w* does not guarantee the truth of $\boldsymbol{C}$. Only the 'ensemble' of features can do that. Only the 'ensemble' is diagnostic, not the individual features. This is the apparent logical form of the cumulative argument.[80] It makes no difference whether the argument is demonstrated on the basis of four features, as in this illustration, or of twenty, as in Gensler's twenty features.

If fact, the same logical basis is represented if we formulate the argument with only two terms in the conjunction. We are therefore formulating the argument as follows:

(Major Premiss) $(\boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y}) \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}$

(Minor Premiss) $\boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y}$

(Conclusion) Therefore: $\boldsymbol{C}$

The form of the conditional $[(\boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y}) \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}]$ says that the truth of $\boldsymbol{C}$ is guaranteed by the truth of $(\boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y})$, but not by the truth of $\boldsymbol{X}$ alone. The cases of $(\boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y})$ and $(\boldsymbol{W} \wedge \boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y} \wedge \boldsymbol{Z})$, and any number of conjoined propositions, can be generalised using the 'product' symbol applied to generalised propositions $\boldsymbol{p}$:

$$\prod_{i=1}^{n} \boldsymbol{p}_i$$

This is defined as $(\boldsymbol{p}_1 \wedge \boldsymbol{p}_2 \wedge \ldots \boldsymbol{p}_{n-1} \wedge \boldsymbol{p}_n)$, where $\boldsymbol{n}$ can be defined as any number. Thus, $(\boldsymbol{W} \wedge \boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y} \wedge \boldsymbol{Z})$, in effect $(\boldsymbol{p}_1 \wedge \boldsymbol{p}_2 \wedge \boldsymbol{p}_3 \wedge \boldsymbol{p}_4)$, has $\boldsymbol{n} = 4$, whereas $(\boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y})$, in effect $(\boldsymbol{p}_1 \wedge \boldsymbol{p}_2)$, has $\boldsymbol{n} = 2$. The twenty-feature array with which

[80] For argument's sake I shall assume that this is the case in what follows. But this assumption will ultimately have to fall.

Gensler works would take its place in the generalised argument with $\boldsymbol{n} = 20$.[81] The *modus ponens* argument we have been looking at is therefore generalised to conjunctions of any size as (with $\boldsymbol{q}$ arbitrarily as the consequent of the conditional):

(Major Premiss)	$(\prod_{i=1}^{n} \boldsymbol{p_i}) \rightarrow \boldsymbol{q}$
(Minor Premiss)	$\prod_{i=1}^{n} \boldsymbol{p_i}$
(Conclusion)	Therefore: $\boldsymbol{q}$

This is the generalised form of the cumulative argument. It is only the full conjunction of $\boldsymbol{n}$ propositions that guarantees the truth of $\boldsymbol{C}$. No individual proposition $\boldsymbol{p_i}$ is sufficient to do this, or so we would have to believe, in order to accept the argument of the AA/IC contact theorists. But, although the form of *modus ponens* just given is undoubtedly a valid argument form, there is a problem in this for the AA/IC contact theory.

Although we cannot infer the individual propositions $(\boldsymbol{W} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C})$, $(\boldsymbol{X} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C})$, $(\boldsymbol{Y} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C})$ or $(\boldsymbol{Z} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C})$ from $[(\boldsymbol{W} \wedge \boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y} \wedge \boldsymbol{Z}) \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}]$, we can infer the disjunction $[(\boldsymbol{W} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}) \vee (\boldsymbol{X} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}) \vee (\boldsymbol{Y} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}) \vee (\boldsymbol{Z} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C})]$ from it.[82] This means that, in order for $[(\boldsymbol{W} \wedge \boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y} \wedge \boldsymbol{Z}) \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}]$ to be true, at least one of $(\boldsymbol{W} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C})$, $(\boldsymbol{X} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C})$, $(\boldsymbol{Y} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C})$ or $(\boldsymbol{Z} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C})$ must be true.[83] In terms of the AA/IC contact theory, at least one

[81] The actual order of the propositions is irrelevant: 1, 2, 3, etc., are a purely numerical convention with no argumentative import.

[82] Or a disjunction of as many conditionals as correspond to the propositions in the original conjunction, four in the illustration here, twenty in the case of Gensler's argument from the twenty features. Since all disjunctions and conjunctions can be reduced to two terms anyway, the proof can be simplified by doing so. '$\vee$' = 'either ... or ... or both'; '$\equiv$' = 'is semantically equivalent to,' '~' = negation:

$[(\boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y}) \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}]$	$\equiv$	$[\sim(\boldsymbol{X} \wedge \boldsymbol{Y}) \vee \boldsymbol{C}]$ *Material Implication*, $(p \rightarrow q) \equiv (\sim p \vee q)$.
	$\equiv$	$[(\sim\boldsymbol{X} \vee \sim\boldsymbol{Y}) \vee \boldsymbol{C}]$ One of *De Morgan's Theorems*, $\sim(p \wedge q) \equiv (\sim p \vee \sim q)$.
	$\equiv$	$[(\sim\boldsymbol{X} \vee \boldsymbol{C}) \vee (\sim\boldsymbol{Y} \vee \boldsymbol{C})]$ *Association*, $[p \vee (q \vee r)] \equiv [(p \vee q) \vee r]$ (recursively), *Idempotent*, $p \equiv (p \vee p)$, and *Commutation*, $(p \vee q) \equiv (q \vee p)$.
	$\equiv$	$[(\boldsymbol{X} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C}) \vee (\boldsymbol{Y} \rightarrow \boldsymbol{C})]$ *Material Implication*, $(p \rightarrow q) \equiv (\sim p \vee q)$.

[83] Since the general form of the 'cumulative argument' has been given, the general form of the equivalence in question here will be given for completeness. Using the summation sign for the generalised disjunction, with the same definitory conventions as for the use of the product sign for generalised conjunction, the equivalence in question is as follows:

feature of the array must be individually diagnostic of contact. The following formulation was adopted above: 'Possession by the languages *A* and *B* of the individual feature *w* does not guarantee the truth of ***C***. Only the "ensemble" of features [*w*, *x*, *y*, *z*] can do that.' We now see that this formulation is incomplete. While possession by the languages *A* and *B* of the feature *w* does not necessarily guarantee the truth of ***C***, we see now that, in fact, *at least one* of the individual features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z* must do that. If not even at least one of those features is individually diagnostic of contact, then all the conditionals of the disjunction $[(W \rightarrow C) \vee (X \rightarrow C) \vee (Y \rightarrow C) \vee (Z \rightarrow C)]$ are false, therefore the disjunction itself is false, in which case, the conditional of the 'cumulative' argument, $[(W \wedge X \wedge Y \wedge Z) \rightarrow C]$, is also false. We see then that, though the 'cumulative' argument, as shown above, undoubtedly has a valid logical form, it is, nevertheless, in fact redundant. In order for any 'cumulative' argument of the general form,

(Major Premiss)	$(\prod_{i=1}^{n} p_i) \rightarrow q$
(Minor Premiss)	$\prod_{i=1}^{n} p_i$
(Conclusion)	Therefore: q

to be valid, at least one of the propositions p_i must imply q individually anyway. If not, then the disjunction corresponding by the proof of note 82 is false, therefore, the Major Premiss of the 'cumulative' argument is false, and we cannot deduce q. But if one of the propositions p_i individually implies q anyway, then there is no need for the argument from the conjunction in the first place. The 'cumulative' argument would thus be valid, but irrelevant.

It is apparent that the reason for discussing the nature and structure of the 'cumulative' argument from the 'ensemble' of features is because it is recognised by the AA/IC contact theorists that no single one of the features in question *is* sufficient to imply that there was contact, no single one of those features is individually diagnostic. But if no single feature is individually diagnostic, then no diagnostic 'ensemble' can be derived, and the argument collapses. In the formulation used towards the beginning of this paper: 'How do twenty inconclusive arguments add up to one conclusive argument?' They do not.

There is a simpler way out of the impasse as to how to motivate the diagnosticity of exactly *this* 'ensemble' in the cumulative argument. All discussion in this ap-

---

$$(\prod_{i=1}^{n} p_i) \rightarrow q \quad \equiv \quad \sum_{i=1}^{n} (p_i \rightarrow q)$$

The left-hand side is true if, and only if, the right-hand side is true. The right hand side is true if, and only if, *at least one* of the implications $(p_i \rightarrow q)$ is true. This is the general form of the statement that the 'ensemble' of features of the AA/IC 'macrotype' is diagnostic of AA/IC contact if, and only if, at least one of the individual features of the 'macrotype' is diagnostic of that contact on its own, which, it seems to be agreed, none of them are.

pendix has been of the question of how to establish the criteria for diagnosticity of the common features of the languages for contact between those languages. And this question is predicated on the *assumption* that the following is a valid conditional: 'If *A* and *B* are two genetically unrelated languages and have the features *w*, *x*, *y*, *z*, then the presence of those features in the respective languages must be due to a causal link through contact'. The difficulties in establishing the criteria for diagnosticity can be removed simply by rejecting this assumption. In that case, the presence of some set of common features in two genetically unrelated languages is just not indicative of a causal link through contact.[84]

It is noteworthy that so much effort should have been invested in a theory based on an argument which is ultimately, by its very nature, invalid. A possible source of uncertainty in this matter may have been the confusion of definition with discovery. For instance, it is, of course, the case that the 'macrotype' in question is *defined* by the full array of twenty features together, not by the individual features. Therefore, it is the fact that the AA and IC languages display the full 'ensemble' of features which is 'diagnostic' of their representing the 'macrotype'. This is diagnosticity of their conforming to a certain *definition*. Neither this conformity, nor the definition of the 'macrotype' itself are in question (even if the problematic nature of the respective degrees of conformity of the languages is). The nature of the 'macrotype' as a *defined* term (not a *discovered* fact) is signalled throughout this paper by giving the word in inverted commas. However, the diagnosticity which is sought in the argument for the AA/IC contact language is of discovery, not of definition. The question is not whether we can *define* the contact language from the array of AA/IC shared features,[85] but whether we can validly deduce its very existence from them, a matter of *discovery*, not of *definition*. Consequently, the deductive arguments involved must themselves conform to the usual rules of inference. And that leads to inconsistencies, as above.

It is unusual for such a detailed formal exposition of the structure of an argument to be given in the discipline(s) with which this paper is concerned. That is probably a good thing. But there are cases where a certain 'rhetorical orientation' of an argument (whether consistent with some 'intuition' or not) can obscure the underlying logical structure. In such a case, a more formal exposition to clarify the arguments cannot be objectionable.

References

Aikhenvald, A.Y., 2003, *A Grammar of Tariana, from Northwest Amazonia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[84] This is not to say that they cannot arise through contact, only that their mere presence, in any combination, is not sufficient to indicate that.

[85] We can indeed thereby define it typologically to a certain extent. But that is irrelevant.

Ashton, E.O., 1947, *Swahili Grammar (Including Intonation)*, London: Longman. (2nd ed.).

Bánhidi, Z. & Z. Jókay, 1962, *Ungarisch über Ungarn. Lesebuch und Grammatik für Fortgeschrittene*, Budapest: Verlag für Lehrbücher.

Beekes, R.S.P., 1995, *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics. An Introduction*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Berneker, E., 1900, *Die Wortfolge in den slavischen Sprachen*, Berlin: B. Behr.

Comrie, B., 1976, *Aspect. An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davies, P.W. & R. Saunders, 1997, *A Grammar of Bella Coola*, Missoula, MT.

Dryer, M.S., 2005, "Prefixing versus Suffixing in Inflectional Morphology," in: Haspelmath, M. et al., 2005, 110-13.

Eska, J.F., 1990, "Gaulish *To-so·KoTe* (Vercelli)," in: *Études Celtiques* 27: 193-5.

Eska, J.F. & D.E. Evans, 1993, "Continental Celtic," in: Ball, M.J. & J. Fife, eds., 1993, in: *The Celtic Languages*, London, New York: Routledge, 26-63.

Eska. J.F. & M. Weiss, 1996, "Segmenting Gaul. *tomedeklai*," in: *Studia Celtica* 30: 289-92.

Falileyev, A., 2000, *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Foley, W.A., 1991, *The Yimas Language of New Guinea*, Stanford: Stanford University Press California.

Friedrich, P., 1975, *Proto-Indo-European Syntax*, Bute, Montana: Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology.

Gensler, O., 1993, "A Typological Evaluation of Celtic/Hamito-Semitic Syntactic Parallels," unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Georg, S. & A.P. Volodin, 1999, *Die itelmenische Sprache. Grammatik und Texte*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Gordon, C.H., ca. 1982, *Forgotten Scripts. Their Ongoing Discovery and Decipherment*, New York: Basic Books. (Revised and enlarged edition).

Haspelmath, M., et al., eds., 2005, *The World Atlas of Linguistic Structures*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Hawkins, J.A., 1983, *Word Order Universals*, New York, London: Academic Press.

Hewitt, S., 2003, "The Hamito-Semitic Connection: Fact or Fiction?," paper read at the Twelfth International Congress of Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth, 24-30 August, 2003.

Hewitt, S., fc., “Remarks on the Insular Celtic/Hamito-Semitic Question,” in: Karl, R. & D. Stifter, eds., fc., in: *The Celtic World*, London, New York: Routledge.

Hopper, P.J., 1986, “Discourse Function and Word Order Shift: a Typological Study of the VS/SV Alternation,” in: Lehmann, W.P., ed., 1986, *Language Typology 1985. Papers from the Linguistic Typology Symposium, Moscow, 9-13 December 1985*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 123-40.

Isaac, G.R., 1993, “Issues in the Reconstruction and Analysis of Insular Celtic Syntax and Phonology,” in: *Ériu* 44: 1-32.

Isaac, G.R., 1994, “The Progressive Aspect Marker: W *yn* / OIr. *oc*,” in: *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 3: 33-9.

Isaac, G.R., 1996, *The Verb in the Book of Aneirin. Studies in Syntax, Morphology and Etymology*, Tübingen.

Isaac, G.R., 2003, “The Structure and Typology of Prepositional Relative Clauses in Early Welsh,” in: Russell, P., ed., 2003, *Yr Hen Iaith. Studies in Early Welsh*, Aberystwyth, Wales: Celtic Studies Publications, 75-93.

Isaac, G.R., fc., “The Verb in the Book of Aneirin: addenda and corrigenda,” in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 56.

Jakobson, R., 1971, “Notes on Gilyak,” in: Jakobson, R., 1971, *Selected Writings II*, The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 72-97 (First published in: *The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology. Studies Presented to Yuen Ren Chao on his 65th Birthday*, Academica Sinica 29, Taipei, (November, 1957), 355-81).

Jakobson, R. & M. Szeftel, 1966, “The Vseslav Epos,” in: Jakobson, R., 1966, *Selected Writings IV*, The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 301-68 (First published in: Jakobson, R & E.J. Simmons, eds., 1949, *Russian Epic Studies*, Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 13-86).

Jongeling, K., 2000, *Comparing Welsh and Hebrew*, Leiden: Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, University of Leiden.

Karlsson, F., 1984, *Finnische Grammatik*, Hamburg: Buske.

Kirk, J.W.C., 1905, *A Grammar of the Somali Language with Examples in Prose and Verse and an Account of the Yibir and Midgan Dialects*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koch, J.T., 1983, “The Sentence in Gaulish,” in: Koch, J.T. & J. Rittmueller, eds., *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 3, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 169-216.

Lambert, P.-Y., 2002, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises*, vol. II, fascicule 2: *Textes Gallo-Latins sur instrumentum*, Paris: CNRS Éditions.

Layton, B.R., 2000, *A Coptic Grammar. With Chrestomathy and Glossary: Sahidic Dialect*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Lehmann, W.P., 1978, "The Great Underlying Ground-Plans," in: Lehmann, W.P., ed., 1978, *Syntactic Typology. Studies in the Phenomenology of Language*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 3-55.

Lehmann, W.P., 1994, "Modifications in Syntactic Change from SOV to VSO," in: Bielmeier, R. & R. Stempel, eds., 1994, *Indogermanica et Caucasica. Festschrift für Karl Horst Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 97-109.

Lejeune, M., 1988, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises*, vol. II, fascicule 1: *Textes Gallo-Étrusques, textes Gallo-Latins sur pierre*, Paris: CNRS Éditions.

Lockwood, W.B., 1968, *Historical German Syntax*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Loprieno, A., 1995, *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCone, K., 1985, "The Würzburg and Milan Glosses: our Earliest Sources of 'Middle Irish'," in: *Ériu* 36: 85-106.

McCone, K., 1994, "An tSean-Ghaeilge agus a Réamhstair," in: McCone, K., et al., eds, 1994, *Stair na Gaeilge in Ómós do P[h]ádraig Ó Fiannachta*, Maynooth: St. Patrick's College, 61-219.

McCone, K., 2006, *The Origins and Development of the Insular Celtic Verbal Complex*, Maynooth: National University of Ireland.

Marichal, R., 1988, *Les graffites de La Graufesenque*, Paris: CNRS Éditions.

Meid, W., 1989, *Zur Lesung und Deutung gallischer Inschriften*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.

Morris-Jones, J., 1900, "Pre-Aryan Syntax in Insular Celtic," Appendix B in: Rhŷs, J. & D. Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, London: Fisher Unwin.

Morris-Jones, J., 1913, *A Welsh Grammar. Historical and Comparative. Phonology and Accidence*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mithun, M., 1999, *The Languages of Native North America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Brien, M.A., 1923, "Hibernica. 2. Old Irish *os me*, *os se*, *ote*, etc.," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 14: 311-15.

Pokorny, J., 1927, "Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 16: 95-144; 231-66; 363-94.

Pokorny, J., 1928, "Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 17: 373-88.

Pokorny, J., 1930, "Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 18: 231-48.

Pokorny, J., 1949, "Zum nicht-indogermanischen Substrat im Inselkeltischen," in: *Die Sprache* 1: 235-45.

Pokorny, J., 1962, "Die Sprachen der vorkeltischen Bewohner Nordwesteuropas," in: *II. Fachtagung für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*, Innsbruck), 129-38.

Pokorny, J., 1964, "Zur Anfangsstellung des inselkeltischen Verbums," in: *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 16: 75-80.

Roberts, J.R., 1987, *Amele*, London, New York, Sidney: Croom Helm.

Ronan, P., 2002, "Subordinating *ocus* 'and' in Old Irish," in: Filppula, M., J., Klemola & H. Pitkänen, eds., 2002, *The Celtic Roots of English*, Joensuu: University of Joensuu, 213-36.

Russell, P., 1995, *An Introduction to the Celtic Languages*, London: Longman.

Schulze, W., 1982, *Die Sprachen der Uden in Nord-Azerbajdžan. Studien zur Synchronie und Diachronie einer süd-ostkaukasischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Shisha-Halevy, A., 1995, "Structural Sketches of Middle Welsh Syntax I: the Converter," in: *Studia Celtica* 29: 127-223.

Shisha-Halevy, A., 2000 a, "Stability in Clausal/Phrasal Pattern Constituent Sequencing: 4000 Years of Egyptian (with some Theoretical Reflections, also on Celtic)," in: Sornicola, R., E., Poppe & A. Shisha-Halevy, eds., 2000, *Stability, Variation and Change of Word-Order Patterns over Time*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 71-100.

Shisha-Halevy, A., 2000 b, "Structural Sketches of Middle Welsh Syntax II: Nominal Predications and Presentatives," in: *Studia Celtica* 33: 155-234.

Sohn, H.-M., 1999, *The Korean Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stokes, W. & J. Strachan, 1901, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: a collection of Old-Irish glosses, scholia, prose and verse*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stokes, W. & J. Strachan, 1903, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: a collection of Old-Irish glosses, scholia, prose and verse*, vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thurneysen, R., 1923, "Gallisches," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 14: 8-12.

Thurneysen, R., 1946, *A Grammar of Old Irish*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Tristram, H.L.C., 1999, "'The Celtic Englishes' – Zwei grammatische Beispiele zum Problem des Sprachkontaktes zwischen dem Englischen und den

keltischen Sprachen," in: Zimmer, S., R. Ködderitzsch & A. Wigger, eds., 1999, *Akten des zweiten deutschen Keltologensymposiums (Bonn, 2.-4. April 1997)*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 254-76.

van Enk, G.J. & L. de Vries, 1997, *The Korowai of Irian Jaya. Their Language in its Culture*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Vendryes, J., 1911-1912 "La place du verbe en celtique," in: *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 17: 337-51.

Vennemann, T., 1998, "Zur Etymologie von *Éire*, dem Namen Irlands," in: *Sprachwissenschaft* 23/4: 461-9.

Vennemann, T., 2000, "English as a 'Celtic' Language," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 2000, *The Celtic Englishes II*, Heidelberg: Winter, 399-406.

Vennemann, T., 2001, "Atlantis Semitica: Structural Contact Features in Celtic and English," in: Brinton, L., ed., 2001, *Historical Linguistics 1999. Selected Papers from the 14th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 351-69.

Vennemann, T., 2002, "Semitic ⇒ Celtic ⇒ English: the Transitivity of Language Contact," in: Filppula, M., J. Klemola & H. Pitkänen, eds., 2002, *The Celtic Roots of English*, Joensuu: University of Joensuu, 295-330.

Vennemann, T., 2003 a, *Europa Vasconica – Europa Semitica*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Vennemann, T., 2003 b, "Languages in Prehistoric Europe North of the Alps," in: Bammesberger, A. & T. Vennemann, eds., *Languages in Prehistoric Europe*, Heidelberg: Winter, 319-32.

Vennemann, T., 2003 c, "Syntax und Sprachkontakt: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der indogermanischen Sprachen des Nordwestens," in: Bammesberger, A. & T. Vennemann, eds., *Languages in Prehistoric Europe*, Heidelberg: Winter, 333-64.

Villar, F. & B.M. Prósper, 2005, *Vascos, Celtas e Indoeuropeos. Genes y lenguas*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Wackernagel, J., 1892, "Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung," in: *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1: 333-436.

Wagner, H., 1959, *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Wagner, H., 1967, "Zur unregelmässigen Wortstellung in der altirischen Alliterationsdichtung," in: Meid, W., ed., 1967, *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie. Julius Pokorny zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 289-314.

Wagner, H., 1977, "Wortstellung im Keltischen und Indogermanischen," in: Schmidt, K.H., ed., 1977, *Indogermanisch und Keltisch: Kolloquium der Indo-*

germanischen Gesellschaft am 16. und 17. Februar 1976 in Bonn: Vorträge, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 204-35.

Wagner, H., 1981, "Near Eastern and African connections with the Celtic world," in: O'Driscoll, R., ed., 1981, *The Celtic Consciousness*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart; Dublin: The Dolmen Press, 51-67.

Wagner, H., 1987, "The Celtic invasions of Ireland and Great Britain: Facts and Theories," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 42: 1-40.

Wali, K. & O.N. Koul, 1997, *Kashmiri. A Cognitive-Descriptive Grammar*, London, New York: Routledge.

Williams, I., 1927, "The Computus Fragment," in: *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 3: 245-72.

Wuethrich, B., 2000, "Linguistics: Peering into the Past, with Words," in: *Science* 288/5469 (May 19, 2000), 1158 (consulted at URL: <http://www.sciencemag.org/cgi/content/full/288/5469/1158>).

Zeidler, J., 2004, "Ägyptisch – Hethitisch – Indogermanisch. Methodische und komparative Ansätze," in: Schneider, T., ed., 2004, *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägäis: Akten des Basler Kolloquiums zum Ägyptisch-Nichtsemitischen Sprachkontakt, Basel 9. – 11. Juli 2003*, Münster: Ugarit, 271-300.

Ziegler, S., 1997, "Zur Syntax und Entwicklung des Verbalnomens in den keltischen Sprachen," in: Crespo, E. & J.L. García Ramón, eds., 1997, *Berthold Delbrück y la syntaxis indoeuropea hoy. Actas del Coloquio de la Indogermanische Gesellschaft (Madrid 1994)*, Madrid: Ediciones de la UAM, 631-44.

Effects of Language Contact on Roman and Gaulish Personal Names

Karin Stüber
(University of Zurich)

1. Introduction

The Roman conquest of what was to become the province of Gallia Narbonensis in the second and then of the whole of Transalpine Gaul in the first century B.C. led to the incorporation into the Roman empire of a large part of the territory in which Gaulish was then spoken.[1] In consequence, the vernacular rapidly lost its footing at least in public life and was soon replaced by Latin, the language of the new masters, which enjoyed higher prestige (cf. e.g. Meid 1980: 7-8).

On the other hand, Gaulish continued to be written for some three centuries and was probably used in speech even longer, especially in rural areas. We must therefore posit a prolonged period of bilingualism. The effects of this situation on the Latin spoken in the provinces of Gaul seem to have been rather limited. A number of lexical items, mostly from the field of everyday life, and some phonetic characteristics are the sole testimonies of a Gaulish substratum in the variety of Latin that was later to develop into the Romance dialects of France (cf. Meid 1980: 38, fn. 77).

Given the political and social circumstances, it is to be expected that the impact of Latin onto Gaulish was considerably more significant. Unfortunately, due to the scantiness of written material in the vernacular, little is known about the exact mechanics of the Gaulish language's decline and about the extent to which it was subjected to Latin influence before eventually disappearing.

A few late Gaulish texts at least provide us with some clues. On the inscription on the plate of Lezoux (RIG I.2, L-66) for instance we read in line 8 *vero*, undoubtedly a loan from Latin *vērō*, either as an adverb meaning "really" or as a

[1] Language contact between Gaulish and Latin had started earlier in the Gaulish speaking regions of Northern Italy known as Cisalpine Gaul. However, since there is very little text material written in the vernacular from that area, the following thoughts will confine themselves to the situation in Transalpine Gaul.

conjunction "but". Further on in the same line another obvious loan occurs, the verbal form *curri*, to be interpreted as an imperative "run!" corresponding to Lat. *curre* (on the hypercorrect spelling *-i* instead of *-e*, see McCone 1996: 112).

A veritable mixture of Gaulish and Latin can be found on inscriptions on spindle whorls (on which in detail Meid 1980). Thus, *ave vimpi* (RIG II.2, L-122) combines the Latin greeting *ave* with a Gaulish term often found in this genre and meaning "pretty one, pretty girl, pretty woman" or the like (cf. Lejeune 1977). Sometimes the texts seem to be Latin with Gaulish words rather than the other way round. Thus, in *geneta vis cara* (RIG II.2, L-114) "dear girl, do you want?", only *geneta* "girl" is a Gaulish term, whereas the adjective *cāra* "dear" and the verbal form *vis* "you want" are Latin in origin. Similarly, *nata vimpi pota vi(nu)m* (RIG II.2, L-121) "girl, pretty one, drink wine" contains the Gaulish noun *vimpi* already mentioned next to the Latin accusative *vinum* and the Latin imperative *pota* "drink". Significant in both examples is the Latin morphology: the 2nd singular *vis* and the accusative *vinum* can hardly be considered as Gaulish, and therefore the texts as a whole should rather be classified as 'gaulicized' Latin than as latinized Gaulish.

An interesting question is the status of *nata*. This could be interpreted either as Latin (*nāta* "daughter") or as Gaulish (earlier *gnātā* "daughter, girl"). The two words are not only homophones, but also share their etymology, both going back to IE $*\hat{g}\underset{\circ}{n}h_1tah_2$- fem. "born" ($*\hat{g}enh_1$ "to give birth, to beget"). As Meid (1980: 16-17) reminds us, this is one of the points in the lexical system where the two languages communicated naturally.

The present paper deals with one specific area in which effects of language contact can be observed, the personal names. The changes to be noted in this field are of course not purely linguistic in nature, but are to a large extent culturally motivated. If parents give their child a Latin name this does not necessarily imply that they make no longer use of the Gaulish language. On the other hand, even after the transition from Gaulish to Latin had been completed some Gaulish personal names might have remained in use. They might then have to be interpreted as an ethnic rather than a linguistic mark (cf. Meid 1980: 8).

Gaulish personal names have come to us mainly through three types of sources. Longest known have been names recorded by classical authors such as Caesar or Tacitus. However, they will not be taken into consideration here, since they are in general names of historically important and socially high ranked persons that can tell us little about the naming habits of the ordinary population.

More promising in this regard are names on inscriptions, especially epitaphs. Two kinds of these have to be distinguished: those written in the vernacular and those written in Latin. The latter are on the whole more recent, and they adapt Gaulish names to Latin morphology, e.g. by replacing the Gaulish nominative singular *-os* of masculine *o*-stems by Latin *-us*. The names themselves, however, can be trusted to be recorded quite faithfully, since the documents are contemporary.

The Gaulish inscriptions found in Transalpine Gaul fall themselves into two categories. During the early period, starting in the late 3rd century B.C., a variant of the Eastern Greek alphabet was used, which the Gauls had taken over from the Greek colonies on the Mediterranean coast and which then spread northward along the Rhone. After the Roman conquest, it is replaced by the Latin alphabet, which implies that Gaulish inscriptions in Latin script are in general later than those in Greek script.

The following investigation will be divided into two sections, the first one looking at personal names attested on inscriptions written in the vernacular, the second one looking at those attested in Latin texts.

2. Personal Names on Gaulish Inscriptions

It seems safe to assume that Gaulish inscriptions using the Greek alphabet in the main were written before the Roman conquests, and therefore their scrutiny must be considered our best chance of establishing the genuine Gaulish naming formula. Personal names are found in considerable number on epitaphs and votive inscriptions, and their testimony is unanimous: a person carries a single name, and filiation, if stated at all, is expressed by a patronymic adjective. A number of suffixes are used to form such adjectives, the most common being **-ιος/-ια** (e.g. Ατεσθας Σμερτουρειγιος RIG I, G-3; Ουριττακος Ηλουσκονιος RIG I, G-68; dat. Εσκεγγαι Βλανδοουικουνιαι RIG I, G-146), **-ιακος** (e.g. πορειξ Ιουγιλλιακος RIG I, G-28; Καβιρος Ουινδιακος RIG I, G-118), **-ικνος** (e.g. Κασσιταλος Ουερσικνος RIG I, G-206) and **-εος/-εα** (e. g. Βιμμος Λιτουμαρεος RIG I, G-69; Κιντουμα Κασσικεα RIG I, G-211).

The same formula is also found on the inscriptions in Latin script, examples being *Boudilatis Lemisunia* (RIG II.1, L-2) or *Andecamulos Toutissicnos* (RIG II.1, L-11). In this corpus, however, some instances occur in which filiation is expressed by the genitive of the father's name rather than by a patronymic adjective. Thus, a potter's signature from Toulon-sur-Allier reads *Sacrillos Carati* (RIG II.2, L-23.2), where *Carati* is to be interpreted as genitive of the masculine name **Karātos*, amply attested in Latin inscriptions as *Caratus* (cf. OPEL II: 36). Similarly, the votive inscription on the handle of a pot offers *Doiros Segomari* as name of the donator (RIG II.2, L-133), again with the genitive of the father's name (cf. nom. Σεγομαρος RIG I, G-153).

There can hardly be any doubt that this phenomenon is due to Latin influence. Within the Roman naming formula, filiation is indicated by the genitive of the father's *praenomen*, generally abbreviated and optionally followed by *f(ilius)* "son" or *f(ilia)* "daughter" respectively. This method was apparently adapted by the Gauls, though not precisely copied, since there is no instance of a word for "son" or "daughter" following the genitive.

Confirmation that we are not dealing with an independent Gaulish development is provided by the fact that – with the exception of the two examples given

above – those texts that do offer a genitive instead of a patronymic adjective also show some other kind of Latin influence. This is very evident in the case of an inscription on a finger ring reading *Divixta Argentias Litta Celori ddllm* (RIG II.2, L-130). The votive formula *ddllm* = *dederunt libentes merito* "they gave (it) willingly, deservedly" is clearly Latin, not Gaulish.

In fact, the only form to be considered undoubtedly Gaulish is *Argentias*, apparently the genitive singular of an *ā*-stem **Argentā* or possibly **Argentiā*. This could be interpreted as the mother's name,[2] or alternatively as a masculine *ā*-stem. The name itself must be influenced by Lat. *argentum* "silver," since the correct Gaulish form should have been **Argant(i)ā* (cf. RIG II.2: p. 346). The second genitive, *Celori*, is perhaps rather a form of the gentile name *Celorius* (CIL XIII.7937) than of an otherwise unattested **Celorus*. The genitive in *-ī* of *o*-stems is of course common to Latin and Gaulish. On the whole, then, this inscription is a fine example of language mix, rather like the spindle whorl inscriptions described earlier, displaying a Gaulish genitive in *-iās* next to a Latin votive formula.

Another example of a genitive in place of a patronymic adjective is found on the well known monumental votive inscription from Alisia, which records the donator as *Martialis Dannotali* (RIG II.1, L-13). Here again, Latin influence cannot be doubted, since *Martialis* is itself a Roman name. It is well attested as a *cognomen* on Latin inscriptions (cf. OPEL III: 60) but is not used as such here. Rather it takes the place of a Gaulish individual name. This is an early instance, then, of indigenous Gaulish names being replaced by Latin ones.

It is worth noting that apparently it was the Roman *cognomen* that was felt to correspond most closely to the Gaulish individual name, not the *praenomen* or the *nomen gentile*. This is no doubt due to the collapse of the traditional Roman naming system during the imperial period, which was caused on the one hand by frequent adoptions, on the other hand by the mass manumission of slaves and the granting of Roman citizenship to the population of the provinces, whereby the manumitted slaves received *praenomen* and *nomen* of their former patron, the new citizens those of the emperor. These practices caused *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* to lose all distinctive value and consequently made *cognomina* indispensable (cf. Rix 1995: 726 f.).

Coming back to *Martialis Donnatali*, it is significant that the father carries a traditional Gaulish name: *Dannotalos* is attested on the Cisalpine Gaulish inscription from San Bernardino di Briona in the form *Tanotalos* (RIG II.1, E-1) and is to be interpreted as a compound name consisting of **danno-* "a kind of magistrate" and **talu-* "forehead," cognate with OIr. *taul* "forehead" (cf. Delamarre 2001: 113; 244). This is an example, then, of a Gaul choosing for his son a Roman name while still speaking Gaulish and even passing on this language to the next generation.

---

[2] For possible explanations why the mother should be named instead of the father, see RIG II.2: p. 346 and Stüber (2005: 53).

A similar case is found on another votive inscription, which names a *Frontu Tarbetis[o]nios* (RIG II.1, L-3). *Frontu*, here used as individual name exactly like *Martialis* above, is a Gaulish adaptation of the well attested Latin *cognomen Frontō* (cf. OPEL II: 153), inflected as an *n*-stem and apparently incorporated as such into Gaulish (Stüber 1998: 108). *Tarbetisonios*, on the other hand, is a patronymic adjective, not a genitive like *Dannotali*. Thus despite the Latin origin of *Frontu* the naming formula is still Gaulish in this instance.

Two interesting cases of the adaptation of Roman names into the Gaulish formula, consisting of individual name and patronymic, can be found on the well known magic inscription from Larzac (RIG II.2, L-98). The text names a number of women, most of which only bear a single name, be it Gaulish like *Adiega* (on which Stüber 2005: 110) or Latin like *Paulla*.[3] There are two exceptions, however. One is *Severa Tertionicna*, attested several times in the nominative and in the accusative *Severim Tertionicnim*, the woman making up one of the two opposing parties recorded in the text. *Severa* is clearly a Roman *cognomen* (cf. OPEL IV: 76ff.). Interesting is *Tertionicna*, morphologically a patronymic adjective formed with the Gaulish suffix **-ikno-*, yet derived not from a Gaulish name, but from the Latin *n*-stem *Tertio* attested as a *cognomen* elsewhere (cf. OPEL IV: 114; on *Tertionicna* Neumann 1993: 341). Thus, not only *Severa* herself, but already her father carried a Roman name; they might well have been Romans by descent.

Very similar is the case of *Ruficna Casta*, mentioned once as a member of the opposing party. Again, *Casta* is a well attested Roman *cognomen* (cf. OPEL II: 42f.), and the patronymic adjective *Ruficna* can be interpreted as deriving from the *cognomen Rufus* (cf. OPEL IV: 35f.). Why the patronymic in this case is placed before the individual name remains unclear; no other instance of this word order is found in Gaulish inscriptions.

As in the case of *Martialis* and *Frontu*, it is the Roman *cognomina* that are used in the place of Gaulish individual names on the inscription of Larzac. There are, however, also attestations of Roman gentile names found in Gaulish inscriptions. An early instance is Κορνηλια on a votive inscription in Greek script (RIG I, G-65). The female donator is here referred to only by her *nomen*, which reflects the Roman custom that women carried no *praenomen* (cf. e.g. Kajanto 1977: 148-149). Κορνηλια could well have been simply a Roman woman ordering an inscription in Gaulish, for reasons unknown to us.

More significant is the case of Ουενιτοουτα Κουαδρουνια (RIG I, G-106). At first glance, this looks exactly like the genuine Gaulish naming formula of individual name and patronymic adjective. While Κουαδρουνια cannot derive from a genuine Gaulish name because of the initial κου-, which must represent a labiovelar, a phoneme not found in Gaulish, one might still be tempted to posit

[3] On the interpretation of the terms *matir* “mother”, *duxtir* “daughter” and *dona* “?”, which so far are not attested outside the inscription of Larzac, see Stüber (2005: 56-57) with further references.

an adjective based on a Roman name in the manner of *Tertionicna* or *Ruficna* discussed earlier. However, a Roman *cognomen *Quadrō* is not found. For this reason it seems preferable to see in Κουαδρουνια a rendering of the actually attested Latin gentile name *Quadrōnius* (cf. OPEL IV, 15), with substitution of */ō/* by */ū/* (written <ου>), since */ō/* was not part of the Gaulish phonemic system (Stüber 2005: 54).

Ουενιτοουτα Κουαδρουνια, then, is to be considered an instance of the Roman naming formula, with the Gaulish individual name here being used in the place of the Roman *praenomen*, as it sometimes is on Latin inscriptions (see below). The reason it was tolerated in a Gaulish text could precisely be that it looked identical to the genuine Gaulish formula.

There is one other Gaulish text that uses the Roman naming formula: the famous magical inscription on the lead tablet from Chamalières (RIG II.2, L-100), which records a group of six men. Their names are all Latin, but inflected according to Gaulish morphology and thus showing an accusative in *-on*. Contrary to the findings in Larzac, the naming formula used in Chamalières is in no way adapted to Gaulish. Two of the persons listed, *Caelion* and *Claudio(n)*, carry only a *nomen* and are characterized by the appellative *pelign(on)*, the meaning of which is uncertain (cf. Delamarre 2001: 209). Two others, *Aemilion Paterin(on)* and *Claudion Legitumon*, are called by their *nomen* and *cognomen*. The full formula consisting of *praenomen*, *nomen*, and two *cognomina*[4] is used in the case of *C. Lucion Floron Nigrinon*.

The last person mentioned is *Marcion Victorin(on) Asiaticon Aððedilli*, who also carries two *cognomina*, but no *praenomen*. He is the only one whose father is mentioned, in the genitive as is to be expected in the Latin formula. It can hardly be a coincidence that this is the only name of Gaulish origin on the whole inscription, recognizable as such already by the orthography (*ðð*; for an etymology, see Delamarre 2001: 29). The situation is thus very clear cut: the one person belonging to the older generation has a Gaulish name, whereas all those belonging to the younger generation have Latin names.

3. Personal Names on Latin Inscriptions

The simplest way of referring to a person in Gaulish was to use just their individual name with no indication of filiation. This is occasionally also found on Latin inscriptions, examples being *Cintua* (CIL XIII.690), *Toutilla* (CIL XIII. 1296) or gen. *Cintonis* (CIL XIII.688). The genitive in *-is* in the last instance clearly indicates that the inscription is to be classified as Latin, not as Gaulish. Where filiation is indicated, it is expressed invariably by the genitive of the father's name, often followed by *f(ilius)* or *f(ilia)*: *Escencolatis Venimari f.* (CIL

[4] When Romans had two *cognomina*, the first one was usually an inherited family *cognomen*, the second one the individual *cognomen* (e.g. Rix 1995: 725).

XII.602), *Celtilla Attonis f.* (CIL XII.646), *Cintugena Solimari filia* (CIL XIII. 693).

The examples just given show little Latin influence: it is confined to the replacement of the patronymic adjective by the genitive of the father's name, which sometimes also occurs in Gaulish texts, as shown above. An innovation that had a much greater impact was the introduction of gentile names. Though it did not imply the immediate abandoning of indigenous names, the latter had to be incorporated into the Roman formula. There were two ways of doing so: Gaulish names could either be used in place of the *praenomen* or in place of the *cognomen*.

The first solution we have already encountered in a Gaulish text: in Ουενιτοουτα Κουαδρουνια (RIG I, G-106), Κουαδρουνια corresponds to the Roman *nomen Quadronia*, and Ουενιτοουτα is therefore to be considered as a *praenomen*. Examples of the same phenomenon on Latin inscriptions are *Nitiogenna Tullia* (CIL XII.162) or dat. *Boudo Valerio Vrittonis f.* (CIL XII.3478). They are, however, rare on the whole, the main reason being that from the late Republic onwards, the inventory of Latin *praenomina* was limited to 18 names (cf. Rix 1995: 725) and considered as fixed. The carrying of a genuine Roman *praenomen* was regarded as a sign of Roman citizenship (ibid., 726) and for that reason foreign *praenomina* such as *Nitiogenna* or *Boudus* must have been undesirable.

Much more common was therefore the use of Gaulish names in the place of the Roman *cognomen*. This corresponds exactly to the reverse phenomenon already described, namely the use of Latin *cognomina* as individual names on Gaulish inscriptions. In such cases, men usually take on one of the traditional *praenomina* like gen. *Sex(ti) Iu(v)enti(i) Senoviri Dubnotali f.*, but women, in accordance with the Roman practice, do not. Their naming formula, therefore, consists of only *nomen* and *cognomen* as in *Livia Divogena* (CIL XIII.571), *Iulia Bellorix Abrextubogi f.* (CIL XIII.5665) or *Iul(ia) Litumara Litavicci f.* (CIL XIII.4711).

Where the father is recorded, his name is very often of Gaulish origin, as well, like *Dubnotalus*, *Abrextubogus* and *Litaviccus* above. The same goes for *Vritto*, the father of *Boudus Valerius* mentioned earlier. In the classical Roman formula, filiation is expressed by the genitive of the father's *praenomen*, usually in abbreviated form. It seems hardly likely, however, that the Gaulish names recorded here were all used as true *praenomina* a generation back; rather it is to be assumed that the fathers still bore a single individual name.

In the case of *Iulia Bellorix Abrextubogi f.* (CIL XIII.5665), of *Sex(ti) Iu(v)enti(i) Senoviri Dubnotali f.* (CIL XIII.4711), and of *Iul(ia) Litumara Litavicci f.* (both CIL XIII.4711, mother and son) the naming formula differs with regard to the order of the elements, as well: the father's name is here given after the *cognomen*, while in the Roman formula it stands between *nomen* and *cognomen*. The transition to the Roman system is thus not yet completed in these examples.

All this indicates that the people in question were of Gaulish descent and that their names were secondarily fitted into the Roman formula. In some cases, they

might have acquired their gentile name during their lifetime, as is certain in the case of dat. *Statiae T. l(ibertae) Litugenae* (CIL XII.5022). Here a woman by the Gaulish name of *Litugena* had apparently been the slave of *Titus Statius* and had taken on his *nomen* when she was manumitted, as was customary. Note that in this case the order of the elements follows the Roman pattern, *T. l.* being inserted between nomen and cognomen.

Apart from the traditional Roman nomina like *Statius*, *Iulius*, *Valerius*, etc., which the Gauls acquired by adoption, by being manumitted, or by being granted Roman citizenship by the emperor[5] (cf. Rix 1995: 726), we find a second type of gentile names in Gaul: those derived from indigenous personal names. They are all formed with the suffix *-ius/-ia*, like the greater part of the genuinely Latin *nomina*. In origin, they are patronymic adjectives, as was recognized already by Schulze (1933: 20), who quoted some self-evident examples like *Comagia Comagi f. Severa* (CIL XII.2939).

It has been shown above that **-io-* was one of the most common suffixes forming patronymics in Gaulish. The Latin suffix *-ius/-ia* used in gentile names is etymologically identical; in fact, in origin the Latin gentile names are petrified patronymic adjectives themselves (Rix 1995: 728). The similarity between the two suffixes with regard to form and function apparently caused formations in *-ius/-ia* derived from Gaulish individual names to be used in place of the Roman gentile name.

In a few instances, the transition from patronymic to gentile name can be observed directly in the texts. In one example (CIL XIII.4159), *M. Ammutius Ollognatus* has a son called *Ollognatius Secundus*. Here the son does not carry the same *nomen* as the father, as should be the case according to Roman tradition. Rather the son's *nomen Ollognatius* is derived from the father's *cognomen Ollognatus* and thus is in reality a patronymic. Very similar is the case of *Meððillius Carantus* and his daughter *Carantia Aelia* (CIL XIII.6534; for *Aelia* as a *cognomen* cf. OPEL I: 32f.). Here again, *Carantia* is to be taken as a patronymic derived from *Carantus*. It seems likely that the apparent gentile names of the fathers, *Ammutius* and *Meððillius*, are in fact patronymics, as well, though we cannot be certain.

That such patronymics could develop into true gentile names can be demonstrated with the example of *Carantius*, used in such a way in cases like *Cn. Carantius Cn. f.* (CIL XIII.8649), *M. Carantius Macrinus centurio* (CIL XII.2602), or gen. *Luc. Caranti Cintonis* (CIL XIII.2525). *Carantius* as a gentile name was even passed on to manumitted slaves from a patron of this name, as testified by an inscription from Gallia Narbonensis: *T. Carantii Daphni ... Carantia Lais et Carantius Fortunatus patrono optumo* "... to (their) very good patron" (CIL XII.3208). Incidentally, the patron as well as the female slave mentioned both carry a *cognomen* of Greek origin.

---

5 The first Gaulish tribe granted citizenship was that of the Haedui in 69 A.D., cf. Meid (1980: 27, fn. 2).

Other clear cases of gentile names based on Gaulish individual names are *Matugenius* from *Matugenus* (CIL XII.2865; 2880; 4986; XIII.570), attested in *S. Matucenius Frontinus* and his daughter *Matucenia Placida* (CIL XII.3035),[6] or *Lituccius* from *Lituccus* (CIL XII.1398; XIII.3452), attested in *Lituccius Secundus* and his sister *Lituccia Secundina* (CIL XII.2736). In the case of *Segolatius Primus* and his son *L. Segolatius Victorinus* (CIL XII.5127), the base **Segolatis* is not attested as such but can easily be postulated, both **sego-* "strength, might" and **lāti-* "hero" being common elements of Gaulish names (s. Delamarre 2001: 166 and 228). It is noteworthy that the wife of *Segolatius Primus* is called *Segolatia Victorina* and thus carries the same *nomen* as her husband. This could mean that they are both manumitted slaves with the same patron; but this must remain speculation.

Not only was the naming formula gradually adapted to Roman usage, but also the Gaulish names themselves were eventually replaced by Latin ones. These two processes seem to have taken place quite independently: on inscriptions in the vernacular, Roman *cognomina* used as individual names are even found within the traditional Gaulish naming formula as shown by *Frontu Tarbetis[o]nios* (RIG II.1, L-3), whereas in the case of *Sacrillos Carati* (CIL II.2, L-23.2), both names are Gaulish, but the patronymic adjective is replaced by the genitive of the father's name under Latin influence, as discussed above.

Examples of children with Roman names next to fathers with Gaulish ones are quite common on Latin inscriptions: *Silvanus Litumari f.* (CIL XII.5749), *Fronto Ateponis f.* (CIL XII.1127), *Albanus Excingi f.* (CIL XIII.2613), who has a brother called *Rufus*, *Tauricus Carati* (CIL XIII.5313), *Prisca Biturigis* (CIL XIII.5831), or *Desideratus Curmilli* (CIL XIII.8352). In all these cases, the Latin *cognomina* are not used as such but as individual names in the Gaulish tradition.

A particularly fine example is found on an inscription from Gallia Narbonensis (CIL XII.3944), which records three generations. The father is called *Cintullus Ateponis f.* and thus carries a Gaulish name, exactly like his own father. The switch to Latin names happens in the third generation, the son being named *Tertius Cintulli f.*, the daughter *Quinta Cintulli f.* Similarly, the son's wife *Secunda Toutilli filia* bears a Latin name herself, while her father still bore a Gaulish one. On the other hand, in the mother's family the introduction of Latin names occurred one generation earlier: she is called *Iulia Troucilli filia* (for *Iulia* as *cognomen* cf. OPEL II: 200f.).

The replacement of Gaulish by Latin names was, however, not irreversible. On the contrary, we find a surprising number of examples in which a father with a Latin name gives his son or daughter a Gaulish one: dat. *Matugeno Montani f.* (CIL XII.2865), *Divixtos*[7] *Gemelli fil.* (CIL XIII.579), *Biturix Vitalis filia* (CIL

6 <c> for /g/ in Gaulish names is quite common in Latin inscriptions, cf. Stüber (2005: 62) with further references.

7 Remarkable is the Gaulish nominative in *-os* instead of expected Latin *-us*. The rest of the inscription is undoubtedly Latin, e.g. the dative *deae* "to the goddess," the abbreviation *fil(ius)* "son," etc.

XIII.2929), *Divixtille ... Macrini ... filie* (CIL XIII.3454), *Salicillae Venusti fil.* (CIL XIII.5442), or *Antullus Nigri f.* (CIL XIII.11874), to name but a few. For a period of time, then, names of Gaulish and of Latin origin seem to have been in use simultaneously and could be chosen according to personal taste. Whether the choice was in some cases consciously made and politically motivated is a matter for speculation.

Before concluding, one last aspect of the transition from Gaulish to Latin names has to be considered: the translation of indigenous names into Latin. It has been claimed (e.g. Delamarre 2003: 347) that a number of Latin names found on inscriptions from Gaul should be considered as calques. Indeed, Delamarre (ibid., 347-348) gives a long list of possible correspondences between Gaulish and Latin names. Unfortunately, while it seems quite likely that e. g. *Primus* and *Primullus* (Lat. *prīmus* "first") were considered the equivalents of indigenous *Cintus* and *Cintullus* (Gaul. **kıntu-* "first"), such claims are almost impossible to prove, and in many cases too little is known about the meaning of a Gaulish name to confidently identify its Latin counterpart.

In this light, an inscription from Trier (CIL XIII.3909) recording a woman called *Artula* and her daughter *Ursula* must be considered a true stroke of good luck. That *Ursula*, containing Latin *ursus* "bear", is a translation of *Artula*, built on Gaulish **arto-* "bear" (cf. OIr. *art*, W. *arth*), could reasonably be postulated in any case (cf. Delamarre 2003: 347). The attestation of the pair *Artula* and *Ursula*, however, proves it beyond reasonable doubt: the daughter bears not just any Latin name, but she is named after her mother. Such a phenomenon, the naming of a child after mother or father, is well known in many cultures, examples from Gaul being *Divixta*, daughter of *Divixtus* (CIL XIII.1068) or *Blanda*, daughter of *Blandus* (CIL XIII.5500). In the case of *Artula*, the desire to follow this custom was combined with the one to give the daughter a Latin name, resulting in the compromise *Ursula*.

4. Conclusion

The present paper tried to follow the slow and by no means straightforward transition process from the Gaulish naming system to the Roman one with regard to the naming formula as well as to the names themselves. Some of the changes are linguistic in nature, like the replacement of patronymic adjectives by the genitive of the father's name and the reverse process observed on the lead tablet from Larzac, or the translation of indigenous names into Latin. Others, like the development of patronymics in *-ius/-ia* into gentile names of the Roman type or the gradual replacement of Gaulish names by Latin ones, are caused not by language contact in the strict sense, but by the contact between the Gaulish and the Roman culture.

References

CIL XII = Hirschfeld, O., ed., 1888, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae*, Berlin: de Gruyter.

CIL XIII = Hirschfeld, O. & K. Zangemeister, eds., 1899-1916, *Inscriptiones trium Galliarum et Germaniarum Latinae*, Berlin: de Gruyter.

OPEL I = Lörincz, B., et al., eds., 1994, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum I (a-c)*, Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány.

OPEL II = Lörincz, B., et al., eds., 1999, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum II (c-i)*, Wien: Forschungsgesellschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie.

OPEL III = Lörincz, B., et al., eds., 2000, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum III (l-p)*, Wien: Forschungsgesellschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie.

OPEL IV = Lörincz, B., et al., eds., 2002, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum IV (q-z)*, Wien: Forschungsgesellschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie.

RIG I = Lejeune, M., ed., 1985, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises I. Textes gallo-grecs*, Paris: CNRS Editions.

RIG II.1 = Lejeune, M., ed., 1988, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises II.1. Textes gallo-étrusques. Textes gallo-latins sur pierre*, Paris: CNRS Editions.

RIG II.2 = Lambert, P.-Y., 2002, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises II.2. Textes gallo-latins sur instrumentum*, Paris: CNRS Editions.

Delamarre, X., 2001 [2003], *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise. Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*, Paris: Errance.

Kajanto, I., 1977, "On the Peculiarities of Women's Nomenclature," in: *L'onomastique latine, Koll. Paris 1975*, Paris: CNRS Editions.

Lejeune, M., 1976-77, "Notes d'étymologie gauloise," in: *Études Celtiques* 15: 95-104.

McCone, K., 1996, "Der Teller von Lezoux," in: Meid, W. & P. Anreiter, eds., *Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler*, Innbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 107-117.

Meid, W., 1980, *Gallisch oder Lateinisch? Soziolinguistische und andere Bemerkungen zu populären gallo-lateinischen Inschriften*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.

Neumann, G., 1993, "Lateinisches in der gallischen Inschrift von Larzac," in: Meiser, G., ed., *Indogermanica et Italica. Festschrift für Helmut Rix zum 65. Geburtstag*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 340-346.

Rix, H., 1995, "Römische Personennamen," in: Eichler, E., et al., eds., *Namenforschung. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik*, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 724-32.

Schulze, W., 1933, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin: Weidmann.

Stüber, K., 1998, *The Historical Morphology of n-Stems in Celtic*, Maynooth: National University of Ireland.

Stüber, K., 2005, *Schmied und Frau. Studien zur gallischen Epigraphik und Onomastik*, Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány.

Insular Celtic as a Language Area

Ranko Matasović
(University of Zagreb)

> The north-west of Europe, in spite of its underlying differences of linguistic heritage – Goidelic, Brittonic, Gallic; its varieties of Germanic; and the powerful intrusion of spoken Latin – is as it were a single philological province, a region so interconnected in race, culture, history and linguistic fusions that its departmental philologies cannot flourish in isolation (J.R.R. Tolkien, *Angles and Britons*, 30-33).

1. Introduction

In order to properly subclassify languages belonging to a single branch of a language family, we must know not only which isoglosses they share, but also whether those isoglosses represent shared innovations, rather than archaisms, and also whether they are exclusive, i.e. not shared by other, perhaps extinct, languages of that branch. Moreover, the exclusive shared innovations must not be the result of language contact occurring after the initial separation of the subclassified languages. That the genetic subclassification of the Celtic languages is still an open matter[1] is due not only to the fact that Gaulish, Lepontic, and Celtiberian are not attested well enough to clarify their relations to the Insular Celtic

[1] In broad terms, two theories are competing: (1) The traditional view, defended, among others, by K.H. Schmidt (e.g. Schmidt 1977) and J. Koch (1992) classifies British together with Gaulish (and Lepontic, which is probably just an early offshoot of Gaulish) into Gallo-Brittonic, while the Goidelic languages remain as a separate branch of Celtic. (2) An alternative theory, defended by K. McCone (cf. e.g. McCone 1996, 2006, especially p. 171 ff.) and supported by P. Schrijver (Schrijver 1995), sees British and Goidelic as a separate Insular Celtic branch, while Gaulish and Lepontic are viewed as the Continental Celtic branch. Celtiberian, as is becoming increasingly clear, is almost certainly an independent branch on the Celtic genealogical tree, one that became separated from the others very early.

(IC) languages, but also to the fact that it is unknown which shared innovations of IC are inherited from a putative common IC protolanguage, and which are more likely to be the result of later language contacts. The exact relationships of Gaulish, Lepontic and Celtiberian to IC will probably remain unclear until more documents are discovered in those languages. However, we should seriously seek to distinguish between genetic inheritance from subsequent contact to explain the origin of common features of British and Goidelic. This is attempted in the rest of this paper.

2. The Sociolinguistic Conditions favourable to spread of Structural Features

Was there ever a period in the history of the Insular Celtic languages during which those languages were spoken in sociolinguistic conditions favourable to creation of language areas? In order to answer that question, we may compare what is known about the early history of Britain and Ireland with the attested cases where language areas originated.

A comparative analysis of conditions under which language areas are most likely to arise shows that the following two factors facilitate the areal spread of contact-induced changes:[2]

(1) widespread bilingualism, or even multilingualism, with regular patterns of exogamy between groups in contact. This has been observed in many areas where structural features have spread across existing language boundaries, e.g. in the Caucasus, in the Balkans, and in the Içana-Vaupés region in NW Amazonia,[3] where a language area is in the process of formation. It is through the language of bilingual speakers that structural patterns spread from one language into another. This process should not be confused with pidginization, which occurs in situations where full bilingualism is not developed.

(2) the absence of a sharp sociolinguistic division between high and low varieties of the languages in contact. In medieval Balkans, the languages of the lowlands Slavic agriculturalists, and those of the highland pastoralists speaking various forms of Balkan Romance and Proto-Albanian were of roughly equal status. Similar social patterns exist in other regions where areal phenomena have spread, e.g. in the Arnhem Land of Australia.

The sociolinguistic situations in which languages in contact are likely to converge structurally are not necessarily the same as those in which large-scale borrowing of lexical material takes place. We know that there are many loanwords

[2] For a more detailed account of the comparative sociolinguistic conditions favourable to spread of structural features, see Matasović (2005: 138 ff.). For different types of language contact, see also Thomason & Kaufman 1988.

[3] Cf. Aikhenvald 1999.

from British into Goidelic, and vice versa. Goidelic loanwords in British include W *brat* "cloak," *cochl* "mantle, cloak," *cerbyd* "chariot," *macwy* "youth, page," *dichell* "trick, deceit," *cnwc* "hill". British loanwords in OIr. include words such as OIr. *moch* "early," OIr. *foich* "wasp," OIr. *mér* "berry," OIr. *sant* "desire, greed," etc. Such loanwords do testify to intensive language contact, but they are not as numerous as, e.g., Old French loanwords in English. In sociolinguistic situations where bilingualism is widespread and durable, lexical borrowing is not as common as in situations where the two languages in contact are of radically unequal status,[4] and where their speakers are separated by sharp social barriers. In such situations, learning of the second language is imperfect, or does not occur at all, but borrowing of lexical material from the higher variety into the lower one can have massive proportions.[5] Where there are no such sharp social barriers, learning of two or more languages is much more effective, and speakers do not need to borrow lexical items from one language into another.

In Early Britain and Ireland, after the withdrawal of the Roman legions in 410 A.D., the dominant type of bilingualism seems to have been one in which at least Goidelic and British were idioms of roughly equal status. Code-switching must have been frequent, as well as exogamy, with children growing up in mixed marriages speaking early forms of British and Goidelic, and in some cases also Vulgar Latin, equally fluently. This type of situation facilitated the spread of structural features, but not necessarily of lexical material.

There is a vast amount of evidence for the presence of Goidelic-speaking communities in Britain in the period ca. 400-600 A.D. Those communities thrived chiefly in Wales, and, to a lesser extent, in Cornwall, i.e. precisely in those areas where the British languages survived the expansion of Anglo-Saxon. The evidence in question consists of historical records pointing to the immigration of *Déisi*, an Irish tribe, to Wales, which was facilitated by the weakening of the Roman military presence there in the late 4th century. There are also historical records confirming the existence of Irish kingdoms in Dyfed and Gwynedd in the Early Middle Ages,[6] and the presence of Goidelic-speaking population in Wales is confirmed by the Ogam stones. They are mostly bilingual in Primitive Irish and Latin, and are found chiefly in SW Wales and in Cornwall.[7] Roughly co-extensive with the distribution of the Ogam stones are the place names of Goidelic origin in Britain. The widespread plurilingualism of these communities

[4] See Thomason & Kaufman 1988.

[5] This was the case in the languages of the Balkan *Sprachbund*, which all borrowed a large number of words from Turkish, while not being affected structurally by that language in any significant measure.

[6] There are Irish names in the regal lists of the kingdoms of Gwynedd, Dyfed, and Brycheiniog, cf. Snyder (2003: 192 ff.).

[7] Jackson (1953: 153-154) gives the following distribution: "two [Ogams] in Argyllshire opposite north-eastern Ireland, six in the Isle of Man, forty in Wales, six in Cornwall, two in Devon, and a stray at Silchester in Hampshire; a total of fifty-seven, of which forty-four are accompanied by a Latin inscription".

can be inferred from the existence of such inscriptions as *MEMORIA VOTEPORIGIS PROTICTORIS* (in Latin) / *VOTECORIGAS* (in Ogam),[8] where a typical British name such as *Voteporix* was "translated" into Goidelic as *Voteqorīks, in the Gen. sg. *VOTECORIGAS*.

The presence of a British-speaking population in Ireland is also well-attested. We know, from the writings of St. Patrick,[9] that there were British warlords in Ireland in the 5th century, and itinerant British monks and priests were probably omnipresent there during the period immediately after St. Patrick's mission.[10] The question of whether there were British tribes, or even a pre-Goidelic British population layer, in prehistoric Ireland, has been often discussed.[11] The problem remains unsolved, but most linguists would agree that there is some good evidence of British place names, and, especially, tribal names in Ireland in early sources such as Ptolemy.[12] For example, the tribal names *Manapioi*, *Ganganoi*, and *Brigantes* are attested in Ireland and in Britain and/or on the Continent. Although the available archeological evidence cannot either prove or disprove the presence of British tribes in Ireland, the distribution of La Tène archaeological material, which is chiefly limited to the northern half of the island, could, perhaps, be used as an argument in favor of the thesis that there was some influx of British-speaking populations from Britain in the La Tène period.[13] If there were speakers of British Celtic in Ireland in the late prehistoric period, their settlements were probably geographically limited to the eastern and, perhaps, northern parts of the island, where language contacts with the Goidelic-speaking Celts were taking place.

3. Contact-induced Changes in Insular Celtic

Are there any phonological and grammatical features shared by British and Goidelic, for which we can show that they developed as a result of language contact, i.e. after the initial separation of the two branches? To answer that would mean to establish whether it can be demonstrated that British and Goidelic acquired some common phonological and grammatical features after they had already developed as clearly different languages (or groups of closely related languages); this can be done if one can reconstruct a reliable relative chronology of

[8] *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* 358, McManus (1997: 65).
[9] Cf. Matasović 2004 and the literature adduced therein.
[10] David Dumville claims that, in this period, "we must suppose that significant numbers of British clergy were committed to pastoral work in Ireland. Furthermore, we have seen reason to think that there was a British community in Ireland which arose partly from slave-raiding, but perhaps also from commercial and other natural relationships between neighbouring islands" (Dumville 1993: 138).
[11] Cf. O'Rahilly 1946, and for a sceptical assessment of his views, Greene (1966: 132 ff.).
[12] For a recent overview, see de Bernardo Stempel 2000.
[13] See Raftery (1994: esp. 225-227). Demonstrably British provenance has been assumed for the findings uncovered on Lambay Island, off the eastern coast of Ireland (ibid.: 200).

linguistic developments for both British and Goidelic. Such a relative chronology exists inasmuch as the sound changes are concerned,[14] but it is much more difficult to establish for the morphological and syntactic changes.

On the other hand, maybe we can show that some features shared by British and Goidelic are exactly those that are easily acquired in situations of language contact. This would not, of course, prove that those features were indeed acquired, rather than inherited from Proto-Insular Celtic, but it would show that we *do not have to* posit Proto-Insular Celtic to account for them. If we can show that there was intensive borrowing of structural features between branches of IC, then all common features of British and Goidelic are just as likely to have developed through contact, as they are likely to have been inherited. Additional arguments are needed to prove the case.

In what follows, I provide a list of changes that affected both branches of Insular Celtic, but for which there is no evidence that they should be dated to a putative Proto-Insular Celtic period. As will become apparent, many of these changes have clear parallels in the developments that occurred in Vulgar Latin during the same period. The list below is not intended to be exhaustive, but merely illustrative.

3.1. Phonological Changes

3.1.1. The Lenition of Voiceless Stops

This development cannot be posited in Common Insular Celtic,[15] because the outcomes are different in British and Goidelic: in British, the voiceless stops become voiced between vowels, while in Goidelic they become voiceless fricatives. What is common to IC developments is that in both cases lenition applied across word boundaries. It is as if both languages at the same time developed a rule prohibiting the occurrence of voiceless stops between vowels; such a rule could initially have developed in bilingual communities, and subsequently spread to monolingual speakers of both languages.[16] After the phonetic lenition of stops, and the

[14] See McCone 1996.

[15] This point is admitted by Kim McCone (1996: 97), the major proponent of Common Insular Celtic. He concedes that the lenition/aspiration of voiceless stops is an independent process in British and Goidelic, affecting both branches at roughly the same time (in the fifth century).

[16] Sims-Williams (1990: 233-236), who believes that the British lenition (voicing) of voiceless stops predated the Goidelic lenition (spirantization) of voiceless stops, does not give any absolute dates for these processes. He only claims that the Goidelic lenition had to occur after a significant number of Christian Latin loans entered the language, because it affected words like *Cothriche* < *Patricius*. It may well be that lenition (understood as a prohibition against voiceless stops between vowels) started in British and thence spread to Goidelic at a later stage, but it is not impossible that the processes could not have been simultaneous in both languages.

subsequent apocope of final vowels, the results of word-initial lenition were grammaticalized, producing the system of consonant mutations.[17] This development had to be independent in British and Goidelic, because it presupposes earlier independent lenition, but there had to be some sort of causal connection. This conclusion cannot be avoided, because consonant mutations are typologically so rare[18] that it would be extremely improbable that they developed in two neighbouring languages at approximately the same time, yet completely accidentally. The most likely explanation is that consonant mutations, as a type of morphophonemic rule, first developed in bilingual communities speaking early forms of British and Goidelic. The rules turned out differently in the two languages, because their phonological systems were already significantly different from each other.

Lenition is also attested in VL, and it is of the British type, with voiceless stops becoming voiced between vowels, and voiced stops becoming voiced fricatives. This lenition took place only in western VL dialects, and in the dialects of Italy north of the line La Spezia – Rimini. It is usually dated in the 4th century, but it may well have occurred in different parts of the affected area at slightly different periods.[19] However, this process did not apply across word boundaries in VL, so that word initial stops remained unaffected, at least in the recorded Romance idioms.

3.1.2. Raising / i-Affection

In Goidelic, the articulation of stressed short mid-vowels (*e* and *o*) is raised to *i* and *u*, respectively, if there was a high vowel (*i* or *u*) in the following syllable, as in Lat. *cocīna* > *kogina > *kugina > OIr. *cuicenn* “kitchen”. This change is attested in some Ogam monuments, e.g. we have QRIMITIR “of the priest” < **qremiterī* with raising. A similar change occurred in British at more or less the same period, but there only *i* caused the raising of the articulation of vowels in the preceding syllable, and the low vowel *a* was affected, too (unlike in Goidelic): PBr. **bardī* (Npl. of *bardos “bard”) > MW *beirdd.* Jackson dates *i*-affection to late fifth and early sixth century (1953: 603-4), and it would appear

[17] It remains possible, indeed probable, that lenition was a process which developed in several stages, one of which could be even Proto-Celtic, as McCone 1996 thinks (cf. also Sims-Williams 1990, for a convincing argument that lenition of voiced stops in British predated the lenition of voiceless stops in both British and Goidelic). However, the *morphologization* of consonant mutations was certainly not Proto-Celtic, and the morphologization of lenition/aspiration of voiceless stops cannot even be Proto-Insular Celtic.

[18] Except in Insular Celtic, they are found only in some West African languages, such as Fulbe, and in the isolated Nivkh language, spoken in Siberia.

[19] For the dating of lenition in VL, see Tekavčić (1970: 165). The connection between the IC lenition and the similar processes in VL was first suggested by Martinet (1955, ch. 11). Tovar (1978: 424 ff.) argues for an earlier date, at least for Hispania (2-3 c. A.D.), but his examples have been doubted, or explained otherwise (Rohlfs 1963: 426).

unlikely that this process is independent of Old Irish raising, which occurred at approximately the same time.[20]

Similar phonological processes took place in VL as well, but they were not as general as in IC. In VL, Lat. *i* in hiatus, as well as the original long final *-ī*, caused the raising of *e* in the preceding syllable (e.g. Lat. *bestia* > VL *bistia* > Fr. *biche*, It. *biscia*, Lat. *venī* > OFr. *vin*).[21]

3.1.3. Lowering / a-Affection

In Goidelic, *i* and *u* are lowered to *e* and *o*, respectively, when the following syllable contained the low vowel *a* (or *ā*), cf. OIr. *fedb* "widow" < **widhwā* (Lat. *uidua*), OIr. *domun* "world" < **dumnah* < **dubnas* (Gaul. *Dumno-rix*). In British, a similar change occurred, cf. *gwen* "white" (f.) < **windā*, but *gwyn* "white" (m.) < **windos*.[22] There only stressed *i* and *u* were lowered, and the lowering was caused only by original long *ā* (and by the final *-a* in Latin loanwords). The change is certainly not Common Insular Celtic, since it must postdate raising in Goidelic, and raising is not a Common Insular Celtic sound change. Forms both older and younger than lowering occur in Ogam: the genitive sg. of the word for "hound," Proto-Celtic **kunos* (cf. Greek *kynós*) occurs as -CUNAS (before lowering) and as -CON- (after lowering). In British, *a*-affection is dated to the first half or middle of the fifth century by Jackson (1953: 576), in which case it would have predated the Goidelic lowering, which must, in turn, have been posterior to raising (see above), because of the developments observed in words such as **molinā* "mill" > **mulinā* (raising) > **mulenā* (lowering) > OIr. *muilenn*. Had the development been otherwise, we would have had **molinā* > **molenā* > **molenn*. Thus the relative order of lowering / *a*-affection and raising / *i*-affection is exactly the opposite in British and Goidelic. This is possible if we are dealing with two sound changes spreading across the established language barriers from two directions. I find it likely that lowering / *a*-affection spread from British to Goidelic, while raising / *i*-affection occurred first in Goidelic, and thence spread into British.

3.1.4. Apocope

In both Goidelic and British final syllables were apocopated, but the processes are somewhat different: in British, all final syllables were lost, but in Old Irish some closed syllables with long vowels did not undergo apocope, e.g. the accusative plural ending (PCelt. **wirūns* > OIr. *firu* "men") and the 1sg. abso-

[20] Jackson (1953: 143) dates OIr. raising to the second half of the fifth century. For British *i*-affection, see Schrijver (1995: 257 ff.).

[21] Rohlfs (1963: 228), Tovar (1978: 435) with many examples.

[22] Cf. Morris-Jones (1930: 90 ff.), Jackson (1953: 598 ff.), Schrijver (1995: 255 ff.).

lute present ending of certain verbs, e.g. PCelt. **berūn* > OIr. *biru* "I carry"). There are some instances of the preservation of final syllables in British, but they are nearly always found in Cornish and Breton, the languages that developed from dialects which were presumably less in contact with Goidelic than the British dialects of Wales, cf. PCelt. **brātīr* "brother" > OIr. *bráthir*, OCo. *broder*, MBr. *breuzr*, but MW *brawd*. In Old Irish, apocope is dated to the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries (Jackson 1953: 143, McManus 1997: 88), while in British it is more difficult to date, but it could have occurred at approximately the same period. Jackson (1953: 631) opts for a gradual loss of the final syllables extending from the late fifth century to the second half of the sixth century.[23] In the works of Taliesin and Aneurin, the core of which goes back to the late sixth century, there are no traces of the final syllables. We can conclude, then, that the loss of the final syllables is likely to have been another instance of contact-induced change in British and Goidelic.

3.1.5. Syncope

In Goidelic, syncope is a completely regular process, affecting every second syllable of a polysyllabic word, counting from the last syllable (after the syncope). In all probability, it occurred at the very end of the Ogam period, i.e. probably in the middle of the 6th century.[24] Most Ogam inscriptions still have pre-syncope forms, e.g. CATUBUTTAS (Gsg.) which yielded *Cathboth* in Early Old Irish, with apocope of the last syllable, and syncope of the second syllable. In British, syncope was not as regular: it affected only the unaccented composition vowels, e.g. Gildas' *Maglo-cunus* > MW *Maelgwn*, and some other unstressed internal syllables; Jackson dates the syncope of composition vowels to the middle of the sixth century (1953: 650), and the other instances of syncope to the late sixth century. Thus, it would appear that the British and Goidelic syncopes were roughly contemporary.[25]

Syncope is not completely regular in VL, but unstressed internal syllables were often syncopated, and this is attested by British loanwords, e. g. *populus* was pronounced *poplus*, hence W *pobl*; similarly, *monumenta* > *monmenta* > W *myn-*

[23] Cf. also Koch (1983-4), who accepts Jackson's dating, but argues that the loss of case inflexion in British predated the loss of final syllables.

[24] Cf. Jackson (1953: 143). This date has been doubted by James Carney (1989); in view of the existence of non-syncopated forms in some archaic OIr. poetry, it remains possible that syncope was a two-stage process, the first step affecting polysyllabic words, and the second step affecting trisyllabic words only. If this were true, the second stage of syncope would be roughly contemporary with the second stage of syncope in British.

[25] However, Sims-Williams (1990: 246) thinks that the syncope of composition vowels could be much older in British. However, the earliest example for syncope in British, noted by Sims-Williams and Jackson, is doubtful: the name of the Breton priest *Catihern*, recorded ca. 511 A.D., might be derived from *Katu-tigernos "battle-prince" not by syncope, but rather by haplology.

went.[26] Examples of syncope can be observed already in the inscriptions from Pompeii (1st century A.D.), e.g. in *domnus* < *dominus*, *Felicla* < *Felicula*, etc.[27]

3.2. Morphological

3.2.1. A common morphological innovation was the creation of conjugated prepositions (‘prepositional pronouns’) from earlier prepositions followed by inflected forms of pronouns: in both British and Goidelic, personal pronouns merged with prepositions into so-called conjugated prepositions. Basically, when a preposition governs pronominal dependents, it is conjugated for person. However, the forms of conjugated prepositions are different in British and Goidelic, even if the prepositions themselves are etymologically cognate, cf. OIr. *ó*, MW *o* “from” < PCelt. **aw*:

	OIr.	MW
1. sg.	*úaimm*	*ohonaf*
2. sg.	*úait*	*ohonat*
3. sg. m.	*úad*	*ohonaw*
3. sg. f.	*úadi*	*oheni*
1. pl.	*úainn*	*ohonam*
2. pl.	*úaib*	*ohonawch*
3. pl.	*úadib*	*ohonunt, onadunt*

A common paradigm cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Insular-Celtic, so a contact-induced innovation must be assumed, especially since conjugated prepositions are typologically rather rare in Eurasia.

3.2.2. The Loss of Case Inflection of Personal Pronouns

Conjugated prepositions must have been created at the time when personal pronouns were still fully inflected in Goidelic and British. Subsequently, the inflection was lost in this word-class in both branches (and in British, this loss of inflection was extended to all pronouns, nouns and adjectives). The loss of case inflection of personal pronouns then gave an impetus to the creation of the infixed object markers, another parallel development within IC.

26 Jackson (1953: 84).
27 See Rohlfs (1963: 25).

3.2.3. The Creation of the Equative Degree

Besides the more usual positive, comparative, and superlative forms of comparison, both Old Irish and Middle Welsh have a separate equative degree, which means “as X as,” where X is an adjective in the equative degree. Typologically, the equative degree is rather unusual: other IE languages do not have it. However, the rules of formation of the equative are not the same in Old Irish and Middle Welsh: in Old Irish, it is formed by adding the suffix *-ithir* to the stem (e.g. *sinithir* from *sen* “old”),[28] while in MW the equative is formed either by adding the suffix *-het* (e.g. *cadarnhet* “as strong as”), or by adding the prefix *cy(f)-* (e.g. *cyfliw* “of the same colour as”). Some adjectives have both the suffix and the prefix, cf. *kynduhet* “as black as” (*du* “black”). Since the formations of the equative are clearly different in the two languages,[29] it is preferable to treat their development as a result of language contact. Moreover, no equative forms have been discovered in the extant Continental Celtic corpus. Such phenomena are attested in well-studied language areas; for example, the comparative constructions in the languages of the Balkan area are very similar and usually explained as resulting from language contacts. (Standard Literary) Croatian still preserves the inherited Slavic synthetic comparative and superlative, while the closely related Serbian Torlak dialects adopted the Balkan-type analytic formation of these forms.

3.2.4. The Creation of the Imperfect Tense

Both British and Goidelic have a special imperfect tense, no traces of which were found in the Continental Celtic languages so far. Although there are some divergences in the use of the imperfect in the two branches,[30] there can be little doubt that the parallels in the formation and use of the imperfect in British and Goidelic are accidental.

However, most of the endings of the imperfect in British and Goidelic are not etymologically related, so the Proto-Insular Celtic imperfect cannot be reconstructed.[31] This becomes clear if we compare two paradigms of the conditional in OIr. and MW of the PCelt. verb **kar-* “to love”:

---

[28] There are a few irregular forms, e.g. *móir* “as great as” from *mór* “great”.

[29] McCone (1994: 125) would derive OIr. *-ithir* and MW *-het* from Insular Celtic *-isetero-, but fails to explain both the loss of *-ero- in British and the palatalized quality of *-r* in OIr. Cf. also Bergin 1946.

[30] In OIr., the imperfect is used for an action repeated in the past, while in British its use is much broader, but always includes the repeated (“consuetudinal”) action in the past.

[31] Cf. Thurneysen (1946: 372), McCone (1986: 240 f.), McCone 2006.

	OIr.	MW
1. sg.	*no-carainn*	*carwn*
2. sg.	*no-cartha*	*carut*
3. sg.	*no-carad*	*carei*
1. pl.	*no-carmais*	*carem*
2. pl.	*no-carthae*	*carewch*
3. pl.	*no-cartais*	*cerynt*

3.2.5. The Creation of the Conditional Mood

Both Old Irish and Middle Welsh have the conditional mood, and the rules of formation of this verbal category are parallel: imperfect endings are added to the same verbal stem which is used with future time reference. In the case of Old Irish, this means the future stem, which is formed in a variety of ways,[32] while in the case of Middle Welsh, the conditional is formed by adding the imperfect endings to the present stem, because the separate future tense was lost in British.

Since the imperfect is in itself an Insular Celtic innovation, it goes without saying that the conditional, which presupposes the existence of the imperfect forms, must also be an innovation.

In Vulgar Latin as well as in Insular Celtic, a new conditional mood was created from the imperfect of the verb *habēre* and the infinitive, cf. French *je ne savais pas s'il vous le dirait* (< *dicēre habēbat*) (Rohlfs 1963: 197). Uses of the imperfect of the verb *habēre* with conditional sense are attested already in Late and Vulgar Latin, cf. *Amare te habebat Deus si fateraris* (Pseudo-Augustine, Sermons, 5th century, quoted in Tekavčić 1970: 137).

3.3. Morphosyntactic and Syntactic

3.3.1. The rigidization of VSO order of clausal syntactic elements, and the harmonic orders of phrasal elements within the NP (e.g. Noun – Genitive or Noun – Adjective).[33] The evidence for word order in Continental Celtic is rather

---

[32] See Thurneysen 1946 and McCone 1990.

[33] As pointed out clearly by Isaac (2007), the VSO order on the clause level is correlated with N-Gen. and N-Adj. orders within the NP by Greenberg's word order universals, so we should view the rigidization of word order in both the clause and the NP as different aspects of a single development.

limited, but neither Gaulish nor Celtiberian had the rigid VSO order found in OIr. and MW.[34]

Of course, the VSO order is rare in Europe, and VL certainly shows no evidence of developing features of the VSO type. However, what Insular Celtic has in common with the VL developments is the rigidization of word order. While the Continental Celtic languages probably had rather free word order, just as Classical Latin did, the Insular Celtic languages developed a rather rigid VSO order just at the time when Vulgar Latin tended towards a fixed SVO word order (still dominant in most Romance languages). It is conceivable that the VSO order in Medieval IC is just a compromise between the conflicting tendencies in the development of fixed word order in VL and Early IC. Virtually all accounts of the evolution of fixed VSO order in IC agree that it involved (at least) two separate steps. The first one was the restriction against full NP's as hosts to enclitics (also called Vendryès' Restriction[35]). This means that only verbs and sentence-initial particles (e.g. PIE **nu* > OIr. *no*) remained as possible hosts. Since the second ("Wackernagel") position of enclitics in sentences was presumably inherited from PIE via Proto-Celtic, IC sentences containing enclitics (E) could have one of the following structures:

V-E (S O)
V-E (O S)
P-E S V O
P-E V S O
P-E O V S, etc.

Moreover, in sentences without any enclitics, free word order was still possible, i.e. SVO, as well as VSO and SVO were still possible. Verb-initial structures could have been generalized at this stage, presumably by extension of the V-E S O patterns, and the previously existing structures in which the object preceded the subject (P-E S O V) could have been eliminated because they are impossible in VL, which tended to become a rather rigid SVO language at the same time. It is still unclear whether the marked P-E O V word order[36] found in certain poetic and legal OIr. texts (usually the so-called *retoirics*) represents an archaism, or is rather a late development made possible only by *licentia poetica*.

Word order is one of the features that are most likely to be changed due to areal influences. It has long been noted that basic word order patterns characterize whole language areas. For example, the SOV order is characteristic of the languages of different families spoken in the Indian Subcontinent, as well as of

[34] See the review of the evidence in McCone (2006: 28 f.) With respect to genitives and adjectives the author concludes "The overall impression is that postposing of an adjective and preposing of a genitive were the norm" (2006: 29).
[35] Cf. Isaac 2007 and McCone 2006.
[36] E.g. *no-m Choimmdiu coíma* "may the Lord preserve me" (*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* II, 290: 11).

genetically very diverse languages of the Caucasus. Verb-initial syntax is characteristic of the languages of Mesoamerica, and the SVO pattern is characteristic of SE Asia and large parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. Several instances of shift of basic word order types due to areal pressures have also been documented, e.g. the change of VSO to SOV in Ethiopian Semitic due to the influence of Cushitic, or the parallel development in Akkadian because of the Sumerian influence. If there are no independent reasons to posit VSO order for Proto-Celtic, or Proto-Insular Celtic,[37] then it appears likely that this basic word order pattern developed in one IC branch under the influence of the other, rather than completely independently. Indeed, there are indications that the VSO order in British is relatively recent, not just because of many instances of SVO structures in Early Welsh, but also because most deviations from the VSO order occur in Breton (already in Old Breton), precisely the language that was spoken in the region where Goidelic influence was weakest.[38]

3.3.2. The Creation of Preposed Definite Articles

Definite articles exist in British as well as in Goidelic, but there are reasons to believe that their creation from demonstrative pronouns is recent, and independent in both branches. OIr. *in*, OBr. *in* and MW *y(r)* are almost universally derived from a common proto-form **sindos* (fem. **sindā*) (Schrijver 1997: 44). Although there are some difficulties in deriving the MW form from the prototype, it is possible that MW article *yr* (OW *ir*) owes its *-r* to rhotacism, which might or might not be a regular phonetic development in unaccented monosyllables.[39] However, even if the forms are etymologically cognates, the British article betrays its relatively recent pronominal origin, because it can be dependent on prepositions, cf. MW *y rodei pob dim o'r archei y brenhin* "that he would give every thing of that which the king requested," (*The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*, 286.12).

There do not appear to be any traces of definite articles in Gaulish. The forms *sinde* in *sinde ... brictom* and *indas* in *indas bnas* (both in the inscription from Larzac) are better understood as demonstrative pronouns.[40] It should be noted that definite articles often develop in situations of intensive language contact or

[37] McCone (2006: 64) presents a rather subtle argument to show that Proto-IC was already VSO. His thesis is that copula must have been proclitic in Insular Celtic, because it underwent the IC change of *s- > Ø- in clitics, cf. OIr. *it* < **senti*. This would mean that the copula preceded the nominal predicate in Proto-Insular Celtic, just as it does in OIr., and this would in turn imply that Proto-IC was verb-initial. This may well be so, but one should not exclude the possibility that the copula could have been enclitic in earlier stages of British and Goidelic. Enclitic forms of the copula developed independently in Greek and Slavic, as well.

[38] See Koch 1987.

[39] See Lewis and Pedersen (1989: 218 f.).

[40] See Lambert (1995: 166).

koineization of a particular idiom. Familiar examples are the development of postposed definite articles in Macedonian and Bulgarian, under the influence of other languages of the Balkan linguistic area, or the development of definite article in Hungarian, presumably under the influence of German (other Finno-Ugric languages do not have articles).

The development of definite article has a clear parallel in VL, where definite articles were created from demonstrative pronouns, just as in Insular Celtic, e.g. VL *ille* > Fr. *le*, VL *illa* > Fr. *la*. This development is difficult to date within VL, but the evidence is consistent with the period 350-550 A.D.

3.3.3. The creation of particles expressing sentence affirmation and negation, cf. OIr. *tó* < *tod and W *do* "indeed, yes" (probably extracted from *naddo* "indeed not",[41] cf. OIr. *náthó*, *nathó* "no" < *ne-tod). We do not know how old these words are in Insular Celtic, but if the W form *do* presupposes the existence of *naddo*, then it cannot be older than the lenition of intervocalic voiced stops. This shows that, although etymologically identical, the affirmative particles are independent innovations in the two branches of IC.

In VL, the affirmative particles are created from Classical Latin *sic* (> It. *si*, Sp. *si*), as well as from compound expressions such as *hoc ille* "that he" > Fr. *oui*. This last development of the affirmative particle from demonstrative pronouns is completely parallel to the development in IC.

3.3.4. The creation of a periphrastic construction with the verbal noun (VN) and a preposition with progressive meaning. The object in this construction is a possessed noun (in the Genitive in Goidelic) governed by the VN, and the subject is construed with the verb "to be". Such a construction exists in both branches of Celtic, but the prepositions used with the VN are different. In OIr., the preposition *oc* "at" is used, cf. OIr. *ce ru-d-bói Iudas occ-a tindnacul som* "though Judas was delivering him up" (Wb 4b 13); in MW several prepositions can be used in this construction, the most common being *y* "to":[42] *val y bydant y kerdet* "as they were walking" (*The White Book Mabinogion*, 58.3). The constructions are so similar that this cannot be coincidental, but since the prepositions used are different, we cannot reconstruct such a construction to Proto-Insular Celtic.[43] Moreover, in Goidelic this construction is only possible with the substantive verb (*at-tá*), not with the copula (*is*), while there is no such lexical restriction in British. The most obvious explanation is that both branches developed this construction in a situation of language contact. We cannot be sure that this construction was impossible in Gaulish, or Celtiberian, but no examples are found in the extant corpora.

---

[41] See Schrijver (1997: 11 f.).
[42] Lewis and Pedersen (1989: 316).
[43] McCone (2006: 36) also claims that this construction cannot go back to Proto-Insular Celtic, and notes a similar construction in Basque.

3.3.5. The creation of object markers (infixed pronouns): both British and Goidelic use infixed pronouns to denote the pronominal patient of transitive verbs, either in the active (as object), or in the passive (as subject), cf. OIr. *ní-m charat-sa* "they love me not" (Wb. 5c6), W *ef a'm llas i a'm nasiwn* "I was slain and my nation" (*Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, c. i 193). Although their use is fairly similar in OIr. and MW, the systems are actually rather different morphologically, OIr. distinguishing between three classes of infixed pronouns, while MW has basically only one set of forms. Although it cannot be proved that the creation of the system of infixed pronouns is a contact-induced change in British and Goidelic, I think this is a more likely hypothesis than the alternative view, that it had been inherited from either Proto-Celtic, or Proto-Insular Celtic. In any case, there is no real evidence for the use of infixed pronouns in Gaulish.[44] The creation of infixed object markers in IC is a natural consequence of the loss of case inflexion in pronouns (see above), and this development does not appear to have occurred in Continental Celtic.[45]

3.3.6. The use of ordinal numbers in the sense "one of..."; in Old Irish, *in tres fer* "the third man" can also mean "one of the three men," and other ordinal numbers can be used in the same manner; the same usage of ordinal numbers is found in Middle Welsh: *trydyd lledyf unben wyt* "you are one of the three ungrasping chieftains" (*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, 49.12). This usage is so conspicuous that parallel, independent development can be excluded. However, we cannot prove that it was impossible in Proto-Celtic or Proto-Insular Celtic.

Following the hypothesis initially proposed by J. Morris-Jones (1900), several scholars have assumed that typologically unusual features found in Insular Celtic are borrowed from some unknown substratum, presumably belonging to the Afro-Asiatic family, where such features have also been attested. This hypothesis found some adherents in the following decades, such as Julius Pokorny, Heinrich Wagner and Orin Gensler, but it has been vigorously and convincingly criticized in recent works by G. Isaac and K. McCone.[46] Yet, it is one thing to claim that typologically unusual features of IC developed under the influence of a mysterious substrate, the nearest relatives of which are spoken thousands of kilometres away, and quite another to claim that they developed in languages spoken on neighbouring islands, at approximately the same time, but without any causal connection between these developments.

However, typologically unusual (or just areally rare), features shared by members of a language area do not have to be "original" in any of the languages of

[44] Gaulish appears to have had "suffixed pronouns" (Lambert 1995: 66) similar to those found in Early Old Irish, but this is another matter.

[45] Schrijver (1997: 49 f.).

[46] See Isaac 2007 (this volume), McCone 2006, with full bibliographies. McCone (2006: 38) concludes: "The foregoing consideration of a number of arguably relevant phenomena leads to the conclusion that there is no compelling reason for positing an Afro-Asiatic substrate that exercised powerful syntactic pressure on the Insular Celtic languages".

the area. This is how features such as object doubling[47] and postposed articles of the Balkan languages probably came into being. When two languages interfere with each other in bilingual societies with frequent code-switching, the kind of structures that will develop from such interference is often unpredictable, and not necessarily one of the structures that already exists in one of the languages.

4. Conclusion

In the preceding section we have discussed several shared innovations of IC that cannot be attributed to the common ancestor of these languages (whether it is Proto-Insular Celtic or Proto-Celtic). The common phonological developments must be dated during the period 350-550, for which we have other independent evidence of language contact in the British Isles. The common morphosyntactic developments cannot be dated precisely, but the evidence does not contradict their having occurred during approximately the same period. Several historical explanations of these shared developments still remain theoretically possible:

1) There was a single substratum language on the British Isles, and IC acquired several common features from that substratum. That substratum may have belonged to the Afro-Asiatic family, or, far more likely, it may have shared some typological/areal features with languages of that family. However, this explanation seems rather unlikely, because there is no independent evidence for such a substratum (e.g. in the form of consistent patterns in toponymy in the British Isles).[48]

2) In the prehistoric period, there were several different substratum languages in Britain and Ireland; some of them influenced Proto-British, while others influenced Proto-Goidelic; at a later stage, during the period of intensive contact between British and Goidelic (ca. 350 - ca. 550 A.D.), many of these features spread from one branch of Celtic into the other, and vice versa. This hypothesis cannot be ruled out, and it would be more in accordance with the usual linguistic diversity in other parts of prehistoric Europe (compare, for example, the presence of many IE and non-IE languages in Pre-Roman Italy).

3) The features of the original substratum, or substrata, of the British Isles are irrecoverable, and Insular Celtic languages developed the features they share without any substratal influences. The only other member of the Insular Celtic language area, in the critical period of 350-550, was the dialect of Vulgar Latin spoken in Britain. The features that strike us as unusual from the point of view of "Standard Average European" actually arose as the result of interference of languages, the structure of which was not so unusual at all. This last hypothesis has a clear parallel in the development of the languages of the Balkan *Sprach-*

[47] E.g. Macedonian *jas go zedov pismoto* "I took a letter," lit. "I it took the-letter".
[48] For a recent and very persuasive critique of the "Afro-Asiatic theory," see Isaac 2007 (this volume).

bund, which also share some features rarely found in other languages of Europe, but neither of which can be attributed to any unattested Balkan substratum.

To summarize my argument:

1. We know that between ca. 350 A.D. and ca. 550 A.D. there was intensive language contact on the British Isles. British and Goidelic, as already separate languages, as well as Vulgar Latin, and (at least since around 400 A.D. in Eastern Britain) Anglo-Saxon,[49] were all spoken in the British Isles during that period in sociolinguistic conditions favourable to language contact.
2. Common phonological developments show us that those languages influenced each other, and there is ample evidence for widespread bilingualism, perhaps even plurilingualism during that period.
3. Several features shared by the IC languages, but absent in other forms of Celtic and European languages, cannot, for reasons of relative chronology, be attributed to Proto-Insular Celtic.
4. A number of morphological and syntactic common innovations of Insular Celtic are similar to changes that are known to occur in language areas, as results of language contact.
5. Until the existence of an IC node on the genealogical tree of the Celtic languages is independently established, it appears methodologically more appropriate to treat the innovations mentioned in (4) as resulting from language contacts.[50] This approach seems more promising than attributing those innovations to Common IC, or to some (? Afro-Asiatic) prehistoric substratum for which there is no independent evidence.

References

Aikhenvald, A., 1999, "Areal Diffusion and Language Contact in the Içana-Vaupés Basin, North-west Amazonia," in: Dixon, R.M.W. & A. Aikhenvald, eds., *The Amazonian Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Banfi, E., 1985, *Linguistica balcanica*, Bologna: Zanichelli.

Bergin, O., 1946, "Some Irish Equatives," in: *Ériu* 14: 140-143.

[49] I leave the question of the participation of Anglo-Saxon in the hypothesized Insular Celtic "Sprachbund" aside in this article. The matter has been treated extensively within the framework of Hildegard Tristram's "Celtic Englishes" project; for a clear summary, see Tristram 1999.

[50] A similar programmatic proposal is made by C. Watkins (1999: 11): "My modest proposal is to suggest that it may be very productive to consider Insular Celtic – British and Irish – as a definable *linguistic area* within Celtic, one in which differences perhaps due to genetic filiation may be and perhaps should be subordinate to similarities resulting from geographic, areal diffusion and convergence."

Carney, J., 1989, "The Dating of Archaic Irish Verse," in: Tranter, S.N. & Tristram, H.L.C., eds., *Early Irish Literature – Media and Communication*, Tübingen: Narr.

de Bernardo Stempel, P., 2000, "Ptolemy's Celtic Italy and Ireland: a Linguistic Analysis," in: *Ptolemy: Towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe*, Parsons, D.N. & P. Sims-Williams, eds., Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 83-112.

Dumville, D.N., 1993, *Saint Patrick A.D. 493-1993*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

Falileyev, A.I., 2002, *Drevne valijskij jazyk* ("The Old Welsh Language"), Saint Petersburg: Nauka.

Gensler, O., 1993, "A typological evaluation of Celtic/Hamito-Semitic syntactic parallels," unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley.

Greene, D., 1966, "The Making of Insular Celtic," in: *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Celtic Studies*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 123-136.

Hemon, R., 1984, *A Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Isaac, G., 1993, "Issues in the Reconstruction and Analysis of Insular Celtic Syntax and Phonology," in: *Ériu* 44: 1-32.

Isaac, G., 2007, "Celtic and Afro-Asiatic," 25-80 (see this volume).

Jackson, K., 1953, *Language and History in Early Britain*, Edinburgh: University Press. (Repr. Dublin: Four Courts, 1994).

Jackson, K., 1973-4, "Some Questions in Dispute about Early Welsh Literature and Language," in: *Studia Celtica* 8/9: 1-32.

Koch, J., 1983-1984, "The Loss of Final Syllables and Loss of Declension in Brittonic," in: *BBCS* 30: 201-233.

Koch, J., 1987, "Prosody and the Old Celtic Verbal Complex," in: *Ériu* 38: 143-176.

Koch, J., 1992, "'Gallo-Brittonic' vs. 'Insular Celtic': The Inter-relationships of the Celtic Languages Reconsidered," in: Le Menn, G., ed., *Bretagne et pays celtiques – langue, histoire, civilisation. Mélanges offerts à la memoire de Léon Fleuriot*, Saint-Brieuc/Rennes: Presses Universitaires Rennes, 471-495.

Lambert, P.-Y., 1995, *La langue gauloise*, Paris: Éditions Errance.

Lewis, H. & H. Pedersen, 1989, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Martinet, A., 1955, *Économie des changements phonétiques*, Berne: Francke.

Matasović, R., 2004, *Sveti Patrik: Djela* ("A commented translation of St. Patrick's works"), Zagreb: Antibarbarus.

Matasović, R., 2005, *Jezična raznolikost svijeta* ("Language Diversity of the World"), Zagreb: Algoritam.

McCone, K.R., 1986, "From Indo-European to Old Irish: Conservation and Innovation in the Verbal System," in: Ellis-Evans, D. et al., ed., *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies*, Oxford: D.E. Evans: Distributed by Oxbow Books, 222-266.

McCone, K.R., 1990, *Early Irish Verb*, Maynooth: An Sagart.

McCone, K.R., 1994, "An tSean-Ghaeilge agus a Réamhstair," in: McCone, K., D. McManus et al., *Stair na Gaeilge: in ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta*, Maigh Nuad: Roinn na Sean-Ghaeilge, 61-220.

McCone, K., 1996 a, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change*, Maynooth: Department of Old Irish, St. Patrick's College.

McCone, K., 1996 b, "Prehistoric, Old and Middle Irish," in: McCone, K. & K. Simms, eds., *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies*, Maynooth: Department of Old Irish, St. Patrick's College, 7-54.

McCone, K., 2006, *The Origins and Development of the Insular Celtic Verbal Complex*, Maynooth: National University of Ireland.

McManus, D., 1997, *A Guide to Ogam*, Maynooth: An Sagart.

Morris-Jones, J., 1900, "Pre-Aryan Syntax in Insular Celtic," in: Rhŷs, J. & D. Brynmor-Jones, eds., *The Welsh People: Chapters on their Origin, History, Laws, Language, Literature, and Characteristics*, New York: Haskell House.

Morris-Jones, J., 1930, *A Welsh Grammar, historical and comparative*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

O'Rahilly, T., 1946, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Pokorny, J., 1927-1929, "Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 16: 95-144, 231-66, 363-94; 17: 373-88; 19: 233-248.

Rohlfs, G., 1963, *Vom Vulgärlatein zum Altfranzösischen*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Schmidt, K.H., 1977, *Die festlandkeltischen Sprachen*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

Schrijver, P., 1995, *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology*, Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Schrijver, P., 1997, *Studies in the History of Celtic Pronouns and Particles*, Maynooth: Department of Old Irish, National University of Ireland.

Simon Evans, D., 1964, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Sims-Williams, P., 1990, “Dating the Transition to Neo-Brittonic: Phonology and History, 400-600,” in: Bammesberger, A. & A. Wollmann, eds., *Britain 400-600: Language and History*, Heidelberg: Winter, 217-261.

Snyder, C.A., 2003, *The Britons*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Tekavčić, P., 1970, *Uvod u vulgarni latinitet* (“Introduction to Vulgar Latin”), Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu.

Thomason, S.G. & T. Kaufman, 1988, *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Thurneysen, R., 1946, *A Grammar of Old Irish*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Tovar, A., 1978, “A research report on Vulgar Latin and its local variations,” in: *Zur Entstehung der romanischen Sprachen*, Kontzi, R., ed., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 410-437.

Tristram, H.L.C., 1999, *How Celtic is Standard English?*, Saint Petersburg: Nauka.

Watkins, C., 1999, “A Celtic Miscelany, III: Indo-European and Celtic dialectology: a modest proposal,” in: Jones-Bley, K. et al., eds., *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*, Washington D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man, 11-12.

What Language was Spoken in Ireland before Irish?

Gearóid Mac Eoin
(National University of Ireland, Galway)

That the Celtic languages were of the Indo-European family was first recognised by Rasmus Christian Rask (*1787), a young Danish linguist, in 1818. However, the fact that he wrote in Danish meant that his discovery was not noted by the linguistic establishment until long after his untimely death in 1832. The same conclusion was arrived at independently of Rask and, apparently, of each other, by Adolphe Pictet (1836) and Franz Bopp (1837). This agreement between the foremost scholars made possible the completion of the picture of the spread of the Indo-European languages in the extreme west of the European continent. However, in the Middle Ages the speakers of Irish had no awareness of any special relationship between Irish and the other Celtic languages, and a scholar as linguistically competent as Cormac mac Cuillennáin (†908), or whoever compiled *Sanas Chormaic*, treated Welsh on the same basis as Greek, Latin, and the *lingua northmannorum* in the elucidation of the meaning and history of Irish words.

The consciousness of the relationship of the Celtic languages among themselves was not one of ancient date either. In the Middle Ages the speakers of Irish had no awareness of any special relationship between the Celtic languages, and a scholar as linguistically competent as Cormac mac Cuillennáin (or whoever compiled *Sanas Chormaic*) treated Latin, Greek, Welsh, and the *Lingua northmannorum* as equals in the elucidation of the meaning and history of Irish words. In the tenth-century ethnographic poem by Airbertach mac Cosse, *Ro-fessa i gcurp domain dúir* (Olden 1884) the countries we now recognise as Celtic, Gallia Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Belgica, Hispania, and Britannia (LL 16405 - 16412) are mentioned just like the various other nations who were listed in the poem's Latin source but with no hint that the Irish author saw any greater significance in their names than in any other name in his poem.

When Irish was introduced to Ireland for the first time, did it replace a non-Indo-European language spoken in the country before it? If so, does this language or a relative thereof survive anywhere today and can we identify it? It is

more than a century since the first article on the subject appeared, in an Appendix by Sir John Morris-Jones, Professor of Celtic at Bangor, to a book called *The Welsh People* (Rhŷs, J. & J. Brynmor-Jones, 1900). He drew attention to typological corresponddences between Welsh (and Irish) and some languages located on the African continent, such as Egyptian and Berber. Since then scholars like Julius Pokorny (1926) and his student Heinrich Wagner (1959), and in our own time Professors Peter Schrijver (2000, 2005), whose work has been criticised by Graham Isaac (2003), Karl Horst Schmidt (1990), Orin David Gensler (1993) and Theo Vennemann (2003 and many other publications) have contributed, each in his own way, to the discussion on the pre-Irish language of Ireland.

But typological correspondences between languages are no evidence for contact between those languages or for the existence of a language of a particular type as a substrate to any of them. This has become clear from the work on language universals carried out by Joseph Greenberg (1963) and others, who have shown that the same bundles of typological features can occur in languages which never came into contact with one another. Therefore the fact that similar features occur in Irish and African languages does not necessarily mean that Irish came into contact with a language of that type or that such a language was a substratum underlying Irish.

It is clear too that this question is exclusively a linguistic one and not an archaeological one. Equally, however, it must be admitted that linguistic communities are also cultural communities, though the two kinds of community may not be co-terminous. The spread of a language or of linguistic change involves of necessity contact between linguistic communities, just as cultural change demands contact between cultural groups. This contact has to be intense or prolonged for linguistic change to take place. When the communities are close to one another in an inland environment, linguistic change may take place through social or economic contacts between tribes or villages without any change of population. When however, as in the case of Ireland, a sea-crossing has to be made between the communities involved, contact between them is hindered by barriers which contact overland is not subject to. This means that, for one community to transfer its language to another, contact between them must be more prolonged. A military invasion on its own does not, of course, lead to language change, as the incoming warriors find wives among the women of the country invaded and set up families which will be at best bilingual in the first generation and will most likely revert to the original community language in the second generation, according as the sons of the invaders in turn marry local women.

This appears to be what happened to the Norsemen who under Göngu-Hrólfr, whom the English call Rollo, invaded Normandy in the tenth century and turned into the French-speaking Normans of the eleventh. These French-speaking Normans invaded Ireland in the twelfth century and became the Irish-speaking Gaill of the fourteenth. The archaeologists have been unable to find evidence of a military invasion of Ireland at a period which might be relevant to the introduction of Irish. But this is a total superfluity. For a military invasion to lead to linguistic

change it must be accompanied by a more general movement of population which will include family units capable of founding a rival linguistic community in the new country, as appears to have happened in the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain or in the European invasion of America, north and south. But language change can take place without a military invasion, provided the right demographic or economic circumstances are present. If there is a movement of population which includes family units of sufficient size over a long period, this can lead to language change. Therefore the absence from the archaeological record of evidence of a military invasion does not mean that a population movement did not occur. Such a movement need not have left any trace which would be easily discerned in the archaeological record, particularly if the people involved were mobile and possessed little or no metal, and above all if it was a gradual infiltration of smallish groups over a long period of time.

Even if we agree with Professor Colin Renfrew (Renfrew 1987, 145-177) that Indo-European began its spread from an eastern homeland about 7000 years before Christ, its rate of expansion would not have allowed the language to reach Ireland with the earliest populations of the country, which took place about that time. Therefore we may assume that the mesolithic inhabitants of Ireland were not speakers of an Indo-European language. The traditionally accepted timeframe for Indo-European spread would also exclude the neolithic people who might have been admissible as possible Indo-Europeans under the Renfrew model. If the first attestations of Indo-European languages in Anatolia, India, or Persia are datable to the first half of the second millennium B.C., even allowing for the fact that the first attestation is not necessarily contemporaneous with the introduction of the languages to those countries, the earliest possible date for the introduction of Indo-European to Ireland can be no earlier than that. In fact a date about the end of the second millennium B.C. could be considered as the earliest possible period for the Indo-Europeanisation of Ireland. We must then ask: What Indo-European language was then introduced? Was it Celtic, the language we find in Ireland when the first evidence begins to filter through about the end of the first millennium B.C.? Or was there another Indo-European language in Ireland before Celtic? This is a question worth posing, as it will determine our attitude to the possible substratum which may underlie Irish. There is no evidence for any other Indo-European language in Ireland before Irish. Neither is there any such evidence in continental Europe. It would then appear that the Celtic people were the first Indo-Europeans to settle in Western Europe. In trying to establish what language preceded Irish in Ireland the evidence available to us is very slight indeed, for there are no written records surviving from the pre-Irish period. The same is true too of the neighbouring countries, Britain and Gaul, so that it is impossible to examine the picture of Western Europe, say, and make an educated guess as to the language which may have been spoken there or in Ireland.

The only possible route of research is to look at the Irish language itself and to consider whether there are not some traces in it of a language mixture arising

out of contact with the language or languages which it replaced. This would be a normal consequence of one language replacing another, just as the English of Ireland, even in localities where English has been the only language spoken for centuries, still bears the traces of the Irish language it replaced, in phonology, morphology, and vocabulary. This task is not without its difficulties when one knows the language of the substratum or when the question of its identity is limited to one or other known language. But when the identity of the substrate language is unknown, the solutions to the problem suggested by scholars in the past are based on typological arguments and suggest that Irish may have taken over this or that feature from a substrate language of the same type as Language X. This argument might hold water if language X and Irish were the only two languages in the world to show the feature in question, but typological features are found widely distributed in languages which can have nothing to do with one another, so that one must conclude that they may have arisen independently in Irish and in Language X. The disparity of the languages proposed as substrate for Irish, ranging from Lapp in the extreme north to Berber and Egyptian in the south, illustrates this vividly.

The best-known attempt to identify a known substrate language was surely that of T.F. O'Rahilly, who tried to show (on his own model of the settlement of Ireland) that Irish contains or contained many words whose linguistic shape could only be explained as borrowings from a British or P-Celtic language which had been spoken in Ireland before the coming of Irish, an event which he placed in the century or two before the birth of Christ (O'Rahilly 1936). These were typically words which contained the sound /p/ which was missing from the sound-repertoire of Irish until about the seventh century A.D. They were also words associated with humble occupations, such as agriculture and housekeeping, and as such were not likely to have been borrowed across the sea from British-speaking Britain. The most telling argument against O'Rahilly's proposal came from David Greene (1965: 132-4), who pointed out that, if loanwords containing /p/ had entered Irish before the time when Irish developed the sound /p/ in about the seventh century A.D., that they would have been treated in the same way as the early Latin loanwords containing /p/, i.e. /p/ > k^w > /k/ written *c*, as Latin *pascha* appears in Irish as *cásc*. If the words were borrowed after the seventh century, one would expect to find some literary indication of the presence of such a population in Ireland at this late date. A more recent assessment of O'Rahilly's theory has been given by McManus (1984: 179-196, esp. 181-187), citing the literature which followed on O'Rahilly's publication and providing a much expanded critique of O'Rahilly's ideas.

The question of when Irish or its early ancestor was first introduced into Ireland is one on which opinions vary widely and, in the absence of documentary evidence, there will never be any final proof. But a few points can be taken into consideration.

There is a vast difference between the Celtic civilisation known to us from continental Europe in the second half of the first millennium B.C. and the civilisation of Ireland at that same time. While today in eastern France and

sation of Ireland at that same time. While today in eastern France and Western Germany every small-town museum is packed with archaeological artifacts ascribable to the Celtic Hallstadt and La Tène periods, in all of Ireland there are scarcely enough items attributable to these cultures to fill a single room in any one of those museums. As well as that the great wealth evidenced in the continental burial sites from this period, with weapons, ornate wagons, gold items of personal ornament, and great craters for wine, is completely lacking in Ireland. These riches were the result of trade between the Celts and the Mediterranean, especially with the Etruscans and with the city of Massilia (Marseille), founded by the Greeks c. 600 B.C. From these same Greeks the Celts of the South of France learned to write with the Greek alphabet in their own language, and later adapted this to writing in the Latin alphabet, which the Irish learned to do only in the 5th - 6th centuries A.D. Those who came to Ireland with a language related to that of the continent must have come from a different time, a different place, or a different social group from those who possessed such wealth.

We have seen just now that it is unlikely that the Celtic language was introduced by a one-off invasion of Celtic warriors from beyond the sea, as on the *Lebor Gabála* model, partly because incursions of male warriors do not effect a change of language and partly because there is no archaeological evidence for any invasion at the relevant period. Such a change of language must have been brought about by the arrival of more stable groups, in other words, families. These are most likely to have been peaceable people who did not carry fine weapons such as we find on the continent. They may have had metal knives, but their principal weapons must have been of wood or stone, so that they would have left no trace in the archaeological record but, if they were numerous enough, could well have effected a change of language in the country.

Where did they come from? Various ideas have been put forward as to their place of origin. It seems to me that the simplest answer is that they came from Britain. There was always contact across the Irish Sea between the two coasts which are mutually visible. This is evident from archaeology and when you drive around the coast of County Antrim from, let us say, Coleraine to Belfast, and see Scotland only 13 miles away, it makes sense.

More difficult is the question: Why did they come? Was it a push or a pull force which caused them to take to the sea? One or other of these factors would have been necessary. Where I live in Bearna, a few miles west of Galway city centre, we look across Galway Bay to the hills of County Clare, about eight miles away. Traditionally there were some fishermen in the village of Bearna, but the majority of the population lived off the land. I made some inquiries of the older farming population as to whether they had ever visited the Clare coast which they could see every day. Their answer was always in the negative. They had no business there, they said. The comparison with the people who lived on the west coasts of Britain in early times is evident. Why should British people leave their own country and go to settle in one that was visible some miles away? It may have been that they had been pressurised by force from some other part of the

population. It may have been that their land had become exhausted from over-cultivation.

In any event Ireland was probably under-populated with plenty of room for new citizens. There is also the possibility that the population of Ireland had become depleted by plague or some such disaster, and that the British saw a good opportunity of acquiring land there. However, the population cannot have been so depleted that there was no one left to hand on the knowledge of the holy places, like Tara and Emain Macha, which had been sacred for centuries before the coming of the Irish and have remained centres of respect among the people to our own time, almost. We just do not know what pushed people out of Britain or attracted them to Ireland. It seems to me most likely that the movement of people from Britain to Ireland was part of the movement of people from the European continent to Britain. On the 'wave of advance' model advocated by Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza and described in Renfrew (1987: 126-131), the first settlers in Britain would have occupied the best available land in the South of Britain. Those who followed would have been forced to move ever northwards. Those who reached the shores of the narrow straits between Britain and Ireland might have found that there was no land available for them in Britain. They could have seen Ireland from the coast of Scotland or from the higher ground in Wales and could have decided to push on across the sea. Having established a bridgehead in Ireland they might have encouraged others to follow them and settle there.

The earliest evidence for the presence of a Celtic language in either Britain or Ireland in the second half of the first millennium B.C. is the mention by Pytheas of Massilia of Britain as the πρετανική νῆσος 'the British island' about 325 B.C. This name alone shows that, at that time, not only was the language of Britain Celtic but that it had already undergone the phonetic change of $k^w > p$, an alteration which it shared with the Celtic languages of continental Europe outside of Spain and some traces in Gaul. The population-movement from Britain to Ireland must have taken place before the k^w of their own language had changed to *p*. The original consonant is preserved in the Irish name for the inhabitants of Britain, *Cruithin*, which was later restricted to the British living north of the Roman *limes* (called *Picti* by the Romans) and was also used as an alternative name for the Dál nAraide, the people who inhabited, among other places, the region around the modern Belfast, and who, interestingly enough, must have been later settlers from Britain. Whether these settlers were among those who introduced their own Celtic language to Ireland is impossible to say, but there are settlements of Cruithin in Ireland in Dál Riata, in County Meath, in County Cork, in Mag nAí, and in many other locations. It is notable that these Cruithin people, besides their name of 'Britons' also have another Irish name, that their language was in historic times Irish, and that their nomenclature was thoroughly Irish. This indicates that they must have been a long time in Ireland when we meet them in the earliest annals and in the *Vita Tripartita*.

It is true to say that Irish has not yet been reliably shown to contain any word, placename, personal name, or syntactic construction which has been convincingly credited to the language which preceded it in Ireland. Admittedly, since we do not know what that language was or even if it has any known relatives, living or dead, we would have difficulty in identifying its congeners in the Irish lexicon, as we might expect them to have been thoroughly gaelicised by the time of our earliest sources. Nonetheless, since Celtic placenames have survived in parts of Britain where no Celtic language has been spoken for at least 1500 years, and since many placenames of Latin origin (*Baslick* < L. *Basilica* (*Sanctorum*), *Killashee* < L. *Cella Auxilii*, and all the Kill- (< L. *cella*) and Donagh- (< L. *dominica*) names) have survived in Ireland for a similar length of time, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that pre-Irish placenames may live on and lie behind some of the less transparent placenames in Old and Middle Irish sources.

What then are we looking for? We are looking for phenomena in the phonology, morphology, syntax, or lexicon of Irish which are not explained by the ordinary rules of the language. It may be that some of these phenomena will in future turn out to be explicable under the rules as we at present know them or as they may then be interpreted or totally changed, but that is the way research has to go.

It may be that one particular phonetic feature, which has the advantage of having been present in the language, if only to a limited extent, before the sixth century or so, might be worth investigating. I refer to the sound /f/.

Originally Irish did not possess this sound (Thurneysen 1946: 44-46, 122-125; Greene 1976: 26-45; Uhlich 1995: 11-48, esp. 12-18). In absolute initial position it developed from /w-/ probably during the seventh century. Adomnán, writing at the end of the seventh century, occasionally spells the proper names *Fergna* and *Finnio* as *Virgno* and *Vinniauus*, but otherwise he writes *f-* (Anderson 1991: 94, 208-210, 226). The *prima manus* of the Würzburg glosses, also dated about 700 A.D., spells exclusively *f-* (Thes. Pal. I, xxiv). Neither was */-f/* found in final position. In borrowings from Latin, where one might have expected an *-f*, this is replaced by the voiced correspondent, *-b* /v/, L. *philosophus*, *antigraphum* > Ir. *felsub*, *angraib*. But in final position also, in the course of a couple of centuries, final *-f* was introduced through the force of Latin borrowings, as in *graif* 'pin, brooch' (Mulchrone 1936: 1019, 1021), *graph* 'snake's bite, sting' SR 1341 (which rhymes with *aslach* SR 1341 thus proving the voiceless quality of the final consonant) < L. *graphium* 'stylus' (< Gr. γραφεîον). Alternation between *-f* and *-b* is frequent, e.g. *sraif* / *sraib* 'sulphur,' which may be < L. *stropha* 'trick, device, artifice' (< Gk. στροφή). Note also *scaf* 'vessel, boat,' < L. *scapha* '*id.*' as against the diminutive *scabal* < L. *scaphula*.

Between vowels /w/ was lenited and completely disappeared (Thurneysen 1946: 85, §133). Intervocalic *-f-* also developed in the post-Ogamic period from the lenited form of the consonant *s^{w}, that is where the consonant, whether in word-initial position or internally, stood between vowels. When *s^{w} stood between vowels it appeared as *-f-*, e.g. *siur* (<*s^{w}esōr) 'sister' gives *mo fiur* 'my

sister,' and, in the initial of the second element of compounds when stress falls on the preceding syllable, e.g. *tofunn* 'hunt' VN of *do-seinn* 'hunts' (< *to-s^{w}enn-) and in the second syllable of reduplicated verbal forms, e.g. *sefainn*, 3. sg. pret. of *seinnid* 'plays music'. Another frequent instance of medial *-f-* is in the *f*-future where, according to the explanation of Alfred Bammesberger (BBCS xxviii, iii, 1979, 397), the lenited *b-* of the verb 'to be' was devoiced by a preceding *-h* < *s) at the end of the present participle with which it was compounded.

/f/ then was a phoneme which, in the earliest documented period of Irish, had recently entered the language and was spreading. Leaving the *f*-future aside as a special case, the only way in which intervocalic *-f-* could occur in prehistoric Irish was as the lenited form of *s^{w} in the initial of nouns in lenited position, in compound verbs, or in reduplicated verbal forms. The consequence of this restriction on the distribution of medial *-f-* is that there are very few words in early Irish which show this consonant between vowels or otherwise internally. Most of those which occur can be explained as compounds with *s^{w}- in the second element, e.g. *grafann* 'horse-race' < **grag-s^{w}enn-*, *greifel* 'staggers, an equine disease' < **greg-s^{w}el-*. Other words with internal *-f-* which are not patently compounds are poorly attested, being found mostly in glossaries, so that one has no context to judge them by and they suffer the corruption which unfamiliar words without context are prone to. They are also without date. The following list is taken from DIL and does not claim to be exhaustive:

bréife 'ring' (var. *bréifne*). Attested in Sg. 59b13 where it glosses *annulus*, Cormac's glossary (Meyer 1912: §141), where a translation 'ring, loop' suits the context, and several examples from later verse texts.

cufar .i. *cos* 'pes' in Dúil Laithne, Stokes (1872: 75). However, the distortion of so many words on the list in Dúil Laithne must cast a doubt on the authenticity of the word *cufar*.

cuifre/cuipre occurs in *Bretha Crólige* (Binchy 1934: 20-21, §24) in the ancient text: *Ni dlig nach inuitir mani doa cuipre acht ni bis i m(b)iad a aireagais* 'No patient is entitled, unless it be [given] out of kindness[?], to anything save what is in accordance with the dignity of his rank.' Binchy's tentative suggestion (ibid.: 62) that *doa* could be a verbal form may be along the right lines. If we read *manid ō[n] a cuipre* it will be possible to retain Binchy's translation with the mere restoration of the *n*-stroke, *lit.* 'if it is not a giving out of kindness' with the verbal noun of the verb *oidid* 'offers, grants, lends'. This is paraphrased in O'Davoren's Glossary: *Cuipre .i. lind, ut est mani tuca a cuipre .i. mana tucthar ara caradrai[d] do in ní ara mbi a cuip [.i.] in lind, ni dlig ni bes mo. No mene tucthar do ar cobol cair* (Stokes 1904: 264, §427). '*Cuipre* that is ale, as in: Unless you give it out of kindness; that is unless the thing with the froth on it (i.e. the ale) be given for friendship's sake, he is not entitled to anything more. Alternatively, unless it be given to him through generosity'. In a glossary entitled *Dúil Droma Ceta* in H.3.18, 6 we find: *cuifre .i. connaircle ł comsuilge, ut*

dicitur: muna doa cuifre Senchas Már, where *Senchas Már* is written suprascript after *muna* (CIH II, 609) and in O'Mulconry's Glossary: *Cuipre .i. conircle nó comsuilge, ut dicitur: muna som* [= Senchas Már, see previous quotation] *dō [a cuifre .i.] a conaircli* which is explained by Stokes as 'indulgence?, indulgent?' (Stokes 1900: 264, §427; 290).

fafall/fubhal: One of the hazel-trees at the well of Segais: *Itté anmanna na naoi ccoll .i. sall, fall, fubhall, fiondam, fonnam, fo fhuigheall, crú, críonam, cruanbhla dofuairged an iomhus* (Gwynn 1940: 26, 27-28). O'Davoren's Glossary reads: *Sall .i. salcad, id est sall fall 7rl. .i. a tsalchad ima anmaim 7 fall 7 fafall .i. salchar gach ní díb* which Stokes translated: 'Sall .i. foulness, ut est 'sall, fall etc., i.e. its foulness about his name. And fall and fafall, i.e. filth is in every whit of them.' (Stokes 1904: 454, §1446). But see *fáball* 'a going, movement, time, occasion'.

lufe: There are two occurrences in texts of Dúil Dromma Ceta, (1) H.3.18, 71c = CIH II, 616, 39, where it is glossed *bandae*, (2) H. 3. 18, 636[a-b] = CIH III, 1074, 38, and in O'Mulconry's glossary 796 (Stokes 1900: 270, §796) where it is glossed *banda* 'feminine'.

slife glossed *.i. lethnughadh, ut est imat slife laithirt leisge .i. curra leth imat leisce i llaithi t'oirgne* H. 3. 18, 62a = CIH II, 604, 11-12, cited in Gwynn (1940: 55, §20). Trans.: 'i.e. broadening, as is [for example]: [may] drunkenness [and] laziness be very widespread, that is: that much laziness be spread abroad on the day of your despoliation.'

strophais Attested only in the phrase *séis (s)(t)rophais* which is found in a verse quoted in the prose Dindshenchas of Lia Nothain (LL 22271) and in Cormac's Glossary (Meyer 1913: 92 = §1059, *prūll*), where it is given as *sēs rophuis* and is glossed *scuap adnacail*. It is also found in a note on the top margin of LL 161a: *seis strofaiss .i. cained. Strophaiss in scuap bís immon corp ica thabairt dochum relggi*. '*Seis strophais* that is lamentation. *Strophais* is the straw which is accustomed to be around the body when it is being brought to the graveyard.' Meyer (1891: 462-3) suggested a derivation from **stró* < ON *strá* 'straw' + **peis* < L. *pexa* 'clothed in material with the nap on,' but this has been rebutted by Marstrander (1915: 126).

The uncertain status of these words in the Irish vocabulary as well as the alternation with *-bh-* serves to emphasise how marginal medial *-f-* was in Irish. It may be that some future etymologist will propose good etymologies for these words, but I cannot.

But there is a number of placenames, apparently of early date, which show internal *-f-*:

Aife (leg. Aífe?): Two places: 1. Site of battle in Leinster, BB 35b (= Mag Aífe in Offaly?). 2. Place in Munster, Todd (1867: 92) (: *gaíthe*). Cf. *Bae Aife* Greene (1955: ll. 82-85). See also P.Ó Riain *et al*. (2003: 59).

Bréifne (varr. Breithne, Breibne) 'Breffny': LU 296 (gloss M) .i. *i mBrefni Connacht*. Further examples in Hogan (1910: 125) and P.Ó Riain *et al.* (2005: 189-192).

Crufait: between the river Delvin and the Boyne = Croboy, County Meath (Hogan 1910: 311). The name is explained as *fót cró* 'bloody sod' LU (H) 10460-2 (Toch. Em.), which seems to indicate that the medial consonant was *-f-*. The 'older' name of the place is given in the same passage as Rae Bán.

Dún Gaifi: An unidentified place mentioned in CGG 96, st. 8b, thought by Todd (p. cxxxiv, note 2) to have been one of Donovan's houses at his fort in Bruree. Cf. **Gaifine mac Athairne** in Gwynn (1940: 25. 24).

Faffand: Unidentified place in Uí Fhailghe. Dat. *Faffaind* LL 21232.

Grafand: = Cnoc Rafann = Knockgraffan, royal site near Cahir, County Tipperary, Dillon (1962: 619, 653). Cf. **Rafann** (ibid.: 623, 664). Seems identical with **Raphe** (var. **Raphi**, **Rafi**) which was located *in airther Femin* (Hogan 1910: 579).

Grafrenn: Place on route from Tara to Naas, north of the river Ríge and Dunboyne, LL 37708 (Bórama Laigen).

Life = **Mag Liphi**: The plain of the River Ruirthech = Liffey. Attested from the seventh century, *in campo Liphi* (Bieler 1979: 130.11, 132.30.), *ad campum Lifi* (162.28).

These examples are in the *Life* of St. Patrick which Tírechan wrote in the second half of the seventh century (Bieler 1979: 41-43).

Máfat: One of three probably fictitious river-names on Conaire Mór's journey to the hostel of Da Derga in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* 457-8: *Mafat* (v.l. *Madat*), *Ammat*, and *Iarmafat* = LU (M) 6906 (TBDD).

This list is unlikely to be complete, as there are placenames containing *-f-* which are attested only in later documents where it may have arisen through the devoicing of *-bh-* or be an English name, e.g. Effin, County Limerick, which is attested only from 1240, always in English documents.

The list consists of seven or eight placenames of early date which show medial *-f-* and do not appear to be compounds, so that an etymology based on the lenition of **sw* seems to be excluded. One might think that *Grafann* was the gen. pl. of *grafann* 'horse-race', were it not that the variant *Raphe* makes that unlikely. Anyway **Cnoc Grafann* 'the hill of the horse-races' seems inappropriate, since horse-races would normally have been held on the flat. It has to be said that these placenames do not have the appearance of Irish words. But if they are not Irish, what are they? They are not borrowed from Norse or Latin, which are the only two languages to have been spoken in Ireland in historic times before the twelfth century, when most of these names are attested. The name *Life* is attested too early to have been borrowed from Norse. I do not wish to advance any theory to explain them at this stage, but merely wish to present them as a strand in the discussion of the possible pre-Irish language of Ireland.

So to sum up: the language which later became Irish was the first Indo-European language to be spoken in Ireland. It was introduced during the first half of the first millennium B.C. from Britain, probably by immigrant family groups. It is impossible to be more precise about the date of its introduction except that it must have been before 325 B.C., the date of Pytheas of Massilia, and may well have been before the formation of the wealthy aristocracies of continental Europe, which postdates the foundation of Massilia about 600 B.C. and the trading contacts between the Celts and the cities of the Mediterranean which were the basis of their wealth. I have presented a list of words containing intervocalic *-f-*, both nouns and placenames, where the *-f-* can hardly be derived from a lenited **sw*, with the question 'What are they?'

References

BB = Atkinson, R., ed. facs., 1887, *Book of Ballymote: A Collection of Pieces (Prose and Verse) in the Irish Language*, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

BBCS = *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

CGG = Todd. J.H., ed., 1867, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh, The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer.

CIH = Binchy, D.A., 1978, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici: ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum*, I-VI, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

LL = O'Brien, M. et al., 1954-1983, *The Book of Leinster: formerly Lebar na Nuachongbála*, vols 1-6, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

LU = Best, R.I. & O. Bergin, eds., 1929, *Lebor na hUidre, Book of the Dun Cow*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

TBDD = Stokes, W., ed. & transl., 1902, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga. The Destruction of Da Derga's hostel*, Paris: Bouillon; **Knott, E.**, ed., 1936, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga (Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, vol. 8)*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Thes. Pal. = Stokes, W. & J. Strachan, 1901-1903, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: a collection of Old-Irish glosses, scholia prose and verse*, I-II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Toch. Em. = Edel, D., 1980, *Helden auf Freiersfüssen: 'Tochmarc Emire' und 'Mal y kavas Kulhwch Olwen': Studien zur frühen inselkeltischen Erzähltradition*, Amsterdam, New York: North-Holland Publishing Company.

Anderson, A.O., & M.O. Anderson, 1991, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bieler, L., 1979, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Dillon, M., ed., 1962, *Lebor na Cert, The Book of Rights*, in: *Irish Texts Society*, vol. 46.

Gensler, O.D., 1993, *The Celtic-North African Linguistic Link*: *Substrate and Typological Argumentation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Greene, D., ed., 1955, *Fingal Rónáin and other stories*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Greene, D., 1976, "The Diphthongs of Old Irish," in: *Ériu* 27: 26-45.

Gwynn, E.J., 1940, "An Old-Irish Tract on the Privileges and Responsibilities of Poets," *Ériu* 13, Part 1, 3-60.

Isaac, G., 2003, "Some old Irish etymologies and some conclusions drawn from them," in: *Ériu* 72: 151-155.

Lewis, H., ed., 1966, *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Celtic Studies*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Mac Eoin, G., 1986, "The Celticity of Celtic Ireland," in: *Geschichte und Kultur der Kelten*, K.H. Schmidt, ed., Heidelberg: Winter, 161-173.

Marstrander, C., 1915, *Bidrag til det Norske Sprogs historie i Irland*, Kristiania: Dybwad.

Meyer, K., 1912, *Sanas Chormaic, A Old-Irish Glossary compiled by Cormac mac Cuilennáin*, Anecdota from *Irish Manuscripts* 4, Halle: Max Niemeyer, 20, 128.

Meyer, K., 1891, "Loanwords in early Irish," in: *Revue Celtique* 12: 460-469.

Mulchrone, K., ed., 1939, *Bethu Phátraic, The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co.

Olden, T., ed., 1884, "On the Geography of Ros Ailither," in: *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 2 Ser., II, 219-252.

O'Rahilly, T.F., 1935, *The Goidels and their Predecessors, Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture*, Oxford: *Proceedings of the British Academy* 21, 323-372; repr. London: H. Milford, 1936.

O'Rahilly, T.F., 1946, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Rhŷs, J. & D. Brynmor-Jones, 1900, *The Welsh People: Chapters on their Origin, History, Laws, Language, Literature, and Characteristics*, New York: Haskell House.

Pokorny, J., 1926, "Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 16: 95-144, 231-66, 363-394; 17: 373-388; 18: 233-248.

Renfrew, C., 1987, *Archaeology and Language: the Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*, London: J. Cape.

Schrijver, P., 2000, "Non-Indo-European surviving in Ireland in the first millennium A.D.," in: *Ériu* 51: 195-199.

Schrijver, P., 2005, "More on Non-Indo-European surviving in Ireland in the first millennium A.D.," in: *Ériu* 55: 137-145.

Schmidt, K.H., 1990, "The postulated Pre-Indo-European Substrates in Insular Celtic and Tocharian," in: *When Worlds Collide: Indo-Europeans and Pre-Indo-Europeans*, Markey, T.L. & A.C. Greppin, eds., Ann Arbor, Michigan: Karoma Publishers, 179-202.

Stokes, W., 1872, "Dúil Laithne anso síos: Liber Latiniensis hic infra," in: *Goidelica. Old and early-middle-Irish glosses, prose and verse*, Stokes, W., ed., London: Trübner & Co., 71-83.

Stokes, W., ed., 1883, *Saltair na Rann, A Collection of Early Middle Irish Poems*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Stokes, W., ed., 1900, "O'Mulconry's Glossary," in: *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* I, Stokes, W. & K. Meyer, eds., Halle: M. Niemeyer, 232-324.

Stokes, W., ed., 1904, "O'Davoren's Glossary," in: *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* II, Stokes, W. & K. Meyer, eds., Halle: M. Niemeyer, 197-504.

Thurneysen, R., 1946, *A Grammar of Old Irish*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Todd, J.H., 1867, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer.

Uhlich, J., 1995, "On the fate of intervocalic *-*w*- in Old Irish, especially between Neutral Vowels," in: *Ériu* 46: 11-48.

Vennemann, Th., 2003, "Syntax und Sprachkontakt: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der indogermanischen Sprachen des Nordwestens," in: A. Bammesberger & Th. Vennemann, eds., *Languages in Prehistoric Europe*, Heidelberg: Winter, 333-364.

Wagner, H., 1959, *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln. Ein Beitrag zur geographischen Typologie des Verbums*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Prepositional Possessive Constructions in Celtic Languages and Celtic Englishes

Piotr Stalmaszczyk
(University of Łódź)

1. Introduction

One of the often noted characteristic features of the Celtic languages is the absence of a singular verbal form with the meaning 'to have'.[1] The principal way of expressing possession is through periphrastic constructions with prepositions (such as Irish *ag*, Scottish Gaelic *aig* 'at'; Welsh *gan*, Breton *gant* 'at, with') and appropriate forms of the substantive verb. Pronominal prepositions, another distinctive feature of the Celtic languages, consist of a preposition and a suffixed pronoun, or rather a pronominal personal ending. This construction may be analyzed as an instance of category fusion. Thus, the Irish and Welsh equivalents of English 'I have money' are *Tá airgead agam* or *Mae arian gen i*, respectively, both literally meaning 'is money at-me/with-me'. This note discusses pronominal possessive constructions in Celtic languages (and some comparable examples from Celtic Englishes) and provides some background information on pronominal prepositions and comments on historical developments of these forms. It also discusses some terminological issues involved in labelling the construction in question.

This is only a preliminary study with modest ambitions; it solely reviews relevant literature and takes into account data predominantly from historical, descriptive and pedagogical grammars and dictionaries. Further research would require consulting data from appropriate language corpora and providing a theoretical explanatory account of these constructions.[2]

---

[1] This issue has attracted considerable attention among specialists in Celtic, and more generally, in Indo-European languages. For a recent overview, from a comparative Irish-Russian perspective, see Bayda (2006).

[2] For a systematic account of the Irish constructions, see Ó Corráin (1997 a, b; 2001).

2. Terminological Remarks

The construction discussed in this paper consists of a preposition and a personal pronoun (or personal ending). It is often referred to as an 'inflected preposition' or 'conjugated preposition,' 'pronominal preposition,' 'prepositional pronoun,' and 'suffixed pronoun'. Lewis and Pedersen (1974) in their comparative Celtic grammar, and Evans (1964) in his grammar of Middle Welsh, refer to this construction as 'conjugated prepositions,' while Morris-Jones (1913) in his historical comparative grammar of Welsh writes about 'inflected prepositions'. Thurneysen's (1946) grammar of Old Irish uses the notions 'suffixed pronouns' and 'conjugated prepositions,' whereas McCone (2005) in his Old Irish grammar refers to these combinations as both 'prepositional pronouns' and 'conjugated prepositions'. Contemporary Welsh grammars usually use the terms 'conjugated prepositions' interchangeably with 'inflected prepositions,'[3] whereas contemporary Irish grammars (including handbooks and course books) in most cases use the form 'prepositional pronouns'.[4] However, as noted by Ó Dochartaigh (1992: 81):

> [I]t would seem preferable to consider them simply as prepositional phrases in which the governed noun-phrase element is marked for person, number and (in the third person singular) gender.

Taking into consideration all crucial properties of the construction, for the purpose of this paper I use the term 'conjugated preposition' interchangeably with 'pronominal prepositions'.[5]

This phenomenon is not confined to Celtic languages, and as has been observed by Doyle and Gussmann (1997: 43-44) it can be found, though marginally, also in Polish, as in the following forms: *patrzyła <u>nań</u>* 'she was looking <u>at-him</u>,' *pisała <u>doń</u>* 'she was writing <u>to-him</u>,' *odwróciła się <u>odeń</u>* 'she turned <u>from-him</u>,' etc. Also Spanish uses the fused forms *conmigo* 'with-me' and *contigo* 'with-you' (but *con él* 'with him,' and *con ella* 'with her'). In both cases, however, the occurrence of these forms is highly restricted: to the third person singular masculine pronoun and handful of prepositions in Polish, and to the preposition *con* 'with' in the first and second person singular in Spanish (additionally, there exists the reflexive pronoun *consigo* 'with oneself').[6] In contrast to the Pol-

---

3 As in King (1993), Thomas (1992 a), Thorne (1993), and Williams (1980).

4 E.g. Christian Brothers (1980), Bammesberger (1983), Ó Siadhail (1989), Mac Congáil (2004). This term has been translated into Irish as *forainmneacha réamhfhoclacha*, cf. *Gramadach na Gaeilge* (1979: 34).

5 As in e.g. Stenson (1981), Ó Dochartaigh (1992), Ternes (1992), Stifter (2006). See also the remarks in Doyle and Gussmann (1997: 43) on the interchangeability of some terms.

6 Similar forms are also found in Portuguese and Galician. The origin of such words can be traced to the contracted forms in Latin in which the personal pronoun in ablative case (*ablativus sociativus*) was joined with the enclitic preposition *cum* 'with,' yielding forms such as *mecum*, *tecum*, *secum*, *nobiscum*, *vobiscum*, cf. Wikarjak (1980: 38).

ish and Spanish forms, the Celtic ones possess regular paradigms and occur very frequently in a whole range of phrasal and idiomatic constructions.

3. Origin of Celtic Conjugated Prepositions

The prepositional system of the Celtic languages includes a set of most common prepositions (such as ‘at,’ ‘to,’ ‘with,’ ‘by,’ ‘from,’ etc.) which show personal endings. Historically, these forms result from old formations in which the preposition was closely joined to the personal pronoun which it governed. In post-prepositional position the personal pronouns appeared in unaccented and reduced forms, suffixed or infixed to the prepositional stem.[7] The process has been described as ‘fusion,’ ‘agglutination’ or ‘incorporation,’ as in the following definitions:

> In Welsh as in Irish the pronoun is regularly fused together with the preposition (Strachan 1909: 37).

> Personal pronouns forming objects of prepositions in Brit[ish] and Goidelic came to be agglutinated to the prepositions, and ultimately developed into mere inflexions (Morris-Jones 1913: 397).

> A personal pronoun as object, governed by a preposition, is generally incorporated with the preposition and the latter is conjugated similar to a finite verb (Holmer 1962: 78).

A close study of Celtic grammars reveals that the conjugation of the preposition is very similar to that of the verb and has been influenced by verbal forms.[8] Stifter (2006: 87) has recently noted that the very “term ‘conjugation’ is in fact not absolutely appropriate, as the ‘endings’ of the conjugated prepositions have nothing in common with the inflectional endings of the verbs”. On the other hand, if *conjugation* is taken in its etymological sense of ‘joining together,’ the term seems to be most appropriate indeed.

The paradigmatic behaviour of pronominal prepositions is illustrated below, in tables 1 and 2. Table 1 presents the preposition frequently occurring in constructions expressing possession with the meaning ‘at, with, by, of, from’ (henceforth **AT**). Table 2 presents, for comparative purposes, the conjugation of the preposition ‘on, near, at’ (henceforth **ON**). It is always difficult to provide exact

---

7 Cf. Evans (1964: 58), Lewis and Pedersen (1974: 193), and most recently McCone (2005: 58) and Stifter (2006: 87), according to the latter these ‘personal endings’ are historically “nothing but the personal pronouns of Proto-Celtic, which formed an accentual unit with the preceding preposition and consequently came into such close contact that the two eventually merged and came to be regarded as a single unit”.

8 This point has been made by, among others, Bammesberger (1983: 56) on Irish, Holmer (1962: 78) on Scottish Gaelic, Morris-Jones (1913: 397) and Evans (1964: 58) on Welsh, and Hemon (1975: 89) on Breton. Pokorny (1914: 77) notes that “the primitive order of things has been much disturbed by the working of analogy”.

singular translations of prepositions. Ó Dónaill's (1977) dictionary gives numerous examples of usage of Ir. *ag*, but translates it only as 'at' and 'for' (1977: 10-11). Similarly with *ar*, translated as 'on,' 'in,' 'at' (1977: 55-56). Evans and Thomas (1958) give only one equivalent for W *ar*, namely 'on,' but examples involve expressions with 'away' and 'at' (1958: 26). *Gan* is translated as 'with,' 'by,' 'from,' 'since' (1958: 231).

The Goidelic forms of **AT** derive from OIr. *oc* 'at; with,' cf. Pokorny (1914: 77) and Thurneysen (1946: 275), the reconstructed common Brittonic form for **AT** is **kanta* (> OW *cant*, MW *can*, W *gan*, Co. *gans*, OB *cant*, B *gant*; cf. OIr *cét*), cf. Morris-Jones (1913: 406) and Falileyev (2000: 21). The Goidelic variants of **ON** derive from the conflated forms of OIr. prepositions *for* 'on' and *ar* 'for, on account of,' cf. Thurneysen ([1980]: 275).[9] The Common Celtic form could be suggested as **uor*/**war* (> OW *guar*, MW *gor*, *gwar*, Co. *gor*, *war*, OB *guar*, B *war*; cf. OIr. *for*), cf. Morris-Jones (1913: 400) and Falileyev (2000: 64).[10]

Tables 1 and 2 show the full paradigms for the discussed pronominal prepositions in six Celtic languages (Welsh, Cornish, Breton, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx), they are based on descriptive and comparative grammars of individual languages and do not include numerous historical and dialect variants. Additionally, there exist differences between literary and colloquial forms, which can be illustrated with examples from Welsh. The tables below provide the literary forms, cf. Williams (1980), Thorne (1993), whereas their colloquial equivalents are the following, cf. King (1993):

1) **gan**: *gen i*, *gen ti*, *ganddo fe*, *ganddi hi*, *ganddon ni*, *gennych chi*, *ganddyn nhw*;

2) **ar**: *arna i*, *arnat ti*, *arno fe*, *arni hi*, *arnon ni*, *arnoch chi*, *arnyn nhw*.

Celtic prepositions not only display a multitude of meanings, they also frequently appear in metaphorical and idiomatic expressions, and one of their characteristic usages is in possessive constructions (discussed in section 5). It may be claimed that Celtic prepositions convey meanings which in other languages are expressed by other categories (verbs, adjectives, adverbs).[11] It has been observed already by A.G. van Hamel (1912) that: "in Irish syntax prepositions take

9 Cf. also the following remark in the most recent Gaelic-English dictionary: "This prep[osition] is derived from three different Irish words" (Mark 2004: 20).

10 Evans (1964: 188) observes that the various meanings of MidW *ar* suggest that it represents different prepositions, including OW *guar*, *guor* (cf. Ir. *for*) and OW *ar* 'before, for'.

11 Cf. Harris (1993), Ó Corráin (1997 a, b; 2001).

a much more prominent place than in that of any other language”.[12] Furthermore, the influence of Celtic prepositions has been attested in Celtic Englishes.[13]

Table 1: Celtic preposition **AT**

	W	Co.	B	Ir.	Sc. G	Mx
	gan	**gans**	**gant**	**ag**	**aig**	**ec**
1 sg.	gennyf	genev	ganin	agam	agam	aym
2 sg.	gennyt	genes	ganit	agat	agad	ayd
3 sg. m.	ganddo	ganso	gantañ	aige	aige	echey
3 sg. f.	ganddi	gensi	ganti	aici	aice	eck
1 pl.	gennym	genen	ganimp/ ganeomp	againn	againn	ain
2 pl.	gennych	genowgh	ganeoc’h	agaibh	agaibh	eu
3 pl.	ganddynt	gansa	ganto/gante	acu	aca	oc

Table 2: Celtic preposition **ON**

	W	Co.	B	Ir.	Sc. G	Mx
	ar	**war**	**war**	**ar**	**air**	**er**
1 sg.	arnaf	warnav	warnon	orm	orm	orrym
2 sg.	arnat	warnas	warnout	ort	ort	ort
3. sg. m.	arno	warnodho	warnañ	air	air	er
3. sg. f.	arni	warnedhi	warni	uirthi	oirre	urree
1 pl.	arnom	warnan	warnomp	orainn	oirnn	orrin
2 pl.	arnoch	warnowgh	warnoc’h	oraibh	oirbh	erriu
3 pl.	arnynt	warnedha	warno/ warne	orthu	orra	orroo

3. Preposition ***ON***

This section provides selected examples of various phrases and constructions with the preposition **ON** in Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Welsh and Breton. The examples come from the grammars and dictionaries listed in the references (which provide numerous other examples together with various classifications), only in

[12] A.G. van Hamel (1912), ‘On Anglo-Irish Syntax,’ in: *Englische Studien* 45, quoted after Filppula (1999: 218). For similar remarks, see also Henry (1957: 132).

[13] For a detailed discussion of prepositional usage in HE, see Filppula (1999). A similar phenomenon has been observed in Hebridean English, cf. Sabban (1982), and in Manx English, cf. Moore (1924) and Broderick (1999).

some more complicated, archaic or regional variants the exact sources are identified below.[14]

3) **Irish** ***ar***
ar bhád 'in the boat'
ar chrann 'on a tree'
ar an mbord 'on the table'
ar neamh 'in heaven'
ar maidin 'in the morning'
ar a seacht a chlog 'at seven o'clock'
ar tosach 'at front'
ar clé 'on the left'
ar díol 'for sale'

Chuir mé orm mo chóta 'I put my coat on' (put I on-me my coat).
Shocraigh sé ar imeacht 'he decided to go off' (Ó Siadhail 1989: 263).

4) **Scottish Gaelic** ***air***
air an loch 'at the lake'
còig mile an ear air Inbhir Nis 'five mile east of Inverness'
turus air choigrich 'a journey abroad'
air leith shuil 'one-eyed' (on half-eye)

air an là, air an oidhche 'by day and by night' (on the day, on the night) (Calder 1923: 292)

Tha còta snog oirre 'she has a nice coat' (is coat nice on-her).
Tha an leabhar air a' bhòrd 'the book is on the table'.
Greas ort! 'Hurry up!'

5) **Welsh** ***ar***
ar fwrdd y gegin 'on the kitchen table'
edrych ar 'to look at'
gwrando ar 'to listen to'
cael gwared ar 'get rid of'
ar agor 'open'
ar unwaith 'at once'
ar droed 'on foot'

6) **Breton** ***war***
war an daol 'on the table'

[14] The examples in this paper are in most cases very simple, even simplified. However, their main objective is to illustrate the construction discussed. Also the literal translations focus on the appropriate constructions and ignore further details (irrelevant in the context of the main topic).

war ar maez ‘in the country’
war ar sizhun ‘during the week’
war va zu ‘towards me’

Irish *ar* and Gaelic *air* frequently co-occur with abstract nouns referring to emotions, feelings and sensations.[15] For simplicity, the Irish examples below are restricted to the third person singular only and may be literally translated as ‘is *x* on-me’, where ‘*x*’ is the name of the relevant state, feeling or sensation:

7) *Tá áthas orm* ‘I am happy’
Tá amhras orm ‘I suspect’
Tá codladh orm ‘I am sleepy’
Tá eagla orm ‘I am afraid’
Tá náire orm ‘I am ashamed’
Tá tart orm ‘I am thirsty’
Tá slaghdán orm ‘I have a cold’

Some of the above examples refer to unpleasant feelings, ailments and negative states;[16] also Mark (2004: 22) observes that Scottish Gaelic *air* is often associated with expressions of illness or trouble, and gives the following examples:

8) *Dè tha ceàrr ort?* ‘What’s wrong with you?’
Dè tha a’ cur air? ‘What ails him?’
Tha an cnatan orm ‘I have a cold’
Bha am fiabhras air ‘He had the feaver’
Bha an cianals air ‘He was homesick’

Comparable structures are attested in Celtic Englishes, and may be considered as one of the diagnostic properties of substratal influence in these varieties, cf. Tristram (1997: 43).

Very interestingly, Joyce (1910: 26) offers a highly ‘normative’ comment on such usage:

> Prepositions are used in Irish where it might be wrong to use them in corresponding constructions in English. Yet the Irish phrases are continually translated literally, which gives rise to many incorrect dialect expressions.

Dolan (1998) notes that Irish English (or Hiberno-English) *on* often indicates loss or injury, and Filppula (1999: 219-220) distinguishes, following the analyses of Irish, two major functions of the HE preposition *on*. In the first function

15 Cf. the discussion in Ó Corráin (1997 a, b; 2001).
16 For a list of nouns occurring with *ar*, see Christian Brothers (1980: 137), and the examples in Dinneen (1927: 54-55).

it conveys injury or disadvantage (cf. *dativus incommodi*),[17] in the second one it expresses various physical and mental sensations, states or processes, mostly negative, or perceived as such. The first use is exemplified in (9), the second in (10):

9) This day the fire went out on him … (Filppula 1999: 219)
He lost my knife on me. (Dolan 1998: 189)
The cow died on me. (Dolan 1998: 189)
The cock was stolen on me. (Dolan 1998: 189)
He put lies on me. (Joyce 1910: 26)

10) The breath was gettin' short on him. (Filppula 1999: 220)
… have quite a drop of drink on them. (Filppula 1999: 220)
The climate is a fright on you. (Filppula 1999: 220)
The nerves went on him. (Filppula 1999: 221)

Such constructions are often used as literary devices, especially characteristic of the stylistically marked prose of the Irish Literary Revival (e.g. Lady Gregory's 'translations' of Irish literature, W.B. Yeats, J.M. Synge) and early 20th-century literature (e.g. Patrick MacGill):[18]

11) There is sickness on you. (Lady Gregory)
There is dread on me. (Lady Gregory)
There will be mockery on me. (Lady Gregory)

12) The weight of grief that is on her. (W.B. Yeats)

13) Her husband was after dying on her. (J.M. Synge, *The Aran Islands*)
His cow had died on him. (J.M. Synge, *The Aran Islands*)
There was great anger on him. (J.M. Synge, *The Aran Islands*)

14) It's all my fault and sorrow is on me because I made you suffer. (P. MacGill)
Curses be on you! (P. MacGill)

Furthermore, dictionaries of Irish English note several examples of phrasal hybrids with the main noun in Irish, and the relevant preposition in English (but following the Irish usage), e.g.:

---

[17] See also Joyce (1910: 27), who notes the idiomatic use of the preposition (*ar*) to "intimate injury or disadvantage of some kind, a violation of right or claim," and Bliss (1984: 149), who observes that Ir.E *on*, like its Ir. counterpart *ar*, forms "a 'dative of disadvantage' designating the victim of any kind of unfortunate occurrence". Also Ó hÚrdail (1997: 190) discusses the "detrimental relation expressed with the [HE] preposition *on*".

[18] Examples (11)-(12) come from Cisło (2002: 18), and (14) is from Amador-Moreno (2006: 160), see the latter for a comprehensive discussion and detailed bibliographical references.

15) There's not a *brón* on her. (Dolan 1998: 43)
'She shows no signs of grief'

What *eagla* is on you? (Dolan 1998: 114)
'What are you afraid of?'

I have a great *gortach* on me. (Dolan 1998: 130)
'I am very hungry'

Everyone had great *meas* on him. (Dolan 1998: 172)
'Everyone had great respect for him'

He has no *meas* for money. (Ó Muirithe 1996: 135)
'He doesn't care for money'

I had no *meas* on where I left the coat. (Macafee 1996: 220)
'I had no recollection where I left the coat'

You'll bring *náire* down on us! (Ó Muirithe 1996: 143)
'You'll bring shame on us'

Also the Welsh prepositon *ar* is often used following nouns such as, for example, 'lack' (*eisian*), 'need' (*angen*), 'fault' (*bai*), 'fear' (*ofn*), 'shame' (*cywilydd*), and names of other temporary states of mind or body, and following the names of diseases, infections and ailments, cf. Thorne (1993: 398):[19]

16) *Nid oes ofn arnaf.* 'I am not afraid'
Cywilydd arnat. 'Shame on you'
Mae'r frech goch arni. 'She has measles'
Mae pen tost arnaf i. 'I have a headache'
Roedd y ddannoedd arni. 'She had a toothache'

4. Preposition AT

The Celtic preposition **AT** is equally versatile and occurs in numerous phrases and idioms, some more typical examples are provided below:

17) **Irish** ***ag***
ag an teach / *ag baile*
'in the house' / 'at home, at a town'
ag an tine 'at the fire'
ag barr an staighre 'at the top of the stairs'

---

[19] See also the lists of relevant nouns in King (1993: 235-236) and Williams (1980: 133). Cf. Evans (1964: 186), who notes that MidW *ar* is "commonly used with the verb 'to be' to express a mental or physical condition". Breton uses in analogical constructions the preposition *gant* 'at,' e.g.: *Me a zo gant an droug-penn* 'I have a headache,' cf. also the examples in (20), below.

Tá sé ag an doras 'he is at the door'
ag an Aifreann 'at the Mass'

Tá mo chroí briste aici.
'She has broken my heart'. (is my heart broken at-her)

18) **Scottish Gaelic** ***aig***
aig an tigh / aig baile
'in the house' / 'at home'
aig an dorus 'at the door'
aig seachd uairean 'at seven o'clock'

19) **Welsh** ***gan***
prynu gan 'buy from'
cael gan 'receive from'
gan amlaf 'usually'
Mae'n ddrwg gennyf 'I am sorry' (is bad at-me)
Dysgwch ganddi 'learn from-her'

Mae'n dda gennyf eich gweld.
'I am happy to see you' (is good at-me your sight)

20) **Breton** ***gant***
gant e vamm
'with mummy'
Hi a zo gant an droug-dant
'She has a toothache'

Ma ne ver ked debred gant ar ffubu, e ver laz 'hed gant an dommder.
(Hewitt 2002: 28)
'If you are not eaten alive by the mosquitoes, you are killed by the heat'
(If one is not eaten with the mosquitoes, one is killed with the heat)

The Irish and Gaelic preposition *ag/aig* is used together with the relevant form of the substantive verb *bí* and an appropriate verbal noun to denote action in progress (21), or with the past participle to denote a completed action (22):[20]

21) **Irish**
Tá sí ag ól 'she is drinking'
Tá tú ag obair 'you are working'

Scottish Gaelic
Tha mi 'g imeachd 'I am going'

[20] In this usage, *ag* is often considered to be the 'agentive marker,' in contrast to the 'possessive marker,' discussed below, cf. Bayda (2006: 137) and references therein.

22) **Irish**
Tá an obair déanta agam
'I have done the work / the work is done' (is the work done at-me)
Tá an leabhar leite agam
'The book is read by me' (is the book read at-me)

MacAulay (1992 b: 205) notes that *ag/aig* 'at' is "normally found in 'dynamic' verbal contexts" (23), whereas *an* 'in' can be found in 'stative' correlates (24), both examples below are from Scottish Gaelic:

23) *Tha Iain a' cadal*
'Iain is falling asleep' (is Iain at sleep)

24) *Tha Iain 'na chadal*
'Iain is asleep' (is Iain in-his sleep)

The two prepositions discussed in this paper (also in their conjugated forms) may co-occur in numerous constructions (examples from Irish):[21]

25) *Tá tinneas cinn orm agat*
'You give me a headache' (is headache on-me at-you)
Tá meas agam air
'I have respect for him / I esteem him' (is respect/esteem at-me on-him)
Tá airgead agam ort
'You owe me money' (is money at-me on-you)
Tá ceist agam ort
'I have a question for you' (is question at-me on-you)
Tá aithne agam ar Eibhlín
'I know Eileen' (is knowledge at-me on Eileen)
or: *Tá aithne ag Eibhlín orm*
(is knowledge at Eileen on me)

Ó Siadhail (1989: 265) claims that idioms with the preposition *ar* 'on' are in contrast to the idioms with *ag* 'at,' "which are in some way less passive" and "this less passive quality is further highlighted by the use of *ag* rather than *ar* when followed by a prepositional phrase which does not in turn precede a finite clause"; this behaviour is illustrated by the following examples from Munster (26) and Connacht (27), cf. Ó Siadhail (1989: 265):

26) *Bhí eagla orm*
'I was afraid' (was fright on-me)
Tá eagla agam roimis na fir

[21] For further examples of phrases involving two prepositions, see Christian Brothers (1980: 136-137).

'I am afraid of the men' (is fright at-me before-it the men)

27) *Tá éad orm*
'I am jealous' (is jealousy on-me)
Beidh éad agam leat
'I will be jealous of you' (will be jealousy at-me with-you)

The above remarks might be extended to the use of *ag* in possessive constructions, discussed in the next section.

5. Prepositional Possessive Constructions

It is a well known fact that possession in Celtic languages is expressed not by a simple lexical verbs (such as Eng. *have*), but rather through appropriate prepositional possessive constructions.[22] As remarked by Ó Corráin (1997a: 92) possession is "a state rather than an action and as a consequence, in Irish as in many languages, it is expressed nominally rather than verbally".[23] The typical Irish equivalents of the English verb 'to have' involve the substantive verb *bí* (in appropriate form) and the personal form of the preposition *ag*, e.g.:

28) **Irish**
Tá airgead agam 'I have money' (is money at-me)
Tá teach ag Seán i gConamara
'Sean has a house in Conemara' (is house at John in Conemara)
An bhfuil carr nua aige?
'Has he got a new car?' (is-QUESTION car new at-him)
Tá beirt mhac aige
'He has two sons' (is pair son at-him)
Bhí sos fada againn
'We had a long break' (was break long at-us)

29) **Scottish Gaelic**
Tha airgead agam 'I have money' (is money at-me)
Tha taigh aig Seumas 'Seumas has a house' (is house at Seumas)
Dad a tha agad (Calder 1923: 256)
'anything you have' (anything is at-you)

30) **Manx**
Ta argid aym 'I have money' (is money at-me)

---

[22] This is especially true about the Goidelic languages and Welsh; Breton and Cornish have developed a verb with the meaning 'to have,' see the remarks below.

[23] For analogical remarks on the nominal character of Welsh, see Thomas (1997: 80) and the references quoted therein. For a discussion of correlations (syntactic and semantic) between the expression of being and the expression of possession, see Ó Corráin (1997 a, b).

Ta cabbyl ec Juan 'John has a horse' (is horse at John)
Ta thie ec y dooinney 'The man has a house' (is house at the man)

The same construction is also used to express the extended and metaphorical sense of possession, examples from Irish, from Ó Dónaill's dictionary (1977: 10-11):[24]

31) *Bíodh ciall agat* 'Have sense' (be-IMPER. sense at-you)
Tá an tsláinte aige 'He has good health' (is the health at-him)
Tá go leor le déanamh agam
'I have a lot to do' (is a lot with doing at-me)
Tá grá aici air 'She loves him' (is love at-her on-him)

Phrases with the preposition *ag* are also used to express the meaning of 'know/ have knowledge of,' also in the context of knowing a language:[25]

32) *Tá a fhios agam*
'I know' (I have knowledge < is his knowledge at-me)
Tá snámh agam 'I can swim' (is swimming at-me)
Tá agam! 'I have it' (= 'I comprehend')! (is at-me)
Tá Gaeilge agat 'You know Irish' (is Irish at-you)

Similar constructions are used in Scottish Gaelic and Manx:[26]

33) **Scottish Gaelic**
Tha Gàidhlig gu leòr aige
'He knows Gaelic well' (is Gaelic a lot at-him)

Tha fhios agam air sin
'I know about it' (is knowledge at-me of it)

34) **Manx**
Ta fys aym 'I know' (is knowledge at-me)
T'eh jarroodit aym 'I have forgotten' (is forgotten at-me)

Other ways of expressing possession in Irish and Scottish Gaelic include constructions with another preposition, *le* 'with,' and the copula *is*:

35) **Irish**
mac liom 'a son of mine' (a son with-me)
Is le Seán an teach 'Sean has a house' (is with Sean the house)

---

[24] See also the discussion and classification of such expressions in Ó Corráin (1997 a, b, 2001).
[25] According to Ó Siadhail (1989: 266), such examples provide additional support for the "more active quality" of idioms with *ag*.
[26] Broderick (1999: 161) offers a comparable example from MxE: *It's forgotten at me*.

Ba le Dónall an madra 'Donald had a dog' (was with Donald the dog)
Cé leis é? 'Whose is it?' (whose with-him (is) it)
Ní liom an t-airgead
'This money is not mine' (not-is with-me this money)

Also the following possessive constructions are possible:[27]

36) **Scottish Gaelic**
Tha an cù aig Calum
'Calum has got the dog' (is the dog at Calum)

Tha an cù aig Calum
'The dog belongs to Calum' (is the dog with Calum)

MacAulay (1992 b: 182) explains the difference between the above examples in the following way: in full sentences, expressions with *aig* denote 'in the possession of,' whereas expressions with *le* have the meaning of 'belonging to'.

Comparable constructions denoting possession in Welsh are built with the verb *bod* ('to be') together with the preposition *gan* (in North Welsh) or *gyda* (South Welsh). The following examples come from literary (Williams 1980: 135) and more colloquial Welsh (Thorne 1993: 403):

37) *Mae gan y gwr hwn ddau fab* 'This man has two sons'
Aur ac arian nid oes gennyf 'Gold and silver I have none'

38) *Mae car gwyn ganddi* 'She has a white car'
Mae digon o arian gan ei thad 'Her father has plenty of money'

Additionally, possessive constructions in different Welsh dialects may show differences in word order and relevant consonant mutations, cf. King (1993: 320):

39) **North Welsh**
Mae arian gan i 'I have money' (is money at-me)
South Welsh
Mae arian gyda fi 'I have money' (is money with-me)

North Welsh
Mae gan John gar 'John has a car' (is at John car)
South Welsh
Mae car gyda John 'John has a car' (is car with John)

In comparison to Irish and Welsh, Breton (and also to some extent Cornish) has a lexicalized form of the possessive verb which developed out of the exis-

---

[27] These expressions exist in addition to typical genitive possessives, e.g. *cù Chaluim* 'Calum's dog' (dog Calum-GEN).

tential verb 'be' and a proclitic oblique personal pronoun, cf. Hewitt (2002: 4): *meus* (< *am eus*) 'I have' (to-me there-is, cf. Lat. *mihi est*), and Ternes (1992: 425), who notes that *am eus* 'I have' may be translated literally as 'my being'.[28]

Also Cornish expressed possession in constructions composed of a particle, an appropriate infixed pronoun having dative meaning and the verb *bos* 'to be':[29]

40) *Ny'm bes whane* 'I do not have lust' (NEG-me is lust)

As noted by Brown (1992: 131) the compound form 'there is to me' is treated as "though it were a transitive verb with the meaning 'have'".

Constructions with an infixed personal pronoun were attested especially at the earlier stages of the development of the Insular Celtic languages.

6. Historical Remarks

Infixed dative pronoun forms (i.e. dependent forms) with the verb 'be,' used to express possession, are well attested in Old Irish and Middle Welsh, e.g.:

41) **Old Irish**

*ro-s**m**-bia lóg* (Lewis and Pedersen 1974: 196)
'they shall have (the) reward' (reward shall be to them)

*ro-**t**-bia* (Thurneysen 1975: 255)
'thou shalt have' (cf. Lat. *erit tibi*)

42) **Middle Welsh**

*chwiorydd a'**m** bu* (Evans 1964: 57)
'I had sisters' (sisters were to me)

*ac y'**m** oed y eireu, ac y'**m** oed i ieitheu* (Evans 1964: 57)
'and I had words, and I had languages'
(and to me were words, and to me were languages)

*car a'**m** oedd ny'**m** oes* (Morris-Jones 1913: 279)
'I had a friend but I have not' (a friend there was to me, there is not to me)

*a**m** bo* (Strachan 1909: 37)
'may I have' (may there be to me)

---

[28] See also Hemon (1975: 212-219) on the historical development and variants of this form, and Desbordes (1983: 63-4) and Press (1986: 139-140) on contemporary restrictions on usage (e.g. it does not occur sentence-initially). Apart from this lexicalized construction, Breton also uses prepositional possessive constructions, e.g. *Un dañvad a oa ganti* 'she has a sheep' (one sheep is at-her).

[29] Examples from Thomas (1992 b: 350). On the historical development of such forms, see Lewis & Pedersen (1974: 210-211).

However, already in the Middle Welsh period possession was expressed, as it is in Modern Welsh, through constructions with the verb ‘be’ and an appropriate form of the preposition *can*, *gan* ‘at/with’:

43) **Middle Welsh**
naw cant oed ***genhyf*** *inheu* (Evans 1964: 190)
‘nine hundred had I’ (nine hundred was with-me)

Middle Breton and Old Cornish provide comparable examples with infixed pronoun forms:

44) **Middle Breton**
*Crist h**az**-uez trugarez ouzimp* (Lewis and Pedersen 1974: 214)
‘Christ have mercy upon us’
(Christ will be your mercy at-us)

45) **Old Cornish**
*gallos a-**m** bues* (Lewis and Pedersen 1974: 210)
‘I have power’ (power to me is)

7. Conclusion

According to Schmidt (1993: 69) and MacAulay (1992 a: 6) the lack of a synthetic verbal form with the meaning ‘have’ is an archaic feature of the Celtic languages. Furthermore, Mac Eoin (1993: 142) stresses the conservative nature of Irish, which has not introduced (or borrowed) such a verb, despite fifteen centuries of contacts with other languages. Possession is expressed via analytic constructions, however, the very idea of conjugated prepositions (with underlying category fusion) seems to illustrate a process aiming at some form of syntheticity.[30]

References

Amador Moreno, C.P., 2006, *An Analysis of Hiberno-English in the Early Novels of Patrick MacGill. Bilingualism and Language Shift from Irish to English in County Donegal*, Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press.

Ball, M.J., ed., 1993, *The Celtic Languages*, London & New York: Routledge.

[30] It may be observed in the context of the above discussion, that a reverse process – decomposition of prepositional pronouns – has occurred in Late Manx, under the influence of English, cf. Broderick (1999: 134-135).

Bammesberger, A., 1983, *A Handbook of Irish. An Outline of Modern Irish Grammar*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Bayda, V., 2006, "Perfect and Possessive Structures in Irish and Russian," in: Mac Mathúna, S. & M. Fomin, eds., 131-141.

Bliss, A., 1984, "English in the South of Ireland," in: Trudgill, P., ed., 135-151.

Broderick, G., 1999, *Language Death in the Isle of Man*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Brown, W., 1993, *A Grammar of Modern Cornish*, Saltash: Kesva an Taves Kernewek. (2nd ed.).

Calder, G., 1990 (1923), *A Gaelic Grammar, containing the parts of speech and the general principles of phonology and etymology with a chapter on proper and placenames*, Glasgow: A. MacLaren.

Christian Brothers, 1980, *New Irish Grammar*, Dublin: Fallon.

Cisło, A., 2002, "Irish Substratum in the Grammar of Fictions of the Irish Literary Revival," in: *Studia Indogermanica Lodziensia* 4, Łódź, 11-20.

Desbordes, Y., 1983, *Petite Grammaire du Breton Moderne*, Lesneven: Mouladurion Hor Yezh.

Dinneen, P.S., 1979 (1927), *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla: An Irish-English Dictionary*, Dublin: Educational Company of Ireland.

Dolan, T.P., 1998, *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English. The Irish Use of English*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.

Doyle A. & E. Gussmann, 1997, *An Ghaeilge. Podręcznik języka irlandzkiego*, Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego. (2nd ed.).

Dwelly, E., 2001 (1911), *Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*, Edinburgh: Birlinn.

Evans, D.S., 1994 (1964), *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Evans, H.M. & W.O. Thomas, 1958 (1989), *Y Geiriadur Mawr. The Complete Welsh - English English - Welsh Dictionary*, Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer.

Falileyev, A., 2000, *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Filppula, M., 1999, *The Grammar of Irish English. Language in Hibernian Style*, London & New York: Routledge.

Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge. An Caighdeán Oifigiúil, 1979, Baile Átha Cliath: Clochuallacht Dollard. (7th ed.).

Harris, J., 1993, "The Grammar of Irish English," in: Milroy, J. & L. Milroy, eds., 139-186.

Hemon, R., 1975, *A Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Hemon, R., 1995, *Breton Grammar*, Dublin: Everson Gunn Teoranta. (10th ed., translated, adapted and revised by M. Everson).

Henry, P.L., 1957, *An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon: phonology, accidence, syntax*, Dublin: Department of English, University College.

Hewitt, S., 2002, "The Impersonal in Breton," in: *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 7: 1-39.

Holmer, N., 1962, *The Gaelic of Kintyre*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Josephson, F., ed., 1997, *Celts and Vikings. Proceedings of the Fourth Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica*, Göteborg: Göteborgs Universitet.

Joyce, P.W., 1988 (1910), *English as We Speak it in Ireland*, Dublin: Wolfhound Press.

King, G., 1993, *Modern Welsh. A Comprehensive Grammar*, London & New York: Routledge.

Kneen, J.J., 1931, *Grammar of the Manx Language*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, H. & H. Pedersen, 1974, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. (3rd ed.).

Mac Congáil, N., 2004, *Irish Grammar Book*, Indreabhán: Cló Iar-Chonnachta.

Mac Eoin, G., 1993, "Irish," in: Ball, M.J., ed., 101-144.

Macafee, C.I., ed., 1996, *A Concise Ulster Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MacAulay, D., 1992 a, "The Celtic Languages: An Overview," in: MacAulay, D., ed., 1-8.

MacAulay, D., 1992 b, "The Scottish Gaelic Language," in: MacAulay, D., ed., 137-248.

MacAulay, D., ed., 1992, *The Celtic Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mac Mathúna, S. & M. Fomin, eds., 2006, *Parallels between Celtic and Slavic: Proceedings of the First International Colloquium of* Societas Celto-Slavica *held at the University of Ulster, Coleraine, 19-21 June 2005. Studia Celto-Slavica 1*, Coleraine: Stationery Office.

Mark, C.B.D., 2004, *The Gaelic-English Dictionary*, London & New York: Routledge.

McCone, K., 2005, *A First Old Irish Grammar and Reader including an Introduction to Middle Irish*, Maynooth: Department of Old and Middle Irish, National University of Ireland.

Moore, A.W., 1924, *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect*, London: Oxford University Press.

Milroy, J. & L. Milroy, eds., 1993, *Real English: The Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles*, London: Longman.

Morris-Jones, J., 1913, *A Welsh Grammar. Historical and Comparative*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ó Catháin, B. & R. Ó hUiginn, eds., 2001, *Béalra. Aistí ar Theangeolaíocht na Gaeilge*, Maigh Nuad: An Sagart.

Ó Corráin, A., 1997 a, "Spatial Perception and the Development of Grammatical Structures in Irish," in: Josephson, F., ed., 89-101.

Ó Corráin, A., 1997 b, "On the Syntax and Semantics of Expressions of Being in Early Irish," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 54-55: 629-642.

Ó Corráin, A., 2001, "Aspects of Voice in the Grammatical Structure of Irish," in: Ó Catháin, B. & R. Ó hUiginn, eds., 98-122.

Ó Dochartaigh, C., 1992, "The Irish Language," in: MacAulay, D., ed., 11-99.

Ó Dónaill, N., 1977, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*, Dublin: Oifig an tSoláthair.

Ó hÚrdail, R., 1997, "Hiberno-English: Historical Background and Synchronic Features and Variation," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 180-200.

Ó Muirithe, D., ed., 1977, *The English Language in Ireland*, Dublin & Cork: Mercier Press.

Ó Muirithe, D., 1996, *A Dictionary of Anglo-Irish. Words and Phrases from Gaelic in the English of Ireland*, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Ó Siadhail, M., 1989, *Modern Irish: Grammatical Structure and Dialect Variation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pokorny, J., 1914, *A Concise Old Irish Grammar and Reader*, Halle & Dublin: Niemeyer.

Press, I.J., 1986, *Grammar of Modern Breton*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Russell, P., 1995, *An Introduction to the Celtic Languages*, London & New York: Longman.

Sabban, A., 1982, *Gälisch-Englischer Sprachkontakt*, Heidelberg: Julius Groos.

Schmidt, K.H., 1993, "Insular Celtic: P and Q Celtic," in: Ball, M.J., ed., 64-98.

Stenson, N., 1981, *Studies in Irish Syntax*, Tübingen: Narr.

Stifter, D., 2006, *Sengoídelc. Old Irish for Beginners*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Strachan, J., 1909, *An Introduction to Early Welsh*, Manchester: University Press.

Ternes, E., 1992, "The Breton Language," in: MacAulay, D., ed., 371-452.

Thomas, A.R., 1992 a, "The Welsh Language," in: MacAulay, D., ed., 251-345.

Thomas, A.R., 1992 b, "The Cornish Language," in: MacAulay, D., ed., 346-370.

Thomas, A.R., 1997, "The Welshness of Welsh English: A Survey Paper," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 55-85.

Thorne, D., 1993, *A Comprehensive Welsh Grammar*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Thurneysen, R., 1980 (1946), *A Grammar of Old Irish*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Tristram, H.L.C., 1997, "Introduction," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 1-26.

Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 1997, *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Trudgill, P., ed., 1984, *Language in the British Isles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wikarjak, J., 1978, *Gramatyka opisowa języka łacińskiego*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydaw.

Williams, S., 1980, *A Welsh Grammar*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Language Shift, Diglossia and Dialectal Variation in Western Brittany: the Case of Southern Cornouaille[1]

Gary German
(University of Western Brittany, Brest)

1. Introduction

In the first part of this paper I trace the language shift from Breton to French within the historical, social and ideological framework in which it occurred. I then argue that 19th and 20th-century attempts by scholars and militants to rehabilitate the Breton language led to the creation of a unified standard (*peurunvan*).[2] The consequence has been the rise of a three-way diglossic rapport between the speakers of French, the new Breton standard[3] and those of the traditional Breton vernaculars.

---

[1] I should like to thank Christian Fagon (Plouzané, Finistère), Stephen Hewitt (Paris), who was among the first to broach the subject of the acceptability of modern literary Breton to native Breton speakers in an excellent master's dissertation (Cambridge 1977), and Professor Jean Le Dû (University of Western Brittany, Brest) for having read a draft version of this article and for their helpful observations, suggestions and corrections. Of course, any remaining errors are my own.

[2] The concept of "standard" language would require an entire discussion unto itself. In short, prior to the creation of "*peurunvan*," which is primarily a set of orthographic conventions, there were two ecclesiastical norms (the first based on Léonais Breton for KLT and the second for Vannetais). Both local standards were conceived by native Breton-speaking priests during the 19th century. For political reasons (see below) they were forcibly unified (i.e. *peurunvan*) by the Nazis in 1941 (cf. Ronan Calvez 1999, 2000, on the role of Leo Weisgerber and Roparz Hemon in this endeavor). This harsh fact lies at the heart of the orthographic dispute that persists to this day and explains why many left-leaning Bretons refuse to use it. The problem is thus more ideological than it is linguistic or orthographic.

[3] By "new standard" I am referring to a highly prescriptive form of the literary language which is characterized by neo-Celtic linguistic purism and hypercorrective tendencies (elimination of French linguistic influence).

Taking the varieties of southern Cornouaille (Finistère) between Quimper and Quimperlé as a point of comparison,[4] I focus on a number of phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical features which, though far from exhausttive, are not generally taken into account in the new standard language. These details provide a general idea of how varieties of Breton function at the micro-dialectological level, as well as ways in which they can differ from the standard and other spoken varieties.

The paper concludes with observations regarding the necessity to consider languages, language varieties and their speakers within relevant social contexts.

1.1. The Historical and Cultural Background of the Language Shift

Brittany is currently in the final stages of a language shift from Breton to French, a process which began nearly a millennium ago. Ironically, it is the Bretons' 9th-century military successes against the Franks which appear to have set the stage for the shift (Humphreys 1991: 97). With their capitals of Rennes and later, Nantes, established deep in the Romance-speaking territory of Upper Brittany, marriages between the leading families of Brittany and France became commonplace, the consequence being that the Breton aristocracy gradually adopted the Old French language and culture. This leads to the question of whether a system of diglossia existed in Old Breton. In other words, was the Old Breton spoken by the ruling classes[5] the same as that found in the Old Breton glosses and, if so, did it differ significantly from the language of the peasantry? Indeed, it is clear that the Old Breton fragments and glosses originate from the same Brittonic *lingua franca* used in the *scriptoria* of Celtic Britain. Nevertheless, it would be rash to assume that the popular Breton of the period was of the same variety as that spoken by the higher social ranks. If Falc'hun (1963, 1981) and Fleuriot (1980) are correct, the first British immigrants would have encountered Gaulish-speaking inhabitants as well as a sprinkling of vulgar Latin speak-

---

[4] Considering the linguistic distance between the Breton of southern Cornouaille and the standard language, I have adapted the orthography (except where indicated) to southern Cornouaillais Breton. Nearly all examples included in this paper were collected in Saint Yvi, southern Cornouaille from informants born between 1902 and 1908. A certain number were collected from my friend and collaborator, Mrs. Mona Bouzec, Breton teacher and author, of Riec-sur-Belon. I should like to take this opportunity to thank her for having taught me so much about the Breton of her area. In a few cases, I have included two versions of a given sentence for comparative purposes, one in local Breton and the other in the standard language. In these cases, the different versions of the sentence are clearly indicated. Examples written in local Cornouaillais dialect will be followed by **SY orth** = Saint Yvi orthography. All other individual Breton words or phrases are written in *peurunvan* orthography. When appropriate, examples are accompanied by a phonetic transcription of the local southern Cornouaillais (i.e. normally Saint Yvi and/or Riec) pronunciation.

[5] By this I mean a form of Brittonic that was used orally by the intellectual and ruling classes (i.e. professional poets and nobility). The elite language *par excellence* was, of course, Latin.

ing communities when they began arriving in Armorica in the 4th and 5th centuries (cf. Chadwick 1969). Evans (1990: 156) is quite straightforward in his assessment:

> In Brittany, relatively remote and far removed from the more intensely romanised centres and in close proximity to Celtic-speaking Britain and in close contact with it, circumstances may have been exceptionally favourable for the late survival of Gaulish. Here, there is little doubt, Insular and Continental Celtic did merge.

Although the Gaulish contribution to the development of the Breton language will probably never be determined with any degree of certainty owing to a lack of direct evidence, it appears probable that the roots of the modern Breton dialects are to be sought in this initial period of contact, the Vannetais and Cornouaillais border being a likely reflection of an ancient linguistic and ethnic frontier (see map 1a). They would thus not result from the "degenerative" French linguistic influences that followed the Treaty of Union of Brittany and France in 1532 as has been sometimes suggested (cf. Loth 1883: 81, 327).[6]

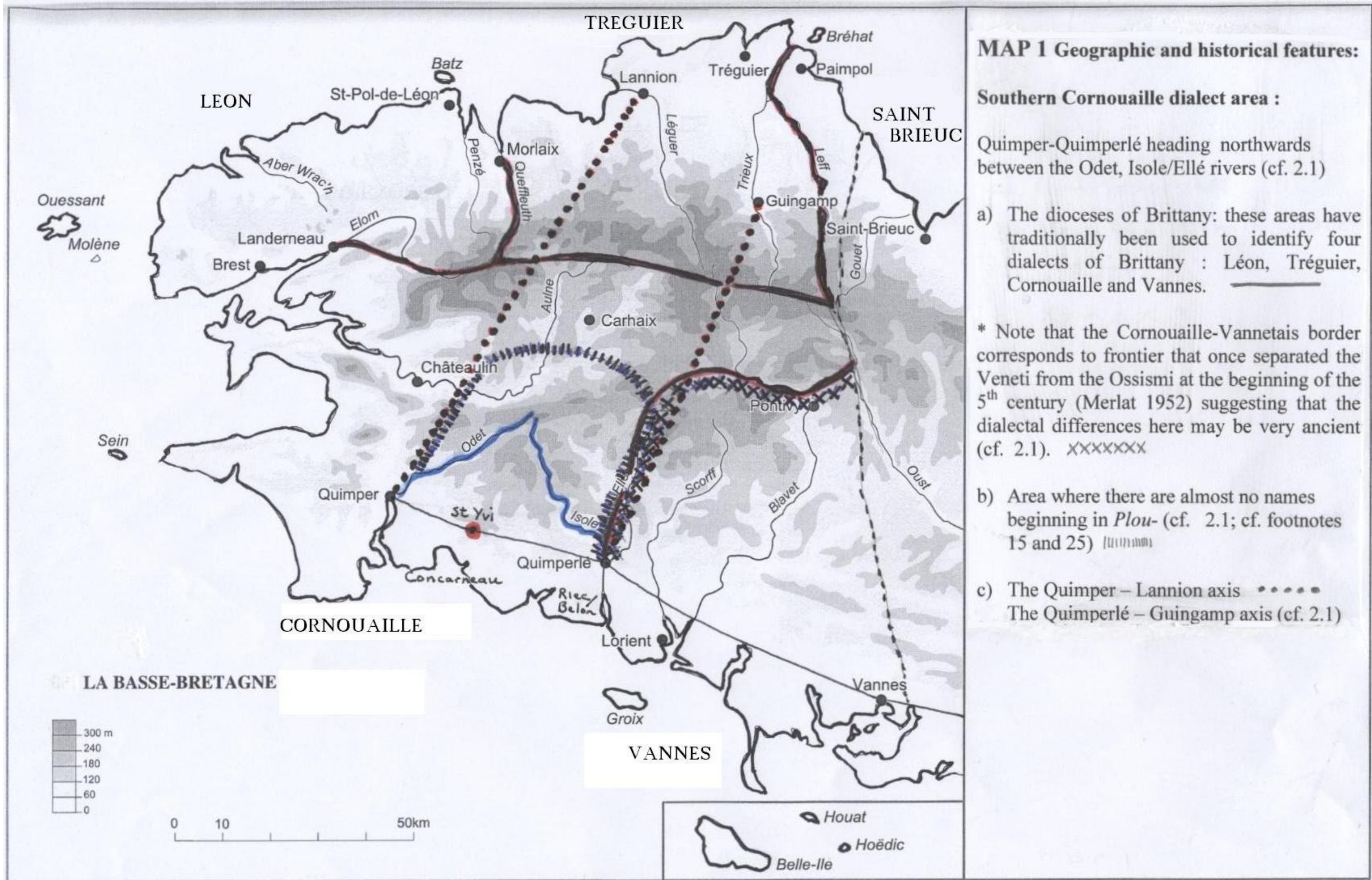
Confined to the western half of Brittany (*Breizh Izel*), the Breton language has been spoken since the Middle Ages by illiterate peasants, fishermen and the petty nobility. Although the Catholic clergy developed two local standards of Breton (based on the Léonais and Vannetais varieties) for the purposes of preaching and teaching catechism, its linguistic impact on the spoken language appears to have been relatively limited, particularly in the Cornouaille and Trégor regions. Whatever the ultimate causes, modern Breton is spoken today under a multitude of dialectal forms in which intercomprehension is sometimes difficult, if not impossible. Considering that a mere 5% of the Breton-speaking population can read Breton,[7] it is one of the few modern European languages to have escaped the direct normalizing influence of a standardized, prescriptive model. In this regard, the geolinguistic picture here is not unlike that which one would have encountered in medieval England and France. As such, it offers a trove of information concerning language variation, language contact, language change, as well as the social conditions under which these occur.

In 1900, Breton was still the first language of 90% of the inhabitants of Western Brittany, 50% of whom were monoglots (Broudic 1995; 1999: 19). Yet, by the 1950s, most parents (the youngest now in their seventies and eighties) had stopped transmitting Breton to their children. This was a process that began after World War I and was generalized after 1945.

---

6 In his study of the Arnold von Harff glossary, Guyonvarc'h (1984) showed that the Breton spoken near Nantes in 1499 was clearly dialectal and part of the Vannetais dialect.

7 This statistic is based on the estimates of several colleagues in the Celtic Department at the University of Western Brittany, Brest (also cf. Hewitt 1977). Naturally, nearly everyone can read and write French nowadays.


TREGUIER
Bréhat
Batz
Lannion
Tréguier
Paimpol
LEON
St-Pol-de-Léon
SAINT
BRIEUC
Morlaix
Penzé
Queffleuth
Léguer
Trieux
Leff
Aber Wrac'h
Ouessant
Molène
Elorn
Guingamp
Landerneau
Saint-Brieuc
Brest
Gouet
Aulne
Carhaix
Châteaulin
Pontivy
Sein
Odet
Oust
Scorff
Blavet
Quimper
St Yvi
Isole
Quimperlé
Concarneau
Riec/Belon
CORNOUAILLE
Lorient
LA BASSE-BRETAGNE
Vannes
Groix
VANNES
300 m
240
180
120
60
0
0 10 50km
Houat
Hoëdic
Belle-Ile
MAP 1 Geographic and historical features:
Southern Cornouaille dialect area :
Quimper-Quimperlé heading northwards between the Odet, Isole/Ellé rivers (cf. 2.1)
a) The dioceses of Brittany: these areas have traditionally been used to identify four dialects of Brittany : Léon, Tréguier, Cornouaille and Vannes.
* Note that the Cornouaille-Vannetais border corresponds to frontier that once separated the Veneti from the Ossismi at the beginning of the 5th century (Merlat 1952) suggesting that the dialectal differences here may be very ancient (cf. 2.1). XXXXXXX
b) Area where there are almost no names beginning in Plou- (cf. 2.1; cf. footnotes 15 and 25)
c) The Quimper – Lannion axis
The Quimperlé – Guingamp axis (cf. 2.1)
Centre de Recherche Bretonne et CeltiqueUniversité de Bretagne Occidentale, Brest

Although it cannot be denied that the French State and, through it, the public school system actively encouraged this process (cf. below), it is also important to understand that most Bretons considered their language to be a symbolic reflection of their subordinate social status and poor economic situation. As such, they saw it as a major impediment to their own advancement. Mastering French, it was felt, would grant a brighter social and economic future for them and for their children. This alone may offer the best explanation for the remarkable rapidity of the shift. If one accepts this interpretation of events, the Bretons were thus active participants in the change of languages and not passive victims as they are often portrayed.

Another factor which accelerated the language shift and which is sometimes underestimated as a cause for the decline of the language is the passing away of the last monoglots during the 1960s and 1970s.[8] Because the use of Breton was no longer an absolute necessity, French gradually and almost imperceptibly became the primary medium of communication in most households. This explains why, even though over two hundred thousand Bretons still can and do speak Breton, its use is increasingly restricted to intimate circles of older family members, neighbours and friends, and is normally used when no monoglot French speakers are present, a rarity these days.[9] For most native Breton speakers today, the use of the language is distinctly affective and it is psychologically on a parallel with *tutoiement* in French (Le Dû, personal communication). That is to say, one only uses it with people with whom one has well-established social bonds. Just as the social network of these speakers is shrinking as the older Breton speakers pass away, so is the opportunity to use the language on a regular basis.

1.2. Competing Ideologies

There is an ideological dimension to the language shift, as well. The first stems from the consequences of the French Revolution one of the goals of which was to mould the socially, culturally and linguistically fragmented population of France into one nation. With this in mind, the Abbé Grégoire undertook a famous study in 1794 on behalf of the Republican authorities to determine how many of France's 23 million inhabitants actually spoke a form of French resembling the current norm. The answer was an astonishingly low three million. The rest spoke French patois or languages such as Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Flemish and Occitan. It was decided that something had to be done to change the situa-

[8] Marie-France Sellin, a native speaker and former secretary at the Saint Yvi town hall, told me that the last monoglots she dealt with (translating administrative documents, etc.) died in the 1980s.

[9] In such cases, the conversation immediately switches to French. On more than one occasion, I have observed people who were speaking Breton and as soon as a stranger came within earshot, the conversation shifted to French and then back to Breton as the person went out of hearing distance.

tion, but it was not until the *Loi Jules Ferry* was passed in 1881 that French-medium public schools provided a mechanism for teaching the French norm to the nation's children.

The paradox is that while the peasantry was anxious to embrace the French language and culture, many Breton intellectuals of the early 19th century, deeply instilled with the Romantic spirit of the period, saw the Breton people in an entirely different light, namely, as the inheritors of an ancient and noble Celtic language and culture which had been transmitted to them from time immemorial, albeit in a corrupt state. Much as 19th-century scholars sought to reconstruct the Proto Indo-European language and establish the ethnic and cultural links between the European peoples, it was felt that the Breton language and culture held a wealth of secrets which were simply waiting to be revealed. It is in this spirit that the best known of these scholars, Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué, produced his *Barzaz Breiz*, a collection of ballads which he claimed to be authentic emanations of early Brittonic bardic poetry having the same sources as the ancient literary masterpieces of medieval Wales.[10] Other scholars, such as A. de la Borderie, A. de Jubainville and A. de Courson were interested in revitalizing other aspects of Breton history, language and culture. In the field of linguistics, it is probably Joseph Loth (1883; 1890) who most contributed to the idea that Breton was an exclusively Brittonic language devoid of any Gaulish influence. Just as 19th-century Englishmen presented themselves as pure-blooded Anglo-Saxons (cf. German 2000), their Breton counterparts saw themselves ethnically as British Celts.

These influential scholars can be said to be among the founders of modern Breton studies and, as such they presented a new nationalistic vision in which Brittany and its people were portrayed as victims of an aggressive and imperialistic France. Bernard Tanguy (1977) convincingly demonstrated the underlying reasons for this sudden rise in Breton nationalist sentiment and corresponding anti-French attitudes. According to him, this was largely a reaction of the former ruling elites to the radical social and political changes which had rocked France following the French Revolution.

Meanwhile, the mass of the Breton population remained largely oblivious to this new version of Bretonicity with its stress on Celtic origins, close linguistic and cultural bonds with the Welsh, Cornish, Irish and Scottish Gaels and hostil-

---

[10] Despite claims he was a forgerer of the same ilk as James MacPherson and Iolo Morgannwg, Donatien Laurent (1989), in his publication of de la Villemarqué's long lost field notes, has shown that the picture is rather more complex. Considering the raw material for his ballads (*gwerziou*) were in southern Cornouaillais dialect of the kind studied in this article and copied in his own hand, often very hastily scribbled as if it keep up with the singer-informant, this seems to demonstrate rather conclusively that de la Villemarqué actually did collect many of the ballads in the collection. As he wrote himself in his introduction to the *Barzaz Breiz*, for a given ballad, he combined various versions he had gathered and reworked them, including the language (and the names of the characters) in an attempt to "reconstruct" what he believed to be the "original" text, often granting free reign to his imagination.

ity towards France. This was due in large part to the fact that the highly centralized French national curriculum presented an idealized vision of French culture, literature, history and language in which there was little room for the nationalistic aspirations of a few Breton scholars. The inevitable consequence of this was that today the mass of the Breton people know very little about the linguistic, cultural or historical origins of their country. The gap between the social classes on this issue of Breton identity is thus striking and has had a profound effect on attitudes towards the Breton language and culture to the present day. In terms of cultural consciousness the ultimate irony is that Bretons are sometimes reproached for having passively abandoned a historical and linguistic heritage about which they know relatively little.[11]

It is thus the work of these 19th-century scholars, who often modeled their efforts on those of their insular Celtic brethren in Wales, Ireland and Scotland, which provided the ideological foundations for the linguistic and cultural revivals (called *emsav*) which occurred between the two World Wars, and most recently, since the 1960s. These revivals were spearheaded by highly motivated militants, nationalists and intellectuals, many of whom, it should be noted, were/are not native Breton speakers. Through their hard work, persistence and sheer enthusiasm, they succeeded in imposing a standardized, unified form of Breton called *peurunvan* (also called *zedachek* because of the characteristic spelling <zh>) as the primary medium of communication in the Breton media and in the schools.[12] Furthermore, what Bud Khleif (1978) called the "ethnic revival in the First World," with its emphasis on minority rights and driven by a rapidly expanding middle class, or "knowledge class" as he puts it, has provided great stimulus and appeal to the movement since the 1960s.

Indeed, the last quarter century has seen the foundation and expansion of numerous independent *Diwan* Breton-medium schools throughout Brittany which have spawned a new generation of Breton speakers who are now fluent in the new standard. Nevertheless, although there can be little doubt that, without these schools, this generation of Breton speakers would not have existed, they represent fewer than 1% of students under 18 years of age. Moreover, even if the *Diwan* schools do form the backbone of the language movement, it is also impor-

[11] This is not to say that Bretons are not fiercely proud of their region, but the language is not necessarily the focus of that pride. Much of it revolves around the natural beauty of country, its architecture, gastronomy and cultural and musical traditions. Common stereotypes concerning the Breton character are advanced (their being stubborn, hard workers, tough, brave, etc.). It is true, however, that there is a growing awareness among the younger generations of shared Celtic identity, particularly with the Irish and Welsh, as manifested in the popularity of the *Fêtes de Cornouaille* and, especially, the *Fêtes Interceltiques de Lorient*, but the question is how deep does this go and what does "Celticity" really mean for them? Most students I have questioned at the University of Brest have only the vaguest impressions about the links between Brittany and the other Celtic countries. Informal polls I have conducted show that upwards of 70% of the students bearing common Breton names of Celtic origin (Le Goff, Le Corre, Cadoret, Bizouarn, etc.) have no idea what they mean.

[12] See footnotes 2 and 3.

tant to recall that Breton is also offered in the private (i.e. Catholic) and public school systems.[13] While many individual teachers do their best to teach a form of Breton that is in tune with that which is used in local community, the differences between the vernaculars and the new standard spoken version of the language poses serious pedagogical challenges.

Consequently, even though the teaching of the standard is staunchly defended as the only hope for the language, one of the major drawbacks has been the development of a new form of diglossia. Indeed, native speakers often claim that they find the Breton used by the children and much of the media difficult if not impossible to understand.[14] Paradoxically, many critics complain that the new norm is phonologically "French," syntactically hypercorrect and lexically "neo-Celtic".

This linguistic tension is further exacerbated by the cultural, educational and generational differences that contribute to discouraging communication between the generations. The bottom line is that younger, urbanized standard speakers often have little in common with older, less formally-educated rural native speakers. Furthermore, given that many older people simply refuse to speak Breton with the young and actively discourage its use (for the reasons provided above), compounded with problems of intercomprehension arising from the linguistic nature of the standard language, younger speakers and learners often have little choice but to use the language among themselves. They thus often find themselves cut off from the linguistic source which could potentially provide them with full access to the natural language as it has been transmitted down through the centuries. It was with this problem in mind that a program entitled *Quêteurs de mémoires* "Memory seekers" was recently launched by the *Conseil Général du Finistère* at the instigation of two Breton speakers, Annaig Daouphars and André Le Gac, to encourage communication and establish new bonds between the generations. This particular program, however, is limited to Finistère.

[13] More precisely, students can choose Breton as an elective (1 to 3 hours per week) or follow the *filière bilingue* or "bilingual curriculum" consisting of 3 hours of Breton, 3 hours of geography and history, and 3 hours of math, all taught through the medium of Breton. The aim is to achieve absolute parity between Breton and French with a view to replacing the loss of the old generation of Breton speakers.

[14] My own experience is that native speakers tend to exaggerate problems of intercomprehension between dialect areas. A weekly radio program on RBO once hosted by Daniel Jequel, himself a dialect speaker from southwestern Cornouaille (Loctudy, Bro Vigoudenn), shows that vernacular speakers from vast areas of lower Brittany can communicate quite easily with one another when the cultural and affective framework is well-defined and familiar.

2. Linguistic Evidence

A fundamental question is whether the gulf between the vernaculars and the written standard is as much of a problem as has been claimed. Is this situation truly unique to Brittany? Is the existence of a standard a help or a hindrance to the survival of the language? In order to provide some answers to these questions, I shall now focus on a regional variety which is spoken between Quimper and Quimperlé in southern Finistère (i.e. southern Cornouaille) to illustrate the kinds of linguistic phenomena which differentiate it from the standard language as well as other regional dialects. The issue will be explored in terms of phonology, morphophonology, morphology, syntax and the lexicon, in particular the question of French loans as opposed to recent Celtic neologisms.

2.1. Geolinguistic and Socio-Cultural Considerations

In very general terms, the dialect area under consideration extends from the Odet river (Quimper) to the Isole and Ellé rivers (Quimperlé) and reaches as far to the northeast as Carhaix in central Brittany. Because of its geographical setting, the Breton of this region shows certain similarities with both the Léonais and Vannetais dialects, but especially to the forms of Breton stretching from the southwestern tip of Brittany to the northeast along the Concarneau-Lannion and Quimperlé-Guingamp axes, confirming Professor Falc'hun's theory of an intermediate dialect which includes much of Cornouaille and Trégor (Falc'hun 1963, 1981). According to this view, there would only be three major dialects and not four: 1) Léon, 2) Vannetais, and 3) Cornouaille-Trégor-Goélo, the latter forming a single entity (cf. Map 1).

The area of south-central Cornouaille under consideration is characterized by an absence of place names beginning with "Plou".[15] It also corresponds closely to the region where the *coiffe* of Fouesnant was once worn and where the *bal de l'aven* dance was most popular. My informants (from Saint Yvi and Riec) also claim to be most at ease here when speaking local Breton,[16] and it is where they

---

[15] Several hypotheses have been proposed to explain the significance of this: it was not colonized by the initial waves of Brittonic settlers and the entire area may have remained empty until after the colonization period had ended; it may have been inhabited by Gauls and thus received relatively few British settlers; it may have been settled later by Britons arriving toward the end of the colonization period, some of whom may have been from Wales (see footnote 25). However, there are numerous Brittonic-type place names in *Lan-* and *Tre-*: Langolen, Landelo, Lamphily, Landrevarzec, Trevarez, Tregourez, etc.

[16] Furthermore, the boundaries just described correspond closely to those established in two dialectometric studies (German 1984, 1991). The second, which used the Lerman computer program (University of Rennes II) and was performed at the *École Polytechnique de Nantes*, showed the correlation between 20 pairs of key phonological variables typical of this area and the cultural and place name data indicated above.

best know the place names in Breton (at a micro-toponymical level).[17] Finally, the modern-day linguistic frontier separating the Cornouaillais and Vannetais dialects corresponds not only to the limits of the dioceses of Cornouaille and Vannes but also to the ancient border separating the two Gaulish tribes which once inhabited the area: the Veneti and Ossismi, suggesting that the dialectal differences here may be very ancient. The striking concordance between the cultural, historical and linguistic evidence, reinforces the hypothesis that the speakers from this area form part of a relatively cohesive and ancient speech community. These and other pertinent cultural, social and linguistic features are illustrated in maps 1 and 2.

2.2. General Phonological Features

A number of phonological features helps identify speakers from this area. Many characteristics below are also shared with the Breton of the Trégor region. All of the examples provide clues allowing Breton speakers to identify the origin of their interlocutors, often with remarkable precision.

1) The loss of intervocalic -z- (< Brittonic ð) > in numerous words such as: *kuzhañ* ['kyːẹ] "to hide," *kouezhañ* ['kweo]"to fall," *digouezhañ* [di'gweo] "to arrive," *lazhañ* [lao] "to kill," *hiziv* ['hiu]/['ʃiu] "today," *anezhi* [nɛj] "of her," *anezhañ* [nãõ] "of him," *anezho* [nɛ] "of them," *dezhi* [dɛj] "to her," *dezhañ* [dãõ] "to him," *dezho* [dɛ]/['dɛo] "to them," etc. Evans (1964: 10) demonstrates that the phenomenon also exists in Welsh. This could suggest that the tendency may be quite old in Breton: Middle Welsh *rodi* > *roi* "to give," Modern Breton *roi/rei*); also cf. Old Breton (Fleuriot 1985: 81) and Middle Welsh (Evans 1964: 137) *buei* "used to be" as opposed to *bydei*. Compare this to the Modern Breton of this region: *bi* "used to be" versus literary Breton *beze*. There are also numerous examples where /z/ has not been lost, but in most cases, this /z/ originates from Brittonic or Latin *s plus secondary lenition; **casica* > *caseg* > *kazeg* "mare". Other examples: *gwazed* "men, husbands," *gwizi* "sows," *pouezet* "weighed," *boazet* "to be accustomed to".

2) The loss of final /z/ > ø (< Brittonic /ð/) is also commonplace: *menez* [miːn] (only used in place names: *Beg Menez*; *Menez Riou Bihan*, etc.). It is worth mentioning that Evans (1964: 10) notes that the loss of intervocalic and final /ð/ is a rather common feature of Middle Welsh, and it is

[17] Otherwise, except for major towns and cities such as Brest, Douarnenez, Morlaix, Vannes, Nantes, Rennes and Paris, they know only the French forms of place names outside of their dialect area.

thus not to be excluded that this phenomenon is old in some cases: OW *triti*, Modern Welsh *trydedd* and Modern Breton *trede*, Welsh *mywn* (Ir. *medon*), Middle Welsh *y vyny* "up" (< *mynydd*), Modern Trégorrois *Méné.* Other examples: *bez* [beð] (see (b) below) "grave," *gwez* [gɥẹː] "trees," etc.

"Zh" resulting from Brittonic *-θ; Brittonic/Latin *-s tends to resist this change: *kozh* [kuːz̥] "old," *laezh* [leːz̥] "milk," *kazh* [kaːz̥] "cat," *tizh* [tiːz̥] "speed," *pezh* [pẹs] "thing"/"that which," *gwezh* [gɥẹʃ] "time," *bazh* [baːz̥] "staff," "cane," *pouez* [pweːz̥] "weight," *skarzhet* [skæəz̥] "poured," etc. West of Bannalec, *Brezhoneg* (<*zh*> < Brittonic *-θ, i.e. the "Breton language") is pronounced with a /z/. East of Bannalec, however, it is generally pronounced without the /z/ [bʁe'õːnẹk].

Two other interesting features in this area are:

a) final and intervocalic <z> pronounced [œ̃ː], with the nasalization of the preceding vowel and the loss of the phoneme /z/: *teuziñ* ['tœ̃ːi], *beuziñ* ['bœ̃ːi], *kleuz* [klœ̃ː], *gouez* [gwẽː].
b) throughout the zone under discussion, intervocalic and especially final /z/ are also rendered by an unvoiced /-d/ in a scattering of words: *bez* (Welsh [beːð]) which is homophonous with *bed* [bẹːd̥] meaning "world"; *buhez* [byːd̥] "life"; *bemdez* ['bemdət] "everyday". This feature is to be found most frequently around Trégunc and Nevez: *laezh* [leːd̥] "milk," *pezh* [pit] "thing"/"that which," *c'hoazh* [χwɛt] "still," *kozh* [kuːd̥] "old," *kosoc'h* ['kutaχ] "older," *mamm goz* [mãm 'guːd̥] "grand-mother," etc. It is difficult to know whether this is a recent development (i.e. /z/ > /d/) or whether it is older (/ð/ > /d/).

3) The loss of intervocalic /v/ > ø – in a number of words, intervocalic /v/ is also elided as in *lavared* ['læːrəd] "to say," *devez* ['deʷəs] "day" (both ['deːvṣ] and ['deʷəs] are heard in Saint Yvi), *klevout* ['kleo] "to hear," *klevet* [kleːd̥] "heard," *kaved/kavout* [kɐut] "find," "get," *kavet* [keːd̥] "found," *sevel* ['seːəl]/['sewəl] "to rise," sometimes with initial /z/ (['seːvl̩] is also heard in Saint Yvi), *savet* [seːd̥] "risen," *eva* ['eo] "to drink," (but past participle *evet* ['eːvət] or imperative *ev(it)* ['ev]), *avel* [ɛːl] "wind" and *ivez* [ɛ] "also".

4) The opposition of palatalized and unpalatalized bilabial glides. In the area under discussion, initial <gw> and <w> are palatalized when followed by a close tense long vowel (/iː/, /ẹː/, /eː/) as in *gwin* [gɥin] "wine," *gwen* [gɥen] "white," *gwiz* ['gɥẹːz̥] "sow," *gwisket* ['gɥiʃət] "dressed," *gwir* [gɥiːᵊ] "true"

and *gwer* [gɥẹːᵊ] "green". Note that such palatalization is not commonly heard in Trégor Breton which may indicate that this feature is relatively recent in Cornouaille and elsewhere, perhaps, as a result of French influence. Minimal pairs:

gwez [gɥẹː] "trees"	*gouez* [gwẽː] [gweː] "wild"
gwez [gɥẹː] "trees"	*gwas* [gwaːz̥]"husband"
gwisket ['gɥiʃkət] "dressed"	*gwasket* ['gwaʃət] "crushed"
gwen [gɥen] "white"	*gouenn* [gwen] "species, descendant"
gwele [gɥẹːl] "bed"	*goell* [gweːl] "yeast" / *gouel* [gweːl] "religious festival"

The existence of these minimal pairs may reflect an older accentual opposition of the kind which occurs in Welsh: *gwydd* [gwiːð] "trees": *gwydd* ['guːið] "wild". If so, this implies that the distinction must go back at least to the late Brittonic period.

5) In the area of Quimper, /r/ is normally pronounced as a velar fricative when it occurs initially in a stressed syllable or word. It is pronounced as a schwa [ə] or [ø] when intervocalic or final position.
   a) postvocalically: *pesketer* [pẹs'kẹtə] "fisherman," *ker* [keːᵊ] "farm," *mor* [muːᵊ] "sea".
   b) intervocalically: *kirri* [kiːᵊi] "carts," *foennejiri* [fweni'ʒiːᵊi] "hayfields".
   c) pre-consonantally: *dorn* [doᵊn] "hand," *darn* [dæᵊn] "part," *gortozit* [go'tẹːt] "wait," gorlañchenn [goᵊ'lãːʃn̩] "oesophagus".
   d) post-consonantly in consonant clusters: *paotr* [pot] "boy," "son," *mestr* [mẹs] "master".

6) One of the most salient characteristics of this area concerns the stress system. Generally speaking, in KLT varieties, the stress falls on the penultimate syllable but, unlike in the Léon region where the vowel of final unaccented syllables is normally clearly pronounced, the Breton of this area resembles certain varieties of English and German. When final unstressed syllables end in a consonant, the consonant is usually syllabic as in the following words: *mevez* ['meːvs̩] "drunk" (feminine), '*ebeul* ['høːbl̩] "colt," *ledan* ['leːdn̩] "wide," *huchenn* ['hyʃn̩] "dust," *karabasenn* [kara'basn̩] "a priest's female servant," *gwerc'hez* ['gɥeːχs̩] "virgin," *rastell* ['rasl̩] "rake".

To the west of Bannalec, the tonic accent normally also falls on the penultimate syllable: *gantañ* ['gãːto] "with-him," *ganti* ['gati] "with-her," *ganto* ['gata] "with-them," etc., but as one approaches Quimperlé, there are numerous examples which have the stress on the final syllables, as in Vannetais: *gantañ* [ga'tõ] "with-him," *ganti* [ga'ti] "with-her," *ganto* [ga'tɛ] "with-them," etc. In disyllabic words, there are a number of doublets where, depending on the speaker and area, stress can fall on either syllable *laket* ['lakət] (also [lak]) versus *lakaet* [la'kẹt] "placed," *gouezet* ['gwiːət] versus [gu'jẹt] "knew," etc.

The force of the tonic accent can be so strong that it provokes the loss of final syllables ending in a vowel or *-et*; *-ed*; *-oud*: [bæːᵊ] "bread" for *bara*, [ãm] "here" for *amañ*, [gɥẹːl] "bed" for *gwele*, [gɥel] "seen" for *gwelet*, [læːᵊt] for *lavaret* "said".[18] For this reason, these final syllables tend to be lost altogether in normal speech. Fleuriot (1980: 65) discusses this phenomenon in southern Cornouaillais Breton and believes that it reflects an ancient and innate tendency in the Brittonic languages that led to the loss of final syllables in early Brittonic. If true, this would be a purely internal development and not a sign of language decay as some have supposed. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that when the stress shifts to another syllable, its original form is restored: *amzer* ['ãmzə] "time, whether" > *amzeriou* [ãm'ziːᵊzu] "times"; *bihan* [biːn] > *bihanoc'h* [bi'jãnɔχ] (but Scaer ['binɔχ]); *gwele* [gɥẹːl] "bed" > *gweleou* [gɥẹleːju] "beds".

Linked to this is the case of apocope where unstressed syllables and vowels are elided as in Leonais *abalamour da betra* which is reduced to [blãm bʁa] in this region or *sabatuet* "shocked" which is pronounced [sap'tyː], or *koulz lavaret* > [ku'læːᵊ] "that is to say," etc.

2.3. Some Morphophonological Features

I will now outline a number of features relative to the mutation system that distinguish the Breton of this area.

Lenition: [g] > [ʁ], [ɣ]

Broadly speaking, the lenition of initial consonants occurs much as in the standard language. An exception is the lenition of /g-/. Normally, the orthogra-

[18] The name of a fishing boat from Guilvinec has been transcribed in phonetic spelling as *Les ne da lar* meaning "Let them talk" (standard Breton: *Leskit anezho da lavarout*).

phic systems known as *peurunvan* and *etrerannyezhel* indicate the lenition of <g> by <c'h> while the *orthographe universitaire* represents it by <h>. In his NALBB, for the area in question, Le Dû (2001; map 369) documented several examples of nouns with initial [g] leniting to [ɣ] or [ʁ], a strongly rasped voiced velar or uvular fricative frequently interpreted as /r/.[19] Jackson (1967: 734) believes that the ultimate source of this /r/ is Primitive Breton voiced velar fricative [ɣ], but that it is "hardly identical with it". Denez (1972: 20) implies that the pronunciation of lenited [g] in standard Breton should be voiced velar fricative [ɣ]. Some local writers even represent this phoneme orthographically as <g'h>.

The ALBB also regularly shows lenition of [g] to velar [ɣ] or uvular [ʁ] voiced fricative at Nevez, Scaer, and Elliant. Jackson (*ibid*.: 313, 735) implies that this uvular quality results from the contact of final /-r/ of the definite article "ar" with the initial fricative /χ/ or /h/ and gives the example *ar c'havr* [ʁauə] "the goat" ([aʁ] + [χ-], [h-] > [ʁ-]). Although he could not have known this when he wrote a *Historical Phonology of Breton*, this hypothesis appears unlikely (cf. definite article *an* below). The ALBB also gives [ə'ʁæːə] "the leg" (map 216) for Scaer, Elliant and Nevez. With regard to the lenition of [g] to velar [ɣ] or uvular [ʁ], after vowels, Jackson (*ibid*.: 735) writes: "lack of adequate information of *r* prevents a decision whether it also occurs after vowels, but in *da givri* 'thy goats' the only part of the r-area with a relevant form, pt. 54 (Nevez),[20] has <h> and not <r>."

From St. Yvi to Riec, [g] regularly lenites to velar voiced fricative [ɣ] or uvular [ʁ] after vowels. The following are some examples and present into *peurunvan* orthography:

a) 3rd person masculine sing. poss. adj. "e" [i] + /g-/: *e c'houzoug* [i ʁuk] "his neck," *e c'horlañchenn* [i ʁoᵊ'lãːʃn̩] "his throat," *e c'har* [i ʁæːᵊ] "his leg".

b) after adverb *re*: *re c'hlav* ['ʁẹ ʁlao] "too much rain" (or *re a c'hlav* ['ʁẹː ə ʁlao], lit. "too much of rain").

c) after feminine nouns: *yar* + *c'hlocherez* ['jæːᵊ ʁlo'ʃeːᵊs] "mother hen".

d) after the preposition *da* "to": *da* + *gouzout* [də 'ʁut] "to know"; *da* + *gortoz* [də 'ʁotəs] "to wait"; *da* + *grial* [də 'ʁiːᵊl] "to weep"; *da* + *goulenn* [də 'ʁul] "to ask".

e) after the dual *div*: *div* + *g/c'har* (dual) ['djuʁæᵊ] "two-legs".

---

[19] This orthographic interpretation is common in local place names: *Loch ar Raor* (Saint Yvi) for *Loch ar C'havr*.

[20] Cf. LeRoux's *ALBB*.

f) after preverbal particle (preverbal particle *a*: deleted in normal speech, the only trace is lenition): *eñ a c'houlenno ganeoc'h* [hãõ 'ʁulu ga'nɔχ] "he'll ask you"; *eñ a c'hortozo ac'hanoc'h* [hãõ ʁo'teo hãːχ] "he'll wait for you".

g) after the reflexive particle *en em* [nim]: *en em c'houzañv* [nim 'ʁuːzn̩] "to stand each other".

Nevertheless, there are other examples such as *ar c'houlaouen* [ʁə'lœun] "the candle" and *ar c'hraouez* [ʁaus] "the wheelbarrow" (< *goulaouen* and *graouez*) which are treated at St. Yvi as having original initial uvular [ʁ] or velar [ɣ].[21] Rather than [i ' gʁaus] "her wheelbarrow" or [o 'kχaus] "your wheelbarrow," one hears instead [i 'ʁaus] and [o 'χaus], respectively. Given that apical /r/ is common to the east of this dialectal zone (Vannetais) and to the north (Léon and Trégor), it appears likely that the existence in this dialect of voiced velar fricative [ɣ] (< [g]) in initial position may have facilitated the shift from apico-alveolar /r/ to velar or uvular /r/ with French as a reinforcing influence: *ar c'ho* [(ə) 'ʁoː] (cf. ALBB, pt. 54, map 301, and pt. 128 of the NALBB, Nevez) "the mole," *ar c'hovel* [(ə) 'ʁo̙:l] "the smithy," *da c'hrial* [də 'ʁiːᵊl] "to cry," etc.

To conclude this discussion, we can state with reasonable assurance that this mutation is the reflection of an archaic state of affairs since the lenition of [g] to [ɣ] occurred in both Old Breton and Old Irish.

2.4. The Spirant Mutation

Unlike in most other regions of Brittany (cf. German 1984, Le Dû 2001), the spirant mutation is fully represented in this region and corresponds to the literary (historical) treatment of these phonemes. This involves the spirantization of voiceless bilabial plosive [p] > [f], apico-alveolar plosive [t] > [s] (and not [z] as in literary Breton) and voiceless velar plosive [k] > [χ].

The mutation occurs in a number of contexts such as after the following possessive adjectives: 1st person sing. *va* [ma], 3rd person sing. fem. *hec'h* [i], 1st person pl. *hon* [no], [ãn] and 3rd person pl. *o* [o]. It also occurs after the ordinal numbers 3, 4 and 9. Here are some examples:

[21] The ALBB (map 363) only has *graouez*, not the lenited form.

[p] > [f]

va fenn	[mə fen]	"my head"
he fenn dezhi	[i fen dɛj]	"her head"
hor pennou	[no 'fenu]	"our heads"
o fennou	[o 'fenu]	"their heads"

[t] > [s]

va zad	[mə saːd̥]	"my father"
he zad	[i saːd̥]	"her father"
hon tad	[no saːd̥]	"our father"
o zad	[o saːd̥]	"their father"

[k] > [χ]

va c'herent	[mə 'χeᵊn]	"my family/kin"
he c'herent	[i 'χeᵊn]	"her family/kin"
hor c'herent	[no 'χeᵊn]	"our family/kin"
o c'herent	[o 'χeᵊn]	"their family/kin"

After ordinal numbers 3, 4, 9, /p/, /t/, /k/ > /f/, /s/, /χ/:

tri fardon	['tχi 'fæᵊdn̩]	"three 'pardons'"
teir flac'h	['tejᵊ flaχ]	"three girls"
pevar c'hi	['pẹwᵊ χi]	"four dogs"
peder zro	['pẹdᵊ sχo]	"four turns"
nao c'haz	['nao χaːz̥]	"nine cats"

One of the salient distinguishing characteristics which identifies speakers from within the area under discussion (i.e. east of Bannalec) is the spirantization of /k/ + a front tense vowel > palato-dorsal /ʃ/ rather than velar fricative /χ/; [mə 'ʃiː] versus [mə 'χiː] "my dog," [mə 'ʃik] for [mə 'χik] "my meat," etc. The latter pronunciation is common to the west of Bannalec. Related to this feature is a similar phenomenon whereby /h-/ + front tense vowels is pronounced as a palato-dorsal /ʃ/ rather than a glottal /h/. Thus, one hears *hiziv* ['ʃiu]/[ʃjuː] "today" to the east of Bannalec and ['hiu]/[hjuː] to the west of it.

Note also that in much of Cornouaille, the tendency is to pronounce intervocalic [-χ-] as a palatal glide [j] as in *merc'hed* ['mjẹːjət] "girls/daughters," *merc'her*

['mjẹːjə] “Wednesday”. There are exceptions to this tendency, however: *yec’hed* ['jeːχət] “health”; *pec’het* ['peːχət] “sin”; *dalc’h* ['dæːχẹ][22] “to hold/keep”; *gwalc’hiñ* ['gɥeːχẹ] “to wash”; *sec’hiñ* ['seːχẹ] “to dry”. In the Breton of southern Cornouaille this can result in minimal pairs such as *sec’hed* ['sejt] “thirsty” and *sec’hed* ['seːχət] “dried”. Once again, these kinds of features quickly identify the precise geographic origins of a given speaker.

2.5. The Provection of [m], [n], [l], [ʁ]

The provection of [m] > [hm], [n] > [hn], [l] > [hn], [ɣ] > [χ] or [hr] was examined in detail by H. Humphreys (1972) for St. Nicolas-du-Pélem. The provection of these consonants results from the sandhi external effect of final voiceless [h] of the third person sing. fem. and second person plural possessive adjectives *hec’h* [ih] and *hoc’h* [oh]. While Humphreys writes that aspiration occurs in free variation before or after these consonants, I have only ever heard it after the consonant. In this case, the examples provided here must result from the metathesis of [h] and [m], [n] and [l]. The contact of voiceless glottal fricative [h] with voiced velar fricative [ɣ] results in a voiceless velar fricative [χ]. Whether or not metathesis occurs is thus impossible to tell in this case. Provection also occurs in the following contexts:

1) after the 3rd pers. sing. fem. poss. adj. *he(c’h)* [i] “her” and after the 2nd pers. pl. poss. adj. *ho(c’h)* [o] “your”.

he(c’h) mamm	[i 'mhãm]	“her mother”
he(c’h) nerzh	[i 'nheᵊs]	“her strength”
he(c’h) levr	[i 'lheoᵊ]	“her book”
he(c’h) relijion	[i χəlẹ'ʒiːn]	“her religion”

ho(c’h) mamm	[o 'mhãm]	“your mother”
ho(c’h) nerzh	[o 'nheᵊs]	“your strength”
ho(c’h) levr	[o 'lheoᵊ]	“your book”
ho(c’h) relejion	[o χəlẹ'ʒiːn]	“your religion”

2) in the area of Quimperlé one also commonly hears a related provection in the following contexts: /-h + b-/ > /p-/; /-h + d-/ > /t-/; /-h + g-/ > /k-/; /-h + gw-/ > /kw/.

[22] V+ [ʁ]/[l] + [χ] > [χ].

he(c’h) baz	[i 'paːz̥]	“her staff”
he(c’h) dorn	[i 'toᵊn]	“her hand”
he(c’h) gar	[i 'kæːᵊ]	“her leg”
he(c’h) gwele	[i 'kɥẹːl]	“her bed”

ho(c’h) baz	[o 'paːz̥]	“your staff”
ho(c’h) dorn	[o 'toᵊn]	“your hand”
ho(c‘h) kar	[o 'kæːᵊ]	“your leg”
ho(c‘h) kwele	[o 'kɥẹːl]	“your bed”

3) this treatment also occurs after vowels and glides:

hec’h aval	[i 'haol]	“her apple”
hec’h eontr	[i 'hjõn]	“her uncle”
hec’h oad	[i 'hwaːd̥]	“her age”

hoc’h aval	[o 'haol]	“your apple”
hoc’h eontr	[o 'hjõn]	“your uncle”
hoc’h oad	[o 'hwaːd̥]	“your age”

That this is not a recent phenomenon seems apparent from the following Middle Welsh example: *Ys mi ae heirch*, where the initial <h> of *heirch* results from the aspiration of the feminine third person infixed pronoun <eh> (Evans 1964: 140), in other words, *ys mi a-eh eirch*, lit. ‘It is I who-her seek.’ (cf. Breton *hec’h* < Brittonic *_esias_ > _ei(h)_). Given the etymology, it would probably be better to spell *hec’h* and *hoc’h*, *heh* and *hoh*, respectively.

Note that in most other dialects, there is no contrast between the second person possessive adjective and the third person possessive adjective:

ho(c’h)/o mamm	[o 'mãm]	“your/their mother”
ho/o nerzh	[o 'neᵊs]	“your/their strength”
ho/o levr	[o 'leoᵊ]	“your/their book”
ho/o relejion	[o ʁəlẹ'ʒiːn]	“your/their religion”

In this region, not making the distinction in the spoken language is considered grammatically incorrect.

2.6. The Lenition and Provection of [m], [b], [g]

A similar phenomenon occurs after the preverbal particle *o(c'h)* (in the standard language) in progressive constructions which are realized phonetically in this zone as [-h] and [ih]/[ẹh]. This particle is often said to result from the Old Breton preposition **gourth* > *outh* > *ous* > *ouh*, meaning "at," "to" or "against". Nevertheless, given that lenition is obviously older than provection in this case, the preverbal particle must originally have ended in a vowel, and not in /-s/ or /-h/, which caused the provection. Could it be that the original form of the preverbal particle was [i] or [e] (< *e(n)* meaning "in") in this region and that it functioned in the same way as the Welsh progressive preverbal particle *yn* "in" in progessive structures? If so, it may be that *e*, *i* were later confused with the preposition *gourth* > *ouc'h* and/or modeled on the use of the possessive adjective *hec'h* [ih] analogically.[23] Whatever the source, the preverbal particle provokes two mutations in the spoken language:

a) the first is the provective mutation affecting [n], [ɣ]/[ʁ], [l] exactly in the same way as after the 2nd person pl. /3rd person sing. possessive adjectives *ho(c'h)* [oh] and *he(c'h)* [ih] described above.

b) the second mutation concerns lenition and provection of [m] > [v] > [f]; [b] > [v] > [f] and [g] > [ɣ] > [χ].

Again, neither the provection of [m], [n], [l], [ʁ], nor the lenition and provection of [m], [b], [g] are reflected in the literary language, neither were these features studied in Le Roux's ALBB. Both groups of mutations are represented as follows. Examples of the provection of [n], [l], [ʁ]/[ɣ]. The orthography of following examples has been adapted to the Breton of St. Yvi.

Ni oa 'h neuñi (neuial) 'ba 'mor
[nẽ wa 'ṇhœ̃:i ba' 'mu:ᵊ]
'We were swimming in the sea'

Ema hi 'h lenn hoh leor
[ma hi 'lhenn o 'lheoᵊ]
'She is reading your book'

[23] I thank Anders Jørgensen's (p.c., 26/7/07) for pointing out Alan Heusaff's Saint Yvi example whereby *noazh* [nhwa:z], *Eñ oa aet noazh* [nhwa:z] *ba' 'lenn* "He went into the lake naked " would stem from *en(t) noazh*. If this hypothesis is correct, it could have special relevance here. Nevertheless, the reason for the voicelessness and aspiration remain somewhat ambiguous and requires further investigation.

Oa haoñ 'h ruilh ba'n hent sort meo 'vi' (evit) oa haoñ
[wa hãõ 'χøʎ ba n'henn soᵊt 'meo vi wa hãõ]
'He was so drunk that he was rolling in the road'

In each case, the mutation itself is the only phonological sign of the presence of the preverbal particle.

- Examples of lenition and provection: [m] to [f]

Oa haoñ 'h vodesi (< *modesi*)
[wa hãõ fo'dẹːsẹ]
'He was dreaming'

- Examples of lenition and provection: [b] to [f]

an dour zo 'h virvi (< *birvi*)
[n̥duːᵊ zə 'fiᵊvi]
'The water is boiling'

- Examples of lenition and provection: [g] ([-h] + [ɣ-] > [χ-])

Ema hi 'h g'houlenn (< *goulenn; h+ g'h > c'h /x/*)
[ma hi 'χul]
'She is asking'

Vowels following the preverbal particle are aspirated when used with progressive aspect:

Emoñ 'h evo (evañ)
[mõ 'heo]
'I am drinking'

Glides /j/ and /w/ are also aspirated in this context:

A(n) c'hi se a zo 'h yudel
[(ə) 'χiːsən zə 'hjyːdl̥], west of Bannalec
[(ə) 'ʃiːsən zə 'hjyːdl̥], east of Bannalec
'That dog is howling'

Ema hi 'h werc'hi heh dilhad
[ma ɡji 'hɥẹːχẹ i 'tiʎət], east of Bannalec
[ma hi 'hɥẹːχẹ i 'diʎət], west of Bannalec
'She's washing her clothes'

2.7. Some Morphological Features

2.7.1. The Definite Article ‘an’

In Cornish and Middle Breton, *an* was the usual form of the definite article in all positions (not *ar* and *al*). This archaic feature of southern Cornouaillais Breton disappeared everywhere else in Lower Brittany, but has been preserved in place names throughout western Brittany, such as *Kerampont*, *Keramborgne*, *Kerangall*, etc. Nevertheless, when d’Arbois de Jubainville came to Fouesnant in 1874, he specifically stated that he heard neither “ar,” nor “al” here. In fact, this is still the case for the entire region from Fouesnant to Riec. *An* is thus found not only before /t/, /d/ and vowels, where one would expect it in the standard language, but also before /p/, /b/, /g/, /h/, /w/ and occasionally before /s/ an /m/.[24]

The fact that //nn// was fortis in all positions until comparatively recently probably explains its survival; it has four allomorphs: [nn] (before vowels), [n], [m], [ŋ]. *An* is not syllabic before vowels or before semi-vowels. It is generally syllabic before /h/, /t/, /d/, /p/, /b/, /g/:

an alar	['ṇaːlə]	“a/the plough”
an ozac’h	[ṇ'wax]	“a/the owner of a farm”
an talmoc’h	[ṇ'talmɔx]	“a/the hog”
an darn	[ṇ'doᵊn]	“a/the piece”
an hañv	[ṇ'hãõ]	“a/the summer”

[m] is a bilabial voiced nasal and atonic before bilabial stops [p] and [b]. It is also syllabic:

ar (an) pemoc’h	[ṃpi'mɔχ]	“a/the pig”
ar (an) plac’h	[ṃ'plaχ]	“a/the girl”
ar (an) beleg	[ṃ'beḷẹk]	“a/the priest”
ar (an) bed	[ṃ'bẹːd̥]	“a/the world”

The second allophone is a velar voiced nasal and atonic before the voiced velar stop [g]:

[24] In careful speech *an* must have been pronounced more clearly until quite recently. Note the verses of the following rhymes and songs: … *ha foet e rer daoñ gan am botik lann* “and whip his rear end with a switch of gorse,” or *c’hoari koukou gan am merc’hed* “play ‘coucou’ with the girls” (SY orth).

ar (an) groc'hen	[ŋ̩' gɣɔχn̩]	"a/the skin"
ar (an) ger	[ŋ̩' geːᵊ]	"a/the farm"
ar (an) gwaz	[ŋ̩' gwaːz̥]	"a/the husband"

Nevertheless *an* (with fortis <n> [ãnn]) was weakened to lenis apico-alveolar nasal [n] before fricatives (/f/, /v/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /χ/ /ɣ/), liquids (/l/), and nasals (/m/, /n/) at some point in its history, and there is no evidence for the Breton of this area of which I am aware that shows that it was further reduced to apico-alveolar [r] before disappearing altogether. De Jubainville indicates he heard *an* before *zul*, *merc'het* and *lonned (his orthography)*. Jackson's argument that /ʁ/ of [(ə) 'ʁauᵊ] results from aʁ + *havr* "goat" would seem improbable under the circumstances, at least with regard to the varieties around Saint Yvi.

For this reason, before fricatives, laterals, liquids or nasals *an* is pronounced as a faint [ə]; often it is totally inaudible. Here are some examples:

A(n) forc'h houarn a zo barz a(n) c'hraou
[(ə) fo'χœwən zo ba 'χœu]
'The pitch fork is in the barn'

A(n) zaout a zo 'h puri ba'n park
[(ə) 'zɐut zə 'pyːẹ ba m'pæᵊk]
'The cows are grazing in the field'

A(n) skeul a zo herpet diouz a(n) vur
[(ə) 'ʃkøːl zə 'heᵊpət døz (ə) 'vyːl]
'The ladder is leaning against the wall'

2.7.2. Aspects of the Definite and Indefinite Article + Lenition

The distinction between the definite and indefinite articles, which is so clear in other Breton dialects, is not generally made in this area. In most of Lower Brittany, the indefinite article is stressed before monosyllables. Thus, at Plomelin (ouest of Quimper) *ur paotr* "a boy" is pronounced ['o pot] whereas "the boy" is pronounced [ə 'poːd̥]. Le Dû (1978) shows the same mechanism is at work at Plougrescant, in northern Trégor. From Saint Yvi to Riec, on the other hand, "a boy" and "the boy" are both pronounced [m̩'poːd̥]. Absolutely no distinction is made between them.

2.7.3. The Standard Breton -añ Infinitive Suffix represented Southern Cornouaillais [o]

It is the archaic pronunciation feature of Trégorrois and Goélo Breton (//ã//, spelled *-aff* in Middle Breton) that was adopted in the *peurunvan* (and *etrerann-yezhel*) orthographic system while the léonais pronunciation was taken up in Professor Falc'hun's *orthographe universitaire*: *kouezhañ* versus *koueza*, *evañ* versus *eva*, etc. In the area of southern Cornouaille under consideration, however, the infinitive ending corresponding to //a// and //ã// is often //o//. Examples: *koueo (kouezhañ)* "to fall"; *eo (evañ)* "to drink"; *hankoueo (ankounac'haad)* "to forget"; *stoueo (stouiñ)* "to stop"; *tañweo (tañvañ)* "to taste"; *digoueo (digouezhañ)* "to arrive"; *lao (lazhañ)* "to kill".[25]

2.7.4. The Superlative Morpheme añ [õ], [n̩]

Likewise, /a/ and /ã/ are the most common pronunciations for the superlative throughout Brittany. These pronunciations are usually rendered either as [õ] or syllabic [n] throughout the area in question: *brasañ* [brasõ] "biggest," *bihanañ* [bi'jãnõ] "smallest," *izellañ* [i'ʒɛlõ] "lowest," *uhelañ* [y'ɛlõ] "highest," *ledanañ* [le'dãnõ] "widest," *kosañ* ['kusõ] "oldest," hirrañ ['hiχõ] "longest," etc. ([ã] and [õ] originate respectively from Brittonic *-sãmos* (Jackson 1967: 327). It is possible that the modern Cornouaillais pronunciation results from the early vowel affection *-samos* > *-sõmos* > *-hõμ* > *-(h)õ*. Note also that the fortis/voiceless quality of the preceeding consonant is probably a very old feature resulting from the provection of /h-/ (from the voiceless lenis [s] > [h]: early Brittonic **-samos* > late Brittonic [-hãμ]/[hõμ] > modern Breton *añ*, *oñ*; Middle Breton *-aff*, Modern Welsh *-af*): *brasañ* [braːz + hõ] > ['brasõ] "biggest," *kosañ* [kuːz + hõ] > ['kusõ] "oldest," *hirrañ* [hiːr + hõ] > ['hiχõ] "longest".

After adjectives ending in *-s* or *-z* and *-c'h*, some speakers pronounce *-añ* as a syllabic [-n̩]: *ar brasañ* [m̩'brasn̩] "the biggest," *ar sec'hañ* [n̩'seːχn̩] "the driest".

2.7.5. Emañ versus *eo*

Emañ is normally described as a "situational" or "locative" form of the verb *boud/bezañ* "to be".

---

[25] There are a number of place names in the region which may have connections with North Wales (Langolen/Llangollen, Tourc'h/Twrch, Elliant/Elgent, etc.) and Dyfed, Landelo/ Llandeilo (Sant Yvi, the last Welsh saint to come to Brittany in 720 was from Cardiganshire; Davies 1993: 79). Jean-Yves Plourin (UBO, personal communication) wonders whether certain morphological and lexical items may have a possible Welsh source (cf. *-o* infinitives, etc.).

Standard Breton: *N'emañ ket er ger*
Saint Yvi [ma kẹ ba ŋ'geːᵊ nɛj/nãõ]
'She/he is not at home'

Unlike in the Trégor and Vannetais Breton varieties, which only have 3rd person sing. and plural *emañ* and *emaint*, as in Welsh and Cornish, Cornouaillais and Léonais Breton (hence the standard use) have a complete paradigm of this verb, namely: *emaon*, *emaout*, *emañ*, *emaomp*, *emaoc'h*, *emaint*. It would thus appear that this is a relatively recent development in Cornouaillais and Leonais (Hemon 1975: 205). Nevertheless, it is not impossible that these paradigms have existed in the spoken language longer than one might think. Syntactically its use is flexible:

Hiou ema brao (SY orth)
lit. Today is (sit.) beautiful.
'Today the weather is beautiful.'

Ema brao hiou (SY orth)
lit. Is (sit.) beautiful today.
'The weather is beautiful today.'

Brao ema hiou (SY orth)
lit. Beautiful is (sit.) today.
'The weather is beautiful today.'

This paradigm can also be combined with *bet* (past participle "been") to form perfective tenses such as: *emaon bet*, *emaoc'h bet*, *emañ bet*, etc., structures which are not accepted in standard Breton but which are common throughout much of Cornouaille from the Pays Bigouden to the Vannetais border. Semantically, they can be interpreted as a preterite or perfective (i.e. when describing an action occuring at a fixed point in the past that is detached from the moment of speech or, conversely, a past action still retaining a link with the moment of utterance).

Emoc'h ket bet da skol dec'h bégur' mestr skol neus goul' ganim pelec'h oac'h chomet. (St. Yvi)
You were not at school yesterday because the school master asked me where you were.

Furthermore, in this region, there is a marked tendency to use *emañ* where, in standard Breton, one would normally have *eo*: *Emom digoue'et* [mõm di'gwẹt] "we have arrived" rather than *digouezhet omp* [di'gwẹd õm] and *emañ tomm* or *tomm emañ* rather than *tomm eo*. Nonetheless, structures with *eo* are also possi-

ble. Note the alternation in the use of *emañ*, *emoñ* and *eo*, *on* in the following example:

> *Goude-se ema deuet (an Intron de) la Depuisneuf ha sed benn eo deuet*[26] *la Depuisneuf …* ha ema deuet hi da *Geronsal, mamm a lar de'i: "Kontant on da vond 'hat! Dibao pell zo emoñ kontant da vond!"* (SY orth)
>
> After Lady de la Depuisneuf came, and when la Depuisneuf came (pause) to Keronsal, mother tells her: "I am happy to go. I have wanted to go for a long time."[27]

Some informants insist on the fact that a phrase such as *emañ prest koan* "dinner is ready" is more dynamic (i.e. sit down before dinner gets cold!) than *prest eo koan* which, for them at least, is neutral, but I have never been able to establish this with real certainty. However, the following example seems to reinforce this analysis.

> *Ni lare mod-ma* [mõm] *daoñ "Med ma sad, ema ket poent da zond da'n ger c'hoaz?" "D'ober p'ra emoc'h deuet c'hoaz ?" lar haoñ …* (SY orth)
>
> We said to him like this "But father, isn't it about time to come home now?" (he was drinking with his friends; he responds angrily) "What have you come to do (here) then!?" says he.

2.8. Syntax

There is a tendency in the (new) standard language to shun SVO structures because they are perceived to result from French influence. In the spoken language, however, SVO structures are common throughout Brittany, and in particular in the area under consideration. For example, affirmative sentences (= impersonal conjugation), subject + 3rd pers. sing. verb, *Me a gar* "I love/like". Diachronically, this construction stems from a Brittonic cleft structure:

> *Ys mi a kar(am)* (Hardie 1948: 95)
> Is mi a gar
> 'It is I who loves'

Because the copula was unstressed, it was elided in speech, just as in contemporary modern Irish. Such SVO constructions are very common in Middle Welsh. E. Evans (1990: 171) writes that the so-called "Abnormal Sentence" (i.e. SVO) may have been for "Welsh and its parent language (or languages) a nor-

[26] *Eo*, and not *ema*, *normally* follows the subordinator *benn* "when".
[27] The context here is the Countess de la Depuisneuf's visit to the the narrator's family telling them that she was expelling them from their home.

mal order of constituents, if we accept (as Fife would urge us to do, in accord with his analysis) that topic in Gallo-Brittonic and neo-Brittonic in various ways and at various stages 'was more central to the syntax'". If so, assertions that such SVO structures result from French influence are exaggerated, although French usage could obviously play a reinforcing role.[28]

As for the preverbal particle *a*, it was elided in speech in Breton just as in Middle Welsh, Cornish and in Irish. Both Old Welsh and Old Breton had several morphological variants of this relative pronoun: <*hai*>, <*ay*>, <*a*>. S. Evans (1964: 63) gives the following Old Welsh example:

ir serenn hai bid in arcimeir o
'the star which is opposite *o*.'

In Modern spoken Breton, when it is followed by a verb beginning with a consonant, the only trace of this particle is the lenition it provokes. When it is followed by a verb beginning with a vowel, an interesting archaism reveals itself.

Cornouaille	*Me a ya* [me ya] (< **[ha]i a*) "I go"
Tregor	*Me a ha* [me ha] (< **h[ai] a*) "I go"

It is probable that such SVO structures were common in late Brittonic at the time of the migration to Brittany.

2.8.1. Subject marking

On the question of "null subject languages," Radford (1997: 17-18) writes the following:

> There appears to be no language in which it is okay to say "drinks wine" (meaning "he/she drinks wine") but not okay to say "eats pasta" (meaning "he/she eats pasta"). The range of grammatical variation found across languages appears to be strictly limited: there seem to be just two possibilities – *languages either do or don't systematically allow verbs to have null subjects* (my emphasis).

In other words, the languages of the world either have:

a) a finite verb + subject pronoun
b) a finite verb + "null" subject pronoun.

---

[28] Conversely, considering the long periods of contact between Irish and Welsh speakers in Wales, one wonders whether the VSO structures which are currently dominant in modern Welsh might in some way result from much older Irish contact influence. Cf. also the perfective structure: *wedi* + verb. This construction is virtually absent in Cornish and Breton.

The Breton evidence would appear to contradict this contention since, unlike standard Breton, or Léon/Trégor Breton, the tendency in southern Cornouaillais is to use a pronoun whenever it is possible. This should serve as a warning that, considering the linguistic diversity of Breton, generalizations about any aspect of its grammar should be made with great caution.

In Cornouaillais Breton, the subject is indicated morphologically in two ways:

1) Synthetically, in the form of a bound morpheme.
2) Analytically, in the form of:
   a) a pronominal form placed before or after the verb phrase.
   b) the conjugated preposition *a*: 3rd person sing. masc. *anezhañ*, 3rd person sing. fem. *anezhi*, 3rd person plural *anezho*, usually in phrase final position, which can function as a pronoun. 1st person plural *ac'hanomp* has a similar function, but also appears in affirmative sentences.

In the first case, the verb is marked by a bound morpheme (so-called personal forms) in negative phrases and in subordinate clauses just as in standard Breton:

ne garan ket anezhi
'I don't love/care for her.'

After coordinating conjunctions and in subordinate clauses, the verb that follows normally requires a personal form:

Ha weloñ heh fenn, peseurt mod penn noa hi … ema maro hi deus an aksident-se. (SY orth)
lit. And see-I her head, what kind of head had-she … is (sit.) dead she from the accident-that.
'And I see her face, the way she looked … she died as a result of that accident.'

Ha ni oam ket gouest goud p'ra oa haoñ 'kas [29] *kaoud*. (SY orth)
'And we were not able to know what he was (a-)seeking to obtain.'

2.8.2. Redundancy

Nevertheless, even in subordinate clauses, the syntactic structure is frequently SVO in the spoken language as we can see in the hybrid constructions below in which the personal inflections have been retained, but the subject preposed.

Hendall ni welem ket den 'bet gwech ebet ba n'amziriou-se. (SY orth)

[29] Heusaff (1996: 165) proposes that *kas* (instead of expected *klask*) in this context may be etymologically related to Middle Welsh *keissaw* "to seek".

A-hent-all (ni) ne welemp ket den ebet en amzeriou-se. (StanBret)
'Otherwise, we did not ever see anyone in those days.'

Blam ni 'ouiem kin brezoneg. (SY orth)
Abalamour (ni) ne ouiemp nemet brezhoneg. (StanBret)
'Because we only knew Breton …'

In other cases, the topicalized pronoun remains and the inflectional suffix disappears.

Med ni vi 'c'hoarzin. (SY orth)
Med ni a veze/vezemp o c'hoarzhin. (StanBret)
'But *we* were laughing.'

The topicalization of the subject also appears in Middle Welsh.

Ac yn y lle y vrawt a gytsynhwys instead of *Ac yn y lle y kytsynhwys y vrawt*.
'And immediately his brother consulted …'

Note that the direct object complement can also be thematized and take the place of the grammatical subject. In the following example, there are two direct object complements, the second coming as an afterthought to specify the meaning of the first.

A(n) re wenn, vi pradet an dilhad gwenn ganoc'h. (SY orth)
lit. The white ones (clothes), were (BE past habitual) beaten the white clothes with-you.
'You used to beat the white clothes.'

In this sentence, two constructions have been combined in one:

a) *A(n) re wenn (i.e. an dilhad gwen) vi pradet (ganoc'h).* (SY orth)
lit. The white ones (i.e. the white clothes) were beaten with-you.
'You used to beat the white clothes.'

b) *vi pradet an dilhad gwen ganoc'h.* (SY orth)
pradet vi an dilhad gwen ganoc'h
lit. Were beaten the white clothes with-you.
'You used to beat the white clothes.'

2.8.3. Subject marking: 3rd person sing.: haoñ ‘he’, *hi* ‘she’, *nenn* ‘one’

In the following affirmative sentences, the pronoun is placed after the verbal group.

N’oun (n’ouzon) ket hann (hag-eñ) ema chomet haoñ ba’n ger. (SY orth)
‘I don’t know whether he stayed at home.’

Ha benn eo [ẹ] *deuet hi, ‘ yar, en traoñ* … (SY orth)
‘And when she, the hen, came down …’

Ken buan vé bet maro haoñ (SY orth)
lit. Just as fast would have been dead he.
‘He could just as well have died.’

Ba’n amzer oan yaouank vi ket kas‘ nenn kalz da skol. (SY orth)
‘During the time I was young, one was (past habitual) not often sent to school.’

2.8.4. Subject Marking: 3rd person pl. ‘hè/hent’

Hè is a reduced form of *hent* [henn], also pronounced *hint* [hint] in much of central Cornouaille and Tregor (literary Breton *int*; Middle Welsh *int*; *(h)wynt*). *Hè/hent* is a free morpheme which can be placed either before or after a (normally) uninflected 3rd person singular verb (+ aux.). This slide towards analycity must have been facilitated by a need to identify the subject, whether masculine or feminine, in the phrase, a phenomenon which was probably reinforced by analogy with the structures just signaled in 2.8.3. In the following affirmative sentences, the subject pronoun directly follows the verb *boud*, the main lexical verb or the verbal group.

Blam vé hè ‘ torné … (SY orth)
Abalamour e vezent o tornañ. (StanBret)
‘Because they were threshing …’

Benn eo kouet hè barz … (SY orth)
Pa oant kouezhet e-barzh. (StanBret)
‘When they fell in …’

Benn eo maro hè … (SY orth)
Pa oant marvet / Pa varvjont (StanBret)
‘When they died …’

2.8.5. Characteristic Uses of the Preposition 'a'

Although inflected forms of the preposition *a* are used as direct objects in most forms of Breton and in the standard language, *Roet am-eus anezhañ dezhi* or *Me am-eus roet anezhañ dezhi* "I gave it to her," it can also have an agentive function. Indeed, among older speakers, the subject is often indicated by the inflected preposition *a*, normally the 3rd person singular, and the 1st and 3rd person plurals: *anezhañ* [nãõ], *anezhi* [nɛj], *anezho* [nɛ]. This trait appears limited to the areas southeast of Carhaix. It occurs almost exclusively in negative sentences and is not generally accepted in standard Breton. Notice that the verb is not normally inflected. Syntactically, the inflected forms of *a* always appear in sentence-final position.

'Ema ket digoue'et 'naoñ, 'nei, nè. (SY orth)
lit. Is (situational) not arrived of-him, of-her, of-them.
'He, she has/ they have not arrived.'

Ema ket 'n ger vraz 'nei. (SY orth)
'It is not a big farm (of her).'

In certain fixed expressions, some speakers use the paradigm for all persons: *oar ket 'hanon* 'I do not know,' *oar ket 'hanout* 'you do not know,' *oar ket naoñ* 'he does not know,' *oar ket nei* 'she does not know,' *oar ket 'hanom* 'we do not know,' but older speakers tend to use this only for the third persons singular and the first and third person plural. *Ahanom* (i.e. *ac'hanomp*; peurunvan) is also used in affirmative sentences (cf. 2.8.7).

Interestingly, there are similar examples of the inflected preposition '*o*' being used in Middle Welsh to mark the subject (cf. *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyued*; *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*), just as in southern Cornouaillais Breton:

Ac yna edrych ohonaw fe ar liw yr erchwys.
lit. And there a looking of-him on the color of the pack.
'And there, he looked at the color of the pack.'

Heusaff (1996: 30) gives the following example from Morgannwg in modern spoken Welsh:[30]

nid oes dim ohono efe 'n canu
lit. neg. There is not of-him in-singing.
'He is not singing.'

[30] The verbal noun as a historic infinitive, with the preposition '*o*' marking the agent or subject. Cf. Irish *do* in the same funtion, as *ar bhfhéuchaint do* (Thompson 1957: 24).

The normal manner of expressing this in Cornouaillais Breton would be:
N'ema ket 'kana naoñ or *haoñ ema ket 'kana naoñ* (SY orth)
lit. He is not a-singing of-him.
'He is not singing.'

This would seem to suggest that the structure is very old indeed and stems directly from a common late Brittonic source. It is thus not a form of degenerated Breton, as some have argued. *Anezhañ*, *anezhi*, *anezho* are generally used as echo pronouns to reinforce the subject.

It is not uncommon for a topicalized grammatical subject to be counterbalanced by a post-posed inflected preposition.

Ma eontr 'oa ket kontant 'naoñ. (SY orth)
'My uncle was not happy.'

Ha haoñ noa lâret dei (=dezhi) 'vi ket bet chom 'naoñ. (SY orth)
'And he told her that he would not stay.'

In this manner, the necessity for an inflectional morpheme on the verb becomes optional. This redundancy triggers a move towards morphological simplification of the verb. In the following example, the verbal suffix is abandoned showing the potential for slide towards analycity.

An dud teue ket da vakañs nè (anezho) giz ra hè brem'. (SY orth)
Ne deue ket an dud en ehan labour evel ma reont bremañ. (StanBret)
'The people do not come on vacation like they do now.'

Hè lare oa ket 'kas kaout an dra-se 'nè. (SY orth)
Int a lavare/lavarout a raent n'edont ket o klask kaout an dra-se. (StanBret)
'They were saying that they were not looking for that.'

2.8.6. Emphasis through Redundancy

We have seen then that the redundant use of subject markers through the combination of:
a) proper nouns / personal pronouns
b) verbal suffixes
c) inflected forms of the preposition *a*

can lead to the gradual erosion in the use of verbal inflections. Nevertheless, when a phrase is expressed negatively, the speaker can – and often does – revert to the use of the verbal suffix endings when he wishes to emphatically mark the subject. This shows that the inflectional endings are far from lost in the system.

bégur ma sud 'ouient ket tamm galleg 'bet nè. (SY orth)
peogwir ne ouie ket va zud tamm galleg e-bet. (StanBret)
'Since my parents knew no French at all.'

Med 'uiou-se oant ket mad kin 'nè. (SY orth)
nemed ar viou-se ne oant ket mad ken (mui). (StanBret)
'But those eggs were no longer any good (of-them).'

bégur hè reent ket nintra e-bet kaer da zibi nè. (SY orth)
Peogwir ne raent ket netra ebet kaer da zebriñ. (StanBret)
'Since they did not make anything at all to eat (of-them).'

2.8.7. Uses of ac'hanomp *'of-us' in Affirmative Sentences*

As mentioned above, another example of analytical construction is the occasional use of 3rd pers. sing. of the verb + *ac'hanomp* instead of the synthetic form (*omp/emaomp/oamp/vezomp/vezemp*), often in subordinate clauses beginning with *benn* "when":

Bé vi ahanom 'hond da Sant Ivi. (SY orth)
lit. When was (past habitual) of-us (a-) go to Saint Yvi.

Pa vezemp o vont da Sant-Ivi. (StanBret)
'When we used to be going to Saint Yvi.'

Benn zigoue ahanom ba'n ger. (SY orth)
lit. When we used to arrive of-us at home.

Pa digouezhemp er ger or *Pa en em gavemp er ger.* (StanBret)
'When we used to get home.'

In the examples above, *ahanom* (i.e *peurunvan ac'hanomp*) functions syntactically like the personal pronouns *nenn*, *haoñ*, *hi*, *hè*.

2.8.8. Phonological Simplification and Reanalysis: a Move towards Synthetic Structure

The drift towards analytical structures of the kind shown above has not been generalized and pronominal forms have not yet completely replaced the synthetic structures.

Ha sed <u>*oam bet*</u> *'h evo ['eo] kafet*. (SY orth)
lit. And so, we went a-drinking coffee.
'And so, we went to drink some coffee.'

In fact, the Breton of this area reverts to synthetic structures when necessary to avert confusion in certain paradigms where phonological simplification has occurred, such as in the examples below:

Southern Cornouaillais	Standard Breton	Southern Cornouaillais	Standard Breton	Southern Cornouaillais	Standard Breton
Present	Present	Imperfect	Imperfect	Habitual past	Habitual past
1 meus	*am eus*	*1 mo/ma*	*am boa*	*1 mi*	*am beze*
2 teus/peus	*ac'h eus* *az peus*	*2 to/po/pa*	*az poa*	*2 ti/pi*	*az peze*
3f neus	*he deus*	*3f no/na*	*he doa*	*3f ni*	*he deveze*
3m neus	*en deus*	*3m no/na*	*en doa*	*3m ni*	*en deveze*
1 neus	*hon eus*	*1 no/na*	*hor boa*	*1 ni*	*hor beze*
2 peus	*hoc'h eus* *ho peus*	*2 po/pa*	*ho poa*	*2 pi*	*ho peze*
3 neus	*o deus*	*3 no/na*	*o doa*	*3 ni*	*o deveze*

Without having recourse to the inflected forms, there would no longer be any way to distinguish the 3rd pers. sing. feminine and masculine from the 1st and 3rd plural forms: i.e. *en deus*, *he deus*, *hon-eus*, *o-deus* > *neus*. This may have rendered the use of subject pronouns quasi obligatory in this dialect: *neus hi*; *neus haoñ*; *neus hè*.

Nevertheless, another strategy was adopted involving the use of inflectional endings such as the 1st person plural //-m// (/-s/ +/m/ > /n/; *hon eus* + *-om* > [nem], ['nøsn̩]) and the 3rd person plural //ont// (*o deus* + *-ont* ['nøsn̩]). Note also that //-m// can be used with other tenses, the imperfect and past habitual, for instance: *noam* (< *hon boa* + *-om* > [nõm]); *nim* (*hon be(z)e* + *em* > [nim]). This demonstrates that the system is still sufficiently productive to make use of the inflectional morphemes to clarify such ambiguities. Examples:

Ha sed <u>*noam*</u> *lâret …* (SY orth)
'And so we had said …'

Ni 'neus surveillet 'nei ('yar) ha neusom gwelet 'nei 'hond tram 'chouch. (SY orth)
'We watched her (the hen) and we saw her (a-)going toward the stump …'

Ma mamm a breparé traou dom benn zigoue ahanom ba'n ger bégur aliez nim ket debet tamm merenn 'bet. (SY orth)
'Mother prepared things for us when we arrived at home since we often did not eat / had not eaten any lunch at all.'

While it appears that analytic structures such as those with the third person plural formed with *he* ('*ma hè* = *emaint*, *ra hè* = *reont*, etc.) are relatively recent, other contructions with a (*anezhañ*, *anezhi*, *ac'hanomp*, *anezho*) are clearly much older.

2.8.9. Lexical and Phonological Variation

Breton dialects are characterized by lexical and phonological variation. Taken together, the observer is often able to determine with considerable precision the geographical provenance of a given speaker. For instance, the literary word *hiziv* "today" exists under multiple forms throughout lower Brittany, *hiou* and *chiou* (cf. above) in the region under investigation, *chiriou*, *hiziou*, *hiniou* or *iniou* in the Vannes dialect region, *hirou*, *fenos*, *hidio* in central Cornouaille, *hirie* in Trégor, *icho*, in Léon and so on. Almost nowhere is it *hiziou/hiziv*.

When I was in the beginning stages of my fieldwork in preparation of a thesis on Saint Yvi Breton (1984), I was often surprised that the same person would provide two or three lexical items or phonological variants of the same word, sometimes in the space of a few minutes, without seeming overtly conscious of the fact. For example, for *a-walc'h* "enough," I collected three forms from the same speaker: /waχ/ being the most common and informal, but also /walχ/ and /'waləχ/, the fullest form. All three were indicated in the ALBB at the surrounding points of inquiry, thus confirming Falc'hun's observations on the question of lexical variation.[31] Indeed, Le Roux's ALBB provided clarification for a significant number of the variant forms I had found. With nearly twice the number of points of inquiry, Le Dû's NALBB offers even more precision in this regard. In cases where such variation occurred, I discovered that an isogloss separating two or more forms generally passed through or near Saint Yvi, thus showing the accuracy of the Atlas.

The following is a partial list of variables used by the same informant from Saint Yvi which can be verified in the ALBB.[32] In each case, the first example is

---

[31] Falc'hun (1981): "For a given word, the Atlas generally gives one variant per locality, whereas I would sometimes note three or four and sometimes even more from the same informant. But in this case, the Atlas mentioned them in the surrounding area."

[32] Leontine Le Gall, born in 1902.

the preferred form: *anveo* and *anneo* (Standard *anavezout*); *savar* “speak” versus *preg* (*komz* is only used as a noun meaning “word of honor”); *gwech ebet* “never” versus *jamez* (< French *jamais*) and *morse* (associated with La Forêt Fouesnant); *dañvad* “sheep” versus *menneg*;[33] *wennek* “eleven” versus *unnek*;[34] *dian* “under” versus *didan* (standard *dindan*); *ober* “to do” versus *gober*; *goustadig* “slow” versus *difoun*; *gwennek* “penny” versus *blank* (Vannetais, not used but understood); *kerzed* “to walk” versus *bale*; *raouez* “wheelbarrow” versus *gerial* (standard *karrigell*); *paotr* “son” versus *mab* (used in fixed expressions: *mab-nevez* [map 'nẹː] “bridegroom”); *ed-du* (with provection [i 'tyː]) “buckwheat” versus *gwiniz-du* (with provection [gɥini'ʃtyː] “buckwheat”); *ouzon* versus *oun* “I know” (the latter is used only in negative constructions); *hoc’h-torc’h* versus *talmoc’h* “male pig for breeding” and finally *direikdim* versus *dirakon* “in front of me”.[35]

Many other examples not found in the ALBB were also collected. Note, however, that there can often be certain nuances between the variables: *fulaienn* versus *brumachenn* (*fulayen* is felt by speakers to mean “a light fog,” whereas *brumachenn* is generic); *amziriou* “times” versus *mariou*;[36] *hankoue’o* “to forget” versus *dizoñja*;[37] *ba goueled/gouelek* “at the bottom of” versus *ba deun* [ba 'dœ̃ːn], *ba deon* [ba 'deõn] (Standard *devn*); *kreuc’h* versus *piz* “mean,” “cheap”;[38] *c’hoarve’o* (*c’hoarvezañ*) “to happen” versus *digoueo* (*digouezhañ*) “to arrive” or “to happen,” and *eo* (*erru*) “arrive”.[39] Neither *fulaienn*, nor *kreuc’h* are known outside the immediate area of Saint Yvi.

Given that none of my informants was literate in Breton, their use of the language was clearly more flexible and less constrained by prescriptive rules than is the case for formally educated French or English speakers today. In this sense, it would be fair to say that Breton speakers are perhaps even more susceptible to what Howard Giles et al. (1975) refer to as “language accommodation”. In other words, depending on a number of constraints linked to social condition, age, sex and especially geographical origin, each speaker has interiorized an inventory of linguistic variables which are conditioned by rules that govern their use. This allows them to adapt their speech to those of individuals that they encounter from other areas from within and from outside their immediate communities. At some point along the geographic continuum which is difficult to identify scientifically,

---

33 In the literary language it means a “small animal” or a “kid goat”.

34 The use of these is idiomatically conditioned, however: *we’nneg eur* “eleven o’clock,” but *’unneg vla* “eleven years old”.

35 Alan Heusaff gave the last form in his Breton dictionary of Saint Yvi Breton. My informants said they did not use it, although they understood it.

36 Once again, these variants are often found in specific collocations *ba’n amziriou-se* and *tro mariou*-se, both meaning “in those days/times”.

37 Not to be confused with *Chom war lerc’h* “to forget,” “to leave something behind” (as in “I forgot my hat” = *chomet eo ma sok war ma lerc’h*).

38 *Un tamm kreuc’h* “cheapskate”is felt to be much stronger than *piz*.

39 I have only heard this *erru* in the following progressive contruction: *Ema hi ‘h e(rr)o* ['heo] “she’s coming”.

intercomprehension becomes more difficult (see map 2). In this case, speakers generally prefer to resort to French.

2.8.10. French Lexical Borrowings

It is obvious from Brittany's geographic position and history that language contacts between the Breton and French linguistic communities go back centuries. Generations of Breton speakers were conscripted into the French navy and army, farm hands frequently sought labor in France, merchants came and went to sell their wares on both sides of the linguistic frontier. The seaports, always a medium of linguistic exchange, were another major source of influence. A language shift is thus a rather insidious process that often operates imperceptibly from within a language community with bilingual and semi-bilingual members each contributing their part to the overall development of the language.[40]

A number of factors precipitated matters. After the Treaty of Union in 1532, Brittany was absorbed into the Kingdom of France. In 1539 King Francis I issued the decree of Villiers-Cotterets stating that French would henceforth replace Latin as the official language of administration.[41] The establishment of centers of public administration in Quimper, Brest, Morlaix, etc. brought in small but influential groups of individuals who formed the social and economic elites in towns throughout Brittany. The new political situation thus further reinforced a diglossic rapport between the two languages which had already existed.

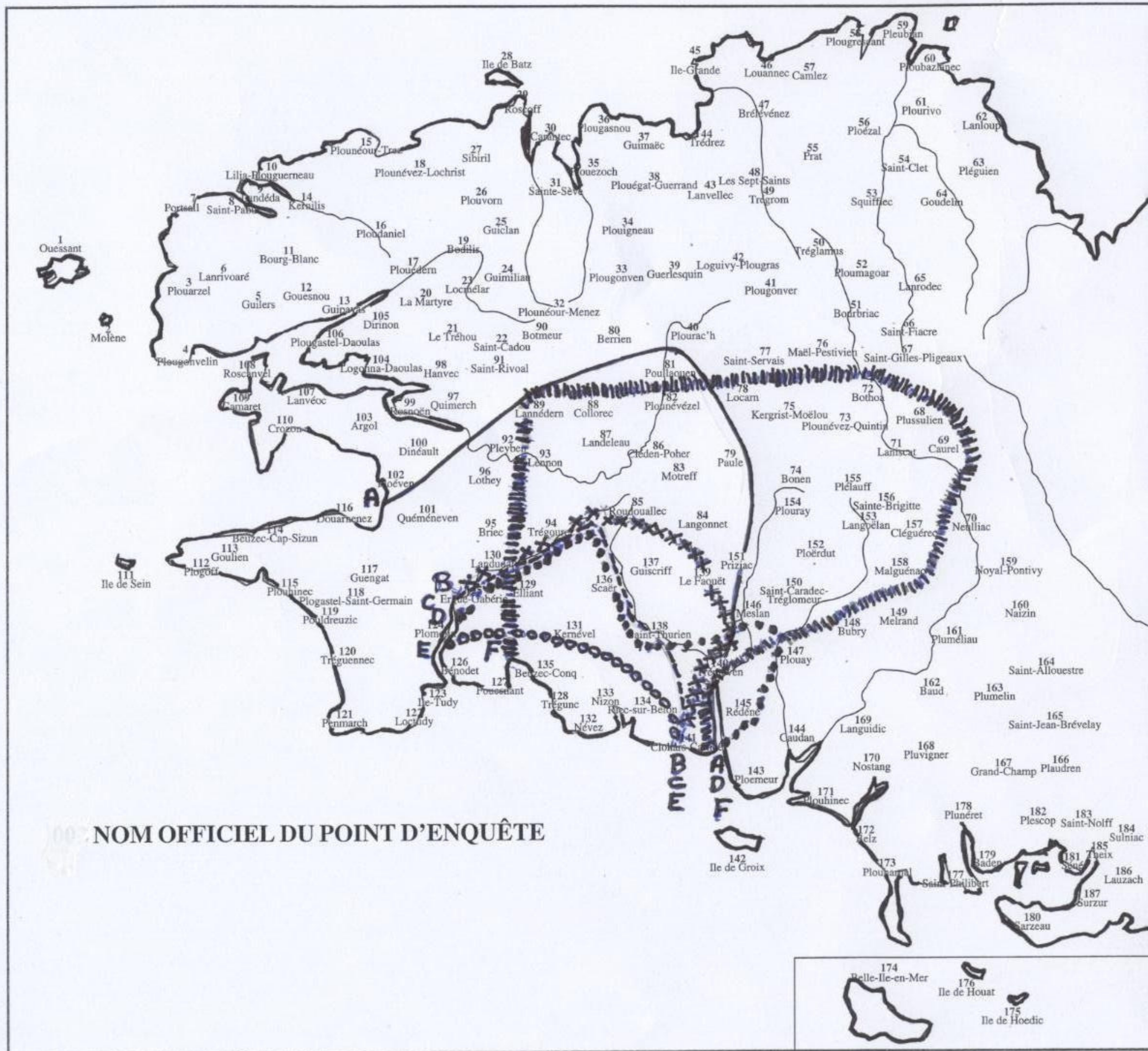
In many ways, the social status of Breton resembles that of English during the Middle Ages. In the following passage from the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, written around 1300, the author bemoans the fate of the English language and the social dominance of the French and their language (Algeo 1982: 161).

þus com lo englond in to normandies hond & þe normans ne couþe speke þo (then) *bote hor* (their) *owe speche & speke french as hii* (they) *dude atom* (did at home) & *hor* (their) *children dude also teche so þat* ***heimen*** (nobles) *of þis lond at of hor blod come holdeþ* (keep) *alle þulke* (that) *speche þat hii of hom nome* (took). *Vor bote* (For unless) *a man conne* (knows) *frenss me telþ* (one accounts) *of him lute* (little). ***Ac*** (but) ***lowe men*** (humble) ***holdeþ to engliss*** *& to hor speche ȝute* (yet). ***Ich wene*** (believe) ***þer ne beþ*** (is) ***in al þe world contreys none þat ne holdeþ to hor owe speche bote englond one*** (alone) *ac wel me wot* (one knows) *uor to conne* (know) *boþe wel it is; vor þe more þat a mon can þe more wurþe he is.*

---

[40] Nevertheless, genealogical research I have conducted in the area in question shows surprisingly little migration into the area before 1945. This certainly could be part of the reason why Breton was the sole language of communication among the peasantry until so recently.

[41] Jean Le Dû informs me that "French replaced Latin as the administrative language in the 13th century, even before it did so in Île-de-France".



MAP 2 : Cultural and linguistic features

a) The general area where the post-posed inflected preposition "a" (of) functions as a semantic subject (cf. 2.8.5):

Ema ket digouet nè
Lit. Is (sit.) not arrived of-them
"They have not arrived".

*Note: This zone also corresponds to the region where my informants claim they can "get by" relatively well in Breton.

b) The limits of the region where the "coiffe de Fouesnant" (*giz Fouen*) was worn.
XXXXXXX

c) The region where my informants claim to be the most at ease when speaking Breton.

*Note: It also corresponds to the region where my informants know most of the local Breton pronunciations of the towns and parishes.

d) Core area where the "bal de l'Aven" dance was most popular. (2.1)

e) The definite article "an" + /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /g/, /gw/ rather than standard Breton "ar" < Middle Breton "an" (cf. 2.7.1)
oooooo

f) Provection of /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/ : zone identified by Humphrey Humphreys (1972) (cf. 2.5)

Just as Englishmen after the Norman Conquest, the Bretons borrowed hundreds of French words that are now part and parcel of the Breton language. Just as in English, many of the words taken during early periods of contact have preserved Old French or dialectal characteristics, which have been lost in standard French: retention of /s/: *respont*, *mestr*, *ospital* (Modern French *répondre* "respond," *maître* "master," *hôpital* "hospital"); retention of Middle French Pronunciation /k/ (> /ʃ/): *ker* "dear," *kas* "send" (Modern French *cher*, *chasser*); retention of /we/ in *poezon* "poison," *boest* "box," *koent* "attractive," *koef* "headdress" (Modern French *poison* "poison," *boîte* "box," *coant* "pretty," *coiffe* 'headdress'), etc. (cf. Piette 1973).

Some expressions such as *chom trankl* (*chômer tranquil* = standard French *rester tranquille*) appear to derive from older dialectal forms of French. Other borrowings show that they entered the language via Gallo (the Romance dialect spoken in Upper Brittany). Hence southern Cornouaillais *arboulhetez*, a word meaning a "small funnel" is clearly akin to *avouillette* a word known in the Nantes area (for transferring wine into bottles). This is not to be confused with *tinouer* (< *entonnoir*) or *c'hargouer* or *founilh* "funnel". All of these are used in the area; all are of French origin.

In what he called the "route d'invasion des mots français," Falc'hun (1981: 142) demonstrated how these borrowings tended to follow the major road networds, particularly from Nantes (Loire-Atlantique) towards Vannes and westwards towards Quimperlé. The consequence is that as one goes further to the west and northwest the frequency of French words diminishes. As one might expect, it is the Vannetais dialect that absorbed the greatest number of words of French origin, and Léon, the least. Here are some examples of doublets cited by Falc'hun: *sourd* "deaf" versus *bouar*; *kordaner* "cobbler" versus *kere*; *teisir* "tailor" versus *gwiader*; *sonein* "to sing" versus *kana*; *pichon* "bird" versus *ezn* or *lapous*; *afer* "necessary" versus *ezomm*; *orch* "oats" versus *hey*; *ming* "lukewarm" versus *klouar*; *blank* "penny" versus *gwennek*; and finally *bosser* "butcher" versus *kiger*.

As a consequence, the extent and selection of French borrowings vary according to region. For instance, Trégor Breton has taken in words such as *vontañ* (< *fonder* "to melt"), *foñs* (< *fond* "bottom"), *kochon* (< *cochon* "pig"), *tintin* and *tonton* (< *tante* and *tonton*, "aunt" and "uncle"), etc. where southern Cornouaillais has retained the original Breton words *teuzi* [tœ̞̃:i] "melt," *devn* [deõn] or *goueled* ['gwelẹk] "bottom," *pemoc'h* [pi'mɔχ] "pig," *moereb* [mweᵊp] "aunt" and *eontr* [jõn] "uncle," etc. Counter-examples exist where Trégor Breton has retained the Celtic forms.

Nevertheless, the situation today is significantly different from that of past centuries. Even if there are still some older speakers for whom Breton is clearly the dominant language, all Breton speakers are now bilingual. They have an option that most of their parents and grandparents did not. If there is a technical term or concept that is relatively rare in Breton or does not come immediately to

mind, they have immediate access to the French word. The consequence is that the number of borrowings used in spontaneous speech is often extremely high, particularly when discussing subjects outside of the realm of traditional Breton language usage. The once steady trickle of words entering the language has now become a flood. In his research, Ternes (1992: 373) states that as much as two-thirds of the vocabulary used in everyday spoken Breton is of French origin.[42] While this is difficult to quantify, as we saw above, for every French borrowing recorded in a given dialect one often finds a corresponding Breton word or words elsewhere. Furthermore, the frequency of French words drops significantly when the conversation revolves around agriculture or other familiar topics.

The fact is that the French language came hand-in-hand with governmental and regional agencies and institutions, schools, banks, police and military facilities, hospitals, new technology along with a host of modern concepts and ideas during the 19th and 20th centuries. The problem then is not that French has necessarily *replaced* Breton. If this were the case, there would be a reason for optimism since it would imply that Breton already possessed the core vocabulary used in these domains. Rather it would be more accurate to say that it has been *crowded out* by French.

Although Breton, like any other language, certainly had/has the linguistic tools to enable speakers to conceive abstract intellectual and technical terms, in their eagerness to master the French language, Breton speakers ceased coining new terms.[43] Given the scope of the change that has occurred over the past one hundred years, this is hardly surprising. Even national languages such as French, German and Spanish are struggling to replace thousands of anglicisms with native terms, often with a notable lack of success. Once again, the dearth of new vocabulary can be viewed through the prism of diglossia with French being perceived as the language of "progress" and technology, Breton being the language of rurality, the past and the home. And even in the domains where it was once strongest, the use of Breton has rapidly declined since the Second World War along with the demise of agriculture and the fishing industry to which it was functionally tied.

Here are a few examples of native technical terms once used in southern Cornouaille by my informants: *marc'h-du* "locomotive" (literally "black stallion"),

---

[42] As I have already argued elsewhere, the percentage varies according to the dialect in question. The number of Breton loanwords in the modern written language is normally far lower than in the spoken language (cf. *2.8.11. Neologisms*). The opposite is true concerning Middle Breton texts, however, which are filled with French borowings. I agree with Jules Gros (1974: 5) who writes: "Si je n'hésite pas à donner le breton parlé en exemple, c'est en raison de l'excellence de sa syntaxe et de sa richesse en tournures originales, spirituelles et pittoresques. Sur le plan grammatical et stylistique, il doit en vérité constituer la base de la langue écrite."

[43] As Jean Le Dû (p.c., 2007) rightly points out "native speakers just went on speaking their own home dialect. None had ever in mind the creation of an intellectual vocabulary. Just like any African speaking his own language at home but who would never dream of using his home language for administrative purposes."

marc'h-houarn "bicycle" (lit. "iron stallion"), *karr-tan* "automobile" (lit. "fire cart," because they originally had steam engines and fire came out of the exhaust pipe). The airplane was called a *karr-nij* "flying cart". In the area of Audierne, the telephone was given the name *neudenn gas-pell* (lit. "far-sending thread"). Today, except for the oldest speakers, French words are used for these items: *lokomo'tif*; *'velo* or *bi'lo*; *'oto* or *o'to*; *a'vion*; *tele'fon*, etc. It would seem that in the area under discussion native Breton terms for new inventions stopped being coined shortly after the First World War. A large array of topics and subjects relating to such banal everyday items (i.e. "rug," "curtains," "blinds," "light bulb," "toaster," "bank loan," "turn signal," "x-ray machine," etc.) simply do not exist in popular Breton.[44]

2.8.11 Neologisms

Language planners and those active in the defense of the Breton language and culture have long recognized that, if Breton is to survive, speakers must be equipped with vocabulary that is adapted to modern world and they have been very active in creating neologisms. The problem is that it has usually been well-educated individuals having a firm knowledge of the literary language and its history who invent these new terms. Moreover, they often show a penchant for linguistic purism, the unspoken objective seeming to be to purge as many French words from the language as possible, even those borrowed centuries ago.

Their activities have thus revolved around two objectives: inventing new words to deal with new concepts unknown in the vernacular language and replacing already existing French words with words of Brittonic origin. In the first case, a host of new words has entered the language such as *sevenadur* "culture," a word unknown in popular Breton, the closest equivalent in Cornouaillais Breton being *seven* / *sevenegez* (noun) "haughty, supercilious" (man or woman). *Kevlusker* "engine" has been selected to replace *mekanik*, *moteur*; *mezeg* "doctor" is preferred to universally used *medisin* [mi'diʃn̩] or ['melʃən̩]. A few extreme examples of this are the use of Welsh *ateb* to replace *respont* "respond" (*répondre*)

[44] For the past two years, Mrs. Mona Bouzec and I have been collecting all the vocabulary and idioms we have gleaned between Quimper and Quimperlé. We are now classifying them according to theme which range from the physical world (i.e. nature, the human body, buildings, etc.) to abstract concepts related to man's social behavior (i.e. ways of expressing affection, anger, sadness, etc.). One of the purposes is to provide a linguistic tool for those seeking to learn (or relearn) local Breton in order to facilitate communication with their native-Breton speaking family members. The underlying principle is that if a language is to survive it must be maintained within a close-knit family environment. While schools play an important role, they cannot offer the same affective dimension in which language thrives. The corpus is already quite large (300 pages so far) but, although we were fully aware of the paucity of technical vocabulary, we were nevertheless struck by the extent which Breton is lacking in native terms that are fully adapted to modern life.

or *lu* "army"[45] to replace *armée*. For example, the naval museum in Brest is called *Mirdi ar Morlu* (lit. "Conserve-house of the sea-army"), a term which no native speaker would understand.

An additional difficulty results from the fact that many words used in popular Breton are given new meanings in the standard language. *Diforc'h*, for instance, is now employed in the standard language to replace *diferañs* [di'feːᵊs] "difference". While *diforc'h* is indeed used with this meaning by some speakers of the Vannes dialect, for most speakers of the Cornouaille and Trégor vernaculars, *diforc'h* is used to describe a cow aborting its calf.

There is a host of other such examples like *yezh* for "language" rather than *langaj*. *Yezh*, in varieties where it is actually used, means the sound made by running water. *An da zond* "the future" is used by many neo-Breton speakers instead of *an amzer da zond* "time to come"; *demat* "good day" instead of popular greetings such as *traou ya mat?* "How are things?," *mond a ra mad an traou ganoc'h?* "How are things going with you?" or *mond a ra mad an bed ganoc'h?* "How is the world going with you?," etc.; *trugarez* instead of *bennoz Doue doc'h* ("God bless you," with provection [benɪ'stœu dɔχ]) or *mersi* (*braz*), etc.

The result is that much of the new Breton vocabulary often appears unidiomatic or downright foreign to native speakers.[46]

2.8.12. Unintended Consequences

We have seen that the new standard has been promoted primarily via the school system and media, not in the households of Brittany. Furthermore, certain salient features of popular Breton such as stress on the penultimate stress and "sing-song" intonation patterns have passed into the vernacular French of Western Brittany. Middle class standard speakers of French often associate these characteristics with older, uneducated, rural Breton-speakers and it is often imitated in jokes about country bumpkins, etc. Because it is felt to be so *plouc* ("hick"), many young learners of Breton cannot bring themselves to take on this accent and prefer to retain French syllabic stress on the final syllable. Likewise, virtually no younger speakers pronounce /r/ as an apico-alveolar trill or even, in the case of northeastern Trégor/Goelo, as a retroflex /ɽ/. French uvular or velar fricatives are preferred. Conversely, native speakers are often annoyed by what sounds to them like a strong French accent in Breton.

---

45 It is attested in Old Breton and Middle Welsh, nevertheless.

46 Mona Bouzec and I have created a "commission" of about a dozen native speakers who are busy coming up with terms for new concepts, inventions and ideas that they feel correspond to the logic of popular Breton (often humorous) and are acceptable to their peers than their more intellectual, abstract counterparts. The point is not necessarily to replace the more literary neologisms, but rather to offer informal alternatives to which native speakers can relate.

It is thus remarkable that negative French stereotypes regarding popular spoken Breton and non-standard Breton French have influenced the phonological development of the new spoken standard. As we have seen, aside from phonological interference, other differences exist that extend to morphology, syntax and the lexicon, in particular the rejection of French loan-words. Despite this, the positive side is that the new standard is indeed better equipped, lexically at least, to cope with the modern world. The problem is that the only ones capable of using it are a small group of younger, well-educated enthusiasts.

3. Conclusion

In the beginning of this paper, I explained that ever since the Breton aristocracy abandoned the Old Breton language in favor of Old French, the peasantry has been left to fend for itself. Since that time, their literary expression has been strictly oral and generally devoid of the cultural refinement and niceties normally associated with polite society. Isolated in the west of the Armorican peninsula, the language slowly evolved into a highly complex ensemble of fragmented dialects, a state of affairs that still characterizes the spoken vernaculars today.

We also observed how militants and scholars, in an effort to revitalize and elevate the status the Breton language, created a new standard. Spoken by approximately 5,000-10,000 people, militants hope to establish it as the second official language alongside the French standard. The Breton dialects, on the other hand, are spoken by about 200,000 people or more but, for the reasons I have outlined above, the latter have little or no overt motivation to promote the language. Furthermore, the dialects they speak are sometimes scornfully portrayed as debased patois corrupted by French influence and spoken by "terminal speakers".

Using the Breton spoken between Quimper and Quimperlé as a point of comparison, I have attempted to demonstrate that this and other Breton varieties are, nevertheless, essential constituents of a still living language. Although their use is in decline, the dialects often reveal fascinating insights into the historical development of the language that have often gone unobserved in the standard language and grammars. Put another way, popular Breton is the reflection of millennia of oral transmission.

Another lesson is that the gap between standard and dialect speakers is essentially the result of social status, educational level, different world views and the functional compartmentalization of Breton (i.e. who uses the language, with whom and under what conditions/purposes). For this reason, it may be more helpful to think along the lines of Bernstein's "restricted code" and "elaborated code" to explain the differences between them (Bernstein 1971). While I would not agree that speakers of the restricted code are "cognitively deficient" in any way, the use of popular spoken Breton, as we have seen, is generally restricted to familiar networks or clusters. As such, relationships between speakers are generally more intimate, informal and egalitarian and, for this reason, the "shared as-

sumptions of the group will be implicitly understood rather than overtly expressed" (Trudgill 1983: 133). This phenomenon is clearly not restricted to Breton. Regardless of the language concerned, so-called "restricted codes" have frequently led to negative prescriptive judgements about the "sloppiness," "laziness" or the "degenerated" nature of the idiom of dialect speakers.[47] Standard speakers, on the contrary, are trained to perform in disparitary,[48] socially complex environments which necessitate that their frame of reference be far more explicit and precise. Just as in non-standard English, the same kinds of social factors conditioning the use of restricted and elaborated codes exist in the Breton-speaking communities of Western Brittany so that, today, dialectal Breton is used primarily (when used at all) as the restricted code. When the elaborated code is appropriate, most native speakers shift to French, because no natural or well-established Breton standard or norm (acceptable to all native speakers) is at their disposal and, for that matter, it never has been.

One of the unintended consequences of this linguistic tension has been the rise of a new form of diglossia that has not existed since the Middle Ages, in which standard Breton is the "high" language and dialect Breton is the "low" language (Ferguson 1959). Once again, this assessment masks the fact that, in general, dialect speakers are totally uninterested in the existence of a Breton standard that most have no intention of learning or using anyway. For them, the only credible "high" language is the French norm.

Having said this, many teachers and members of the Breton media are increaseingly conscious of these problems and, over the past 10 years, many improvements have been made. One thing appears clear at least: when dialect speakers can understand a television (or radio) program without effort and if they can relate to the subject content, they gladly watch it. Nevertheless, despite recent attempts to narrow the divisions, it appears unlikely that mentalities will change sufficiently or quickly enough for non-standard and standard Breton speakers to find a *terrain d'entente* which would reverse the current decline and enable them to meld into one linguistic community sharing a common code of linguistic evaluation. It thus appears highly likely that the only form of Breton which will be spoken in 30 years from now will be some form of the new standard.

---

[47] In his excellent description of Bolton dialect (Lancs.), Graham Shorrocks writes about the linguistic insecurity of the speakers of his home town. His account is particularly relevant here: "Attitudes to dialect are often negative … A great many people in the area feel ashamed of their speech – to a degree that goes beyond what is generally appreciated. I have personally known those who would avoid, or could never really enjoy, a conversation with a stranger, because they were literally too ashamed to open their mouths. It has been drummed into people – often in school, and certainly in society at large – that dialect speech is incorrect, impure, vulgar, clumsy, ugly, careless, shoddy, ignorant, and altogether inferior." (Shorrocks 1998: 90-91).

[48] "Disparitary" (formal) is a translation of Le Dû and Le Berre's term "disparitaire" (*Badume, Standard, Norme*, 1996).

References

ALBB = Le Roux, P., 1963, *L'Atlas Linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne*, Rennes: Plihon & Hommay.

NALBB = Le Dû, J., 2001, *Nouvel Atlas Linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne*, Vol. 1 & 2, Brest: Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique (CRBC).

Algeo, J., 1982, *Problems in the Origins and Development of the English Language*, New York: Harcourt College Publishing. (3rd ed.).

Bernstein, B., 1971, *Class, Codes and Control*, vol.1, London: Routledge.

Broudic, F., 1995, *La Pratique du Breton de l'ancien régime à nos jours*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Broudic, F., 1999, *Qui parle le breton aujourd'hui? Qui le parlera demain?*, Brest: Brud Nevez.

Calvez, R., 1999, "Le réenchantement d'un monde: renouveau breton, nazisme, et émissions de radio en Breton," in: Sabine Heinz, ed., *Die Deutsche Keltologie und ihre Berliner Gelehrten bis 1945*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 101-137.

Calvez, R., 2000, *La radio en langue bretonne; Roparz Hémon et Per-Jakez Hélias: Deux Rèves de la Bretagne*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Chadwick, N., 1969, *Early Brittany*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Chédeville, A. & H. Guillotel, 1984, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois: Ve-Xe siècle*, Rennes: Ouest France.

Creston, R.-Y., [1953] 1993, *Le costume breton*, Paris-Spezed: Champion-Coop Breizh.

D'Arbois de Jubainville, A., 1874, "L'Histoire de l'Article dans le Breton Armoricain," in: *Revue Celtique*, Vol. 2, 206-216.

Davies, J., 1993, *A History of Wales*, London: Penguin.

Déguignet, J.-M., 1999, *Mémoires d'un Paysan Bas-Breton*, Ar Releg-Kerhuon.

Denez, P., 1972, *Brezhoneg Buan hag Aes*, Paris: Omnivox.

Evans, E., 1990, "Insular Celtic and the Emergence of the Welsh Language," in: Bammesberger, A. & A. Wollmann, eds., *Britain 400-600: Language and History*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Evans, S., 1964 [1976], *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Even, A., 1987, *Istor ar Yezhou Keltiek*, vol. 1, Roazhon: Hor Yezh.

Ferguson, C.A., 1959, "Diglossia," in: *Word* 15: 325-340.

Falc'hun, F., 1951, *Le système consonantique du breton: avec une étude comparative expérimentale*, Rennes: Phihon.

Falc'hun, F., 1963, *Histoire de la langue bretonne d'après la géographie linguistique*, Paris: P.U.F. (2nd ed.).

Falc'hun, F., 1981, *Perspectives nouvelles sur l'histoire de la langue bretonne*, Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions.

Falc'hun, F., 1982, *Les noms de lieux celtiques: première série – vallées et plaines*, Paris: Slaktine.

Fleuriot, L., 1985, *A Dictionary of Old Breton*, Toronto: PrepCorp.

Fleuriot, L., 1980, *Les Origines de la Bretagne: L'Émigration*, Paris: Payot.

German, G., 1984, *Étude linguistique du breton de Saint Yvi*, unpubl. PhD thesis, Université de Bretagne Occidentale, Brest.

German, G., 1991, "Une méthode dialectométrique (assisté par ordinateur) pour l'analyse des atlas linguistiques," in: *La Bretagne Linguistique* 7: 177-214.

German, G., 2000, "Britons, Anglo-Saxons and Scholars: 19th Century Attitudes towards the Survival of Britons in Anglo-Saxon England," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes II*, Heidelberg: Winter, 347-374.

German, G., 2003, "The French of Western Brittany in Light of the Celtic Englishes," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic-Englishes III*, Heidelberg: Winter, 390-412.

Giles, H., R.Y. Bourhis & W.E. Lambert, 1975, "Social Consequences of Accomodating One's Style of Speech: A Cross-National Investigation," in: J. Fishman, ed., *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, Amsterdam: Mouton.

Gros, J., 1974, *Le Trésor du Breton Parlé (Éléments stylistique trégorroise): Le Style Populaire*, IIIe Partie, Brest: Emgleo Breiz-Gwalarn-Brud Nevez.

Guilcher, J.-M., [1963] 1976, *La Tradition populaire de danse en Basse-Bretagne*, Paris: Mouton.

Guyonvarc'h, C., 1984, *Aux origines du breton: Le glossaire vannetais du Chevalier Arnold von Harff, voyageur allemand du XVe siècle*, Rennes: Ogam-Celticum.

Hardie, D.A., 1948, *A Handbook of Modern Breton (Armorican)*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Hemon, R., 1875, *A Historical Morphology of Breton*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Heusaff, A., 1996, *Geriaoueg Sant-Ivi (Kernev-Izel)*, Lesneven: Hor Yezh.

Hewitt, S., 1977, *The Degree of Acceptability of Modern Literary Breton to Native Breton Speakers*, unpubl. M.A. thesis, University of Cambridge.

Humphreys, H.L., 1972, “Les sonantes fortes dans le parler haute-cornouaillais de Bothoa,” in: *Études Celtiques* 13: 259-274.

Humphreys, H.L., 1991, “The Geolinguistics of Breton,” in: Williams, C.H., ed., *Linguistic Minorities, Society and Territory* 78, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 96-120.

Humphreys, H.L., 1992, “The Breton Language,” in: Price, G., ed., *The Celtic Connection*, Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 259-274.

Humphreys, H.L., 1995, *Phonologie et morphosyntaxe du Parler breton de Bothoa*, Brest: Emgleo Breiz.

Jackson, K., 1953, *Language and History in Early Britain*, Edinburgh: University Press.

Jackson, K., 1967, *A Historical Phonology of Breton*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Khleif, B., 1978, “Ethnic Awakening in the first World: the Case of Wales,” in: Williams, G., ed., *Social and Cultural Change in Contemporary Wales*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 102-119.

Laurent, D., 1989, *Aux Sources du Barzaz Breiz: La mémoire d’un peuple*, Douarnenez: Ar Men.

Le Dû, J. & Y. Le Berre, 1996, *Badume-Standard-Norme: Le double jeu du langage*, Brest, GRELB.

Le Dû, J., 1978, *Le parler breton de la presqu’île de Plougrescant*, Côtes du Nord, unpubl. Thèse d’État.

Loth, J., 1883, *L’Émigration bretonne en Armorique du Ve au VIIe siècles de notre ère*, Rennes: E. Baraise et cie. (Repr. 1980, Paris: Slatkine).

Loth, J., 1890, *Chrestomathie bretonne (armoricain, gallois, cornique). Première partie, breton-armoricain*, Paris: Émile Bouillon.

Merlat, P., 1952, “Notice sur la limite sud-est des Osismes,” in: *Annales de Bretagne*, vol. 59, 93-109.

Ó Cuív, B., 1971, *Irish Dialects and Irish-Speaking Districts*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Piette, J.R.F., 1973, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Radford, A., 1997, *Syntactic theory and Structure of English: A Minimalist Approach*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roparz, H., 1975, *A Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Shorrocks, G., 1998, *Dialect of the Bolton Area: Part I – Introduction Phonology* 41, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Tanguy, B., 1977 a, *Aux origines du nationalisme breton 1 – Le renouveau des études bretonnes aux XIXe siècle*, Paris: UGE.

Tanguy, B., 1977 b, *Aux origines du nationalisme breton 2 – Essai sur l'histoire de la langue bretonne par Hersart de la Villemarqué*, Paris: UGE.

Ternes, E., 1992, "The Breton Language," in: MacCaulay, D., ed. *The Celtic Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 371-452.

Thompson, R.L., 1957, *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyued*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Trudgill, P., (1974) 1983, *Sociolinguistics: an Introduction to Language and Society*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

"Mozeying on down ...": The Cornish Language in North America

Alan M. Kent
(Open University, United Kingdom)

1. Introduction: Cornish Scat Abroad

Was Cornish ever spoken in North America? This paper aims to explore the possibility of the Cornish language transcending the Atlantic Ocean and being spoken in North America. On the face of it, there seems to have been an early, tight window of opportunity for the language to have travelled, although there remain some intriguing later possibilities which I investigate here. Not only were Cornish settlers among the first colonists in the continent, but Cornish fishing crews appear to have touched the coastline of Newfoundland from the late fifteenth century onwards. Distinct from the initial wave of immigration during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, comes a second wave during the nineteenth century, in which many Cornish miners and farmers carried what we may term 'substratum' or residual traces of the language with them, in terms of both vocabulary and grammar. Here I propose to look at what survived, and how that shaped the identity of the Cornish in North America. One such test case is the old cowboy term, to 'mozey on down' which is often purported to have a Cornish origin. Having traced the historical legacy of Cornish language in North America, I will subsequently review the use of Cornish in twenty-first century America, what the language signifies to modern Cornu-American culture, and how it interacts with other Celtic languages in the USA and Canada.

As scholars such as Raymond Hickey (2004) have noted, "transported dialects and languages" form some of the most interesting areas of contemporary linguistics and literary studies. In respect of the Celtic languages, there have been several notable studies, such as those by Ó Néill (2005) completed on both Irish and Scottish Gaelic, in for example, the United States of America, and Nova Scotia, Newfoundland. Given the high-profile nature of the Irish in North America, Kevin Kenny (2000) and Úni Ní Bhroimeil (2002) have considered not only

the effect of say, Irish language newspapers in the United States of America, but also the considerable impact of Irish culture in general on the shaping of American identity. Transported Welsh has also found favour with the late twentieth-century travel writer Bruce Chatwin (1971), and then more recently with Pamela Petro (1997). Both consider the existence of Welsh in Chubut Province, Patagonia, while Petro looks at Welsh speakers and communities across the world.[1] In 2003, another travel writer, Mark Ably, looked at the Celtic languages in his "travels amongst threatened languages" in a volume which considers the impact on transported tongues as well as those remaining at home; while back in academia, scholars such as Tristram, have embraced the interaction of Celtic languages with English and French in her *Celtic Englishes* series of conferences and volumes, with a particular emphasis on 'substratum' elements.

Although the subject of the Cornish in North America, and indeed overseas, has received considerable attention, not least in the light of the ground-breaking work of A.L. Rowse, A.C. Todd, and John Rowe, and more latterly Philip Payton, Shirley Ewart and Gage McKinney, most of the study that has emerged has been broadly historical and economic, with a particular focus on mining, agriculture and religion. Only in more recent times, have some of the linguistic, literary and folkloric issues[2] associated with this 'transportation' of culture been considered by scholars such as myself (2004). Although the potential mobility of the Cornish language has been debated in Cornish language and academic circles for some time, no serious study has been developed. I reinforce the fact that my research here is highly tentative and somewhat sceptical, though certain facts do emerge to offer a new portrait of language activity associated with the relationship between Cornwall and North America.

2. The Next Parish after Land's End: Early Explorations

The European discovery of North America flows from three impulses. One, lasting for over two thousand years and never truly obtained, was the search for some new utopia, where a new civilisation either could be found or founded. The second, at least from the thirteenth century onwards, comes from the quest for a desired sea route to 'The Indies,' as China, Japan, Indonesia and India were then known. The third and most pertinent here, was the quest for Northern European peoples, as Simon James (1999) usefully puts it, the 'Atlantic Celts,' and those of Scandinavia, who as sea-faring territories, simply looked to see what

---

[1] See also Birt, P., 2005, "The Welsh Language in Chubut Province, Argentina," in: Ó Néill, D., ed., *Rebuilding the Celtic Languages: Reversing Language Shift in the Celtic Countries*, 115-51.

[2] Kent, A.M., 2005 a, "Drill Cores: A Newly-Found Manuscript of Cousin Jack Narratives from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, USA," in: Payton, P., ed., *Cornish Studies: Twelve*, 106-43; "Bringin' the Dunkey Down from the Carn: Cornu-English in Context 1549-2005 – A Provisional Analysis," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 2006, *The Celtic Englishes IV*, 6-33.

lay over the western sea-board's horizon. An indication of this projected territory had already been given by the classical geographer Claudius Ptolemy (A.C. E. 73-151), and it was Ptolemy's view of the world which exercised a tremendous authority over the human mind. Although grossly inaccurate in places, nonetheless, as Parsons (2000) has demonstrated, Ptolemy already had a grip on the Atlantic Celts, having mapped locations in Wales, Ireland and Cornwall. In the latter for example, he had identified *Antivestaion akron* (modern Land's End), *Okrinoon akron* (Lizard Point), *Keniōnos* (River Kenwyn), *Tamaros* (River Tamar), and *Voliba* (as possibly the hill forts of Burghgear and Carvossa).[3] Thus Ptolemy had recorded much of the Northern Atlantic, and his ideas formed the mind-map for the Scandinavians and Atlantic Celts; his geography realising the potential of a continent across the Atlantic.

Those from Scandinavia, the exploits of the Norsemen and their arrivals in Iceland, Greenland and Vinland – and in particular the year 999 voyage of Leif Ericsson – are, as Jane Smiley and Robert Kellogg (2001) have shown, well documented in both Scandinavian and Icelandic literature, as well as in world history. There have, however, been other notable and legendary Celtic attempts at crossing the Atlantic. Of these, as Barron and Burgess (2004) document, the most famous are probably the voyages of St. Brendan, who while seeking the Americas, actually landed upon the Azores. A complementary, if not more radical view, is also offered by William R. McGlone and Phillip M. Leonard in *Celtic America* (1986), who argue that European Celts helped to found ancient America. As Morrison notes, there has also been some debate as to whether some Irish slaves were captured by Vikings and taken to North America, yet no single early Irish artefact has been found there.[4] As Armstrong (1950) and Deacon (1967) have shown, there is also the popular and persistent story of Prince Madoc, who supposedly brought a Cymric colony to America in the twelfth century. By some mysterious process, this colony became a Welsh-speaking Indian tribe which moved west from the Atlantic shore until it became the Mandan tribe in the far west. Since then, several comparative vocabularies have been recorded and debated over. The story has been treated with some scepticism over the centuries though John Dee felt it justified British rule in North America, while the Daughters of the American Revolution also embraced the fable. Although these legends give a flavour of voyaging to North America from the Celtic territories, I now turn to the specific case of Cornwall and the subsequent transportation of the Cornish language.

In Pool (1982), Fudge (1982), Gendall (1994), and Weatherhill (1995) the classic western retreat of the Cornish language is usually represented by an 'isobar' model, but of late this model has come to be radically rethought by Lyon (2001),

---

[3] Parsons, D.N., 2000, "Classifying Ptolemy's English Place-Names," in: Parsons D.N. & S. Williams, eds., 169-78. This came from a workshop sponsored by the British Academy in the Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 11-12 April 1999.

[4] Morrison, S.E., 1971, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages, A.D. 500-1600*, 26-28.

Deacon, Schwartz and Holman (2004), and Holmes,[5] with notional pockets of Cornish-speakers in enclaves in otherwise English-speaking territories. St. Enoder in the mid-Cornwall hinterland, as well as The Roseland and The Lizard peninsulas are the most obvious examples. Needless to say, there is a greater likelihood of Cornish mariners speaking Cornish in and around North America if they are from one of the places where the retreat and disappearance of the language had not occurred. Given the above however, it is not improbable that they may be from one of the enclaves. We need to realise that like Cornish miners in later years, the mobility culture so enshrined in Cousin Jacks and Jennies, was also endemic within Cornwall's maritime population. This factor certainly needs re-thinking when we come to consider Cornish speakers in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, and perhaps also into the modern era.

During the earliest voyages to America, between say 1490 and 1600, several ships were passing both the north and south coasts of Cornwall. Although my only current evidence is gleaned from return voyages, there is every reason to assume that some of the ships returning did put into harbour in Cornwall on the way across. Famously in 1587, the ship *The Hopewell*,[6] had made it to Newfoundland, and was on her way back to London in August of that year. Finally, they sighted the island of Lundy, but then realised they needed to change their course around Land's End to make it up the Channel. Once the Channel had been entered then the prominent headlands were marked, as in the old chantey 'Spanish Ladies':

> Now the first land we make is calléd the Deadman.
> Then Rams Head off Plymouth, Start, Portland and Wight...[7]

There were only local lights along this coast in the sixteenth century, and very few other navigational aids. Lighthouses did not exist. Therefore to have Cornishmen on board, to negotiate both the outward and inward voyage would have been beneficial. By 1600, Cornish was still being spoken west of a line between Newquay and Mevagissey, so it could be that Cornish-speaking crewmen helped to sail her out into the Atlantic, in effect, the earliest form of pilots (later made famous in Cornish gig rowing boats). There is even earlier evidence however, of Cornish speakers crossing the Atlantic. Trudel has demonstrated that the historian of Newfoundland, Judge Prowse, has argued that 'West Country English' were fishing for cod off Newfoundland as early as 1498. Surely Prowse actually meant Cornishmen? Morrison has argued that the date is pure conjecture,[8] yet there is good evidence that the Anglo-Azorean expeditions of 1501-1505 completed fishing off Newfoundland, and the earliest positive date we have for a

---

[5] Holmes, J., 2003, "On the Track of Cornish in a Bilingual Country," in: Payton, P., ed., *Cornish Studies: Eleven*, 270-290.
[6] Morrison, 1971, 140.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Morrison, 1971, 225.

Breton fishing voyage is in 1504, only six years later.[9] If there was cooperation between Breton and Cornish crews, not to mention, as the Cornish revivalist A.S.D. Smith (1948) later argued, linguistic similarities and camaraderie, then the evidence for this date could be accepted.[10] By 1506, it is known that there were enough Portuguese fishermen crossing the Atlantic to justify their King placing a 10% import duty on their catch.[11] Maybe some of those Cornish speakers put into the harbours of Newfoundland to fetch water, wood and hunt. There were enough maps of the Newfoundland coast being circulated by the early 1500s, and known by 'mobile' Cornish mariners. Our problem is that fishermen leave few records and that their ordinary comings and goings were not noted. Incidentally, it was Smith who argued in 1947 that one significant factor for the decline of Cornish at home was paradoxically the discovery of America. He comments that:

> ... The discovery of America in 1497 led to many of Cornwall's young men sailing in English ships to the Americas to seek their fortunes. These men would soon become so accustomed to English speech that they would learn to despise Cornish: more especially after discovering what an insignificant little corner of the vast world Cornwall was. Upon their return, they would relate the wonders they had seen in English, and many of the young folk would be fired with enthusiasm and embark for the New World with the same result.[12]

Smith's comment is of great interest for several reasons. First of all, it seems that he feels the young Cornishmen gave up Cornish because they despised it. As Crystal and Mufwene have since demonstrated, cultures do not give up a language because they despise it. The relinquishment is almost always economic; the need for survival is 'ecological'. Thus Cornishmen and women heading towards America faced the same issue as Nettle and Romaine (2000) have observed in the contemporary context – of say, the dominance of English on the Internet. In this early phase, English was already the international language of trade. A further issue is worth illuminating here. As Kent and Saunders (2000) show, William Scawen, writing in 1680 in his *Antiquities Cornuontanic: The Causes of Cornish Speech's Decay*, does not appear to give the same importance to the emigration process, seemingly giving greater status to immigration by 'English' culture into Cornwall.[13] Loss of Cornish speakers overseas (and their subsequent 'cultured'

---

[9] Ibid.

[10] Smith notes that "*The Lay Subsidy Rolls* (especially for the year 1540-1560), likewise old parish registers, show that there were many Bretons living in Cornwall". Padel also argues for the interconnection between oral narrative of Cornwall and Brittany. See Padel, O., 2005, "Oral and literary culture in medieval Cornwall," in: Fulton, H., ed., 95-116.

[11] Patterson, 1890, "The Portuguese on the Northeast Coast of America," in: *Royal Society of Canada*, *Proceedings and Transactions* 8: 127-78.

[12] Smith (1947: 7).

[13] For an excellent examination of Scawen's input, see Spriggs, M., 2005 b, "William Scawen (1600-1669) – A Neglected Cornish Patriot and Father of the Cornish Language Revival," in: Payton, P., ed., *Cornish Studies: Thirteen*, 98-125.

return) is not conventionally given as a reason for the language's decay, although considering the above evidence, the picture of loss is convincing.

Somewhat later, although perhaps to be read in the context of Cornish and Breton fishermen off Newfoundland, is the discovery of what is now known as Tangier Island. Tangier Island is located in the estuary of the Potomac River, where it flows into Chesapeake Bay. The Island is actually a set of sandbars, composed of three islands just south of the Virginia – Maryland State line. According to Daley (n.d.), and Parks (1997), the island was discovered by Captain John Smith in 1608 when he was looking for fresh water. According to local legend the island was settled around three hundred years ago, by six or so fishermen and their families from Cornwall. Lots of present-day guidebooks refer to the "old brogue or accent" of the people on the island, and the "special melody of their speech," supposedly derived from the fact that their Cornishness has survived over many centuries. It is unclear if this is a reference to Cornish, Cornu-English or an intermingling of the two.

However, not all of the recorded accounts tally. Some sources indicate that the community was initially founded by fishermen from the Isles of Scilly, and that they set up there because the island so reminded them of home. If legends about Tangier are correct, then this would make a date of settlement around 1700, yet by then, we are, of course, drawing on a far smaller group of Cornish speakers, since the language had broadly retreated to an area west of a line between Camborne and Falmouth. If the original settlers were from Scilly, then this presents us with an additional difficulty because as Moore (2005) demonstrates, there is little evidence of Cornish language surviving on Scilly, and developing into the modern era. Main Ridge is now the largest community on Tangier Island, but the earliest community was based around Canton. We do know that Joshua Thomas (a very Cornish-sounding individual) once ran the first store on the island at Oyster Ridge Creek, but this is a century later, around 1805. However, it is possible his ancestors knew limited Cornish. Some traditions also state that the island was first founded by a John Crockett and his eight sons in 1686 (matching the settlement date). He does not sound very Cornish. Having said that, there are still a number of Crocketts in the 2006 Cornwall and Isles of Scilly telephone directory.

As the opening up of North America progressed, it became clear that British interests were going to be very important there. The earliest explorations to Newfoundland alluded to above show potential for the language to have transcended the Atlantic, although it is to the now more overt colonies that we must next look, to see if Cornish survived. In 1585-86 (when Cornish was still being spoken in mid-Cornwall and in the west), Ralegh, as Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall, had organized the famous Roanoke Colony. As Rowse details, Sir Richard Grenville had organised the plantation, and with Grenville were John Arundell and one Captain Bonyton. Arundell was from Trerice near Newquay, and being from a Catholic family, it seems likely he would have had knowledge of Cornish at least; even if he had, as Richard Carew suggests later on, to convert to English

to ‘get on’.[14] With them was the cartographer and illustrator John White, who Payton (1999) has asserted was Cornish, seemingly coming from Truro. This would position White as a possible Cornish speaker, but the evidence is too sketchy for us to make any conclusions.

Travelling with them were some of these crucial younger men – a Master Kendall of Lostwithiel, a Master Prideaux of Padstow, and one Master Anthony Rowse (or Rous), from the Halton-based family above the River Tamar. Considering these were younger men, and from areas where Cornish had already stopped from being spoken, evidence for their use of the tongue seems rather less convincing. As young men, they would perhaps have been more likely, as Smith asserted, to embrace English as well, considering it important for their own betterment. Maybe, this reflects Smith’s observations, and that many Cornishmen returned from America with an Anglicised name, crucial evidence, as Symons has perceptively argued,[15] of language transfer operating in Cornwall. Symons uses a set of Parish registers from across Cornwall, to convincingly show the exact moment of transference (see also below, p. 201).

After Ralegh’s condemnation for treason, men from Cornwall and Devon petitioned James I for a license to plant a colony and so a second charter was granted in Virginia in 1609. Rowse (1991 [1969]) recounts how three Cornish knights were instrumental in the success of Jamestown – Sir William Godolphin, Sir Robert Killigrew and Sir John Borlase. Godolphin had interests in west Cornwall, as did Killigrew (who would become the future commander of Pendennis Castle), but if Carew is to be believed then these men would have already sacrificed any Cornish speaking. More likely perhaps is that they took with them a set of servants, workers and craftsmen, who were bilingual, speaking to their managers in English and their fellow workers in Cornish, a trend, as Padel (1975) has demonstrated, with evidence in the Cornish writings of the later Boson Family.

Of course, as the seventeenth century opens up, there are less and less chances of Cornish being used in America, since by 1650 the Cornish at home had more or less retreated west of a line from Truro to St. Agnes. Rowse details a number of Cornish settlers in the opening decades of the 1600s: the arrival of Richard and Elizabeth Arundell in 1620, John Penrice at Elizabeth City in 1623 and John Treherne in 1622, but their language use is sketchy. In the 1630s a William Berryman petitioned for land due to him for the transportation of John Treherne and three other servants, then at the rate of “fifty acres for each person sent over.” It is perhaps to men like Treherne and these three other servants we should be thinking of as possible users of Cornish, though of course, the evidence is all too

---

[14] See Carew, R., 1953, “The Excellency of the English Tongue,” in: Halliday, ed., 303-8.

[15] Andrew C. Symons, “Language and History,” in: *An Baner Kernewek / The Cornish Banner* 92: 10-11; “Stress and Intonation Patterns in Cornish Dialect,” in: *An Baner Kernewek/ The Cornish Banner* 95: 7-11; “Models of Language Transfer,” in: *An Baner Kernewek/ The Cornish Banner* 96: 6-9. Deacon has also developed unpublished research which suggests that the dropping of the tripartite naming of Cornishmen indicates the decline of the language.

thin. Given the fact, too, that many of the emigrants were usually from east Cornwall, due to connections with Plymouth, as time rolls forward, the chances of fully-fledged speakers operating, diminishes rapidly. Rowse's work also shows that there seems little record of names being recorded in the Cornish forms. 1636 brought a host of Cornish settlers to both Virginia and Maine, but probably not Cornish speakers.

There was one Captain Richard Bonython who became co-proprietor of land near the present town of Saco. Bonython was born in St. Columb Major in 1580, which puts him on the cusp of Cornish language retreat, so he may have had some knowledge of the language, but as he assumed more and more public duties in the colony, obviously the language was less and less needed. Similarly, the controversial Hugh Peter (born at Fowey in 1598) – a prime mover in the economic expansion of Massachusetts, and one of the eventual founders of Harvard College – came from a town just too far east to still have regular use of Cornish, remembering that language retreat from the line between Padstow and Fowey back to St. Austell and Newquay, took 100 years from 1500 to 1600. After this early window, the evidence for linguistic transportation becomes less convincing. Many of those emigrating were from east of mid Cornwall, where the language had already broadly disappeared. It is to the opening years of the eighteenth century we must now turn.

3. William Gwavas and that 1710 Letter

One of the most oft-quoted references to the use of Cornish language in North America is William Gwavas's 1710 letter "An [Why] poble hui, en pow America / You people in the Land of America"; the text of which is given below, with an English-language translation:

> An [Why] poble hui, en pow America, uncuth dho nei, huei dho gurria an Deu guir a'n nev k'an doar Neb g'ryk an Houl, an Lur, ha an Steren Rag porth a'n Tiz war an Tir, ha g'ryk kynifara tra en Dallath ha Eu Deu, olghallnzack dres ol an Beyz.
> Bounaz hep Diueth.
> Amen.
>
> En Blethan a'n Deu Arlueth nei, 1710 W. Gwavas.
> a an Tempel K'res en Loundres
> En Pow a'n Brethon.
>
> [You people in the land of America, unknown to us, you have learnt to worship the true God of the heaven and the earth, Who made the sun, the moon, and the stars for the aid of the people on the earth, and made everything in the beginning and is God almighty over all the world.
> Life without end.
> Amen.

In the year of the God our Lord, 1710 W. Gwavas.
From the Middle Temple in London
in the land of the Britons.][16]

Gwavas (1676-1741) was born in Suffolk, though according to Pool (1982), he came from a family long established at Gwavas in the Parish of Sithney near Helston (and not at Paul as is often purported) and was a barrister in the Middle Temple. Having inherited the fish tithe at Newlyn and Mousehole, he then spent much of his time and energy arguing with the fishermen of the two communities, ending in 1730 with the judgment of the House of Lords in favour of Gwavas. He lived his life at Penzance, and was a writer and collector of letters, verses, proverbs, epitaphs and other passages of Cornish; his mentor in the language being John Boson. Gwavas acknowledged the help of many of his contemporaries (men such as Thomas Boson, Oliver Pendar, James Jenkin and John Odger), as well as "several ancient persons in Paul, St. Just, St. Keverne, etc., both men and women that could speak the modern Cornish, although they knew not how to write it, or rightly divide the words and sentences".[17] Pool notes that "Gwavas wrote to an unnamed correspondent in America ... this implying that some Cornish speakers had emigrated and that the language was spoken, or at least understood, in America before it died out in Cornwall".[18]

This message was written on the back of the Gwavas manuscript copy of the Apostles' Creed and was perhaps intended a specimen of Cornish for people in America, maybe Cornish speakers, who were assisting in various ways with the on-going colonisation of the continent. The address seems to refer to those undergoing Christian conversion – Native Americans possibly. Meanwhile, Gwavas himself, was engaged in a series of letter-writing exercises to stimulate not only his own creativity and use of the language (which by this time had retreated into an area west of a line drawn between St. Ives, Penzance and the western half of The Lizard peninsula), but also to encourage other like-minded individuals. Of course, the important question is who was the addressee of the letter, to whom precisely was Gwavas writing? Unfortunately, a search of the Gwavas manuscript gives few clues for us.

Two potential groups of addressees emerge however. The first was that Gwavas did know of a learned Cornishman in one of the eastern sea-board States, who had either residual knowledge of Cornish or who sought to improve his 'learnt' Cornish via correspondence. Certainly the style of language chosen fits this. *En Pow a'n Brethon* 'In the land of the Britons' seems self-consciously archaic, yet fashionable at the same time. There are other clues though. The terms of the address seem to indicate a multiple audience, as if it were to be read aloud, perhaps

[16] Kent, A.M. & T. Saunders, eds. and transl., 2000, *Looking at the Mermaid: A Reader in Cornish Literature 900-1900*, 238-9.

[17] Pool, P.A.S., 1982, *The Death of Cornish*, 16-17.

[18] Ibid. See also Nance, R.M., 1925, "The Cornish Language in America," in: *Old Cornwall*, Vol. 1, No.1, 37.

in some educational capacity or simply a demonstration. The overt Christian theme and conversion ideology does strongly indicate some Native Americans undergoing a transition in belief. At the same time, there are even strong echoes of the Prince Madoc legend, which seems to accentuate a legitimate imperial British right to manage the territory, yet it comes too early to act as propaganda within the War of Independence (1775-83).[19] Brian Murdoch feels the letter is a demonstration only and perhaps could have been interpreted, read or translated by a Welsh speaker (who would certainly have been more common).[20] Another alternative of course, is that Gwavas had intimate contact with the maritime community of west Cornwall, and that just maybe a mariner still carried Cornish across the Atlantic. If successive 'recordings' and 'texts' of later final speakers are to be considered here in the light of this (such as the maritime-themed letter of William Bodinar in 1776),[21] then there is good evidence that Gwavas and 'that mariner' corresponded. Over the years most Cornish-language scholarship has failed to grasp the nettle of this text. Ellis, however, has this to say on the matter:

> Another interesting example of Gwavas' correspondence in Cornish is his letters to someone in America dated 1710 in which he enclosed a copy of the Apostles' Creed. It may well be that these letters were sent to exiled Cornishmen who had taken their knowledge of the language with them. Perhaps the original letters are now tucked away in some American library.[22]

Ellis's final sentence is hopeful rather than realistic. That said, there is one other intriguing possibility that comes to light, and which may support Ellis's hypothesis. Broadly contemporary of Gwavas was William Rowe of Hendra in Sancreed, who was also writing in Cornish during this phase. Although Rowe's surviving literature of some 2,155 words were translations of Genesis 3, St. Matthew 2: 1-20, and St. Matthew 4, he had a sound understanding of the language spoken around Sancreed, between 1650 and 1690. This was thirty years before Gwavas's letter. However, some of William Rowe's descendants did migrate to North America.[23] Perhaps these descendants knew Cornish, and since Gwavas knew Rowe, he might have found it helpful to generate correspondence. Rowe's focus on scripture may have passed on to his relatives, so to send on the Creed in Cornish to the Cornish-American Rowe family would have seemed fitting. Rowe's descendants would also have to be literate, so this is a possibility. Ellis notes that Rowe's Cornish is highly distinctive, in that it sticks closely to Eng-

---

[19] For another perspective on British and Celtic legitimacy, see Munro, R.J., 2004, *The Scottish Invention of America, Democracy and Human Rights: A History of Liberty and Freedom from the Ancient Celts to the New Millennium*, USA.

[20] Correspondence with the author, 4 September 2006.

[21] Kent A.M. & Saunders, T. (2000: 244-5).

[22] Ellis, P.B., 1974, *The Cornish Language and its Literature*, London: Routledge, 100.

[23] I am indebted to Rod Trevelyan Lyon for bringing this to my attention.

lish phonetics,[24] so we might be seeking a preceding or return letter in a similar style. Further research is needed to trace the exact location to which the Sancreed Rowe family emigrated. Maybe there, one might be able to find more correspondence from Gwavas or even William Rowe.

4. Yee-Har!!: Miners and Cowboys

The second phase of transported Cornish comes during the nineteenth century, when the mineral wealth of North America began to be extracted by migrant miners. A large proportion of these groups were the Cornish who brought their hard-rock mining expertise, in particular to the United States of America, concentrating their work initially in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, the Lead region of Wisconsin and Illinois, and California; then later in Colorado, the Pacific North West and Arizona. The possibility remains that some of the immigrant Cornish miners carried with them knowledge of traditional Cornish, though there are no records of this.

On-going Cornish language activity during this century is therefore restricted to two areas: the specific Cornish-language vocabulary of mining, and a number of Cornu-English terms and constructions which have their origins in the Cornish language. My 2004 article[25] on a newly-discovered manuscript of 'Cousin Jack' stories from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan defines the field we are engaged in here, and I do not propose to revisit that ground here. However, Walter F. Gries, the astute collector of the 'Drill Cores' manuscript noticed many peculiarities related to Cornu-English, which he could never quite explain. He put it down to "a juggling in use of pronouns, as well as a confusion and contradiction in words that often results in astonishing expressions … in spite of the abuse of grammar."[26] Perhaps Gries was perceptively observing a Cornish community only one hundred years on from the main loss of Cornish, still coming to terms with speaking in another tongue. An oft-quoted example is the Cornu-English expression *I d'do that* – a direct translation from, for example, the Cornish *My a wra gul henna*. Additionally, in Cornu-English, as in Cornish, the emphasis is shifted to the start of the sentence *Goin' 'ome are 'ee?*[27] The following transported terms are ones which can be found in a number of Cousin-Jack narratives, mining museums and Cornish communities across North America. Below is a sample from a list I have collected. The American-English dialect word is followed by the word spelt in traditional Cornish, followed by its definition:

---

[24] Ellis, P.B. (1974: 92).
[25] Kent, A.M., 2004.
[26] Ibid., 130.
[27] Kent, A.M., 2006.

American Cornu-English	*Cornish*	*Definition*
Attle	Atal	Waste
Bal	Bal	Mine
Buddle	Buddle	Washing pit for ore, churn
Cann	Cand	White spar stone
Capel	Capel	Black Tourmeline
Caunter	Caunter	Contrary / off-set lode
Costean	Costeena	To dig exploratory pits
Dippa	Dippa	A small pit
Druse	Druse	Small cavity in a vein
Flookan	Flookan	Soft layer of material
Gad	Gad	Miner’s wedge or spike[28]

The lack of development or change of the word from the original Cornish words is startling. There are many more examples. Another useful source for this kind of Cornish vocabulary in America is the 1941 novel *The Long Winter Ends*, by Newton G. Thomas, from Stoke Climsland, who was born in 1878, and worked as a dentist in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan community. The story deals with Jim Holman, who leaves Cornwall to work in the copper mines of the Upper Peninsula. As can be seen with the following examples, Cornu-English dialect words (derived from Cornish) form a considerable part of the vocabulary of the book; for example, “Aas, maid. The *bal* ’ave shut down.” and “The *cheel* was saved, but ’er died of burns.”[29] At the same time, Jim exists in an Upper Peninsula world populated by men with Cornish-language names like Penglaze and Chenoweth. One other author who sets novels in Cornish-America is Jim Harrison. Harrison’s breakthrough novel was *Legends of the Fall*, later made into a film starring Brad Pitt (playing the youngest brother Tristan) and Anthony Hopkins. The film and book detail events affecting a Cornish family, and contain the occasional Cornish-language term, as does his 2004 novel, *True North*, which follows the life of David Burkett, whose great-grandfather emigrated from Cornwall. Similarly, Daniel Mason’s *Cousin Jack* (1996) contains a similar spattering of Cornish-language words associated with mining. Obviously, the quantity of Cornish language vocabulary here is slim, but makes for an interesting footprint in these regions, by way of its narratives.

One of the terms which has been consistently held up as a curious example of a survival of a Cornish-language word in North America is the cowboy term ‘to mozey on down,’ as detailed in Adams (1994). The word ‘moze’ is the possible ‘Cornishism’ since the Cornish verb ‘moaz’ is the word meaning ‘to go, march, pass, proceed, be going to or about to’.[30] Sound-wise, the two terms are identi-

---

[28] The Cornish here confers with Gendall, R., ed., 1997, *A Practical Dictionary of Modern Cornish – Part One: Cornish-English*, Menheniot.

[29] *Bal* equates to ‘a mine’. *Cheel* equates to a ‘female child’.

[30] Gendall, ed., 1997: 96.

cal, and the American term 'to moze' appears very close. 'Mozey on down' has several historical attestations in 'Western'-themed American literature, as well as modern cowboy poetry collected by Hal Cannon (1994). It also has many contemporary uses; for example:

> "Now get off your butt and mozey on down to Walmart!"
> "I thought I might mozey along to the Red Hot Chili Peppers gig."
> "Grab yer partner and mozey on down to the Sagebrush saloon for a rip roarin' hoe-down!"

The expression was originally found in the west of America, and according to Adams, specifically in southern Arizona. This fact is interesting, since Miami-Globe and Tombstone on the Mexican-USA border are both Cornish mining towns. Tuscon also once had a large Cornish population.

The difficulty with 'mozey,' as a Cornish-derived term in the USA, is two-fold. First of all, Arizona only began to be significantly settled by Cornish miners in the period after 1907, a period in which we do not expect to see any Cornish-derived terms outside of mining forming part of the linguistic reservoir. A second etymology of the word is also possible, and more likely, given the geography. As Slatta (2004) argues, the Spanish term *vamos* 'let's go' may equally be a contender in the formation of the term, and since Mexico is much closer to Arizona than Cornwall, the likely derivation is this. The American slang term 'Vamoose' is also derived from 'vamos'. Therefore the connection between 'moaz' and 'mozey' is intriguing but tenuous, as ethereal as the tommyknockers (small people) of the mines of southern Arizona.

Like Cornwall, there is also some limited place name evidence in North America, which is derived from the Cornish language; these places being named after communities back home. Although these are relatively few, they at least show a small Brythonic Celtic heritage in North America. There are two towns labelled Penrose; one in Colorado, another in Philadelphia. Petherick is located in Michigan, Truro may be found in Nova Scotia, and Boscawen in New Hampshire. There are several towns labelled Cornwall; the best known is in Pennsylvania; the home of the famous iron foundry named Cornwall Furnace (founded by Philadelphia-born Cornishman Peter Grubb in 1733), and detailed in the work of Carl Oblinger (1984). This is comparable, as Drew (1988) has shown, to the Redruth township of Burra in South Australia, in which many streets and houses are named after Cornish language place names.

5. Some Language Cowboys: Nancarrow, Bottrell and Weekes

As we can see from above, a considerable legacy of the Cornish language operating in North America is to be found in the terminology of mining and the opening up of the 'Wild West'. Before we consider the state of present-day Cornish, a few other pertinent historical observations may be made. According to

some commentators, such as Weatherhill, the late Cornish speaker and American emigrant John Nancarrow, was apparently born into a Quaker family in St. Agnes in 1734. However, he spent his childhood in West Cornwall, learning Cornish from native speakers – most likely fishermen. Nance (1963) has argued that fishermen had a complex and astute labelling of marmite life.

Weatherhill argues that Nancarrow's fluency in Cornish was noted by Daines Barrington in 1777, three years after Nancarrow had left for America. Lyon too, who has extensively studied the family links and cultural geographies of surviving Cornish speakers, also draws considerable attention to Nancarrrow, but is less convinced, since there is conflicting evidence. Jenner in fact states that Barrington received communication about one John Nancarrow of Market Jew in 1779 when he was aged forty.[31] Lyon has searched the Parish Registers for St. Hilary, and those immediately adjoining, but no record of a Nancarrow is found. However, the birth of a John Nancarrow in 1739 is found in the parish of St. Enoder in mid Cornwall.

Although this is a long way from west Cornwall, strangely enough St. Enoder is one Cornish parish where an unusually high number of Cornish and even late Cornish place names have survived. Maybe this is the Nancarrow referred to, and perhaps although being born in St. Enoder, he may have moved west, first going to St. Agnes, and then toward west Cornwall. It seems that it is from west Cornwall that he then travelled to Philadelphia. Most likely he would have met few, indeed if any speakers in that city, and yet people emigrating often focus on destinations where like could find like, so the city may provide us with a foci for Cornish in the USA. Of course, Philadelphia is only a stone's throw from Tangier Island. Lyon notes that Nancarrow's life thereafter was not particularly illustrious and that he got in with the wrong sort,[32] while Weatherhill says he was last heard of in 1805 in Philadelphia. Is Philadelphia therefore our epicentre of Cornish-language activity in North America?

There may of course, have been other speakers who left with Nancarrow. He certainly seems one of the last 'recorded' speakers to carry with him knowledge of Cornish. As both Weatherhill and Lyon have noted, Cornish continued to be spoken in west Cornwall for much of the nineteenth century; Lyon's research in particular demonstrating a small yet notable continuity from Dolly Pentreath and William Bodinar through to people with knowledge of traditional Cornish, such as Ann Wallis, John Tremethick, Mrs. Berryman/Quick, Jane Barnicoate, Bernard Victor, John Davey Senior, Jacob Care, Elizabeth Vingoe and Mr. Mann, in the same period as the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century revival. Presumably many unrecorded miners, fishermen and farmers took knowledge with them as well, that was above and beyond the stage of Cornish words preserved within Cornu-English.

---

[31] Jenner (1904: 21).

[32] Correspondence with author, September 2006.

It is interesting therefore, to note that the Cornish folklorist and self-described 'old Celt' William Bottrell pays very little attention to the preservation of Cornish, paradoxically within narratives conceived within a cultural geography and dialect which is littered with a substratum of the Cornish language. Did he perhaps think this was enough? Did he even, like many antiquarians, realise the language had irrevocably disappeared or did he not have the linguistic or translation skills to go further? The latter seems to be the case, because he clearly is interested in the place names and Cornish words within the stories. Indeed some of the narratives he collected were probably originally conceived in Cornish. There is a curious exception however; this is his 1880 collection of 'hearthside' stories, where he makes reference to the "Ancient Cornish Language in the Colonies". The writing here is not confident, and comes at the end of a volume in which he was seemingly forced to collect narratives further and further away, into mid-Cornwall.[33] The point made is what Phillipps (1993) later labelled the 'shibboleth and talisman' of dialect, yet he chooses Cornish language words to illustrate his point. The passage begins with the following exultation of 'Cousin Jacks':

> Cornishmen's clannish propensities are well known and are most apparent when they meet in foreign lands. At the gold-fields of Australia, as elsewhere, they stand by and support each other "through thick and thin". Cornishmen are also preferred for many kinds of work which require some degree of engineering skills, and they seldom undertaken employment for which they are incompetent.[34]

'As elsewhere' presumably indicates North America and South Africa, and Bottrell continues by making the point that recognition can be spotted if someone responds correctly to the question, "My dear, ded 'e ever see duck *klunk* a *gay*?" – *klunk*, being Cornish 'to swallow' and *gay* being 'a fragment of broken crockery'.[35] Those who understand the code respond in the right way. A second example is given with the observation "Mate! There's a green myryan [Cornish: ant] on thy nuddack [Cornish: back of the neck]".[36] Bottrell's argument reminds this author of an old man sitting on a bench once in St. Agnes in the late 1990s, who was testing Cornishness out on a film crew. The friendly man said, "A'right pard?" [Alright friend?] to everyone who walked past. Most of the non-Cornish crew ignored him, not understanding, I suspect, even what he was saying. When Cornish members of the crew walked past and replied, "A'right" back to him, the old man smiled. It remains unclear why Bottrell choose these examples of 'transported Cornish' above others. Perhaps they were mentioned to him by returning men and women who had travelled to North America and Australia.

---

[33] For example, into the parish of Ladock.

[34] Bottrell, W., ed., 1880, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall: Third Series*, Penzance,183.

[35] Ibid. This can be cross-referenced to Gendall, ed., 1997. See 'clunka,' 24, and 'gay,' 57.

[36] Ibid.: 98, and in: Gendall, R., ed., 1998, *A Practical Dictionary of Modern Cornish – Part Two: English-Cornish*, Menheniot,189.

Over one hundred years on, and the place of transported Cornish to North America had developed in a new and perhaps previously unimagined way. Arnie Weekes, who made several visits to Cornwall in the late 1990s before his recent death, was a Canadian-Cornishman, who suggested that his mother and family came from an unbroken line of Cornish speakers. Obviously, this was of immense interest to Cornish-language enthusiasts in Cornwall. Here was the apparent fossil link back to Gwavas. However, once Weekes's 'traditional' Cornish had been examined by a number of observers, it became clear that the Cornish spoken was not any vestigial remains of a late period of the language from North America, but rather reconstructed 'Unified' Cornish from the early half of the twentieth century.[37] Weekes also explained about a previously unrecorded St. Piran skull ceremony, and claimed some early pictures of Russian Orthodox-style saints held St. Piran's crosses.[38]

The historical attestation or even verification of all of this is not really the point. If the St. Piran skull ceremony was devised, and as Weekes stated, passed on, then it is legitimate family folklore. Although Weekes was wrong about the lineage of the Cornish his family spoke, the use of the language in North America had been central in the on-going identity of their family. This was unusual in a period, in which normally other markers and delineators were used to show Cornishness in the continent, for example, Cousin Jack stories, tartans and pasties. There is something of an echo here to earlier stories of surviving Cornish speakers. Morton Nance,[39] has been unconvinced of the genuine nature of speakers such as the Zennor-based John Davey junior, which he felt were bookish and most probably learnt and derived from Pyrce's *Archaeologica Cornu-Britannia* (1790) and this question of 'bookish' or 'traditional' brings us neatly to contemporary Cornish in North America.

6. Cornish Language in Twenty-First-Century North America

In the twentieth century, few higher-education institutions where Celtic Studies was available at degree level, ever taught Cornish. In the major universities, such as Harvard, Berkeley and UCLA, the predominant study is that of Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Welsh. In fact, these are the high-profile Celtic languages of previous centuries, matching the focus in Europe.[40] At worst, Cornish, Breton and Manx were completely ignored (Cornish being viewed as dead and buried) with all of these territories apparently having little impact on the shaping of the

---

[37] I am indebted to Neil Kennedy for confirming this.

[38] Arnie Weekes archive belonging to author.

[39] See note in: *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, Volume 11, Part 2, 77.

[40] A trend set by Maclean, M., 1902, *The Literature of the Celts*, London: Blackie and Son. See also Fulton, H. ed., 2005, *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, Dublin: Four Courts Press. This excellent volume contains one chapter on Cornwall, with a plethora of Irish and Welsh examples. An exception is Piotr Stalmaszczyk (2005).

leading territories of North America; in Cornwall's case, a complete antithesis to the work of Rowse, Todd and Rowe, who had actively promoted the global Cornish as a significant migrant group in the formation of the modern territories of the USA and Canada. Some institutions taught an awareness of these languages, but it was usually for comparative purposes. CASANA, the Celtic Studies Association of North America, in existence for some forty years, only began to look at a Cornish-language text (Christ's Passion from the *Ordinalia* sequence) in its Study seminar at the City University of New York in 1999, thanks to lobbying by Cornish and Cornu-American members. To be fair, however, part of the difficulty was that despite interest, Cornish texts were not easily available, due to failings in the dissemination of the literature since the Cornish revival.[41] There was also a high degree of ignorance on the state of and revival of Cornish itself, corrected in recent years.[42]

Most of the discernable articulation of Cornish since the 1970s at least, had come from the flourishing development of Cornish Associations, who enhanced their 'Celtic exotica' and 'Otherness' by using Cornish language titles, and printing limited articles in Cornish. Most of this was accompanied by knotwork and a romantic Celtic-esque typeface. The logo of the Cornish American Heritage Society typifies this look, with a mine, a St. Piran's Cross, farming imagery and waterwheel. Their newsletter *Tam Kernewek* 'Cornish Step' also reflects this ideology: the Spring edition of 1999 features an article *Chogha ha Aghow* 'Jackdaw and Lineage,'[43] while the front cover shows Cornish-American bards of the Cornish Gorseth standing at the modern stone circle of Columcille in Pennsylvania, a centre detailed in the work of Roy (1999). The language, however, was operating as a cultural delineator rather than a real means of expression. This delineation was important since it parallels everything that Bottrell noted about the emigrant experience towards the end of the nineteenth century.

The only true organ of Cornish language activity in North America had been the Benjamin Bruch edited magazine *An Balores* 'The Chough'.[44] Bruch, a Harvard Ph.D graduate in Celtic Studies, founded the magazine to support and develop Cornish in North America. Self-consciously drawing on the early revival of Cornish (Robert Morton Nance had titled a ground-breaking Cornish language allegorical play *An Balores* in 1932),[45] the magazine styled itself on the format set down by earlier Cornish-based magazines and in particular *An Gan-*

---

41 For example, an anthology of the major literary works in Cornish was only published in 2000. See Kent, A.M. & T. Saunders (2000).

42 See, for example Spriggs, M., 2003, "Where Cornish was Spoken and When: A Provisional Analysis," in: Payton, P., ed., 228-69; Holmes, J., 2003, "On the Track of Cornish in a Bilingual Country," in: Payton P., ed., 270-290.

43 See *Tam Kernewek*, 1999, Vol. 17, No.3.

44 *An Balores*, 1999, No.1.

45 The full Cornish text and an English translation are found in: Hale, A., A.M. Kent & T. Saunders, eds., 2000, *Inside Merlin's Cave: A Cornish Arthurian Reader 1000-2000*, London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 198-200; 220-23.

nas 'The Message,' combining news articles with exercises for learners. Broadly focused on the Kemmyn and Unified dialects,[46] the magazine was a serious attempt to broaden learning of the language in North America. However, the romanticism and old-style Cornish nationalism promulgated the problematical issue of 'cultural lag' for anyone learning Cornish in North America. While this kind of energy and iconography had served Cornish well in the opening years of the twentieth century, in more recent times, self-review of the language's development had distanced itself from 'medievalism' and 'choughs'.[47] New anthologies such as those assembled by Tim Saunders, were linking Cornish-language literature to abstract paintings from the St. Ives school, and new twenty-first-century styling – a conscious marshalling of imagery for a new century. Scholarship had also progressed heavily from the 'tired' narrative of the development and death of the language.[48] Even the previously heavily Celticised Cornish Language Board, had adopted a new and contemporary logo.[49] The type of Cornish being spoken was also highly formal and bookish. Traditional material was not given the same status.

Despite these difficulties, as http://www.cornish-language.org reports, 2007 will see the Fourth Annual Pennysethan Gernewek Amerikanek (American Cornish Language Weekend). It is to be held in Berkeley Springs in West Virginia and will feature daily language lessons at all levels from beginner to advanced, tours of new towns, sight-seeing and nature walks, a Cornish troyl and a pasty dinner. The model again is that of the Pennysethans held 'back home' in Cornwall. Although this sounds grand, in 2005, as reported on the website, there were only two Cornish-language students in attendance – "Ron Carbis, whose ancestors came from the area around Liskeard" and "John Sheidan whose Cornish ancestors came from the area around Redruth". Obviously, for these Cornish-Americans, language is an important signifier of identity. Although the American Pennseythan may seem small, its continuity and its focus is an encouraging development. Bruch also teaches a 'Cornish language School' at the Annual Cornish Festival held in Mineral Point (http://www.cornishfest.com) where usually more students attend – even if they are more likely to be beginners, and runs a North American Cornish-language internet blog titled 'Nebes Geryow Kernewek'.

The 'Dehwelans/Homecoming' (2002) events of recent years have also facilitated North American linkages to the Cornish language, bringing Cornish-North

---

[46] Modern Cornish is mentioned but not given as much textual space.

[47] See the observations in Deacon, B., "Language Revival and Language Debate: Modernity and Postmodernity," in: Payton, P., ed., 1996, *Cornish Studies: Four*, Exeter, 88-106, and Kent, A.M., 2000, *The Literature of Cornwall: Continuity, Identity, Difference 1000-2000*, Bristol, 278-84.

[48] See Kent, A.M. (2000); Kenneth MacKinnon, 'Cornish/Kernowek' in: Ó Néill, ed., 2005, 211-75; Spriggs, M., 1998, "The Reverend Joseph Sherwood: A Cornish Language Will-'o-the-Wisp," in: Payton, P., ed., *Cornish Studies: Six*, Exeter, 46-61.

[49] For old style, see *An Gannas*, 1996, No.232. For new style, see *An Gannas*, 2005, No.342.

Americans 'back home' to Cornish-named artists like Kescana, Dalla, Tan ha Dowr, Bagas Crowd, Scavel an Gow, Asteveryn and Otta Nye Moaz. This cultural intercourse has resulted, for example, in the Cornish-language songs and albums of the Cornish-American musician Jim Wearne, as on *Howl Lowen*, and in the storytelling and music of the south-west Wisconsin-based Marion Howard.[50] Albert Jenkin, a Cornish activist and storyteller presents himself by the name of *Hwethlor Pen-An-Vre* 'The storyteller from the top of the hill'. As Stewart details, another Cornish-language link came from the heroic actions of a security guard at the World Trade Centre in New York, after the 9/11 attacks. The security guard was the Hayle-born Rick Rescorla. His name is probably derived from 'res corlan,' translating to the English 'ford by a sheepfold'. A Vietnam veteran, Rescorla helped some 2,700 employees successfully leave the South Tower. Surprisingly, given all of this the recent *Strategy for the Cornish Language* pays scant attention to Cornish language activity overseas, although it persists in North America. The benefit of this is to see Cornish as a language used internationally, rather than in a small peninsula.

While much further research is needed into this field, I hope this chapter has offered some possibilities of the transportation of Cornish to North America, and a picture of present-day Cornish-language activity there. Compared to other Celtic languages of North America, the picture of Cornish is, of course, very different. With the Irish language in particular, it appears that it was the hook on which Irish cultural nationalism hung. Although never quite a tool of assimilation in the way in which Irish was, Cornish can at least be recovered from some of the murky shadows of its life there. Certainly, we have now identified clear epicentres of language activity in North America, and this chapter has sought to determine some core areas of investigation. The next task will be to investigate more clearly parish records, migration transits and immigration records in order to make a closer investigation of those travelling with Cornish or with both Cornish and English and Cornu-English.[51]

References

Primary Sources

BL Add. MS 28 554, Gwavas Papers.

Gatley MS, Truro: Royal Institution of Cornwall.

[50] See Jim Wearne, *Howl Lowen*, Downer's Grove, Illinois: Mr. Bear, 2001; Marion Howard, *Tales and Tunes of Cornwall by Mary Ann and Try Henath*, Darlington: Marion Howard, 2003.

[51] I would like to thank Professor Brian Murdoch, Professor Hildegard L.C. Tristram, Rod Trevelyan Lyon, Chris Davies, Dr. Bernard Deacon, Albert Jenkin, Derek Williams, Jim Jewell, Gary German, Heidi Lazar-Meyn, Timothy Bridgman and Tim Saunders for their assistance in the preparation of this chapter. I am also grateful for the discussions I have had with Neil Kennedy on this topic over a number of years.

Tonkin MS, MS B, Truro: Royal Institution of Cornwall.

Secondary Sources

Books and Pamphlets

Abley, M., 2003, *Spoken Here: Travels among Threatened Languages*, London: Heinemann.

Adams, R.F., 1994, *The Cowboy Dictionary: The Chin Jaw Words and Whing-Ding Ways of the American West*, New York: Perigree.

Armstrong, Z., 1950, *Who Discovered America?*, Chattanooga, TN: Lookout Press.

Barron, W.R.J. & G.S. Burgess, eds., 2004, *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Representative Versions of the Legend in English Translation with Indexes of Themes and Motifs from the Stories*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Bottrell, W., ed., 1880, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall: Third Series*, Penzance: printed for the author.

Chatwin, B., 1977, *In Patagonia*, London: Jonathan Cape Ltd.

Cannon, H., ed., 1994, *The New Cowboy Poetry: A Contemporary Gathering*, Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith Books.

Crystal, D., 2000, *Language Death*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Daley, J.G., n.d., *History of Tangier Island, Virginia*, Tangier Island: Jim's Gift Shop.

Deacon, B., S. Schwartz & D. Holman, 2004, *The Cornish Family: The Roots of Our Future*, Fowey: Cornwall Editions.

Deacon, R., 1967, *Madoc and the Discovery of America: Some New Light on an Old Controversy*, London: Frederick Muller.

Dehwelans Committee, eds., 2002, *Dehwelans Souvenir Programme*, Cornwall: Dehwelans.

Drew, G.J., 1988, *Discovering Historic Burra*, Burra Burra: National Trust of South Australia, Burra Burra Branch.

Ellis, P.B., 1974, *The Cornish Language and its Literature*, London: Routledge.

Ewart, S., 1998, *Highly Respectable Families: The Cornish of Grass Valley California 1854-1954*, Grass Valley: Comstock Bonanza Press.

Fudge, C., 1982, *The Life of Cornish*, Redruth: Truran.

Fulton, H., ed., 2005, *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Gendall, R., 1994, *1000 Years of Cornish*, Menheniot: Teere ha Tavaz.

Gendall, R., ed., 1997, *A Practical Dictionary of Modern Cornish – Part One: Cornish-English*, Menheniot: Teere ha Tavaz.

Gendall, R., ed., 1998, *A Practical Dictionary of Modern Cornish – Part Two: English-Cornish*, Menheniot: Teere ha Tavaz.

Hale, A., A.M. Kent & T. Saunders, eds., 2000, *Inside Merlin's Cave: A Cornish Arthurian Reader 1000-2000*, London: Francis Boutle Publishers.

Halliday, F.E., ed., 1953, *Richard Carew of Antony: The Survey of Cornwall*, London: Andrew Melrose.

Harrison, J., 1980, *Legends of the Fall*, London: Delta.

Harrison, J., 2004, *True North*, New York: Wheeler Publishing.

Hickey, R., ed., 2004, *Legacies of Colonial English: Studies in Transported Dialects*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

James, S., 1999, *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention?*, London: British Museum Press.

Jenner, H., 1904, *A Handbook of the Cornish Language, chiefly in its latest stages with an Account of its History and Literature*, London: David Nutt.

Kenny, K., 2000, *The American Irish: A History*, London: Longman.

Kent, A.M., 2000, *The Literature of Cornwall: Continuity, Identity, Difference 1000-2000*, Bristol: Redcliffe Press.

Kent, A.M., 2004, *Cousin Jack's Mouth-Organ: Travels in Cornish America*, St. Austell: Cornish Hillside Publications.

Kent, A.M., 2006, "Bringing the Donkey down from the Carn: Cornu-English in Context 1549-2005 – A Provisional Analysis," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes IV*, Potsdam: Potsdam University Press, 6-33.

Kent, A.M. & T. Saunders, eds. and transl., 2000, *Looking at the Mermaid: A Reader in Cornish Literature 900-1900*, London: Francis Boutle Publishers.

Lobb, J. & G. Ansell, eds., 2004, *Stratejy rag an Tavas Kernewek / Strategy for the Cornish Language*, Truro: Cornwall County Council.

Lyon, R.T., 2001, *Cornish: The Struggle for Survival*, Cornwall: Tavas an Weryn.

Maclean, M., 1902, *The Literature of the Celts*, London: Blackie and Son.

Mason, D., 1996, *Cousin Jack*, Fowey Rare Books: Alexander Associates.

McGlone, W.R. & P.M. Leonard, 1986, *Celtic America*, Fresno, California: Panorama West Books.

McKinney, G., 2001, *When Miners Sang: The Grass Valley Carol Choir*, Grass Valley: Comstock Bonanza Press.

Moore, D.W., 2005, *The Other British Isles: A History of Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides, Isle of Man, Anglesey, Scilly, Isle of Wight and the Channel Islands*, Jefferson, North Carolina & London: McFarland.

Morrison, S.E., 1971, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages, A.D. 500-1600*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Mufwene, S.S., 2001, *The Ecology of Language Evolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Munro, R.J., 2004, *The Scottish Invention of America, Democracy and Human Rights: A History of Liberty and Freedom from the Ancient Celts to the New Millennium*, Atlanta, GA, USA: University Press of America.

Nance, R.M., 1925, "The Cornish Language in America," in: *Old Cornwall* 1/1: 37.

Nance, R.M., 1963, *A Glossary of Cornish Sea-Words*, Cornwall: Federation of Old Cornwall Societies.

Nettle, D. & S. Romaine, 2000, *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ní Bhroimeil, Ú., 2002, *Building Irish Identity in America 1870-1915: The American Mission*, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Oblinger, C., 1984, *Cornwall: The People and Culture of an Industrial Camelot 1890-1980*, Harrisburg, PA, USA: Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission.

Ó Néill, D., 2005, "Scottish Gaelic in Nova Scotia," in: Ó Néill, D., ed., *Rebuilding the Celtic Languages: Reversing Language Shift in the Celtic Countries*, Talybont: Y Lolfa.

Padel, O.J., ed., 1975, *The Cornish Writings of the Boson Family*, Redruth: Institute of Cornish Studies.

Parks, R., 1997, *Tangier Island: A Moving Account of Tangier's History, Culture and Present Day Life*, Parsons, WV: McClain Printing.

Parsons, D.N. & P. Sims-Williams, eds., 2000, *Ptolemy: Towards a Linguistic Atlas of the Earliest Celtic Place-Names of Europe*, Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications.

Payton, P., ed., 1996, *Cornish Studies: Four*, Exeter: Exeter University Press.

Payton, P., ed., 1998, *Cornish Studies: Six*, Exeter: Exeter University Press.

Payton, P., 1999, *The Cornish Overseas*, Fowey: Alexander Associates.

Payton, P., ed., 2003, *Cornish Studies: Eleven*, Exeter: Exeter University Press.

Payton, P., ed., 2005 a, *Cornish Studies: Twelve*, Exeter: Exeter University Press.

Payton, P., ed., 2005 b, *Cornish Studies: Thirteen*, Exeter: Exeter University Press.

Petro, P., 1997, *Travels in an Old Tongue: Touring the World Speaking Welsh*, London: HarperCollins Flamingo.

Phillipps, K.C., 1993, *A Glossary of the Cornish Dialect*, Padstow: Tabb House.

Pool, P.A.S., 1982, *The Death of Cornish (1600-1800)*, Penzance, Cornwall: Cornish Language Board.

Pryce, W., 1972 [1790], *Archaeologica Cornu-Britannia*, Menston.

Rowe, J., 1974, *The Hard-Rock Men: Cornish Immigrants and the North American Mining Frontier*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Rowse, A.L., 1991 [1969], *The Cornish in America*, Redruth, Cornwall: Dylansow Turran.

Roy, R., 1999, *Stone Circles: A Modern Builder's Guide to the Megalithic Revival*, White River Junction, Vermont & Totnes: Chelsea Green Publishing Co.

Saunders, T., 1999, *The High Tide: Collected Poems in Cornish 1974-1999*, London: Francis Boutle Publishers.

Saunders, T., ed., 1999, *The Wheel: An Anthology of Modern Poetry in Cornish 1850-1980*, London: Francis Boutle Publishers.

Saunders, T., ed., 2006, *Nothing Broken: Recent Poetry in Cornish*, London: Francis Boutle Publishers.

Slatta, R.W., 2004, *Vocabulario Vaquero / Cowboy Talk: A Dictionary of Spanish Terms from the American West*, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.

Smiley, J. & R. Kellogg, eds., 2001, *The Sagas of the Icelanders: A Selection*, Harmondsworth & New York: Penguin.

Smith, A.S.D., 1947, *The Story of the Cornish Language: Its Extinction and Revival*, Camborne: Camborne Printing and Stationery Company Limited.

Stalmaszczyk, P., 2005, *Celtic Presence: Studies in Celtic Languages and Literatures. Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Cornish*, Lódź: Lódź University Press.

Stewart, J.B., 2000, *Heart of a Soldier: A Story of Love, Heroism and September 11th*, New York: Thorndike Press.

Thomas, N.G., 1998 [1941], *The Long Winter Ends*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Todd, A.C., 1967, *The Cornish Miner in America*, Truro: Bradford Barton Ltd.

Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 1997, *The Celtic Englishes I*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 2000, *The Celtic Englishes II*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 2003, *The Celtic Englishes III*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 2006, *The Celtic Englishes IV*, Potsdam: Potsdam University Press.

Trudel, M., 1963, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, *vol. 1: Les vaines tentatives, 1524-1603*, Montréal/Paris: Fides.

Weatherhill, C., 1995, *Cornish Place Names and Language*, Wilmslow: Sigma Leisure.

Web sources

http://www.cornish-language.org
http://www.cornishfest.com

The Growth of Irish (L1) / English (L2) Literary Code-mixing, 1600-1900: Contexts, Genres and Realisations

Liam Mac Mathúna
(University College Dublin)

1. Introduction

Intriguing as they undoubtedly are, the early sixteenth-century lists of books in the Earl of Kildare's library may well have inadvertently helped to lull scholars into visualising a rather idealised picture of language balance in multilingual late medieval Ireland. The lists reflect a society in which the four languages, Irish, English, Latin and French, vied as scholarly media and where the outcome in the Earl's library was a four-way photo-finish. The number of volumes in each of the languages was recorded as follows: Latin, 34; French, 35; English, 22; Irish, 20 (Mac Niocaill 1992: 312-314).[1]

But of course the multilingual contact situation in Ireland had always been quite dynamic, both at vernacular and at scholarly levels, following the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169. Although French continued to be employed in official documents into the second half of the 15th century, it had already ceded its vernacular role to English in the towns of the colonists prior to the drawing up of the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366. These Statutes, composed in Norman-French, the primary language of English law at the time, provide an earlier snapshot of the language situation within the areas under English jurisdiction, as they sought to compel the colonists to desist from adopting Irish as a community vernacular. Ironically, no mention is made of Norman-French in the Statutes themselves. It is clear that what was at issue was a contest for supremacy between Irish and English as the principal vernacular among the colonists. It was not until the late 15th century that the role of English as a suitable medium for recording official matters became secure:

[1] The figure for Irish is from an earlier list, for which see Mac Niocaill (1992: 355-356).

> French was used in acts of parliament from 1310 to 1472, alternating occasionally with Latin. It is only after 1472 that English came to be used in acts of parliament. Prior to that date, government documents generally as well as municipal records, statutes and ordinances are either in French or in Latin. … When French came to be replaced by English, that language was at first used concurrently with Latin, as Norman French had been previously; after 1450 the use of Latin declined, and by 1500 the use of English had become normal (Bliss & Long 1993: 714).

Thus Irish and English were left vying with each other as community languages.

The interplay of the four languages at a scholarly level also resulted in significant developments. From about 1475 on English began to complement Latin both as a source of new material and as a medium through which international learning came to the attention of Irish speakers. This influence may be seen, for instance, in Finghin Ó Mathghamhna's translation of "The Buke of John Maundeville" (Stokes 1898). Further, it was from an English version, itself translated from the French, that Ó Mathghamhna translated "Leabhar Ser Marco Polo" (Stokes 1897). A death-notice in *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* ("Annals of the Four Masters") under the year 1496 describes Ó Mathghamhna as *saoi eccnaidhe illaidin & i mberla* ('a learned man, skilled in Latin and in English'). Another scholar, Uilliam Mac an Leagha, translated a number of works from English. Among these were "Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás," translated from *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*, apparently published in 1474, which had been translated from the French (Quin 1939; Carney 1993: 706-707).

The romantic tales "Guy of Warwick" and "Bevis of Hampton" are two further examples of Mac an Leagha's translations from English (Robinson 1908; Carney 1993: 707). All in all, there is considerable evidence for English cultural and scholarly impact on Irish from the end of the 15th century. James Carney summarised his appraisal of the evidence as follows: "In all this literature of entertainment and information there is a consistent picture of increasing external influence on Irish from at least the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards; the impact of English is direct and that of French indirect" (Carney 1993: 698). Thus, it is interesting to note that the intellectual impact of English preceded the strengthening of its administrative role under the Tudors in the sixteenth century.

The ancillary role of English as a code-mixing agent in certain Irish-language literary texts from *c.* 1600 onwards reflects the extension in the use of English in Ireland, following the English conquest, initially as the medium of colonial administration and law, and later as an expanding community language. Bilingual interaction in the texts successively involves (1) native-born English, (2) inhabitants of the Irish Pale, for whom English was their native tongue, and (3) native Irish speakers, who were acquiring English as a second language. The varieties of English presented in the texts reflect the authors' perceived competencies of the various communities, *viz.* the fluency of Eng-

lish-born native-speakers and native Hiberno-English speakers, the competent English acquired by some Irish speakers, and the very basic English learned by the majority of native Irish speakers.

The principal genres which facilitated this code-mixing included legal documents and parodies of the legal system, political poems and satires, and creative disputations between speakers of Irish and English. These latter allowed burlesque composition to draw not only on the rich resources of both languages, but on the metalinguistic awareness fostered by societal bilingualism. The realisations of English to be found in these works accordingly range from the straightforward imparting of information and opinion to virtuoso *tour-de-force*, precursors of the prose of Myles na gCopaleen and James Joyce.

The widespread community bilingualism to be found in Ireland in the 18th and 19th centuries provided complex communicative challenges which encouraged verbal dexterity and creativity, ultimately leading to instances where compositions could send different messages to various segments of an audience simultaneously.

2. *Individual Loanwords and Code-Mixing:* The Flight of the Earls *and* Beir mo beanocht go Dún Dalck

The departure of the Ulster chiefs Aodh Ó Néill, Earl of Tyrone, Ruairí Ó Domhnaill, Earl of Tyrconnell, and Cúchonnacht Mag Uidhir from Fermanagh, for continental Europe in 1607 was a pivotal event which may be taken to mark the transition from a self-confident Irish-language culture to one where the existence of English was to become an ever-increasing foil of "otherness". Two contemporary and contrasting texts – both composed on mainland Europe – serve to apprise us of the range of loanwords current in Irish at the time, and to introduce code-mixing. They have accordingly merited close examination. The first of these describes the event conventionally known as *Teitheadh na nIarlaí* or "The Flight of the Earls" (Walsh 1916). It is a travel-diary maintained by Tadhg Ó Cianáin, a member of one of the traditional learned families, who accompanied the Ulster leaders on their journey to Rome. This may serve as a baseline standard to indicate the extent of vocabulary borrowing into Irish at the start of the 17th century.

In his seminal study of language contact Uriel Weinreich observed that "the vocabulary of a language, considerably more loosely structured that its phonemics and its grammar, is beyond question the domain of borrowing par excellence." (Weinreich 1963: 56). It therefore comes as no surprise to find that Ó Cianáin has recourse to a high level of novel words in order to describe the new environment in which he and his companions found themselves on their fateful journey from Lough Swilly to Rome.[2]

[2] However, the actual identification of particular borrowings is not unproblematic. There seems to be a very practical difficulty in that the words which members of a language com-

Ó Cianáin's diary allows us also to confirm the accuracy of Osborn Bergin's observation "that the classical poets had no scruple about using the foreign word to denote the foreign thing" (Bergin 1970: 49). Ó Cianáin uses many interesting loans from English, which are indicative of the wealthy aristocratic and religious circles in which the Earls and their entourage moved on the continent, e.g. *teinis-cúirt* 'tennis court,' *galari/galeri* 'gallery,' *stuití* 'study,' *futcloc*, *fudcloc* 'foot-cloak / foot-cloth,' *runntápla* 'round table' and *supmission* 'submission'. Sometimes Ó Cianáin provides the only evidence for quite a number of words. Other borrowings he shares with contemporary early 17th-century texts. Interestingly, a number of the lexical items reflect the Germanic and French language environments, in which the Earls found themselves, e.g. *státús* 'town-hall,' *bourgomáigistir* 'burgomaster,' *dorp* 'village,' *alteiss* 'Highness,' *maior dommo* 'major dommo,' *Susser* 'Swiss man' and *paspart* 'passport'.[3]

Among the principal lexical fields which attract loanwords in the diary are those of TITLES (both lay and clerical), RELIGION, MILITARY AFFAIRS, ADMINISTRATION, COMMERCE, and PAST-TIMES.

The second introductory work is rather different in nature and purpose. Apparently composed in Louvain in the winter of 1607/08, it is a poem attributed to Richard Weston, a Palesman and close associate of Ó Néill (Ó Fiaich 1970).[4] This poem beginning *Beir mo beanocht go Dún Dalck* presents a playful juxtaposing of the benefits of being in Aodh Ó Néill's company in Louvain and the poet's regret that he is not with his wife Margaret Cashel and their son Risteard Óg in Dundalk. Much of the poem is composed in morphologically incorrect Irish, and contains many English words and expressions, but all is not quite what it seems. For, as Tomas Ó Fiaich shrewdly observed, the poet can use English and Irish equivalents, *heart* or *cride*, *dog* or *cú*, *By my faith* or *Dar mo bhriathar*, as he wishes. It is noteworthy too that the incorrect Irish is consistent throughout, thus feminine pronouns refer to males, masculine ones to females, while the genitive and nominative cases switch functions. When the poem is examined, it can be seen that the two languages have in fact been expertly manipulated in order to bring conscious creative regularity to the interlanguage of an individual learner:

> Adeir Mairéad leis a clann
> As olc an feall do rin mo fear
> Acht cia tá mo croidhe bris,
> Do rin mise very well.

---

munity identify synchronically as loans or borrowings are really those which have not yet been assimilated phonetically and semantically into the systems of the new language. This is not the occasion to review the history of such borrowings into Irish, but suffice it to say that it is a phenomenon which can be attested in Irish more or less from the beginning of transmission.

3 Of course, these words may have passed into Irish by way of English.

4 It is Weston who is credited with providing the young Aodh Rua Ó Domhnaill, later Earl of Tyrconnell, with the rope which allowed him to escape from Dublin Castle in early 1591.

Do gheibh mise aig Í Néill
Mass inné is *Mass* inniu,
Ní déara Mineistéir liom,
A Ristird Buistiún Come to Church. …

Truagh gan an Sráidbaille a bhus
In áit Lobháin annso amuigh,
Is Clann Caisil air an sráid
In áit na bhfear a deir Dutch.

Margaret says to her children
Bad is the treachery which my husband did
But although my heart is broke,
I have done *very well*. …

I get in the company of Ó Néill
A Mass yesterday and a Mass today,
No Minister will say to me,
'Richard Weston, *Come to Church*'.

It is a pity that Dundalk is not here,
Instead of Louvain outside here,
And the Cashel family on the street,
Instead of the men who say *Dutch*.[5] (Ó Fiaich 1970: 284-285)

The language of this work finds an echo one hundred years later in a poem beginning *Tabhair mo bheannacht, a pháipéir*, which Seán Ó Neachtain, scribe and scholar, composed in Dublin about 1711 for a number of Catholic priests who were imprisoned in the Black Dog tavern in the city.[6] It contains a number of verses addressed to a priest called *An Díomsach* or *Charles Dempsy*. Among the interlanguage features of these verses are the use of unmotivated English words (*blessing*, *moaning*, *shedding*), incorrect use of an Irish word (*Gaoidhil* "Irish people" instead of *Gaoidhilge* "Irish language"), and disregard for grammatical categories (as exemplified by *tríd seisean* for *trídsin*, *le seisean* for *leis-sean*, *gur táim-si* instead of *go bhfuilimse*, *saoilim-si is maith* instead of *saoilim-si gur maith*), the whole being characterised by the influence of English.

The light-hearted fun arises from the kind of Irish attributed to the priest, a native speaker of English, whose Second Language Acquisition of Irish had evi-

[5] The translation is by this writer and seeks to reflect the non-standard forms and syntax of the Irish.

[6] However, it has to be said that there are rather few of these code-mixed poems, where interlanguage is to the fore. The earliest seems to be by the Franciscan preacher Eoghan Ó Dubhthaigh, dated about 1580, in which he assails the apostate, larger than life, Maol Muire Mhág Craith. However, this poem employs just a half dozen English words (*dog*, *instrument*, *seduction*, *corruption*) and one phrase (*by God*), evidently with the aim of identifying the new religion with the alien language and culture (see Mhág Craith 1967: 127-151).

dently become fossilised at an early stage in the kind of foreigner-talk often met with in language-contact situations:

> Ō nach dtuigeann an Dīomsach
> teanga dhílis mo mhāthar,
> a nGaoidhil fudar fadar
> tabhair beannacht don fáitir.
>
> Tabhair mo blessing dōsan;
> innis do fós gur táim-si
> tríd seisean lān móning
> seding deora mar sāile.
>
> Gheobhair blessing 'na mhalairt;
> saoilim-si is maith an connradh;
> 's fearr aon bhleissing le seisean
> nā mīle bleissing liomsa.
>
> Since Dempsy does not understand
> the faithful language of my mother,
> in a mess of Irish(men)
> give my blessing to the *father*.
>
> Give my *blessing* to him;
> Tell him as well that I am
> through him full of *moaning*
> *shedding* tears like sea-water.
>
> You will get a *blessing* in exchange;
> I think it is a good bargain;
> One *blessing* by him
> is better than a thousand *blessings* by me. (Mhág Craith 1967: 277)[7]

3. Law and Administration[8]

As one might expect, it is in the legal and administrative sphere that English begins to make its impact in Irish texts composed in Ireland itself. The spectrum of English-language influence in the areas of Law and Administration ranges from the pragmatic in some legal documents, through the rhetorical in political

---

[7] The translation is by this writer and, while it attempts to reproduce the non-standard syntax of the Irish, this has not been possible where the Irish distinguishes between independent and dependent verbal forms in relative clauses. It is to be noted that, despite the repeated use of the English word *blessing* in the second and third stanzas, the Irish equivalent *beannacht* occurs in the first.

[8] The exercise of Common Law in place of the native Brehon system was the cornerstone of the administrative apparatus established in Ireland following the English conquest. Common Law imposed a new system of inheritance and facilitated the transfer of land to new owners.

poems, to the literary in the *Barántas* or Warrant genre. The initial pragmatic code-mixing is to be found in a number of documents from County Clare, which were published by Gearóid Mac Niocaill (1970). Primarily composed in Irish and covering the period from 1576 to 1621, these documents allow us to trace the growing presence of English loans in Irish and the small but increasing amounts of English text, particularly in the final section, where the documents were signed and sealed.

Although the personal names of those involved are cited in Irish only in the body of the 1592 document, the witnesses signed their names in two ways: (1) in Irish, *Ualgharg Mac Bruadeadha* and *Diarmaid Mac Bruaideadha*, and (2) in anglicised versions, *Teig Gryfin* and *Hirle Gryfin*, juxtaposed to the forms *Tadhg mac Seain Í Ghribhtha* and *Urrthuile mac Seain Í Gribhtha* of the text proper.[9] Only a few English words appear in these texts without undergoing Gaelicisation. Among them are *composition* (1600), and a phrase reference to the surrender of land, *maille rena reuersion ocus rena reuersiónoibh ocus rena remainnder* "with its reversion and reversions and its remainder" (1621).

This fairly neutral documentary deployment of English makes way for the fierce rhetorical invective of the well-known collection of mid 17th-century poems, *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems*, edited by Cecile O'Rahilly (1977), which give Gaelic perspectives on the legal process and the implementation of the outcomes. The literary device of code-switching to English conveys well the frenzied nature of an archetypal assault on some of the native Irish:

> Le *execútion* bhíos súil an chéidfhir,
> costas buinte 'na chuinne ag an ndéanach.
> *Transport*, *transplant*, mo mheabhair ar Bhéarla.
> *Shoot him, kill him, strip, him, tear him,*
> *A Tory, hack him, hang him, rebel,*
> *a rogue, a thief, a priest, a papist.*
>
> The first man hopes for *execútion*,
> the later wants the means of exaction against him.
> *Transport, transplant*, my mind on English.
> *Shoot him, kill him, strip, him, tear him,*
> *A Tory, hack him, hang him, rebel,*
> *a rogue, a thief, a priest, a papist.* (O'Rahilly 1977: 90, lines 127-132)[10]

The *Barántas* poems, composed in Munster in the 18th and early 19th centuries reflect a situation where the Common Law legal system was accepted as given by the population at large and provided a framework for satire and banter. Some 83 such works have been brought together by Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, in *An*

[9] On the other hand there is only one instance of an anglicised or English name being used in a main text, namely *Maistir Risdeard UUingfielde* "master Richard Wingfield" (52, 53), where the occurrence of the title *Maistir* before the name and surname, corresponding to the English "Master" is also to be noted.

[10] Translation by this writer.

Barántas I (1978).[11] A typical satiric warrant includes a summary deposition by the informant and a statement of the crime committed.

With regard to language, it should be noted that many warrants have no English component whatsoever, omitting even the introductory initial word *Whereas*. *Whereas* serves to introduce 35 warrants, with its Irish equivalent *De bhrí* occurring in 11 instances. Nonetheless, the Warrant is the only genre in Irish where code-mixing is a standard and staple ingredient. English is already to be found in what is believed to be the first example of the genre, attributed to Aogán Ó Rathaille and dated 13 September 1717.[12] Of the 83 examples of the genre contained in the collection edited by Ó Fiannachta,[13] four are truly macaronic with almost all of their lines divided between English and Irish.[14] In all four cases the pattern is that of English followed by Irish. The minimal prose introduction and two verses from one of these may be cited as illustrative of these macaronic warrants:

> Contae Chorcaí le Donnchadh Gógán .i. aon do bhreithiúnaibh na héigse agus d'uaislibh na síochána san gcontae réimhráite.
>
> *Whereas this day* do réir réim chirt an chalandair,
> *I received information* le héifeacht go dearfa,
> *The warrant I gave, much* le faobhar chum an fhairceallaigh,
> *He's got a supersedeas* le *means* chum é sheachaint air. …
>
> *To all bums and bailiffs* ó Bhéarra don Mhainistir,
> *Constables, gaolers,* is gach éinne dhen aicme sin,
> *Let none take his orders* barántas ná atharach,
> Atá a theideal ar lár óm' láimhse gan dearmad.
>
> County Cork by Donnchadh Gógán i.e. one of the judges of poetry and nobles of the peace in the aforesaid county.
>
> *Whereas this day* according to the course of justice of the calendar,
> *I received information* with import positively,
> *The warrant I gave, much* with energy after the lump (of a man)
> *He's got a supersedeas* with *means* to avoid it against him. …
>
> *To all bums and bailiffs* from Beare to Mainistir,
> *Constables, gaolers,* and everyone of that class,

---

[11] This collection includes texts which relate to the *cúirteanna éigse* 'poetry courts' of the poetic confraternity as well as the satirical warrants, the common thread being the use of legal terminology and framework.

[12] The English used in this warrant is fairly minimal: it consists of the introductory *Whereas*, *Whatsoever* and the phrase *And for so doing*.

[13] Just one of the examples is totally in English (no. 58), while another (no. 56) is composed predominantly in that language.

[14] These are nos 8, 57 (ii), 66 (i), 66 (ii).

Let none take his orders warrant or alternative,
His title is wanting from my hand without mistake.[15] (Ó Fiannachta 1978: 205-206)

As one enters the 19th century the *Barántas* displays some intriguing extensions in the use of English. For instance, no less a person than Clíona from the otherworld, speaks in English and is responded to in that language in an 1813 warrant, beginning *Whereas do tháinig / inné dom láthair / gan aon dabhta* (47) on the stealing of an English grammar from one Seán Ó hEithir:

D'éirigh Clíona
do bhí ina suí
is do labhair go múinte,
Is d'fhiafraigh scéala
díomsa i mBéarla:
who are you sir?

Or what made you so late
to come this way
you are not in humour?
Do labhair léithi
go róshéimh
agus is ea dúras:

I am no stranger
nor neither a ranger
but I come from Doolagh.
That my book was stolen
from me felonious
from the schoolhouse.
And if I could get
the vile transgressor
I would ill-use him.
And if I could make him known
he would pay sore
for his misdoing.

Clíona arose
who had been seated
and spoke politely
and asked for news
from me in English:
who are you sir?

Or what made you so late
to come this way
you are not in humour?
I spoke to her

[15] The translation is that of this writer.

most gently
  and what I said was:

I am no stranger
nor neither a ranger
  but I come from Doolagh.
That my book was stolen
from me felonious
  from the schoolhouse.
And if I could get
the vile transgressor
  I would ill-use him.
And if I could make him known
he would pay sore
  for his misdoing. (Ó Fiannachta 1978: 163, lines 229-252) [16]

In another warrant dated 1832 the poet calls on some six priests and fourteen other acquaintances to join in the hunt for the culprit. The surnames of each of the six priests are given in anglicised form, whereas all the others have both Irish first names and surnames. The names of each of the priests are preceded by the title *Dochtúir* 'Doctor'. The priests' surnames are *Collins*, *Fitzgerald*, *Foley*, *Conway*, *Downes*, and *Moore* (Ó Fiannachta 1978: 175). Interestingly, this practice of the Catholic clergy was noted over a hundred years earlier by John Dunton in *Teague Land or a Merry Ramble to the Wild Irish* (1698), who met "One Father Gowan or Smith as he called himself, *a la mode de Angleterr*" (Dunton 2003: 112). By the early 19th century the expectation had also grown that the poet should be expert in English as well as Irish, as one sees in a warrant from 1819, where Tadhg mac Finghín Mheic Cárthaigh, described as a "*Hiberno-waterlouse*", is charged by Diarmaid Ó Riain with being a wandering schoolmaster who was "ag milleadh, ag míchórú 's ag maslú Béarla agus Gaeilge," that is "ruining, deforming and insulting English and Irish" (Ó Fiannachta 1978: 148).

It is clear that the *Barántas* genre depended for its effect on the legal institutional framework being well-known to both the poets and their audience.

4. Prose Burlesque

In prose, too, English came to be harnessed as an additional creative resource in Irish composition. While the second part of the 17th-century satirical prose text *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* makes far greater use of English loanwords, it is the earlier first portion, which contains the celebrated conversation dealing with the purchase of tobacco from an itinerant English monger called Roibín an Tobaca. This passage is noteworthy in that it presents two different varieties of

[16] It may be observed that this particular warrant contains a higher than usual number of English words and loans, including *handbasket*, *peeler*, *halldoor*, *fairplay*, *sleais*, *scoop*, *silence*, *scheme*.

English – the fluent, native-speaker English of Roibín and the tentative efforts of the Irish-speaker Tomás. The dialogue between Roibín and Tomás, the would-be purchaser on behalf of a group of virtually monoglot native Irish, reaches its commercial climax in the following passage:

> Do labhair Tomás ⁊ as eadh adubhairt: '*What the bigg greate* órdlach *for the what so penny for is the la yourself for me*?' Adubhairt Roibín: '*I know*, *Thomas*, *you aske how many enches is worth the penny*', agus do thóguibh a dhá mhéar mar chomhartha, ⁊ adubhairt: '*Two penny an ench*'. 'Dar láimh mo chairdios Críost, maith an cunnradh', ar Tomás. 'Créad é?' ar Diarmuid Dúr. 'Órdlach ar an dá phinginn', ar Tomás. 'Déana tacuigheacht oruinn', ar cách. 'Do-dhéan', ar Tomás ⁊ adubhairt: '*Is ta for meself the mony for fart you all my brothers here*'. Adubhairt Roibín: '*I thanke you*, *honest Thomas*, *you shall command all my tobaco*.' '*Begog*, *I thanke you*', ar Tomás. Fuair Tomás an tobaco ar a fhocal ⁊ tug do chách é.

> Tomás spoke and said: '*What the bigg greate* órdlach *for the what so penny for is the la yourself for me*?' Roibín said: '*I know*, *Thomas*, *you aske how many enches is worth the penny*', and he raised his two fingers as a sign, and said: '*Two penny an ench*'. 'By my godfather's hand, it's a good bargain', said Tomás. 'What is it?' asked Dour Diarmuid. 'Two pence an inch', said Tomás. 'Act on our behalf', they all said. 'I will', replied Tomás, and he said: '*Is ta for meself the mony for fart you all my brothers here*'. Roibín said: '*I thanke you*, *honest Thomas*, *you shall command all my tobaco*.' '*Begog*, *I thanke you*', said Tomás. Tomás got the tobacco at his word and gave it to everyone. (Williams 1981: 40, 97)[17]

The importance of the role of English in the early 18th-century tale *Stair Éamuinn Uí Chléire* ('The History of Éamonn Ó Cléirigh') has been a matter of some controversy. Whereas James Hardiman contended in the 19th century that the work was written by Dublin-based Seán Ó Neachtain "for the purpose of turning into Ridicule persons learning the English language" (Ó Neachtain 1918: ii), Cathal Ó Háinle has interpreted the tale as reflecting linguistic reality:

> Furthermore I would argue that Ó Neachtain, though quite capable of using language problems to comic effect, as is clear from other works by him, in this case is more concerned to give a true portrayal of the behaviour of many of his contemporaries who were abandoning a good command of rich Irish and acquiring in its stead an unsure competence in threadbare and inaccurate baboo English. To Ó Neachtain this was tragic rather than funny, and he does not seek to ridicule; therein lies the realism of his projection of the situation. And this realism is only one small part of the overall realism of his fiction in this work (Ó Háinle 2004: 142).

Although Brian Ó Cuív felt that the work provided evidence for the spread of English in the east of the country, he thought that it made fun of the learners' attempts, laden as they were with L1 transfers:

[17] The translation is that of the editor, N.J.A. Williams.

> Ó Neachtain ridiculed the efforts at English made by some Irish-speakers whose instinct was to translate literally from one language to another. Thus he put into the mouths of his characters such phrases as "I leave with my testament he would take laughing out of the dogs itself would be hearing [with] him," which can be comprehended only by reference to the perfectly normal Irish sentence Fágaim lem udhacht go mbainfeadh sé gáiridhe os [na] madraidhe féin do bheith ag éisteacht leis (I swear that it would make the dogs laugh to be listening to him) (Ó Cuív 1986: 395).

Stair Éamuinn Uí Chléire tells of Éamonn Ó Cléirigh's struggle to overcome his addiction to alcohol. The first of three extended passages in English occurs some time into the tale when the (anti)hero Éamonn meets a young boy who felt compelled to speak in English only ('*glas Béarla*'). Names play a prominent part in the cross-lingual exercise in non-communication. When Éamonn came to the boy's house, he enquired where *bean an tí* was and the boy replied: "She is go 'pon market". The conversation continued:

> *What market?* ar Éamonn.
> *The market of Newford,* ar eisean.
> Arú *what market is that?* ar Éamonn.
> *The market* Nuadh-Átha *in Irish,* ar eisean.
>
> *What market*? said Éamonn.
> *The market of Newford,* said he.
> Well *what market is that*? said Éamonn.
> *The market* Nuadh-Átha *in Irish*, said he. (Ó Neachtain 1918: 31)[18]

The boy shows that he is engaged in translation from the Irish, when Éamonn fails to realise in one case that the English offered represented a proper name at all:

> *But who is the husband of the woman that uses to be in the house?* ar Éamonn.
> *Mandark from two swan,* ar eisean.
> Arú, ar Éamonn, *what is it in Irish?*
> Feardorcha Ó Dála, ar eisean.
>
> *But who is the husband of the woman that uses to be in the house?* said Éamonn.
> *Mandark from two swan*, said he.
> Now, said Éamonn, *what is it in Irish*?
> Feardorcha Ó Dála, said he. (Ó Neachtain 1918: 31)[19]

The Irish personal name *Feardorcha* is deconstructed as *fear* 'man' + *dorcha* 'dark,' which are duly rendered into English, the normal order of Irish, where the adjective follows the noun being carried over into the English *Mandark*. The addition in English, *from two swan*, indicates that the Irish surname *Ó Dála* was understood as comprising the preposition *ó* 'from' and *Dála*, a compound based

[18] This writer's translation.
[19] This writer's translation.

on the Irish *d(h)á* 'two' + *eala* 'swan'. The Irish practice of using the singular after the number 'two' was maintained in the English version.[20]

The second portion of the tale opens with more plays on Irish/English nomenclature. The left-hand column below gives the anglicised translation forms which the young lad first presents as quasi-riddles, the right-hand column the original Irish forms which are given subsequently by way of explanation:

upon the luckmouths of baldslow	: ar adhbhéil na Maoláirne
odd hog son foal	: Cormuc mac Searraigh
in the house of your carr handsome seldom hundred sick	: i dtigh do cháirdeas, Anna Céidtinn
brown battle from head armour	: Donnchadh Ó Cinnéide
out of the county of the board	: ó chontae an Chláir
Brigid's page from Cornelius	: Giolla Bríde Ó Conchubhair
out of the county of flax seed hurl	: ó chontae Roscomáin
in the province of pissing	: i gcúige Mumhan (Mahon 2000: 148-149)[21]
short joint sell lamb	: Gearalt Díoluain

(Ó Neachtain 1918: 52-53)

But far from being central to the tale, one feels that the bilingual passages remain essentially discrete subsections which the author fails to integrate into his overall work.

One must conclude, it seems, that *Stair Éamuinn Uí Chléire* bears testimony not only to an author who had mastery of both English and Irish, but to an intended audience who would appreciate the interlingual semantic nuances being brought into play. Any ignorance there is feigned. It is useful to remind ourselves of de Bot's contention that "a distinction needs to be made between CS [code-switching] that is used as a meaningful discourse strategy and CS that results from lack of knowledge" (de Bot 2002: 293). In this literary work, it seems to me that one is clearly dealing with what de Bot calls "'motivated' switches" (de Bot 2002: 291).

While the amount of English to be found in *Eachtra Áodh Mhic Goireachtaidh* (Williams 1970), an early 18th-century Ulster tale, is quite modest, it is significant in two ways. Firstly, most of it occurs in dialogue, where it is used as a vehicle for sexual allusions, and secondly, the structure of its turn-taking involves links between each piece of conversation, a device also used in macaronic verse, as we shall see shortly. In §23 the following conversation occurs, where the giant/ghost addresses Áodh in English, and Áodh responds in Irish. The dialogue proceeds, the ghost's English alternating with Áodh's Irish. Áodh misunderstands the end of each English sentence, and mistakenly feels that he has to de-

[20] Later Éamonn is dismayed to hear that the man of the house is in *Killman* before being told that this is merely the place known in Irish as *Cill Mhana*. Then, *kill more* corresponding to Irish *Cill Mhór* is in the same vein.

[21] This is wanting in Ó Neachtain (1918: 52-3).

fend himself for having sought out the bed of the woman of the house. The following is an example of the way the conversation goes:

> "This is no time to confess," air an taidhbhse.
> "Dair Día dúileach," air Áodh, "ní dearna mise feis léithe aríamh go fóill".
>
> "This is no time to confess," said the ghost.
> "By the creating God," said Áodh, "I haven't ever slept with her yet".
> (Williams 1970: 126)

The motif of the journeying poet meeting a young girl is commonplace in the macaronic songs, which became popular as the language shift gained momentum in the 18th century. The maiden is usually given the initiative in discourse, and in perhaps the majority of such cases, she addresses the poet in English. The links between the stanzas in the poem beginning *Do tharlaigh inné orm* by Liam Inglis, recall the dialogue turn links met with in *Eachtra Áodh Mhic Goireachtaidh*:

> *'As I hope to be married a word I can't speak*
> *Of that silly language which makes my heart ache.*
> *Therefore I entrust you some pity to show*
> *For I have the colic and I cannot well go'.*
>
> 'Ná trácht liomsa ar chailligh ní maith liom féin iad,
> Oirbheart is easpa is galar is pian;
> Do b'fhearr liomsa ainnir a mbeadh lasadh ina ciabh
> Is dhá mhama gheala mar shneachta ar shliabh'.
>
> *'Don't talk of my mama, but prithee draw near*
> *For I am a poor creature that's raving with fear,*
> *Therefore I beg, sir, some token you'll make*
> *Whereas of English a word I can't speak'.*
>
> 'Is *English* mo shloinne is ní shéanfad go brách,
> A bhruinneall na finne is a chéadshearc thar mhnáibh'.
> Do rugas go cluthair is go séimh ar mo ghrá
> Is do thit sise is mise in éineacht ar lár.

> *'As I hope to be married a word I can't speak*
> *Of that silly language which makes my heart ache.*
> *Therefore I entrust you some pity to show*
> *For I have the colic and I cannot well go'.*
>
> 'Don't mention an old woman to me, I don't like them myself,
> Prowess and want and disease and pain;
> I would prefer a maiden with a shine in her hair
> And two white breasts like the snow on a mountain'.

> *'Don't talk of my mama, but prithee draw near*
> *For I am a poor creature that's raving with fear,*
> *Therefore I beg, sir, some token you'll make*
> *Whereas of English a word I can't speak'.*
>
> '*English* is my surname and I shall not deny [it] ever,
> O fair maiden (of the fairness) and first love above women'.
> I grabbed hold of my love comfortably and gently
> And she and I fell down together. (Ó Muirithe 1980: 65)[22]

One poem where the code-mixing medium facilitates contrasting messages is that beginning *As I was walking one evening fair*, composed by Donnchadh Rua Mac Conmara and situated in Newfoundland, which allowed the poet to indulge himself and his bilingual Irish-born audience at the expense of the monolingual English speakers of Newfoundland. He alternately praises and reviles the power of King George, while the gap between the two messages is even greater in regard to the women of Newfoundland (Ó Muirithe 1980: 127-128 (no. 60)).

It is worth noting here that the macaronic songs provide Irish and English versions of the same place names. For example, one finds *cuan an Daingin* alongside *Dingle Bay* (Ó Muirithe 1980: 112, lines 65, 73, in: Donncha Ó Súilleabháin's "An Móta Glas"). Similarly, in: "A New Song Called the Flourishing States of Kilmurry," one finds *Charleville* together with *An Ráth*,[23] *Kilmurry* and *Cill Mhuire*, *Cashel* and *Caiseal*, *Thurles* and *Dúrlas* (Ó Muirithe 1980: 92, lines 8, 16, 22, 30).

In the contrasting genre of religious preaching, Séamus Ó Gallchobhair Catholic bishop of Raphoe (1725) and subsequently of Kildare (1737), defended his recourse to English loanwords in the Introduction to his *Sixteen Irish Sermons* (1736), saying:

> I have made them in an easy and familiar style and on purpose omitted cramp expressions, which might be obscure to both the preacher and hearer. Nay, instead of such, I have sometimes made use of words borrowed from English, which practice and daily conversation have intermixed with our language, choosing with St. Augustine rather to be censured by the critics, than not to be understood by the poor and illiterate, for whose use I have designed them (Ó Dúshláine 1996: 97).[24]

Although it lacks any reference to St. Augustine, I would like to quote a further textual example of a few lines from a sermon in which Fr Pádraig de Bhál (*fl.* 1812-1833), a parish priest from County Waterford, exhorted his listeners to contribute to a collection to repair the local church in advance of a visit by the bishop. Fr de Bhál had a very clear idea of what needed to be done by way of "*repairs an tsepeil*":

---

22 Translation by this writer.
23 This source might have been used to good effect in the lengthy debate on the contested identification of *Ráth Luirc* with Charleville, County Cork.
24 Quoted in Ó Dúshláine (1996: 97).

An lá deanach avi me inso, avi me a trácht air *repairs* an tsepeil 7 an *yard* sin amugh gan bala na fala leish, le mórán de vlianta, … cahamaid, gan stad, sraih a leagaint air a bparaisde, 7 *collection* teacrach a yeana, chun an sepeal 7 an *yard* a chur in ordugh, ionus go mbeich seipeal, *yard* slachtvar aguin, le haigh an Easpuig, 7 air vaihe lena ccreiduint féin. Is fada anoish ó creanaig aorad leish a sipeal so, níor rinag aon *collection* le morán do vlionta, ach aon *chollection* avain chun collaidhe 7 ornaidigh na haltorach a cheanach, … insa cceadait, cahamaid balla a yeana leish a *front*, piorudh 7 geata iorain a cheanach, aha na fuinguga le deisiugh 7 *shutters* a chur leoha chun na braoisfai iad, mar do rinad go minic rive seo; 7 ase in uafás ahorm, na go mbriseach aon *vlagard* og nó sean, gan scrupul air a choinsias, *pana* in aon fhuinyog a vaineach le tigh De, 7 na fuil aon *phana* yiav sin na cosanion 2.6., tastion urlár on *sacristy*, *drains* a houirt trid 7 trid a *yard*, chun an altoior 7 aymud na haltorach a havail, an altóir a *feintail*, y lan nihe nach ga trácht orha anoish.

The last day I was here, I was talking about the repairs of the chapel and that yard out there without a wall or a fence around it, for many years, … we will have to, immediately, place a tax on the parish, and take up a ? collection, to put the chapel and yard in order, so that we will have neat chapel and yard for the Bishop, and for our own credit. It is a long time since anything was bought for this chapel, and no collection has been made for many years, except one collection only to buy cloth and ornaments for the altar, … In the first place, we will have to build a wall on the front, buy a pillar and an iron gate, the windows have to be repaired and shutters put on to them so that they won't be broken, as was done often before; and the thing I fear, is that any blackguard, young or old, with no scruple on his conscience, would break a pane in any window which is part of God's house, and everyone of those panes cost 2.6, the sacristy needs a floor, drains need to be brought through it and through the yard, to the altar and the wood of the altar has to be preserved, the altar has to be painted, [and] a lot of things which need not be mentioned now (Ó Dúshláine 1996: 117-118).[25]

This extract brings us back to the loanwords with which we started, and suggests that Fr de Bhál would not feel out of place in the Ireland of today.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, one should stress that instances of Irish/English code-mixing form a very small proportion of all Irish-language texts of the period 1600-1800. Nonetheless, they do provide an important window on the relationship between the two languages. By the 18th century much of the rancour which had adhered to the use of English within the Irish textual tradition was yielding to a mixture of pragmatism and literary exploitation, as the Irish were transforming themselves into *lucht an Bhéarla* ('English speakers'), the formerly despised "others" of poets such as Art Mac Cumhaigh (see the discussion in Watson 1988: 85). Code-mixing could serve both to gain the attention of an audience and to keep

[25] Translation by this writer.

that attention by deploying a creative dexterity, which at times could achieve linguistic exuberance. The thematic emphasis varied. Although the *Barántas*, for instance, was explicitly satiric, as a genre it parodied the law, subverting respect for the *status quo*. The cross-linguistic word-echoes common to a prose tale and a macaronic love-song show how compositional features could be adapted to represent realistic conversational turn-taking. The handling of place names and personal names and the monitoring of who speaks which language to whom can tell us a lot about the stresses and strains, push and pull factors of language shift from the inside. Diachronic Irish/English code-mixing is an example of the kind of research which can arise from interdisciplinary reading, but needs to be firmly grounded in the skills fostered by *Léann na Gaeilge*. Much of the evidence would seem to confirm Bhabha's judgement that "the borderline engagements of cultural difference may as often be consensual as conflictual" (Bhabha 1994: 3).

References

Bergin, O., 1970, *Irish Bardic Poetry: texts and translations, together with an introductory lecture*, Greene, D. & F. Kelly, eds., Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Bhabha, H.K., 1994 (2004), *The Location of Culture*, London & New York: Routledge.

Bliss, A. & J. Long, "Literature in Norman French and English to 1534," in: Cosgrove, A., ed., 708-736.

Carney, J., 1993, "Literature in Irish, 1169-1534," in: Cosgrove, A., ed., 688-707.

Cosgrove, A., ed., 1993, *A New History of Ireland II. Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

De Bot, K., 2002, "Cognitive Processing in Bilinguals: Language Choice and Code-Switching," in: Kaplan, R.B., ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 287-300.

Dunton, J., 2003, Carpenter, A., ed., *Teague Land or A Merry Ramble to the Wild Irish (1698)*, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Mac Niocaill, G., 1970, "Seven Irish Documents from the Inchiquin Archives," in: *Analecta Hibernica* 26: 45-69.

Mac Niocaill, G., ed., 1992, *Crown Surveys of Lands, 1540-41 with the Kildare Rental begun in 1518*, Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission.

Mahon, W., ed., 2000, *The History of Éamonn O'Clery*, Indreabhán: Cló Iar-Chonnachta.

Mhág Craith, C., ed., 1967, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr. Cuid I, Téacs*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Ó Cuív, B., 1986, "Irish Language and Literature, 1691-1845," in: Moody, T.W. & W.E. Vaughan, eds., *A New History of Ireland IV. Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691-1800*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 374-423.

Ó Dúshláine, T., 1996, "Gealán Dúluachra: Seanmóireacht na Gaeilge c. 1600-1850," in: *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 26: 83-122.

Ó Fiaich, T., 1970, "Richard Weston agus 'Beir mo bheannacht go Dundalk'," in: *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* 5: 269-88.

Ó Fiannachta, P., 1978, *An Barántas I: Réamhrá, Téacs, Malairtí*, Má Nuad: An Sagart.

Ó Háinle, C.G., 2004, "The Novel Frustrated: Developments in 17th- to 19th-Century Fiction in Irish," in: Ó Háinle, C.G. & D.E. Meek, eds., *Unity in Diversity: Studies in Irish and Scottish Gaelic Language, Literature and History*, Dublin: Trinity College, School of Irish.

Ó Muirithe, D., 1980, *An tAmhrán Macarónach*, Dublin: An Clóchomhar Tta.

Ó Neachtain, E., ed., 1918, *Stair Éamuinn Uí Chléire*, Dublin: M.H. Mac an Ghuill.

O'Rahilly, C., ed., 1977, *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Quin, G., ed., 1939, *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás*, Dublin: Irish Texts Society.

Robinson, F.N., 1908, "The Irish Lives of Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 6: 9-180, 273-338, 556.

Stokes, Wh., 1897, "The Gaelic Abridgement of the Book of Ser Marco Polo," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 1: 245-73, 362-438, 603.

Stokes, Wh., 1898, "The Gaelic Maundeville," in: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 2: 1-63.

Walsh, P., ed., 1916, *The Flight of the Earls by Tadhg Ó Cianáin*, Maynooth & Dublin: St. Patrick's College.

Watson, S., 1988, "Coimhlint an Dá Chultúr – Gaeil agus Gaill i bhFilíocht Chúige Uladh san Ochtú hAois Déag," in: *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: Iris an Dá Chultúr* 3: 85-104.

Weinreich, U., 1963, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*, The Hague & Paris: Mouton.

Williams, N.J.A., 1970, "Eachtra Áodh Mhic Goireachtaidh," in: *Éigse* 13: 111-142.

Williams, N.J.A., ed., 1981, *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Syntax and Prosody in Language Contact and Shift

Raymond Hickey
(Essen University)

Abstract

It is true that scholars concentrate on a certain linguistic level in order to reach the greatest depth in their research. But this general stance should not lead to a complete neglect of other levels. When considering a multi-level phenomenon such as language contact and shift, concentration on a single linguistic level can have the unintended and unfortunate consequence of missing linguistically significant generalisations. This is especially true of the main division of linguistic research into a phonological and a grammatical camp, where syntacticians miss phonological generalisations and phonologists syntactic ones. In the present paper the interrelationship of syntax and prosody is investigated with a view to explaining how and why certain transfer structures from Irish became established in Irish English. In this context, the consideration of prosody can be helpful in explaining the precise form of transfer structures in the target variety, here vernacular Irish English. The data for the investigation will consider well-known features of this variety, such as unbound reflexives, non-standard comparatives and tag questions. Furthermore, the paper points out that, taking prosodic patterns into account, can help in extrapolating from individual transfer to the community-wide establishment of transfer structures. In sum, prosody is an essential element in any holistic account of language contact and shift.

1. Introduction

The case for contact should be considered across all linguistic levels. However, those authors who have been examining this recently, Corrigan, Kallen, Filppula, McCafferty, to mention the more distinguished among them, have not as a rule considered phonological factors in their investigations. If one looks at structures which could be traced to transfer from Irish (Hickey 1990: 219), then

one finds in many cases that there is a correspondence between the prosodic structures of both languages. To be precise, structures which appear to derive from transfer show the same number of feet and the stress falls on the same major syntactic category in each language (Hickey 1990: 222). A simple example can illustrate this. Here the Irish equivalent is given which is not of course the immediate source of this actual sentence as the speaker was an English-speaking monolingual.

(1) a. *A... don't like the new team* *at all at all*. (WER, M55+)
[ˌ ˈ ˌ ˈ]
b. *Ní thaitníonn an fhoireann nua le hA... ar chor ar bith.*
[ˌ ˈ ˌ ˈ]
[not like the team new with A... on turn on anything]

The repetition of *at all at all* creates a sentence-final negator which consists of two stressed feet with the prosodic structure WSWS (weak-strong weak-strong) as does the Irish structure *ar chor ar bith*. This feature is well-established in Irish English and can already be found in the early 19th century, e.g. in the stories of John Banim (1798-1842) written in collobaration with his brother Michael.

2. Unbound Reflexives

Consider now the stressed reflexives of Irish which are suspected by many authors (including Filppula 1999: 77-88) of being the source of the Irish English use of an unbound reflexive.

(2) *ˌAn ˈbhfuil ˌsé ˈféin ˌisˈtigh ˌinˈniu?* 'Is he himself in today?'
[INTERROG is he self in today]
IrE: 'ˈIs ˌhimˈself ˈin ˌtoˈday?'

The strong and weak syllables of each foot are indicated in the Irish sentence and its Irish English equivalent above. From this it can be seen that the Irish reflexive is monosyllabic and, together with the personal pronoun, forms a WS foot: *ˌsé ˈféin* [he self]. In Irish English the equivalent to this consists of a reflexive pronoun on its own: *ˌhimˈself*, hence the term 'unbound reflexive' (Filppula 1997 c), as no personal pronoun is present. If both the personal and reflexive pronoun were used in English, one would have a mismatch in prosodic structure: WS in Irish and SWS (*ˈhe ˌhimˈself*) in Irish English. One can thus postulate that the WS pattern of *ˌhimˈself* was interpreted by speakers during language shift as the prosodic equivalent of both the personal pronoun and reflexive pronoun of

Irish ˌ*sé* ˈ*féin* and thus used as an equivalent of this. Later a distinct semanticisation of this usage arose whereby the unbound reflexive came to refer to someone who is in charge, the head of a group or of the house, etc.

Table 1. *Third person unbound reflexives*

It was himself that would not go and the reason he gave was he would be in dread I'd have nothing after he going. (IEL, 1854, County Cork)
The following night himself went back there. (TRS-D, M64-2, M)
'Twas himself who answered the phone that time. (WER, F55+)

Such unbound reflexives occur most frequently in the third person singular, masculine or feminine. This restriction derives from the discourse scenarios in which an unbound reflexive is used: the focus is on a single person in a discussion between two or more other individuals.

However, there is a related usage in the second person where a reflexive is used without an accompanying pronoun for the purpose of emphasis. This usage is also paralleled by Irish, where *tú féin*, lit. 'you self' (or *sibh féin* in the plural) can be found. As with the unbound reflexives in the third person, Irish uses a pronoun + reflexive which is prosodically equivalent to the bare reflexive in English, i.e. it consists of a SW foot: ˌ*tú* ˈ*féin*.

Table 2. *Bare second person reflexives in 19th century literature*

... but, avourneen, it's yourself that won't pay a penny when you can help it ... let us go to where I can have a dance with yourself, Shane ... ''Tis yourself that is,' says my uncle. (William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1830-33)

Is it yourself, Masther Hardress? ... Faith, it isn't yourself that's in it, Danny ... (Dion Boucicault, *The Colleen Bawn*, 1860)

It's yourself that'll stretch Tim Cogan like a dead fowl ... it's yourself that's to see the sintence rightly carried out ... (Dion Boucicault, *Arrah na Pogue*, 1860)

In *A Survey of Irish English Usage* the sentence *Himself is not in today* was used to test acceptance of such unbound reflexives. It should be said here that these are regarded as stereotypically Irish, as a stage Irish feature which is avoided nowadays as several respondents in the survey pointed out to the author. The mean acceptance across the 32 counties was 22%. The seven counties with a score higher than 25% were Waterford, Limerick, Tipperary, Galway, Armagh,

Kerry, Kilkenny. Donegal had 19% acceptance and the core Ulster Scots counties of Antrim and Down showed only 5% and 8% respectively. The latter score lends credence to the view that the stressed reflexives of Irish were responsible, via transfer, for the rise of unbound reflexives in Irish English.

3. Immediate Perfective

Another example of prosodic match can be seen with the well-known immediate perfective of Irish English which corresponds, in the number of stressed syllables, to its Irish equivalent.

(3) a. *She's* *after breaking the glass.*
[ˌ ˈ ˌ ˈ ˌ ˈ]
Tá sí *tréis an ghloine a bhriseadh.*
[ˈ ˌ ˈ ˌ ˌ ˈ ˌ]
b. *He's* *after his dinner.*
[ˈ ˌ ˌ ˈ ˌ]
Tá sé *tréis a dhinnéir.*
[ˈ ˌ ˈ ˌ]

This consists in both languages of three or two feet depending on whether the verb is understood or explicitly mentioned (it is the number of stressed syllables which determines the number of feet). In both languages a stressed syllable introduces the structure and others occur for the same syntactic categories throughout the sentence.

A similar prosodic correspondence can be recognised in a further structure, labelled 'subordinating *and*,' in both Irish and Irish English.

(4) a. *He went out ˈand ˈit ˈraining.*
'He went out although it was raining.'
b. *Chuaigh sé amach ˈagus ˈé ag cur ˈbáistí.*
[went he out and it at putting rain-GEN]

Again there is a correlation between stressed syllable and major syntactic category, although the total number of syllables in the Irish structure is greater (due to the number of weak syllables). The equivalence intonationally is reached by having the same number of feet, i.e. stressed syllables, irrespective of the distance between them in terms of intervening unstressed syllables. And again, it is a stressed syllable which introduces the clause.

4. Responses

A prominent feature in Irish is the lack of a word for ‘yes’ and ‘no’. Questions are replied to in the affirmative or negative by using a form of the verb *be*, in the negative if required.

(5) *An bhfuil tú ag dul go dtí an cluiche amárach?*
[INTERROG is you-SG go-NF to the match tomorrow]
Tá. [tɑː] [ˌ ˈ] *Níl*. [nʲiːlʲ] [ˌ ˈ]
[is] [not-is]

The single word verb forms are frequently spoken with a fall-rise intonation (indicated by [ˌ ˈ] below), and this was evident in the speech of the informants recorded for *A Collection of Contact English* (a series of recordings made of bilingual Irish speakers by the author during various stays in the Irish Gaeltachtaí).

(6) *Are you getting support from the EU for sheep farming?* (RH)
I am. [ˌ ˈ] (CCE-S, M60+)

A fall pattern (without the rise in *tá* and *níl*) is found with a stressed short vowel which occurs when negating something in the past.

(7) a. *An raibh tú riamh i Meiriceá?* *Ní raibh*. [ˈ] CCE-S, M60+)
[were you ever in America] [not was]
b. *Did your brother work on the farm, as well?* (RH)
He did not. [ˈ] (CCE-W, M75+)

5. Comparatives

Yet another case where prosodic equivalence can be assumed to have motivated a non-standard feature, concerns comparative clauses. These are normally introduced in Irish by two equally stressed words ˈ*ná* ˈ*mar* ‘than like’ as in the following example.

(8) *Tá sé i bhfad níos fearr anois* <u>ˈ*ná* ˈ*mar*</u> *a bhí.*
[is it further more better now <u>not like</u> COMP was]
‘It’s now much better than it was.’

Several speakers from Irish-speaking regions, or those which were so in the recent past, show the use of *than what* to introduce comparative clauses.

(9) a. *It's far better than what it used to be*. (TRS-D, C42-1, F)
b. *To go to a dance that time was far better than what it is now*. (TRS-D, C42-1, F)
c. *Life is much easier than what it was*. (TRS-D, C42-1, F)
d. *They could tell you more about this country than what we could.* (TRS-D, M7, M)

It is true that Irish *mar* does not mean 'what,' but *what* can introduce clauses in other instances and so it was probably regarded as suitable to combine it with *that* in cases like those above. From the standpoint of prosody, ˈ*than* ˈ*what* provided a combination of two equally-stressed words which match the similar pair in equivalent Irish clauses.

The use of *than what* for comparatives was already established in the 19th century and is attested in many emigrants letters such as those written from Australia back to Ireland, e.g. the following letter from a Clare person written in 1854: *I have more of my old Neighbours here along with me than what I thought* (Fitzpatrick 1994: 69). It is also significant that the prosodically similar structure *like what* is attested in the east of Ireland, where Irish was replaced by English earliest, e.g. *There were no hand machines like what you have today.* (SADIF, M85, Lusk, County Dublin). The following table provides more examples of this structure.

Table 3. *Two-word conjunctions*

'than what': *I can shop cheaper in Raphoe than what I can do in Letterkenny.* (TRS-D, U18-2, F)
'like what': *There were no machinery in them days like what there is now.* (TRS-D, U41, F)

'Nor' *for* 'than'

Phonetic similarity and a degree of semantic match can promote transfer, cf. the expression *More is the pity, I suppose*. (TRS-D, M42, M), probably from Irish *Is mór an trua, is dóigh liom*. [is big the pity, is suppose with-me], where Irish *mór* is matched by English *more*.

In comparatives, there would seem to be a similar case of such phonetic influence. This is where *nor* is used instead of *than*. Dolan (1998: 186) mentions this feature in his dictionary, as does Macafee (ed., 1996: 236 *nor*[2]) in the *Concise Ulster Dictionary* and Taniguchi (1956: 42f.) gives examples from literature. The basis for this usage is the Irish conjunction *ná* = [nɑː] 'than' which is phonetically similar to English 'nor' (the Irish English pronunciation of this would have been with an open vowel: [nɑːr]).

(10) *Tá sé níos láidre ná a dheartháir.*
[is he more stronger than his brother]

Nor in the sense of 'than' is attested throughout the early modern period. The earliest case is from the late 17th century and the usage was common well into the 19th century as attestations from the Banim brothers and William Carleton show.

Table 4. *'Nor'* for *'than'*

a) Earliest attestation

... de greatest man upon eart, and Alexander de Greate greater nor he?
(John Dunton, *Report of a Sermon*, 1698)

b) 19th century examples

... bud you, Shamus, agra, you have your prayers betther nor myself or Paudge by far;
(John and Michael Banim, *Tales of the O'Hara Family*, 1825-26)

... and what was betther nor all that, he was kind and tindher to his poor ould mother ... Jack spoke finer nor this, to be sure, but as I can't give his tall English ...
(William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1830-33)

The likely Irish provenance is supported by the fact that there are no examples of *nor* 'than' in either the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* or the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler*. However, the picture is very different in the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*. This is divided into four sub-periods, three of which were examined here: 1500-1570, 1570-1640, 1640-1700. In the 80 files of these sub-periods there were 8 finds for *rather nor* and 6 for *rather than*, 8 finds for *better nor* and 7 for *better than*, and 6 finds for *further/farther nor* and 1 for *farther than*. Representative examples are shown in the following table.

Table 5. *'Nor'* for *'than'* in texts from the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*

... sche was assured that I loued hir ten tymes better nor hym; 'she was assured that I loved her ten times better than him'; *Memoirs of his Own Life by Sir James Melville of Halhill, 1549-1593*; ed. T. Thomson, Edinburgh, 1827.

seing they are worthie of credit in a gritter matter nor this alreddy beleuit. 'seeing they are worthy of credit in a greater matter than this already believed.' (1590) *The Works of William Fowler ...*; ed. H.W. Meikle, Edinburgh and London, 1936.

... albeit I wish yiou neiuer to kenne the mater farder nor sall be speired at yiou. 'albeit I wish you never to know the matter farther than shall be speared

at you.' Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, Chancellor, to Thomas, Lord Binning, Secretary of Scotland, 26th September 1613.

and he (?) suld make hir far better nor euer sche was? 'and he should make her far better than ever she was?' (1576-1591) *Criminal Trials in Scotland, 1488-1624*; ed. Robert Pitcairn, Edinburgh and London, 1833.

---

6. Tag questions

There is a high degree of similarity between the tag system in English and Irish. Tags in English are an early modern development, with attestations beginning in earnest in the second half of the 16th century (though they may well date from much earlier than this). They only assume anything like their modern distribution from the late 18th century onwards.

Tag questions in present-day Irish English are comparable to those in more standard forms of British or American English. They generally keep to the practice of reverse polarity between anchor and tag, e.g. *Her mother is a great singer, isn't she?* (WER, F55+). Positive-positive polarity is found, e.g. *He has to go to England again, has he?* (DER, M60+), though instances of negative-negative polarity do not seem to occur, unless the tag is introduced by *sure*, e.g. *It's not worth your while, sure it isn't?* (WER, F55+).

One respect in which Irish English differs from other varieties is in the use of *is it?* as a question tag, something which is attested abundantly from the 18th century onwards. If one considers the situation with English in England then the relative scarcity of *is it?* as a question tag is obvious. There are just two instances in Shakespeare's plays, one is in the 'Four Nations Scene' of *Henry V*: *It is Captaine Makmorrice, is it not?*, and one in *Twelfth Night* (Act I, Scene V): *From the Count Orsino, is it?* Neither the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (early modern section), nor the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler* has any instances of *is it?* as a tag. This contrasts strongly with the textual record of Irish English. With the major prose writers of the early 19th century one finds that *is it?* occurs abundantly as a general question tag.

Table 6. *'Is it?' as a general question tag in early 19th-century Irish English*

'Where did - I come from, is it?'; 'How am I coming on, is it?; 'Will I give you the shovel, is it? (William Carleton, *Ned M'Keown*)

'So Ireland is at the bottom of his heart, is it?'; 'So this is Lord Clonbrony's estate, is it?'; 'So then the shooting is begun, is it?' (Maria Edgeworth, *The Absentee*)

'Myles of the ponies, is it?' (Gerald Griffin, *The Collegians*)

'... a regiment of friars is it?'; 'That fools should have the mastery, is it?' (Samuel Lover, *Handy Andy, A Tale of Irish Life*)

Any verb phrase is possible in the anchor clause as the following examples show. *Blights me, is it?* (John Millington Synge, *The Tinker's Wedding*, 1909), *Make me, is it?* (John Millington Synge, *The Well of the Saints*, 1905), *You wouldn't, is it?* (John Millington Synge, *The Playboy of the Western World*, 1907). Indeed the anchor clause often just consists of a noun or noun phrase, e.g. *Shaun, is it?* (Dion Boucicault, *Arrah na Pogue*, 1864), *Your oath, is it?. Michael Feeney is it?* (Lady Gregory, *Hanrahan's Oath*), *A salary, is it?* (Shaw, *John Bull's Other Island*, 1904), *Liar, is it?* (John Millington Synge, *The Tinker's Wedding*, 1909), *Mr. Grigson, is it?* (Sean O'Casey, *The Shadow of a Gunman*, 1923).

The Irish model for such usage is the general question tag *an ea?* 'is it?' which can be placed at the end of a sentence or phrase, e.g. *Níl sé agat, an ea?* [is-not it at-you, is it] 'You don't have it, is it?' Irish *is ea* has many functions, for instance, in copulative sentences, e.g. *Múinteoir is ea é* [teacher is it he] 'He is a teacher' (Ó Dónaill 1977: 467). It is also used to open a sentence, e.g. *Is ea anois, a chairde, tosóimid* [is it now, friends-VOCATIVE, begin-we-FUTURE] 'Alright, friends, we'll start now' (Christian Brothers 1960: 213). It is even used as an opener in questions, e.g. *Is ea nach dtuigeann tú mé?* [is it that not-understand you me] 'Don't you understand me?' (Ó Dónaill 1977: 468). Such instances would seem to be the source of a similar usage in 19th-century Irish English as attested by many authors, especially in drama:

(i) *Is it a cripple like me, that would be the shadow of an illegant gintleman ...*
(ii) *Is it for this I've loved ye?*
(iii) *Is it down there ye've been?*
(Dion Boucicault, *The Colleen Bawn*, 1860).

(iv) *Is it that I vexed you in any way?*
(v) *Is it that you went wild and mad, finding the place so lonesome?*
(Lady Gregory, *Hanrahan's Oath*).

The use of *is it* in sentence-initial and sentence-final position has fared differently in later Irish English. Its occurrence at the beginning of a sentence is not that common, perhaps because it is felt to be stage-Irish, at least typical of writers like Gregory and Synge. At the end of a sentence *is it* can be found quite commonly, consider these attestations from the author's data collections: *Ye're going to Spain for a few weeks, is it?* (WER, F50+); *They're issuing new [parking] discs, is it?* (WER, F75+); *So, he wants to sell the garage, is it?* (DER, M35+); *She wants to study in Dublin, is it?* (RL, F55+).

A peculiarity of the *is it?*-tag in Irish English is that the negative, which would be *is it not?*, does not seem to occur. In the texts by Carleton which were examined in this context there were 42 instances of the *is it?*-tag with only one of the negative tag: *... that's an island, I think, in the Pacific--is it not?* (William Carleton, *The Black Baronet*). In present-day Irish English, the negative *is it not?* is virtually unknown. This appears strange given that in Irish the negative tag is frequent, e.g. *Tá tú ag foghlaim Gaeilge, nach bhfuil?*, lit. 'is you at learning Irish, not is-it'.

The reason is that the negative tag *nach ea?/nach bhfuil?* 'not it'/'not is-it' did not transfer to Irish English and so is not represented either in 19th-century writers or in present-day varieties to any significant extent. The only three instances in the twenty-three 19th and 20th-century drama texts in *A Corpus of Irish English* are all from Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* which has no features of vernacular Irish English at all.

There still remains the question of why *nach ea?/nach bhfuil?* did not transfer to *is it not?* although *an ea?* did to *is it?* The reason probably lays in the number of syllables. Both *an ea?* and *is it?* have two syllables but *nach ea?* and *is it not?* differ in that the latter has three, but the former two. The syllable mismatch probably inhibited the transfer of the Irish structure to English during the language shift, another example where prosody, here the number of syllables, played a role in language contact and transfer.

7. Conclusion

The conclusion to be drawn from the above examination is that prosodic factors, especially the number of stressed syllables, played a role in the transfer of syntactic structures during the language shift from Irish to English. This shows how different language levels are intertwined and that investigations which only consider one level, or at least those which exclude suprasegmental factors, are likely to miss linguistically significant generalisations in the field of language contact and shift.

Abbreviations

WER	*Waterford English Recordings*
DER	*Dublin English Recordings*
CCE-S	*A Collection of Contact English* (South)
CCE-W	*A Collection of Contact English* (West)
TRS-D	*Tape Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech – Digital*
SADIF	*Sound Archives of the Department of Folklore* (UCD)
M	Male speaker
F	Female speaker

Age references are approximate, e.g. M75+ refers to a male speaker over 75 years of age, W55+ to a female speaker over 55 years of age.

References

Ahlqvist, Anders & Vera Čapková, eds., 1997, *Dán do oide* ('A poem for a mentor'), *Essays in Memory of Conn R. Ó Cléirigh*, Dublin: Linguistics Institute of Ireland.

Christian Brothers, The, 1960, *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí.* ('Christian Brothers' Irish Grammar'), Dublin: Gill and Son.

Dolan, Terence P., 2004 [1998], *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English. The Irish Use of English*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Sabban, Annette, 1982, *Gälisch-Englischer Sprachkontakt. Zur Variabilität des Englischen im gälischsprachigen Gebiet Schottlands. Eine empirische Studie*, ('Gaelic-English language contact. On the variability of English in the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland. An empirical study'), Heidelberg: Groos.

Filppula, Markku, 1997, "Unbound reflexives in Hiberno-English," in: Ahlqvist, A. & V. Čapková, eds., 149-55.

Filppula, Markku, 1999, *The Grammar of Irish English. Language in Hibernian style*, London: Routledge.

Fisiak, Jacek, ed., 1990, *Further Insights into Contrastive Linguistics*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fitzpatrick, David, 1994, *Oceans of Consolation. Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, Cork: Cork University Press.

Hickey, Raymond, 1990, "Suprasegmental transfer: On prosodic traces of Irish in Irish English," in: Fisiak, J., ed., 219-29.

Hickey, Raymond, 2007, *Irish English. History and present-day forms*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Macafee, Caroline, ed., 1996, *A Concise Ulster Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ó Dónaill, Niall, 1977, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* ('Irish-English Dictionary'), Dublin: Stationary Office.

Taniguchi, Jiro, 1956, *A Grammatical Analysis of Artistic Representation of Irish English with a Brief Discussion of Sounds and Spelling*, Tokyo: Shinozaki Shorin.

Of Picts and Penguins – Celtic Languages in the New Edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*

Katrin Thier
(Oxford English Dictionary)

The *New English Dictionary*, later to become the *Oxford English Dictionary*, was first published between 1884 and 1928. To add new material, two supplements were issued after this, the first in 1933, and another, more extensive one between 1972 and 1986. In 1989, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition (OED2) was published, which integrated the material from the original dictionary and the supplements into a single alphabetical sequence. However, virtually all material contained in this edition still remained in the form in which it was originally published. This is the edition most commonly used today, as it forms the basis of the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* and is also still being sold in print and on CD-ROM. In 1991, a new project started to revise the entire dictionary and bring its entries up to date, both in terms of English usage and in terms of associated scholarship, such as encyclopaedic information and etymologies. The scope was also widened, placing a greater emphasis on English spoken outside Britain. The revision of the dictionary began with the letter M, and the first updated entries were published online in March 2000 (OED3). Quarterly publication of further material has extended the range of revised entries as far as PROTEOSE n. (June 2007). New words from all parts of the alphabet have been published alongside the regular revision.

The treatment of Celtic languages in the OED must be understood against this background. When the first volume of the *New English Dictionary* (NED) was published, the holder of the first chair of Celtic at Oxford, John Rhŷs, had been appointed only seven years previously. Ifor Williams, later to become another pioneer of Welsh studies, was three years old. On the Irish language side, much of the ground-breaking research was being done by Indo-European scholars on the Continent, and Ernst Windisch and Whitley Stokes had begun to publish their series *Irische Texte* in 1880, edited in German. Celtic Studies was only just e-

merging as a separate discipline; there was little published material available, and few experts. However, NED collaborated with Celtic scholars from its beginnings, and early advisers included both John Rhŷs and Whitley Stokes. As in all other fields, the dictionary project has continued to consult with experts throughout its life, and the current revision maintains links with researchers at various academic institutions and at dictionary projects, such as *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (GPC) and *Faclair na Gàidhlig*. Much of the work in the revision process draws on specialist research in the individual fields, but some original research is also done, especially on the interface between the Celtic languages and English.

To make sure that the revised dictionary is internally consistent, new editing policies have been drawn up in all fields, in accordance with contemporary scholarship and with the help of specialist consultants. The online publication format means that styles and even aspects of policy can be changed if new research makes this necessary, and changes can be implemented retrospectively in published material.

The basic Celtic policy is as follows: The names of the modern Goidelic languages are Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx; the historic languages are Old Irish (700-900) and Middle Irish (900-1200). Very occasionally, earlier Irish can be cited from Ogham inscriptions, but this must be explicitly stated.[1] Irish post-1200 is not periodized further, but dates are added where they can be established. Of the Brittonic languages, Cornish and Breton are periodized as Old Cornish, Middle Cornish, Cornish, and Old Breton, Middle Breton, Breton, respectively, while Welsh post-1200 is usually dated, but not periodized, and the spelling normalized in accordance with GPC. Old Welsh (pre-1200) is occasionally cited as such, without further dating. Gaulish appears occasionally in further etymologies of Indo-European words. Unattested languages are generally referred to without a cited form. Reconstructed forms (in any language) are generally avoided, because many are debated and academic opinion is liable to change very quickly. Of the unattested Celtic languages, British is very occasionally used as a language name, denoting the ancestor language of Welsh, Cornish and Breton;[2] for the group comprising these languages the term Brittonic is preferred. Pictish appears in three entries, two of which will be further discussed below.[3]

As of mid June 2007, more than 60,000 revised or new entries have been published between M and PROTEOSE n., and about 0.5% of these mention Celtic languages in their etymologies. These can appear for a variety of reasons. Often, they are given as cognates for inherited Indo-European words; in this case, only one Goidelic and one Brittonic form is usually given, typically Irish and Welsh. Where the English word is a direct loan from a Celtic language, on the other

[1] In OED3, so far only in NEVE n./1 (2003), O' n./3 (2004), OCHIERN, n. (2004), and PEN n./1 (2005).

[2] PEAT n./1 (2005), PICT n. (2006), POGUE n./1 (2006).

[3] MONTH n./2 (2002), PEAT n./1 (2005), PIECE n. (2003).

hand, the etymon is cited in its context within the Celtic group of languages and given a further etymology. If the Celtic word is once removed, i.e. the etymon of a primary etymon of an English word, it will be treated similarly, but not necessarily in as much detail. Occasionally, an English word is not borrowed from a Celtic language, but translated from or modelled after it (calque). In these cases, the model is usually merely mentioned, and only given further background, if this is necessary for understanding the English formation. Names are usually treated as separate entities rather than parts of the language. If a name has a significant Celtic form, however, this will be mentioned. Finally, many etymologies mention Celtic languages merely to reject past attempts to link them to the English word. Usually, this is done in a short note, but where the original case for a Celtic derivation had been strong, the counter arguments are discussed in detail. In many cases, Celtic etymologies comprise a combination of the above.

Celtic material is also mentioned in definitions. If these refer to linguistic matters, such as P-CELTIC n. and adj., they are often also looked at by an etymology editor on the OED staff.

In the rest of this paper, examples for the different treatments of Celtic languages will be discussed.

The use of Celtic cognates in Indo-European etymologies is usually a simple and straightforward matter, as can be exemplified by PALM n./2 ‘the flat of the hand’:[4]

> [< Anglo-Norman *palme*, *paume* and Old French, Middle French *palme*, *paulme*, *paume* (French *paume*) palm of the hand (*c*1050), measure of length (*c*1100), kind of ball game (1373; cf. PAUME *n.*) < classical Latin *palma* (also *palmus*) palm of the hand (also applied to the underside of a webbed foot), the width of the palm as a measure < the same Indo-European base as ancient Greek παλάμη palm of the hand, **Old Irish *lám* hand (Irish *lámh*)**, **Welsh *llaw* hand**, Old English *folm*, *folme* hand, palm of the hand, Old High German *folma* palm of the hand, ult. < a differently extended form (*-m-* extension) of an ablaut variant (zero-grade) of the same Indo-European base as classical Latin *plānus* flat (see PLAIN *adj.*/1).] (OED3 2005, my emphasis).

The Welsh word does not need to be dated here, because where it is given as an Indo-European cognate, a word is already implied to be of ultimately prehistoric origin.

Celtic words were borrowed into English at different periods. A medieval borrowing is perhaps shown by PEAT n./1:

---

[4] In the following, etymologies are cited in square brackets according to the style of OED3, even where they are slightly truncated; passages quoted from OED3 without square brackets are either minor notes or extracts, or come from other parts of the entry. Words written in capital letters refer to the respective dictionary entries.

> [Origin unknown; perh. a borrowing of an unattested Pictish or British word, perh. < the same Celtic base as the suggested etymon of post-classical Latin *petia* PIECE n. (on the assumption that the semantic development was from 'piece' to 'piece of peat' to 'peat'). Cf. post-classical Latin *peta* (freq. 1159-1545 in British sources), app. either < a Celtic language or < English (cf. similarly *turba* turf: see TURF n./1) ...] (OED3 2005).

The earliest attestation of the English word is from a Yorkshire record of 1333, where it appears in a Latin context with English plural inflection.[5] A Cumberland place name *Petepottes*, attested *c*1200 (Armstrong et al. 1950: 247), also seems to contain this word as part of an English formation. The word seems to be almost exclusively northern English and Scottish in early contextual use, and the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST: s.v. PETE n./1) refers to the possibility of a 'Celtic' borrowing, from the same base as of *piece* (which I will further discuss below). Candidates for the donor language in this area are British and Pictish. The semantic development with the earliest use of *peat* as a count noun 'piece of peat, sod' does not contradict the interpretation of PEAT n./1 as related to a word for 'piece, portion'. However, with no related form surviving in Welsh and no evidence at all of a possible Pictish form, this must remain speculative.

A much more secure borrowing into English is POGUE n./1:

> [< Irish *póg* kiss (Old Irish *póc*) < the British base of Old Cornish *poc-* (in the compounds *impoc* and *poccuil*), Middle Breton *pocq* kiss (Breton *pok*) < post-classical Latin *pac-*, *pax* kiss of peace, spec. use of classical Latin *pāx* peace (see PEACE n.).] (OED3 2006).

First attested in *c*1675, this is a relatively recent borrowing, but the Irish etymon is a word of considerable age. English *pogue* is here derived from the modern Irish word, i.e. the form of the word which would have been current at the time of borrowing. The Old Irish form is stated in brackets as the earliest attested form, and the further etymology is given as far back as Latin *pāx*; for further discussion of the Latin word the reader is then referred to the entry for PEACE n. (by hyperlink), so it is possible to follow the history of *pogue* back to Indo-European, even though it is not an old word in the English language. The British intermediary between Latin and Irish is posited by Vendryes (1960: P-11), and since it does not have an attested reflex in Welsh, it is exemplified by its Old Cornish and Breton descendants.

The semantic change from 'peace' to 'kiss' happened chiefly within Latin and is illustrated in the etymology; the modern Irish English word retains the sense that its Irish etymon had a thousand years before.

Another recent loan is PIBROCH n., but here, the sense has moved away from that in the donor language.

---

[5] "Redditum octo carectarum turbarum que dicuntur petes cum pert' in Skypwyth" (2nd February 1333, Patent Roll 7 Edward III (P.R.O.) i. mem. 24; quoted in OED3 2005; cf. Public Record Office 1893, 401).

[< Scottish Gaelic *pìobaireachd* the act of playing the bagpipe, bagpipe music < *pìobaire* piper (< *pìob* PIPE n./1 + *-aire*, suffix forming agent nouns (perh. cf. -ER suffix/1)) + *-achd*, suffix forming abstract nouns. Cf. Irish *píobaireacht*. In Scottish Gaelic, the term *pìobaireachd* denotes any kind of bagpipe music. The application to ceremonial tunes is a development within English; in Scottish Gaelic, such tunes are referred to as *ceòl mór*, lit. 'great music'...] (OED3 2006).

This word first appears in English in the early 18th century (1719) and is clearly borrowed from Scottish Gaelic. The Scottish Gaelic word has not proved datable, but there can be little doubt that it existed at the time, since it is a morphologically straightforward formation, and bagpipe music had been widespread for a long time before the date of borrowing (cf. Cocks et al. 1980: 21). In English use, the word has narrowed its meaning, so a note has been added on the original scope of the Gaelic word and on the related terminology.

A case of possible borrowing deeper down in the transmission is PIECE n. This common English word is clearly a borrowing from French *pièce*, which has a number of Romance cognates suggesting a Latin origin. So far this is a very standard situation for an English word of medieval date. However, in this case the Latin word is not attested, and the origin of the Romance group of words remains uncertain, although a hypothetical underlying Latin form has been reconstructed on the basis of the Romance evidence. Although OED3 generally avoids citing reconstructed forms, this one has been regarded as important enough to mention, as it forms the basis of a suggested further etymology:

[... The Romance forms point to unattested post-classical Latin forms **pettia*, **pettium*: cf. post-classical Latin *pecia*, *petia* (also *pecium*, *petium*) 'broken piece, fragment', also 'piece of land'. Ult. origin uncertain: see note below.

...

The Romance words are often compared with Old Welsh, Welsh *peth* thing, affair, matter, (usu. derog.) person, Middle Breton *pez* piece, share (Breton *pezh*, now chiefly in sense 'play (on stage, etc.)') and the place-name element *Pit-* portion of land (< a Pictish base (> Scottish Gaelic †*pett* (12th cent. in the Book of Deer), only in place names)) prob. < the same Celtic base as Old Irish *cuit* portion, share (Irish *cuid*), further etymology uncertain. The suggestion is that the underlying Latin word may have been borrowed from an unattested Gaulish cognate of these words.] (OED3 2003).

The reconstructed Latin forms have been compared with a set of P-Celtic words including Welsh, Breton and Pictish, as well as a possible related Irish word, so the whole group is cited here together (cf. Bachellery and Lambert 1987: 281). If any of these words is later cited in a different entry, the reader will be referred here for further discussion.[6]

A number of OED3 entries are calques: words or phrases modelled on foreign examples without actually borrowing the foreign form. There are very few calques from Celtic languages in English; one of the more elaborate ones is the

6 This is likely to happen at QUIDRATHE n., which at the moment is derived from 'Ir. *cuid* part, portion + *ráithe* quarter of a year' (OED2 1989).

obsolete pair PERFLUENCY n. and PERFLUID adj. These only occur in a single work, a translation by John Williams of a medieval work on prosody, published in 1856. Williams attempted to introduce a system of English-language terminology based on the Welsh, but failed. He uses *perfluency* and *perfluid* to translate Welsh *toddaid*, in independent and attributive uses, respectively; both OED3 entries cite the Welsh original in their respective quotations from Williams's text (1856: §1761). OED3 defines *perfluency* as: 'In the terminology of J. Williams: one of the 24 strict metres of traditional Welsh poetry.' (OED3 2005). It is a transparent term in English; while formed of ultimately Latin elements, its meaning as something 'flowing through' is still clear. An English adjective *perfluent*, borrowed directly from Latin, already existed and could serve as the immediate etymon. If an English word is a calque on a foreign language model, OED3 does not always give the full etymology of the model. In this case, however, it seemed necessary to explain the origin of the Welsh word to show where the association with flowing originated. The result is as follows:

> [< PERFLUENT adj.: see -ENCY suffix, after Welsh *toddaid*, the name of the metre (14th cent.), perh. < *tawdd* molten, liquid (13th cent.; < the same Indo-European base as THAW v.) + *-aid*, suffix forming nouns. Cf. (with different, although homonymous, suffix) Welsh *toddaid* molten (1778). Cf. PERFLUID adj.] (OED3 2005).

Consequently, the etymology of PERFLUID adj. looks like this: '[< PER- *prefix* + FLUID *adj.*, after PERFLUENCY *n.* In quot. 1856 rendering Welsh *toddaid*, here used attributively (see PERFLUENCY *n.*) ...]' (OED3 2005).

The treatment of Celtic name forms can be shown very briefly, cf. PADDY n./1, denoting an Irishman: '[< *Paddy* (Irish *Páidín*), pet-form of the male forename *Patrick* (Irish *Pádraig*) ...]' (OED3 2005). The word is first attested in the 18th century, when Irish was more widely spoken, and the Irish form of *Patrick* may have had an influence on the shape of the pet-form, as well as on the English word derived from it, so Irish forms are given of both the full name and the pet-form.

Finally, a number of etymologies contain references to rejected suggestions, such as the following, at POSSET n., denoting a kind of drink, and at PLUM n., respectively. This is the etymology of the former: '[Origin unknown ... Perh. cf. Middle French *possette* (1530 in Palsgrave), although this ... may be a borrowing from English. Irish *posóid* is < English.]' (OED3 2007). While the origin of this word remains unknown, parallel forms in other languages are explained so they cannot be mistaken for the etymon. In the case of PLUM n., the Celtic words had never been suggested to be the direct etymon of the English, but it was felt necessary also to rule them out as cognates, so a note was added: 'Irish *pluma*, Welsh *plwmws* plums, (with singulative suffix) *plwmsen*, *plwmen* are app. < English.' (OED3 2006).

A more elaborate rejection can be seen at PLANXTY n. (OED3 2005), where a serious case could be made for a derivation from Irish. Although the origin is

stated to be unknown, the discussion of the etymology is over 200 words long and cannot be reproduced here verbatim. The discussion begins with an assertion that it is probably not a straightforward borrowing from its Irish equivalent *plancstaí*, but rather that the latter is probably borrowed from English. There are several reasons for that assumption. Firstly, the word is first attested in English in a song title of 1724, spelt in a way that is unambiguously English: *Planksty*, with the letters *k* and *y*, neither of which is part of the Irish alphabet (Neal and Neal 1724: 21). This song title constitutes the first English quotation in the OED3 entry. Secondly, the phonology of the word *planxty* with its complex internal consonant cluster is uncharacteristic of the Irish language (although this is very circumstantial and therefore not spelt out in the dictionary entry). Finally, there is an equivalent Irish word for this kind of music, *pléaráca*, which appears in the Irish titles of many pieces of music called *planxty* in English. This observation was already made in the 19th century by G. Petrie, and his comments are included in the entry:

> Of the Planxty and the Pleraca … the difference seems to me to be only in names which are convertible … In a collection of Irish tunes, chiefly of Carolan's composition, published … in 1810, the term Planxty [is] given as the English name, and Pleraca as the Irish one of the same tune … The tunes called Planxties, as well as those called Pleracas, owe their origin, if not, as I believe, their names to Carolan (Petrie 1855: 13).

Several possible etymologies have been suggested, and these are listed in the OED3 etymology without further comment. None of them can be substantiated or entirely dismissed, but none seems likely enough to be considered the origin without further evidence. The first suggestion is that *planxty* is an imitative formation, representing the sound of a harp being plucked (e.g. O'Sullivan 1958: 152; Dolan 1998: 200). This is quite possible, but imitative formations are often hard to prove. Another suggestion is that it derives from Irish *plancadh* 'striking, plucking of a harp' or the underlying Latin *plangere* 'to strike, beat' (e.g. O'Sullivan 1958: 152; Wall 1995: 105), not directly but with addition of an English suffix. A candidate for this suffix would by -TY/1, 'forming nouns denoting quality or condition' (OED2 1989: s.v.). However, no precursors of this formation are attested. For instance, earlier evidence of the use of *plancadh* or related forms in a song title might be expected, if this was the case. A common suggestion is that *planxty* represents an alteration, perhaps through mishearing, of *sláinte* 'health,' used as greeting or toast.[7] However, no possible intermediate forms are attested, and the environment of traditional music in the early 18th century was probably sufficiently Irish-speaking that such a development is more likely to have occurred through a series of changes, rather than by one sudden

---

7 This theory is difficult to find in print, but is frequently cited on the internet, often in connection with the Irish folk music band of the same name, e.g. '*Planxty* is believed to be a corruption of the Irish word and popular toast *sláinte*, meaning *good health*' (Wikipedia 2007: s.v. *Planxty*). The popularity of this claim makes it worth mentioning.

radical mistake. The historical environment of the term is also discussed. Both the word and the type of music are strongly associated with the harper and composer Turlough O'Carolan (Toirdhealbhach Ó Cearbhalláin; 1670-1738). He was working within the traditions of his own culture, but he was also in contact with contemporary musical trends on the continent, and he introduced a certain amount of innovation into Irish music (Yeats 1980; O'Sullivan 1958: 144-148). It is likely that he coined the term deliberately in this context, even though the word is not used very much in his own time, even for his own music. It is interesting, however, that the earliest evidence of the word in context (i.e. not in a title) comes from his work. This example is quoted in full in the etymology. An exact date has not been found, so it is dated here *a*1738, on the grounds that it must have been written before his death. It is a line from the *Planxty George Brabazon* (*Seórsa Brabston*), cited with italics representing the Irish script of the edition: '*Hí hó! súd é an siollaire, Hom-bó! dubhshlán duine faoi, him-*jam *planc-staí*, merriment, Sing, dance, drink his health about' (Ó Máille 1916: 177). *Planxty* appears in Irish spelling and script, but between 'jam' (a meaningless syllable of the kind common in Irish traditional song), which both spelling (with *j*) and Roman script identify as English, and the rest of the line, which is entirely in English. Given that the first word *him-* (another meaningless syllable) could be in either language, the whole line could be interpreted as English, despite the spelling of *planxty* as *plancstaí*. It is also interesting that *planxty* here appears to have a sense similar to 'merriment,' a sense which is paralleled by Irish *pléaráca*, the equivalent term for the music (see above).

Occasionally, the OED etymology group advise other editors on the definition of linguistic and related terminology, and this is also true for the Celtic languages. One language which has already been mentioned is Pictish, and the entry for PICTISH n. and adj. has recently been revised. It is essential for OED definitions of language names to conform to their use in etymology. Pictish in this context presented a challenge, since it clearly denotes the language of the Picts, but in the history of scholarship, opinions have shifted as to what exactly this language was. A range of English quotations is given in the entry detailing several of these, including one by John Rhŷs emphatically stating that it is non-Indo-European,[8] and an 18th-century one stating that it was a form of "Erse," i.e. Gaelic.[9] The earliest modern quotation is from a translation (of 1690) of a text based on Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*,[10] where *[lingua] Pictorum* is translated by *Pictish* as a formation parallel to *English*, *British*, etc.; the author does not need to have had any concept what Pictish was (Buchanan 1690: 54). Interestingly, the only earlier passage, which was added during revision of this entry,

[8] 'Pictish being, as I take it, a non-Aryan language' (Rhŷs 1892: 307).

[9] 'Their language is the Pictish, or a dialect of the Erse, spoken in the western isles of Scotland' (Barrow 1760: s.v. *Man*); the author identifies himself as a teacher of Mathematics.

[10] 'quinque gentium linguis ... Anglorum videlicet, Brettonum, Scottorum, Pictorum et Latinorum,' Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* I. i. (Moberly 1869: 7).

comes from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle[11] and is a direct parallel to Bede; it is, however, likely that Bede, and perhaps also the Chronicler, did know what the Picts actually spoke. To accommodate this variety and at the same time give an accurate account of the current use of the word, the definition has been left simple, as 'The language (or languages) of the Picts,' but has been augmented by a note detailing recent trends in scholarship:[12]

> Pictish is attested only in a few personal names and place names and inscriptions. It appears to be a P-Celtic language related to British (the ancestor of Welsh, Cornish and Breton), but distinctive enough to be regarded as a separate language in contemporary sources (cf. quot. OE). The traditional view advocated by K.H. Jackson (in F.T. WAINWRIGHT *Probl. of Picts* (1955) 152) posited a further unidentified and prob. non-Indo-European language alongside this, to account for a number of undeciphered ogham inscriptions. However, since this theory rests mainly on unintelligible, rather than linguistically analysable material, it has recently been convincingly challenged by K. Forsyth (see *Language in Pictland* (1995)) (OED3 2006).

A final example has been chosen to show how in a complex etymology, research into Celtic languages can interact with research into the history of English and other languages, as well as into the cultural history of the wider world.

The bird name *penguin* has often been suggested to be derived from Welsh *pen gwyn* 'white head'. Among the objections brought against this are the claim that penguins do not have white heads and that the Welsh word as a compound would be *penwyn*. To find an answer to this problem, the history of the word needs to be traced not only in one language, but in as many as possible.

One important starting point is that the word *penguin* did not originally denote flightless birds of the southern hemisphere, but their now extinct counterpart in the north, the Great Auk, *Pinguinus impennis* (now *Alca impennis*). This is the primary sense of French *pingouin* (other senses refer to other species of auk, e.g. *petit pingouin* 'razorbill'), the flightless birds of the southern hemisphere are known in French as *manchot*. The Great Auk was unrelated to the penguins of the south, but was similar both in its appearance and in its habits.

First, the three suggestions brought for the origin of *penguin* are: Welsh *pen gwyn* 'white head'; a derivative of Latin *pinguis* 'fat'; and English *pin wing*. There is no evidence to substantiate the latter claim, and no reference to it until the 19th century.[13] The suggestion that *penguin* may derive from Latin *pinguis* (cf. Weddell 1827: 55), on the other hand, is reasonably well-founded. Penguins have a thick layer of fat under their skin and were valued for it by hunters. The Great Auk was hunted to extinction for the same reason. From the 18th century, the penguin was also known in German as *Fettgans* 'fatty goose' (e.g. Krünitz

---

[11] In the introductory section of the D-text (British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B iv.), in form *Pihtissc* (Cubbin 1996: 1).

[12] The texts cited are Forsyth 1995 and Jackson 1955.

[13] Mentioned and rejected in OED2 1989 (s.v. PENGUIN n.); the underlying NED article was published in 1904.

1779: 96-97). Also, in several languages the word now has an *-i-* in the first syllable, and this is consistently attested at a very early date. In English, for instance, the word goes back to the 1570s, and a form *pinguin* is attested by 1635. In French, the current form is *pingouin*, and similar forms go back to the earliest evidence in that language (1598 as *pinguyn*). The Great Auk's former genus name *Pinguinus*, also contains an *-i-* in its first syllable. The Latin theory cannot be disproved, but the evidence supporting it is circumstantial, and the earliest attested forms in English (and thus in any language) do have an *-e-* in their first syllable. But even if Latin *pinguis* was not the direct etymon of *penguin*, early influence from it is likely.

If however, Latin *pinguis* was not the etymon, the only remaining theory is Welsh *pen gwyn*. On the face of it, this has the ring of a folk etymology, and has often been dismissed as such with the argument that penguins, or indeed auks, do not have a white head. This is a good argument, even if it is not entirely true. The Great Auk had large white spots on its cheeks, which would have been noticeable from a distance and may have given the illusion of a white-headed bird; the Magellan Penguin of South America (*Spheniscus magellanicus*), which appears to be the species of penguin first given the name (see below) has marked white stripes leading from its neck to its eyes. The other main objection is that in Welsh a compound bird name composed of the elements *pen* 'head' and *gwyn* 'white' should come out as *penwyn*. This is also true, and Welsh *penwyn* is attested as an adjective in the 16th century, as the epithet of the white-haired poet *Dafydd Benwyn*.[14] However, Welsh *pen* 'head' is masculine, and as a noun phrase, 'white head' is still *pen gwyn*, and the chronology suggests that the name of the penguin is a new formation which does not need to conform with the formation of inherited compound bird names. *Pengwyn* does actually occur in Welsh as a single word denoting the Great Auk, but it first appears in the translation of an English text of 1584 (Edwards 1677: 193), and is apparently borrowed from English.

The Welsh theory is greatly supported by the fact that the phrase *pen gwyn* closely matches earliest forms of the word (*penguyn*, *pengwin*, *pengwyn*, and *penguin* are all attested in the 16th century), and some early accounts in English explicitly state the name to be given by Welsh sailors, e.g. (on auks) 'The Countrey men call them *Penguins* (which seemeth to be a Welsh name)' (Ingram 1583: 560), or (on penguins) 'Infinite were the Numbers of the foule, wch the Welsh men name Pengwin & Maglanus tearmed them Geese' (Fletcher 1578: 128).

The Great Auk was known in parts of Northern Europe, but its habitat did not stretch further South than Scandinavia and Scotland. The bird was known in Scotland as *gare-fowl* in English and *gearbhul* in Gaelic, both words ultimately borrowed from a Scandinavian language and comparable to Old Icelandic *geirfugl*. It is likely that sailors from further south were unfamiliar with this bird until they reached North America, where the Auk's habitat extended much further

[14] A. Hawke, pers. comm.; Dafydd Benwyn is cited in the GPC bibliography.

south. Most of earliest evidence from English and Continental sailors describing the Great Auk treats it as a novelty and refers to Newfoundland and its surroundings. It appears therefore that the bird was first encountered on the American East Coast, where it needed to be named. It seems significant that the earliest evidence also consistently refers to a place called *Penguin Island*, which is described as the home of a sizable colony of the birds:

> New found land is in a temperate Climate … There are … many other kind of birdes store, too long to write, especially at one Island named Penguin, where wee may driue them on a planke into our ship as many as shall lade her. These birdes are also called Penguins, and cannot flie (Parkhurst 1578: 676).

This name is also connected with the Welsh language at an early date. The following passage comes from an account of a mythical medieval voyage, but it refers to the world as it was known to the 16th-century authors:

> But the Iland of Corroeso, the cape of Bryton, the riuer of Gwyndor, and the white rocke of Pengwyn, which be all Brytish or Welsh words, doo manifestlie shew that it was that countrie which Madoc and his people inhabited (Lhoyd and Powel 1584: 229).

The frequent references to Penguin Island, some of which antedate use of the word as a noun denoting the bird suggest that the bird may have been named after the location, rather than vice versa. *Pen* is a common place-name element in Wales, as well as in areas with related languages, such as Cornwall and Brittany. It is the same word for a head, but used in an extended sense ‘headland’. Rocks and headlands housing large colonies of birds are often so thickly covered in bird droppings that they appear white. A European example is the Bass Rock in Lothian, Scotland, home to a colony of gannets. This is the basalt core of a prehistoric volcano, and thus naturally black, but it appears light grey, and shines white in the sun. It is conceivable that such a rock in a newly discovered area would be called ‘white headland,’ or, by Welsh speakers, *pen gwyn*. The passage about Madoc’s journey explicitly says that the rock was white, and while this may be an interpretation after the fact, it does show that the connection was made. As the early accounts mention, Welsh speakers were present on these voyages of exploration, but one further complication needs to be mentioned. By the 16th century, the Grand Banks off Newfoundland were fished by Breton sailors, and much of the early exploration of the American north east-coast was done by French seafarers (cf. Charlevoix 1744: 3). Jacques Cartier, who explored Newfoundland in the 1530s, was born in Brittany. It is therefore not impossible that the name was coined not in Welsh but in Breton, where it would be practically identical, except for the spelling conventions of the respective languages. Welsh sailors would have understood it and be seen to understand it by their English-speaking shipmates. The passage from Madoc’s voyage (quoted above) places Penguin Island near Cape Breton; this could further support a case for a Breton coinage, but no proof appears to be possible either way.

It is not practical to reproduce here the full etymology as it is now published in OED3, which is over 800 words long. The following is the main transmission, and most of the above argument is detailed in notes:

> [Prob. < Welsh *pen gwyn* white head (< *pen* head, headland (see PEN n./1) + *gwyn* white: see GWYNIAD n.). Cf. Dutch *pinguin* (1595 as *fenguin*; prob. < English), German *Pinguin* (1599 as *pagnies*, 1606 as *pencuius*, both plural; < English or Dutch), Swedish *pingvin* (1685; perh. < German), French *pingouin* (1598 in Middle French as *pinguyn*; < Dutch). Welsh *pengwin* Great Auk (1677 in a translation of quot. 1584), penguin (1872) is prob. < English (cf. also Welsh regional (northern) †*pengwin bach* little auk, razorbill (19th cent. in an isolated attestation)) ...] (OED3 2005).

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Katherine Forsyth, Andrew Hawke, Rhisiart Hincks and Roibeart Ó Maolalaigh who acted as consultants on these entries, to the OED archivist Beverley Hunt, to Philip Durkin and Anthony Esposito who advised on internal research as well as on this manuscript, and of course to the many editors who contributed to all parts of the entries: OED3 is a team effort.

References

DOST = Craigie, W.A., A.J. Aitken et al., eds., 1937-2001, *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press; London: Oxford University Press.

GPC = Thomas, R.J., ed., 1950-2002, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymry: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, Cardiff: University of Wales Institute.

OED2 = Simpson, J. & E. Weiner, eds., 1989, *The Oxford English Dictionary. Second Edition*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

OED3: 2000 = (entries dated individually), *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford, URL: <http://www.oed.com>.

Armstrong, A.M. et al., eds., 1950, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, Part 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bachellery, E. & P.-Y. Lambert, eds., 1987, *Lexique Étymologique de l'Irlandais Ancien de J. Vendryes. Lettre C*, Part 6, Paris: CNRS.

Barrow, J., 1760, *A New Geographical Dictionary*, Vol. 2, London: Midwinter.

Buchanan, G., 1690, *The History of Scotland Written in Latin by George Buchanan, Faithfully Rendered into English by J. Fraser*, London: Edward Jones.

Charlevoix, P.F.X. de, 1744, *Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France*, Paris: Pierre-François Giffart.

Cocks, W.A., A.C. Bines & R.D. Cannon, 1980, "Bagpipe," in: Sadie, S., ed., 1980, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 2, London: Macmillan, 19-32.

Cubbin, G.P., ed., 1996, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A collaborative Edition. Vol. 6: MS D*, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Dolan, T.P., 1998, *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.

Edwards, C., 1677, *Ffydd Ddiffuant sef Hanes y Ffydd Gristianogol*, Oxford.

Forsyth, K., 1995, "Language in Pictland, Spoken and Written," in: Nicoll, E., ed., 1995, *A Pictish Panorama. The Story of the Picts and a Pictish Bibliography*, Balgavies (Angus): Pinkfoot Press, 7-10.

Fletcher, F., 1577, "Francis Fletcher's Notes (Sloane MS No. 61)," in: Penzer, N.M., ed., 1926, *The World Encompassed and Analogous Contemporary Documents Concerning Sir Francis Drake's Circumnavigation of the World with an Appreciation of the Achievement by Sir Richard Carnac Temple*, London: Argonaut Press, 87-141.

Ingram, D., 1583, "The Relation of Dauid Ingram of Barking," in: Hakluyt, R., ed., 1589, *The Principall Nauigations, Voiages and Discoueries of the English Nation*, London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, 557-562.

Jackson, K.H., 1955, "The Pictish Language," in: Wainwright, F.T., ed., 1955, *The Problem of the Picts*, Edinburgh: Nelson, 129-166.

Krünitz, D.J.G., 1779, *Oeconomische Encyclopädie. Band 16: Gan - Gelbling*, Berlin: Pauli.

Lhoyd, H. & D. Powel, 1584, *The Historie of Cambria, Now Called Wales*, London: Henry Denham.

Moberly, G.H., ed., 1869, *Venerabilis Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Neal, J., & W. Neal, 1724, *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes: proper for the violin, German flute, or hautboy*, Dublin: Folk Music Society of Ireland.

Ó Máille, T., ed., 1916, *Amhráin Chearbhalláin, The poems of Carolan: together with other N. Connacht and S. Ulster lyrics*, London: Irish Texts Society.

O'Sullivan, D.J., 1958, *Carolan. The Life, Times, and Music of an Irish Harper*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Parkhurst, A., 1578, "A Letter Written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple, Conteining a Report of the True State and Commodities of Newfoundland," in: Hakluyt, R., ed., 1589, *The Principall Nauigations, Voiages and Dis-*

coueries of the English Nation, London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, 674-677.

Petrie, G., 1855, *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*, Dublin: M.H. Gill.

Public Record Office, 1893, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Edward III, 1330-1334*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Rhŷs, J., 1892, "The Inscriptions and Language of the northern Picts," in: *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 26, 263-351.

Vendryes, J., 1960, *Lexique Étymologique de l'Irlandais Ancien. M N O P*, Paris: CNRS.

Wall, R., 1995, *A Dictionary and Glossary for the Irish Literary Revival*, Gerrard's Cross (Bucks): Colin Smythe.

Weddell, J., 1827, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole*, London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell.

Wikipedia 2007, URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org> (accessed June 21, 2007).

Williams, J., 1856, *Dosparth Edeyrn Davod Aur, or the Ancient Welsh Grammar*, Llandovery: Rees.

Yeats, G., 1980, "Carolan, Turlough," in: Sadie, S., ed., 1980, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 3, London: Macmillan, 813-814.

Late Modern Irish and the Dynamics of Language Change and Language Death

Feargal Ó Béarra
(National University of Ireland, Galway)

1. Introduction

My comments are informed by the experience of the last 20-25 years, as someone who grew up in the Cois Fharraige Gaeltacht in south Conamara, and who has seen the language retreat further and further westwards and inwards as the Gaeltacht continues to dwindle. In these few years, I have also seen the last remaining pockets of Gaeltacht in areas such as Bearna, Na Forbacha, Mionlach, Leamhchoill, and Maigh Cuilinn all but disappear, never to return.

There are few things in Ireland as complicated or as controversial as the language question. We agree on very little. Be that as it may, I believe we can all agree that the form of Irish spoken today is not that of 25 years ago, for example. What passes for Irish today would not have passed for Irish 25 years ago. Others will say to me that what passed for Irish 25 years ago would not have passed for Irish in 1958 when *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil*[1] was published and so on.

Of course, this should come as no surprise to us as languages are always in a state of flux. In most cases, except in the case of contemporary Irish, as I hope to show in this paper, language change is a fairly natural and unconscious development which forms an essential part of the life cycle of any language.

Each generation creates its own version of the language it acquires from the previous generation. People frequently complain that the younger generation does

[1] *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge: An Caighdeán Oifigiúil*. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláithair.

not speak the language as proficiently as their parents' or grandparents' generation did. Thus, certain words, phrases, lingo, etc. will be used by one generation, but not by the other. The examples from contemporary Modern Irish are numerous. Everyone has his or her own favourites. I could mention the ubiquitous *é sin ráite* (based on the English *that said*, *having said that*) which has ousted the more traditional and perfectly adequate *ina dhiaidh sin féin*, *mar sin féin*, *má tá féin*, etc. Others will frown on new analogical verbal forms such as *bheadh mé* instead of the 'correct' synthetic form *bheinn* or *chaitheadh siad*, instead of *chaithidís*.

Sometimes not only will lexical elements change, develop, or be discarded, but other elements of the language such as syntax and grammar will also undergo change. Be that as it may, a foundation belonging to the older period of usage will usually remain. This foundation will contend with the newer language spoken by younger speakers. As the number of differences between the type of language spoken by the different generations increases, new usages start to develop and establish themselves alongside the traditional patterns of use.

The difference between the old and new usage may be quantified by means of ratio. Let us take for example Early Middle Irish (*c*. 875–950) where the ratio of old usage to new usage is around 70:30. We might say that Middle Irish proper had a ratio of 50:50. By the time of Late Middle Irish (*c*. 1075–1175) this has become 20:80. When the number of changes and of new usage become so great that there is a higher ratio of new usage that does NOT conform with the older usage in the contemporary language, we may say that a new period in the language has arrived. That is what happened around 1200 when the ratio of older usage (closer to Old Irish) to newer usage (closer to Modern Irish) increased to such an extent that one could no longer describe the contemporary language as Middle Irish. The compilation of the so-called Grammatical tracts was a reaction, no doubt, to the realisation on the part of the non-ecclesiastic poetic classes, that a new period dawned in the history of the language, i.e. Early Modern Irish.

2. Definition of Late Modern Irish

I should explain what I mean by the term Late Modern Irish. Another new period begins in Irish about 1700, i.e. Modern Irish or Traditional Late Modern Irish, as I prefer to call it. By Traditional Late Modern Irish, I mean that language which was not only *spoken* in the Gaeltacht by both young and old up until about the 1960s, but that was also *passed on* to the next generation. This language, while still spoken, is now mainly limited to those who are in their 50s or older. It is the language found in the *sean-nós* singing tradition of today, in the traditional storytelling tradition which died out in the 1930s, in the proverbs, pithy sayings, expressions and curses of the people, in Máirtín Ó Cadhain's *Cré*

na Cille, or indeed in the general speech of the people as represented by the Hartmann/de Bhaldraithe research project of the early 1960s now being edited and published by Arndt Wigger.[2] The influence of English on this type of Irish is minimal and is limited to lexicon. There is little, if any, English influence on the phonology, morphology or syntax. It is as if English never existed. The same cannot be said of the type of Irish spoken today.

It is this understanding of language change that informs my contention that the language I call Traditional Late Modern Irish (i.e. Irish since *c.* 1700) is on its last legs, and that it will be extinct, for all intents and purposes, by about 2050, by which time the last speakers will all be dead. The ratio between older usage (i.e. that which conforms with Late Modern Irish) and new usage (i.e. that which does not and which is represented by what I will term Non-Traditional Late Modern Irish) is about 80:20 at the moment. As happened in the case of the change from Middle to Modern Irish, I believe the ratio will continue to change so that in another 50 years the ratio will be 20:80.

The most telling characteristic of Non-Traditional Late Modern Irish is that a monoglot speaker of Traditional Late Modern Irish would struggle to understand much of it, especially a lot of what is found in our contemporary literature. In other words, knowledge of English is a pre-requisite to the understanding of Non-Traditional Late Modern Irish. This is caused, in the main, by the unnatural influence of English phonology and syntax on the contemporary language so that much of contemporary Irish is really nothing more than an imitation of English.

While no one is immune from the influence of English, the main offenders are the media, journalists of every description, and the thousands who are learning Irish as a second language, but who do not understand that they need to learn it correctly.

3. Lexical and Syntactic Equivalence

The main characteristics of this new type of Irish manifest themselves in three areas: Phonology, Morphology and Syntax. I will confine myself to Syntax. While there is, generally speaking, a certain amount of *lexical* equivalence between any two languages, it is the difference in (or lack of) *syntactic* equivalence which distinguishes them from each other, and which makes them two distinct and different languages.

---

[2] Hartmann, H., ed., 1996, *Airneán: eine Sammlung von Texten aus Carna, Co. na Gaillimhe*, Tübingen: Niemeyer; Wigger, A., ed., 2004, *Caint Ros Muc*, Dublin: Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies.

A very simple example of what I mean is seen in the common idiom, found in many languages, that expresses the universal concept that different people have different ways of doing things. In English, it is usually rendered by *When in Rome, do as the Romans do*; in German by *Andere Länder, andere Sitten*. The usual literary equivalent of this in Irish is (or used to be, at any rate) *Ní lia tír ná gnás*, i.e. 'There are more customs than there are countries'.

When we compare these three proverbs, we see that they express (more or less) the same concept. However, there is no direct lexical nor syntactic equivalence between them. Rather, the equivalence can be described as indirect. It is *indirect* as there is no similarity between the words (nor indeed the syntax) used in the phrases which express the concept.

It is more than likely that your typical speaker of Non-Traditional Late Modern Irish will be familiar with the concept contained in the above, but unfamiliar with the way Traditional Late Modern Irish expresses it. Faced as he is with this dilemna (on a daily basis) the speaker of Non-Traditional Late Modern Irish will fall back (as he always does) on his native language, English. In this, his mother tongue, the concept is embodied in the expression *When in Rome, do as the Romans do*. This is *transferred* (as opposed to *translated*) directly into Irish as something like *Nuair a bhíonn tú sa Róimh, déan ar nós na Rómhánach*. Here the equivalence is said to be direct. Needless to say, the new expression stinks of Anglicism and corrodes the linguistic integrity of the traditional language.

Other examples of the type of thing Irish is faced with are some of the following:

Time will tell	Is maith an scéalaí an aimsir	Indirect
Time will tell	Inseoidh (an t-) am	Direct
No one is perfect	Ní bhíonn saoi gan locht	Indirect
No one is perfect	Níl aon duine foirfe	Direct
Silence is golden	Is binn béal ina thost	Indirect
Silence is golden	Tá (an) ciúnas órga	Direct

What is happening therefore is that the lexical (but more alarmingly the syntactic equivalence) between the two languages is becoming more and more direct, something which is leading to the transformation of Traditional Late Modern Irish into Non-Traditional Late Modern Irish.

However, this transformation is limited not just to lexicon and syntax. It is taking its toll on Morphology, as well. The reason for this is very simple. As Eng-

lish is no longer an inflexional language, there is no equivalent in English to inflected nominal or adjectival forms (as found in the genitive or nominative plural). Nor is there any equivalent to the initial mutations (Lenition and Nasalization) found in Irish.

In terms of Phonology, we are faced with the same problem. There is no equivalent in English to the gramatical function of the palatalization of consonants to distinguish, for example, between singular and plural forms of the noun or to distinguish between 1st and 2nd sg. preterite verbal forms. This is one of the many reasons that palatal consonants are disappearing in Irish. Another reason is that the phonological system of Irish is being slowly eroded and abandoned due to its replacement by that of English. This is heard mostly in the speech of non-native speakers, but native speakers are not free from this disease either (*Gaeilge an Chlochair*).

Added to this is the suspicion that there is an unwritten policy at work in both TG4 and RTÉ NOT to use native speakers for television or radio advertisements. Much of what passes for Irish language broadcasting on TG4 and RTÉ is presented by non-native speakers who insist on pronouncing Irish with English phonology, English syntax and idiomatic conventions. The two best-known are Hector and Manchán, two of TG4's most popular 'stars'. However, the killer of all this is that people keep saying that they *love* these programmes because they can follow the Irish. That speaks volumes. If the truth be told, if these people were to speak English the way they speak Irish, they would be ridiculed and severely condemned.

In many ways, it could be argued that what is happening to Irish today is something akin to what happened to the English language in Ireland in the 19th century when it came in contact with Irish to produce Hiberno-English. The language contact which happened between Irish and English in the 19th century left its mark on three major aspects of the English language – phonology, syntax and lexicon. Similarily today, these are three of the facets of Irish which most obviously betray the influence of English.

4. The Official Languages Act and the Translation Industry

In the last few years, there has been an unprecedented increase in the amount of Irish being written both within and without Ireland. This is due, in no small part, to the Official Languages Act 2003 introduced as a sop to the Irish language movement and as part of a longer-term strategy to eventually isolate the Irish speaking community in Ireland. The act stipulates that all public bodies departments and organs of state must provide certain documents in English and in Irish.

This new development is not without its difficulties. In 1893, when *Conradh na Gaeilge* was founded, native Irish speakers made up over 90% of the Irish-speaking population with the remaining 10% coming from the rest of the population. Today, the situation is the opposite with 90% non-native speakers and 10% native. Thus, the majority of those working in the translation industry are non-native speakers. This, of course, is one of the taboos of translations studies, i.e. the translator should never translate into a target language that is not his first language. In practical terms, this means that you have people, whose grasp of the Irish language is inadequate, working as translators. However, what is happening is not translation, but imitation (*Aithris* vs. *Aistriúchán*) as all too often these translators follow the syntax and idiomatic conventions of English, thus producing what amounts to little more than English in Irish drag.

The translation industry poses a huge threat to the long term vitality of the Irish language. Translators account for the largest proportion of those writing Irish today. Never in the history of the language was so much Irish being written as today. It is difficult to say how much Irish is being written every year, but if we were only to take the annual reports which all public bodies must translate into Irish under the Official Languages Act 2003, we come out with a figure around 6,500,000 words. That is a lot of Irish and a lot of damage to the language. The reality of all of this is that the reader is faced with a type of Irish which is so poor that it has to be translated back into English to understand it. As their grasp of the language is inadequate, you will find very little understanding among most translators of correct or appropriate register. As for the concepts of localization, cultural referencing or internalization, they are as foreign to most of those working in the translation industry as a day without rain to an Irishman.

One of the most contentious areas in which Non-Traditional Late Modern Irish is to be found is in the realm of Terminology. The need for modern terminology has not been caused by the practical everyday requirements of Irish speakers, but by the demands of the translation industry. Much of the terminology being coined by terminologists in Ireland flouts some of the most basic rules of Traditional Late Modern Irish. Very often, it displays a total lack of understanding of the way the language works. The latest example I came across is the term for dental hygienist, i.e. *sláinteolaí déadach*. Now of course anyone who has heard of Fearghus Déadach or Dubhdhéadach will know that the word *déadach* means 'having teeth'.[3] So *sláinteolaí déadach* actually means a toothed hygienist. What we should expect is *sláinteolaí fiacla* with the noun *fiacail* being used

[3] Cf. DIL *sv* détach.

to form a genitive plural with adjectival force. But as this concept does not exist in English it will not be found in Irish.[4]

A further difficulty is the fact that most speakers of Irish today, be they native or non-native, have little if any knowledge of the riches of Traditional Late Modern Irish. They have never been exposed to it and probably never will either. Thus, Irish can no longer draw on the storehouse of the traditional language to form new terms. Another difficulty is that if one were actually to translate something according to the correct and traditional usage of the language, we would be confronted with the problem faced by Aodh mac Duach Dhuibh, king of Oirghialla, in the Early Modern Irish satirical text *Tromdhámh Ghuaire*, when he was forced to utter "Is maith an duan cibé do thuigfeadh í!,"[5] i.e. 'It's a great poem (*leg*. translation) if only I could understand it!'.

5. Dynamics of Language Change and Language Death

Language Contact and Language Change is nothing new. Irish is no different. Irish came into contact with whatever language(s) were spoken here when the first Q-Celts arrived in Ireland. It came into contact with British Latin, Ecclesiastic Latin, Old Welsh, Old Norse, Norman French and of course with English.

However, the contact that Irish had with English cannot be compared to any of the previous contacts. English was the only language which managed to become the dominant and prestige language and to cause 99% of the population to abandon their own language.

There are a number of other differences between the changes which happened to Irish in the past and those changes happening today. These are differences we ignore at our peril. The biggest and most significant difference is that the changes which Irish underwent in the past and which led to the transition from Old to Middle to Early and Late Modern Irish were all caused and engineered by native speakers. The change, while triggered and aided by certain external social and political developments, was not an imposed process, but an internal one. The change happening today is, for the most part (as 90% of speakers are non-native) an imposed, external process which is both unnatural and artificial.

Another major difference is that the prestige language (English) is also the world language. It is spoken by everyone in Ireland. It is both an internal and external linguistic enemy. Not only are we being bombarded with English by the

---

[4] While the term *consan déadach* for a dental consonant does exist, it is perfectly acceptable as *déadach* means, in this case, 'stemming from the teeth'.

[5] Joynt (1941: l. 70-71).

international media (America & UK), but the Irish state has an unwritten policy of linguistic assimilation in place since the early 1950s. It was aided in this work by the so-called national public broadcaster RTÉ and, of course, by the Catholic Church which bears much responsibility for the spread of English in the Gaeltacht and the erosion of the indigenous language.

The other main difference between this period of change and all others is that the Irish language is at death's door. Some, like myself, would contend that the language is moribund. Many – such as Government ministers – will even attempt to (though they should not) deny that the Gaeltacht itself is doomed to die. Think of this: how can a language which needs its own official Act and its own Language Commissioner to protect it from the government of the State in which it is the first official language, not be doomed to die?

6. Lack of Exposure and Critical Mass

The greatest difficulty facing the language, however, is that the number of Irish speakers is simply too low. In 1990, the late Breandán Ó hEithir stated in a report commissioned by *Bord na Gaeilge* (which they tried to suppress and have yet to publish) that the number of native Irish speakers stood at 10,000. This figure may be a bit too pessimistic; perhaps 30,000-40,000 is nearer to the truth.

The paucity of speakers means that we lack a vibrant Irish language community in which the language could invent, in a natural and unconcious manner, the terminology needed by a modern language. This lack of critical mass is what causes the another obstacle in the growth of the language – the lack of exposure. Exposure to various and many sources is how we learn new words and phrases. The only place your average Irish speaker will learn new phrases is on Raidió Na Gaeltachta. There are not enough occasions on which to interact with other Irish speakers and thereby pick up new phrases and words. On top of this, there are not enough people who speak Irish well enough from whom you would want to learn anything. This problem of lack of exposure is further compounded by the fact that there is no tradition of reading in the Irish language among Irish speakers. The only people who read Irish are academics or writers. Native speakers of Irish do not read their own language. There is no *Bild-Zeitung* in Irish. Why?

7. Conclusion

It is generally accepted that Language Change and Language Death are by definition mutually exclusive, i.e. you cannot have both. Language Death can be caused by two things: genocide or the abandonment of a language by those who

traditionally spoke it in favour of another. The big question facing the Irish language today is whether that which is happening to the language today amounts to Language Change or Language Death. In this regard, I cannot but think of the words of T.F. O'Rahilly: "When a language surrenders itself to a foreign idiom, and when all its speakers become bilingual, the penalty is death" (O'Rahilly 1932: 121).

This is a question which has been very successfully ignored by all concerned with the Irish language, at home and abroad, especially those who earn their crust from Irish in the Universities and who should know better. A bit like the way the majority of Irish academics have said absolutely nothing about the rape of Teamhair na Rí by the thugs in the National Roads Authority with their building of the M3 motorway.

While Irish may have become more popular in the last few years, the linguistic undercurrent which permeates much of this popularity points to – in my opinion – the demise of the language as we know it. There is a linguistic dichotomy in Ireland which we are unwilling to face up to. What we fail to understand in Ireland is that a threatened language cannot survive if, on the one hand, Irish is no more than a commodity for those who have the luxury of speaking the prestige language as their first language, while on the other, the Gaeltacht – the community which supports the first language of the child – continues to die.

People point to the growth of Gaelscoileanna, TG4, etc., but I always ask myself where the tens of thousands of children who have passed through the Gaelscoileanna system since the early 1970s have disappeared.

While the number of Non-Traditional Late Modern Irish continues to rise, I ask myself why it is that Gaeltacht children must still use lazily and badly translated textbooks in school? How is it that by the age of seven a Gaeltacht child understands that English is the prestige language and that Irish is something it speaks at home with its parents? How is it that by the time a Gaeltacht child enters the second level education system, it speaks, reads and writes better English than Irish?

These questions, as well as the question of whether Non-Traditional Late Modern Irish represents Language Change or Language Death, are the hard questions we need to address in Ireland if we are to be true to ourselves and to the language we choose to speak.

References

Hartmann, H., ed., 1996, *Airneán: eine Sammlung von Texten aus Carna, Co. na Gaillimhe*, Tübingen: Niemeyer; Wigger, A., ed., 2004, *Caint Ros Muc*, Dublin: Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies.

Joynt, M., 1941, *Tromdámh Guaire* (Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, vol. 2), Dublin: Stationary Office.

O'Rahilly, T.F., 1932, *Irish Dialects past and present: with chapters on Scottish and Manx*, Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

Assessing Celticity in a Corpus of Irish Standard English

John M. Kirk & Jeffrey L. Kallen
(Queen's University Belfast and Trinity College Dublin)

Abstract

Conventional wisdom since the earliest studies of Irish English has attributed much of what is distinctive about this variety to the influence of the Irish language. From the early philologists (Joyce 1910, van Hamel 1912) through the classic works of Henry (1957, 1958) and Bliss (1979) down to present-day linguistic orientations (e.g. Corrigan 2000 a, Filppula 1999, Fiess 2000, Hickey 2000, Todd 1999, and others), the question of Irish-language influence may be disputed on points of detail, but remains a central focus for most studies in the field. It is not our intention to argue with this consensus, nor to examine specific points of grammar in detail, but, rather, to suggest an approach to this question which (a) takes for its empirical base a sample of the standard language, rather than dialectal material or the sample sentences so beloved of many papers on the subject, and (b) understands Celticity not just in terms of the formal transfer of grammatical features, but as an indexical feature of language use, i.e. one in which English in Ireland is used in such a way as to point to the Irish language as a linguistic and cultural reference point. In this sense, our understanding of Celticity is not entirely grammatical, but relies as well on Pierce's notion of indexicality (see Greenlee 1973), by which semiotic signs 'point to' other signs.

Our focus in assessing Celticity, then, derives in the first instance from an examination of the International Corpus of English (ICE). We have recently completed the publication of the Irish component of ICE (ICE-Ireland), a machine-readable corpus of over 1 million words of speech and writing gathered from a range of contexts determined by the protocols of the global International Corpus of English project. The international nature of this corpus project makes for ready comparisons with other varieties of English, and in this paper we will focus on comparisons with the British corpus, ICE-GB. For references on ICE generally, see Greenbaum 1996; for ICE-GB, see especially Nelson, Wallis and

Aarts 2002; and for ICE-Ireland, see papers such as Kirk, Kallen, Lowry & Rooney (2003), Kirk & Kallen (2005), and Kallen & Kirk (2007). Our first approach will be to look for signs of overt Celticity in those grammatical features of Irish English which have been put forward as evidence of Celtic transfer (or of the reinforcement between Celtic and non-Celtic historical sources); our second approach will be to look at non-grammatical ways in which texts in ICE-Ireland become indexical of Celticity by less structural means such as loanwords, code-switching, and covert reference using 'standard' English in ways that are specific to Irish usage. We argue that, at least within the standard language as we have observed it, Celticity is at once less obvious than a reading of the dialectal literature might suggest and, at the same time, more pervasive than a purely grammatical approach would imply.

1. Introduction

The question of Celticity in Irish English is as old as the interest in Irish English itself. Stanihurst, 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 aquainted 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' (Stanihurst 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 & Hartog (1909) and Joyce (1910), all assume a crucial role for Irish in the development of Irish English, with Hayden & Hartog (1909) 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' (id.: 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 the study of Irish English inevitably raises questions of its relations to the Irish language, 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 effects of language transfer among English-language native speakers (suggesting a substratum model); or it may refer not so much to

structural aspects of Irish English, but rather to the indexical features found in metaphorical code-switching (Blom and Gumperz 1972), idiomatic expression, or other ways in which the Irish use of English points to the co-existing use of Irish. The transfer and substrate models tend to write the conscious will of the speaker out of the analysis, as if Celticity were a matter of 'interference' (to use the traditional term) which arises more or less involuntarily through the influence of Irish on speakers of English. We suggest, however, that Celticity may well arise from conscious choice, from the desire of a speaker to point towards the Irish language as an act belonging to a particular speech community. In this model, we suggest that evidence of Celticity in a corpus depends not only on the frequency of overt borrowings or structural transfers, but also on the function of particular elements in making a reference to the Irish language and to elements of culture associated with it.[1]

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 evidence of the same structural pattern over a range of data, but analysis of the constraints on the use of the pattern may show affinities with Celtic languages in one type of English, but not in another. Arguments over so-called subordinating *and*, as in *He wouldn't give me a penny an' he rotten with money* (Burke 1896: 787), are of just this type. Ó Siadhail (1984), Filppula (1991), and Häcker (1999) all agree that there are apparent parallels between the Irish English construction and some uses of *and* found in other varieties of English. For Ó Siadhail (1984) and Häcker (1999), these parallels argue against a Celtic source for the Irish English construction. Filppula (1991), on the other hand, divides the Irish data into detailed subcategories, and noting the non-existence of some of these categories outside the Celtic Englishes, argues that the Irish English usage is plausibly derived from Irish.

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. Where a feature is present in Irish English but completely absent from other varieties, a plausible case for Celtic influence can be made to the extend that Irish actually has a corresponding structure which could credibly serve as a source. (To pick a trivial counter-example: the word *maracycle*, denoting a

[1] This position 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'.

long-distance bicycle tour, often for charity, is not in the OED but does arise in ICE-Ireland. Google searches show its use to be overwhelmingly based in Ireland. Even if the word is of Irish provenance, though, we can see no evidence that it is in any way inspired by Irish.) Salience is a more difficult concept to operationalise, but as Auer, Barden & 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’. As we enter the area of stereotypes and popular representtations, we allow for the role of language attitudes and beliefs about language to be taken into account. On this reckoning, what language users themselves believe about language becomes important. If, for example, Irish English speakers believe that the word *craic* is an Irish word and that use of the word indexes a particularly Irish form of social interaction, then the etymological argument that the word historically comes into Irish from the Northern English or Scots word *crack* in an equivalent sense is of secondary importance. If we are to account for usage on the part of real speakers, knowing that a speaker is intending to index Celticity by using the word *craic* has more explanatory power than arguing that the speaker is unknowingly using an English word of Northern origin.

For the study of Irish English, the ICE methodology offers several innovations.[2] ICE does not depend on introspection, casual observation, or questionnaire 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.[3] 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 & Aarts (2002), and the ICE website. When we address ‘the Celticity question,’ it will be our approach to compare text categories in ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI) with equivalent categories in ICE-GB. Our basic question, then, will be to examine

[2] We are grateful to the many students from Trinity College Dublin and Queen’s University Belfast who assisted in data collection and to the host of speakers, writers, and broadcasters who have kindly given permission for their contributions to be included in ICE-Ireland. Our assistants in the AHRB-funded project on the sociolinguistics of Standard English in Ireland, Orla Lowry and Anne Rooney, have been of invaluable assistance to us. We also wish to thank others who have been involved in the project at different stages, notably Goodith White, Francisco Gonzalvez Garcia, the late Ciaran Laffey, Tom Norton, Hildegard Tristram, Irene Forsthoffer, Marlies Lofing, Margaret Mannion, Mary Pat O’Malley, and Joel Wallenberg. Funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (formerly Research Board), from the Royal Irish Academy and the British Council Social Sciences Committee has been essential to the development of this project and is gratefully acknowledged.

[3] For further information about ICE-Ireland, see Kallen & Kirk (2001), Kirk et al. (2004), and Kallen & Kirk (2007).

the extent to which putatively Celtic features are shared across identical categories in each corpus.

2. Grammatical Features

Our first level of analysis is to consider grammatical features that have been argued to show evidence of substratal transfer from Irish to English. We examine here the occurrence of these features 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.

2.1. 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 & Hartog (1909) and van Hamel (1912), down to the present (e.g. McCafferty 2005), 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 Harris makes for the non-identity of different dialects of English; the different approaches taken by Kallen (1989, 1990, 1991), Filppula (1997 a, 1999), Hickey (2000), McCafferty (2005), Ó Corráin (2005), 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 (Kallen's (1989) 'Accomplishment Perfect,' Filppula's (1999) 'Medial Object Perfect,' and what we refer to here as the pseudo-perfect); (c) a perfect form in which a present-tense form of a stative verb is extended in its temporal

[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.

reference (the 'Extended Now' for Harris (1984) and Filppula (1999), or 'Extended Present' in Kallen (1989)); and (d) what Filppula (1999) refers to as the 'indefinite anterior' perfect (or IAP), in which the past tense form carries perfective force.

2.1.1. The after*-perfect*

The perfect in Irish English has attracted attention since the earliest scientific treatments, e.g. Hume (1877-78), Hayden & 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 English (cf. Kelly 1989), but in recognition of the historical arguments put forward most recently by Ó Sé (2004) and of the uniqueness of Irish English 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 (1984, 1993) well-known use of the designation 'hot news' for the *after*-perfect emphasises recency and immediacy in the use of this form, and though empirical study in Dublin (Kallen 1991) and Galway (Fiess 2000) shows that the form is not actually 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: Scripted 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 713,369 words) contains seven examples of the *after*-perfect with BE + verb, each of them in southern texts. These examples are given here: (1)-(3) are from Face to face conversations, (4) from a Classroom discussion, (5) from a Business transaction, and (6) from a Sports commentary.[6]

---

[5] The comprehensive treatment by Ó Sé (2004) 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' (id.: 232). The possibility raised by Ó Sé of mutual dialectal influences between Irish and English perfect usage has yet to be examined in detail.

[6] All quoted examples from ICE-Ireland are shown in ICE transcription format, starting with the ICE text number and speaker code: example (1) thus shows Speaker A from text S1A-046. For more detail, see Kallen & Kirk (in press).

(1) <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

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

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

(4) <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 </[>

(5) <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

(6) <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:

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

Filppula (1999: 105-6) notes this form as being rather rare, but we have certainly heard it often enough from a variety of speakers to consider it unremarkable.

The frequency of *after* perfects in ICE-Ireland is, by this count, very low: if we consider HAVE perfects by comparison, we note that 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, leaving *after* perfects as statistically very rare indeed.

This low occurrence of the *after* perfect is also reflected within interviews from the *Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English* (see Adams, Barry & Tilling (1985)). Harris's (1984: 316-17) analysis of TRS material revealed only 3 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* provide the 'hot news' interpretation which may be lacking in other examples.

(8) {<I FW>} {And **was** she *only* **after** *just* **coming**, like?} (nitcs.36 CABRAGH, DOWN)
(9) <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)
(10) And they couldn't get a middle-aged person, and the girl that was doing the, the recording 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 (nitcs14, BALLYCARRY, ANTRIM)
(11) <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 (nitcs15, SCRAGHEY, TYRONE)
(12) <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 (nitcs19, 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 3 tokens in 74,000 words), even though a higher level of usage can be found in Dublin, with 12 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. 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 b), 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 salience which corresponds to more vernacular levels of usage in a way that indicates meaningful Celticity.

2.1.2. '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 these 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. Harris (1984, 1985 a) discussed this structure in some detail, arguing that it does not represent a simple re-ordering of object and participle relative to the 'standard' English perfect, but is instead 'a looser expression consisting of two underlying subjoined clauses' (Harris 1985 a: 50). In this analysis, the clause with HAVE uses this verb as a full lexical item rather than as an auxiliary, and focuses on state rather than the action referred to by the following lexical verb. Kallen's (1989) use of the term 'accomplishment' focuses on the relationship between the object noun phrase and the main verb and suggests that this 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, noting that the object of the transitive main verb is interposed between the auxiliary and main verb, rather than following it. In all these earlier analyses, there is a general tendency to assume that the agent of the action denoted by the main lexical verb is co-referential to the subject of the clause headed by HAVE, thus distinguishing the Irish English perfect from *inter alia*, causatives such as *I had a dress made* in which the agent of *made* is not the subject of the clause in which *made* occurs.

Though the identification of this type of perfect usage is not as straightforward as with the *after*-perfect, we have identified 34 examples of this construction in ICE-Ireland. 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. In such examples, the subject of the clause is clearly identical with the agent of the main verb. In other cases, however, which illustrate key features of the construction as we understand it, the subject of the main clause with HAVE is not co-referential to the agent of the main verb. These examples are not causatives (as they might superficially appear to be to those unfamiliar with Irish English), but, rather, refer to a possessive or stative state of affairs which results from the action depicted by the main verb. In the discussion which follows, we thus distinguish between (A) those examples where the subject of the main clause is also the agent of the action denoted by the main verb and (B) cases where the subject of the main clause is not co-referential to the agent of the main verb, either because there is an obvious distinction between them or because the relationship is unspecified. To make the discussion easier to follow we further subdivide each category by subject type.

Group A: Subject of the main clause = agent of action denoted by main verb:

First Person

(13) <S1A-003$E> <#> <[> No this was on Friday </[> </{> <#> You see **I have** *Jonathan '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

(14) <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 </&>

(15) <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** </[> </{>

(16) <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

Second Person

(17) <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

Third Person

(18) <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 </&>

(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.

(20) <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

(21) <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

(22) <S1A-087$A> <#> **They probably have** *him* **chained** <,> so he won't get out

(23) <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

Group B: Subject of the main clause ≠ agent of action denoted by main verb:

First person

(24) <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

(25) <S2B-015$D> <#> Quiet <,> it 's <,> people aren't on the street still <#> **We 've had** *no post* **delivered** this morning [from an ICE (ROI) face to face conversation]

(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.[7]

Second person

(27) <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
<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 </[>

(28) <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

Third person

(29) <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

(30) <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

(31) <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

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

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].

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

(33) <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 he had that information available 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**

In (14)-(16), it is clear that the subject of the clause is also the subject of the main verb. While it is arguable that, in examples such as (13), 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 (24), from an ICE (ROI) Broadcast discussion, goes one step further. Here the subject which precedes the HAVE element is clearly not co-referential with the agent of the main verb of the clause. Reversal into 'standard' perfect order with HAVE + participle + object (thus, *I have married two daughters today*) would change the meaning dramatically. 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 HAVE 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 (25), from an ICE (ROI) News broadcast, and (29), from an ICE (ROI) Broadcast discussion, are typical.

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 & Kirk (2005), the frequency of such constructions in ICE-Ireland appears to be considerably greater than in, for example, ICE-GB.

The small set of second person examples in ICE-Ireland shows considerable variety. Whereas the speaker in (17) is giving instructions to students to evaluate their session plans, the context of (27), 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*. Likewise, the *you* referred to in (28) is clearly not the agent who has *set up* the contrast being referred to; though it is tempting to read (28) as a reduced form of a relative clause in the passive voice, the weight of other

examples considered here suggests a more straightforward analysis as a pseudo-perfect.

With third person examples we have perfect-type examples where the subject of the clause is co-referential to the agent of the main verb, as in (20), (22) and (23). In other cases, though, while the agent of the main verb may not be fully specified, it is quite clear that this agent is not co-referential with the subject of the relevant clause, as in (30) and (31). Example (32), from ICE (ROI) Face to face conversation, is decidedly stative; the subject is not intended as the agent of the main verb. In (33), 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*. While it is possible to read these as reduced relatives, as in *He hadn't the full information [which had been] requested*, this analysis would not tell the full story. The reduced relative analysis would have to ignore the stative parallelism with the semantically very similar form underlined in this text, *he had that information available*; though *requested* uses a verb form and *available* is adjectival, our view of the stative qualities of the pseudo-perfect suggests that these forms have much in common. The reduced relative analysis would also fail to address the very real possibility that such reduced relatives are also more common in Irish English than elsewhere. For both of the cases which we analyse in (33) as pseudo-perfects, just as with the underlined segment, the speaker's focus is on the stative possession of information by the subject which precedes HAVE, not on the verbal process denoted by the main verb. We argue that since this choice of word order contrasts with the order [participle + object], these examples are not simply variants of the English perfect.

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 perfects in the usual sense. Our analysis of these forms as pseudo-perfects is more compatible with the stative analysis of Harris (1985 a) and with Ó Sé's (2004) comments on the stative and possessive nature of comparable forms in Irish than it is with the analysis that puts this form together into a single system with true perfects. Though we have yet to make a detailed comparison of what we call pseudo-perfects in Irish English and their analogues in Irish, our suggestion is that the existence and the frequency of such forms in the ICE-Ireland corpus may well be an example of Celticity of a more covert, but no less important, kind than the better-known *after*-perfect.

2.1.3 '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 tensed forms of a limited number of verbs (e.g. BE, KNOW, HAVE) with perfective reference. Though Kallen (1989) concentrated only on present tense uses (thus referring to the 'Extended present'), Filppula (1997 a) points out that a similar effect can also occur with past tense forms and past perfect reference, as in

(34) 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 perfect form for most non-Irish speakers would be *I hadn't been here long*. Though the Celticity of such structures could be a matter of debate, the distinctiveness of these perfects led us to examine their frequency in the ICE-Ireland subcorpora 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*. A typical example of a present tense form with a durative adverbial is (35), which may be contrasted with *I've been at the money business for twenty-seven years*:

(35) <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 perfect form with HAVE. While this distribution may not suggest the overwhelming use of a form considered by some critics to be indicative of Celticity, it does show a level of salience which is sufficient to mark out Irish Standard English as distinctive.

2.2 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 & Hartog (1909), Bliss (1979), and Filppula (1997 b, 1999). In a wider geographical and linguistic context, Lange (2006) has also considered the question of Irish English reflexives providing fresh insights into how reflexives relate to focussing and intensification,

suggesting that they carry out functions in contact varieties sometimes performed by intonation in Standard English. 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 Englishes, 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 1.

1. *True reflexives* (R), in which the subject and object of the clause are co-referential:

(36) **I**'ve committed **myself** to it and must continue [ICE (NI)].
(37) **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:

(38) So it's like **life itself** really one minute you're on cloud nine [ICE (ROI)].
(39) 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 co-referential to another noun:

(40) A bit like **yourself** [ICE (NI)].
(41) 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):

(42) **Mum and myself** are still hoping a separation will not take place [ICE (NI)].
(43) **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 1. 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 1. gives combined totals for the occurrence of reflexive forms within ICE-Ireland as a whole, as well as giving the totals for each subcorpus.

Table 1. Distribution of reflexive pronouns, selected ICE texts

Corpus	Social letters				Unscripted speeches				Face to face			
	R	A	O		R	A	O		R	A	O	
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**

The data of Table 1. 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 ex-

amples are found in ICE-GB. Conversely, we note a greater use of true reflexives and anaphora in Face to face conversation in ICE-GB relative to ICE-Ireland. Though we would not argue that subject reflexives are impossible in British Standard English, the data in Table 1. suggest (a) the need to examine functions rather than simple frequency counts in analysing linguistic corpora, and (b) a differentiation of function for reflexives in British and Irish Standard English, pointing towards more putative Celticity in the latter.

2.3. 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 & 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 County 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. The data are summarised in Table 2.

ASK. Non-inversion, as in (44) and (45) below, usually follows *if* or *whether* and shows the subject preceding an auxiliary, HAVE, or BE in the embedded clause. Inversion, shown in (46) and (47), lacks *if* and *whether*, but may allow for a *wh-* complementiser; an auxiliary precedes the subject in the embedded clause.

(44) I was going to **ask** *whether* **we could** have put the children up here [ICE-GB]
(45) and **ask** Toni **where it is** [ICE-GB]
(46) Like Tommy's going to **ask** this printer at work **does he have** any [ICE (ROI)]
(47) 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 (48) and (49). Inverted examples as in (50) and (51), allow for *wh-* words but only where an inverted auxiliary also occurs.

(48) I **don't know** *if* **I'll** live with it [ICE (NI)]
(49) I **don't know** *why* **he's** allowed to stay on the committee [ICE (ROI)]
(50) I **don't know are they** getting the lads from the town to do the band [ICE (ROI)]
(51) I **don't know is it** dodgy or is it legit [ICE (ROI)]

SEE. 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 embeddings, while inversion is typically bare or may allow for a preceding *wh-* word. The inversion in (54) and (55) thus contrasts with non-inversion in (52) and (53).

(52) I'll **see** *what* **the craic is** you know [ICE (NI)]
(53) Taste it and **see** *whether* **it's** going to be sweet enough [ICE (ROI)]
(54) to ring her bell to **see was she** there [ICE (ROI)]
(55) 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 as in (56) and (57) which do not show auxiliary inversion (and therefore generally require a complementiser of some kind), and those such as (58) and (59) which do. In the latter category, *wh-* complementisers may be possible, but other kinds are not.

(56) I **wonder** *who* **the big hunk's** waiting for [ICE (NI)]
(57) I **wonder** *if* **buttermilk** you know **tastes** okay in tea [ICE (ROI)]
(58) I **wonder were they** ever able to [ICE (NI)]
(59) I **wonder will it** all be worth it [ICE (ROI)]

Table 2. 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 2. 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 *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.

If we take auxiliary inversion in embeddings as a possible sign of Celticity, then, we see several 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 similarity between ICE (NI) and ICE-GB in other relevant embedded contexts, and evidence of a weak tendency towards the general use of inversion in ICE (ROI). In saying that for this feature, Irish Standard English is somewhat Celticised, we point, to the putative Celtic origins of inversion and to the general tendency within other forms of standard English (at least as seen in ICE-GB) not to use inversion in embedded contexts.

Table 2. Inversion in selected embedded clauses, selected ICE texts

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**

3. 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. If the two languages are to be treated as entirely separate, as we would treat English and French, the Celticity of standard English in Ireland would arguably not be measured at all by reference to Irish loanwords or code-switching. We do not refer to Irish English as a Russified variety of English when words like *perestroika* or *glasnost* are used by speakers whose frame of reference includes these terms. We would take up the point, however, that generations of scholars and popular writers on Irish English have assumed, which is that Irish English can never be fully understood without reference to the Irish language. The ready availability of Irish as a source of lexical items, whether as part of the bilingual repertoire of everyday speech or the official coinages of the state, make Irish English different from any other type of

English and put the Irish lexicon in Irish English in a qualitatively as well as a quantitatively different category from other cross-linguistic influences. In demonstration of this point, we cite Wigger (2000), who 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 '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 that 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. Wigger's comments are indeed foreshadowed by the observations of Ní Eochaidh (1922: 140), speaking about Irish and English speakers in County Clare: "Is dóigh liom nach raibh fhios ag mórán dóibh ciaca Gaedhilge nó Bearla a bhí dá 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. We see this lack of clear linguistic separation in contemporary lexicography, as well: although Ó Muirithe's (1996) *Dictionary of Anglo-Irish* and Dolan's (1998, 2004) *Dictionary of Hiberno-English* ostensibly have a complementary focus on Irish and English words, respectively, in Irish English, even a casual examination of the latter dictionary reveals a great many entries which are orthographically and phonetically presented as words of Irish.

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 (1998, 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; as a language which is widely learned as a second language in the Republic and taught also in Northern Ireland; and as a language which is maintained in broadcasting, print, and a host of more specialised domains on both sides of the bor-

der. 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 further aspect of Celticity.

Our preliminary searches of ICE-Ireland reveal 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). The English described in the classical dialectology of Irish English, heavily laden with interlinguistic lexicon, is thus 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 3. 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). The point we wish to stress is that none of these terms is to be found in the comparable ICE-GB categories.

Table 3. Sample of Irish-language titles and designations in ICE-Ireland

Name	Reference
Found in ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI)	
Aer Lingus	Irish national (‘flag carrier’) airline
Radio Telefís Éireann	RTÉ; Irish public service broadcasting organization
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 centre
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*

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 (60) is from a radio discussion, where the speaker uses an Irish proverb, followed by an English rendition of the same sentiment:

(60) <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 (61), 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 (62) and (63) demonstrate switches into Irish in the course of conversation. In (62) the speaker emphasises her inability to see into a darkened house; in (63) it appears that the speaker is signalling a shift of conversational topic, asking first if her friends are listening to her.

(61) <W1B-010> <p> <#> Love from all here – **<&Irish>** agus mise fos **</&Irish>** <#> I hope the good Lord will look after you both. </p>

(62) <S1A-050$C> <#> You <{> <[> can’t see </[>
<S1A-050$A> <#> **<&Irish>** <[> Ni/l me/ </[> </{> in ann e/ a fheicea/il a chaili/ni/ **</&Irish>**

(63) <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 significance for our purposes of the Irish-language lexical items in ICE-Ireland and of the code-switching seen in (61)-(63) is not that it demonstrates a high level of structural influence on Irish Standard English. Nor, in this case, does it necessarily indicate that speakers of Irish Standard English are so used to speaking in Irish that they, like the speakers of Ní Eochaidh's account, conflate the two languages into a seamless whole of bilingual communication. In fact, as Mac Mathúna (2006: 123-24) notes, the Irish used by these speakers is not always in keeping with standard (or native speaker) norms. Though Mac Mathúna (2006: 124) puts an emphasis on the non-standard nature of this Irish, regarding it as "unacceptable to competent speakers of the language," our interpretation is rather more descriptive. The speakers in (61)-(63) are fully capable of expressing the literal meanings of their utterances in standard English: that they choose to use Irish, even allowing themselves the loss of face which comes from making 'mistakes' in their second language, suggests that Irish fulfils another function for them. This function can readily be understood in terms of what Blom & Gumperz (1972) refer to as metaphorical code-switching. In semiotic terms, we suggest that the use of Irish here is indexical, i.e. it points to the knowledge of Irish, to positive attitudes towards Irish, and to the shared sense of belonging to a society in which Irish is in use in various formal and informal contexts. Though this kind of usage does not show the structural influence that is usually taken as overt evidence of Celticity, we suggest that the indexical function of Irish must also be accounted for in assessing Celticity in Irish Standard English.

4. Conclusion

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

Although our analyses have demonstrated low frequencies of overtly Celtic elements, 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 many levels, any feature of

one level reinforcing that of another. One use, for 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 speakers 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, to the influence of the standardised written form on individuals represented in those categories under investigation, or to 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.

References

Adams, G.B., 1986, *The English Dialects of Ulster: An Anthology of Articles on Ulster Speech by G.B. Adams*, Holywood, County Down: Ulster Folk and Transport Museum. (Barry, M. & P. Tilling, eds.).

Adams, G.B., M.V. Barry, & P.M. Tilling, 1985, "The Tape-recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech: a Reappraisal of the Techniques of Traditional Dialect Geography," in: Kirk, J.M. et al., 67-80.

Allsopp, R., 1980, "How does the Creole Lexicon Expand?," in: Valdman, A. & A. Highfield, eds., *Theoretical Orientations in Creole Studies*, New York, etc.: Academic Press, 89-107.

Auer, P., B. Barden & B. Grosskopf, 1998, "Subjective and Objective Parameters in Determining 'Salience' in Long-term Dialect Accommodation," in: *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2: 163-187.

Bliss, A., 1979, *Spoken English in Ireland 1600-1740: Twenty-seven Representative Texts Assembled & Analysed*, Dublin: The Dolmen Press.

Blom, J-P. & J.J. Gumperz, 1972, "Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures: Code-Switching in Norway," in: Gumperz, J. & D. Hymes, eds., *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 407-434.

Burke, W., 1896, "The Anglo-Irish dialect," in: *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 3rd ser. 17: 694-704, 777-789.

Clark, J.M., 1917, *The Vocabulary of Anglo-Irish*, St. Gallen: Zollikofer & Cie.

Corrigan, K.P., 2000 a, "What Are 'Small Clauses' Doing in South Armagh English, Irish and Planter English?," in Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 75-96.

Corrigan, K.P., 2000 b, "'What Bees to Be Maun Be': Aspects of Deontic and Epistemic Modality in a Northern Dialect of Irish English," in: *English World-Wide* 21: 25-62.

Dolan, T.P., 1998 (2004), *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.

Fiess, A., 2000, "Age-group differentiation in the spoken language of rural East Galway?," in: Tristram, H.L.C., 188-209.

Filppula, M., 1986, *Some Aspects of Hiberno-English in a Functional Sentence Perspective,* Joensuu: University of Joensuu.

Filppula, M., 1991, "Subordinating *and* in Hiberno-English Syntax: Irish or English Origin?," in: Ureland, P.S. & G. Broderick, eds., 1991, *Language Contact in the British Isles*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 617-631.

Filppula, M., 1997 a, "The Influence of Irish on Perfect Marking in Hiberno-English: The Case of the 'Extended-now' Perfect," in: Kallen, J.L., 51-71.

Filppula, M., 1997 b, "Unbound Reflexives in Hiberno-English", in: Ahlqvist, A. & V. Capková, eds., *Dán do Oide: Essays in Memory of Conn R. Ó Cléirigh*, Dublin: Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann, 149-155.

Filppula, M., 1999, *The Grammar of Irish English: Language in Hibernian Style*, London/New York: Routledge.

Görlach, M., 1995, "Irish English and Irish culture in dictionaries of English," in: Görlach, M., ed., *More Englishes*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 164-191.

Greenbaum, S., ed., 1996, *Comparing English Worldwide: The International Corpus of English*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Greenlee, D., 1973, *Pierce's Concept of Sign*, The Hague: Mouton.

Häcker, M., 1999, "*And him no more than a minister's man*: The English subordinating and-construction in cross-linguistic perspective," in: *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics* 7: 36-50.

Harris, J., 1984, "Syntactic variation and dialect divergence", in: *Journal of Linguistics* 20: 303-327.

Harris, J., 1985 a, "The Hiberno-English 'I've it eaten' construction: what is it and where does it come from," in: Ó Baoill, D.P., ed., *Papers on Irish English*, Dublin: Irish Association for Applied Linguistics, 36-52.

Harris, J., 1985 b, "The polylectal grammar stops here," Dublin: Centre for Language and Communication Studies, Trinity College Dublin, Occasional Paper 13.

Harris, J., 1993, "The grammar of Irish English," in: Milroy, J. & L. Milroy, eds., *Real English: The Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles*, London: Longman, 139-186.

Hayden, M. & M. Hartog, 1909, "The Irish dialect of English: its origins and vocabulary," *The Fortnightly Review*, new ser. 85: 775-785, 933-947.

Henry, P.L., 1957, *An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon: Phonology, Accidence, Syntax*, Dublin: Department of English, University College.

Henry, P.L., 1958, "A linguistic survey of Ireland: preliminary report," in: *Lochlann* 1: 49-208.

Hickey, R., 1986, "Possible Phonological Parallels between Irish and Irish English," in: *English World-Wide* 7: 1-21.

Hickey, R., 2000, "Models for describing aspect in Irish English," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 97-116.

Hickey, R., 2004, "Irish English: Phonology," in: Schneider, E.W., K. Burridge, B. Kortmann, R. Mesthrie & C. Upton, eds., *A Handbook of Varieties of English*, vol. 1, Berlin: de Gruyter, 68-97.

Hogan, J.J., 1927, *The English Language in Ireland*, Dublin: Educational Company of Ireland.

Hume, [A.], 1877-78, "Remarks on the Irish dialect of the English Language," in: *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 3rd ser., 6: 93-140.

ICE website, International Corpus of English homepage at <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/ice/index.htm>, accessed 18 August 2004.

ICE-GB, 1998, *ICE-GB: The International Corpus of English: The British Component*, CD-ROM, London: Survey of English Usage, University College London.

Joyce, P.W., 1910, *English as we Speak it in Ireland*, London: Longmans, Green. (Repr. Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1979, 1988).

Kallen, J.L., 1989, "Tense and Aspect Categories in Irish English," in: *English World-Wide* 10: 1-39.

Kallen, J.L., 1990, "The Hiberno-English perfect: grammaticalisation revisited," in: *Irish University Review* 20: 120-136.

Kallen, J.L., 1991, "Sociolinguistic Variation and Methodology: *After* as a Dublin Variable," in: Cheshire, J., ed., *English around the World: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 61-74.

Kallen, J.L., 1996, "Entering lexical fields in Irish English," in: Klemola, J., M. Kytö & M. Rissanen, eds., *Speech Past and Present: Studies in English Dialectology in Memory of Ossi Ihalainen*, Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 101-129.

Kallen, J.L., ed., 1997 a, *Focus on Ireland*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (Varieties of English around the World, G21).

Kallen, J.L., 1997 b, "Irish English and World English: lexical perspectives," in: Schneider, E.W., ed., *Englishes around the World: Studies in Honour of Manfred Görlach*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 139-157.

Kallen, J.L., 1999, "Irish English and the Ulster Scots controversy," in: *Ulster Folklife* 45: 70-85.

Kallen, J.L., 2000, "Two Languages, Two Borders, One Island: Some Linguistic and Political Borders in Ireland," in: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 145: 29-63.

Kallen, J.L., 2005, "Internal and external factors in phonological convergence: the case of English /t/ lenition," in: Auer, P., F. Hinskens & P. Kerswill, eds., *Dialect Change: Convergence and Divergence in European Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 51-80.

Kallen, J.L. & J.M. Kirk, 2001, "Aspects of the Verb Phrase in Standard Irish English: A Corpus-based Approach," in: Kirk, J.M. & D.P. Ó Baoill, eds., *Language Links: The Languages of Scotland and Ireland*, Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona, 59-79. (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 2).

Kallen, J.L. & J.M. Kirk, 2005, "Translating the Dynamics of *Have* and *Take*: How Can ICE-Ireland Help?," paper presented to the International Conference on Practical Applications in Language and Computers (PALC 2005), Łódź.

Kallen, J.L. & J.M. Kirk, 2007, "ICE-Ireland: Local Variations on Global Standards," in Beal, J.C., K.P. Corrigan & H. Moisl, eds., *Creating and Digitizing Language Corpora*: *Synchronic Databases*, London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 121-162.

Kallen, J.L. & J.M. Kirk, in press, *ICE-Ireland: A User's Guide*, Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona.

Kelly, P., 1989. "Afterthoughts on AFTER + Doing," paper presented to joint meeting, *Linguistics Association of Great Britain/Irish Association for Applied Linguistics*, Belfast.

Kirk, J.M., 1991, *Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech*, Colchester: Economic and Social Research Council. (Revised version).

Kirk, J.M., 1992, "The Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech," in: Leitner, G., ed., *New Directions in English Language Corpora: Methodology, Results, Software Developments*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 65-73.

Kirk, J.M., 1997, "Ulster English: The State of the Art," in Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 135-179.

Kirk, J.M., J.L. Kallen, O. Lowry & A. Rooney, 2004, "Issues Arising from the Compilation of ICE-Ireland," in: *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 16: 23-41.

Kirk, J.M., S. Sanderson & J.D.A. Widdowson, 1985, *Studies in Linguistic Geography: The Dialects of English in Britain and Ireland*, London: Croom Helm.

Lange, C., 2006, "Reflexivity and intensification in Irish English and other new Englishes," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes IV*, Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam, 259-282.

Lass, R., 1987, "Early Mainland Residues in Southern Hiberno-English," in: *Irish University Review* 20 (1): 137-148.

Mac Mathúna, S., 2006, "Remarks on standardisation in Irish English, Irish and Welsh," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes IV*, Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam, 114-129.

Macafee, C.I., ed., 1996, *Concise Ulster Dictionary*, Oxford.

McCafferty, K., 2006, "*Be after V-ing* on the Past Grammaticalisation Path: How Far Is It After Coming?," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes IV*, Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam, 130-151.

Miller, J., 2003, "Syntax and Discourse in Modern Scots," in: Corbett, J., J.D. McClure & J. Stuart-Smith, eds., *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 72-109.

Milroy, L., 1984, "Comprehension and Context: Successful Communication and Communicative Breakdown," in: Trudgill, P., ed., *Applied Sociolinguistics*, London: Academic Press, 7-31.

Montgomery, M., 1993, "The Lexicography of Hiberno-English," in: *Working Papers in Irish Studies* 93(3): 20-35.

Moylan, S., 1996, *The Language of Kilkenny: Lexicon, Semantics, Structures*, Dublin: Geography Publications.

Nelson, G., S. Wallis & B. Aarts, 2002, *Exploring Natural Language: Working with the British Component of the International Corpus of English*, Amsterdam: Benjamins. (Varieties of English around the World, G29).

Ní Eochaidh, C., 1922, "Focla Gaedhilge i mBéal an Bhearlóra," in: *The Gaelic Churchman* 3: 140-141.

Ó Corráin, B., 2006, "On the 'After Perfect' in Irish and Hiberno-English," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes IV*, Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam, 152-172.

Ó hAinnracháin, S., 1964, *Caint an Bhaile Dhuibh*, Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Tta.

Ó Muirithe, D., 1996, *A Dictionary of Anglo-Irish. Words and Phrases from Gaelic in the English of Ireland*, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Ó Sé, D., 2004, "The 'After' Perfect and Related Constructions in Gaelic Dialects," in: *Ériu* 54: 179-248.

Ó Siadhail, M., 1984. "*Agus (is)/and*: A shared syntactic feature," in: *Celtica* 16: 125-137.

Share, B., 2001, *Naming Names: Who, What, Where in Irish Nomenclature*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.

Shee, G., 1882, "The Irish 'Brogue' in Fiction: A Protest," in: *The Month* 45: 363-375.

Stanihurst, R., 1577, "A Treatise Contayning a Playne and Perfect Description of Irelande," in: Holinshed, R., ed., *The Historie of Irelande from the First Inhabitation therof, unto the Yeare 1509*, London: Imprinted for George Bishop, 1-28v.

Todd, L., 1990, *Words Apart: A Dictionary of Northern Ireland English*, Gerrards Cross: Smythe.

Todd, L., 1999, *Green English: Ireland's Influence on the English Language*, Dublin: O'Brien Press.

Traynor, M., 1953, *The English Dialect of Donegal: A Glossary*, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 1997, *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 2000, *The Celtic Englishes II*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 2006, *The Celtic Englishes IV*, Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam.

van Hamel, A.G., 1912, "On Anglo-Irish syntax," in: *Englische Studien* 45: 272-292.

van Ryckeghem, B., 1997, "The Lexicon of Hiberno-English," in: Kallen, J.L., ed., 1997 a, 189-205.

Vendryes, J., 1958-59, "Review of Henry 1957," in: *Études Celtiques* 8: 215-219.

Wall, R., 1990, "Dialect in Irish literature: the hermetic core," in: *Irish University Review* 20: 8-18.

Wigger, A., 2000, "Language Contact, Language Awareness, and the History of Hiberno-English," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 159-187.

On the 'Celticity' of Irish Newspapers – A Research Report

Hildegard L.C. Tristram
(University of Freiburg i.Brsg.) [1]

1. Introduction

Of all the print-media newspapers are the most commonly used. They are not literature in the sense of *belles letters*, but they should not be underestimated in their political, social and personal importance. No other printed product is as closely linked with everyday life as the newspapers. The day begins under their influence, and their contents mirror the events of the day with varying accuracy.

Newspapers are strongly reader-oriented. They want to inform, but they also want to instil opinions. Specific choices of information shape the content level. Specific choices of language are resorted to in order to spread opinions and viewpoints. Language creates solidarity between the producers and the consumers of newspapers and thereby supports ideologies by specifically targeted linguistic means. Other strategies are employed for the same purpose, too. Visual aspects are of great importance, such as the typographical layout, the use of pictures, drawings, colours, fonts, etc.

According to traditional views, Ireland is the place where people read more newspapers than anywhere else in the world, except perhaps for Iceland. According to more recent sources, however, Ireland only comes twenty third out of

[1] I am very grateful to the student researchers (Gm. 'Hilfskräfte') at the University of Potsdam who have been involved in the analysis of the newspaper data at different stages since 1997, notably to Meinolf Bunsman, Irene Forsthoffer, Dr. Susanne Kries, Christina Bismark and Susanne Hübner. I also wish to thank the many students at Potsdam University between 1997 and 2006 who assisted in the data collection by reading and analysing Irish newspapers in their undergraduate courses on the languages of Ireland (Gm. 'Proseminare'). Without their help and enthusiasm the project could not have advanced as much as it did. My special thanks go to Meinolf Bunsmann (1997) and Sandra Kaufhold (2004) for their unpublished research papers on the use of language in Irish newspapers. The present paper owes much to their perceptive insights. I also wish to thank Prof. Gearóid Mac Eoin (Galway) and Dr. Patricia Ronan (Uppsala) for their proposals of significant amendments of this paper. The responsibility for any mistakes and infelicities is of course entirely my own.

40 developed countries (Brady 1990: 70). The history of newspapers in Ireland began in 1649 with Oliver Cromwell and *The Irish Monthy Mercury* (Oram 1983: 21). He used the medium to spread the news about the defeat of the native forces and the victorious deeds of his army. The continuous history of newspapers in Ireland then started at the end of the 17th century with the Dublin *Newsletter* (1685, O'Toole 1992: xi). Cork was the first city outside the capital to publish a newspaper (1715). Soon Limerick followed (1716), then Waterford (1729) and Belfast (1737) which has one of the oldest continuously published newspapers in the world. By the end of the 19th century, newspapers had been established in all larger provincial towns.

The language of the newspapers published in Ireland, however, was English, not Irish, due to the fact that the native Irish aristocracy had been replaced under English colonial rule. English was the language of power. When newspaper production became cheaper and the papers were readily affordable to the people, the use of English was reinforced and eventually added to the decline of the Irish language. Nevertheless, the newspapers proved to be a useful tool in the promotion of Catholic Emancipation and Home Rule.

The growing popularity of TV and the Internet has led to a decline in the newspaper readership all around the world and did not stop at the Irish borders. But it is not only the general decline in readership that weakened the Irish newspaper market. It also had to compete against massive imports from neighbouring Great Britain and overseas. The imports usually belong to the 'yellow' press and they offer short and catchy news with a colourful layout.

Due to the fact that they include pages full of commercials which are an important source of revenue to the owner of the newspaper, they are cheaper than the more serious products of the upper market and more attractive to the uncritical consumer. As the yellow press lacks journalistic seriousness, this brought about demands for a state-controlled regulation of the Irish newspaper market, because the representatives of Irish newspapers feared that they would lose commercially (Kiberd 1997, Kiberd 1999, Horgan 2001). To compete with the imports, they would have to change their principles of journalistic work. They would no longer be able to "reflect the wide diversity of opinion existing in society and, of course, [to] promote and encourage the formation of opinion by providing a channel for debate, analysis, and discussion" (Rapple 1997: 69).

Ireland is a country where today the large majority of the population speaks English, albeit in an acculturated form ('Irish English,' 'Hiberno-English,' 'Anglo-Irish'),[2] while their 'native' language, Irish (Gaelic), is only spoken as an autochthonous community language by a very small minority of the Irish people in the Gaeltacht areas and by urban middle-class language activists. Both varieties of Irish show obvious signs as a semi-language with heavy influence from English on all linguistic levels, the urban variety being more strongly influenced

[2] The different terms imply different attitudes toward the varieties of English spoken in Ireland (Tristram 1997: 17-21).

than that of the Gaeltacht (cf. Ó Béarra 2007, Ó Curnáin 2007). In spite of this, most of the people in the Republic of Ireland and also to a large degree the population of Northern Ireland identify themselves with their Irish heritage, linguistically and culturally, and place emphasis on their being different from the people on the neighbouring island, i.e. the Island of Great Britain. The political tension of this area of contact between the English language and the people's perceived Celtic heritage can be readily observed on the linguistic level in the use of language in the Irish newspapers.

The use of *three* languages could actually form the object of linguistic research in Irish newspaper usage, i.e. Standard International (newspaper) English, Irish English, the language of shift and long-term linguistic accommodation in Ireland,[3] and Irish (Gaelic), the heritage language of Ireland. While both contemporary Irish English and Irish (Gaelic) have been reasonably well researched in their *spoken* realisations,[4] their *written* realisations have been neglected outside of studies of the literary language. I am not aware of any study of their use in Irish newspapers. But the readers of this paper may perhaps teach me otherwise and I would be very grateful for possible references.

From the angle of the sociology of language, I think it would be particularly interesting to discover how far the Irish language was and still is instrumentalised in Irish newspapers, that is, to what extent it was and still is intentionally utilised as a tool to construct and maintain a specifically Irish identity. How consciously do Irish journalists make use of this tool? And how conscious are the journalists of the 'Celticity' of Irish (Gaelic) words, terms and entire articles in the context of the English of an Irish newspaper?

Moreover, newspaper language is tied to the different types of texts it consists of. This means that the articles within one and the same issue of a newspaper differ in their use of style and linguistic register depending on the specific communicative needs they satisfy. These purposes may be geared towards providing information ('facts'). They may be of a persuasive nature serving the promotion of opinion. They may be instructive or they may serve entertainment and contact inducing purposes.[5]

Beside the political and ideological orientation of a paper and the specific requirements of the various types of articles, research into the use of the Irish lan-

3 Spoken Irish English differs considerably from Standard English, especially on the segmental and suprasegmental levels of phonology and in its morpho-syntax. In the age of English as an international language and through school-teaching, it lost most of its specifically Irish English lexis of former centuries, much of which was historically due to *bottom-up* transfer from Irish, but also retained some of the Early Modern English lexis of the English and Scottish settlers during the plantation periods (16c. and 17c.). Cf. Bliss (1979), Joyce (1991), Hickey (2002, 2005).

4 See for instance Filppula (1999), Hickey (2002); O'Rahilly (1976 [1932]), Wagner (1958-1969), MacCongáil & Wagner (1983), Ó Dochartaigh (1987), Wigger (2004), etc.

5 One is, of course, reminded here of the old rhetorical triad of speaker intensions of the *docēre*, *delectare* and *movēre*, as well as of the traditional rhetorical genres of *expositio*, *descriptio*, *narratio* and *persuasio*.

guage in the newspaper context also needs to take into consideration which audience is targeted. National papers compete with regional and professional ones and are likely to differ in their use of the language. A further aspect which makes the study of Irish newspapers particularly interesting is the political division of the Island of Ireland. Northern Ireland, or more specifically the six counties of the historical Province of Ulster, belongs to the *United Kingdom (of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)*. Since languages and their use are invariably moulded by the political circumstances they are subjected to, it would be a rewarding task to investigate how far the use of Irish differs in Northern and Southern Irish newspapers.

2. *The Potsdam Newspaper* Database – An unfinished Case Study

In December 1995, I went into a newsagent's in the city centre of Galway and bought all Irish newspapers which were for sale. I was further provided with the same newspapers at regular intervals until April 1996. During this period, Dr. Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail also provided me with newspapers from the Cork area. Altogether the following newspapers formed the basis of the data retrieval:

Nation-wide Newspapers

1. The Irish Times (published in Ireland)
2. The Irish Independent (published in Ireland)
3. The Examiner (published in Ireland)
4. The Sunday Tribune (published in Ireland)

5. The Irish World (published in the UK, available in the UK and the Republic)
6. The Irish Sun (published in the UK, available in the UK and the Republic)
7. The Irish Post (published in the UK, available in the UK and the Republic)

Regional Newspapers (all published in the Irish Republic)

1. The Cork Examiner
2. The Corkman
3. The Kerryman
4. The Limerick Leader
5. The Clare Champion
6. The Connacht Tribune
7. The Galway Advertiser
8. The Roscommon Herald
9. The Kilkenny People
10. The Leinster Leader

Professional Newspapers

1. Irish Farmer's Journal
2. Farm Examiner
3. The Sunday Business Post

These papers only form a small segment of the Irish newspaper market.[6] In sociolinguistic terms, the sample is neither a totally random sample, nor a pure judgment sample. It is centred on the customers of the Galway newsagent and, as far as its readership is concerned, it is fairly homogeneous, as one would be able to assume that all the readers of these newspapers at one particular period in time were able to understand the papers they bought. In a way, they form a loose network in the sense of network sociolinguistics. The Cork papers are somewhat anomalous, as they do not fit the idea of the network. But at the time, I thought I should avail myself of Dr. Ní Úrdail's kind offer to provide me with these papers.

As unfortunately, the Potsdam newspaper project came to an end in 2006 and is consequently unfinished, the results of our research achieved until then can therefore only document tendencies and cannot present hardcore statistical data involving all Irish newspapers which formed the data base.

The data retrieval was carried out in two ways. First of all as a take-home assignment, I asked successive generations of students from my undergraduate courses (Gm. 'Proseminare') at the University of Potsdam on 'The Languages of Ireland' to highlight all the words in the newspapers which they did not understand. These we discussed in class and divided into three groups, a) Irish words, names, expressions and articles written in Irish, b) Irish English words and expressions, c) English words and expressions they were unfamiliar with because of their deficiencies as 'English as a Second Language' (ESL) learners. Among the many words which they did not know, the Irish words, expressions and articles loomed large, as the phonotactics immediately characterised them as being non-English.

In the meantime, Meinolf Bunsmann, a Potsdam PhD student, devised an electronic database using the Microsoft *Access* program, into which the Irish language findings were entered. He structured this *Access* database according to the following categories:

1. name of paper[7]
2. type of paper[8]
3. date of paper

[6] Cf. <http://irishnewspaperarchives.com> (accessed 16-07-07).
<http://www.world-newspapers.com/ireland.html> (accessed 16-07-07).
<http://www.wrx.zen.co.uk/ireland.htm> (accessed 16-07-07), etc.

[7] See the above list of Irish newspapers subjected to analysis.

[8] Subcategories: National, Regional, Local, Professional.

4. page number
5. type of article/text-type[9]
6. Irish entry[10]
7. correct/incorrect use of the acute accent (*síneadh fada*)
8. correct/incorrect marking of the gender of the Irish words
9. semantic domain[11]
10. context of the Irish entry[12]
11. comments.[13]

Unfortunately, Meinolf Bunsmann never finished his PhD project. He was poached away from a very promising academic career by Hessischer Rundfunk, a regional German TV and Radio Station, where he now works as a successful journalist and is responsible for the Station's cultural programs. His data files, however, continued to be filled with Irish entries. To date, about half of the entire corpus of newspapers has been processed.

Over the years, however, the extant entries served as the starting point for a number of Potsdam semester papers and for Sandra Kaufhold's 2004 research paper for her Brandenburg State Board Examination. These papers analysed specific segments of the data files, either a number of newspapers issued at a specific date, or national newspapers only, or specific types of articles/text-types, or selected newspapers over the entire period, etc. In the following, I will give a short outline of the tendencies that were suggested by these research papers.

3. Tendencies Suggested by the Preliminary Research Results

All Irish newspapers analysed availed themselves of the possibility to demonstrate their 'Celticity' during the period under investigation. This was the time when the 'Celtic Tiger' economy of the Irish Republic was in full action. Pride in being Irish presumably boosted the use of Irish for the sake of tokenism, because within one generation, after its entry into the EU in 1973, Ireland had turned from one of the poorest countries of Europe into one of the wealthiest. Interestingly, there was no great difference between the national and regional

[9] Subcateories: Leader, Feature, Irish News, Irish Politics, International News, Local News, Local Politics, Law, Business, Health, Travel, Sports, Entertainment, Social Issues, Agriculture/Farm News, Heritage, Armed Forces, Job Market, Advertisement, TV, Radio, Weather Forecast, Obituary Notices.

[10] Subcategories: Irish words, phrases/sayings/proverbs and reference to entire article.

[11] Subcategories: Government Institutions, Government Authorities, Political Parties, Paramilitary Groups, Firm/Company Names, Brand Names, Project Names, Place Names, Other Domains, Grammar: Common Noun, Verb, Adverb.

[12] Quotation of the Irish entry in its immediate English context.

[13] Any observations of potential relevance.

newspapers in their use of 'token Irish'. The overall difference consisted in only about 20% more use of Irish in the regional papers than in the national ones.

The overall number of token entries into the data base counts ca. 13,800 *tokens* so far, ca 6,000 for the nation-wide newspapers and 7,800 for the regional ones. The professional newspapers have not yet been dealt with and I have not yet counted the number of *types* of the Irish entries into the data base – their total would of course be much lower, as the large majority of the entries is highly repetitive. What I will present now, is a qualitative data interpretation of the findings of the student papers I talked about and of the research result of Sandra Kaufhold's thesis (2004).

Of the seven *national* newspapers analysed, *The Irish Times* made by far the most use of Irish, i.e. roughly between 200 and 300 tokens per issue and, in addition to that, it also featured about three columns in the Irish language. *The Irish Independent*, *The Examiner* and the *Sunday Tribune* usually counted below 200 entries and featured one to two Irish language columns. Of the papers printed in England, the *Irish Post* on average showed just less than 200 entries, which I think is quite a lot for an English paper, and the *Irish World* less than half of that. At the bottom of the scale, *The Irish Sun* on average only scored between 20 and 30 entries per issue. It was also the only paper that did not include articles in Irish. This, of course, did not come as a surprise, as *The Irish Sun* is a mere copy of the British publication. It is not interested in developing a specifically Irish profile. If that had been the objective, *The Irish Sun* would probably have included a more extensive use of Irish words.

Of the *regional* papers analysed, *The Kerryman* scored highest with about 300 or more entries, plus three Irish language columns. Next came *The Clare Champion* with a little more than 200 entries on average, *The Roscommon Herald* with about 200 entries and *The Connacht Tribune* with just under 200 entries. In contrast to these western papers, *The Leinster Leader* and *The Kilkenny People* only scored between 100 and 150 entries. This (South) West-to-East cline perhaps reflects the East-to-West movement of the loss of Irish as a community language over the past 200 years.

Of the regional papers analysed, the lowest score was found in the *Galway Advertiser* with less than 100 findings on average. The *Galway Advertiser* was a local newspaper in the City of Galway, situated in (West) Connacht. Its low score of Irish words probably reflects the urban character of this paper as opposed to the more vital use of the Irish language in everyday communication in the more rural parts of the West of the country and/or the greater passive knowledge of Irish there. On the other hand, all of the regional papers analysed featured two to three Irish language columns per issue. The paper with the highest number of contributions in Irish was the *Connacht Tribune* with up to ten (*sic!*) Irish features per issue. The only paper without any Irish language column was *The Leinster Leader*.

In the ranking list of the semantic domains, Government and Politics scored highest both in the national and the regional papers. Here the most frequently

quoted Irish word was *Sinn Féin*, a party name. This accumulation of entries for *Sinn Féin* (abbreviated as *SF*) showed how dependent the types of entries are on the current agenda of politics. In 1995/6, the Northern Ireland peace process and the Mitchell Report[14] were big issues. The second place was held by a further party, *Fianna Fáil* (abbreviated as *FF*), followed by the title of *Taoiseach* (Irish for Prime Minister), then came *TD* (abbreviation of *Teachta Dála*, Irish for member of Parliament) and *Dáil* (*Dáil Éireann*, Irish Parliament). *Fine Gael* (*FG*), another Irish political party, *Seanad* (Senate) and the Governmental Departments, Boards, Councils and Services were also entered in Irish: *An Post*, *An Bord Bia*, *An Bord Bainne*, *An Bord Pleanála*, *Bord Fáilte*, *Bord Gáis*, *Bord Slainte an Iarthair*, *FÁS* (acronym for *Foras Áiseanna Saothair* "Irish National Training and Employment Authority"), etc. The high score of *An Post* (Irish Postal Service) is easily explained by the newspapers reporting on a strike of *An Post* employees who demanded better working conditions. This again shows how daily events influence the scores of the analysis.

As I cannot discuss the entries in any great details here, I will limit myself to a comparative score ranking of the semantic domains in the national and regional newspapers and then comment on some of the more spectacular findings in the regional newspapers. It will be noted that, for practical reasons, the domains in this list differ slightly from the domains in the *Access* data base, as the students found it more convenient to form their own domains for their research papers and to add other domains during their actual research.

national newspapers	*regional newspapers*
Government and Politics	Government and Politics
Media (RTÉ, Setanta Sports Channel, etc.)	Law and order
Law and Order	Sports
Sports	Leisure and Entertainment
Leisure and Entertainment	Education
Groups and Organisations	Economy
Companies	Groups and Organisations
Economy	Companies
Education	Media
Health	Religion
Religion	Mythology
Mythology	Health
Placenames	Placenames
Sayings, Mottos, Phrases	Saying, Mottoes, Phrases
Other	Other

[14] Cf. George J. Mitchell Papers, George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections & Archives, Bowdoin College Library: <http://library.bowdoin.edu/arch/mitchell/faid/7/> (accessed 15-07-07).

The domain of *Law and Order* requires a special comment. Crimes, as well as accidents and spectacular occurrences need the intervention of the police. So their mention plays a major role both in the national and the regional papers. The type of the lexical entries, however, only consists of four items. The official term for the Irish police forces is *Garda Síochána* (*na hÉireann*) ("Guard of the Peace of Ireland"). The national, as well as the regional papers tend to avoid the full title and to make ample use of its short form *Garda* instead. The term *garda* is ambiguous; it means both the 'police' as the collective police force and an individual 'policeman.' A 'police woman' is a *ban-gharda*. The plural of *garda* is *gardaí*. Both in the national and the regional papers, the accent is often omitted, the added <i> being a sufficient marker of pluralisation. In spite of the fact that the domain of *Law and Order* only counts four terms for the Irish police force, the terms *garda* and *gardaí* score the highest incidents of all Irish lexemes in the entire investigation. I think it is remarkable that the Government of Ireland provided a term for their police forces which differs from that of most western European countries and that this term is in Irish. Because of the high incidence of this term, this is, I think, the clearest lexical statement of the Irish society's desire of a separate identity construction.

A word on *Education* is perhaps appropriate here, as well. Education plays a very important role in Ireland and much attention was allotted to it in the past decades. That Education scores higher in the regional papers is obvious, as the catchment area of a school and college usually covers just a few parishes. Many schools are named after Irish saints (*Coláiste Chiaráin*, *Coláiste Cholmcille*, *Coláiste Éinde*; *Scoil Dara*, *Scoil Fhursa*, *Scoil Mhicil Naofa*, *Scoil Naomh Eirc*, etc.), but undoubtedly by far the most popular name for schools in the Republic is *Scoil Mhuire* ("Mary's School"), at least according to our data base. Notices for the *Gaelscoilenna* and other schools with an emphasis on education *as Gaeilge* tended to be in Irish, or both in Irish and English.

A final word on Irish sayings, mottoes and phrases. Most of them occur in connection with the domain of Religion and here in the obituary notices. Here we find blessings like

> Ar dheis Dé go bhfuil a anam dílis (*sic!*).
> Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.
> Ar dhéis Dé go raibh a anam Mháire (*sic!*).
> A dheis Dé go raibh sé.
> Déanaimid comhbhrón lena mhuintir agus go dtuga Dia suaimhneas siorraí da anam.
> I measg na Naomh go raibh sé.
> Solas na bhFlaithis duit a Bhrid (*sic!*) agus ar dheis Dé go raibh tú.
> Solas na bhFlaithis Dí.
> Ar Shlí na Firinne (go raibh sí), etc.

Occasionally, we also find isolated phrases like *cúpla focal*, *focail eile as Gaeilge*, *dilis d'ár nOidhreacht*, *meanmna agus misneach*, etc. or English idioms containing Irish lexis, such as *to have a great 'grá' for smth*. Other sayings

occur interspersed both in the regional and the national papers, such as the following phrases and blessings:

> *Níl aon tinteán mar do thinteán féin. Bail ó dhia oraibh agus fáilte abhaile!*
> "There is no fireside like your own fireside. The blessing of God on you and welcome home." (The Connacht Tribune, The Irish Post)[15]
>
> Céad Míle Fáilte!
> Fáilte Abhaile!, etc.

4. Conclusions

How are we to interpret these findings?

I understand them to present an interesting case of reverse *sesquilingualism*. Sesquilingualism is a technical term for a special case of bilingualism and can be translated as the "mastery of one-and-a-half languages" (Pilch 1976: 152, Gm. "Anderthalbsprachigkeit"). Sesquilingualism occurs "when all members of a given society speak the inferior language, but some of its members speak the prestige language, usually in a more or less imperfect manner as a 'foreign language'" (id.: 152). This implies that in sesquilingual situations "a certain number of the population has studied the second language but has retained only a marginal and superficial knowledge" (Thogmartin 1984: 447).

The typical sesquilingual situation in continental Europe is that of a native speaker of German, French, Romanian or of any other European language who believes that his or her native language is inferior to English, the language of global prestige, and who therefore intersperses his or her speech with bits and pieces from the prestige language. Most of such borrowings are correct, but many are merely imagined loanwords from English or rather 'pseudo-borrowings,' devised by speakers who believe they borrowed the correct term from the prestige language. In fact, however, they invented the pseudo-English terms themselves and by various means of popularisation these eventually become part of the sesquilingual lexicon. German examples are, for instance, the term 'handy' for 'cell(-phone)' or 'mobile (phone),' 'beamer' for 'data projector,' 'SMS' for 'text message' or 'sets' for 'place-mats.' Both the real borrowings from English and the pseudo-borrowings vary considerably across the European languages (cf. Görlach 2002).

Ireland's sesquilingual situation is unique in Europe.[16] Article 8 of the Irish Constitution (*Bunreacht na hÉireann*) of 1937 states that Irish is the first official

[15] On the problem of correct and incorrect Irish quotes, see Mac Mathúna (2006: 124).

[16] It might be objected that the language situation in the Basque country, in Catalonia, Galicia and perhaps elsewhere in Europe is comparable to the Irish one. Like Irish, Basque, Catalan and Galician have been subject to intensive 20c 'normalisation' movements by middle

language and English the second official language. The 2006 Statement on the Irish language amended this to a specific policy of bilingualism:

> Is í aidhm pholasaí an Rialtais i leith na Gaeilge ná úsáid agus eolas ar an nGaeilge a mhéadú mar theanga phobail ar bhonn céimiúil.
> Is aidhm ar leith de chuid an Rialtais í a chinntiú go bhfuil an oiread saoránach agus is féidir **dátheangach** i nGaeilge agus i mBéarla.
>
> The objective of Government policy in relation to Irish is to increase on an incremental basis the use and knowledge of Irish as a community language.
> Specifically, the Government aim is to ensure that as many citizens as possible are **bilingual** in both Irish and English.[17]

If sesquilingualism is a special form of bilingualism, then the 2006 Statement obviously sanctions the status quo of the actual uses of the two national languages of Ireland. De facto, most Irish people use English both as their community language and also as the language of public affairs. De jure, however, most Irish people would agree that Irish is their ‘real’ native language and that they ought to speak it, in spite of the fact that they do not do so or that they cannot really speak it.

Ireland’s sesquilingual situation is thus the *inverse* of the ‘normal’ European situation, where English is the prestige language and the native language the language of lower prestige. In Ireland, English as the language of actual use is less prestigious than Irish,[18] the language of national aspirations. This unique situation was already founded in the Irish Constitution, where it was laid down that a number of Irish language terms were to be used in official English usage. Among these figured the terms *Éire* for the state and *Taoiseach* for the prime minister. Other terms like *Oireachtas*, *Dáil Éireann* and *Seanad Éireann* were already used in the Constitution of the Irish Free State (1922).

Eighty years of compulsory school teaching firmly anchored the Irish language in Irish life, not as a language of everyday use in the home and in public, but as a language of national prestige, as a language of higher learning and culture, as a heritage language, as a language of the schools. Accordingly, until recently, the teaching methods were those of teaching the ancient languages of prestige, Latin and Greek, where grammar and the study of exemplary literature formed the staple diet of the pupils. These methods trained a *recognition* knowledge, not an actual *use* knowledge. These methods, however, imparted to the

---

class revivalists. Like Irish, these languages have been material in the creation of regionalised ‘national’ identities. Neither Basque, nor Catalan, nor Galician, however, are official EU languages, as Irish has been since the beginning of 2007.

17 Bold face in the original.

18 Irish English in particular is held in low esteem, as shown for instance by the scarcity of native studies of it, the lack of grammar books, style guides, etc. And there is only one dictionary of Irish English, Dolan (2004), beside a few glossaries. Cf. Tristram (2003). By contrast, see Bonin (2003) for the recent change of esteem of Australian English in Australia.

pupils the values of Irish culture and thereby created a strong sense of identity, if only through common suffering of the Irish classes.

Reverse sesquilingualism in Ireland guaranteed that, after 80 years of school teaching and various public language policies, all Irish people have a basic understanding of the Irish language, an understanding that is, I take it, reflected by the readership of the newspapers I bought in Galway in 1995/6 and that Dr. Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail provided me with from Cork. If the readers had not been able to make sense of the tokenism of Irish in the newspapers, then the presence of Irish in them would be redundant or gratuitous. I do not think, however, that the presence of Irish in the papers was redundant or gratuitous, because it served the underpinning of an Irish identity ostensibly different from other English-speaking peoples in Europe and elsewhere (cf. Tristram 2001).

On a more localised level, the Irish tokenism also served emotional purposes as evidenced, for instance, by the use of Irish names for sports teams and clubs, for names on the gate of private houses, for B&B advertisements, for the names of schools, for the blessings in the obituary notices, etc. It would have certainly been rewarding to have carried out readership tests in order to learn how much of the Irish in the papers the readers actually understood or how they understood the individual terms and phrases. It would also have been interesting to investigate who actually read the Irish columns both in the national and the regional newspapers.

If we take a look at the Irish national census returns regarding the language question, we see

Censuses 1861 – 2002

Year	Total number of Irish Population	Irish Speakers	Non-Irish Speakers	% of Irish Speakers
1861	4,402,111	1,077,087	3,325,024	24.5
1871	4,053,187	804,547	3,248,640	19.9
1881	3,870,020	924,781	2,945,239	23.9
1891	3,467,694	664,387	2,804,307	19.2
1901	3,221,823	619,710	2,602,113	19.2
1911	3,139,688	553,717	2,585,971	17.6
1926	2,802,452	540,802[19]	2,261,650	19.3
1936	2,806,925	666,601	2,140,324	24.8
1946	2,771,657	588,725	2,182,932	21.2
1961	2,635,818	716,420	1,919,398	27.2
1971	2,787,448	789,429	1,998,019	28.3
1981	3,226,467	1,018,413	2,208,054	31.6
1986	3,353,632	1,042,701	2,310,931	31.1
1991	3,367,006	1,095,830	2,271,176	32.6

[19] In 1926 the category ‘3 years and over’ was introduced.

1996	3,476,648	1,430,205[20]	2,046,443	41.1
2002	3,668,157	1,570,894	2,097,263	42.8

that five years ago, 41.1% of the Irish citizens claimed to be able to speak Irish. Whatever they meant by this, the figure shows that a high percentage of the Irish citizens *believed* in their active knowledge of the Irish language. We can deduce from this that an even higher percentage had a passive knowledge of Irish at the period of investigation. We can probably assume that there was a continuum between passively understood pure tokenism, ranging from Irish as an unquestioned symbol of Otherness, to a full understanding for those readers who took the official sesquilingualism seriously and fully understood what the tokens actually meant.

A final word on Irish in the newspapers as *indices* of 'Celticity'. The question of how 'Celtic' the so-called 'Celtic Englishes' are was intensively and controversially discussed at the first Colloquium on the interface between English and the Celtic languages in 1995 (Tristram 1997: 11-17). From a purely linguistic point of view, Manfred Görlach (1977) argued that very few linguistic features of truly Celtic provenance, if at all, can be identified in the contact Englishes of the former internal colonies of England and that therefore the 'Celticity' of these contact Englishes could not be rightly claimed. In the discussion, John Harris and most forcefully Roibeárd Ó hÚrdail disagreed with Görlach on the grounds of their own perception of English in the Celtic countries as 'Celtic' influenced varieties of English, linguistically, culturally and ideologically. The issue was taken up again at the Colloquium on the *Celtic Englishes IV* of 2004, where Kirk & Kallen's paper and Séamus Mac Mathúna's response to it argued again for a broader understanding of the 'Celticity' of the 'Celtic Englishes,' hence also of the English language in Ireland. See also Kirk's & Kallen's paper "Assessing Celticity in a Corpus of Irish Standard English," where they note that they understand

> Celticity not just in terms of the formal transfer of grammatical features, but as an indexical feature of language use, i.e. one in which English in Ireland is used in such a way as to point to the Irish language as a linguistic and cultural reference point. In this sense, our understanding of Celticity is not entirely grammatical, but relies as well on Pierce's notion of indexicality … by which semiotic signs 'point' to other signs (Kirk & Kallen 2007: 270).

In this sense, I believe that the occurrence of Irish in the English language papers sold in the Republic are indexical of the 'Celticity' of Ireland both on the official level of language policy and on the personal level of the Irish readers of these newspapers. In this sense also, the 'Celticity' of Ireland was and still is an

[20] Introduction of questions concerning the frequency of Irish language use (focus on spoken language).

essential factor in the construction and maintenance of the otherness of Irish self-perception and self-esteem.

References

Bliss, A.J., 1979, *Spoken English in Ireland 1600-1740: twenty-seven representative texts, assembled and analysed by Alan Bliss*, Dublin: Dolmen.

Bonin, H., 2003, "'British Loyalism or Australian Progressiveness': Zur Haltung der Australier gegenüber ihrer Sprache," in: Drexler P. & A. Kinsky-Ehritt, eds., *Identities and Minorities: Postcolonial Readings*, Berlin: Trafo, 33-52.

Brady, C., 1999, "Newspapers, Standards, Litigation: Is There a Better Way?," in: Kiberd, D., ed., *Media in Ireland. The Search for Ethical Journalism*, Dublin: Open Air, 69-78.

Bunsmann, M., 1977, *Sprachliche Identität und Alterität in irischen Tageszeitungen*, Potsdam: unpubl. research proposal, 41 pp.

Dolan, T.P., 2004 (1998), *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English*: *the Irish use of English*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd.

Filppula, M., 1999, *The grammar of Irish English: language in Hibernian style*, New York: Routledge.

Görlach, M., 1997, "Celtic Englishes?," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: Winter, 27-54.

Görlach, M., ed., 2002, *English in Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hickey, R., 2002, *A source book for Irish English*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Hickey, R., ed., 2005, *Irish English: its history and present-day forms*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Horgan, J., 2001, *Irish Media. A Criticial History Since 1922*, London/New York: Routledge.

Joyce, P.W., 1991 [1910], *English as we speak it in Ireland*, (with introduction by Terence Dolan), Dublin: Wolfhound Press.

Kaufhold, S., 2004, *Language and Identity*: *The Case of Irish Newspapers*, Potsdam: unpubl. thesis for Brandenburg State Board Examination, 156 pp.

Kiberd, D., ed., 1997, *Media in Ireland. The Search for Diversity*, Dublin: Open Air.

Kiberd, D., ed., 1999, *Media in Ireland. The Search for Ethical Journalism*, Dublin: Open Air.

Kirk, J.M. & J.L. Kallen, 2006, "Irish Standard English: How Celticised? How Standardised?," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes IV*, Potsdam: Potsdam University Press, 88-113.

Kirk, J.M. & J.L. Kallen, 2007, "Assessing Celticity in a Corpus of Irish Standard English," Paper presented at the XIII International Congress of Celtic Studies, Bonn, 23 July 2007, 270-298. (see this volume).

MacCongáil, N. & H. Wagner, 1983, *Oral literature from Dunquin, County Kerry*, Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast.

Mac Mathúna, S., 2006, "Remarks on Standardisation in Irish English, Irish and Welsh," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes IV*, Potsdam: Potsdam University Press, 114-129.

Oram, H., 1983, *The Newspaper Book. A History of Newspapers in Ireland, 1649-1983*, Dublin: Mo Books.

Ó Béarra, F., 2007, "Late Modern Irish and the dynamics of language change and language death," Paper presented at the XIII International Congress of Celtic Studies, Bonn, 23 July 2007, 260-269. (see this volume).

Ó Curnáin, B., 2007, "Non-traditional and reduced acquisition of Irish in the Connamara Gaeltacht," Paper presented at the XIII International Congress of Celtic Studies, Bonn, 23 July 2007.

Ó Dochartaigh, C., 1987, *Dialects of Ulster Irish*, Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast.

O'Rahilly, T., 1976 [1932], *Irish dialects, past and present: with chapters on Scottish and Manx*, Dublin: Browne and Nolan.

Ó hUiginn, R., ed., 1996, *Airneán: eine Sammlung von Texten aus Carna, Co. Na Gaillimhe*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

O'Toole, J., 1992, *Newsplan – Report of the Newsplan Project in Ireland*, London: British Library.

Pilch, H., 1976, *Empirical Linguistics*, Munich: Francke.

Rapple, C., 1977, "Ownership, Standards, Diversity: A Way Forward, in: Kiberd, D., ed., *Media in Ireland. The Search for Diversity*, Dublin: Open Air.

Thogmartin, C., 1984, "Some 'English' Words in French," in: *The French Review* 57: 447-455.

Tristram, H.L.C., 1997, "Introduction," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1-26.

Tristram, H.L.C., 2001, "Sprache und Identität in Minoritätensprachen. Zwei Fallbeispiele: Irisch und Bretonisch," in: Hassler, G., ed., *Sprachkontakt und Sprachvergleich*, Münster: Nodus, 9-37.

Tristram, H.L.C., 2003, "'As she do be spoke, proper, like, ye know': (Post) koloniale Identität und Sprache in Irland," in: Drexler P. & A. Kinsky-Ehritt, eds., *Identities and Minorities: Postcolonial Readings*, Berlin: Trafo, 9-32.

Wagner, H., 1958-1969, *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects*, 4 vols., Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Wigger, A., ed., 2004, *Caint Ros Muc*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Language Contact, Change of Language Status – 'Celtic' National Languages in the British Isles and Ireland

Göran Wolf
(Technical University of Dresden)

> *Das Band der Zunge und des Ohrs knüpft ein Publikum. … Wer in derselben Sprache erzogen ward, wer sein Herz in sie schütten, seine Seele in ihr ausdrücken lernte, der gehört zum Volk dieser Sprache.*
> Johann Gottfried Herder

1. Introduction

In a short but comprehensive account of the Irish language from the middle of the past century we learn:

> The coming of the Normans in the twelfth century marked a new era in the history of the Irish language, for with it began a political struggle which has lasted all but eight hundred years and which has in effect changed the people of Ireland from being Gaelic-speaking to being English-speaking (Ó Cuív 1951: 8).

Although this quote already gives away a lot of what I would like to point out later, I am of the opinion that the given topic involves quite a number of presuppositions of which I take the liberty to elaborate on first of all. However, before embarking upon what I have been engaged with, I would like to offer a few disclaimers. First, I do not propose to give a comprehensive account of the history of contact between Celtic languages and the English language. Brief excursuses should suffice in order to highlight (socio-)linguistic developments and societal facts.

Second, a paper on 'Celtic' national languages can be a sensitive affair. Accordingly, it is not my intention to polemicise about Irish or any other Celtic language. Still, in all regions concerned we do find monoglot English speakers who nevertheless see themselves as Cornish, Irish, Manx, Scottish or Welsh. These

monoglots constitute considerably large groups upon whom a stark statement, such as e.g. Welsh and Welsh only is the national language of Wales, can certainly have an alienating effect. The fact that we find monoglots as largest group strongly shows that Anglicisation has taken place, about which has been said with respect to Ireland:

> Die Iren haben – und das ist historisch bedingt – eine gewisse Scheu zuzugeben, daß etwas in ihrer Kultur englisch ist, wobei jedoch jede Deanglisierungstendenz gerade englische Elemente in der irischen Kultur voraussetzt[1] (Rockel 1989: 10).

I believe Rockel's comment, which, by the way, supports my opinion that the given discussion can only be satisfactorily attempted by neutral bystanders, is not only true for Ireland, but could be generalised for every linguistic situation in which the outcome is one with major and minor languages/language use.

The third and last disclaimer is about what triggered my interest. Obviously, I wanted to tackle this subject because of personal observations, but in the end it was more my discontentment with how the notion of 'national language' is used in general as well as in linguistic contexts out of which this paper arose. According to these disclaimers, my paper will have the following scope. I will, first, introduce and discuss relevant notions, such as 'nation' and 'national language'. This brief summary is meant to throw some light on prominent interpretations and theses of the concepts mentioned, and it is hoped that this will provide further insights. After that I will give a short outline of the several situations that we find across Britain and Ireland. All of that which will follow thereafter tackles the national language question across the given regions, treating Ireland in most detail. Finally, I hope my conclusions are able to open up more prospective views than those which are enshrined in the following sayings:

a) Bret.: *Hep brezhoneg, breizh ebet.* 'Without Breton, no Brittany.'
b) Corn.: *Den heb tavas a-gollas a dyr.* 'A man without a language has lost his country.'
c) IrG: *Tír gan teanga tír gan anam.* 'A nation without language is a nation without a soul.'
d) MxG: *Gyn chengey, gyn cheer.* 'Without language, without country.'
e) ScG: *Tir gun teanga, tir gun anam.* 'A nation without language is a nation without a soul.'
f) W: *Cenedl heb iaith, cenedl heb galon.* 'A nation without a language is a nation without a heart' (adopted from Gregor 1980: v).

Their (quite hopelessly) retrogressive feel seems typical of Romanticist views, but does not appear to be of any help in the present era of globalisation, since this is the context within which we have to ask the question suggested by this paper's title. With globalisation advancing ever more, questioning about nations, about national language(s) does not even appear up-to-date any more: "[N]ationalism and nations have fulfilled their functions and are now becoming obsolete in an

---

1 "The Irish – and this is historically conditioned – have inhibitions about admitting that there is something English in their culture, but any deanglicising tendency obviously presupposes English elements in Irish culture" (translation G. Wolf).

era of globalization” (Smith 2001: 92). Yet, all sorts of transnational or international political as well as economical unions do not seem to make people forget about what history and will have made of them. Therefore, I believe globalisation as a fairly strong deregionalising and detraditionalising force does not equal emasculation of nations, of national identities, of national beliefs. Thus, the question I would like to raise is still valid. Although we are living in what is sometimes called ‘global village,’ we are still aware of who we are and where we belong to. More so, we still want to be who we are and where we are from. In this respect, nations give authenticity. They still appear to dominate political thinking. So it only seems natural to ask how Celtic nations could see themselves within a globalising world, how they could make themselves heard as nations in the literal meaning of the latter predicate. To say it again, as globalisation advances, national or regional or local identity seems more and more important, and it is noteworthy that, in my view, the contact of Celtic languages and English has resulted in, at least, potentially new forms that can provide Celtic identity. Before proceeding, I would like to add that this paper is somewhat a showcase of the paradox. Of course, any contact situation is by nature unique, yet, the situations we find with regards to Celtic languages are each paradoxically unique and uniquely paradoxical.

2. Conceptual Clarifications

Although the nation-language nexus has been called into question (cf. Hutchinson 1987: 9), there is a general (scholarly as well as lay) agreement about the importance of language for national identity. In his essential discussion about ambiguities and obscurities of the concepts ‘dialect,’ ‘language’ and ‘nation,’ Haugen came up with an almost chauvinistic imperative:

> Every self-respecting nation has to have a language. Not just a medium of communication, a ‘vernacular’ or a ‘dialect,’ but a fully developed language. Anything less marks it as underdeveloped (Haugen 1966: 927).

In a less demanding tone, Fishman also considers language “a defining characteristic of a nationality,” but concedes that “[t]he ideological pinnacle of language nationalism is not reached until language is clearly pictured as *more* crucial than the other symbols and expressions of nationality” (Fishman 1972: 49). More recently and more generally, we read that “Nationalism is the doctrine that requires the congruence between the political and the cultural (ethnic) group. The motto of modernity is one state, one culture” (Llobera 2004: 84). Even if relevant terminology is well-rendered in the above statements, more conceptual aspects shall be taken up at this point because of the complexity of all involved conceptions and because of the complexity of each contact situation discussed here.

This paper takes the important idea of 'nation' for granted. This concept as well as related ideas have been subject of essential studies from a wide range of scholarly fields, such as anthropology, history, politics or, obviously, linguistics. As usual, if there is a large body of research on an issue, one cannot help noticing minor discrepancies and inconsistencies between single contributions which might prevent us from a straightforward application of ideas. On the other hand, specialist dictionaries, by nature, have to be concise and have to give us quick access to complex issues, and yet, their poignant observations leave out important signification oftentimes too rashly. If we, for instance, apply Trudgill's concept of a 'national language' – "A language which functions as the main language of a nation state" (2003: 91) –, this paper's discussion would have already come to its end. Thus, I should like to recapitulate a number of attempts to pin down terminology.

As a highly abstract unit, a nation is, first of all, in Anderson's terms, "imagined" (1991). It is imagined because of one simple truism:

> [T]he members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion (*ibid*., 6).

Nations are not only imagined communities at one point in time, they are historically constituted communities, too. Therefore "[a] nation is by its nature a transgenerational entity" (Shils 1995: 100). This historicity of a nation confirms Hobsbawm's well-known postulate that "the real 'nation' can only be recognized *a posteriori*" (1990: 9; Hobsbawm's italics). Accordingly, Smith's summary will serve as a working definition for the time being:

> A nation can therefore be defined as a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members (1991: 14).

No matter what facet is stressed according to various contexts, I feel, it should not be underestimated that it is of importance to consider nations as aggregates of personal and communal will. Members of any nation have to have the will to imagine their national community, they have to have the will to accept their belonging to specific national territories, myths, histories, cultures, economical and legal units. This aspect is once again reinforced by Reichmann, who says:

> Betrachtet man Gegebenheiten des Typs 'Gemeinschaft,' 'Nationalsprache,' 'Volk' als genuin historisch, dann sind sie per definitionem Konstrukte, Entwürfe, Ideen, Bilder, Glaubensinhalte, Zielvorstellungen, Sinnstiftungen geschichtlich Handelnder; sie existieren nur, indem sie von einer Gruppe von Menschen als existent behauptet und behandelt werden[2] (Reichmann 2000: 420-421).

[2] "If one considers realities such as 'community,' 'national language,' 'people' as genuinely historical, these are *per definitionem* constructs, frameworks, ideas, images, beliefs, objectives,

To consider 'nationalism' is part and parcel of the discussion of 'nation,' since it is undisputed that the former created the latter (cf. e.g. Smith 2001: 92). What is more intriguing is to consider Fishman's distinction between 'nationalism' and 'nationism' (1968 b). By 'nationalism' or 'nationality-nationalism' Fishman understands "sociocultural integration" (*ibid*., 40), i.e. a group is first and foremost constituted by a belief in ethnic, cultural and linguistic connections. By 'nationism' or 'nation-nationism' he means "politico-geographical integration" (*ibid*., 41), i.e. a group attempts to form a collective identity though coming from disparate backgrounds. In an era of globalisation it seems sensible to stress the latter, because with increasing migratory movements even those regions, countries, states, which were once constituted by original nationalism will have to think about nationist strategies in order to be able to integrate new members into their national communities. Indirectly referring to this very problem, David Singleton voiced elsewhere that

> ... it seems that there may be up to 200,000 Poles, 100,000 Lithuanians and 85,000 Chinese currently living in Ireland. … There are, accordingly, almost certainly more native speakers of Polish in Ireland than native speakers of Irish. … Few of the immigrants in question, whether or not they intend to stay in Ireland, are likely to be interested in learning Irish as a second language. … The fact that significant numbers of individuals living and working in Ireland and in many cases identifying it as their home have no *entrée* into the Irish language or Gaelic culture is calling into question the traditional conceptualization of Irishness and the part played by the Irish language in that conceptualization (Singleton 2006).

Singleton's observation is met by the fact that at present one can download the 1916 Proclamation in Chinese and Polish from the Irish government's website, which all in all supports my objection here.

As mentioned above, I am discontent with how the term 'national language' or its German equivalent *Nationalsprache* are generally used and how their comprehensive definitions have been inaccurately applied outside scholarly discussions. In an authoritative handbook, we can read the following about *Nationalsprache*:

> a) *Standard* bzw. *Literatur-*, *Hoch-* oder *Schriftsprache* einer nationalen Sprach- und Kommunikationsgemeinschaft (unter Ausschluß von Dialekten und Soziolekten).
> b) Gesamtheit der historischen, regionalen, sozialen und funktionalen (situativen) *Varietäten* einer Sprache, die von einer Sprach- oder Kommunikationsgemeinschaft in der Epoche ihrer Herausbildung und Existenz als Nation gesprochen und geschrieben werden[3] (Ising 1987: 335).

---

meaningful foundations of historically acting persons; these realities only exist, because people think of them as existing and treat them accordingly" (translation G. Wolf).

[3] "a) *Standard* or *literary language* of a national speech and communication community (excluding dialects and sociolects). b) Sum of all historical, regional, social and functional *varieties* of a language which are spoken and written by a speech and communication community during its stages of development and existence as a nation." (translation G. Wolf)

It is, above all, the notion of 'Kommunikationsgemeinschaft' that I would like to call attention to. It is with this accentuation that a national language has to be used habitually and extensively.

Approaching the term 'nationalist language,' which in my opinion should be strictly kept separate from 'national language,' a different authority establishes six sociolinguistic attributes for candidates of a 'nationalist' status:

1) "symbol of national identity for a significant proportion of the population";
2) "*widely* used for some *everyday* purposes";
3) "*widely and fluently* spoken within the country";
4) "no major alternative nationalist languages in the country";
5) "*acceptable* as a symbol of authenticity";
6) "link with the glorious past" (Fasold 1984: 77; my emphasis).

Even if more issues than those in italics are debatable – one could, for instance, ask who decides about acceptability and about wide usage –, these are meant to indicate that the matter will be taken up again later. For the time being, I would like to argue that I think all of the listed attributes to be attributes of languages with *national* status, since I prefer, as already stated, to distinguish between national and nationalist language. My slight criticism of Fasold is admittedly also triggered by another statement of his. In his 1988 publication, Fasold holds the opinion that "Irish seems to be serving the nation as a *national* language rather well" (1988: 184; Fasold's italics). Instantly, one familiar with Fasold's matrix would have to disagree: firstly, because with reference to the present state of Irish, a wide communication would not be possible; secondly, a statement such as this would exclude the majority of what has to be regarded the Irish nation. This cannot be denied because language and, in my opinion, a national language, *a fortiori*, has to serve as an "unverkennbares Band, welches alle Glieder einer Nation zu einer geistigen Gemeinschaft verknüpft"[4] (Böckh 1866: 304). My re-reading of Fasold's matrix is strengthened by the fact that Fasold's matrix is used to illustrate the *national* language function in another entry of the above-mentioned handbook (Ammon 1987: 256). The reason why I want to differentiate clearly between national languages and nationalist languages is their disparate connotational value. A language is a *nationalist* language, if it helps to support nationalist views, if it helps to implement nationalist concerns, if it helps to pursuit nationality-nationalism. In anticipation of what I will come to later, the following quote is meant to illustrate further the argument just raised: "In a society which is fundamentally divided on political grounds, to learn or to speak Irish is perceived as an act which has political implications" (O'Reilly 2001: 83). It is precisely in this sense that a language has to be regarded nationalist. Contrariwise, the term 'national language' should be used neutrally to refer to that common language which is used habitually and natu-

[4] Translation: "unmistakeable band which ties together all members of a nation into a spiritual and mental community" (G. Wolf).

rally as an all-purpose medium of communication by all members of a national community and which produces solidarity amongst those members and characterises those members as belonging to their national unit. This appeal to neutrality finds its corroboration in the following:

> It is always a mistake to treat languages in the way that certain nationalist ideologues treat them – as *emblems* of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dances, and the rest. Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect *particular solidarities* (Anderson 1991: 133; Anderson's italics).

And it is with this in mind that we have to read simple observations, such as the one given by Safran who rightly states that "for most Dubliners, life in the city is interpreted in English rather than Irish Gaelic" (1999: 87).

3. Contact Situations – a Brief Outline

Of course, there exists an extensive, albeit not exhaustive, body of research on language contact(s) in Britain and Ireland. As stated above, it is not my aim to contribute new data. Instead, I would like to provide readings of what we find in research literature with regard to the national language issue. One generalization which holds true for all regions in question is that nowhere English made inroads into Celtic areas as a language dominating with immediate effect. Everywhere single events decided about the overall outcome that the indigenous Celtic languages retreated in one way or another. On such historical, societal and other decisive event I will not hold forth, however. Anyone interested in getting to know these particular events is referred to the larger number of detailed studies whose help in forming ideas of the present paper is acknowledged. Another generalisation is that any language contact between Celtic languages and English has resulted in some form of bilingualism. If there are any monolinguals, they have been attested to be isolated elderly or children (e.g. MacKinnon 2000: 49). So in all cases, the (national) Celtic language is carried by bilingual minorities, which must be a serious drawback for any language and can surely become an insurmountable hurdle, if a language wants to be considered a national language. At this point, brief descriptions shall clarify under which conditions these bilingual minorities came into being.

In Cornwall, the story of language contact is one of clear decline, extinction and historically predictable revival (cf. Wakelin 1991: 200). Interestingly, the revival of Cornish is said to have been already "fairly predictable" when it was dying (*ibid.*). Linguistic outcomes are, for instance, mutual lexical influences (*ibid.*: 202) and, not to forget, the evident phonological interrelationship between the two languages upon whose grounds twentieth-century pronunciation of Western Cornwall English was considered a guide to that of Late Cornish (cf. Payton 2000: 117).

Ireland's history of language contact can be described by initially being unrivalled, loss of social standing, resurrection, weakening of standard, missing standardization tendencies, institutional polarization and collective shift (cf. Rockel 1989: 63-86). The recent situation up to the present has been dubbed one of "benign neglect" (O'Reilly 2001: 81). So, Ireland has, it seems, experienced the prototypical contact situation: a superior colonizing language dominates an inferior colonized language. Research, however, clearly shows that this has not been the case. Although English played no doubt a crucial role, it is no exaggeration to assume that up to 1700 Irish enjoyed superior standing (cf. Hickey 1995: 112). Irish was still dominant throughout the eighteenth century, "[a]s late as the year 1800 it is thought that more than half the population of Ireland still spoke Irish" (Mac Mathúna 1990 b: 65).

As is inevitable, language contact between Irish and English resulted in language shift. Language shift proceeded gradually and has been described as transition from Irish only via Irish and English, later English and Irish to English only (cf. Ó Cuív 1951: 27). I hold Ó Cuív's observation not only applicable as a model for the language shift of Ireland's speech community; a modified variation is also viable for Ireland's national language question, which I will expand on later. Relevant studies give us sufficient proof of the mutual influences between Irish and English. Some of them will be revisited in slight detail at a different point in this paper, in order to illustrate how Irish has shaped an English language complex which is, as I would like to show, another uniquely Irish language. This, by the way, might also prove that Kallen's line of thought that "while not everyone would enthusiastically endorse Irish as the 'national language,' no one vies a markedly Irish form of English as an alternative candidate" (Kallen 1997: 19) has lost some of its statement.

The history of language contact of Manx and English is one of "innerlinguistic confusion," "determined Anglicisation," "resilient *Abwehrkampf*," historically relatively recent decline, "language death," and meanwhile in its extension, language revival (Broderick 1991). Linguistic results of this contact are, for instance, simplifications of the phoneme system (*ibid.*: 81-86), English loans and the "Manxification" of some of them (*ibid.*: 87) and some adaption of English syntax (*ibid.*: 88) for Manx, and slight phonological influences not entirely due to Manx alone (Broderick 1997: 125-130), lexical borrowings from Manx (*ibid.*: 131-133) and some syntactical influences (*ibid.*: 133) for Manx English.

Language contact in Scotland is comparatively more complex than elsewhere. Of course, Cornwall, Ireland, the Isle of Man and Wales have also experienced contacts with languages other than English, as has Scotland, still, there the situation is inextricably complicated by the development of Scots. Yet, without taking the latter into further consideration, the history of the contact between Scottish Gaelic and English is characterised by comparably early retreat, severe institutional neglect and, in the past century, steady decline as well as hardly any upturns (cf. MacKinnon 2000: 45). It is suggested that mutual influences across all

linguistic levels exist, but "as Gaelic fades from an area, so also will the Celtic impact on the local English" (Clement 1997: 306).

Wales has experienced a chequered language contact career which is marked by collective language shift, Tudor – thus, paradoxically self-inflicted – Anglicisation, official suppression (*Act of Union* 1536), nonconformist resistance and institutional maintenance (Klein 1988: 45-55). Obviously, in Welsh English we find phonological, grammatical and lexical influences from Welsh (Thomas 1997: 68-82).

4. Under Scrutiny I: Cornwall, Isle of Man and Scotland

It does not necessarily come natural to subsume the given regions under one heading, but it seems obvious that Cornwall, the Isle of Man and Scotland are, linguistically, Celtic regions. Still, the reason that they are grouped together in this section is quite a different one: by all means they no longer house a national language that is a Celtic language or a Celticised English. One might even question whether they (are in the position to) house a national language at all. The reasons in turn for that, however, are different for all three tracts of land, and I would like to go into that matter on the basis of what has been said before.

The historically indigenous languages of Cornwall and Man, *Kernewek* and *Gaelg Manninagh*, can be said to be dead or living languages depending on one's point of view. It is a given fact that there are no more native speakers which relate to the historical, cross-generational speech community. In this sense, the bond to a historical national group is broken. Of course, both are also revived languages or languages that undergo the attempt of being revived. Probably both are living community languages of a sort (cf. George & Broderick 1993). Whether dead or revived, both attributes do not go hand in hand with the term 'national language'. Of course, the contact of both languages with English, which eventually led to language shift, has resulted in distinct varieties of English. Manx English is clearly shaped by the language contact. However as Broderick concludes, Manx English faces its twilight years and might experience the fate of its Celtic counterpart (1997: 134). Thus, also Manx English cannot take over a national function.

The situation with Cornish English seems similar, yet it is different. That Cornish English bears distinctive traits is best illustrated by the fact that it exerted a great influence on the revival of Cornish (cf. Payton 1997). With regards to the debates about and the revival of the indigenous Cornish language, it seems clear that, although Cornish English provides a natural identity, Cornish is much more ideologically charged and wins the "linguistic ideological contest" (Payton 1997: 100). Still, in Cornwall as well as in the Isle of Man, I believe, we would not be able to speak of national languages in any case because of one decisive reason: both regions are geographically, economically as well as politically too marginal in order to be considered nations. Yet, at least in Cornwall, we are at pre-

sent able to make out what Fishman termed 'contranational language' decades ago. If efforts to revive the language continue, so as to establish it as a truly used community language, Cornish will well be a "symbol of contranational ethnic-cultural identification on the part of smaller groups who, resisting fusion into the larger nationality, develop a localized nationality consciousness of their own" (Fishman 1968 a: 6). Referring to on-going revival tendencies in the Isle of Man, it is probably more appropriate to talk about *re*developing and *re*establishing a localized consciousness.

Even though sharing the marginalisation argument, Scotland is home of a very different, a very unique paradox when it comes to national language. Scotland hardly seems to define herself in terms of language (cf. Görlach 2000: 619-620) and, by no means, seems to do so through *Gaidhlig*. Scottish Gaelic nowadays is very clearly a regional language with hardly any official status and only very basic legal recognition, a language spoken by a very small minority and almost exclusively confined to private and intimate communication (cf. Robertson 2001: 83-86). Because Hebridean and Highland English are similarly restricted, Scotland's Celtic Englishes do not stand the chance to be national alternatives, either. Even Scots is said to be no candidate. Firstly, although not spoken by a minority, Scots tends to be seen as an important national factor only by a minority (Llobera 2004: 92). Secondly and more importantly, within the scope of this paper, Scots is, of course, not an issue, since it is no Celtic English (Macafee & Ó Baoill 1997). Finally, the paradoxical linguistic situation that appears to be typical of Scotland must, to my mind, be attributed to the sum of the following historical facts:

> a) [Scottish] identity relies much more on other markers such as the specificity of Scottish law, religion, history, etc. (Llobera 2004: 91).
> b) Most people do not see the need for a separate language for Scotland, even though they may express a strong sense of Scottish identity (Llobera 2004: 92).
> c) [T]here seems to have been no period in recorded history before the twentieth century in which Scotland had a clear majority of speakers of a single language (Barbour 2000: 30).
> d) [T]here has been a relentless fall in the number of Gaelic speakers over the past century and an analysis of the age profile of the Gaelic-speaking population suggests that this downward spiral is set to continue for some time yet (Robertson 2001: 99).

Therefore, with Scots being too discredited (Görlach 2000: 619), with a minor number of Scotswomen and Scotsmen who are Gaelic in language and culture (Robertson 2001: 83), and with Scottish Celtic Englishes being too regional (cf. Bird 1997) or about to be watered down (cf. Clement 1997), Scotland would have to make language an issue of national interest, before she might embark upon choosing which language would suit this function best.

Thus, language contact between Celtic languages and English has resulted in highly distinct as well as highly peculiar situations in Cornwall, in the Isle of Man and in Scotland. All three regions host a number of languages, all three host

at least one major variety of one of these languages. Still, all three do not possess a national language, as has just been shown.

5. Under scrutiny II: Wales

In Wales, we find the seemingly strongest, most vital Celtic language, and probably also the strongest linguistic loyalty. Because of that, Cymric might be close to national language status. Yet, I hesitate to call it primarily a national language, because Welsh is also not spoken by the majority and it also "faces severe difficulties in being recognised as an essential language even within its own national territory" (Williams 2001: 59). It seems ironical, though, that Welsh is more robust than its linguistic siblings,[5] because Wales obviously has been politically and institutionally most closely bound to England, and it seems likewise ironical that Welsh still has to struggle, since Welsh speakers neither had to leave their homeland nor their language, in order to merely survive (economically). Now, Welsh English is not nearly as legitimised (Penhallurick 1993: 31), and it is because of two other factors that we have to, at best, acknowledge two national languages in Wales:

> 1) The Welsh Language Act (1993) provided a statutory framework for the treatment of English and Welsh on the basis of equality and inaugurated a new era in language planning. (Williams 2001: 71)
> 2) It is perhaps justified to postulate two indigenous ethnic groups in Wales: English-speakers and bilinguals. (Barbour 1994: 329)

To support the argument of why Welsh English is a(nother) Welsh national language, I will give a substantial quote from Penhallurick's 1993 publication, which also strongly confirmed my interest in the matter:

> Any talk of 'Welsh English,' or of a 'system,' depends not on a linguistic analysis, not on linguistic factors, but on an acknowledgement of the nation, and its language: the only workable definition of Welsh English is that it is the English spoken by the Welsh and by those born-and-bred or bred in Wales. Even 'English in Wales' signifies the connection between, the interdependence of, nation and language. The 'linguistics' terms 'dialect' or 'variety' cannot be used: we know there is no (one) Welsh dialect, or variety. This leaves us with 'language' and Welsh English is only, solely, nothing more than a 'national' language, a language of the Welsh (Penhallurick 1993: 43).

---

[5] Breton is clearly not within the realms of this paper, but it is certainly worthwhile investigating its language status, since Barbour hints at the fact that "speakers of Breton … identify much more strongly with local dialects than with a Breton language" (2002: 12). Whether this is due to, as Barbour goes on, "the absence of strong Breton nationalism" (*ibid.*) or to the fact that local dialects suffice to lend Breton identity would have to be investigated. What is more, as has been shown for Cornwall and the Isle of Man, Brittany is too marginal to develop stark national assertion.

Eventually, debates on national language in Wales could be debates about which language should be regarded as *primary* or *secondary* national language, and on which grounds.

6. Under Scrutiny III: Ireland – a Lengthy Discourse

Of course, the *Bunreacht na hÉireann* gives Irish Gaelic national status. However, this official classification does not seem to reflect the (socio)linguistic reality on display in Ireland, as Ó Murchú has already pointed out (cf. 1993: 471). In other places, Irish is given a multitude of labels: 'community language' (e.g. *Ráiteas i Leith na Gaeilge* 2006), 'endangered language' (e.g. Fennell 1981), 'lesser-used language' (e.g. Antonini, Corrigan & Li Wie 2002), 'minority language' (e.g. Ó Corráin & Mac Mathúna 1998), 'official language' (e.g. *Bunreacht na hEireann*), 'threatened language' (e.g. Ó Riagáin 2001), 'working language' (e.g. *Ráiteas i Leith na Gaeilge* 2006). That there is a grain of truth in all of these labels and that they reflect a number of very different angles from which Irish can be viewed, is too easy to see, but, taken literally, some of these labels appear to be mutually exclusive. As is indicated here, the language discourse on Irish is a complex one, and this again is evidence of yet more paradoxical realities. The constitution assigns national status to a language whose use as a community language is decreasing, but whose number of speakers who claim any type of knowledge is increasing as will be seen in what follows.

The language that is used (almost) everywhere and that is used undeniably habitually by the Irish, namely Hiberno-English, had, as already quoted above, been deemed unable to gain national status because "the relative lack of study of [Hiberno-English] owes something to its lack of a symbolic or unifying function in society" (Kallen 1997: 19). Now, it is a truism that there is a large and ever growing number of studies dedicated to Hiberno-English before and after the above statement had been made. Their results and quality is, as I am convinced by now, sufficient indication that, speaking in linguistic terms, Hiberno-English must be able to welcome the Irish people. To be precise, it gives them the opportunity to retain their linguistic identity, although no longer speaking Irish itself. Hiberno-English does provide them linguistically with Irish identity and nationality. A brief overview of comments which support this assumption shall be given hereafter. Since all remarks[6] stand for themselves, no longwinded annotations[7] are given:

> The influence of Irish … was not only active but cumulative (Bliss 1977: 12).
>
> Despite the fact that the vowel inventory of IrE is largely that of the imported variety of English of the 17th century there are nonetheless aspects of it where one can suspect, if not

[6] By necessity of some order, they are arranged according to their year of publication.

[7] Of course, any consideration without given contexts can lead to false conclusions, but it is felt that all of the following remarks possess some kind of general validity.

demonstrate, connections between it and that of Irish (Hickey 1986: 2-3).

> Irish English … allows for the marking of relations such as tense, mood, and aspect … in ways which differ significantly from the marking systems found in other dialects. These differences have been discussed with emphasis on the effects of bilingualism and contact between the Irish language and English, the retention in IrE of features which have been lost in mainstream English varieties, and on the reinforcing influences of these two dynamics … (Kallen 1989: 1).

> The sentence patterns of Irish, its tendency to express itself negatively, and personally, its mosaic of lexical fields (involving directionality, the family, colour, and many others) arguably lend the Irish-speaking language community a characteristic distinctiveness, some measure of which has been inherited by speakers of Irish-English (Mac Mathúna 1990 a: 97).

> The numerous examples and the close parallels [of Hiberno-English idioms] with idioms in Irish suggest strong cross-linguistic influence. Moreover, most of the idioms appear to be used only in Ireland so that there does not seem to be any other source besides Irish influence for most of them (Odlin 1991: 181).

> Direct borrowings from the Irish language, some of them shared by most dialects, some of them peculiar to some dialects, some of them anglicised at least sometimes in some dialects, are numerous (Ó hÚrdail 1997: 198).

> Irish people use and speak English in a distinctive way. In vocabulary, construction, idiom and pronunciation their speech is identifiable and marked. Its characteristics reflect the political, cultural and linguistic history of the two nations, Ireland and England. … It is a macaronic dialect, a mixture of Irish and English, sometimes in the same word … (Dolan 1998, xix).

> [T]he grammar of [Hiberno-English] represents a unique combination of elements drawn from the two principal partners in the contact situation, English and Irish (Filppula 1999: 283).

> We believe our preliminary investigation into code-switching, lexical borrowing, and grammatical transfer … to be sufficient to demonstrate the case for Celticity in Irish standard English (Kirk & Kallen 2006: 108).

Last but not least, popularized publications, such as e.g. O'Farrell's *How the Irish Speak English* (1980), are proof of the claim I want to pursue here.

Earlier in this paper, I mentioned and somewhat criticised Fasold's term of 'nationalist language' and its corresponding attributes. Now, whether or not one adopts my view that these rather describe the term 'national language,' we can easily apply the given properties to Irish to make out whether it is still a national language candidate. In order to respond to Fasold's matrix, I take the liberty to quote from authorities on Irish language matters.

Strictly speaking, Fasold's first criterion of a national language as a *symbol of national identity for a significant proportion of the population* should by all means be a safe bet for the Irish language. However, Croghan's comparison of Irish and English leaves the matter somewhat undecided:

> To propose that Irish is the true national language of Ireland would win one a deviancy tag of some kind in many circles in Ireland, but the proposal that Hiberno-English is the real national language would be generally greeted with incomprehension: some, including those who would not give any support to the national claim for Irish, might suspect a lack of patriotism (as cited in Kallen 1997: 19).

Although, it is neither a strong argument in favour or against Fasold's precondition, we are still able to see that opinions on symbolic identity are increasingly less pedantic, if a majority can be seen to be "happy with a linguistic identity focused on Irish varieties of English" (Ó Laoire as quoted in: Barbour 2000: 38) and if we can already find some people who "insist on calling their Hiberno-English 'Irish' as a means of highlighting their attitude to their culture and nationality" (Todd in: Prendergast 1998: 226).

Two of Fasold's criteria are strongly interrelated. The demands that a national language has to be *widely used for some everyday purposes* and that it has to be *widely and fluently spoken within the country* could be translated into one requirement: *a national language is one which is widely and fluently spoken in everyday communicative situations within the country*. While Irish, as we know, has to be learnt by supreme effort by the bulk of the Irish people, which beyond doubt is not exactly natural for a national language, we can learn from the spine of a recent dictionary of Hiberno-English that it is:

> a guide to the unofficial language of the 32 counties of Ireland, the language of the streets and pubs, but also of much of Irish literature from Swift to Roddy Doyle. It is the dictionary that lists and explains the words and phrases that Irish people actually use (Share 1997).

It goes without saying that the last sentence could also read "It is the dictionary *of the language* that Irish people actually use."

We can quickly dispose of the debate of the attribute of *no major alternative national(ist) languages in the country*. At present, it is still self-evident that only Irish can be the nationalist language, and this both despite and because of the following fact: "The Irish language is very much part of the nationalist programme in Northern Ireland, while the Republic has already moved into a post-nationalist phase" (Ó Riagáin 2001: 211).

The question whether Irish or Hiberno-English is acceptable as *a symbol of authenticity* again needs discussion. The Irish language is unmistakably authentic. Yet, this authenticity has to be called into question, if amongst its corresponding community language ability is low (cf. Ó hIfearnáin 1998: 211), and thus, members of this community do not have at their disposal the ability to be authentic in that language. In contrast to that, Hiberno-English has been attested adequate authenticity:

> [W]e 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 speakers who share these

> values. Such Celtic features in discourse have the function of establishing and defining a speech community (Kirk & Kallen 2006: 108-9).

Recent works on language attitudes also confirm this view. In Zwickl's regionally restricted, but no less valid study, we learn about an informant who responds to the question whether local speech is not standard English: "Why should it be Standard English? We are Irish" (2002: 127). I believe this statement not only reflects the blindingly obvious fact that Hiberno-English has never been institutionally standardised – which I personally deem a desideratum for the field –, it also is a stalwart assertion of expressing self-confidence in being Irish by means of Hiberno-English. This observation is taken to extremes by the response of a different informant who claims that "Irish people speak the best English" (Zwickl 2002: 147).

The last claim to be discussed is that a national(ist) language should be *linked with the glorious past*. Irish surely is linked with both glorious and bleak historical images, but the "thing which we must remember is that it is *only* in the Gaeltacht that the Irish of today can be said to [have] an unbroken link with the past" at all (Ó Cuív 1951: 35; my emphasis). This issue is further transfigured in favour of Hiberno-English by four decisive statements which certainly refer to glorious moments in Irish history:

> 1) This new Irish nation and national consciousness [of the 18th and 19th centuries] were shaped by leaders and propagandists who used *English*. All the 'sacred documents' of Irish political and cultural nationalism, from the United Irishmen to the Revolution, were written in English (Fennell 1985: 252; Fennell's emphasis).
>
> 2) As the language of Irish nationalism from the 18th century onwards, English was gradually legitimised as a 'national language'. This legitimation has been greatly reinforced, since the end of 19th century, by the emergence of a great national literature in English, much of it of world importance (Yeats, Joyce, Synge, O'Casey, etc.) (Fennell 1985: 253).
>
> 3) It is interesting to observe that the language of dispute with the English over the future of Ireland was English even though many of the leaders had learned Irish and declared their intention to promote that language once their political objectives had been achieved. Those who favored Home Rule for Ireland spoke and wrote in English and those who supported them in Ireland unified through the medium of English (Wardhaugh 1987: 92).
>
> 4) Early Irish nationalists did not identify the Gaelic language with the Irish nation. A combined policy of secular harassment of the Irish language and the current appeal of English as a lingua franca made it unavoidable that the medium of nationalist expression would be English (Llobera 2004: 93).

Therefore, compared with Fasold's attributes, one can easily say that, at present, all criteria are better met by Hiberno-English than by Irish which, of course, does not constitute an imperative to alter the *Bunreacht*, nor does it, in my opin-

ion, call for immediate action. It probably only shows that Fennell's 1981 question is still waiting for an answer.

7. Conclusions, Interim and Otherwise

The aim of this concluding chapter is to offer (probably also conciliatory) ideas which might even advance the debate on national languages and standard languages within the field of Celtic as well as English studies.

With respect to all Celtic regions and the Englishes that have emerged in them, future studies will have to, to my mind, investigate whether it might be helpful to adopt an important argument which was put forward very early for what is dubbed 'New Englishes'. A random choice of two titles on Hiberno-English shall illustrate the point: the collection of Thomas Davies Lectures edited by Ó Muirithe is called *The English Language* ***in Ireland***; Filppula called his grammatical description *The Grammar of* ***Irish*** *English. Language* ***in Hibernian style***. First of all, the two titles, the former from 1977, the latter from 1999, are meant to exemplify that the discourse on Irish and Hiberno-English has come a long way and we can say it has undergone some form of emancipation. Secondly, it is, of course, an entirely different approach, if one views a linguistic complex as a language of a certain place, instead of only in a certain place (cf. e.g. Kachru 1998 or Annamalai 2004). Although this again shows that, for Celtic languages in Britain and Ireland, language contact with English has resulted in sometimes more than regressive developments, the last statement has to be seen in a more positive light. It is the above line of thought which will bring to the public that the struggle of Celtic languages to survive and revive has given rise to Englishes which are well capable of asserting regional identities. What is more, these Englishes are, as has been, in my opinion, well proved by all contributions to the field, no longer Anglo-Englishes.

Inspite of the comparatively strong proof in chapter 6, the question still remains: what is Ireland's national language? It still remains because of all circumstantial complexities, because of historical as well as societal considerations. With Kloss, who sees endoglossic and exoglossic countries with reference to indigenous languages and imported languages (1968: 71), I wish to establish two terms that might be of help: *endoglossic national language* and *exoglossic national language*. If we combine these with Ó Cuív's observation which I introduced earlier, we are left with a model of development that is applicable to the Irish national language situation: at first Ireland started out with Irish as an unrivalled endoglossic national language; later after complex processes the nativized Hiberno-English became a formidable candidate for an exoglossic national language; by analogy with Ó Cuív's description, the two languages exchanged positions which could be referred to as primary and secondary national language. Historically as well as symbolically, there can be, of course, no doubt that Irish is Ireland's national language. Yet, there might come the day, when Hiberno-Eng-

lish will also take over the function of Ireland's symbolic national language, because:

> A symbol is something (usually spatio-temporal) which puts us in real contact with something else with which it is associated. … [A]n entire specific language system … or a variety within a system … can itself become a symbol by being associated with certain realities in society (Ó Huallacháin 1991: xiv-v).

With regards to actual language practice, Hiberno-English *is* Ireland's national language, while Irish can only fragmentarily fulfil this function, i.e. it is spoken and fully understood only by fragments of its corresponding population, and it is habitually only used in dialect fragments.

Having said all this, I should like to end with a remark which, cutting a long story short, was contributed to the above matter seemingly unnoticed, namely that "while Irish-English is certainly not Gaelic, the historically national language, it is most definitely Irish" (Gruenais 1986: 280).

References

Ammon, U., 1987, "Funktionale Typen/Statustypen von Sprachsystemen," in: Ammon, U., N. Dittmar & K.J. Mattheier, eds., *Sociolinguistics. Soziolinguistik. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Wissenschaft von Sprache und Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 230-263.

Anderson, B., 1991, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London & New York: Verso. (2nd ed.)

Annamalai, E., 2004, "Nativization of English in India and its Effect on Multilingualism," in: *Journal of Language and Politics* 3: 1, 151-162.

Antonini, R., K. Corrigan & L. Wei, 2002, "The Irish Language in the Republic of Ireland and in Northern Ireland," in: *Sociolinguistica* 16: 118-128.

Barbour, S., 1994, "Language and Nationalism: Britain and Ireland, and the German-Speaking Area," in: Parry, M.M., W.V. Davies & R.A.M. Temple, eds., *The Changing Voices of Europe. Social and Political Changes and Their Linguistic Repercussions, Past, Present and Future. Papers in Honour of Professor Glanville Price*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 325-335.

Barbour, S., 2000, "Britain and Ireland: The Varying Significance of Language for Nationalism," in: Barbour, St. & C. Carmichael, eds., *Language and Nationalism in Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 18-43.

Barbour, S., 2002, "Language, Nationalism and Globalism: Educational Consequences of Changing Patterns of Language Use," in: Gubbins, P. & M. Holt,

eds., *Beyond Boundaries. Language and Identity in Contemporary Europe*, Clevedon etc.: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 11-18.

Bird, B., 1997, "Past and Present Studies of Hebridean English Phonology," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: Winter, 287-300.

Bliss, A.J., 1977, "The Emergence of Modern English Dialects in Ireland," in: Ó Muirithe, D., ed., *The English Language in Ireland*, Dublin & Cork: Mercier Press, 7-19.

Böckh, R., 1866, "Die statistische Bedeutung der Volkssprache als Kennzeichen der Nationalität," in: *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprache*, Berlin.

Broderick, G., 1991, "The Decline and Death of Manx Gaelic," in: Ureland, P.S. & G. Broderick, eds., *Language Contact in the British Isles*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 63-125.

Broderick, G., 1997, "Manx English: An Overview," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: Winter, 123-134.

Clement, D., 1997, "Highland English," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: Winter, 301-307.

Dolan, T.P., ed., 1998, *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English. The Irish Use of English*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.

Fasold, R., 1984, *The Sociolinguistics of Society*, Oxford & Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.

Fasold, R., 1988, "What National Languages Are Good for," in: Coulmas, F., ed., *With Forked Tongues. What Are National Languages Good for?*, Singapore: Karoma Publishers, 180-185.

Fennell, D., 1981, "Can a Shrinking Minority Be Saved?," in: Haugen, E., J.D. McClure & D. Thomson, eds., *Minority Languages Today*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 32-39.

Fennell, D., 1985, "The Relationship of the New Irish Nation to Gaelic," in: Ureland, P.S., ed., *Entstehung von Sprachen und Völkern. Glotto- und ethnogenetische Aspekte europäischer Sprachen*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 247-259.

Filppula, M., 1999, *The Grammar of Irish English. Language in Hibernian Style*, London & New York: Routledge.

Fishman, J.A., 1968 a, "Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of Developing Countries," in: Fishman, J.A., Ch.A. Ferguson & J. Das Gupta, eds., *Language Problems of Developing Nations*, New York etc.: García Mouton, 3-16.

Fishman, J.A., 1968 b, "Nationality-Nationalism and Nation-Nationism," in: Fishman, J.A., Ch.A. Ferguson & J. Das Gupta, eds., *Language Problems of Developing Nations*, New York etc.: García Mouton, 39-51.

Fishman, J.A., 1972, *Language and Nationalism. Two Integrative Essays*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

George, K. & G. Broderick, 1993, "The Revived Languages: Modern Cornish and Modern Manx," in: Ball, M.J. & J. Fife, eds., *The Celtic Languages*, London: Routledge, 644-663.

Görlach, M., 1997, "Language and Nation: The Concept of Linguistic Identity in the History of English," in: *English World-Wide* 18: 1, 1-34.

Görlach, M., 2000, "*Nation* und *Sprache*: das Englische," in: Gardt, A., ed., *Nation und Sprache. Die Diskussion ihres Verhältnisses in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 613-641.

Gregor, D.B., 1980, *Celtic. A Comparative Study of the Six Celtic Languages: Irish, Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Cornish, Breton Seen against the Background of Their History, Literature, and Destiny*, Cambridge & New York: Oleander Press.

Gruenais, M.-P., 1986, "Irish-English: No Model; A Case," in: *Language Problems & Language Planning* 10: 272-281.

Haugen, E., 1966, "Dialect, Language, Nation," in: *American Anthropologist* 68: 922-935.

Hickey, R., 1986, "Possible Phonological Parallels between Irish and Irish English," in: *English World-Wide* 7: 1-21.

Hickey, R., 1995, "An Assessment of Language Contact in the Development of Irish English," in: Fisiak, J., ed., *Linguistic Change under Contact Conditions*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 109-130.

Hobsbawm, E.J., 1990, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hutchinson, J., 1987, *The Dynamicx of Cultural Nationalism. The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*, London: Allen & Unwin.

Ising, E., 1987, "Nationalsprache / Nationalitätensprache," in: Ammon, U., N. Dittmar & K.J. Mattheier, eds., *Sociolinguistics. Soziolinguistik. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Wissenschaft von Sprache und Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 335-344.

Kachru, B.B., 1998, "English as an Asian Language," in: *Links & Letters* 5: 89-108.

Kallen, J.L., 1989, "Tense and Aspect Categories in Irish English," in: *English World-Wide* 10: 1-39.

Kallen, J.L., 1997, "Irish English. Context and Contacts", in: Kallen, J.L., ed., *Focus on Ireland*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1-33.

Kirk, J.M. & J.L. Kallen, 2006, "Irish Standard English: How Celticised? How Standardised?," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes IV. The Interface between English and the Celtic Languages*, Potsdam: Potsdam University Press, 88-113.

Klein, E., 1988, "Englisch-kymrischer Sprachkontakt in Wales," in: Wagner, K.H. & W. Wildgen, eds., *Studien zum Sprachkontakt*, Bremen: Universität Bremen, 43-68.

Kloss, H., 1968, "Notes Concerning a Language-Nation Typology," in: Fishman, J.A., C.A. Ferguson & J. Das Gupta, eds., *Language Problems of Developing Nations*, New York, London, Sydney & Toronto: García Mouton, 69-85.

Llobera, J.R., 2004, *Foundations of National Identity. From Catalonia to Europe*, New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Macafee, C.I., ed., 1996, *A Concise Ulster Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Macafee, C.I. & C. Ó Baoill, 1997, "Why Scots is not a Celtic Language," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: Winter, 245-286.

MacKinnon, K., 2000, "Scottish Gaelic," in: Price, G., ed., *Language in Britain & Ireland*, Oxford etc.: Blackwell, 44-57.

Mac Mathúna, L., 1990 a, "Contrastive Aspects of English and Irish," in: Bramsbäck, B., ed., *Homage to Ireland. Aspects of Culture, Literature and Language*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 81-98.

Mac Mathúna, L., 1990 b, "Thirty Years A-Floundering? Official Policy and Community Use of Irish in the Republic of Ireland 1956-1986," in: Bramsbäck, B., ed., *Homage to Ireland. Aspects of Culture, Literature and Language*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 65-80.

Ó Corráin, A. & S. Mac Mathúna, eds., 1998, *Minority Languages in Scandinavia, Britain and Ireland*, Uppsala: Uppsala University Press.

Ó Cuív, B., 1951 [1980], *Irish Dialects and Irish-Speaking Districts*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Odlin, T., 1991, "Irish English Idioms and Language Transfer," in: *English World-Wide* 12: 175-193.

O'Farrell, P., 1980 [1993], *How the Irish Speak English*, Cork & Dublin: Mercier Press.

Ó hIfearnáin, T., 1998, "Irish," in: Ó Corráin, A. & S. Mac Mathúna, eds., *Minority Languages in Scandinavia, Britain and Ireland*, Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 199-220.

Ó Huallacháin, C.L., 1991, *The Irish Language in Society. Being Primarily a Series of Introductory Papers and Elementary Notes on the Sociolinguistics of*

the Irish Language, by Colmán L. Ó Huallacháin O.F.M. († 1979), Ó Murchú, M.A., ed., Coleraine: University of Ulster.

Ó hÚrdail, R., 1997, "Hiberno-English: Historical Background and Synchronic Features and Variation," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: Winter, 180-199.

Ó Muirithe, D., ed., 1977, *The English Language in Ireland*, Dublin & Cork: Mercier Press.

Ó Murchú, M., 1993, "Aspects of the Societal Status of Modern Irish," in: Ball, M.J. & J. Fife, eds., *The Celtic Languages*, London: Routledge, 471-490.

O'Reilly, C.C., 2001, "Irish Language, Irish Identity: Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland in the European Union," in: O'Reilly, C.C., ed., *Language, Ethnicity and the State. Vol. 1: Minority Languages in the European Union post 1989*, Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Publishers, 78-103.

Ó Riagáin, P., 2001, "Irish Language Production and Reproduction 1981-1996," in: Fishman, J.A., ed., *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: A 21st Century Perspective*, Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto & Sydney: Multilingual Matters, 195-214.

Payton, P., 1997, "Identity, Ideology and Language in Modern Cornwall," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: Winter, 100-122.

Payton, P., 2000, "Cornish," in: Price, G., ed., *Languages in Britain & Ireland*, Oxford etc.: Blackwell, 109-119.

Penhallurick, R., 1993, "Welsh English: A National Language?," in: *Dialectologia et Geolinguistica* 1: 28-46.

Prendergast, D., 1998, "Views on Englishes. A Talk with Braj B. Kachru, Salikoko Mufwene, Rajendra Singh, Loreto Todd and Peter Trudgill," in: *Links & Letters* 5: 225-241.

Ráiteas i Leith na Gaeilge 2006, 2006, Rialtas na hÉireann, Dublin. (pdf-file consulted on 14 February 2007, available at URL: <http://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/attached_files/Pdf%20files/Ráiteas9.pdf>).

Reichmann, O., 2000, "*Nationalsprache* als Konzept der Sprachwissenschaft," in: Gardt, A., ed., *Nation und Sprache. Die Diskussion ihres Verhältnisses in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 419-469.

Robertson, B., 2001, "Gaelic in Scotland," in: Extra, G. & D. Gorter, eds., *The Other Languages of Europe. Demographic, Sociolinguistic and Educational Perspectives*, Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto & Sydney: Multilingual Matters, 83-101.

Rockel, M., 1989, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der irischen Sprache*, Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Safran, W., 1999, "Nationalism," in: Fishman, J.A., ed., *Handbook of Language & Ethnic Identity*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 77-93.

Share, B., 1997, *Slanguage. A Dictionary of Irish Slang*, Dublin.

Shils, E., 1995, "Nation, Nationality, Nationalism and Civil Society," in: *Nations and Nationalism* 1: 93-118.

Singleton, D., 2006, "Globalization, Language, and National Identity: The Case of Ireland," Paper first presented at the 37th Poznań Linguistic Meeting in April 2006.

Smith, A.D., 1991, *National Identity*, Reno, Las Vegas & London: University of Nevada Press.

Smith, A.D., 2001, *Nationalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Thomas, A.R., 1997, "The Welshness of Welsh English: A Survey Paper," in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: Winter, 55-85.

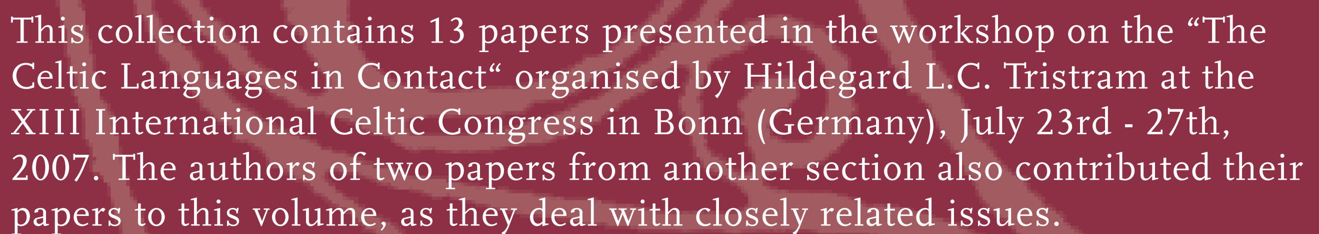
Trudgill, P., 2003, *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Wakelin, M.F., 1991, "The Cornishness of Cornwall's English," in: Ureland, P.S. & G. Broderick, eds., *Language Contact in the British Isles*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 199-225.

Wardhaugh, R., 1987, *Languages in Competition. Dominance, Diversity, and Decline*, Oxford & New York: Basil Blackwell.

Williams, C., 2001, "Welsh in Great Britain," in: Extra, G. & D. Gorter, eds., *The Other Languages of Europe. Demographic, Sociolinguistic and Educational Perspectives*, Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto & Sydney: Multilingual Matters, 59-81.

Zwickl, S., 2002, *Language Attitudes, Ethnic Identity and Dialect Use across the Northern Ireland Border: Armagh and Monaghan*, Belfast: Queen's University.



This collection contains 13 papers presented in the workshop on the "The Celtic Languages in Contact" organised by Hildegard L.C. Tristram at the XIII International Celtic Congress in Bonn (Germany), July 23rd - 27th, 2007. The authors of two papers from another section also contributed their papers to this volume, as they deal with closely related issues.
The time-span covered ranges from potential pre-historic contacts of Celtic with Altaic languages or Nostratic cognates in Celtic, through the hypothesis of Afro-Asiatic as a possible substrate for Celtic, Latin and Gaulish contacts in Gaul, the impact of Vulgar Latin on the formation of the Insular Celtic Languages as a linguistic area (Sprachbund), to various contact scenarios involving the modern Insular Celtic languages as well as English and French. The final paper reflects on the political status of the modern Insular Celtic languages in the Europe of the 27 EU countries.

ISBN 978-3-940793-07-2