



Dimensions and Categories of Celticity: Studies in Language. Proceedings of the Fourth International Colloquium of the Learned Association Societas Celto-Slavica held at the University of Łódź between 13-15 September 2009. Part 1. Studia Celto-Slavica 4.

Stalmaszczyk, P., & Fomin, M. (Eds.) (2010). *Dimensions and Categories of Celticity: Studies in Language. Proceedings of the Fourth International Colloquium of the Learned Association Societas Celto-Slavica held at the University of Łódź between 13-15 September 2009. Part 1. Studia Celto-Slavica 4.* Wydawnictwo UŁ.

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Publication Status:

Published (in print/issue): 30/06/2010

Document Version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

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INTRODUCTION

This volume presents the first part of the Proceedings of the Fourth International Colloquium of the Learned Association *Societas Celto-Slavica* held at the University of Łódź, Poland, between 13-15 September 2009. The colloquium was opened by Mr Eddie Brannigan, Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of Republic of Ireland in Poland. In his short speech, he presented an encouraging analysis of figures and facts supporting not only the healthy integration of Polish citizens to the Irish state that happened in the recent decade, but also the long established cultural exchange between the Irish and Polish Republics in the history of the two European states. This stimulating introduction was followed by welcoming remarks of the President of the Society, Professor Séamus Mac Mathúna, MRIA, published in this volume, and by the address of the Chair of the colloquium, Professor Piotr Stalmaszczyk, Dean, Philological Faculty (University of Łódź) as well as few encouraging words of welcome by Professor Jarosław Wierzbński, Vice Dean of the Philological Faculty. While the colloquium was devoted to the issues of Celticity, Celtic languages and cultures, it is the linguistic aspect that forms the focus of our attention here.

The papers submitted to this volume fell into three distinct sections. The first group takes a historical approach to Celtic languages (V. Blažek; I. R. Danko and K.T. Witczak, A. Muradova), including Goidelic (K. Jaskuła; N. O'Shea). This is followed by studies in phonology and syntax of Celtic and Slavic languages (A. Bondaruk, A. Bloch-Rozmej, M. Bloch-Trojnar, and A. Doyle), whereas the final two papers of the volume look at various issues of language contact and linguistic borrowing (K. Jędrzejewska-Pyszczyk, P. Stalmaszczyk)

The volume opens up with two papers that deal with Celtic lexemes connected with horse and the horse-cult. In his paper 'Slavic **komoŋb* and its probable Celtic source', Václav Blažek proposes a Celtic source for this Slavic word, possibly based on (**epos/*ekwos* or **markos*) **kammanios* 'riding (horse)' with ellipsis of the word for horse.

In their paper, '*DEIS EQUENUBO* – The Divine Twins in Asturia', Ignacy Ryszard Danko and Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak, examine the Latin dedication *Deis Equeunubo*, attested in the votive inscription from Asturia. The dedication appears in the dative plural and refers to the Celtic or Lusitanian divine twins, providing the probable meaning as 'to the sons [riding] on the horse'.

Krzysztof Jaskuła looks at ‘Vocalic Alternations in the History of Irish’. In his opinion, alternations of short vowels occur in both Modern Irish and Old Irish. Many short vowels alternate with other short nuclei in a variety of contexts, while other short vowels refuse to undergo alternation. Traditional and ultra-modern analyses of these phonological systems seem to attach much importance to the idea that, whenever such changes take place, they are synchronically motivated, i.e. that they belong to phonology proper. Nonetheless, he proposes to look back into the reconstructed prehistory of the Irish language, and argues that a number of these alternations go back to Primitive Irish and even earlier.

Natalia O’Shea in her article ‘The Old Irish Evidence for the Reconstruction of the Indo-European Acrostatic Presents’ analyses a small number of Old Irish verbs (*ithid* ‘eats’, *rigid* ‘stretches, rules’, *mligid* ‘milks’ and *midithir* ‘judges’) and reconstructs some Indo-European acrostatic presents. In her opinion, this evidence from the Western dialects of the Indo-European periphery provides a strong argument that acrostatic presents existed at least at a later stage of the Indo-European proto-language.

Anna Bloch-Rozmej in her paper ‘Syllabic consonants in Slavic and Celtic languages’ addresses the problem of syllabic consonants in a number of Slavic and Celtic languages, including Polish, Czech and Irish. Considering this issue through the optic of Government Phonology (henceforth GP), she makes a specific proposal that onset-nucleus domains are not only licensing domains but they also constitute the so-called extension domains. She maintains that the phenomenon of the syllabic consonants can be analysed in terms of segment extension occurring within such onset-nucleus extension domains and demonstrates that this solution effectively accounts for the relevant linguistic facts attested to in languages under discussion.

Maria Bloch-Trojnar studies ‘Semantic Constraints on Light Verb Constructions in Modern Irish’. Structures made up of a light verb (*déan* ‘do’, *tabhair* ‘give’, *faigh* ‘get’, *bain* ‘take, extract’) and a verbal noun (VN) complement are investigated. LVCs are argued to have a telicising effect which results from the interaction of the aktionsart of the VN complement and syntax. Particular light verbs show systematic behavior in their ability to combine with VNs derived from certain semantic verb classes (verbs of movement, emission of sound, social interaction etc.) in order to present the situation from different angles by giving prominence to certain participants (Agent, Patient, Experiencer).

Anna Bondaruk re-appraises Obligatory Control (OC) in Irish and Polish. Two special instances of OC are examined: namely, free variation of PRO and lexical subjects in Irish non-finite clauses, and the presence

of OC or non-obligatory control (NOC) in some Polish non-finite clauses introduced by the C *żeby* ‘so that’. In the case of Irish non-finite clauses with overt subjects it is necessary to assume that I is specified as [+Agr] although this marking is morphologically opaque. For Polish non-finite clauses with the overt C triggering NOC, rather than OC, an assumption must be made that C in such structures has just the [+T] feature while the non-finite I bears [+Agr].

Aidan Doyle in his contribution examines a sociolinguistic phenomenon attested in contemporary Irish, namely, ‘The Loss of the Impersonal in Bilingual Speakers of Irish’. In his view, this formal change in the grammar of the language is taking place in a context of wholesale restructuring of Irish due to the influence of English. Doyle notices the old impersonal of LMI rapidly giving way to a new passive, one that reflects very faithfully the structure of English. He also observes that this tendency is not an entirely new one, and appears to go back at least the 19th century. He suggests that the motive for the change is two-fold: a desire to allow for the expression of agents with passives, and a need to imitate the information structure of English for an audience consisting almost entirely of L2 speakers of English.

Anna Muradova takes as her subject cosmological aspects of the Celtic linguistic tradition in the paper ‘“Sky” and “Heavens” in Breton Oral Tradition’. She examines the linguistic development of two terms deriving from IE **nem-* in Breton: *neñv* ‘heavens’ and *nemet* ‘sacred’, which, in her view, seems to present a particular example of the Christian influence on the vocabulary of spoken and written Breton. While *neñv* was integrated in the vocabulary of the priests and was employed to mark the opposition between the heavens and the sky (ModB *oabl*), *nemet* disappeared from the language and the notion of ‘holy’, ‘sacred’ was explained by a Latin term *sacrum* > Modern Breton *sakr*.

In her paper, ‘Syntactic Patterns in Welsh and English Nicknames—a Comparison’, Katarzyna Jędrzejewska-Pyszczyk investigates linguistic constructions that underlie Welsh and English nickname formations and, consequently, provide clues as to the function of nicknaming in both languages. The analysis, backed with examples, reveals that Welsh *llysenwau* retain their identificatory function and focus on enabling unambiguous nomination of individual community members. This assumption is borne out by the observation that the proper noun is the indispensable element in the structure of a Welsh nickname and the rule as such is harmed in a handful of examples only. In contrast, in English denominations instead of the proper noun it is mostly the common noun that constitutes the core of the formation. What follows is that the linguistic reality of nicknaming patterns might be considered as more

context-sensitive in the English language, while the inherent presence of official designations, i.e. the first/second name or the surname, in Welsh designations increases the autonomy of reference.

The paper 'From 'Ambassador' to 'Whisky': A Note on Celtic Elements in Contemporary Polish Vocabulary' by Piotr Stalmaszczyk concludes the volume. This paper surveys and examines words and elements of Celtic origin present in contemporary Polish vocabulary. Polish did not have any direct contacts with the Celtic languages, however, some elements of Celtic (i.e. Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Welsh, Breton) origin entered it via other languages, especially English and French. Additionally, several early borrowings from Continental Celtic spread through Latin, and subsequently the Romance languages, to other languages, including Polish, thus becoming internationalisms of Celtic origin. The relevant lexical items have been extracted from a general dictionary of Polish, several other words come from specialized sources.

The editors wish to thank the secretaries of the conference (Krzysztof Lewoc, Marta Goszczyńska and Anna Ginter) for their hard work. We are also thankful to our reviewers whose suggestions and remarks were taken on board. We also express our acknowledgement to, notably, all the guests and participants to the conference, whose involvement stimulated noteworthy discussion and made the conference such a success. The publication has been made possible through a grant generously provided by the City of Łódź Office.

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THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM OF
SOCIETAS CELTO-SLAVICA

ŁÓDŹ, POLAND, 13-15 SEPTEMBER 2009

WELCOMING REMARKS

SÉAMUS MAC MATHÚNA

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you to the *Fourth International Colloquium of Societas Celto-Slavica* being held here in Poland at the University of Łódź. Poland is a country rich in tradition, with a people of great resilience who have contributed significantly to the culture and history of Europe, and to the world of scholarship. It has a distinguished history of engagement over many years with Celtic Studies, and it is fitting at this first meeting of *Societas Celto-Slavica* in Poland that we should remember some of the great Polish scholars who laid the foundations of the tradition in this country – scholars such as Stefan Czarnowski, Tadeusz Lehr-Splawiński, Jerzy Kuryłowicz, Leszek Bednarczuk, and Witold Stefański. It is a history which, thankfully, continues to the present day, as is reflected in the range and variety of scholarly papers to be delivered by our Polish colleagues over the next few days. As Professor Stalmaszczyk, the Chair of Conference and a distinguished Celticist in his own right, pointed out in his address to the *First International Colloquium* in Coleraine, Celtic Studies in Poland is presently well-served by the Department of Celtic Philology at John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin under the direction of Professor Eugeniusz Cyran, the Department of Celtic Languages and Literature under the direction of Professor Sabine Heinz at the School of English, at Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań, and the developments in Celtic here at Łódź spearheaded by Professor Stalmaszczyk himself.

I should point out on a personal note that it is now exactly forty years since I first met Professor Edmund Gussmann when we were young scholars studying at the University of Iceland, in Reykjavik. Already a dedicated and brilliant student of Linguistics, he was developing a keen interest in the Celtic languages, and his many endeavours and achievements on behalf of the discipline in Poland, especially perhaps his association with the Chair and school of Celtic Linguistics at Lublin, deserve special mention here today. It is a pleasure to see so many scholarly papers at the

conference from this distinguished body of scholars, including one from the Irish linguist Dr Aidan Doyle, who has had a close affiliation with the Chair for many years.

A special word of thanks is due to the Irish Embassy, which has yet again generously assisted the *Societas* and this Colloquium: the continuing support and interest of the Embassy and Irish Government in our work are very greatly appreciated. *Go raibh míle maith agaibh!*

Finally, let me thank the organisers of the Colloquium – the Organising Committee, Professor Stalmaszczyk (Chair), and Professor Jerzy Jarniewicz and Dr Maxim Fomin; and the Conference Secretaries, Krzysztof Lewoc (who has kept us well-informed throughout the process), Dr Marta Goszczyńska, and Dr Anna Ginter. As is clear from the excellent programme of lectures and events on offer, the conference has been very well-organised. I notice, for example, that this is the first time we have both parallel sessions and a number of plenary papers. The broad range of subject matter and themes to be addressed, including the plenary session papers, will, I am sure, provide something of interest for each of us. It only remains for me to wish the Colloquium the best of luck and success and to hope that you all have an enjoyable and pleasant experience here in Łódź. *Go n-éirí go geal leis an Chomhdháil!* I now pass you over to our host, the Chair of Conference, Professor Piotr Stalmaszczyk.

Séamus Mac Mathúna
President
Societas Celto-Slavica
14 September 2009

SLAVIC *KOMONJB AND ITS PROBABLE CELTIC SOURCE

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK

0. Introduction

The main purpose of the present study is to demonstrate that besides the traditional Balto-Slavic etymology of Slavic **komonjb* “riding horse”, based on the Baltic designation of “bridle”, there is an alternative identifying in the Slavic word an adaptation of the syntagm “horse of road” > “riding horse”, expressed in a hypothetical Celtic source from Central Europe as **epos* (? **ekwos*) or **markos* **kammanios*, with the following ellipsis of the word for “horse”.

1. Attestation

Slavic **komonjb* > Old Church Slavic *komonb* “equus, caballus” (1x Venc-Nik), Old and poetic Czech *komoň* “riding horse”; Old Russian *komonb*, *kumonb* “riding horse”, Russian (arch.) *kómoň*, dial. also *komáň*, *komán* id., Ukrainian (arch.) *komóň* id. (Trubačev, ESSJ 10.177-78; Valčáková 1996: 332-33 (ESJS 6); Machek 1968: 271-72).

2. Derivatives

2.1. Adjective: **komonbьnjь* > Czech (arch.) *komonný* “(of) horse”, Old Polish *komonny*, *komunny* id., “of cavalry”, probably a loan from Russia; Russian (dial.) *komannój*, *kománnij* “healthy, living”, Old Ukrainian *komonnij*, Ukrainian *komónnij* “(of) horse” (ESSJ 10.178; Sławski 1958-65: 402-03).

2.2. *Nomen agentis*: **komonbьnikъ* > Czech (arch.) *komonník* “rider, cavalier, knight”, Old Polish *komonik*, *kommonik*, *komonnik*, *komun(n)ik* “cavalry; rider, knight”, Ukrainian (arch.) *komonnýk* “rider, knight” (ESSJ 10.178; Sławski 1958-65: 402-03).

2.3. Collective: **komonbьstvo* > Old Czech *komonstvo* “cavalry” > Slovak *komonstvo* id., Polish *komaństwo* “society” (Machek 1968: 271; Sławski 1958-65: 402-03).

3. Internal structure

In Slavic the suffix *-*onjb* forms the words with expressive semantics (**tixonjb* : **tixъ*, **květonjb* : **květъ*, **žbronjb* : **žbrq* – see Sławski 1974: 132) or hypocoristics (**Radonjb* from the personal name of the type

**Radoslavъ*, **Radomilъ* etc. – see Svoboda 1964: 161). Slavic **komonjb* is probably the only exception as a word with the neutral meaning.

4. Traditional etymology

If the word **komonjb* is really formed by the suffix *-*onjb*, this suffix is analysable as *-*on-* extended by the possessive suffix *-*jb*. In this case the hypothetical unextended protoform **komonъ* < **komono-* would correspond with Lithuanian *kāmanos* “bridle with a bit” (formally the proto-Baltic pl. **kamanās*, indicating the unattested sg. ⁺*kamanā*). Hence Slavic **komonjb* (**komonjo-*) would mean “belonging to **komono-*” or “characteristic by **komono-*”. For the “riding horse” the “bridle with a bit” is undoubtedly characteristic enough. Other etymologies are discussed by Valčáková (ESJS 6.332-33), Trubačev (ESSJ 10.177-78) and Toporov (1980: 196).

5. Alternative etymology

Although the preceding etymology is acceptable from the point of phonology, morphology and semantics, the exceptional rarity of the inexpressive function of the suffix *-*onjb* legitimizes to seek any alternative solution. It is possible to think about adaptation and elliptic simplification of the Continental Celtic syntagm *(*epos*/**ekwos* or **markos*) **kammanios* “riding (horse)” corresponding to German *Reitpferd*, where the attribute represented a derivative of the word **kamman* “step” (< **kangsman* < **kngsmn*), reconstructed on the basis of Celtiberian (Botorrita A5) acc. sg. *kamanom* “road”; Old Irish *céimm* neut. “act of stepping towards, approaching; resorting to; step, pace, stride; degree; stage; dignity, rank; course” (DIL C 100.01), acc. pl. *inna cemmen* gl. ‘gresus’; Old Welsh *cemmein* gl. ‘in gradibus’ < **kammanī*, Middle Welsh *camm* “step”, Welsh *cam*, pl. -*au* “stride, step”, Cornish *cam* “marche, pas”, Middle Breton *cam* “un pas”; cf. also Gallo-Latin (7th cent.) *camminus* “road, street” (LEIA C-54-55; Thurneysen 1946: 94, 210; de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 265; Holder 1896: 719; Schrijver 1995: 375; Falileyev 2000: 25; Delamarre 2001: 85) and its Romance continuants in Italian *cammino*, Engadin, Friuli *k’amin*, French *chemin*, Provencal, Catalanian *camí*, Spanish *camino*, Portuguese *caminho* “way, road” (Meyer-Lübke 1935: #1552).

6. External parallels

6.1. Closest cognate can be identified in a Lusitanian word COMAIAM, appearing in the inscription from Cabeço das Fráguas: OILAM · TREBOPALA · INDI · PORCOM · LAEBO · COMAIAM · ICCONA · LOIMINNA · OILAM · USSEAM · TREBARUNE · INDI · TAUROM IFADEM .. REUE TRE.. Witczak (2005: 68-70) refers to the following interpretation:

‘Ovem Trebopalae et porcum Laribus, equam Eponae Virgini, ovem anniculam Trebaroni et taurum futuentem Iovi’, i.e. “a sheep (acc. sg.) to Trebopala (dat. sg.) and a pig (acc. sg.) to La[h]es (dat. pl.), a mare (acc. sg.) to Icona (equine goddess?) virgin (dat. sg.), a yearly sheep to Trebaruna and a bull (acc. sg.) to Reuos (dat. sg.)”. The word COMAIAM designating an animal determined as a sacrifice for the goddess ICCONA so should be the acc. sg. of the **-iā* stems, according to Witczak ± “mare” with regard to a probable equine specialisation of ICCONA. Witczak (2005: 330-31) discussed two etymologies of **komaīā*: (i) comparison with Prussian *camnet* “horse” and Slavic **komonь* “horse”; (ii) comparison with Old Indic *māya-* “horse”, *māyī-* “mare”, prefixed by the ‘pejorative’ prefix *ka-*. The following solution modifies the variant (i): The hypothetical Lusitanian nom. sg. **komaīā* can reflect older **komanīā*. This change looks as a rule postulated *ad hoc*, but a similar tendency appears in Portuguese which could inherit it just from Lusitanian, its substratum, cf. the ancient city-name *Conimbriga* continuing in *Coimbra* today, or Latin *panis* “bread” > Portuguese *pão* etc. (Meyer-Lübke 1935: #6198).

6.2. Concerning Prussian *kamprīt* gl. ‘pferdt’ [Grunau G 6], *camnet* id. [Grunau A 41] = gl. ‘equus’ [Grunau F 41], there are two possible starting-points: (i) **kam(a)nētas*, exactly corresponding to the Lithuanian part. pret. pass. *kamanētas* from the verb *kamanėti* “to move”, itself from the noun *kāmanos* “bridle with a bit” (Toporov 1980: 191-96); (ii) **kamnitis* < **kamanītīs*, interpretable as a diminutive, implying a primary protoform **kamanīs* (Mažiulis 1993: 105 derives it further from the adj. **kamanja-*, formed from the noun **kamana-/ā-* “bridle”). The place-name *Camnitien* attested in Samland in 1333 (Gerullis 1922: 54) supports the solution (ii). In this case one of the hypothetical predecessors of the Prussian designations of “horse”, **kamanīs* or **kamanja-*, can represent an adaptation of Slavic **komonjь* “riding horse”.

7. Conclusion

If the preceding arguments are valid, it is possible to add this etymology to the scanty, but extraordinarily important group of Celto-Slavic parallels which cannot be explained as a common heritage. For apparent phonological and morphological reasons the Slavic data should be interpreted as Celtic loans. The classic examples of this type were analysed by Stalmaszczyk & Witczak (1995).

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Abbreviations

- DIL** – *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, ed. by E. G. Quin et al. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy (Compact Edition) 1983 (repr. 1990; 1998).
ESJS – *Etymologický slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, ed. by Eva Havlová et al. Praha: Academia 1989–.
ESSJ – *Étimologičeskij slová slavyanskix jazykov*, ed. by Oleg N. Trubačev et al. Moskva: Nauka 1974–.
LEIA – *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*, par Joseph Vendryes, Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies & Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1959–.

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Acknowledgements

This study originated in cooperation with the Centre for the Interdisciplinary Research of Ancient Languages and Older Stages of Modern Languages (MSM 0021622435) at Masaryk University, Brno, and thanks to the grant No. IAA901640805. I would like to express my thanks to Natalia O'Shea. After her comments I have modified some of my reconstructions.

DEIS EQEUNUBO – THE DIVINE TWINS IN ASTURIA

IGNACY RYSZARD DANKA
KRZYSZTOF TOMASZ WITCZAK

1. The Votive Inscription from La Vid (Pola de Gordón, León)

In his excellent article F. Marco Simón (1999) analyses afresh the votive inscription found in La Vid (Pola de Gordón, León) in the ancient Asturia. According to the first editor José Avelino Gutiérrez González (1984: 117-120; 1985: 102-104), the text of the inscription reads as follows:

1	DEIS E QUEUNUR(is) IULIUS REBURRUS
5	V.S.L.M

In line 2 the last letter is preserved partially. It begins with the hasta and it resembles R or B. The earlier editors and scholars reconstruct the dative plural DEIS EQEUNUR(is) 'to the Gods called EQEUNURI' (Sanz Villa 1996: 114). After an autopsy in August 1996, F. Marco Simón (1999) proposed a new reading DEIS EQEUNU(BO) against of an earlier imperfect reading: DEIS EQEUNUR(IS). In his opinion, the votive inscription from La Vid contains the following text:

1	DEIS E QUEUNU(BO) IULIUS REBURRUS
5	V.S.L.M

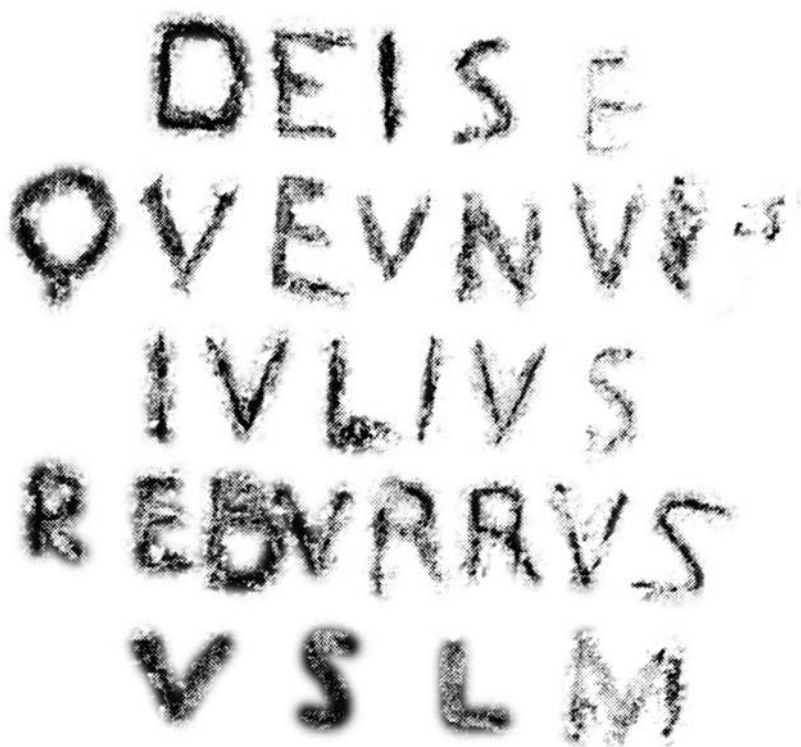


Fig. 1: The votive inscription by Iulius Reburus.
Artistic reproduction based on Marco Simón (1999: 483)

2. The Form EQUEUNUBO: Discussion

According to F. Marco Simón, the form EQUEUNUBO contains the Hispano-Celtic dative plural ending **-bo(s)*, which is well attested in the votive inscriptions from Celtiberia and the North-West Hispanic area. After Prósper (2002: 287, 312) we may quote here the following examples:

1. ARABO COROBECICOBO TALUSICOBO (Arroyomolinos de la Vera, Cáceres).
2. LUCUBO ARQUIENOBO (Sta María de Liñarán, Sober, Lugo). It is a dedication to the Hispano-Celtic deities called **Lugoves* in plural (but usually **Lugus* in singular). The god **Lugus* was popular in Ancient Hispania (cf. Tovar 1982).

3. LUCOUBU[S] ARQUIENIS (San Vicente de Castellones, Otero del Rey, Lugo). The forms in question are the Latin rendering of the above-mentioned local phrases (cf. Olivares Pedreño 2002: 88-89). The declensional endings of the Latin formula guarantee the interpretation of -BO as the Hispano-Celtic or Lusitanian ending of the dative plural.

4. MATRUBOS (Agreda).

The ending of the dative pl. *-bo* (< IE. dial. **-bhos* vs. **-bhyos*) appears also in some Gaulish inscriptions, e.g.

5. Gaulish ATREBO AGANNTOBO (dat. pl.) 'to the Holy Fathers' (< Common Celtic **patribos* **yagantobos* < IE. **pə₂t-~bhos* **yag̊t-to-bhos*). It is highly probable that the dative plural form AGANNTOBO derives from Common Celtic **yagantos* < IE. **yag̊tós* adj. 'worth of worship, adorable, holy', cf. Sanskrit *yajatá-* adj. 'worth of worship, adorable, holy, sublime', also m. 'moon' and 'name of the god Śiva' (lex.); Avestan *yazata-* adj. 'verehrungswürdig, anbetungswürdig' (Bartholomae 1904: 1279), MPers. *yazat*, NPers. *īzad* 'god', Ossetic (Digoron) *izæd*, (Iron) *zæd* 'deity; angel' (Abaev 1989: 290-291).

6. Gaulish MATPEBO NEMAYΣIKABO (dat. pl.) 'to the Mothers of Nemausis'.

As regards the theonym EQUEUNUBO, we may agree with F. Marco Simón (1999) and J. M. Blázquez Martínez (2001) that it represents a compound form containing the Celtic and Indo-European name for 'horse' (Common Celtic **ekʷos* < IE. **ejwos*). The theonym in question represent a divine plurality or duality, as it is suggested by the Latin form DEIS and the Palaeo-Hispanic dative ending -BO. The commentators (Marco Simón 1999; Blázquez Martínez 2001) suggested convincingly that we have to do with the divine twin brethren.

It is obvious that the gods documented in the inscriptional sources as DEIS EQUEUNUBO must be related to the horses, cf. Celtic **ekʷos* 'horse', hence OIr. *ech* 'horse', OBret. *eb* id., Gaul. **epo-* (= Lat. *equus* m. 'horse') in many personal names, Celtiberian *equeisuique* (see Matasović 2009: 114; Witczak 2009: 157-159). The diminutive forms in Brytonic (Welsh *epāwl*, Cornish *ebōl* 'foal') derive from Celtic **ekʷālos* 'small or young horse' (< IE. **ejwōlos*).

The strong connection with the horses is a typical feature of the Indo-European divine twin brothers, who are named *Áśvināu* in Vedic (their name derives evidently from OInd. *ásva-* m. 'horse' and IE. **ejwos*). Apart from the Horse-Goddess **Ejwonā* (f.), who is presented in the

Gaulish and Lusitanian pantheon (Gallo-Latin *Epona*, Lusit. *Icona*, cf. also Myc. Gk. *po-ti-ni-ja i-qi-ja* ‘the Lady of Horses’, see especially Robbins Dexter 1990; Gangutia 2002; Kalygin 2006: 79-80), different Indo-European gods are related to the horses in weaker way than the divine twins. It seems to suggest that the Asturian gods are related to Vedic *Aśvins* and Greek *Dioscuri*.

The first part of the compound must derive from IE. **ejwos*, most probably from the locative sg. form **ejwei* ‘on the horse’. The second part of the compound -UNU- is treated as unclear. In our opinion, it derives evidently from IE. **sūnús* m. ‘son’.

The derivation of dat. pl. EQUEUNUBO from the archetype (Late IE.) **ekwei-sūnu-bhos* (literally ‘to the sons [riding] on the horse’) is perfect from the phonological point of view. The diphthong **ei-* yields long **ē* both in Common Celtic and Lusitanian. Also intervocalic *-s-* becomes *-h-* and further it disappears regularly in the Insular Celtic languages (Thurneysen 1909: 130, id. 1946: 132; Lewis & Pedersen 1937: 17), as well as in Gaulish, e.g.

7. IE. **swesōr* f. ‘sister’ (cf. OInd. *svásar-*, Latin *soror*, Lith. *sesuō* id.) > Common Celtic **swehūr* f. ‘sister’, cf. Old Irish *siur* f. ‘sister’; Welsh *chwaer*, Old Cornish *huir*, Middle Cornish *hoer*, Breton *c’hoar* f. id. (Pokorny 1959: 1051); Gaulish (instr.-soc. pl.) *suiorebe* ‘with the sisters’ (Lambert 1997: 105-106; Matasović 2009: 364). The Gaulish form derives from Common Celtic **swehor-e-bi(s)* and IE. dial. **swesor-e-bhi(s)* or **swes-~bhi(s)*.

8. Early Celtic **esoks* ‘salmon’ (cf. Latin *esox* ‘a kind of fish’) > OIr. *eó* (gen. sg. *iach*) m. ‘salmon’; MW. *ehawc*, Welsh *eog*, OCorn. *ehoc*, MBret. *eheuc*, Bret. *eoc* id. (Lewis & Pedersen 1937: 17; Matasović 2009: 119).

9. IE. **mesālā* f. ‘blackbird’ (cf. Lat. *merula* f. id.) > Brittonic Celtic **mehalkā* f. ‘blackbird’; MWelsh *mwyalch* f., OCorn. *moelh* (gl. *merula*), Bret. *moualc’h* id. (Lewis & Pedersen 1937: 17; Matasović 2009: 268).

It is highly probable that the intervocal spirant **-s-* was also lost in Celtiberian, as suggested by the following instance:

10. The genitive singular ending of the *o*-stem nouns in Celtiberian is represented by *-o*. In our opinion, it can derive from Celtic **-oho* and IE. **-oso* vs. **-osyo*, cf. OInd. *-asya*; Faliscan and OLat. dial. *-osio*; Venetic *-oiso*, Umbrian *-es*, *-eis* (< **-oiso* < IE. **-osyo*); Gk. Mycenaean *-o-jo*, Homeric *-o<o* and *-oo*, Doric *-ω*, Attic *-ov*. It is possible that the Celtiberian ending *-o* [evidently the long vowel *ō*] originated from the contraction of two short vowels [*ō+ō*]. The contracted vowel had to be different from the

reflex of IE. **ō*, which appears as Celtiberian -*u* in the final position, as well as in Common Celtic (**ū* in the final position, but **ā* initially and medially).

Intervocal *-*s*- is lost also in Lusitanian, as it is documented by the following comparisons:

11. Lusit. LAEBO or LAEPO dat. pl. ('to the Lahe = Lares') < IE. dial. **Lās-e-bhos*, cf. Lat. *Lāribus*, OLat. *Lāsibus* dat. pl. ('to the Lares'). This interpretation was first suggested by Witczak (1999: 69; 2005: 87, 262).

12. The Lusitanian adjectival suffixes *-*aicos* vs. *-*aios* (cf. the divine by-names TOIRAECO and TUERAEO attested in the parallel contexts) seem to be analogous to the Greek suffixes -αῖκός and -αῖος, cf. Θηβαῖκός and Θηβαῖος adj. 'Theban'. They derive from IE. *-*āsikos* and *-*āsios*, respectively (Witczak 2005: 267-268).

The term **sūnús* m. 'son' (cf. OInd. *sūnú-*, Avestan *hūnuš*, Gothic *sunus*, Old Nordic *sunr*, OE. *sunu*; Lith. *sūnūs*, OChSl. *synъ* and so on) is not attested in Insular Celtic, though some related forms appeared both in Goidelic (cf. OIr. *suth* 'fruit, offspring' < Common Celtic **sutu-* id.; Pokorny 1959: 913; Wodtko, Irslinger, Schneider 2008: 617; Matasović 2009: 359-360) and Bryttonic (cf. Welsh *hogen* 'Mädchen / girl' < Common Celtic **sukā*; Pokorny 1959: 913; Wodtko, Irslinger, Schneider 2008: 617).

It is well known fact that the Indo-European names for 'son' and 'daughter' have been replaced in numerous West Indo-European (i.e. Italo-Celtic) languages (see Lejeune 1968; Hamp 1973). The words for 'boy' and 'girl' are also naturally used from the parents' point of view. Buck (1949: 105-106) demonstrate the change on the basis of the following examples:

13. Lat. *filius* m. 'son' (orig. 'their own', cf. Lydian *bilis* 'his own');

14. Lat. (*g*)*nātus* m. 'son' (liter. 'born in').

15. OIr. *macc* (*o*-stem m.) 'son', Ogamic MAQQI (gen. sg.) 'of the son', Irish *mac*, Welsh *mab*, Breton *mab* 'son' (Matasović 2008: 253-254), orig. 'boy, youth'.

16. Lat. *filia*, Venetic *vhilia*, Messapic *bilīa* (dimin. *biliuva*), Alb. *bijë* 'daughter' (orig. 'their own').

17. Lat. (*g*)*nāta* f. 'daughter' (liter. 'born in').

18. Ogam *INIGENA*; OIr. *ingen*, Irish *ingheann* ‘daughter’ (orig. ‘born in, native’, cf. Lat. *indigena* f. ‘native’; Matasović 2009: 157-158).

19. Welsh *merch*, Breton *merc’h* ‘daughter’ (orig. ‘maiden, girl’, cf. Lith. *mergà* f. ‘girl’; Matasović 2009: 267).

Jordán Cólera (2004: 170-171) discusses the innovative character of Celtiberian family vocabulary, quoting:

20. Cib. *kentis* m. ‘son’, cf. OIcel. *kind* ‘family, kind’, German *Kind* n. ‘child’.

However, the primitive Indo-European term for ‘daughter’ appears in the Continental Celtic languages (with residual traces also in Goidelic), as well as in some Italic dialects:

21. Celtiberian *tuateres* (nom. pl.) ‘daughters’, *tuateros* (gen. sg.) ‘of the daughter’ (Hamp 1996; Jordán Cólera 2004: 171), Gaulish *duxtīr* ‘daughter’, Old Irish *Der-* in some archaic forms (O’Brien 1956; Hamp 1975; Rubio Orecilla 1999-2000; Matasović 2009: 109-110); Oscan *fútīr* ‘daughter’ (< IE. **dhuǵʰ₂tēr* f. ‘daughter’, cf. Greek *θυγάτηρ*, OInd. *duhitār-*, OCHSl. *dv̋šti* f. id. and so on).

Also the original term for ‘son’ has been preserved for a time in the ancient Indo-European languages of the Hispanic Peninsula. Blanca Prósper (2005: 182) discusses the personal name EBURSUNOS, attested in nom. sg. in a Celtiberian tablet from Botorrita (K.1.3), saying that it can be treated as a compound meaning ‘son of the yew / hijo del tejo’ or ‘son of the boar / hijo del jabalí’ (< **eburo-sūnos* with an early syncope of the first *-o-* and the regular preservation of *-s-* after the liquid **r*). She abandoned this interpretation, emphasizing that there is no evidence for the preservation of the primitive Indo-European name of ‘son’ in the Ancient Hispania (Celtiberian introduced an innovative term *kentis* m. ‘son’), even if the personal name SUNUA is registered fifteen times in the western part of the Hispanic Peninsula (cf. Vallejo Ruiz 2005: 400-402). However, it is worth noting that the old name for ‘son’ could be preserved in some archaic names such as EQUEUNUBOS or EBURSUNOS, see especially Old Irish *Der-*.

It is therefore probable that the original Indo-European term for ‘son’ (IE. **sūnús*) was preserved in the Hispano-Celtic or Lusitanian linguistic area, at least at the territory of the ancient Asturians. The attested non-Latin form EQUEUNUB(O) (dat. pl.) may be securely interpreted as ‘to the sons (riding) on the horse’.

3. Conclusion

It should be concluded that the inscriptional phrase DEIS EQUENUBO had to refer to the Celtic (or Lusitanian) twin gods. The term EQU(h)UNU seems a descriptive by-name of the Celtic divine twins, like Vedic *Aśvināu* (liter. ‘two horse-like [deities]’), Greek Διόσκουροι (liter. ‘Zeus’ boys’) or Etruscan *Tinascliniaras* (liter. ‘to the sons of [the sky-god] Tin’).

We believe that the peculiar name of the divine twin brethren in the Continental Celtic languages should be reconstructed as **Alkoi* (see Witczak 1997). This name is perfectly attested in Tacitus’ description of Germania (*Germ.* 43: “Among the Nahanarvali is shown a grove, the seat of a prehistoric ritual: a priest presides in female dress; but according to the Roman interpretation the gods recorded in this fashion are Castor and Pollux: that at least is the spirit of the godhead here recognised, whose name is the Alci (*nomen Alcis*). No images are in use; there is no sign of foreign superstition: nevertheless they worship these deities as brothers and as youths” – translation by Maurice Hutton [Tacitus 1914/1963: 325]). It appears also in the Lepontic and Gaulish personal names (cf. Lepontic *Alkouinos*, Gaul. *Alcovindos*, liter. ‘[who is] white like the Alci’), as well as in the Hispanic toponymy (cf. *Alcobendas*, a place name near Madrid, orig. **Alko-bendā[s]* ‘hillock[s] of the Alci’). The Old Celtic name of the divine twins (Celtic **Alkoi*, Lat. *Alcī*) is undoubtedly related to that of the Sicilian twin gods (Gk. Παλικοί, Lat. *Palicī*), whose origin was discussed separately (Witczak, Zawiasa 2004; 2006). Both these theonyms derive from the Indo-European archetype **Palikoi* (pl.) or **Palikō* (du.), cf. also a divine pair of *Pales* in Latin. The syncope of the short vowel *-ī-* seems a quite common process, whereas the loss of the initial **p-* is such a phonological feature, which appears exclusively in the Celtic languages. Thus the Celtic origin of the Alci is securely confirmed by the etymology of their own name.

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VOCALIC ALTERNATIONS IN THE HISTORY OF IRISH

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1. Introduction

Vocalic alternations occur in many languages, both past and present, and the reason why they do is on many occasions contemporary and context-triggered, i.e. phonological. Sometimes, however, the cause of vocalic changes cannot be associated with the phonological context. In this paper we will look at the alternations of short vowels in the history of the Irish language with a view to discovering whether these changes can be perceived as synchronic and context-motivated or, rather, as belonging to morphophonology, i.e. being diachronically determined.

This work is organised as follows. First, we will become acquainted with the basic tenets of Government Phonology, a theory of representations in the spirit of which the ensuing analysis will be conducted. Second, recent approaches to the issue of short vowel alternations in two dialects of Modern Irish (Munster and Connemara) will be presented and discussed. Third, alternating short vocalic expressions of Old Irish will be examined, which will be accompanied with an excursion to prehistoric times. Finally, conclusions as regards the nature of Irish alternations will be offered.

2. Vowels in Government Phonology

Government Phonology (Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud 1990, Charette 1990, Gussmann and Kaye 1993, Harris 1994) is a theory of representations in which all phonological phenomena are believed to arise from a few cross-linguistic principles and language-specific parameters. For instance, it is assumed that all nuclei license the preceding onsets, that onsets and nuclei can be empty, that relations of government obtain between phonological objects and that all sounds of speech are composed of phonological elements. For our analysis it is important to concentrate on this last issue.

Phonological elements or primes are the smallest phonological units which can be pronounced alone. There are three vocalic elements which can occur either by themselves or in combinations with other elements. Consider the following simplified scheme:

(1)

ELEMENTS AND COMBINATIONS	A	I	U	A+I	A+U	U+I	A+I+U
VOWELS	[a]	[i]	[u]	[e]	[o]	[y]	[œ]

Thus, if we pronounce the elements (I), (A) and (U) in isolation, we will obtain the cardinal vowels [i], [a] and [u], respectively, while fusions of primes result in other vocalic expressions. The phonetic details of all vowels are language-dependent. For example, in one phonological system (A) may be realised as [a], [ɑ] or [æ], while a combination (A, I) may be pronounced as [e], [ɛ] or even [æ], etc. In many tongues, such as all the dialects of Irish, both past and present, (I) and (U) do not combine and front rounded vowels are excluded from such phonological systems.

As regards the graphic representation of words, vowels are linked to nuclei, while consonants to onsets. Consider two Polish words, [ɛxɔ] *echo* – ‘echo’ and [zima] *zima* – ‘winter’ in which the vowels are represented by elements:

(2)

a.					b.				
	O	N	O	N		O	N	O	N
		A	x	A			z	I	m
									A
	I			U					

We can observe that in (2a) the vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] are composed of (A, I) and (A, U), respectively, while in (2b) the vowel [i] equals (I) and [a] includes (A).

Finally, it should be noticed that combinations of elements may represent asymmetric relations. In other words, one element may be viewed as more important for the quality of a given segment and may be called ‘head’, the other(s) being complementary – ‘operator(s)’. Hypothetically, in a system with two types of *e*, we may say that [e] equals (A, I), because it is a vowel closer to [i], while [ɛ] is composed of (A, I), since it is a lower vowel. All such relations must not be taken a priori but have to be established as a result of a thorough phonological analysis of a particular system.

3. Alternations in Munster Irish

The inventory of short vowels is composed of three front vowels, that is [i], [e] and [a], plus three back vowels, namely [ɑ], [o] and [u]. Cyran (1997:

40ff.) presents the following picture of the most important alternations of short vowels in stressed syllables in Munster Irish:¹

(3)	EXAMPLES	GLOSS	TYPE
a.	[muk] <i>muc</i> [mik ⁱ] <i>muic</i> ²	– ‘pig’/dat.sg.	[u – i]
	[pu] <i>puth</i> [pih ⁱ ə] <i>puthe</i>	– ‘breeze’/gen.sg.	
b.	[sop] <i>sop</i> [sip ⁱ] <i>soip</i>	– ‘wisp’/gen.sg.	[o – i]
	[trodə] <i>troda</i> [trid ⁱ] <i>troid</i>	– gen.sg./‘fight’	
c.	[f ⁱ ar] <i>fear</i> [f ⁱ ir ⁱ] <i>fir</i>	– ‘man’/gen.sg.	[a – i]
	[f ⁱ asə] <i>feasa</i> [f ⁱ is] <i>fios</i>	– gen.sg./‘knowledge’	
d.	[d ⁱ as] <i>deas</i> [d ⁱ e] <i>deise</i>	– ‘nice’/gen.sg.fem.	[a – e]
e.	[obir ⁱ] <i>obair</i> [eb ⁱ ir ⁱ ə] <i>oibre</i>	– ‘work’/gen.sg.	[o – e]

There are five major types of alternations in Munster Irish. In the cases in (3d, e) the impact of the vocalic ending may be blamed for the vowel changes. In (3a-c), however, we observe that the vowels change irrespective of vocalic endings. At this juncture, Cyran (1997) proposes that what primarily influences the quality of the leftmost (stressed) vowel is the quality of the following consonant, i.e. either palatalised (*i*-quality) or velarised (*u*-quality). He also argues that every consonant shares either of these qualities with the following nucleus, be it empty or filled. An illustration of what happens to the stressed vowels represented in (3a) is provided below:

(4)	a.	[muk]				b.	[mik ⁱ]				
	O ₁	N ₁	O ₂	N ₂		O ₁	N ₁	O ₂	N ₂		
	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		
	m		k			m		k ⁱ			
	< U >		< U >			< U//	<<<	< I >>			

In (4a) the onset (O₁) shares (< >) the element (U) with the following nucleus. The same goes for the (O₂N₂) sequence. In (4b) the pair of (O₂N₂) shares the element (I), which spreads leftwards but encounters a buffer (//) in the shape of the velarised onset (O₁). So, the nucleus (N₁) is affected by *I*-spreading and the resulting vowel is [i], but the preceding onset remains intact, i.e. un-palatalised. Considering the alternation of [pu] vs. [pihⁱə], the schwa in the last syllable does not matter and the process looks like that

¹ Due to the lack of space, the present analysis will concern only the selected vowels in stressed syllables, although the discussion of vowels in unstressed ones would not bring dramatically different results.

² The superscript [i] is used in the data to indicate palatalisation.

that the onset (O_2) in (6b) is not palatalised. Actually, this exemplifies a change from the basic [i] to the derived [a].

Finally, let us move on to (3d, e). In [dⁱas] vs. [dⁱɛfə], Cyran (1997: 61) proposes that (A) can spread from schwas preceded by palatalised onsets but here the phenomenon involving the activity of this prime should actually be called A-support, since (A) supports the presence of its mate in the preceding nucleus:

(7)	a.	[d ⁱ as]				b.	[d ⁱ ɛfə]			
	O_1	N_1	O_2	N_2		O_1	N_1	O_2	N_2	
	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
	d ⁱ		s			d ⁱ		f		
	< I >		< U >			< I >		< I >		
		A					A =====		A	

The representation of [dⁱas] is identical to [fⁱar] in (5a). In [dⁱɛfə], conversely, we see two O-N sequences specified by (I). The final schwa is a source of A-support for the same prime under (N_1). No such support is needed in (7a) because the element (U) cannot enter (N_1).³

The ultimate pair, that is [obirⁱ] vs. [ɛbⁱirⁱə], appears problematic for Cyran, since no mechanism employed in the other examples works here. Besides, the alternation of [o – ɛ] is rare and exceptional in Irish. Thus, although a solution is proposed (Cyran 1997: 77), the author finds it unsatisfactory.

What should also be noted is that there are non-alternating vowels in Munster Irish, e.g. [kat] *cat* vs. [katⁱ] *cait* – ‘cat’/gen.sg. Such opaque vowels are treated as invariably headed.

Thus, although this analysis of vowel alternation in Munster Irish practically solves the problem, a few questions remain unanswered. The distinction between spreading and support is unclear. Moreover, why does the vague idea of idea of sharing not necessarily find confirmation in the phonetic shape of vowels? In other words, why do the shared primes (I) and (U) have no stable impact on the quality of the nuclei? Thus, why should [a] in [dⁱas] and [ɛ] in [dⁱɛfə] have the same element structure? Finally, why should the forms of the nominative case be viewed as basic and why do we have an impression that the idea of derivation is present in a non-derivational framework?

³ In fact, Cyran’s (1997) analysis is more complicated. He proposes that some segments resistant to spreading are headed, which is neglected here for the sake of greater clarity because Munster Irish vowels which never alternate are also headed.

Consequently, this synchronic analysis of vocalic alternations is complicated and logical but it hinges on very ingenious and daring assumptions. Without these, which may be perceived as theoretically dubious, a few solutions are difficult to defend.

4. Alternations in Connemara Irish

In Connemara Irish (Bloch-Rozmej 1998), there are three short front vowels: [i], [e], [æ], and three back vowels: [a], [o], [u]. Below let us consider a selection of the most important types of vocalic changes:

(8)	EXAMPLES		GLOSS	TYPE
a.	[f ⁱ ær] <i>fear</i>	[f ⁱ ir ⁱ] <i>fir</i>	– ‘man’/nom.pl.	[æ – i]
	[k ⁱ ærk] <i>cearc</i>	[k ⁱ ir ⁱ k ⁱ ə] <i>ceirce</i>	– ‘hen’/gen.sg.	
b.	[kruk] <i>cnoc</i>	[krik ⁱ] <i>cnoc</i>	– ‘hill’/gen.sg.	[u – i]
	[trum] <i>trom</i>	[trim ⁱ ə] <i>troime</i>	– ‘heavy’/comp.	
c.	[f ⁱ ærəg] <i>fearg</i>	[f ⁱ er ⁱ əg ⁱ ə] <i>feirge</i>	– ‘anger’/gen.sg.	[æ – e]
	[d ⁱ æs] <i>deas</i>	[d ⁱ e ⁱ ə] <i>deise</i>	– ‘nice’/comp.	
d.	[gLan] <i>glan</i>	[gLIn ⁱ ə] <i>gloine</i>	– ‘clean’/comp.	[a – i]
	[dramə] <i>drama</i>	[drim] <i>droim</i>	– gen.sg./‘back’	
e.	[fil ⁱ] <i>fuil</i>	[folə] <i>fola</i>	– ‘blood’/gen.sg.	[i – o]
	[dir ⁱ if] <i>dorais</i>	[dorəs] <i>doras</i>	– gen.sg./‘door’	
f.	[kLog] <i>clog</i>	[kLeg] <i>cloig</i>	– ‘clock’/gen.sg.	[o – e]
	[trodə] <i>troda</i>	[tred ⁱ] <i>troid</i>	– gen.sg./‘fight’	

Bloch-Rozmej (1998) employs nearly the same mechanisms as those used by Cyran (1997), namely element sharing, spreading and support. What is slightly different is the notion of head-operator inversion as well as the idea that most alternations presented above have a specified direction of change. In particular, the alternation of, say, [o – e] from (8f) above, is a change from [o] to [e] in [kLog] → [kLeg], where the element (I) fronts the vowel, but in [tredⁱ] → [trodə] the change is from [e] to [o] and the prime (U) plays the most important role here. If we look at changes such as [æ – e] from (8c) and [æ – i] from (8a), these alternations involve the head-operator inversion.

Without explaining the details of element structures of vowels, consider the following justification of a few of these developments (Bloch-Rozmej 1998: 54-65):

(9)	TYPE	EXAMPLES	DESCRIPTION
a.	[o] → [e]	[kLog] → [kLeg]	(<u>I</u> , A → <u>I</u> , A) I becomes head, U is suppressed
b.	[e] → [o]	[tred ⁱ] → [trodə]	(<u>I</u> , A → <u>I</u> , A) U becomes head, I is suppressed

- c. [æ] → [e] [ⁱfæɾəŋ] → [ⁱf^erⁱəŋⁱ] (I, A → I, A)
head-operator inversion
- d. [æ] → [i] [ⁱfæɾ] → [ⁱfⁱrⁱ] (I, A → I)
head-operator inversion,
A is suppressed

All this is possible if element sharing is a given. For example, in [tred¹] → [trodə] the vowel [e] is composed of (I, A) but the element shared by the leftmost O-N sequence is (U) because the onset is not palatalised. So the elements occurring under the nucleus in [tred¹] should in fact be all three (I, A, U), which is not mentioned in the description because (I) and (U) do not combine in Connemara and (U) specifies the quality of the first onset, while (I) is found in the nucleus. Then (U) becomes promoted to the head position in the left-hand nucleus in [trodə], while (I) is not simply demoted but deleted. The remaining cases are accounted for in a similar fashion.

There are also alternations involving the deletion of one prime and the addition of others, e.g. [u → i] in [kruk] → [krikⁱ] from (8b), [i → a] in [drim] → [dramə] from (8d) and [i – o] in [filⁱ] → [folə] from (8e) above. These are schematised below:

(10)	TYPE	EXAMPLES	DESCRIPTION
a.	[u → i]	[kruk] → [krik ⁱ]	(<u>U</u> → <u>I</u>) I becomes head, U is suppressed
b.	[i → a]	[drim] → [dramə]	(<u>I</u> → <u>A</u>) A becomes head, I is suppressed
c.	[i - o]	[fil ⁱ] → [folə]	(<u>I</u> → A, <u>U</u>) U becomes head, A is added, I becomes suppressed

These changes are described in a dynamic, derivational fashion, which is slightly strange in a non-derivational model such as GP. The order of changes also raises doubts. For example, why should the form [filⁱ] from (10c) be treated as basic, while [folə] as derived? Is it only because [filⁱ] is the nominative?

All in all, these twin analyses of two dialects of Modern Irish have one serious drawback. In particular, their authors try to explain everything from the synchronic perspective and they use every possible tool to prove that all phenomena are phonological by nature. This assumption will be questioned in the remaining part of this paper.

5. Old Irish Vocalic Alternations – Three Analyses

The short vowels of Old Irish can also be divided into two indubitable sets: the front vowels [i], [e], and the back vowels [u], [o]. The vowel represented by the symbol *a* might seem uncertain but, since it apparently never occurs following a palatalised onset word-initially, we can assume that it is a non-front vowel [a].⁴ Before considering the most important Old Irish alternations of short vowels in stressed syllables, note that it was highly unlikely for a back vowel to follow a palatalised onset and, conversely, it was rather impossible for a front vowel to be preceded by a non-palatalised consonant:⁵

(11)	NOMINATIVE SG.	GENITIVE SG.	DATIVE SG.	ACCUSATIVE PL.	GLOSS
a.					
[i – e]	[f ⁱ er] <i>fer</i>	[f ⁱ ir ⁱ] <i>fir</i>	[f ⁱ ir] <i>fīur</i>	[f ⁱ iru] <i>fīru</i>	– ‘man’
	[g ⁱ l ⁱ eN] <i>glenn</i>	[g ⁱ l ⁱ iN ⁱ e] <i>glinne</i>	[g ⁱ l ⁱ iN ⁱ] <i>glinn</i>	[g ⁱ l ⁱ iN ⁱ e] <i>glinne</i>	– ‘valley’
	[R ⁱ iNd] <i>rind</i>	[R ⁱ eNdo] <i>rendo</i>	[R ⁱ iNd] <i>rind</i>	[R ⁱ iNd] <i>rind</i>	– ‘star’
b.					
[u – o]	[guθ] <i>guth</i>	[goθo] <i>gotho</i>	[guθ] <i>guth</i>	[guθu] <i>guthu</i>	– ‘voice’
	[son] <i>son</i>	[sun ⁱ] <i>suin</i>	[sun] <i>sun</i>	[sunu] <i>sunu</i>	– ‘sound’
	[mur ⁱ] <i>muir</i>	[moro] <i>moro</i>	[mur ⁱ] <i>muir</i>	[mur ⁱ e] <i>muire</i>	– ‘sea’
c.					
[a – u]	[kraN] <i>crann</i>	[kruN ⁱ] <i>cruinn</i>	[kruN] <i>crunn</i>	[kraNa] <i>cranna</i>	– ‘tree’
	[brat] <i>bratt</i>	[brut ⁱ] <i>bruitt</i>	[brut] <i>brutt</i>		– ‘cloak’
d.					
[a – e]	[daɣ ⁱ] <i>daig</i>	[d ⁱ eɣo] <i>dego</i>	[daɣ ⁱ] <i>daig</i>		– ‘fire’
	[graɣ ⁱ] <i>graig</i>	[g ⁱ r ⁱ eɣo/a] <i>grego/a</i>	[graɣ ⁱ e] <i>graige</i>		– ‘horses’ (coll.)

In (11a, b), the picture seems relatively clear: the root vowel is always [i] in (11a) and [u] in (11b) unless there is the mid back vowel [o] in the next syllable. The problematic cases are the nominative singular [fⁱer], [gⁱlⁱeN] and [son], because no vowel follows. If [o] follows, the root vowel surfaces as [e] in (11a) and as [o] in (11b). As for the aforementioned difficult cases, their analysis may go three different ways (see below).

The examples in (11c, d) show that the vowel [a] can alternate either with [u] (11c) or with [e] (11d). The alternation with [u] makes a little sense in the dative, e.g. [kruN], where the final consonant might be

⁴ The exact phonetic quality of this, that is, whether it is realised as [a] or [ɑ], seems unimportant phonologically.

⁵ This transcription is based on a comprehensive analysis of consonant qualities offered by Jaskula (2006).

velarised, i.e. specified with the prime (U), but it is totally incomprehensible in the genitive, e.g. [kruNⁱ], where the final consonant is clearly palatalised, i.e. determined by (I). The obvious problems are: (i) what happens to the element (A), clearly responsible for the quality of the radical vowel, and (ii) what is the source of the vowel [u] if the final consonant is palatalised? It appears that the root vowel in the nominative is replaced by another root vowel in the oblique cases, in which case we deal with a kind of ablaut. As regards the alternation [a – e], it seems that the radical vowel of the nominative is replaced by [i] in the other cases and that this [i] is lowered to [e] if there is the mid back vowel [o] in the following syllable. So the pattern seems to partly follow that in (11a).

As already noted, there are (at least) three ways of explaining the reasons for some or all Old Irish alternations.

One, advocated by Thurneysen (1946: 96ff.), is that Old Irish consonants were specified by three qualities, *i*, *a* and *u*, as a result of which the word-forms such as [fⁱer^a] and [son^a] ended in *a*-quality consonants which supplied the element (A) to the preceding vowel, to translate Thurneysen's views into the GP jargon. This standpoint somewhat tallies with that employed in the contemporary analyses of Irish dialects. Specifically, the final consonant of the monosyllabic word contributes to the quality of the preceding vowel. Since (I) and (U) do not combine in Irish, the result is simple: the symbol *u* has no impact on the quality of the preceding front vowel, the symbol *i* cannot influence the back vowel, while the symbol *a* alters the shape of the front/back vowel it follows. We know that (A+I) equals [e], while (A+U) results in [o]. Hence, synchronic derivation takes place in Old Irish and Thurneysen's analysis works for (11a, b). Turning to the changes in (11c), Thurneysen (1946: 50) finds them inexplicable, while those in (11d) are perceived by him (1946: 53) as replacements of the original [e] by [a] before palatalised consonants, which is difficult to comprehend.

The second approach, supported by McCone (1996), is radically different. The consonants are viewed to have only two values: palatalised (*i*-quality) and neutral (*o*, *a*, ?-quality), while the dative forms such as those spelt with *-iu-*, e.g. *fiur*, should be recognized as ones with short diphthongs, i.e. [fiur]. Thus, the neutral quality influences the forms such as the nominative, e.g. [fⁱer^{a/o}], but it has no impact on those of the dative, which displays the diphthong. Again, the approach is synchronically derivational since the basic form is exposed to external forces secured by the final consonant and, in fact, this analysis is capable of explaining what happens to the forms in (11a) but has nothing (more than Thurneysen's) to say about those in (11b). Almost, but not exactly the same can be said about the forms in (11c, d), because McCone (1996: 118ff.) offers a

convincing reconstruction of the prehistoric development of words like [daɣⁱ] vs. [dⁱeɣo], which points to the seemingly incomprehensible synchronic lowering of the root vowel [e] to [a] in the nominative singular, which is, diachronically, a move in the right direction. To sum up, in his analysis McCone partly dispenses with the idea that phonology was dominant in shaping the Old Irish vowels. Given his abundant knowledge of what was going on in the prehistory Irish, this seems too modest a step.

According to the third view (Jaskuła 2006), it does not matter what and how many consonant qualities there were in use in Old Irish synchronically. All the short vowels in stressed syllables, i.e. the first vowels in words, were diachronically determined and phonology played no crucial part in shaping them synchronically. Consequently, since there was little phonology *per se* in contrast to the morphophonology⁶ in the phonology of Old Irish, what should be looked at while considering vowel alternations is the prehistoric forms of words. The examination of what happened long BEFORE Old Irish will shed more light on what was going on IN the Old Irish vocalic system.

6. Old Irish Vocalic Alternations – Analysis Three

First, consider a few words from (11a,b), namely [fⁱer] *fer* vs. [fⁱirⁱ] *fīr* vs. [fⁱir] *fīur* – ‘man’/gen.sg./ dat.sg., representing the change [i – e], as well as [son] *son* vs. [sunⁱ] *suin* vs. [sun] *sun* – ‘sound’/gen.sg./dat.sg., illustrating the alternation of [u – o]. What can be proposed instead of looking for the synchronic causes of these changes is looking back upon their prehistoric derivations:

(12)

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------|---|-------|---|--|
| a. | *wirah | → | *wera | → | [f ⁱ er] <i>fer</i> |
| | *wiri: | → | *wiri | → | [f ⁱ ir ⁱ] <i>fīr</i> |
| | *wiru: | → | *wiru | → | [fir] <i>fīur</i> |
| b. | *sunah | → | *sona | → | [son] <i>son</i> |
| | *suni: | → | *suni | → | [sun ⁱ] <i>suin</i> |
| | *sunu: | → | *sunu | → | [sun] <i>sun</i> |

These reconstructions, based upon Thurneysen (1946) and McCone (1996) show that the original vowels [i] in (12a) and [u] in (12b) were regularly lowered to [e] and [o], respectively, before the vowel [a] in the following syllable. In terms of GP, the element (A) in the ending spread to the root vowel to cause its lowering. If the ending was either [u] or [i], no change ever took place. Therefore, the reason for the alternations of [i – e] and [u –

⁶ Morphophonology is treated here as the petrification of past phonological patterns in present phonological systems.

o] should not be searched for in Old Irish but before that period. These changes are simply the long-lasting effects of what happened in prehistory.

Given these explanations, let us turn to the word [RⁱiNd] *rind* – ‘star’, whose prehistoric shape was *RⁱiNdu and whose oblique cases shown in (11a) are regular. However, there is also the genitive plural [R^eiNde] *rendae*, which, according to the synchronically-phonological standards described under (11), should surface as *[RⁱiNde], because [e] did not lower the original high vowel, as shown by [gⁱiⁱeN] *glenn* vs. [gⁱiⁱiNⁱe] *glinne* – ‘valley’/gen. sg. or [murⁱ] *muir* vs. [murⁱe] *muire* – ‘sea’/acc.pl. As argued by Thurneysen (1946: 198) and Pokorný (1914: 64), the original form of the gen.pl. was *rindowom → *rendowom → *rendo, which ultimately surfaced as [R^eiNde] in Old Irish. Thus, what actually happened to this word-form on its way from the prehistory to Old Irish was (i) the lowering of the original stem vowel [i] to [e] due to the presence of [o] in the following syllable and (ii), the replacement of the original ending [o] by [e]. Here again the element (A) included in the vowel [o] influenced the quality of the stem vowel, while [e] was a straw-man. So, the Old Irish final vowel seems to have little impact on the quality of the stem vowel, i.e. the reason for the presence of [e] here is not phonological because [e] in the ending never had any effect on the preceding vowel.

Moreover, there are Old Irish stem vowels which refuse to alternate although they find themselves in contexts perfect for change, e.g.

(13)

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------|
| a. | [muk] <i>mucc</i> | [muk ⁱ e] <i>muicce</i> | [muka] <i>mucca</i> | – pig’/gen.sg./acc.pl. |
| b. | [k ⁱ in] <i>cin</i> | [k ⁱ in ^ə ð] <i>cinad</i> | [k ⁱ in ^ə ð ⁱ] <i>cinaid</i> | – ‘fault’/gen.sg./dat.sg. |
| c. | [L ⁱ eθ] <i>leth</i> | [L ⁱ eθ ⁱ] <i>leith</i> | [L ⁱ eθ] <i>leuth</i> | – ‘half’/gen.sg./dat.sg. |
| | [eχ] <i>ech</i> | [ex ⁱ] <i>eich</i> | [eχ] <i>euch</i> | – ‘horse’/nom.pl./dat.sg. |
| d. | [korp] <i>corp</i> | [kor ⁱ p ⁱ] <i>coirp</i> | [korp] <i>corp</i> | – ‘body’/gen.sg./dat.sg. |
| e. | [mak] <i>macc</i> | [mak ⁱ] <i>maicc</i> | [mak] <i>macc</i> | – ‘boy’/gen.sg./dat.sg. |

As for (13a, b), one might wonder why the stem vowels do not change into [o] in the accusative plural [muka], or into [e] in the genitive [kⁱin^əð] or dative [kⁱin^əðⁱ]. The answer may be that these stem vowels are phonologically different from those in [son] *son* vs. [sun] *sun* – ‘sound’/dat.sg. and [RⁱiNd] *rind* vs. [R^eiNdo] *rendo* – ‘star’/gen.sg. Indeed, they behave differently, but the next question is: when are they different? Given the explanation of [R^eiNde] *rendae* – ‘star’-gen.pl. above, the answer is not so certain.

Turning now to (13c), it must be observed that the vowel [e] of the nominative [Lⁱeθ] does not change in the oblique cases, we even find forms such as the genitive singular [Lⁱeθⁱe] *leithe*, which seems to point to a

confusion of endings in Old Irish, i.e. the endings typical of some stems were replaced by those of other stems. But in the word for ‘horse’ we find an alternative nom.pl. [ixⁱ] *ich*, which may mean that the original vowel [e] was reinterpreted in this phonological system in two ways: either as an alternating vowel or as a stable segment.

These observations are reinforced by the cases in (13d), where the stem vowel [o] does not change, but where we can also find the much less frequently attested genitive [kurⁱpⁱ] *cuirp*, and dative [kurp] *curp*. Therefore, it seems that some dissimilar vowels from BEFORE Old Irish were reinterpreted WITHIN Old Irish as similar or identical phonetically but not phonologically. In particular, some speakers treated [o] as non-alternating while others as one which does change.⁷

When we turn to the stem vowel [a] in (13e), it refuses to change into either [u], as that in (11c), or into [e], as that in (11d). Is this a different vowel? If it is, when is it different? We will soon see that this vowel is fairly normal since its alternations with other vowels are by and large unusual.

Thus, this brings us to the question of how many vowels can be assumed to have diverse phonological structures from a synchronic perspective. In other words, we must consider the issue of likelihood. Obviously, it is not uncommon in languages that some identical segments or phonetic objects have dissimilar phonological provenance (see e.g. Gussmann 2001), but here we are faced with the question of scale. What needs to be assessed is whether it is possible for all the short vocalic expressions of a given language to be phonologically diverse. And the answer to this is, necessarily: well, this is peculiar.

Before we reach any final conclusions, let us consider again the vowel [a], which may change in two different ways depending on its interpretation. We must first return to the alternation of [a – u] shown in (11c) above:

(14)	NOMINATIVE SG.	GENITIVE SG.	DATIVE SG.	GLOSS
	STANDARD [kraN] <i>crann</i>	[kruN ⁱ] <i>cruinn</i>	[kruN] <i>crunn</i>	– ‘tree’
	LATER/ EARLIER	[kraN ⁱ] <i>crainn</i>	[krauN]? <i>craunn</i>	

A word of explanation suffices. The gen. sg. *crainn* is standard Middle Irish, but it seems that this form must have had an earlier, albeit apparently unattested (dialectal?) precedent. The vowel [u] in the dative was formerly the diphthong [au] according to Greene (1976: 29), hence *craunn* is proposed above. Thus, the seemingly standard alternation [a – u], is rather

⁷ It is not unlikely that such variations are dialectal, which is rather impossible to determine.

hard to explain in terms of synchronic phonology, since the root vowel of the nominative is simply replaced by another one in the other cases. But answering the question of when this alternation takes place may be helpful in accounting for this change quasi-phonologically.

Consider the following reconstruction of these word-forms based on Lewis and Pedersen (1974: 103) and developed by Jaskuła (2006: 200–201):

- (15)
- | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|---------------|
| a. *k ^w rōnnan | → | [v] = [a] → *kraNa → [kraN] | <i>crann</i> |
| | | [v] = [o] → *kruNi → [kruN ⁱ] | <i>cruinn</i> |
| b. *k ^w rōnni: | ↙ | | |
| | ↘ | [v] = [a] → *kraNi → [kraN ⁱ] | <i>crainn</i> |
| | | [v] = [o] → *kruNu → [kruN] | <i>crunn</i> |
| c. *k ^w rōnnu: | ↙ | | |
| | ↘ | [v] = [a] → *kra(u)Nu → [kra(u)N] | <i>craunn</i> |

The state of affairs in (15a) is clear: the prehistoric low [v] was at some stage of development reinterpreted as a kind of [a] or, perhaps [a].⁸ When we turn to (15b), the same [v] was interpreted either as [o], which gave rise to the typical alternation [o – u], i.e. we ultimately have [kruNⁱ], or as [a], which is normally a stable vowel, as a result of which we encounter the form [kraNⁱ]. In (15c) the situation is the same in the first part, where the reanalysis of [v] as [o] triggers the change to [u] in the standard dative. If the original vowel is realised as [a], the dative might be realised as [krauN] or [kraN]. A similar situation can be observed in [baL] *ball* – ‘limb’, whose genitive is either *baill* or *boill*, the dative being *baull* or *bull* (Thurneysen 1946: 177).

What this historical derivation shows is that the reasons for the alternation of [a – u] should not be sought in the phonology of Old Irish but a long time before.

The last and most mysterious alternation is [a – e], which is shown in (11d). Recall the classic example of [daYⁱ] *daig* vs. [dⁱeY^o] *dego* – ‘fire’/gen.sg. The genitive looks as if its vowel alternated with [i], which normally happens in e.g. [RⁱiNd] *rind* vs. [RⁱeNdo] *rendo* – ‘star’/gen.sg. But here the nominative vowel is [a] and no logical explanation in terms of synchronic phonology can be offered. McCone (1996: 111, 118) presents the following derivations of the forms in question:

⁸ For the sake of clarity and simplicity, no dates or names of periods in the development of Irish are provided here. Nor is it crucial to decide which phonetic variant of the low vowel was really in use.

(16)

- a. *deɣ^wih → *dæɣ^wi → [daɣⁱ]
 b. *deɣ^wo:h → *d^ley^wo: → [d^leyo]

We can see that in both cases the original stem vowel was [e]. In the genitive in (16b) this vowel never changed and survived also in Old Irish. In the nominative (16a), however, it was gradually lowered to finally surface as [a]. If this reconstruction is correct, the cause of the vowel lowering remains a mystery, but the alternation of [a – e] ceases to look like a synchronic, context-motivated process in Old Irish.

Thus, step by step, it has been demonstrated that the alternations of Old Irish short vowels need not and should not be viewed as phonological processes *sensu stricto*. In other words, if we assume that a process is phonological if and only if there is a clearly determined phonological context which can trigger this process, then in Old Irish, as well as in the dialects of Modern Irish, such contexts do not habitually occur. Such a situation may not be easy to accept. From the analytical point of view, if we see that there is a root vowel which changes within the paradigm of a given word, we automatically assume that this must happen for a reason and we search for this reason within the system we are given. Alas, this may not be a fortunate decision because some systems prefer morphophonology to phonology or, in other words, they cherish their past.

What routinely arises out of such a conclusion is the question of how we should treat the descendants of such phonological systems. Are they totally independent, partially dependent, or completely slavish towards what they have experienced before?

For if we map the Old Irish diachronically-determined system onto the dialects of Modern Irish, we can see that the flagship examples of the analyses of both Munster and Connemara, e.g. [fⁱar] *fear* vs. [fⁱirⁱ] *fir* – ‘man’/gen.sg. and [fⁱær] *fear* vs. [fⁱirⁱ] *fir* – ‘man’/ nom.pl., respectively, are effortlessly classified as instances of morphophonological alternations not only in Modern but also (and predominantly) in Old Irish. Therefore, the Modern Irish alternations are even more morphophonological and even less phonological than those encountered in Old Irish.

7. Conclusion

In this paper it has been demonstrated that what looks truly phonological need not be such. Five analyses of vocalic alternations in the history of Irish have been presented. The twin analyses of Modern Irish dialects (Cyran 1997; Bloch-Rozmej 1998) and the two classic attempts (Thurneysen 1946; McCone 1996) at explaining the phonology of Old Irish are all flawlessly logical and intellectually well-designed but, at the same

time, they all seem to miss one important point: not everything that occurs within a phonological system of a given language ought to be synchronically accounted for. Alternatively, we may assume that there exist languages and phonological systems whose connections with the past are stronger than it might appear. Thus, whenever we analyse the phonological system of a given tongue, it is always necessary to look back, at least a little.

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THE OLD IRISH EVIDENCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN ACROSTATIC PRESENTS

NATALIA O'SHEA

1. Introduction: Ablaut-accent types

The present article reveals a small part of our ongoing work, which aims at a thorough analysis of the evolution of IE verbal morphological categories and formal types of verbal stems in Celtic.

We chose to follow the Erlangen School traditions and thus to posit a number of distinct ablaut-accent types in the verbal system, as well as in the nominal system. To begin with, we shall give a laconic overview of the types in question. The following types are reconstructed, given that word formations usually consist of root, flexion and, optionally, suffix or infix.

1.1 Proterokinetic type

The root is stressed and displays full grade ablaut in the strong stem, while the unstressed affix and flexion are in the zero grade. The accent in the weak stem shifts onto the affix, which acquires a full grade, and the root, accordingly, assumes the zero grade, e.g. IE **sÁh₂d-u-* “sweet”; Acc. Sg. **sÁéh₂d-u-m*, Gk. ἡδύν, Skt. *svādúm* vs. Gen. Sg. **suh₂d-éÁ-s*, Gk. ἡδέ(ϝ)ος, Skt. *svādós*.

1.2 Amphikinetic type

In this case the affix (if there at all) is invariably unstressed and is naturally in the zero grade (it might also, as illustrated below, show a secondary *o*-vocalism); the strong stem is manifested by the full-grade stressed root, and the weak one shows the full-grade stressed flexion, while the root, as expected, shows the zero grade ablaut again, e.g. IE **Áek-nt-* “willing” (Participle I); Acc. Sg. **Áék-ont-Z*, Gk. ἐκόντα, Skt. *uśántam* vs. Gen. Sg. **uk̑-nt-és*, Gk. ἐκόντος, Skt. *uśátás*.

1.3 Histerokinetic type

This type always shows a zero-grade unstressed root: the ablaut-accent shift takes place between the affix and the flexion, e.g. IE **Á~n-* “lamb”, **uks-n-* “bull”; Nom. Sg. **Á~é(n)-Ø*, Gk. φαρήν, Skt. *urā* vs. Gen. Sg. **Á~n-és*, Gk. (ϝ)ᾰρνός, Skt. *ukṣṇás*.

1.4 Acrostatic type

In addition to these three kinetic types, most scholars agree on the existence of an acrostatic one, which does not show a shift of stress but still has a quantitative and/or qualitative ablaut shift. The typical examples of this type are heteroclitic nominal stems, e.g. IE **ǵd-r/n-* “water”; Nom. Sg. **ǵód-*, Hitt. *Áadar* vs. Gen. Sg. **ǵéd-n-s*, Hitt. *Áedenaś* (Herzenberg 1989: 41).

Without going into details of the sources of the last type, we should point out that most kinetic ablaut/accent paradigms show a tendency of shifting the stress and full grade towards the end of the word in the weak stems. This tendency was beautifully coined “the rule of ablaut-accent shift to the right” by Konstantin Krasukhin (1998: 36).

1.5 Application of Erlangen classification to verbal formations

The lovely Erlangen classification can very well be applied to verbal formations. In this case, root presents can be described as amphikinetics, as they demonstrate the ablaut-accent shift from root to flexion, e.g. IE *ǵ^{uh}én-/ǵ^{uh}n-* “wound, slay”, Hitt. 3 Sg. *kuenzi*, 3 Pl. *kunanzi*.

Nasal-infixed presents seemed to belong mostly to the histerokinetic type, where a full-grade infix is characteristic of the strong stem, e.g. IE **ǵu-né-g-/ǵu-n-g-* “join, bind”, Skt. 3 Sg. *yunákti*, 3 Pl. *yuñjánti*.

Johanna Narten (1968) was the first to describe an acrostatic version of IE present stem, where the root of the strong stem shows a lengthened grade under stress, and the weak stem root shows the normal grade, e.g. IE **h₁éd-/h₁éd-* “eat”, Hitt. 1 Sg. *ēdmi*, 3 Pl. *adanzi*. It should be noted in this case that, despite the fact that there is no formal shift of stress here from root or affix to flexion, this type of ablaut still conforms to “the rule of ablaut-accent shift to the right”. The idea is that the lengthened grade root in the strong stems of the acrostatic type corresponds to the normal grade in the weak stems just as the normal full grade root in the strong stems of the amphikinetic type corresponds to the zero grade root in the weak stems. In other words, what we see here is a difference of two ablaut models by one quantitative degree.

The origins of the lengthened grade in the strong stems of acrostatic paradigms (which, apart from Narten-presents, also include sigmatic aorist indicative, which we analyse elsewhere), is commonly explained by a secondary lengthening; the source for this is the analogy with the amphikinetic models. It is assumed that an acrostatic athematic paradigm with a normal grade in the weak stem “restores” the proportion by lengthening the root vowel in the strong stem. As applied to sigmatic aorist, this process was neatly explained by J. Kuryłowicz (1956: 358-363), who

showed the inductive role of aorist from *TET*-roots in this case. A full-on zero grade from these roots is phonotactically impossible, which means that there should happen an epenthesis of a vowel between the root consonants and a subsequent restoration of a full grade in the weak stem: $\dagger TT-s- \sim *T_eT-s- > TET-s-$. In turn, the opposition of the strong stem to the weak is renewed by the lengthening of the strong stem root vowel: $T\bar{E}T-s-$. Sigmatic aorist paradigms from other roots, as well as a few other structures, follow this pattern. Klaus Strunk, who did an analysis of ablaut in acrostatic verbal paradigms, including Narten-presents and sigmatic aorists, calls the ablaut lengthening shift “*Aufstufung*” (Strunk 1985).

It should be remembered that verbal categories of present and aorist are closely related and can be brought together as one “infect” system. Indeed, both these forms denote action, though they differ aspect-wise; the aorist corresponds to the very notion of perfective aspect, that is, the action itself in the core of its semantics, while the present corresponds to imperfective aspect, and its semantics imply the ideas of iterativity and processivity (*cf.* Schmidt 1974; Giannakis 1997: 22-30).

Antoine Meillet’s theory of original differentiation of aorist and present verbal stems in accordance with the semantics of stem roots is still relevant. This theory implies that if the root semantics convey the notion of iterativity or process, this root allows a construction of primary present stem; if the root only denotes action as it is, it develops a primary aorist stem. This hypothesis is corroborated by the tendency of simple root aorists to correspond to embellished nasal- or otherwise infixed or reduplicated presents at a later stage, when every verbal root develops stems of various temporality and aspect. Thus, K. Strunk (1967) observed a clear correlation of root aorists and nasal-infixed presents. On the other hand, a simple amphikinetic root present normally corresponds to a more complex (sigmatic in most cases) aorist. It seems logical that present stems show greater variety than aorist in their affixation and other extra markers, and the examples of the type “root present – embellished aorist” are a lot rarer. The aorist, as a form denoting action *per se*, could be formed from practically every root, while the development of primary present required the root to possess the aforementioned semantics of iterativity or, at least, the possibility of development of such semantics. In other words, as Meillet puts it, “present roots” can very well form both aorist and present, while “aorist roots” only form aorists that give the Present system certain limits.

We shall dwell now on a few main features of the mechanism of unification of IE kinetic paradigms in Celtic. Present stems are perfect for illustration of these processes, as they show the most diverse kinetics in the Indo-European verbal system.

The main principle of verbal thematisation in Celtic is the generalisation of the weak stem of the kinetic paradigm; this principle is practically unaffected by the kinetic type of the stem in Indo-European. However, there is a number of developments which precede thematisation. One of these is the analogous leveling of personal forms within the weak stem in the cases of different development of a root nasal in dependence with the environment, cf. 3 Pl. $g^{uh}n\text{-}\acute{e}nti > *g^A nenti \sim *g^A anenti$ under the influence of 1 Pl. $*g^{uh}n\text{-}m\acute{o}s$, 2 Pl. $*g^{uh}n\text{-}t\acute{e} > *g^A anmos, *g^A antes$ (OIr. *gonaid* “wounds, kills”). Another kind of leveling which often precedes the complete unification of a paradigm is the simplification of the ablaut opposition of quantity and quality in favour of the opposition of quality only, cf. $*h_1\acute{e}d\text{-}ti$ vs. $*h_1\acute{e}d\text{-}nti > 3$ Sg. $*it^s\text{-}ti$ vs. 3 Pl. $*ed\text{-}anti \sim *it^s\text{-}ti$ vs. $*id\text{-}anti$ (OIr. *ithid* “eats”).

Finally, the elimination of the ablaut-accent opposition of stems and unification of the paradigm can happen in two ways. First, by thematisation *per se*, which implies the insertion of a thematic vowel between the stem and the flexion, cf. $*g^A enti$ vs. $*g^A anenti \sim *g^A aneti, *g^A anonti$. Second, as seen in nasal presents, the role of the thematic vowel can be easily assumed by a new suffix, which evolved, in turn, as a result of resegmentation of the original stem, cf. $*m\text{-}n\acute{e}\text{-}h_2\text{-}ti$ vs. $*m\text{-}n\text{-}h_2\text{-}\acute{e}nti > *marn\acute{a}ti$ vs. $*marnanti \sim *mar\text{-}na\text{-}ti, *mar\text{-}na\text{-}nti$ (OIr. *marnaid* “betrays”).

These two types of unification appear very similar at the first sight, but there is a profound difference between them, as far the shapes of stems are concerned. Celtic seems to follow the archaic oxytone model (the *tud\acute{a}ti* type) in the thematisation, and can be compared to Greek and Indo-Iranian in this sense. On the other hand, as the analysis of amphikinetic nasal “Strunk-presents” show, the generalisation of the weak stem is not obligatory for paradigms that undergo unification by suffixation: cf. $*st\acute{e}r\text{-}n\text{-}h_3\text{-}ti$ vs. $*st\text{-}n\text{-}h_3\text{-}\acute{e}nti > *sernati$ vs. $*sarnalonti > *ser\text{-}na\text{-}ti, *ser\text{-}na\text{-}nti$ (OIr. *sernaid* “spreads”). Moreover, the vocalism of the reflexes of nasal presents in Celtic can be successfully used as a criterion for the determination of the kinetic type of the corresponding amphikinetic or hysterokinetic present formation in the proto-language.

Thus, our investigation focuses on the Old Irish vestiges of Indo-European Narten-present forms. The number of reconstructed Indo-European Narten-forms is quite limited; therefore it should not be surprising that Celtic only shows a handful of reflexes of these stems, which underwent more or less significant changes in the course of thematisation.

All of these are found in Old Irish, which explains the apparent narrowness of the topic that was chosen for this article. Unfortunately, we

have no evidence for these stems in British or Continental Celtic (apart from the first one, on which see below), and the Old Irish, as the “Sanskrit of Celtology”, as H. Pedersen coined it, proves to be the most valuable language source again indeed.

2. The analysis

We shall begin with the verb *ithid* “eats”, class **B I** (GOI), **S1a** (EIV), W. *ys* from IE root **h₁ed-* (IEW 287-9). H. Pedersen attempted to treat this verb as a derivative from the OIr. verbal noun *ithe* < **pit-ejeh₂* from the root **pej(t)* (VKG II 559), but this theory proves to be flawed, as the whole of the verbal paradigm in question shows that we are dealing with one of the original strong verbs: Subj. 3 Sg. *-es* < **h₁ed-se/o-*, Fut. 3 Sg. *-ís* < **h₁i-h₁d-se/o-*, Pret. 3 Sg. *-dúaid* < **de-Áo-āde* < **h₁e-h₁ód-e* (Schumacher 1998; LIV 205).

A “Narten-present” is reconstructed for the root **h₁ed-* on the basis of the evidence from Hitt. 1 Sg. *ēdmi*, 3 Pl. *adanzi* “eat” (Oettinger 1979: 89-91), Skt. 3 Sg. *átti*, 3 Pl. *adánti* (with ablaut levelling **átti* > **átti*) (McCone 1991_b: 6), Hom. Gk. Inf. *ἔδμεναι* (Rix 1992: 83), Lat. 1 Sg. *edō*, 3 Sg. *ēst* (Meiser 1998: 223-224), Goth. *itan* etc. (Isebaert 1992: 194-196; LIV 205). The ablaut of all reflexes of this stem is rather difficult to account for; moreover, we have to take into account the Indo-European word for “tooth”, which is commonly regarded as a frozen active participle with a zero-grade root – IE **Hdént-s*. Martin Kümmel in his article in LIV proposes a reconstruction of two variants of the stem in question – an amphikinetic one with a meaning “to bite, gnaw” and an acrostatic one with a meaning “to eat”. The meaning “to eat” in this case turns out to be derivative, as well as the acrostatic ablaut-accent type, which conforms to the principle of evolution of such stems, as was shown earlier. The evidence from Celtic seems especially significant here, as it can prove that the acrostatic structure can be traced back as far as the Indo-European.

We reconstruct the Proto-Celtic paradigmatical opposition as 3 Sg. **it^s-ti* vs. 3 Pl. **ed-anti*, where ablaut opposition undergoes leveling in favour of quantity only: **it^s-ti* vs. **id-anti*; the difference in consonants makes the influence of the suppletive verbal noun *ithe* < **itiā* < **pit-iejh₂* possible, which triggers the change **id- ~ *it-* throughout the paradigm; finally, the whole paradigm is thematised and the weak stem is generalised: **it-e-ti* vs. **it-o-nti* > OIr. 3 Sg. *ithid*, 3 Pl. *ethait*. Welsh cognate, 3 Sg. *ys*, is obviously a reflex of **ed-ti* with the normal grade, that is, an innovation similar to Skt. *átti* as mentioned above (LIV 205 n. 9). The next verb in this group is OIr. *rigid* “stretches, rules”, class **B I** (GOI), **S1a** (EIV 43), from IE root **h₃reǵ-* (IEW 854-857).

It should be mentioned straight away there there exist two different verbal stems in Old Irish: one is seen in OIr. *at-raig* “stretches, gets up”, which forms a non-reduplicating *S*-future *ress-*, a subjunctive homonymous to the future and a *T*-preterit *recht*; it obviously goes back to the root **h₃reġ-* as well; on the other hand, the verbal stem seen in *con-rig* “binds” has a subjunctive *réss-*, reduplicating future *ririss-* and reduplicating preterit *reraig* (cf. Dillon 1971; VKG II 592-596). The last stem goes back to the IE root **reġ-* (IEW 862) and does not have anything to do with the Narten-presents discussed here; nonetheless, the simple verb *rigid* with its syncretic semantics and other forms corresponding to *con-rig* (DIL R 68.4ff; LEIA R-13-15) posits a problem. M. Kümmel tends to identify the simplex with the compound verb stem, but the semantic shift seems hardly plausible (LIV 455). Notwithstanding the difference in tense and mode forms, the idea to connect *rigid* and *at-raig* seems more promising. We shall not dwell on the peculiar vocalism of our verb, which has been discussed elsewhere (Cowgill 1983: 98; McCone 1991_b: 9). Be that as it may, we can more or less easily derive our verb from an Indo-European Narten-present **h₃réġ-ti* vs. **h₃réġ-nti* (LIV 270) and assume a scenario of evolution identical to that of the verb *ithid*: **h₃réġ-ti* vs. **h₃réġ-nti* > **rīχ-ti* vs. **reg-anti* > **rīχti* vs. **rīχanti* > **riy-e-ti* vs. **riy-o-nti* > OIr. 3 Sg. *rigid*, 3 Pl. *regait* (McCone 1991_b: 10). Thus, this verb corresponds to Skt. *rāṣṭi* “rules” and maybe Goth. *rikan* “to heap”. The contamination with *con-rig* happened some time in the course of the development of the Old Irish language, which led to the replacement of the original set of forms by a borrowed one.

As for the compound *at-raig*, it seems logical to compare it to Lat. *regō* “rules” < **h₃réġ-e/o-*, as well as to Gaul. *regu-c* “I straighten” from the Chamalières inscription (McCone 1991_a: 119; Lambert 1997: 157). The root vowel is lowered in accordance with the rule of Archaic Irish phonetics, which implies that a stressed *e* is lowered into *æ* before *γ^(A)e/i*, cf. OIr. Nom. Sg. *daig* “fire” < **dæγ^Aih* < **deg^Ais* vs. Gen. Sg. *dego* < **deγ^Aōh* < **deg^Aōs* (McCone 1996: 111). We can restore a thematic present on the Indo-European level – not as an original formation, but rather as an innovation, for example, a transition of an original subjunctive into the indicative realm. We believe that *rigid* and *at-raig* fall into one etymological area quite neatly.

The Old Irish verb *mligid* “milks”, class **B I** (GOI), **S1a** (EIV) from IE root **h₂melġ-* (IEW 722-723) is the last of the known verbs which can be formally regarded as a vestige of an original Narten-present, even though the Indo-European stem in question is somewhat flawed.

The original present should be reconstructed as **h₂mélġ-ti* vs. **h₂mélġ-nti*, but the strong stem Skt. 3 Sg. *mārṣṭi* “scrubs, cleans” corresponds to the weak stem 3 Pl. *m-jánti*, that is, an amphikinetic-type weak stem: **h₂mġġ-énti* (Narten 1968: 16; LIV 249 n. 2). On the other hand, Av. *marəzaiti* “touch” demonstrates thematisation of the original weak stem with the expected mornal grade root: Ilr. **(H)márh* < **h₂mélġ-* (LIV 249 n. 3); the same can be applied to Gk. *ἀμέλω* “I milk”, as well as OE. *melcan*. Nonetheless, the development of the Old Irish verbs follows the Sanskrit pattern, and we have to posit a remodeling of an acrostatic present into an amphikinetic one: **h₂mélġ-ti* vs. **h₂mġġ-énti*; this opposition gives Common Celtic **melyti* vs. **mliyenti* with the regular development of syllabic *ɲ* > *li* before a stop, and the usual Celtic thematisation with the generalisation of the strong stem ensues: **mliy-e-ti* vs. **mliy-o-nti* > OIr. 3 Sg. *mligid*, 3 Pl. *mlegait* (SnG 137).

Finally, the last verb which we have included in this group can only be considered a vestige of an acrostatic Narten-present on the basis of the evidence from other Indo-European languages. This is OIr. *midithir* “judges”, deponent verb class **B II** (GOI 354), **S2** (EIV 75), from IE root **med-* (IEW 705-706). The evidence of Gk. *μήδομαι* “I think, I ponder” (with the secondary restoration of the lengthened grade in the middle voice) allows positing a Narten-present for this root: IE **méd-* vs. *méd-* (Isebaert 1992: 201). Another indirect evidence in favour of the acrostatic present reconstruction is provided by Lat. *medeor* “I help”, coming from an essive **m_ed-h_iġé-* (LIV 380), where a zero grade root restores an epenthetic *e* instead of the usual *a₂* > *a*, cf. Lat. *madeō* “I am [getting] drunk” < **m_ed-h_iġé-* from the root **med-* 2 “to be full, satiated” (LIV 380-381).

The Old Irish preserved the tendency for the formation of a middle paradigm, which means that its present is based on the weak stem by default; this stem is furnished with an *ġe/o-* suffix, which is common in strong deponent verbs: **med-ġe-tor* > **með-í-tor(i)* > OIr. 3 Sg. *midithir*. Frankly speaking, this verb in Old Irish *per se* cannot be regarded as a valuable piece of evidence for the reconstruction of acrostatic presents in Indo-European, but its cognates in other languages point in the direction of such possibility, and therefore we decided to include its analysis in the present paper.

3. Conclusion

We have analysed a small number of Old Irish verbs which show traces of acrostatic Present formations. However limited the Celtic evidence may be, the importance of it should be under no circumstances downplayed.

This evidence from the Western dialects of the Indo-European periphery provides a strong point for the argument that acrostatic Presents existed at least at a later stage of the Indo-European proto-language.

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Abbreviations

- DIL** – **Quin**, E. G., ed., 1983, *Dictionary of the Irish Language based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials; Compact edition*, Dublin: RIA.
- EIV** – **McCone**, K. R., 1997, *The Early Irish Verb*, Maynooth: An Sagart.
- GOI** – **Thurneysen**, R., 1946, *A Grammar of Old Irish*, Dublin: DIAS.
- IEW** – **Pokorny**, J. 1959, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern, München: Francke Verlag.
- LEIA** – **Vendryes**, J. *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*. **A** – Dublin: DIAS 1959; **M N O P** - Dublin 1960; **R S** - Dublin – Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1974. Par les soins de E. **Bachellery** et P.-Y. **Lambert**: **T U** - Dublin - Paris 1978; **B** - Dublin - Paris 1980; **C** - Dublin - Paris 1987, **D** - Dublin - Paris 1996.
- LIV** – **Rix**, H., **Kümmel**, M., **Zehnder**, T., **Lipp**, R., **Schirmer**, B., eds., 1998, *Lexicon der indogermanischen Verbum*, Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- SnG** – **McCone**, K. R., **McManus**, D., **Ó Háinle**, C., **Williams**, N., **Breatnach**, L., eds., 1994, *Stair na Gaeilge*, Maynooth : An Sagart.
- VKG** – **Pedersen**, H., 1909-1913, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

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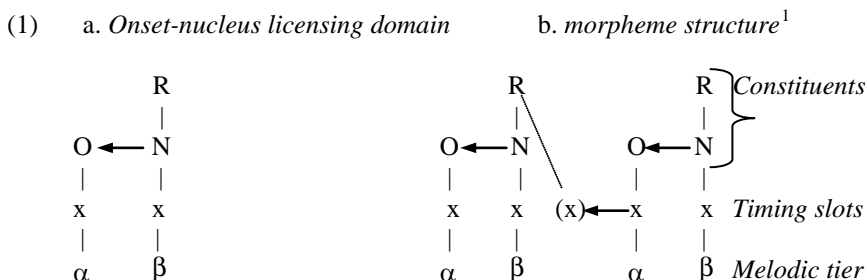
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SYLLABIC CONSONANTS IN SLAVIC AND CELTIC LANGUAGES: THE MECHANISM OF ELEMENT EXTENSION

ANNA BLOCH-ROZMEJ

1. Introduction

This article focuses on the problem of syllabic consonants in the selected Slavic and Celtic languages, Polish, Czech and Irish in particular. Their phonological behavior will be analysed from the perspective of Government Phonology (henceforth GP), as defined in Harris (1994), Cyran (2003) and Gussmann (2007). Within the theoretical model of GP, the phonological structure of morphemes is constructed in terms of the licensing and governing relations between adjacent skeletal positions – the timing slots. The prosodic positions are then projected onto the syllabic constituents of nuclei (the heads of rhymes) and onsets. In such configurations, onsets are always dependent on their nuclear licensers. This situation is depicted in (1) below.



A specific proposal advocated in this article is that onset-nucleus domains are not only *licensing domains* but they also constitute the so-called *extension domains*.² It will be further maintained that the phenomenon of the syllabic consonants can be analysed in terms of segment extension occurring within such onset-nucleus extension domains. It will be demonstrated that this solution effectively accounts for the relevant linguistic facts attested to in Polish, Czech, Slovak or Serbo-Croatian. In our analysis, the distinction between the syllabic and trapped consonants will be adopted from Scheer (2003) which, as will be proposed,

¹ The structure below depicts an optional unit of the rhymal complement which, when present, has to be universally governed by the following onset point. Traditionally, such units were analysed as codas.

² To be explained in detail in Section 2 below.

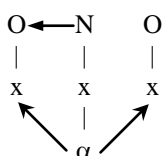
derives from different lexical structures of either type. Apart from the available dictionary entries, we shall rely on the data provided by Scheer (2003), Dalewska-Greń (2002) and Rubach (1997). The evidence concerning the behavior of the syllabic consonants in the Slavic languages with respect to element extension will also be compared to the Irish situation which contributes to both the definition and further understanding of the element extension mechanism.

2. Extension effects: theoretical basics

As pointed out above, the model of Government Phonology recognizes the existence of a universal link between onsets and their nuclei, which stems from the operation of the *Onset Licensing Principle* (Kaye, Lowenstamm and Verrgaud 1985). In terms of prosody, a nuclear licence enables an onset position to occupy its space within a given phonological string as well as perform further licensing responsibilities, for example towards possible complements. As far as its phonetic manifestation is concerned, an onset point receives its autosegmental licensing (a-licensing) potential from the nucleus to its right, which regulates the attachment of elements to its slot. Apparently then, an onset as a phonological entity is completely dependent on its nuclear licenser.

In what follows, we shall look into the phonological behavior of nuclei whose domain of impact seems to extend both leftwards and rightwards from their locus. In consequence, at least in some languages, nuclei exercise the right to influence the prosodic space that not only immediately precedes but also immediately follows them. The bi-directional nature of nuclear impact has been diagrammed in (2) below:

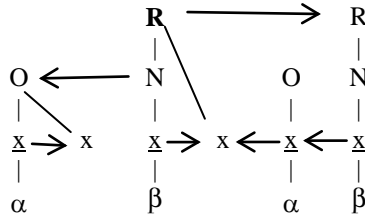
(2) *Range of nuclear impact*



The figure in (2) depicts the range of influence that a nucleus can exert on either side of its segment. The impact is both prosodic and melodic in nature in the case of the preceding onset and only melodic with respect to the unit that follows it. Bearing in mind the path of distribution of the autosegmental licensing potential within a phonological domain (see the diagram in (3) below), we shall further propose that the head nucleus, which constitutes the ultimate source of all the potential available within a given domain, will enjoy the greatest extension capacity. The head of the

domain will not be licensed by any other position in order to execute element extension. All the remaining nuclei in a given domain will receive authorisation to extend elemental material rightwards from their licensors.³

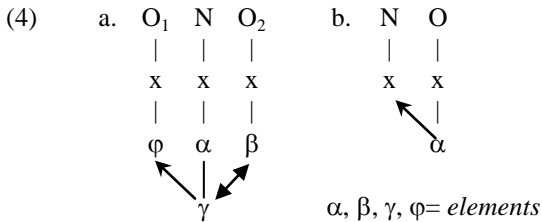
(3) *Distribution of the α -licensing potential within a phonological domain*



R is the head of the domain

Since the nucleus incapacitates the onset point to sustain the melodic content present in the melodic plane, it can also be expected that the nuclear position should have access to the onset elements. What is meant here is the ability of the nucleus to license the relevant primes both under the onset's and its own position. In this way, the execution of the licensing potential of the nuclear point results in a prime being allowed to contribute to the manifestation of both the nuclear and onset segments.

With respect to element extension, the following possibilities are theoretically available. Compare the two structures in (4a) and (4b) below:



(4a) represents *element sharing* in which a prime γ , lexically specified in the nucleus, extends its domain of interpretation either rightwards or leftwards to include the neighboring onset position. Rightward element extension has been attested in German where the nucleus spreads its backness onto the following consonants, e.g. in *Dach* [dax] 'roof, sg.'. Leftward spreading occurs in Polish where high front vowels are capable of palatalising preceding onset segments, as in *kot/koci* [kot]/[kotɕi]

³ The theory of GP assumes that elements are the primitive units of melodic structure. They have unique phonetic interpretations and can amalgamate to build more complex segmental structures.

‘cat/gen.sg.’.⁴ At this point, we should recall element spreading in Connemara Irish, where the extension takes place leftwards from an onset to the preceding nucleus, for example in *corc* [kork] *coirc* [ker'k'] ‘plug/pl.’ Thus, the situation depicted in (4a) allows for the bi-directionality of element extension, depending on language. The structure depicted in (4b), in turn, assumes that an element is lexically specified in the onset and extends leftwards to the empty nuclear position. Such an extension operation targeting an empty nucleus can be regarded as a strengthening procedure that supports an empty position which is supposed to discharge its licensing responsibilities further leftwards. The option illustrated in (4b) will be implemented in the analysis of the syllabic consonants.

3. Syllabic consonants

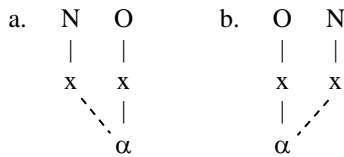
The effect of element extension is most clearly discernible in the case of the so-called syllabic consonants. The archetypical syllabic is a vowel. Most languages have no other kind and all languages possess them. As for consonants, obstruents are more disfavored than resonants. Some languages have both syllabic resonants and syllabic obstruents, e.g. Arabic, French, Chinese, Mexican Spanish or Russian. However, Irish, beside English or Czech, features among those languages that possess only syllabic resonants. Interestingly, syllabic obstruents only can be found in Sierra Nahuat or Wichita (Bell 1978: 158). It is fairly common to find that the syllabic consonants occur largely in grammatical particles and affixes, as in Swahili. However, they also commonly occur without restriction to syntactic categories, as in Egyptian Arabic or Czech. It is noteworthy that the creation of a syllabic consonant is normally conditioned by the prior presence of a vowel. A syllabic segment comes into being once the vowel has undergone elision. Another feature characterising such segments is that phrase, word and morpheme boundaries play a significant role in the creation of syllabic consonants. Syllabic consonants tend to occur in unstressed positions. Yet, their presence under stress is by no means rare, as in English, Czech or Koryak. A contrast in length in syllabic consonants occurs but rarely, even at the phonetic level. Thus, for [l], some length contrast can be found in Slovak, as in *tlsty* ‘thick’ vs. *tlk* ‘pestle’ and for [r] in Slovak, Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian.

The traditional *SPE*-based approach to such segments was to treat them as consonants in the vocalic function. Accordingly, such units were represented as belonging to the nucleus of the syllable (e.g. Clements 1990, Kenstowicz 1994, Blevins 1995 and Hall 2000). Also within GP, the

⁴ Palatalisation in Polish constitutes a lot more complex phenomenon than this simple observation might suggest. For an in-depth study of this issue within GP, see Gussmann (2007).

syllabic consonants have been analyzed as projected to the nuclear constituent (e.g. in the analysis of English syllabic [l] or [n], as in *kettle* or *button* in Harris 1994a). The opposite stance is taken by Scheer (2003) who argues that such an understanding of syllabicity ‘violates the fundamental principle of autosegmental phonology’. This principle requires that segmental consonanthood and vowelhood should not be dependent on some inherent property of the melody, but must be determined by the syllabic constituent to which a given expression is linked. Consequently, the palatal prime **I** associated with the onset position will surface as a glide but it never obtains consonantal manifestation when attached solely to the nuclear slot. The analyses that fall in line with the autosegmental understanding of syllabicity as well as vocalic and consonantal dimensions, distinguish between two alternative ways of representing the syllabic consonants. In both interpretations, a segment is distinctively associated with an onset point but some assume it to spread to the preceding nucleus (e.g., Wiese 1996, Harris 1994), while others believe it to extend to the nucleus that follows (e.g., Rowicka 1999, Rennison 1999, Blaho 2001, Afuta 2002). The two options are depicted in (5a) and (5b) respectively:

(5) *The syllabic consonant structures*



The evidence on the behavior of the syllabic consonants, provided by Slavic languages, indicates that, at least in this family, the representation offered in (5a) is the correct one.⁵ This conclusion, formulated in Scheer (2003), is based on the comparison of the syllabic consonants occurring in Czech, Slovak and Serbo-Croatian (e.g. *trvat* (Czech)) with *trapped* ones found in Polish.⁶ The latter type can be exemplified with Polish items in

⁵ The evidence quoted in Dalewska-Greń (2002) indicates that the syllabic coronal [r] is found in Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, Czech and Slovak, whereas the syllabic [l] occurs in Czech and Slovak native words, while in Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian only in borrowings. In Macedonian, in fact, the consonantal cluster is split by an epenthetic vowel (see (6c)).

⁶ The trapped consonants in Polish have been subject to detailed analyses in, among others, Bethin (1984), Rubach (1996, 1997a,b) and Rubach and Booij (1990a, b). On Rubach's analysis, they are treated as extrasyllabic but, as Scheer (2003) argues, such a conclusion runs counter the generally accepted ‘peripherality condition’ requiring that ‘extra-X objects may occur only at the edge of words’ (Roca 1994: 213). As a result,

(6a), while the syllabic [r] and [l] in the other Slavic languages are subsumed under (6b) and (6c) (Dalewska-Greń 2002: 88-91):

(6) a. *Trapped C in Polish*

drwal	‘lumberjack’
trwać	‘to last’
trwonić	‘to squander’
drwić	‘to tease, deride’
drgać	‘to vibrate’

b. *Syllabic [r] in Slavic lgs*

krk, prst, tvrdý (Czech)
trpiet’, vrch (Slovak)
ќрка, врба (Macedonian)
prst, srce, brdo (Serbo-Croatian)

c. *Syllabic [l] in Slavic lgs.*

vlk, vlna (Cz)
hlboký (Sl)
[ansambəl] (Mac)
bicikl, artikl (S-C)

As pointed out in Scheer (2003), both segment types are historically related and are found in the same positions within words having the same meaning. Nonetheless, a closer look at their behavior reveals significant differences which can be summarised as follows:⁷

(7) *Syllabic Consonants (SC)*

May bear stress (e.g. Cz *tr’vat*)
[r, l] in Czech occur under stress, as opposed to [m]
Count in poetry
In case a vowel-zero alternation occurs to their left, the zero alternant is found before *SC* (e.g., Czech *odebrat* vs. *odbirat* ‘to take away’)

Trapped Consonants (TC)

May not bear stress (e.g. Polish *trwa’ć*)
Do not count in poetry
In case a vowel-zero alternation occurs to their left, the alternation site is vocalised before *TC* (e.g., Polish *rozedrgać* ‘to become vibrating’)

Vowel-zero alternations occurring before *SCs* and *TCs* constitute the most significant argument for recognizing the difference between the two types of segments. The syllabic consonants seem to be left-branching since the nucleus which precedes them is able to govern the prefix-final nucleus (*odeb₁rat* vs. *od₂birat* where [i] governs \emptyset_2). The prefix-final site in Polish, however, exhibits vocalisation effects, which indicates that the nuclear position preceding *TCs* is unable to govern. It can be concluded then that in a word such as *roze-d₁r₂gać*, the trapped [r] branches on \emptyset_2 , which then governs \emptyset_1 . Consequently, it can be proposed that ‘*SCs* are left-

extrasyllabic, extrametrical or extraprosodic units are not expected to occur domain-internally.

⁷ The table is based on Scheer (2003).

branching, while *TCs* are right-branching' (Scheer 2003). This conclusion finds support in diachronic evidence which reveals that both *SCs* and *TCs* resulted from the loss of Common Slavic (CS) yers, the former involving the loss of the preceding vowel, while the latter the following one. Compare CS *prъrvъ*, *vъlna*, *vъlkъ* which developed into Czech *prvý*, *vlna*, *vlk* with CS *trъvati*, *grъměti*, *klъn* that became *trwać*, *grzmieć*, *klę* in Polish (Scheer 2003).

In terms of phonological representation, the structure depicted in (5a) above will be characteristic of syllabic consonants, whereas that in (5b) will underlie the realisation of the trapped consonants in Polish. Such a conclusion forces us to modify our understanding of syllabicity which has to be perceived as deriving solely from the leftward onset extension. Its extension rightwards will then define a phonetically trapped segment. In both cases, the nucleus adjacent to the onset is lexically empty but still liable to both phonological and, consequently, phonetic anchoring of the onset material undergoing extension. As for the syllabic consonant structure, it is noteworthy that the Slavic situation corresponds to that already mentioned for German. To sum up, it should be borne in mind that segment extension is a mechanism whose employment and directionality is a language-specific property. We propose that it can be regarded as a form of nuclear support which is effected either under Onset-Nucleus or inter-nuclear licensing.

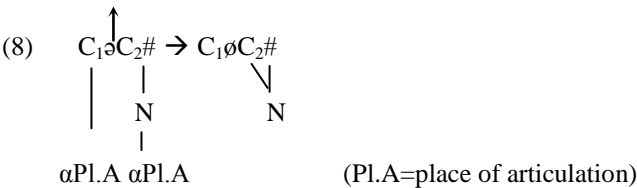
As was observed in the opening lines of this section, the function of the syllabic consonants is performed primarily by sonorants. However, it is possible to furnish evidence demonstrating that sibilants can also be used by languages as extension material. Thus, onset elements are allowed to exert impact on the preceding nuclei as well as those that follow them. Further evidence supporting this statement comes from Connemara Irish.

4. Syllabic consonants in Irish

As already indicated, Irish belongs to the group of languages that possess only resonants in the syllabic function. In the languages of the world syllabic nasals are greatly favored over liquids. This preference can certainly be observed in Irish. The language that possesses only syllabic liquids is Lendu, whereas Irish has both types of syllabics in which it resembles English, Czech, Moroccan Arabic or French. There are a few hints that in the class of laterals the darker ones are more prone to be syllabic. For instance, in Russian, as observed in Avanesov (1968), only the 'hard' [l] becomes syllabic. However there is one clear case of a palatal [ɭ] occurring as the only syllabic lateral of the language, namely Ring Co. Irish. In this dialect, the original unpalatalised lateral became [ɣ^w]. As for

nasals in the syllabic function, Irish possesses only the coronal nasal, to the absence of the syllabic bilabial and velar segments. In this respect, Irish resembles Norwegian and Navaho. The obvious way for a language to develop only one kind of syllabic nasal is for it to have just this nasal in the context of syncope. This nasal must also resist assimilation. Thus, syllabic nasals in Ring Co. Irish occur as variants finally after homorganic consonants by the loss of the preceding vowel schwa. A tabulation of the final sequences of the form $-C_1\emptyset C_2\#$ from the many citations from Breatnach (1947) shows that final [m] is rare in this context and is not found at all after a labial consonant. Indeed, no words were found where C_1 and C_2 were labial.

Having quoted a number of facts concerning the occurrence of the syllabic consonants in Irish, it has to be summarised that the segments do not occur in all dialects of Irish. In the majority of dialects, consonant+resonant sequences that are followed by a morpheme boundary are split up by an epenthetic vowel. However, as noted above, syllabic nasals are attested to in Ring Co. Irish. Let us repeat the context for the development of the syllabic nasal:



Thus, the picture in (8) depicts a situation where the nasal projected to the word-final onset captures the empty nuclear position before it. As we see, the kind of syllabic consonant structure that we attest in Irish is the (5a) kind. In this configuration, onset material is extended leftwards from the onset to the preceding nucleus.

5. Nasality extension in Irish

In what follows we want to maintain that the extension of melodic material can target also phonetically filled positions. However, the operation preserves the properties of being bi-directional and exclusively local, which distinguishes it from spreading. Our aim is to further substantiate the claim that even though *no* licensing relationship exists between a nucleus and the following onset, their interaction is still possible. More specifically, we intend to demonstrate that onset melodic material can exert direct impact on the interpretation of preceding nuclear melodies.

A process that clearly seems to testify to the existence of prime extension in the N-O sequences is that of vowel nasalisation. As indicated

in Maddieson (1984), over 99% of languages possess nasalised vowels or consonants. What is more, coarticulatory nasalisation is found in virtually all languages (Beddor 1993). Consider the data from Connemara Irish provided in (9) below.

(9) *Carryover context of nasality extension*
Connemara Irish (de Bhaldraithe 1975)

nua	[Nũ:]	‘new’
maith	[mã:]	‘good’
aniugh	[ə ¹ N’ũ]	‘today’
ná	[nã]	‘nor’
nocht	[nõxt]	‘naked’

The bi-directional nature of nasality extension can be demonstrated to occur in the Connemara variety of Irish where the propagation of the nasal property can be effected both leftwards and rightwards from the distinctive locus of the N prime.⁸ The transmission of the nasality element onto vocalic expressions serves as a clear indication of two processes capable of targeting nasal segments in Irish: denasalisation and vocalisation. Both of these developments are illustrated in (10a) and (10b) below:

(10)	a. <i>n-denasalisation</i>	b. <i>vocalisation</i>
	gnaoighthe [grĩ:] ‘business/pl.’	comhla [kũ:Lə] ‘door’
	cnaipe [kræ:p’ə] ‘button’	amhlaidh [aũLə] ‘thus’
	mná [mrã:] ‘women’	reamhar [raũr] ‘fat’
	cnoc [krũk] ‘hill’	

The items listed⁹ in (10a) depict the operation of N-extension from the nasal segment [n] onto the vowel that occurs to its right. More precisely, the nasal prime becomes delinked from the onset slot by which it was originally licensed due to the process of nasal lenition after plosives. Simultaneously, N is captured by the position of the following vowel, thus nasalising it.

⁸ In GP, nasality is encoded by means of the element N.

⁹ The data come from de Bhaldraithe (1975). We abstain from issuing a complete analysis of the denasalisation process here. Yet, it should be remembered that the operation of nasal reduction in the context following plosives and [m], can be substantiated with such alternations as *sn[n]eachta*/an t-sn[r]eachta ‘snow/of the snow’, where the nasal present after the fricative in the first item alternates with [r] when the strident becomes replaced with [t] due to *t*-prefixation. For an extensive analysis of nasal lenition in Connemara Irish, see Bloch-Rozmej (1998). Similarly, we shall not specify all the arguments in favour of the vocalisation present in the items in (10b). For the discussion of this question, see de Bhaldraithe (1975) and Ó Siadhail (1989).

The other column, in (10b), is intended to exemplify the working of N-extension leftwards, involving the vocalic position preceding the nasal melody. With reference to the vocalisation process found in these items, the existence of alternations testifies to the presence of the consonant to the right of the nasalised vowel: *reamhar* [raũr] ~ *reimhre* [raĩvr'ə] 'fat' 'fat'. The anticipatory kind of nasalisation can also be observed in such Irish words as:

- | | | | |
|------|---------|----------|-----------|
| (11) | annlann | [ã:NLəN] | 'sauce' |
| | aimsir | [æmʃir'] | 'weather' |
| | láimh | [Lã:v'] | 'hands' |
| | am | [ã:m] | 'time' |

An important conclusion that emerges from the presentation of the above data is that the elemental content of the onset melody is capable of exerting influence on the vocalic segment preceding it. In fact, whether remaining attached to its onset point or delinked from it, e.g. due to the process of nasal lenition, the nasal prime can become extended either leftwards or rightwards. When we compare the behavior of the nasal element to the palatal **I** in Irish, for instance, the propagation of the latter can be effected only leftwards from a position it is attached to. Thus, when linked to a given slot, **I** may not affect the melodies to its right. However, at least in Connemara Irish, N-extension is restricted to local contexts only. There are obviously systems where the nasal prime participates in long-distance relationships. Similarly, there are languages, in which, unlike in Irish, the propagation of **I** can be limited to its adjacent sites only. Thus, summing up, the employment of the extension mechanism, its directionality and range of impact within phonological domains appear to be language-specific properties.

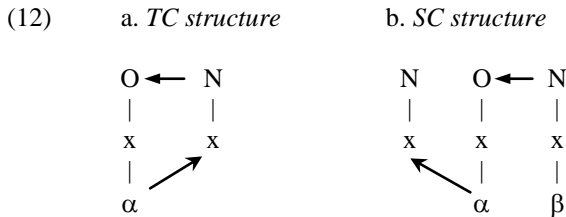
6. Conclusion

We have seen that some languages exhibit the phenomenon of element extension. The extension of primes also falls in the purview of an interpretive component, i.e. it concerns the manifestation of a particular element over a given part of representation. It should be viewed as a local effect whereby a prime that is lexically specified in a given position extends its domain of influence either rightwards or leftwards of its locus. The data from several of languages discussed in the previous sections reveal that element extension involves onset primes whose impact radiates away from their skeletal position, thus being able to affect the nuclear melodies either to their left or to their right. In contradistinction to spreading, such effects are characterised by apparent lack of direct

connection with licensing. Nevertheless, such a connection, although not immediately obvious, does exist. The necessity of combining extension with licensing is enforced by the *Extension Principle* (Bloch-Rozmej 2008) which requires that the extending prime should receive support from the nucleus.

In the case of rightward element extension, the nucleus affected happens to be the licenser of the relevant onset – the source of the extension material. In this situation (the trapped consonant structure), element extension can be perceived as a nucleus–strengthening mechanism, set in motion as a language-specific tool of increasing the licensing capacity of weaker nuclei. The rightward element extension domain overlaps with an onset-nucleus licensing domain. As for the leftward prime extension, an onset element extends its interpretation to the preceding nuclear melody. It is noteworthy that no licensing relation binds an onset and a nucleus before it.

Hence, to satisfy the requirements of the *Extension Principle*, the extending prime has to be supported by the nuclear licenser to the right of the onset in question. This type of element extension is attested to in the syllabic consonant kind of structure. The two respective *TC* and *SC* structural configurations are repeated below in (12a) and (12b) respectively:



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SEMANTIC CONSTRAINTS ON LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN MODERN IRISH

MARIA BLOCH-TROJNAR

1. Introduction

This paper is an attempt at formulating general semantic constraints on Light Verb Constructions (henceforth LVCs) in Modern Irish. Our discussion will focus on those LVCs or complex predicates which consist of a verb of general meaning and an action noun complement.¹

(1)

- a. *Rinne sé aistriú air.* *D'aistrigh sé é.*
do-past he translate-VN on-it translate-past he it
'He translated it.' 'He translated it.'
(Ó Baoill & Ó Tuathail 1992: 171)
- b. *Thug siad tógáil mhaith dá gclann.* *Thóg siad a gclann go maith.*
give-past they bring up-VN good to-their children bring up-past they their children well
'They brought up their children well.' 'They brought up their children well.'
(Ó Dónaill 1977: 1247)

¹ The structures under consideration are part of a larger set. According to Wigger (2008: 246) constructions with "functional" verbs which "supply the required verbal nucleus" occur when verbs expressing the relevant notion do not exist or are stylistically marked as depicted in (i) and (ii) respectively:

- (i) *Lig sé fead.* vs. **D'fhead sé.* (ii) *Rinne sé gáirí.* vs. **Gháir sé.*
let-past he whistle do-past he laugh-VN/laugther
'He whistled.' 'He laughed.'

He does not discuss VNs as possible complements in such structures and consequently all his examples contain morphologically simplex nouns as in (iii).

- (iii) *cuir ceist /fáilte /tús /deireadh /spéis /dath*
put question /welcome /beginning /end / interest /colour
'to ask /welcome /begin /finish /interest /colour'

Abundant and compelling arguments for the nominal status of the verbal noun (henceforth VN) in LVCs can be found in Bloch-Trojnar (2006, 2009a). As will be observed in the examples cited throughout the paper, the VN is accompanied by strictly nominal modifiers such as the definite article, possessives, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, NPs in the genitive case and adjectives. Even in English the nominal status of the complement in LVCs is not taken for granted, e.g. Wierzbicka (1982), Kearns (2002), Stevenson *et al.* (2004) regard it as a verbal element whereas Jespersen (1954), Cattell (1984), Cetnarowska (1993) argue for its nominal status.

The verb which serves as the base for the nominalisation appears as the main verb of the corresponding paraphrase, which points to the dominant semantic contribution of the VN. Interestingly, the arguments of the main verb reappear bearing the same thematic roles in an LVC. A natural question arises if any difference can be detected in the semantic interpretation of an LVC and that of a predicate with a corresponding simple verb.

According to Ó Siadhail (1989: 304) such constructions are used to achieve a partitive or singulative effect. This would be in line with a cross-linguistically widespread tendency for complex predicates among others to mark aspectual distinctions, which have to do with the internal constituency of an event.² Therefore, in what follows we shall take a closer look at the aspectual characteristics of LVCs in Irish.

Subtle semantic modification including volitionality, benefaction, forcefulness is another characteristic trait of LVCs frequently pointed out in the pertinent literature (cf. Butt 2003, Butt and Geuder 2001). That is why in the second part of this paper we shall turn to the investigation of the interaction of the semantics of the light verb and the semantics of the verb which serves as the base for the complement with a view to establishing constraints which govern the combination of particular light verbs with nominalisations derived from various semantic classes of verbs, much in the same way as Wierzbicka (1982) and Cetnarowska (1993) have done for English. Wierzbicka (1982) demonstrated that by conducting a fine-grained semantic analysis it is possible to identify which words form a valid complement to a given light verb – in other words she provided a principled account of why *have a drink* is acceptable whereas **have an eat* is not. Cetnarowska (1993: 54) convincingly argues that the choice of a specific light verb in the same language has a bearing on how we may view the action expressed by means of a complex predicate – “either as agent-oriented, intentional or involuntary, pleasurable or necessitating great effort”. This would imply that the semantics of LVCs in English is compositional and contrary to Jespersen (1954: 117-118) the “light” verb is not “an insignificant verb” to which merely “the marks of person and tense are attached”.

The inventory of light verbs employed in Irish LVCs is fairly impressive. Ó Siadhail (1989: 304-308) enumerates the following: *déan* ‘do’,³ *tabhair* ‘give’, *lig* ‘let’ and *caith* ‘spend, throw’. A list by Wigger

² Wierzbicka (1982) argues for the telicising character of LVCs in English. An element of boundedness or telicity in LVCs can also be observed in Urdu, Hindi and other South Asian languages (see Butt 2003 and the references therein).

³ The light verb *déan* ‘do’ should be kept distinct from an auxiliary (cf. Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 32, 57) which appears as a periphrastic variant of impersonal or future forms of

(2008) additionally comprises *faigh* ‘get’, *cuir* ‘put’, *téigh* ‘go’ and *tag* ‘come’. These two lists could be supplemented with *bain* ‘take, extract’. For the discussion at hand we have selected four light verbs: *déan* ‘do’, *tabhair* ‘give’, *faigh* ‘get’ and *bain* ‘take, extract’.

Our main source of data are standard dictionaries such as Ó Dónaill (1977), de Bhaldraithe (1959) and Dinneen (1927). The corpus devised by Ó Duibhín (2006) was the main source of examples from literary texts.⁴

2. The telic character of LVCs in Irish

In what follows it will be argued that LVCs in Irish are a means of telicising activities – they specify a spatiotemporal limit on the entities in the extension of the predicate.⁵

Brinton (1998: 38-9) rightly points out that “the entire VP enters into the expression of aktionsart”, e.g. *run* is an activity verb (atelic), but the predicate *run (home, to the corner)* contains an endpoint/goal and is thus an accomplishment (telic). Therefore, in the aspectual interpretation of complex predicates apart from the temporal characteristics of states of affairs denoted by particular VN complements (their aktionsart)⁶ we need to include the range of quantifying, nominal and spatio-temporal expressions accompanying the VN.

In a traditional classification of situation types (Vendler 1967) the crudest distinction is made between continuities and events. The former encompass states and activities whereas the latter subsume accomplishments, achievements and semelfactives. The table below (modelled on the figure from Brinton 1998: 38) lists the five abovementioned situation types together with their characteristics and examples from Irish.

polysyllabic verbs, i.e. *Dhéanfaidh mé sin a cheannacht duit* = *ceannóidh mé sin duit* ‘I will buy that for you’.

⁴ Bearing in mind the limited character of our scope and data, this analysis is to be regarded as a preliminary sketch designed to instigate further more extensive research in this area. Ó Duibhín (2006) is a textbase which consists of several collections of texts and it enables the user to search for words and observe their usage in context. Among others it contains three collections of texts in Connacht Irish (Ó Direáin 1961, Ó Ruadháin 1967, Mag Uidhir 1944) and two in Munster Irish (Ó Dálaigh 1933, Ua Maoileoin 1960). I would like to thank Mark Ó Fionnáin of John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin for his invaluable help in translating the Irish examples.

⁵ Aspectuality of LVCs in Irish is subjected to a detailed analysis in Bloch-Trojnár (2009b) and in this section we shall present a summary of those issues that are relevant to the discussion at hand.

⁶ For a detailed explanation of the Aspect vs. Aktionsart distinction the reader is referred to Brinton (1988).

(2)

Situation type	Characteristics	Irish
states ⁷	static, durative, nontelic	<i>amharc</i> ‘see’, <i>creid</i> ‘believe’
activities	dynamic, durative, nontelic	<i>ól</i> ‘drink’, <i>imir</i> ‘play’, <i>codail</i> ‘sleep’
accomplishments	dynamic, durative, telic	<i>teach a thógáil</i> ‘build a house’, <i>rás a rith</i> ‘run a race’
achievements	dynamic, punctual, telic	<i>dúnmharaigh</i> ‘murder’, <i>dúisigh</i> ‘wake’
semelfactives	dynamic, punctual, telic iterative meaning in the progressive	<i>léim</i> ‘jump’, <i>spléach</i> ‘glance’

Telicity of LVCs in Irish is compositional in that it results from the interaction of lexical information and syntax. Let us now observe how the syntactic contribution varies depending on the situation type of the verb which serves as the base for the VN.

Verbal predicates which contain an inherent endpoint or individuating boundary due to their lexico-semantic specification (i.e. are telic) do not require additional individuation at the syntactic level. Hence, LVCs with verbal nouns derived from accomplishments and achievements are equivalent to inflected verbs and need not be further individuated contextually, as in (1a) and (1b) above or in (3a) and (3b) below:

(3)

- a.

Ná
PRT-neg.

déan
do-imper.

aon athrú
any change-VN

air.
on-it

Ná
PRT-neg.

hathraigh
change-imper.

é.
it

‘Make no change(s) in it.’

‘Don’t change it.’

(Ó Baoill & Ó Tuathail 1992: 171)
- b.

Thug
give-past-3rdsg.ind.

sé
he

diúltú.
refuse-VN

Dhiúltaigh
refuse-past-3rdsg.ind.

sé.
he

‘He gave a refusal/He refused.’

‘He refused.’

(Ó Dónaill 1977: 419)

Semelfactive verbs such as *léim* ‘jump’ impose a single event reading (cf. Cetnarowska 1993: 44-46, Brinton 1998: 5, Willim 2006: 119). Being inherently individuated they can be counted and multiplied.

⁷ The inventory of stative verbs in Irish was reduced in the course of diachronic development. Wagner (1959: 127 ff) demonstrates that in early Irish there were more stative as well as dynamic verbs: *ad-ágathar* ‘fears’, *do-futhraccair* ‘wishes’, *ad-muinethar* ‘remembers’ etc. However, in the modern language such concepts are expressed by means of constructions involving nouns:
ad-ágathar > *tá eagla air* ‘is fear on-him; he is afraid’
do-futhraccair > *is áil leis*; *is mian leis* ‘is wish with-him; he wishes’
ad-muinethar > *tá cuimhne aige ar* ‘is memory at-him about; he remembers’

(4)

- a. *Ná tabhair léim na díge sin.*
neg. give-imper. jump-VN the ditch-gen. that
'Don't jump that ditch.' (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1187)
- b. *Thug sí léim eile, agus thúrling sí thar náis.*
give-past she jump-VN other and descend-past she back
'She gave another jump and descended back.' (Ó Dálaigh 1933: 139)
- c. *Bhí sí ó léim go léim mar sin go dtí gur thug sí aon léim amháin*
was she from jump-VN to jump-VN like this until PRT give-past she one jump only
ar deire thiar thall agus gur thúrling sí age bun na spéireach
in the end west beyond and PRT descend-past she at bottom the sky-gen.
amuigh insa bhfairge doimhin.
out into sea deep
'She was from jump to jump this way (was jumping this way) until she gave one jump in the end and she descended at the bottom of the sky out in the deep sea.' (Ó Dálaigh 1933: 139)

However, syntax has an important contribution to make in LVCs involving VNs derived from continuities. The telicising nature of LVCs manifests itself in their occurrence with cardinal numbers, enumerative determiners (e.g. *amháin* '(only) one', *eile* 'another', *chéad* 'first', *iomaí* 'many', *cúpla* 'a few')⁸ and adverbials (*cúpla uair* 'a few times', *arís* 'again')⁹, which provide the necessary counting criterion.

States are homogenous as any part of the situation they denote is like the entire situation and in LVCs we can only count the occasions of a given state. Note the modifiers in the examples below:

(5)

- a. *D'imíomair orainn siar abhaile, agus go fuaireas mo chéad amharc ar*
go-past-we on-us westwards home, and PRT get-past-I my first see-VN at
Thomás Criothain.
Tomas Criothain
'We proceeded homewards, and I first saw Tomas Criothain.' (Ua Maoileoin 1960: 152)
- b. *Bean a bhí thoir in aice le hOileán Ciarraí a fuair amharc súl*
woman that was east near island Kerry that get-past see-VN eye-pl.
ar Phiaras cúpla uair agus do thit sí i ngrá leis ...
on Piaras couple time and PRT fall-past she in love with-him

⁸ Brinton (1998: 50) explains that "the result of multiplying situations (no matter what their type) a specific number of times is a situation of the accomplishment type. Thus, to ascend a mountain (an accomplishment) two times or to run (an activity) five times both take a certain amount of time; they have necessary endpoints, namely when the two or five repetitions are completed".

⁹ If activities are perceived as occurring in bounded episodes they are replicable (Langacker 1987: 80).

‘There was a woman over east in Castleisland [in Co Kerry] who saw Piaras a couple of times and fell in love with him’ (Ua Maoileoin 1960: 104)

- c. *Cá bhfios nach é sin an t-aon amharc amháin a gheofá orthu ...*
how knowledge is-not it that the one see-VN only that get-cond.-you on-them
‘Who knows that that isn’t the only look you’d get of them/ maybe this is the last time you see them’ (Ó Direáin 1961: 130)

Consider the following examples of LVCs involving activity verbs:

(6)

- a. *Thug mé féachaint amháin orthu.*
give-past I look-VN only on-them
‘I took one glance at them.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 522)
- b. *Tabhair téamh beag eile don bhainne.*
give-imper.-you warm-VN small another to-the milk
‘Warm the milk a little more.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1217)
- c. *Gearrann siad 'na bpíosáí iad ar dtúis, agus cuireann siad na píosáí ar bogadh síos i n-uisce fuar, tamall maith den lá, agus annsan cuireann siad ag beirbhiú iad go dtí go mbaineann siad dhá fhliuchadh asta.*
cut-pres.ind. they in-the pieces them on beginning and put-pres.ind. they the pieces on soften-VN down in water cold time good of-the day and then put-pres.ind they PRT boil-VN them until PRT get-pres.ind. they two wet-VN from-them
‘First they cut them into pieces and they put the pieces into cold water to soak for a good part of the day, and then they set them boiling.’ (Ó Dálaigh 1933: 85)
- d. *Is iomaí cardáil a rinneadh ar an scéal sin.*
is many wool-carding-VN PRT was-done on the story that
‘That story has often been sifted, debated.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 191)
- e. *Déan do mhachnamh arís air.*
do-imper.-you your think-VN again on-it
‘Think it over.’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 755)
- f. *Déan cúpla scrabhadh leis an scian air.*
do-imper. a few scratch-VN with the knife on-it
‘Score it a few times with a knife.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1063)

Activities give rise to two dominant readings in LVCs. Firstly, continuous activities, such as *sleeping* or *walking* denote an activity lasting for some unspecified but limited period of time, i.e. a bounded portion. Note the modifier *geábh* in (7a), which means ‘(short) run, (quick) trip, (hurried) spell of activity’. Atelic verbs can denote conclusive situations if they are accompanied by time adverbials containing an endpoint in their semantic

structure or adverbials indicating destination – *John was walking* (activity) vs. *John walked to the shore* (accomplishment).

(7)

- a. *geábh siúil a dhéanamh* ‘to do a spell of walking’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 616)
geábh spaisteoireachta a dhéanamh sa ghairdín ‘to take turn in the garden’
 (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 787)
- b. *Má chionn siad go mbíonn aon dlús feamnaighe ionnta, ní mór an*
 if see they that is one compactness seaweed in-them, is-not big the
codladh a dheineann siad an oidhche sin.
 sleep-VN that make they the night that
 ‘If they see that there is any seaweed in them, they don’t get much sleep that
 night.’ (Ó Dálaigh 1933: 31)
- c. *Pé siúl a dhein an t-iascaire go dtí an dtíg ...*
 whatever walk-VN PRT did the fisherman to the house
 ‘Whatever brought the fisherman walking to the house / The fisherman
 happened to walk to the house...’ (Ó Siadhail 1989: 304)

Iterative activities which can be conceptualised as a series of discrete parts such as *shaking* when nominalised in LVCs will refer to a single subevent (a semelfactive).

(8)

- a. *Bhain sé croitheadh as an buidéal.*
 extract-past he shake-VN from the bottle
 ‘He shook the bottle.’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 651)
- b. *Bhí gach aon chroitheadh millteanach á bhaint as an traein.*
 was each/every shake-VN terrible PRT extract-VN from the train
 ‘The train jolted terribly.’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 384)

In sum: LVCs contain a telic component and impose a spatiotemporal limit on the predicate. The situation types in LVCs are accomplishments, achievements or semelfactives.

3. General tendencies in complement selection and the semantic contribution of the light verb

3.1. Theoretical issues and preliminary remarks

The semantic interpretation of LVCs arises as a result of interaction between the argument structures of the light verb and its complement. The complement provides semantic contents in the form of theta-roles that need to be licensed in syntactic positions, which is the responsibility of the light verb. Bearing in mind the cross-linguistic prevalence and diversity of LVCs, linguists are far from unanimous as to the exact nature of this

interaction. There are proposals, in which the verb is regarded merely as locus for agreement and tense morphology and has no influence on the number and type of arguments¹⁰ side by side analyses involving argument structure composition¹¹ in which light verbs have partially specified argument structures which are shared, fused, superimposed on or merged with the argument structure of the complement. As this paper is empirically oriented, a full exposition and evaluation of the theoretical intricacies of their interpretation would go far beyond its scope.

The results of a preliminary investigation of the Irish data suggest that light verbs in this language are not merely function words without thematic information. We can observe regularities in complement selection in that the theta-grid of the complement contains roles which are compatible with the roles of the light verb. This will be illustrated in section 3.2 below.

In addition to this, in section 3.3 it will be suggested that the choice of a specific light verb apart from contributing telicity and participant information may add a subtle semantic modification.

3.2. Tendencies in complement selection

We will now turn to the presentation of major semantic classes of verbs which are most likely to serve as bases for VNs assuming the role of complements of LVCs in Irish. The corpus used in this part is Ó Dónaill (1977). It appears that in terms of thematic grids the light verb and the complement obey the general condition of congruence (Jayaseelan 1988: 93), i.e. the thematic grid of the light verb and that of its complement are congruent but not necessarily identical.¹²

¹⁰ This position was articulated by Grimshaw & Mester (1988) in their Argument Transfer analysis of *suru*-constructions in Japanese, where it is argued that the argument list of the lexical entry of the light verb is empty and “*suru* resembles in many ways the *do* of English Do Support, which carries inflection but assigns no θ -roles and imposes no selectional restrictions” (Grimshaw & Mester 1988: 211). Similar reasoning as applied to English can be observed in Cattell (1984). There are analyses in which light verbs are regarded as subtype of auxiliary (cf. Butt 2003).

¹¹ These proposals introduce the mechanisms of Predicate Composition, Argument Merger or Argument Fusion (for a detailed discussion of these most recent proposals see Butt 2003 and the references therein). Jackendoff (1974) invokes the Complex Predicate Rule, which produces the subcategorisation frame for the complex predicate by removing the object position from the light verb and semantic interpretation is the result of “superimposing parallel semantic functions” of the main verb and the nominal (Jackendoff 1974: 490). This proposal echoes in Piñango, Mack and Jackendoff (2006) who look at English LVCs from a processing perspective and assume argument sharing – “the light-verb stipulates the syntactic role object without a corresponding thematic role, and the nominal stipulates thematic roles without corresponding syntactic roles”.

¹² Jayaseelan (1988: 93) argues that congruence is to be understood as a weaker relation than that of identity. “Agent and Patient are more distant from each other than, say, Patient and Theme, and a syntactic process may treat the latter pair (in contrast to the

In view of the general lack of agreement between linguists as to the number and character of theta-roles, in order to avoid an over-analytical approach, we are going to use the terms such as Agent, Theme, Source, Recipient etc. as convenient mnemonic terms to formulate generalisations concerning the data, but they are not meant to carry any theoretical weight.¹³ Some category labels employed by Levin (1993) with reference to English will be utilised here.¹⁴

3.2.1. LVC with *déan* ‘do, make’

Due to its general semantics, by far the most prevalent verb used in LVCs in Irish is *déan*, which implies both an abstract verb of action ‘do, perform’ and a verb of bringing into existence ‘make, create’. Its thematic grid can be envisaged as containing an Agent and Theme/Patient or Affected Object/Result.

The de-verbal nominalisation in the VN *a dhéanamh* ‘make/do VN’ frame is derived predominantly from activity verbs, which involve physical action and entail volition, i.e. verbs which typically take a human subject as Agent, actively controlling the action expressed by the verb. There are virtually no verbs denoting activities or states experienced by humans, i.e. verbs whose subject assumes the semantic role of Experiencer or Recipient, i.e. Psych-verbs which designate a change in psychological or emotional state. Verbs expressing cognitive activities must be relatively dynamic. So even if stative verbs such as *beathnú*, *machnamh*, *smaoineamh*, *staidéar* ‘consider, contemplate’ are attested they are used as activity verbs, e.g. *rinne mé staidéar maith air* ‘I gave it much thought’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1159). Perception verbs attested in that construction (*faire*, *feighil* ‘keep watch’, *scrúdú* ‘examine’) should also be understood as activity verbs, which denote longer actions involving some commitment on the part of the doer.

In the light of corpus studies in English (unfortunately no such studies are available for Irish) which show that activity verbs belong to most

former pair) as nondistinct for its purposes. Location and Experiencer can be superimposed whereas Agent and Experiencer cannot.”

¹³ The role of Agent is assigned to a personal, volitional and causative participant. The Theme role characterises entities which undergo a change of state or location. Patients designate entities affected in the course of action instigated by Agents. Verbs of motion assign the roles of Source and Goal. If the end-point of movement is a human participant it bears the role of Recipient. There is also involuntary Causer and the roles of Experiencer and Experienced.

¹⁴ We are well aware of the fact that the actual category members may be different for both languages. It is important to note the problems inherent in any classification. Verbs can have meanings from different semantic domains, and in some cases the verb is most common with a non-core meaning. In such cases the verb is listed in the category reflecting its most typical use (cf. Biber *et al.* 1999: 361).

frequently used (Biber *et al.* 1999: 365), their prominent position does not come as a surprise. The most conspicuous subclass of these employed in the LVC in question are verbs relating to communication and transfer of ideas.¹⁵

VERBS OF COMMUNICATION AND TRANSFER OF IDEAS: Agent, Theme, Goal/Recipient

beannú ‘bless’; *moladh* ‘praise’; *casoid*, *eagnach*, *gearán* ‘complain’; *comhra* ‘conversation’; *togairt* ‘allude’; *trácht* ‘mention’; *dearbhuí*, *fogairt* ‘declare, confirm’; *fiafraí* ‘ask’; *maoímh* ‘boast’; *iomardú* ‘reproach’; *tairiscint* ‘offer’; *tairngreacht*, *tuar* ‘prophecy’; *conspóid* ‘argue’; *seoladh* ‘direct, guide’; *impí* ‘entreat’; *cúiseamh* ‘accuse’; *díotáil*, *iomardú* ‘indict’; *éileamh* ‘claim, demand’; *socrú* ‘agree’; *margáil* ‘bargain’; *dealú* ‘distinguish’; *bagairt* ‘utter a threat’

Other prominent sense groups are activity verbs which denote an action of some duration which requires some effort on the part of the agent. Their thematic grid contains Agent and Theme/Affected Object¹⁶ and they comprise the following:

VERBS OF CREATION AND TRANSFORMATION: Agent, Theme/Affected Object

obair ‘work’; *streachailt* ‘struggle’; *maistreach* ‘churn’; *rómhair* ‘dig’; *cur* ‘sow’; *deargadh* ‘turn up (soil)’; *súisteáil* ‘thresh’; *foghlaim* ‘learn’; *taighde* ‘research’; *staidéar* ‘study’; *paisteáil* ‘patch’; *scuabadh* ‘sweep’; *iascach* ‘fish’; *soláthar* ‘gather’

VERBS OF DAMAGE AND CONTACT BY IMPACT: Agent, Patient/Affected Object

díobhail, *loit* ‘injure’; *speireadh* ‘hamstring’; *scláradh*, *scoradh* ‘lacerate’; *réabadh* ‘tear up’; *goradh* ‘beat’; *sceanach* ‘knife’; *gránú* ‘scratch’; *ionsaí* ‘attack’; *deighilt*, *scaradh* ‘divide, separate’

¹⁵ As can be gleaned from the list above, these verbs predominantly denote actions with two or three participants: the Agent participant and the Theme which relates to the contents of the locution in question and/or the Goal (the recipient of information). The Goal/Recipient and the Theme in the LCS of the nominal complement may be licensed by the matrix verb *déan* with the aid of PPs with specialised prepositions, *le* ‘with’ + Recipient, *faoi* ‘about’ + Theme, *ar* ‘on/in relation to/against’ + Patient/ Affected Object e.g. *socrú a dhéanamh le duine faoi rud* ‘reach an agreement with s.o. about sth’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1129), *argóint a dhéanamh le duine faoi rud* ‘argue with s.o. about sth’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 32); *rinne sé casaoid faoin teas* ‘he complained about the heat’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 136); *rinne sé casaoid orm* ‘he lodged a complaint against me’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 136); *rinne sé casaoid* ‘he made a complaint’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 195).

¹⁶ If present in LVCs, the Affected Object/Patient/Theme features in a PP headed by *ar*, as in e.g. *rinne tú soláthar maith ar na pingini* ‘you put a good few pence together’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1133).

There is a numerous group of verbs relating to change of state or possession.

CHANGE OF STATE: Agent, Theme/Affected Object

neartú ‘strengthen’; *réiteach* ‘level’; *laghdú* ‘weaken’; *íslíú* ‘lower’, *éirí* ‘rise’; *dreó, finíú* ‘decay’¹⁷

CHANGE OF POSSESSION: Agent, Theme/Affected Object

ceannach ‘buy’; *díol* ‘sell’; *seiftiú* ‘provide’; *íoc* ‘pay’; *goid* ‘steal’; *diomailt* ‘waste, squander’

There is also a special group of verbs relating to ingestion of food and drink.

VERBS OF INGESTING: Agent, Theme/Affected Object

stánáil, forltonadh ‘fill up, gorge oneself’; *slogadh* ‘gulp down’; *ól* ‘drink’

Intransitive verbs which serve as bases for VNs are mostly motion verbs with emphasis on manner of motion.

VERBS OF MOTION: Agent

siúl ‘walk, travel’; *máirseáil* ‘march’; *snamh* ‘swim’; *seilg* ‘chase, hunt’; *géaráí* ‘hurry’; *seadú* ‘remain, linger’; *damhsa, rince* ‘dance’

To recapitulate and round up, the hallmark of the VN *a dhéanamh* frame is that it is Agent-oriented as stress is placed on the conscious action of an Agent who may create some effect on the Recipient/Patient/Affected Object either in the form of acquired information, sustained damage or changed appearance or state. Agent and the action itself are in focus.

3.2.2. LVCs with *tabhair*

As far as the verb *tabhair do* ‘give to’ < subject=Agent₁, object=Theme₂, do NP=Goal₃> and its patterning are concerned, it should be observed that similar sense groups can be distinguished as in the construction with *déan* ‘do, make’. Also the Agent is a human being that performs intentional acts. However, the indirect object expressed by means of a PP denotes Patients, Recipients or Beneficiaries, hence the change of perspective – the Goal also comes to the foreground.

Therefore, it shouldn’t come as a surprise that in the construction VN *a thabhairt do dhuine/rud* ‘give VN to sb/sth’ the pride of place belongs to verbs of social interaction, verbs of contact by impact and verbs of exerting

¹⁷ These two are the only verbs which do not take a volitional agent. Also weather verbs violate this requirement e.g. *múraíl* – *ag múraíl* ‘showering’: *déanfaidh sé múraíl* ‘it will rain’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 890); *rinne sé sioc aréir* ‘there was frost last night’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1096).

force. These verbs denote “activities that inherently involve more than one participant” (Levin 1993: 200). Consequently, a large portion of these relate to fighting and verbal interactions. Ó Siadhail (1989: 307) notes this use of *tabhair* with “verbs of infliction”.

VERBS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION: (mostly fight/quarrel and help)

Agent, Theme, Patient/Recipient

cuimilt, *gearradh*, *sciúradh*, *scrabhadh* (*teanga*) ‘scold’; *feannadh*, *roiseadh* ‘criticise, flay’; *ullmhú* ‘chastise’; *cargáil* ‘wrestle’; *cíoradh* ‘fight’; *raiceáil*, *iospáirt* ‘maltreat’; *indeargadh* ‘put to shame’; *diultú*, *éaradh*, *eiteach* ‘refuse’; *ligean* ‘allow’; *cuidiú*, *cúnamh*, *fóirithint*, *fortacht*, *tarrtháil* ‘help’

VERBS OF CONTACT BY IMPACT: Agent, Patient/Affected Object

flípeáil ‘beat severely’; *giolcadh* ‘cane’; *greaddadh*, *greasáil*, *leasú*, *liúradh*, *rúscadh*, *stánáil* ‘beat, trounce’; *súisteach* ‘flail’; *cíorlái* ‘tousle’; *gleadhradh* ‘beat noisily, pummel’

VERBS OF EXERTING FORCE: Agent, Patient/Affected Object

brú ‘shove’; *fáiscadh* ‘squeeze’; *priocadh* ‘dig’; *sá* ‘thrust’; *tarraingt* ‘pull’; *cuimilt* ‘rub’; *radadh* ‘throw’; *bogadh* ‘move’; *sciúradh*, *scrabhadh* ‘scour, scrub’; *sciobadh* ‘snatch’; *deochadh* ‘immerse’

Other relatively numerous sense groups include:

VERBS OF COMMUNICATION: Agent, Theme, Recipient/Goal

deimhniú ‘certify’; *faisnéis* ‘inform’; *saoradh* ‘assure’; *léiriú* ‘clarify’; *móiniú* ‘explain’

CHANGE OF STATE/POSSESSION: Agent/Affected Object

fionnuarú, *fuairú* ‘cool’; *goradh* ‘warm’; *léiriú* ‘clarify’; *móiniú* ‘smooth’; *cúiteamh* ‘compensate’; *díol* ‘pay’

As in the case of *déan*, *tabhair* is not likely to occur with Psych-verbs (*crá* ‘distress’ being the only attested item in our corpus). Still, it is attested with judgement verbs which relate to opinion or judgement somebody may have in reaction to something. It is to be noted that this class was not attested in the VN *a dhéanamh* frame.

JUDGEMENT VERBS: *meas*, *barúil* ‘think’; *créidiúint* ‘believe’; *maitheamh* ‘forgive’

In addition to this, there are more perception verbs with a human agent controlling the visual or auditory perception.

PERCEPTION VERBS: (mostly sight verbs) Recipient, Theme

amharc, *féachaint*, *silleadh*, *spléachadh*, *leagan súl* ‘look’; *éisteacht* ‘listen’

If we compare the semantic domains of *déan* and *tabhair*, we will observe some overlapping and complementarity. Both verbs occur with verbal nouns from the same sense groups but to a varying extent. The former is most likely to occur with verbs of communication, motion, creation and transformation, whereas the latter has a preference for verbs of social interaction, verbs of contact by impact and verbs of exerting force – it occurs with only two verbs of motion *fiach* ‘chase’, *léim* ‘jump’ and one verb of ingestion *ithe* ‘eat’.

3.2.3. LVCs with *faigh*

The verb *faigh* ‘get’ < subject=Goal₁, object=Theme₂> is used in the VN *a fháil* ‘get VN’ frame to describe the situation in such a way as to highlight the Experiencer or the Patient, i.e. a person or thing at whom/which the action is directed. This verb has the opposite semantics to *tabhair*, therefore we expect to find similar sense groups of VN with which they combine in LVCs. Our prediction is borne out in that the bases for the VN will predominantly be verbs with a volitional Agent effecting some change in the Patient. As with *tabhair* the most numerous groups are verbs of social interaction and verbs of contact by impact.

VERBS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION: Agent, Recipient/Affected Object/Patient
deisiú, *goradh* ‘scold’; *cargáil* ‘wrestle’; *iospairt* ‘maltreat’; *fortacht* ‘help’

VERBS OF CONTACT BY IMPACT: Agent, Patient/Affected Object
leadradh ‘beat’; *bascadh* ‘bash’; *bualadh* ‘hit, beat’; *ramhrú* ‘batter’; *goin* ‘wound’

PERCEPTION VERBS: Recipient, Theme
amharc, *spleáchadh* ‘look’; *blaiseadh* ‘taste’; *éisteacht* ‘listen’

CHANGE OF STATE: Agent, Theme/Affected Object
aothú ‘pass crisis’; *goradh* ‘warm’; *ardú* ‘move up’

VERBS OF COMMUNICATION (transfer of message): Agent, Theme, Patient/Recipient
múineadh, *teagasc* ‘teach, train’; *saoradh* ‘assure’

We find complementary pairs such as:

(9)

- a. *fortacht a thabhairt do dhuine* ‘come to the aid of s.o.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 575)
vs.
fortacht a fháil ‘get relief’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 575)
- b. *Ní bhfuair sé éisteacht.* ‘He was refused a hearing.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 494) vs.
Ní thugann sé éisteacht ar bith dom. ‘He pays no attention to what I say’
(Ó Dónaill 1977: 494)

- c. *an spreagadh nach bhfuair sé* ‘the encouragement he didn’t get’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1148) vs.
Is iondúil gur i mBéarla a léann sé na hábhair a thugann aon spreagadh dó.
 ‘Usually it is in English that he reads any subjects that inspire him.’
 (Ó Direáin 1961: 87)

Focus on particular participants is achieved by the choice of one light verb and not the other.

In contradistinction to *tabhair*, there seem to be verbs which take a human subject as Experiencer, undergoing but not controlling the action expressed by the verb or verbs.

PSYCH-VERBS: Agent/Cause, Experiencer/Goal

crá ‘distress’, *céasadh* ‘torment’; *coscairt* ‘distress’; *leathadh* ‘distress, be perished’;

It requires VNs with Recipient/Affected Object/Experiencer in their thematic grid. That’s why no intransitive verbs are attested as possible bases for VNs in this frame.

3.2.4. LVCs with *bain*

Let us now turn to the discussion of the verb *bain* ‘take out, extract’ <subject=Agent/Cause₁, object=Theme₂, as NP= Location₃>. In the thematic grid of *rud bhaint as dhuine/rud* ‘extract sth from s.o./sth’ construction we have two participants: a voluntary Agent or involuntary Cause and an Experiencer/Patient/Affected Object. The following major classes motivating VNs have been identified:

CHANGE OF STATE: Agent, Affected Object/Patient

fiuch ‘boil’; *filleadh*, *feacadh*, *fiarradh*, *strangadh* ‘bend’; *ríochan* ‘tauten’; *teilgean* ‘make last’; *dúiseacht* ‘wake up’; *searradh* ‘stretch (limbs)’; *caitheamh* ‘wear’; *iompú* ‘turn’; *oscailt* ‘open’

PSYCH-VERBS: Agent/Cause, Recipient/Experiencer

stad ‘surprise’; *cliseadh* ‘startle’; *leagan* ‘humble’; *sásamh* ‘satisfy’; *mealladh* ‘deceive’; *amharc* ‘shock’

VERBS OF MOTION: Agent/Patient/Experiencer

titim, *treascairt* ‘fall’; *crith* ‘shudder’; *rith* ‘run’; *léim* ‘jump’

VERBS OF EXERTING FORCE: Agent, Patient/Affected Object

scracadh, *stoitheadh*, *sreangadh* ‘pull, jerk’; *tarraingt* ‘pull’; *fáisc* ‘squeeze’, *croith* ‘shake’ *bogadh* ‘move’; *corraí* ‘move, stir’

VERBS OF NONVERBAL EXPRESSION¹⁸: Agent/Cause
béic, liú ‘yell, shout’; *bloscadh* ‘explode (noise)’; *glaoch* ‘call, cry’

Voluntary Agents or involuntary Causes bring about a change of state, produce a change of psychological or emotional state or cause an instantaneous involuntary reaction which is beyond the control of the Experiencer/Agent. It requires VNs with Patient/Affected Object/Experiencer and/or Agent/Cause in their thematic grid.

3.2.5. Summary

Let us round up our presentation of major sense groups associated with particular light verbs in a tabular form:¹⁹

VERBS OF	<i>déan</i>	<i>tabhair do</i>	<i>faigh</i>	<i>bain as</i>
COMMUNICATION	X	x	x	
SOCIAL INTERACTION	X	X	X	
CHANGE OF STATE	x	x	x	X
MOTION	X	x		x
PSYCH-VERBS			X	X
CHANGE OF POSSESSION	x	x		
CONTACT BY IMPACT	x	X	X	
EXERTING FORCE		X		X
CREATION AND TRANSFORMATION	X			
NON-VERBAL EXPRESSION				X
PERCEPTION	x	X	X	

The general semantics of LVCs with particular light verbs is presented below:

<i>déan</i>	action of a volitional Agent
<i>tabhair do</i>	action of an Agent directed at some Recipient, Patient, Object
<i>faigh</i>	only the Recipient/Patient or Experiencer in focus
<i>bain as</i>	Experiencer/Patient/Affected Object undergoing a process or change effected by an Agent or non-volitional Cause

¹⁸ The verb *lig* ‘let’ is found predominantly with (simplex) nouns relating to emission of sounds, as in *lig sé fead, gáir, osna/liach, scread, sceamh* ‘to give a whistle, shout, sigh, scream, yelp’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 783), *gíog a ligan* ‘to cheep, chirrup’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 633).

¹⁹ **X** stands for a strong lexical association with a given class, whereas x denotes weaker collocability.

3.3. *Semantic contribution of the light verb*

We hope to have demonstrated that a given light verb is not devoid of meaning and contributes to the overall understanding of an LVC. The choice of a particular light verb may further modify the meaning of the construction in a subtle way.²⁰

As observed above, the domains of *déan* and *tabhair* partially overlap and in principle one could replace the other with no difference in meaning. Consider the following pairs of examples:

(10)

- a. *beannú Dé a thabairt do dhuine* ‘to greet s.o.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 99)
Ní sin beannú ar bith le tabhairt do dhuine. ‘That is no way to greet a person.’
 (Ó Dónaill 1977: 99)
- b. “*Laethanta Breátha*” *a thugaimísne mar leasainm orthu, ainm sheanabhlástúil, mar dhe ná raibh aon fhocal eile Gaeilge ina bpus ach an beannú so a dhéanfaidís ar an mbóthar duit leis an dá focal - “Lá breá!”*
 ‘We used to call them ‘Fine days’ as a nickname, a sarcastic/contemptuous nickname as it were, because there was no other Irish word in their mouths than this greeting which they would use with you on the road - the two words ‘[It’s a] Fine day’.’ (Ua Maoileoin 1960: 35)

(11)

- a. *Déan do ghoradh ag an tine.* ‘Warm yourself at the fire.’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 828)
- b. *Thug sé goradh cúl chos dó féin.* ‘He warmed the back of his legs. He stood there with his back to the fire.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 660)

(12)

- a. *moladh a dhéanamh ar dhuine* ‘speak in praise of s.o.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 875)
- b. *moladh a thabhairt do dhuine* ‘praise s.o.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 875)

The only difference seems to lie in the number of participants a given verb can accommodate:

(13)

- a. *tairiscint a dhéanamh ar rud* ‘make a bid for sth’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1194)
- b. *Thug sé tairiscint mhaith dom air.* ‘He made me a good offer for it.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1194)

²⁰ Consider the examples from Quirk *et al.* (1985: 752):

She gave a shriek. (an involuntary shriek)

She had a good shriek. (voluntary and for own enjoyment)

She did a (good) shriek. (a performance before an audience)

Following Wierzbicka (1982), Cetnarowska (1993) makes a case for the extra semantic modification on the part of the light verb in English.

The most conspicuous contrast is that between intentional and involuntary actions. LVCs with *déan* and *tabhair* refer to a deliberate action whereas those with *bain* to causing an involuntary reaction in a human participant (bodily movement, emission of sound) or instigating some action of non-volitional entities, as in e.g. *pramsach a bhaint as duine* ‘to make s.o. jump’ and *pramsach a bhaint as an urlár* ‘pound the floor’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 967) respectively. In constructions with *déan* and *tabhair* the human participant actively controls the action whereas in structures with *bain* the human or non-human participant undergoes sth rather than does sth.

(14)

- a. *gáire doicheallach a dhéanamh* ‘to force a laugh, give a forced laugh’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 399)
mise a rinne an gáire ‘I had the laugh on my side’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 399)
Rinne siad gáire faoi. ‘They laughed at him.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 604)
Deirtear go ndearna an sagart a dhóthain gáirí. ‘It is said that the priest laughed a lot/enough.’ (Ó Direáin 1961: 44)
- b. *gáire a bhaint as an gcuideachta* ‘to raise a laugh’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 399)
Bhainfeadh sé gáire as cat. ‘It would make a cat laugh.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 604)

(15)

- a. *Thug sé amharc géar orm.* ‘He gave me a sharp look.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 40)
- b. *Bhain sé an t-amharc as mo shúile.* ‘It dazzled me, shocked me.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 39)

(16)

- a. *Thug sé léim na díge.* ‘He jumped the ditch.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 775)
- b. *léim a bhaint as duine* ‘make s.o. jump, startle s.o.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 775)

(17)

- a. *leathoscailt a thabhairt ar do shúile* ‘to half open one’s eyes’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 494)
- b. *Is é an chéad leathadh a bhainfear as do shúile nuair a thiocfaidh tú i radharc Chuain Fionntrá.*
‘It will be the first time that your eyes open wide (in wonder) when you come in sight of Cuan Fionntrá.’ (Ua Maoileoin 1960: 29)

When a volitional participant is involved the construction with *bain* implies lack of willingness or control, as in (18).

(18)

- a. *caint a dhéanamh le duine faoi rud* ‘to converse with s.o. about sth’ (de Bhaldraithe 1959: 149) vs.
caint a bhaint as duine ‘get s.o. to talk’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 174)

- b. *Bainfidh mise sodar asat.* ‘I’ll make you hop.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1129)
crith a bhaint as duine ‘make s.o. shudder’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 319)
dúiseacht a bhaint as duine ‘to rouse up, startle s.o.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 463)
cliseadh a bhaint as duine ‘startle s.o.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 246)
Baineadh titim asam. ‘I stumbled and fell.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1242)

It can be argued that if an action is directed at a non-human participant the structures with *bain* and *tabhair* are equivalent. Consider (19a) and (19b) as well as similar pairs in (20).

(19)

- a. *Chomhairligh sé dá bhean a dhul agus píosa téide a cheangal d'ordóg choise an fhir óig agus tarraingt a thabhairt dó.*
‘He advised his wife to go and to tie a piece of rope to the big toe of a young man and give it a pull.’ (Ó Direáin 1961: 122)
- b. *Bhain sí tarraingt as mo mhuinchille.* ‘She tugged at my sleeve.’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1211)

(20)

- a. *fáscadh a thabhairt do rud* ‘squeeze sth’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 520) vs.
fáscadh a bhaint as rud ‘squeeze sth’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 520)
- b. *fuarú a thabhairt do rud* ‘cool sth’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 589) vs.
fuarú a bhaint as rud ‘cool sth’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 589)
- c. *Má thugann tú an úsáid cheart don speal* ‘If you use the scythe properly’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1307) vs.
Ní baintí aon úsáid eile as an méis bheag dheas san, go dtí go dtagadh Lá Coille arís.
‘That nice little dish wouldn’t be used again for anything until New Year’s Day would come again’ (Ó Dálaigh 1933: 90).

If intransitive verbs of motion refer to an action that can be prolonged over a period of time, in an LVC with *déan* we refer to an unspecified but limited portion whereas in an LVC with *bain* we refer to the inceptive stage of the activity, as in (21a-b) and (21c) respectively:

(21)

- a. *N’fhéadann sé aon tseasmh a dhéanamh sa tsneachta, mar má théigheann sé ar lár ann, bíonn sé ró-lag chun é féin a tharrac as (...).*
‘He can’t stand in the snow (do any standing in the snow), because if he goes on the bare ground, he is too weak to pull himself out...’
(Ó Dálaigh 1933: 8)
- b. *Bhí iontas ar an Ollamh nach raibh mé ag déanamh níos mó snámha.*
‘The professor was surprised why I was not swimming more/doing more swimming.’ (Ó Direáin 1961: 137)

- c. *rith a bhaint as duine* ‘make s.o. run’ (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1003)

If the complement is polysemous, in an LVC it will receive one of its predominant readings depending on the light verb.

(22)

- a. *súisteáil a thabhairt do dhuine* ‘to thrash s.o.’ – (verb of infliction) (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1183) vs.
Tá súisteáil mhaith déanta acu. ‘They have done a good bit of threshing’ – (verb of creation and transformation) (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1183)
- b. *sciúradh a thabhairt do rud* ‘give sth a scrub’ (verb of exerting force) (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1056) vs.
fuair sé sciúradh na cuinneoige ‘he got quite a drubbing, he was told off in no uncertain manner’ (verb of social interaction) (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1056)
- c. *stánáil a thabhairt do dhuine* ‘to give s.o. a drubbing’ (verb of infliction) (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1162) vs.
stánáil a dhéanamh ort féin le bia ‘to stuff oneself with food’ (verb of ingesting) (Ó Dónaill 1977: 1162)

4. Conclusion

The construction in question imposes a telic reading upon the situation denoted by the verb acting as the base for the VN. In addition to providing aspectual distinctions, particular light verbs combine with nominalisations derived from various semantic classes of verbs in order to present a situation from different angles by giving prominence to certain participants (Agent, Patient, Experiencer) and to bring out some nuances of meaning such as volitionality. It is to be underlined that this paper is only a preliminary study which merely marks paths at which further research should be directed and the tentative proposals advanced here should of course be verified against a greater body of data.²¹

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²¹ I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Dr Maxim Fomin for investing a great deal of time and effort in editing this paper.

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OBLIGATORY CONTROL IN IRISH AND POLISH – A REAPPRAISAL

ANNA BONDARUK

0. Introduction

Obligatory control (henceforth, OC) has constituted a topic extensively discussed in the literature (cf., for instance, Williams (1980), Landau (2000), Wurmbrand (2001)). Recently the controversy over OC has climaxed in the emergence of two rivaling approaches, deriving it via two distinct mechanisms. The movement theory of control, advocated by Hornstein (1999, 2001, 2003), Boeckx and Hornstein (2004, 2006), among others, derives OC by means of the N(D)P-movement of the alleged controller of PRO without posting PRO as a separate empty category altogether. The latter approach – the calculus of control proposed by Landau (2004, 2008) – maintaining the existence of PRO, obtains OC thanks to the interplay between C and I found in the non-finite clause. The present paper is rooted within the second approach and its main objective consists in providing an analysis of OC in Irish and Polish. The paper starts with a short overview of two subtypes of OC, i.e. exhaustive and partial control. This is followed by a brief outline of Landau's (2004, 2008) model. Afterwards, an attempt is made to analyse Irish and Polish OC within Landau's calculus of control.

1.0. Two subtypes of OC in Irish and Polish

Landau (2000) distinguishes two subtypes of OC called exhaustive control (hence, EC) and partial control (hence, PC). The former obtains when the reference of PRO is identical with that of its controller, while the latter occurs when the reference of PRO covers the reference of its antecedent but is not identical with it. PC holds when the non-finite clause contains a collective predicate like *gather*, *meet*, *together*, etc., which must be predicated of semantically plural entities. In the case of PC it is a semantically plural PRO that the collective predicate is predicated of, as demonstrated by (1) and (2), where the symbol 1+ stands for PC.

- (1) Ba mhaith le Seán₁ [PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo].¹
 COP good with John to-gather here
 ‘John would like to gather here.’
- (2) Marek₁ lubi/woli [PRO₁₊ spotykać się o 3-ej].
 Mark likes/prefers to-meet REFL at 3
 ‘Mark likes meeting/prefers to meet at 3.’

In the examples above PRO is controlled by the matrix clause subject as well as by some other individuals salient in the context and consequently, it is semantically plural and does not trigger any number mismatch with the collective predicate present in the non-finite complement. No such mismatch, however, is tolerated in the case of EC, where PRO and its controller always overlap in their reference, as can be seen in (3) and (4).

- (3) Caithfidh Seán₁ [PRO₁ a dhul anseo /*PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo].
 must John PRT to-go there/ to-gather here
 ‘John must go there/*gather here.’
- (4) Marek₁ musi [PRO₁ iść do domu /*PRO₁₊ się spotkać o 3-ej].
 Mark must go to home REFL meet at 3
 ‘Mark must go home/*meet at 3.’

Sentences (3) and (4) are grammatical only if no collective predicate appears within the non-finite complement. Since the EC PRO in (3) and (4) is controlled by the singular matrix subject, it cannot act as an entity the collective predicate is predicated of.

Another important difference between EC and PC complements relates to their tense properties. Landau (2000) notes that in English, EC complements are untensed, whereas the PC ones are tensed. This difference surfaces also in Irish and Polish when one considers conflicting time adjuncts placed in the main and in the non-finite clause. Their placement is fully legitimate in PC-complements, but unavailable in EC-complements. Compare the following data:

- (5) * Ba cheart do Sheán₁ inniu [PRO₁ bualadh le Máire amárach]. EC
 COP right to John today to-meet with Mary tomorrow
 ‘* Today John should meet Mary tomorrow.’
- (6) * Wczoraj Marek zapomniał [PRO₁ odwiedzić Marię w przyszłym tygodniu].
 yesterday Mark forgot to-visit Mary in next week
 ‘*Yesterday Mark forgot to visit Mary next week.’

¹ The following abbreviations are used throughout the paper: COP – copula, PRT – particle, REFL – reflexive, and VN – verbal noun.

- (7) B'fhearr le Seán₁ inniu [PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo amárach]. PC
 COP-better with John today gather-VN here tomorrow
 'John would prefer today to gather here tomorrow.'
- (8) Wczoraj Marek wolał [PRO₁₊ spotkać się w przyszłym tygodniu].
 yesterday Mark preferred to-meet REFL in next week
 'Yesterday Mark preferred to meet next week.'

Sentences (5) and (6) show that EC complements both in Irish and in Polish cannot host a time adjunct distinct from the one present in the main clause, which, in turn, implies that EC complements lack independent tense specification and their tense properties are entirely dependent on the tense of the matrix clause. PC complements, on the other hand, as can be seen in (7) and (8), can host a time adjunct distinct from the one found in the main clause and hence do have independent tense. The tense difference between EC and PC complements just described underlies Landau's (2004, 2008) analysis of control in English and will play an important role in our account of EC and PC in Irish and Polish.

1.1. Problematic cases

In the preceding section it has been shown that the two types of OC in Irish and Polish behave in a way similar to their English counterparts. However, some important differences can be found in the two analysed languages that are unattested in English. First of all, as regards Irish, it is common to find OC structures in which instead of a covert PRO subject, there occurs an overt lexical subject. This fact has been frequently noted in the literature (cf. McCloskey (1980), McCloskey and Sells (1988), Bondaruk (2004)) and has constituted a pitfall for every theory of control which assumes a complementary distribution between PRO and overt DPs. To illustrate this property, compare sentences (9) and (10), where the former contains a PRO subject in the non-finite clause, whereas the latter has a lexical subject exactly in the same context.

- (9) Ba mhaith liom [PRO imeacht].
 COP good with-me go-VN
 'I would like to go.'
- (10) Ba mhaith liom [é a imeacht].
 COP good with-me him PRT go-VN
 'I would like him to go.'

An attempt to account for the Irish data given above has been made by Bondaruk (2004), which requires certain modifications of the model offered by Landau (2000). Bondaruk (2008), on the other hand, shows that Landau's (2004) calculus of control faces problems when confronted with the facts in (9) and (10). This paper offers a new insight into the way in which Landau's (2004) theory can be made compatible with the troublesome Irish data in (9) and (10).

As for Polish, it has been observed by Bondaruk (2004) that OC commonly appears in non-finite clauses introduced by the overt *C żeby* ‘so that’. However, the picture is complicated by the fact that such clauses, alongside OC, can give rise to NOC, as well. Compare the following sentences:

- (11) Marek₁ marzył, [żeby PRO_{1/*arb} wyjechać za granicę]. OC
Mark dreamt so-that to-go for abroad
'Mark was dreaming of going abroad.'
- (12) Marek₁ chciał [żeby PRO_{*1/arb} wyjechać za granicę]. NOC
Mark wanted so-that to-go in abroad
'Mark wanted for somebody to go abroad.'

Example (12), in which PRO must be arbitrary clearly contrasts with sentences like (11), where PRO must be obligatorily subject controlled; the contrast emerging in spite of the fact that in both these cases the C is overt. Bondaruk (2004) explains the contrast between OC and NOC in *žeby*-complements by appealing to the phenomenon of obviation within the framework proposed by Landau (2000). In this paper the facts described above will be tackled within a more recent model offered by Landau (2004, 2008).

2. Landau's (2004, 2008) model

Landau (2004), following his earlier work, i.e. Landau (2000), derives control via successive applications of Agree, understood in the sense of Chomsky (2000, 2001). Landau argues that the licensing of PRO is performed by means of an algorithm, or, what he calls, ‘calculus of control’. The elements participating in the calculus are I and C, each of which may be associated with the features [+/- T] and [+/- Agr]. The association of the [T] feature is based on the following directive:²

² Landau (2004) uses the symbol I, not T, in order to avoid the confusion which might arise between T and the feature [+/-T]. Landau (2008) makes use of T, not of I.

- (13) Specifying [T] on embedded I/C
- a. Anaphoric tense => [-T] on I/C
 - b. Dependent tense => [+T] on I/C
 - c. Independent tense => [+T] on I, \emptyset on C. (Landau 2004: 839)

Generally, (13) makes it clear that I and C must match in their Tense specification. The distinction is posited in (13) between dependent and independent tense, where the former is found in complement clauses with selected tense (e.g. irrealis clauses), whereas the latter is typical of the clauses whose tense is free. In addition to these two categories, there exists also anaphoric tense, characteristic of complement clauses lacking independent tense specification and having their tense determined by the matrix clause. Selection takes place between the matrix predicate and its complement. It is local and therefore cannot affect I directly but must be mediated by the intervening C head. Consequently, selected clauses must have a [T] feature in C (unlike unselected ones for which C may be unspecified for tense altogether, cf. (13c)). Since the feature [T] is interpretable on I, but uninterpretable on C, the two must undergo feature checking (or Agree). Landau (2004) emphasises that [T] refers to *semantic* tense and therefore uses terms like *tensed* vs. *untensed* instead of morphosyntactic concepts *tensed* vs. *tenseless*. Under this concept of tense, a clause may be tensed even if it does not carry any tense morphology or untensed even if it has tense morphology (this point will be illustrated later).

Another feature that may be associated with I and C is [Agr], understood as a bundle of ϕ -features. The [+/- Agr] specification on I and C is determined in the following way:

- (14) Specifying [Agr] on embedded I/C
- a. On I: i) overt agreement => [+Agr]
 - ii) abstract agreement => [-Agr]
 - iii) no agreement => \emptyset
 - b. On C: i) [+Agr] => [+T]
 - ii) otherwise => \emptyset . (Landau 2004: 840)

For the head I three kinds of agreement are distinguished in (14): 1) overt agreement, signaled by agreement morphology, 2) abstract agreement, lacking any morphological realization, and 3) no agreement, obtaining when I is defective, i.e. lacking [Agr] altogether. As far as C is concerned, it normally does not bear any morphological agreement marking. Nonetheless, Landau assumes that C is [+Agr] whenever it is [+T]; if C is either [-T] or unspecified for [T] (i.e. \emptyset), then it bears [-Agr].

The last component of Landau's calculus of control concerns the way I and C 'communicate' with nominal expressions they license. To achieve this, Landau argues that DPs, including PRO, as well as their licensors I and C are equipped with the feature [+/-R]. He assumes, following Reinhart and Reuland (1993), that referentially independent DPs are [+R], while anaphoric DPs and PRO, are [-R]. Both values of [R] are interpretable on nominal expressions. To establish the link between nominals and functional heads like I and C, Landau claims that also the latter can be associated with the [R] feature, whose assignment is regulated in the way stated below:

(15) R-assignment Rule

For $X_{[\alpha T, \beta Agr]}^0 \in \{I, C \dots\}$
 $\emptyset \rightarrow [+R]/X_{[_]}^0$, if $\alpha = \beta = +$
 $\emptyset \rightarrow [-R]/\text{elsewhere}$

(Landau 2004: 842)

The above rule states that both I and C are positively specified for [R] only if they bear features [+T, +Agr]. Any other feature combination (i.e. [-T, +Agr], [+T, -Agr], or [-T, -Agr]) results in the negative specification of [R] on both I and C. The lack of either [T] or [Agr] on I or C makes the rule in (15) inapplicable and thus determines that no [R] value is assigned. The feature [R] on I and on C is uninterpretable.

The licensing of the subject in Landau's system involves checking uninterpretable features of I and C. DPs with the feature [+R] can check the feature [+R] on I/C, whereas PRO with the feature [-R] can only check [-R] on I/C. Since only [+T, +Agr] I/C can bear also [+R] (cf. (15) above), the system predicts that lexical DPs will only be found with so specified I and C. PRO, on the other hand, will be licensed elsewhere, i.e. with I/C equipped with [-T, +Agr], [+T, -Agr] or [-T, -Agr]. As a result, Landau's analysis leads to surprising results, i.e. it predicts that control environments do not form a natural class. This consequence, Landau argues, is desirable as it explains why the distribution of PRO cannot be captured in terms of any direct statement.

3. An analysis OC in Irish and Polish within Landau's model

3.1. An analysis of EC and PC in Irish and Polish

Let us first check how Landau's account can be applied to the regular instances of EC and PC in Irish and Polish such as (16), (17), (18) and (19) below.

- (16) B'fhearr le Seán₁ inniu [PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo amárach]. PC
 COP-better with John today gather-VN here tomorrow
 'John would prefer today to gather here tomorrow.'

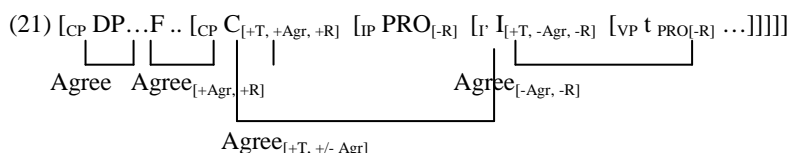
- (17) Wczoraj Marek planował [PRO]₁₊ spotkać się w przyszłym tygodniu].
 yesterday Mark planned to-meet REFL in next week
 ‘Yesterday Mark planned to meet next week.’
- (18) Caithfidh [Seán agus Máire]₁ [PRO]₁ cruinniú anseo]. EC
 must John and Mary gather-VN here
 ‘John and Mary must gather here.’
- (19) [Marek i Ewa]₁ zdolali [się PRO]₁ spotkać o 3-ej].
 Mark and Eve managed REFL to-meet at 3
 ‘Mark and Eve managed to meet at 3.’

As has been mentioned in section 1.0, the major difference between EC and PC complements lies in the tense specification of the non-finite complement, which is untensed in EC complements and tensed in the PC ones. This distinction underlies the analysis of either control type within Landau’s model. Since in EC complements I lacks independent tense specification, in accordance with (13a) it is associated with the feature [-T]. (13a) also determines that the same feature is associated with C. Furthermore, I does not exhibit any overt morphological agreement in EC contexts and hence is specified as [-Agr] (cf. (14) above). C is unspecified for [Agr] as it is [-T] (cf. (14b)). Finally, from (15) it follows that I in the case of EC has the feature [-R] and C is unspecified for R, as it lacks an Agr feature. Equipped with these feature specifications for I and C, we can now derive EC within Landau’s system. The schematic derivation of EC in both Irish and Polish is offered in (20) below:

- (20) [_{CP} DP_{..} F .. [_{CP} C_[-T] [_{IP} PRO_[-R] [_{I'} I_[-T, -Agr, -R] [_{VP} _↑ PRO_[-R] ...]]]]]
-
- Agree
Agree_[+Agr]
Agree_[-T]
Agree_[-Agr, -R]

In (20) F stands for a functional projection involved in a particular type of control and corresponds to T in subject control or to *v* in object control. Four Agree operations apply in (20). The first one affects PRO and the non-finite I and results in the erasure of the uninterpretable [-R] feature of I. The second Agree, between C and I, leads to checking and eliminating the uninterpretable tense feature of C by the interpretable [-T] feature of I. The third Agree, between F and the matrix DP, the controller of PRO, guarantees the feature match between these two items and finally, the fourth Agree between F and PRO yields ϕ -feature match between these two items.

As regards PC in Irish and Polish, the non-finite clause has an independent tense specification and consequently, in accordance with (13) I bears the feature [+T]. Since by (13) I and C must match in their tense feature, C in PC contexts is also specified as [+T]. I, in PC-complements like (16) and (17) above, does not show any overt ϕ -features and hence is marked as [-Agr], whereas C, which is positively specified for tense, by (14b) must be also positively marked for Agr and therefore has a feature [+Agr]. The R-assignment rule in (15) determines that I, which is [+T, -Agr], is [-R], while C with positive values for both T and Agr is [+R]. Consequently, the derivation of PC structures in Irish and Polish proceeds along the following lines:



The first Agree in (21), just like in the EC structures schematized in (20), affects PRO and I and results in the elimination of the uninterpretable [-R] feature of I. The Agree operation between C and I might seem problematic since the two items bear opposing values for Agr. Landau (2004) argues that the [+Agr] C can enter Agree with the [-Agr] I, because [+Agr] on C generally corresponds to abstract agreement, and [Agr] on both I and C is semantically uninterpretable and phonologically unrealized. The uninterpretable [+R] feature of C is eliminated via Agree with F, which inherits [+R] as a result of Agree with the DP controller of PRO. Thus, in (21), unlike in (20), it is not PRO itself that is targeted by Agree from the matrix clause, but rather the control of PRO is parasitic on the Agree between C and F.

In order to account for the PC effect found in (16) and (17) and schematized in (21) Landau (2004) makes recourse to another feature, called Mereology. He suggests that collective nouns like *committee* bear [+Mer], while non-collective nouns are [-Mer]. PRO in PC contexts has a [+Mer] feature, as it can co-occur with collective predicates like *gather* or *meet*. Landau further argues that C optionally lacks a [Mer] slot.³ Consequently, the control relation mediated by C, attested in the case of PC, is [Mer]-neutral, i.e. there is no matching in the value of [Mer] between

³ Landau observes that Mereology is a peculiar feature in that it can often be null. He further notes that C is only optionally specified for [Mer] because [Agr] on C never undergoes a primary checking relation with a DP. He hypothesizes that [Mer] is obligatory only on heads that enter primary checking relations with items bearing [Mer] such as DPs.

PRO and its controller. In the case of EC, however, C never mediates the control relation, but instead PRO itself is targeted by Agree from the matrix clause. Consequently, no mismatch in the value of the [Mer] feature is expected in EC complements.

3.2. Free variation of PRO and overt subjects in Irish

It has been noted in section 1.1 that in Irish PRO and lexical subjects can appear in free variation (see (9) and (10)). In Bondaruk (2008) an attempt is made to account for this fact within Landau's model adopted here. The main line of analysis goes as follows: in sentences such as (9) and (10), repeated for convenience below, the non-finite I is marked as [+T] and so is C, the fact that follows from (13) above.⁴

- (9) Ba mhaith liom [PRO imeacht].
 COP good with-me go-VN
 'I would like to go.'

- (10) Ba mhaith liom [é a imeacht].
 COP good with-me him PRT go-VN
 'I would like him to go.'

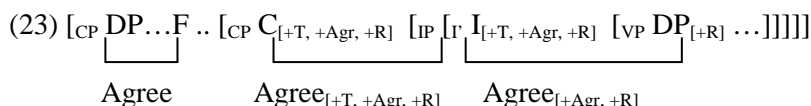
However, both in (9) and (10) the non-finite I is [-Agr], as it does not show any overt ϕ -features. Unlike I, C with the [+T] feature is also positively specified for [Agr], which follows from (14). I and C also differ in their [R] feature marking – I, being [+T, -Agr] is [-R] (cf. (15)), while C with features [+T, +Agr] is [+R]. Bondaruk (2008) notes that the feature specification just provided is typical of PC (cf. (21)), and can only predict the presence of PC PRO in Irish, as in (9), but not the lexical subject, as in (10). The lexical subject is blocked in this case because the [-R] I cannot undergo Agree with the DP equipped with the feature [+R] without giving rise to feature mismatch. As a result, the uninterpretable [-R] feature on I survives at LF and causes the derivation to crash. The representation offered by Bondaruk (2008: 68) for Irish non-finite complements with overt subjects such as (10) is reproduced below.

- (22) [_{CP} DP...F .. [_{CP} C_[+T, +Agr, +R] [_{IP} [_{I'} I_[+T] [_{VP} DP_[+R] ...]]]]]
-
- Agree_[+Agr, +R]

⁴ The non-finite complements both with PRO and the overt subject have an independent tense specification, as proved by the possibility of inserting a time adjunct in the non-finite clause differing in its time reference from the one found in the matrix clause (for details cf. Bondaruk 2008: 66).

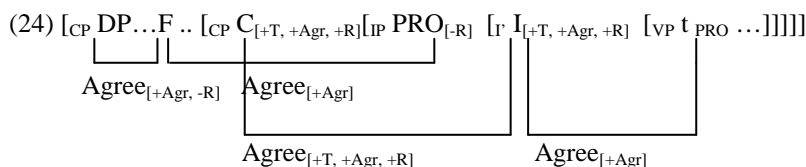
In (22) I bears only [+T] and is unspecified for both Agr and R. The uninterpretable [+R] feature of C is erased via Agree with the [+R] lexical subject. Consequently, no uninterpretable feature exists to trigger the crash at LF. Nonetheless, Bondaruk (2008) finds the representation in (22) problematic since it crucially relies on the assumption that I in cases like (10) is unspecified for Agr; the claim calling for an explanation especially as in neither (9) nor (10) I bears any overt marking of agreement and hence the difference in [Agr] specification in these two cases seems to be dubious.

However, it seems that an alternative representation for cases like (10) is available. We can assume, following Landau (2004: 863, footnote 45), that I in (10) is [+Agr], although the agreement is morphologically opaque. The resulting representation is as in (23) below.



The representation provided in (23) is analogous to the one offered by Landau (2004: 844) for Balkan F-subjunctives, which can host an overt subject.⁵ In (23) the uninterpretable [+R] feature of I is erased by the DP, while the [+R] feature of C is eliminated by the [+R] I (this is called I-C ‘conspiracy’ by Landau).

However, if we assume that I is [+Agr] in (10), we must draw the same conclusion concerning the feature specification of I in (9). This calls for the revised representation of (9), which is provided in (24):



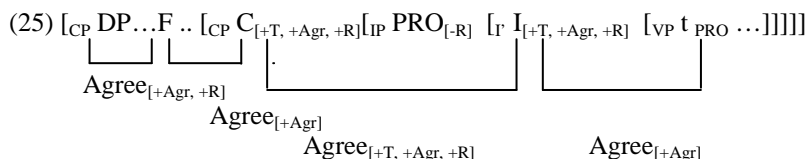
In (24) the [-R] PRO subject appears in the non-finite clause. This representation is once again reminiscent of Landau’s (2004: 844) derivation offered for Bulgarian subjunctive clauses. Just like in (23), the [+R] features on I and C cancel each other off. As for the uninterpretable [-R]

⁵ The relevant example is given in (i) below:

(i) Na Ivan₁ [majka mu]₂ se nadjava [pro_{1/2} da se_{1/2} izmie].
 of Ivan mother his hopes PRT self wash
 ‘Ivan’s mother hopes to wash herself.’ or
 ‘Ivan’s mother hopes that he will wash himself.’

(Bulgarian data quoted after Landau, who quotes Krapova and Petkov (1999), ex. (4b))

feature of PRO, its presence on PRO, according to Landau, results from its anaphoric character and calls for an antecedent. If F, as in (24), bears [-R] as a result of the Agree operation with the matrix DP, then the [-R] feature of PRO is erased by Agree with the head F. According to Landau (2004), an alternative way of checking the [-R] feature of PRO is available. If F is [+R], then it undergoes Agree with C, not with PRO, and PRO gets its [-R] feature eliminated via co-indexation, not Agree; namely C is co-indexed with PRO via I. The latter situation is shown in (25).



To sum up, it seems that Landau's (2004) model can account for the free variation of PRO and lexical subjects in Irish without any problem only if one assumes that I in Irish non-finite clauses, though positively marked for Agr, remains morphologically opaque for this feature specification. This analysis is advantageous over the one advocated in Bondaruk (2008), as it does not rely on any ungrounded assumptions concerning the difference in [Agr] marking between I in non-finite complements with PRO and the ones with a lexical subject. It also shows that Landau's model is fully compatible with the notoriously problematic Irish data.

3.3. OC/NOC in Polish non-finite clauses with *żeby*

In section 1.1, it has been noted that Polish non-finite complements with the overt C *żeby* 'so that' can host either OC or NOC PRO. The relevant data, given in (11) and (12), are repeated for convenience below.

- (11) Marek₁ marzył, [żeby PRO_{1/*arb} wyjechać za granicę]. OC
 Mark dreamt so-that to-go for abroad
 'Mark was dreaming of going abroad.'

- (12) Marek₁ chciał [żeby PRO_{*1/arb} wyjechać za granicę]. NOC
 Mark wanted so-that to-go in abroad
 'Mark wanted for somebody to go abroad.'

In Bondaruk (2004) the data like (12) are analysed in terms of obviation, whereby the subject of the non-finite clause must be obligatorily disjoint in reference from the subject of the main clause. This analysis is additionally supported by the fact that *żeby* clauses in Polish are subjunctive and subjunctive sentences in this language regularly exhibit obviation, as illustrated in (26) and (27).

Subjunctive – Obviation:

- (26) Marek₁ marzy o tym, żeby (on_{*1/2}) wyjechał za granicę.
 Mark dreams of this so-that he would-go for abroad
 ‘Mark dreams of someone going abroad.’

Indicative – Lack of Obviation:

- (27) Marek₁ marzy, że (on₁) wyjedzie za granicę.
 Mark dreams that he will-go for abroad
 ‘Mark dreams that he will go abroad.’

In (27), which contains an indicative complement, the subject of the embedded clause can be co-referential with the matrix clause subject. In (26), on the other hand, in which the embedded clause is subjunctive, the subject of this clause must be obligatorily disjoint in reference from the subject of the main clause.

The account of obviation offered in Bondaruk (2004) is deeply rooted in the Binding Theory and relies on the extension of the binding domain from the main clause to the embedded one. The details of this account will not be mentioned here, as we will not focus on the exact mechanism of obviation, but will rather try to account for the presence vs. absence of OC in cases like (11) and (12) within Landau’s (2004, 2008) system.

Although Landau (2004) analyses obviation structures in Romance languages, his account can be extended to Polish. Landau argues that it is C that is responsible for the lack of OC in obviative contexts. He proposes that in instances of obviation C lacks any Agr value and hence any [R] value (cf. (15)). If one wanted to adopt this proposal to Polish, one must assume that the I present in obviative structures is specified as [+Agr], although the agreement marking remains morphologically opaque (cf. a similar suggestion for Irish non-finite complements in section 3.2).⁶ Consequently, the schematic representation of structures such as (12) is provided in (28).⁷

⁶ The difference in feature composition between the I found in obviative and non-obviative structures has been evoked also in Bondaruk (2004), who makes a distinction between anaphoric I (present in non-obviative contexts) and pronominal I (found in cases of obviation).

⁷ The fact that the non-finite complement in (12) is tensed is supported by the following data:

- (i) Marek już od dawna chciał [żeby PRO w przyszłości wyjechać za granicę].
 Mark already for long wanted so-that in future to-go in abroad
 ‘Mark has wanted for a long time for someone to go abroad in the future.’

$$(28) * [{}_{CP} DP \dots F \dots [{}_{CP} C_{[+T]} [IP [I' I_{[+T, +Agr, +R]} [VP PRO_{[-R]} \dots]]]]]$$

[]
[]
[]
Agree
Agree_[+T]
*Agree_[+Agr, ?R]

In (28) I is positively specified for T, Agr and R, unlike C, which has only a positive value for T and is unspecified for both Agr and R. Since C lacks a value for [R], the Agree operation between C and I cannot erase the uninterpretable [R] feature of I and the canceling off mechanism outlined for Irish in (23) cannot be evoked, opening way for OC PRO. The [-R] PRO cannot erase the [+R] feature of I, either, consequently, the [+R] feature of I survives at LF, which causes the derivation to crash. This account blocks the presence of OC PRO in structures like (12).

What remains to be explained, however, is why OC PRO can be found in seemingly similar sentences like (11). For such cases we would like to suggest that the C *żeby* ‘so that’ has not only [+T], but also [+Agr] feature (in accordance with (14)) and likewise I has a regular feature specification, i.e. [+T, -Agr, -R]. Consequently, the representation of such structures is analogous to that proposed for PC structures offered in (21) in section 3.1.

To sum up, the lack of OC in structures with obviation in Polish can be accounted for in Landau’s system provided one assumes that the C in such sentences is only marked for T and lacks both Agr and R, whereas I is positively marked for T, Agr and R.

4. Conclusion

The paper has aimed at an analysis of OC in Irish and Polish. Within OC two subclasses have been distinguished, such as EC and PC. Two problematic cases have been pointed out, namely the free variation of PRO and lexical subjects in Irish non-finite complements, and the presence of OC and NOC in Polish non-finite complements with the C *żeby* ‘so that’. All the cases just mentioned have been analysed within Landau’s (2004, 2008) calculus of control. It has been argued that the regular instances of EC and PC can be analysed within Landau’s model without any problems. The free variation of PRO and lexical subjects in Irish non-finite clauses has been given a natural account within Landau’s framework under the assumption that I in Irish non-finite clauses is [+Agr], though this marking is morphologically opaque. Finally, the lack of OC in obviation structures in Polish squares well with Landau’s account if one assumes that C in such structures has just the [+T] feature, while the non-finite I is specified as [+Agr].

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THE LOSS OF THE IMPERSONAL IN BILINGUAL SPEAKERS OF IRISH

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1. Introduction and sociolinguistic background

This article is a brief examination of a phenomenon attested in contemporary Irish, namely, the loss of the impersonal. This formal change in the grammar of the language is taking place in a context of wholesale restructuring of Irish due to the influence of English. Before we present the details of the change, a few remarks on the sociolinguistics of Irish are in order.

In so far as one can talk about Irish as a first language today, it only survives as one of the first languages of a small number of bilinguals, most of whom are more competent in English. Even in communities where Irish still survives as an L1, children are exposed to L2 varieties of Irish from an early age, in such places as creches and on the Irish-language television station. As a result, the grammar of Irish is increasingly determined by L2 speakers.

Ó Béarra (2007) points out that it is necessary to make a distinction between what he terms Traditional Late Modern Irish, the variety of Irish spoken in Irish-speaking communities as an L1 until the 1960s, and Non-Traditional Late Modern Irish, which is spoken either as one of two first languages, or only as a second language. The latter has been heavily influenced by English. In the words of Ó Béarra (2007: 262), ‘knowledge of English is a pre-requisite to the understanding of Non-Traditional Late Modern Irish...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’. The author also sees translation as responsible for the Englishing of traditional Irish: ‘Thus, the majority of those working in the translation industry are non-native speakers... all too often these translators follow the syntax and idiomatic conventions of English’ (Ó Béarra 2007: 265).

While we accept Ó Béarra’s distinction between the two varieties of Irish, we alter the terminology in our article slightly for ease of reference. Late Modern Irish (LMI) is the language spoken c.1700-c.1970 by L1 speakers. Neo-Irish (NI) refers to the new variety, influenced by English and L2 speakers of Irish.

After this brief expose of the sociolinguistic situation, we can proceed to look at the data we are concerned with in this article.

2. The impersonal and the resultative

LMI lacks a passive construction like that of English. Instead, it uses an impersonal. Thus, (1a) would be translated as (1b):

- (1) a. The work was done quickly.
 b. *Rinneadh* *an obair* *go tapaidh*.
 do.Impers.Past the work quickly

In present-day Irish, particularly in the language of broadcasting, this impersonal is being replaced by a periphrastic construction which closely resembles its English counterpart, so that instead of (1b) we often hear:

- (2) *Bhí* *an obair* *déanta* *go tapaidh*.
 was the work do.Past.Part quickly

It is tempting to view (2) as a straightforward calque on (1a). However, it should be borne in mind that LMI also has a resultative perfect construction which resembles (2) very closely, apart from the presence of the adverb *go tapaidh*:

- (3) *Bhí* *an obair* *déanta*.
 was the work do.Past.Part
 ‘The work was done’. (resultative perfect)

(3) would be appropriate to describe a state, e.g. in the following sentence:

- (4) *Nuair a* *tháinig mé* *abhaile, bhí an obair* *déanta*.
 when PRT came I home was the work do.Past.Part
 ‘When I came home, the work was done (completed)’.

Rather than viewing (3) as a calque, it might be better to regard it as an extension of the semantics of the resultative perfect to include an event reading. In other words, NI makes use of an existing resource to create a new passive.

At the same time, one cannot ignore the influence of English on this semantic extension. English-Irish bilingualism goes back a long way, to at least the 17th century (see Mac Mathúna 2007 for details), and became widespread in the 19th century. To illustrate the usage of bilingual speakers in this era, we look at some examples taken from the speech of Amhlaoibh Ó Luínse, born in 1872. Like other speakers of LMI born in the 19th century and later, Ó Loingsigh manifests the regular impersonal most of the time. What is interesting from the point of view of the present discussion,

though, is that we find in his speech sporadic examples of what look like the new passive:

- (5) *D'fhanaidís suas déanach Oíche Nollag,*
 used-stay.3pl up late eve Christmas
agus do bheadh an bloc dóite an oíche sin.
 and PRT would-be the block burn.PastPart the night that
 'They used stay up late Christmas Eve, and the block would be burnt that night' (SAIL: 75).

In (5) an event reading seems more plausible than a resultative one. But this would require the impersonal conditional rather than the resultative perfect:

- (6) *agus dhófaí an bloc an oíche sin.*
 and burn.Cond.Impers the block the night that

The resultative perfect would be more appropriate if the temporal context were something like *an mhaidin dár gcionn* 'the next morning'.

It looks, then, as though the phenomenon that is so widespread in the NI of the 21st century can be traced back to LMI. In the next section we will try to provide an explanation for the gradual replacement of the impersonal by the passive.

3. Agency and information structure

In (3) above, we encountered an example of the resultative perfect, repeated here:

- (3) *Bhí an obair déanta.*
 was the work do.Past.Part
 'The work was done'. (resultative perfect)

Formally, this resembles a passive, in that the direct object of the corresponding finite sentence is promoted to subject position. Furthermore, like passives in other languages, an agent can optionally be expressed by the equivalent of a *by*-phrase:

- (7) *Bhí an obair déanta ag mo dheartháir.*
 was the work do.Past.Part by my brother

As pointed out by McCloskey (1996: 254), 'This is a "passive" construction in formal terms only.' He goes on to write (255): 'The Irish perfective passive, however, has none of the rhetorical or discourse

functions commonly associated with the passive in, for example, English'. Thus, a sentence like (7) above corresponds to English 'My brother had done the work' rather than 'The work had been done by my brother'. In other words, a resultative perfect with an agent functions in the same way as the active perfect in English.

Now let us consider another example from Amhlaoibh Ó Luíne:

- (8) *Bhíodar coinnithe i Mochromtha leis – ag Hedges.*
 were.3pl keep.Past.Part in Macroom also by Hedges
 (SAIL: 126)

The usual interpretation of this sentence would be:

- (9) Hedges had kept them in Macroom.

The meaning, like in (7), would be that the situation of *keeping them* had preceded some other situation, and that the first situation no longer held. However, it is clear from the context that what is intended by the speaker is eventive rather than resultative, if we consider the passage from which this sentence is taken:

- (10) *Fianna*
Ní bhfaighfá aon fhia anso. Thagaidís ann uaireanta: ó Chill Áirne is mó thagaidís. Bheadh lá muar ar cheann acu san, agus thúrfí an dial d'fhiach dó. Bhíodar coinnithe i Mochromtha leis - ag Hedges. Bhriseadh ceann acu amach anois is arís.

Deer

You wouldn't find any deer here. They used to come here sometimes: they usually came from Killarney. There'd be a big day with one of them, and they'd hunt the living daylights out of it. They were kept in Macroom also – by Hedges. One of them would break out now and then.

It is plain from the context that what is meant is 'They were kept in Macroom (over a period of time) by Hedges', rather than 'Hedges had kept them in Macroom'.¹

¹ Another possible reading is that of what is sometimes called the medial object perfect:

(i) Hedges had them kept in Macroom.

Like the active perfect reading, this also suggests a state resulting from a previous action, rather than a continuous state, and hence strike us as implausible.

One of the features of the Irish impersonal is that it is incompatible with an overt agent. Thus the English passive ‘The work was done by my brother’ would have to be translated by an Irish active:

- (11) *Rinne mo dheartháir an obair.*
 did my brother the work

Likewise, the English sentence ‘They were kept in Macroom by Hedges’ would be translated as (12b) rather than (12a):

- (12) a. **Coinníodh i Mochromtha iad ag Hedges.*
 keep.Impers.Past in Macroom them by Hedges
- b. *Choinnigh Hedges i Mochromtha iad.*
 kept Hedges in Macroom them
 ‘They were kept in Macroom by Hedges’.

Sentences like (8) may well have developed as a response to this gap in the paradigm, as an attempt to combine the impersonal, which had the function of a passive, with the expression of an overt agent.

Another factor that would have favoured the rise of the new passive is connected with information structure. The organization of information in LMI is considerably different from that of English. Take the following sentence:

- (13) This is an interesting book. It was written by a Pole.

A normal LMI translation would be:

- (14) *Seo leabhar spéisiúil. Polannach a scríobh é*
 this book interesting Pole that wrote it
 ‘This is an interesting book. It was a Pole that wrote it.’

Here, the new information, the authorship of the book, is presented by means of fronting of the NP *Polannach*. The new passive, on the other hand, enables a speaker to maintain the information structure of English:

- (15) *Seo leabhar spéisiúil. Bhí sé scríofa ag Polannach.*
 this book interesting was it write.PastPart by Pole

In the current linguistic climate, where material is translated rapidly from English and presented to speakers unfamiliar with the information structure of LMI, it is understandable why the syntax should mirror that of English. An L2 speaker of Irish would have much greater difficulty processing (14) than (15). And of course the restructuring makes the job of the translator

much easier, and allows people with a fairly tenuous grasp of LMI to work in this area.

4. Conclusion

This brief glance at a change that is taking place in NI has centred on the representation of passive semantics in Irish. As we observed, the old impersonal of LMI is rapidly giving way to a new passive, one that reflects very faithfully the structure of English. We also observed that this tendency is not an entirely new one, going back as it does to at least the 19th century. We have suggested that the motive for the change is two-fold: a desire to allow for the expression of agents with passives, and a need to imitate the information structure of English for an audience consisting almost entirely of L2 speakers of English. The first might be considered a motive which might arise language-internally, while the second can only be regarded as due to external pressure.

In normal linguistic conditions, one could imagine the kind of variation exhibited by Amhlaoibh Ó Luínse persisting for some time, with the new passive gradually replacing the impersonal. In the kind of conditions described by Ó Béarra (2007), the pace of change is speeded up. If Irish is still spoken in fifty years time, it would not be surprising if the old impersonal had not become part of the history of Irish, like many of the grammatical features which are present in prescriptive grammars, but rapidly receding in real speech.

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Abbreviation

SAIL = Ó Cróinín, S., ed., 1980, *Seanachas Amhlaoibh Í Luínse* [*The Lore of Amhlaoibh Ó Luínse*], Dublin: Comhairle Bhéaloideas Éireann.

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‘SKY’ AND ‘HEAVENS’ IN BRETON ORAL TRADITION

ANNA MURADOVA

0. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to trace the linguistic development of two terms deriving from IE **nem-* in Breton: *neñv* ‘heavens’ and *nemet* ‘sacred’.¹ This development, attested from the Old Breton into the modern language, seems, in these two instances, to present a particular example of the Christian influence on the vocabulary of spoken and written Breton. While *neñv* was integrated in the vocabulary of the priests and was employed to mark the opposition between the heavens and the sky (ModB *oabl*), *nemet* disappeared from the language and the notion of ‘holy’, ‘sacred’ was explained by a Latin term *sacrum* > ModB *sakr*. Without any doubt, the etymology of the stem **nem-* deserves special treatment; however, we shall not be attempting in making a reconstruction of the IE stem and the archaic concept of holiness. The aim of this paper is more specific – we shall just try making a step toward towards our better understanding of the factors that had influenced the development of this stem in Breton.

1. The notion of sacred place and the heavens

The distinction between *oabl* ‘sky’ and *neñv* ‘heavens’ in modern oral tradition in Brittany is quite clear. The term *neñv* marks the idea of a sacred space both in religious texts and in oral tradition and is nowadays part of the Christian cosmology. The OB *nemet* > Middle Breton stem *nevet-* can be found in the place names, such as the forest called Koad Nevet, or the *silva nemet* from the Cartulaire de Quimperlé. We can find this stem in the Welsh *nyfed* ‘sacred’, in the Old Irish *nemed* ‘privilege’, and the Gaulish *nemeton* ‘temple’ often figuring as a part of personal names (e.g. *Nemeto-gena*, *Nemeto-marus*) and place-names (*Augustonemetum*; *Medionemetum* etc.). The notion of the heavens as opposed to the sky seems to be common for the Celtic languages: Old Welsh *nef*, Old Cornish *nef*, Old Breton *nem*, Middle Breton *neff*. In Old Irish, the opposition between the sky and the heavens is not so clear, OI *nem* having two meanings.

¹ This work is a part of the Russian Academy of Sciences project *Text in Interaction with Social Cultural Environment VI (Folk Tradition in Civilisation Dialogue)* supported by the Russian Foundation for Fundamental Research.

According to Vendryes, this stem initially had the meaning of a sacred part of the world and derived from an IE stem **nem-*:

OI *nemet* « sanctuaire, lieux consacré » <...> Le mot a pris aussi le sens d’endroit privilégié, d’où «privilège, talent » <...> Le mot existait en gaulois νεμετον <...> toutefois si les formes comme *de sacris silvarum quae nimidas uocant* et *silva quae uocatur Nemet* prêtent un rapprochement avec lat. *nemus* « bois sacré », gr. *nemos* n. «bois » d’une rac. **nem-* signifiant « partager » ou **nem-* « courber ». Voir *nem* « ciel » (LEIA N-9).

Vendryes also provides the following etymology of the OI *nem* ‘sky, heavens’:

Ancien thème en – es, pour lequel deux explications sont possibles: soit qu’on rapproche skr. *nabhah* n « nuage » gr. νέφος « id », vsl. *nebo*, gen. *nebes* en supposant une alliteration de *bh* en *m* (...) ou bien skr. *namah* « inclination, hommage » d’une racine **nem-* « courber » le ciel étant considéré comme une voûte (LEIA N-8).

So, according to Vendryes, *nemet* can be derived from the **nem-* ‘vault, heavens’. This seems to be quite probable: the vault of heavens is a sacred location *par excellence*. The Breton material shows that the opposition between the holy heavens and the sky existed in the OB and still is attested in the modern language.

2. The evolution of the stem **nem-* in Breton written tradition

The adjective *neved* ‘sacred’ is not used in modern Breton and is replaced by the word *sakr* (< Lat. *sacrum*). Probably *nemet* had strong pre-Christian connotations and was applied to the notion of a ‘pagan place’ as opposed to the ‘Christian holy place’. Nowadays, some modern Breton writers try to re-introduce the word *nevet* in the sense of “a sacred space in a non-Christian religion” (e.g. an example can be invoked – ‘a place worshipped by North American Indians’).

The word *neñv* is used in ModB in a strictly religious context, and is opposed to *oabl* which is used only outside the religious context. This difference is clearly marked in F. Favereau’s dictionary, where *neñv* is translated into French like “ciel, cieux” and *oabl* as “ciel météo” (GBV).

All available translations of the Bible into Breton used *neñv* for ‘heavens’. One of the examples is the translation of the New Testament made by Maodez Glanndour. Although the author used a purified version of the language and followed the norms of the written practice of the Gwalarn movement (often being criticised for the tendency towards modernisation of the language which made their works hardly

understandable for the Breton speakers), his translation of the Holy Bible was based on the works of several predecessors and followed the established tradition of the Biblical translation.

Jesus o pignat d'an Neñv

Hag evel ma oant eno troet o sell etrezek an neñv d'e welout o vont kuit, setu en em gavas dirazo daou zen gwisket e gwenn, a lavaras: « Gwazed Galilea, perak e chomit aze de sellout ouzh an Neñv? Hennezh, Jesus, hag a zo bet savet diouzhoc'h d'an Neñv, a zeuy en-dro evel-se e-giz m'hoc'h eus e welet o vont kuit d'an Neñv » (Ar Bibl Santel 1971: 281-282).

Acts

And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight. And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel; Which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven (trans. from King James Bible).

The most known biblical text available in several translations since the seventeenth century is 'The Lord's Prayer':

Hon Tad
c'hwi hag a zo **en Neñv**,
ra vo santelaet hoc'h ano.
Ra zeuio ho Rouantelezh.
Ra vo graet ho youl war an douar evel en neñv.
Roit dimp hizio bara hor bevañs.
Distaolet dimp hon dleoù
evel m' hor bo ivez distaolet d' hon dleourion.
Ha n' hon lezit ket da vont gant an temptadur,
met hon dieubit eus an Droug.

In early versions *en Neñv* is often written as '*en eff*', '*enn env*'. This way of translation of the Lord's prayer has some rare exceptions, when instead of *en Neñv* one can observe the word *acoun* which probably stands for a variation of *kouñambr*, a word coming (according to Favereau) from a dialectal form *koabr* in the dialect of Vannes corresponding to *oabl* in KLT dialects (GBV) or a derivate from the OB *cun* 'top' (DGVB).

3. The evolution of the stem **nem-* in Breton oral tradition

We have no examples of the use of *nevet* in the modern oral tradition. On the contrary, *neñv* is used in the ballads and religious songs. One of the

examples is the well-known song *Ar Baradoz* present in a number of songbooks and often sang nowadays at the funerals:

*Pa sellan en **neñvoù**,
Hag etrezek va bro,
Nijal di a garfen,
Evel ur goulmig wenn.*

When I look at the heavens
And at my homeland
I'd like to fly there
Like a white dove

But in some contexts it is not very clear if in the modern oral tradition and the spoken language *oabl* has the strict meaning of the sky, “ciel météo”, or this meaning may be extended and there can be confusion between *oabl* and *neñv*. D. Giraudon (1995) gives some examples of jokes from Poullaouen:

*Ma koues an **neñv** war an douar, ar a vras a vo tapet da gentañ*
If heavens fall on the earth the tall people will be struck before the others

*Ma kouezfe an **neñv** war an douar nem daol war da gof tre div rizenn
patatez, to drouk ebet*
If heavens falls on the earth you should lay down on your stomach between
two rows of potatoes and you will be safe.

In this context the choice between *oabl* and *neñv* seems to be obvious: the heavens falling on the earth are considered to be God's punishment. But at the same time D. Giraudon (1995) gives some examples where bad omens appeared in the sky and not in the heavens. According to him, in 1938 and 1939 the sky was illuminated and the appearance of the red colour in the sky was interpreted by the countryside dwellers like a portent of the Second World War, meaning:

*Fuloret eo an **oabl** d'an abardaez,
Brezel a vo adarre!*

The evening sky is angry,
A war will come once again

Or:

*Gwad zo barzh an **oabl**, ur poull gwad a zo barzh an oabl*
There is blood in the sky, a pool of blood.

In this context it is difficult to provide a clear explanation in relation to the choice of the word *oabl*: does this portent coming from the Heavens signify a punishment or is it an explanation of a certain meteorological phenomenon?

4. Conclusion

The evidence of the two derivatives from the stem **-nem* can illustrate the influence of the extralinguistic factors on the evolution of the lexemes. The better understanding of the causes of such influence can be a step towards our better understanding of the origin and the function of Latin loanwords in Breton.

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Abbreviations

- DIL** – *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, ed. E. G. Quin, Dublin: RIA, 1983 (repr. 1990; 1998).
DGVB – *Dictionnaire des Gloses en Vieux Breton*, ed. Léon Fleuriot, Paris, 1964.
GBV – *Geriadur brezhoneg-galleg, galleg-brezhoneg / Dictionnaire du breton contemporain bilingue*, ed. Francis Favereau, Montroules, 1993.
LEIA – *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien. MNOP*, ed. Joseph Vendryes, Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies & Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960.

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SYNTACTIC PATTERNS IN WELSH AND ENGLISH NICKNAMES – A COMPARISON

KATARZYNA JĘDRZEJEWSKA-PYSZCZAK

0. Introduction

As my paper deals with syntactic patterns of Welsh and English nicknames I would like to start with an introductory note on what constitutes the notion of *nickname* (*llysenw* in Welsh). In short, nicknames are linguistic expressions that enable identification in cases of unclear reference by means of singling out. As semantically motivated, they are bestowed upon individuals by other members of the community with a view to highlighting prominent and unique features of their bearers. The inspiration for nicknames comes from a number of sources. They predominantly refer to appearance, physical and mental attributes, traits of character and habits, not to mention whereabouts, place of birth, characteristic forms of linguistic expression or the nature of occupation. Any single event or peculiar situation that caught the imagination of people is likely to be expressed by means of a telling nickname. Consequently, nicknames commonly carry considerable emotional load, be it positive or negative. The current study employs the term nickname in its primary sense, i.e. such of an identification tool, with any additional meaning of the term treated as irrelevant.

Two aspects of the linguistic make-up of Welsh and English nicknames are dealt with in the paper, namely the underlying word classes and word order patterns. With respect to the analysed Welsh corpora, it needs to be noted that both English-based Welsh nicknames as well as those Welsh only are subject to scrutiny. The Welsh language data is taken from Myrddin ap Dafydd's (1997) *Llysenwau. Casgliad o llysenwau Cymraeg a gofnodwyd yn y cylchgrawn Llafar Gwlad* [Nicknames. Collection of Welsh nicknames which were recorded in the journal *Llafar Gwlad*] for Middle Welsh and Modern Welsh nicknames as well as Roy Noble's (1997) *Roy Noble's Welsh Nicknames* for contemporary nicknames only. Four major dictionaries from which English nicknames for the present investigation were excerpted are those of Julian Franklyn (1962), L. G. Pine (1984), Nigel Rees and Vernon Noble (1985) as well as Andrew Delahunty (2006).

1. Welsh nicknames

With respect to Welsh nicknames formed through the medium of Welsh, the most prevailing pattern is that of (I) proper noun postmodification where the original designation is followed by semantic specification. Frequent realisations of this type include several distinct patterns which I illustrate in the following way:

a) proper noun (first name) + proper noun (first name), e.g.
Ted Betsi “Ted of Betsi”, *Shoni Gladys* “Shoni of Gladys”, *George Peggy* “George of Peggy”

b) proper noun (first name) + proper noun (first name) + proper noun (first name), e.g.
Lisi Ann Jane “Lisi (the daughter) of Ann (the daughter) of Jane”, *Twm Siôn Cati* “Twm (the son) of Siôn (the son of) Cati”

It is interesting to observe that the Welsh tend to refer to women ancestors in the identification of individuals. Similarly, it is more common for men to be defined with respect to their wives than the other way round. Such method could be implemented to counterbalance the predominance of the form *ab/ap* + male ancestor (i.e. “the son of”) both in the official registers (as surnames) and in bardic names.

c) proper noun (first name) + proper noun (place name), e.g.
Siôn Ewrop “Siôn of Europe”, *Wil Almwch* “Wil of Almwch”, *Tomi Harlech* “Tomi of Harlech”, *Jac Pen Bont* “Jac of Pen Bont”, *Ieuan Bryn Hafod* “Ieuan of Bryn Hafod”

d) proper noun (first name) + common noun in the singular, e.g.
Dafydd Menyn “Dafydd Butter”, *Margiad Pwyth* “Margiad Stitch”, *Idwal Leitning* “Idwal Lightning”, *Jack Sebon* “Jack Soap”, *Joe Wisgi* “Joe Whisky”, *Dei Dŵr* “Dei Water”, *Gari Wordob* “Gari Wardrobe”, *Howard Beic* “Howard Bike”, *Guto Pryder* “Guto Worry”, *Jac Corff* “Jac Corpse”, *Robin Soldiwr* “Robin Soldier”, *Ifan Brenin* “Ifan King”

e) proper noun (first name) + common noun in the plural, e.g.
John Blodau “John Flowers”, *Bethan Jygs* “Bethan Jugs”, *Bethan Cyrlls* “Bethan Curls”

f) proper noun (first name) + common noun + adjective, e.g.
Ned Stori Gron “Ned Shaggy Dog Story”, *Aled Pen Fflat* “Aled Flat Head”, *Glyn Cadach Gwyn* “Glyn White Handkerchief”, *John Pry Gwyllt* “John Wild Worm”, *Margiad Calon Fawr* “Margiad Big Heart”, *George Papur*

Newydd “George New Newspaper”, *Wil Pen Cam* “Wil Head Crooked to One Side”, *Tomi Crys Glan* “Tommi Clean Shirt”

The above formations all represent proper genitival constructions in Welsh where the lenition is missing in the second element. Lenition in the case of genitive is a productive pattern to be observed, however, in Middle Welsh.

g) proper noun (first name) + adjective, e.g.

Hefin Hapus “Hefin the Happy”, *Dafyd Dwp* “Dafydd the Silly”, *Iorwerth Hagr* “Iorwerth the Ugly”, *Madog Frych* “Madog the Spotted”, *Eirys Beriglys* “Eirys the Dangerous”, *Hywel Fain* “Hywel the Thin”, *Meri Sleif* “Meri the Sly”, *Jane Wirion* “Jane the Innocent/Foolish”

h) proper noun (first name/surname) + definite article *y/yr* + common noun, e.g.

Robert yr Oen “(The) Robert the Lamb”, *Hefin yr Afanc* “(The) Hefin the Beaver”, *Chris Y Brenin* “(The) Chris the King”, *Dic Yr Hafod* “(The) Dic the Summer Pasture”, *Harold y Wats* “(The) Harold the Watch”, *Ifan y Torrwr* “(The) Ifan the Cutter”, *Jones y Bara* “Jones the Bread”, *Mari'r Gath* “Mari the Cat”, *Jones y Siop* “Jones the Shop”

i) proper noun (first name) + cardinal + common noun, e.g.

Bob Tri Chwarter “Bob Three Quarters”, *Dic Dau Dad* “Dic Two Dads”, *Bob Un Glust* “Bob One Ear”, *Dic Dau Fol* “Dic Two Bellies”, *Tomi Dau Funud* “Tomi Two Minutes”

j) proper noun (first name) + verb, e.g.

Wil Sgrech from *sgrech* “to scratch”, *Twm Cloi* from *cloi* “to close”

k) proper noun (first name) + proper noun (surname) + verb, e.g.

Margiad Williams Golchi from *golchi* “to wash”

l) proper noun (first name) + verb + common noun, e.g.

Kitty Codi Sbîd “Kitty who accelerates”, *Sam Boddi Cathod* “Sam who drowns cats”, *Guto Gyrru Mellt* “Guto who drives (as quick) as a lightning”, *Irene Cachu Matshus* “Irene who defecates matches”

m) proper noun (first name) + verb + adverb, e.g.

Meri Piso'n Bell “Mary who urinates far”

(II) There are a few pre-modified proper nouns as in: common noun + proper noun (first) name, e.g.

Tyddyn Llywelyn “Llywelyn’s Small Farm”, *Bwthyn Betsi* “Betsi’s Small Cottage”.

(III) The postmodification of common nouns is less productive than in the case of proper nouns, and, yet, it occurs, as in:

a) common noun + adjective, e.g.

Llyfant Melyn “Yellow Toad”, *Traed Mawr* “Big Feet”, *Llygoden Fawr* “Big Mouse” (*Rat*)

b) common noun + common noun, e.g.

Mab Rhywun “Son of Somebody”, *Pen March* “Head of a Horse”, *Coesau Bwrdd* “Legs of Table”.

(IV) Similarly rare are Welsh nicknames which involve only common nouns in the singular, e.g.

Tecell “Kettle”, *Sŵn* “Noise”, *Parot* “Parrot”.

It should be noted here that the examples of III and IV additionally display the lack of the personal name in the applied secondary designation.

The scarcity of common noun-based nicknames in Welsh does not seem too surprising, however, when bearing in mind that the identifying potential of such referring expressions is greatly diminished.

Apart from their mother tongue, the Welsh employ the English language in order to arrive at alternative designations of people. The contribution of English is substantial, yet it does not overshadow the great bulk of nicknames formed through the use of the Welsh language.

Patterns comprising English lexicon are as follows:

(I) Post-modified proper noun:

a) proper noun (first name) + common noun in the singular, e.g.

Iwan Ring, *Dai Egg*, *Dai Cube*, *Mary Peninsula*, *Dai Sky*, *Tommy Bandit*, *Dai Echo*, *George Blood*, *Huw Champion*, *John Boxer*, *Meri Snob*, *Hughes Trash*, *Morris Yankee*, *Kenny Custard*, *Wil Fish*

b) proper noun (first name) + common noun in the plural, e.g.

Johnny Minutes, *Tom Cockles*, *Jack Flags*, *Sami Sticks*, *Helen Melons*, *Johnny Skins*, *Dic Points*, *Bryn Chops*

c) proper noun (first name/surname) + definite article *the* + common noun, e.g.

John the Box, *Morgan the Lawyer*, *Stan the Can*, *Ivor the Jiver*

d) proper noun (first name) + common noun in the singular/plural + conjunction *and* + common noun in the singular/plural, e.g.

Bil Cock and Hen, Arwel Butter and Eggs, Ivor Apples and Pears, Dai Book and Pencil

e) proper noun (first name) + cardinal + common noun in the singular/plural, e.g.

John Ten Coats, Willie Three Piece, Will Eighteen Months, Dai One Eye

f) proper noun (first name/surname) + adjective + common noun, e.g.

Herbie Good Boy, Dai Pretty Trousers, Dai Full Pelt, Ann Bloody Liar, Jones Busy Day, Lizzie Ann Old Face, Jane Cold Rols, Dai White Hunter, Dai Electric Hare, Johnny Odd Stocking, Fanny Spare Parts, Dai Quiet Wedding, John Bad English

g) proper noun (first name/surname) + adjective, e.g.

Mark Mature, Tom Evans Hard, Dai North, Maggie Elastic, Jack Divine, Dai Damp

h) proper noun (first name) + adjective + conjunction *and* + adjective, e.g.

Ernie Black and White

i) proper noun (first name) + verb + adverb, e.g.

Ann Walk Nicely

(II) Pre-modified proper noun:

a) adjective + proper noun (first name/surname), e.g.

Clever Evans, Sharky Davies, Sweaty Betty, Dirty Dic, Greasy Annie, Handsome Harry, Trendi Wendy, Sweet Wiliam

b) verb + pronoun + proper noun – first name, e.g.

Sack-em Jack

3. English nicknames

English nicknames are markedly different from their Welsh counterparts with respect to over-reliance on common nouns and a subsequent under-representation of proper nouns as revealed by the corpora studied here.

Contrary to Welsh nicknames, English personal designations in the majority incorporate common nouns, either unaccompanied or subject to premodification. Hence, the following categorization emerges:

- (I) Common noun in the singular, e.g.
Shrimp, Balloon, Tank, Sausage, Fury, Ginger, Dazzler, Giraffe, Chin, Bee, Thumper, Flame, Cane, Barrel, Pincher
- (II) Common noun in the plural, e.g.
Bumps, Dickles, Freckles, Carrots, Needles, Guts
- (III) Pre-modified common noun:
 - a) definite article *the* + common noun in the singular, e.g.
The Boar, The Master, The Professor, The Choirboy, The Gnome, The Maiden, The Crab, The Goat
 - b) common noun + common noun, e.g.
Plum Pudding, Drain Pipe, Razor Blade, Eye Balls, Fire Bucket, Fire Head, Jelly Belly, Pudding Pie, Steam Roller, Fuse Wire, Human Tank, Copper Crust, Glass Eyes, Action Man
 - c) adjective + common noun in the singular/plural, e.g.
Mad Head, Greedy Pig, Old Bags, Ruby Nose, Black Ditch, Hollow Legs, Crazy Horse, Admirable Doctor, Chubby Cheeks
 - d) definite article *the* + adjective + common noun in the singular, e.g.
The Long Fellow, The Merciless Doctor, The Black Panther, The Black Diamond, The Gloomy Dean, The Bloody Butcher, The Bald Eagle
 - e) cardinal + common noun in the plural, e.g.
Four Eyes, Two Brains
 - f) proper noun (place name) + common noun in the singular, e.g.
Birmingham Poet, Bristol Boy, Bideford Postman
 - g) definite article *the* + proper noun (place name) + common noun in the singular, e.g.
The Preston Plumber, The Jersey Lily

Proper nouns make a rare appearance in English nicknaming patterns. The available instances yet again point to the prevalence of premodified proprial expressions at the expense of postmodified structures:

- a) common noun + proper noun (first name/ surname), e.g.
Baby Charles, Farmer George, Finality John, Flash Harry, Prosperity Robinson, Dictionary Johnson

b) adjective + proper noun (first name), e.g.

Silly Billy, Tiny Tom, Hungry Horace, Black Tom, Radical Jack, Red Elen, English Solomon, British Cicero, English Achilles

Rare cases of a qualifier which follows the proper noun include:

a) proper noun (first name) + definite article *the* + common noun, e.g. *Guy the Gorilla, Dennis the Menace, Eddie the Eagle*

b) proper noun (first name) + common noun, e.g. *John Bull*

Genitival constructions among English nicknames seem to be restricted to *of*-phrases denoting the semantic dimensions of origin, possession and quality as in:

a) common noun + preposition *of* + proper noun (place name), e.g. *Beauty of Buttermere, Apostle of England, Bard of Avon, Man of Ross, Novelist of Wessex*

b) common noun + preposition *of* + common noun, e.g. *Bard of Memory, Queen of Hearts*

c) (definite article *the*) + common noun + preposition *of* + common noun, e.g. *The Lion of Justice, The Prince of Darkness, Bard of Hope*

4. Conclusion

The analysis of Welsh and English nicknames with reference to word classes that underlie these linguistic constructions gives important clues as to the function of nicknaming in both languages. Firstly, it becomes evident that Welsh *llysenwau* retain their identificatory function and come into being with a primary view of enabling unambiguous nomination of individual community members given the observation that the proper noun is the indispensable element in the structure of a Welsh nickname. This is harmed in a handful of examples only. In contrast, English denominations display a reverse trend, namely instead of the proper noun it is mostly the common noun that constitutes the core of the formation.

Secondly, what follows is that the linguistic reality of nicknaming patterns might be considered as more context-sensitive in the English language, while the inherent presence of official designations, i.e. the first/second name or the surname, in Welsh designations increases the autonomy of reference. It could be anticipated then that English nicknames would outweigh their Welsh counterparts with regard to descriptive content

employed to compensate for the weakening of direct reference as otherwise guaranteed by the inclusion of the name proper. Quite to the contrary, Welsh *llysenwau* resort to more flowery language, thus manifesting greater elaboration of form. English coinages represent a focus on succinctness and matter-of-factness which often creates the impression of a less or more official title.

Thirdly, in connection with the criterion of word order, it can be stated that the two systems typical of Welsh and English, namely VSO and SVO, remain by and large intact in more complex nickname formations. This observation is all the more valid given the linguistic landscape of the British Isles with the English language functioning as the dominating and Welsh as the dominated language. The native tongue of Welshmen retains the internal structure of Welsh noun phrases in coined nicknames. What prevails, therefore, is the postmodification of proper nouns by means of common nouns, adjectives as well as verb phrases. The instances or premodified proper nouns are restricted to genitive constructions, also Welsh specific. The influence of English upon Welsh is reflected in English-based *llysenwau*, yet its impact is not as profound as it might be expected from a dominating language. Despite the code switching the Welsh persist in including proper nouns in their description of individuals. Moreover, alongside cases of premodification which are of English provenance such as *Sweaty Betty* or *Handsome Harry*, the Welsh word order is often also imposed upon the English constituent parts as in *John Evans Hard* or *Ernie Black and White*.

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FROM 'AMBASSADOR' TO 'WHISKY': A NOTE ON CELTIC ELEMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY POLISH VOCABULARY

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1. Introduction

This note discusses elements of Celtic origin present in contemporary Polish vocabulary. Polish did not have any direct contacts with the Celtic languages, however, some elements of Celtic (i.e. Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Welsh, Breton) origin entered it via other languages, especially English and French. Additionally, several early borrowings from Continental Celtic spread through Latin, and subsequently the Romance languages, to other languages, including Polish, thus becoming internationalisms of Celtic origin. For the purpose of this note all such indirect borrowings will be referred to as 'Celtic elements in Polish vocabulary'.¹

Section 2 of this note presents the more recent borrowings from Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Welsh and Breton, whereas section 3 lists the ancient Celtic elements which found their way into Polish (and numerous other modern languages).

2. Celtic elements in Polish vocabulary

This section lists the items of Celtic origin present in Polish vocabulary. All of them are mentioned in *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego PWN* (Dubisz 2004), however only one of them, i.e. *menhir*, is identified as Celtic in origin, in other instances the entries point to the English, French or Latin sources. Interestingly, the recent dictionary of English borrowings in Polish (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2010), mentions the Celtic origin of *klan*, *kromlech*, *pled*, *slogan*, *torys*, *whisky*, other words from the list below are either considered as English (*pled*), or absent from the dictionary.

¹ Ancient Celto-Slavic linguistic connections are investigated in Stalmaszczyk & Witczak (1995), and Falileyev (1999-2000; 2001-2002). For a discussion of Celtic influences upon English vocabulary, see Stalmaszczyk (2005; 2009), and the references therein. Zabrocki (1963), Evans (1981), and Hickey (1995) discuss early Celto-Germanic linguistic contacts.

Every headword is followed by short explanation in Polish, the English or French equivalent (as given in the dictionary), and the Celtic source word (with appropriate meaning):²

- bard** ‘celtycki poeta i pieśniarz dworski; poeta, piewca, wieszcz’ < Fr. *barde* (< E *bard* ‘a tribal poet-singer’ < Sc.G *bàrd* ‘poet, rhymer’);
- bizuteria** ‘wyroby z metali szlachetnych i drogich kamieni; kosztowności’ < Fr. *bijouterie* ‘jewellery’ (< Fr. *bijou* ‘jewel’ < B *bizoù* ‘jewelled ring’ < B *biz* ‘finger’);
- dolmen** ‘grobowiec z okresu neolitu zbudowany z pionowo ustawionych głazów, przykryty płaskim blokiem kamiennym’ < E *dolmen* (< Fr. *dolmen* ‘a prehistoric stone monument’, most probably a French neologism based on two Breton words: *taol* ‘table’ + *maen* ‘stone’);
- druid** ‘celtycki kapłan i wróżbita’ < Lat. *druides* (< E *druid* ‘ancient Celtic priest’ < OE *dry* ‘magician, sorcerer’ < OIr. *druí*, pl. *druid* ‘magician’);
- drumlin** ‘podłużny, niewysoki pagórek pochodzenia lodowcowego’ < E ‘a mound of glacial gravel’ (< Ir. *druimín* ‘low ridge, slight elevation’ < diminutive of *druim* ‘back, ridge, hill’);
- flanella** ‘tkanina wełniana’ < Fr. *flanelle* (< E *flannel* ‘a woven cloth of wool’ < W *gwlân* ‘wool’);
- klan** ‘wspólnota rodowa’ < E *clan* ‘a group of people with common descent’ (< Sc.G *clann* ‘children’ < OIr. *cland* ‘offspring’ < Lat. *planta* ‘plant, sprout’, cf. W *plant* ‘children’);
- kromlech** ‘krag z pionowo ustawionych bloków kamiennych’ < Fr., E *cromlech* ‘a prehistoric monument’ (< W *cromlech* < *crom* f. form of *crwm* ‘bowed, arched’ + *llech* ‘flat stone’);
- menhir** ‘pionowo ustawiony blok kamienny’ < B *maen* ‘stone’ + *hir* ‘long’ (cf. E *menhir*, Fr. *menhir* ‘a single upright stone monument’, this word is, similarly to *dolmen*, a French archaeological neologism);
- pingwin** ‘ptak o czarno-białym upierzeniu, zamieszkujący Antarktydę’ < G *Pinguin*, E *penguin* (< W *pen* ‘head’ + *gwyn* ‘white’);
- pled** ‘wełniane kraciaste okrycie’ < E *plaid* ‘a rectangular garment; a woollen scarf’ (< Sc.G *plaide* ‘blanket’);

² Simplified etymologies used throughout this note are based on appropriate entries in MacLennan (1925), Onions (1966), Vendryes (1959-1996), and Lambert (1994). I disregard here proper names such as e.g. *Irlandia* ‘Ireland’, and derived forms, e.g. *osjaniczny* ‘Ossianic’ (< Pol. *Osjan* < E *Ossian* < Sc.G *Oisín*), or words such as *kambr* ‘Cambrian’ and *dewon* ‘Devon’.

- slogan** ‘hasło reklamowe; oklepany frazes’ < E *slogan* ‘an attention-getting phrase; a war cry’ (< Sc.G *sluagh-ghairm* ‘a war cry of a clan’ < *sluagh* ‘army’ + *ghairm* ‘shout, cry’);
- torys** ‘członek partii konserwatywnej’ < E *Tory*, pl. *Tories* ‘member of the Conservative Party; earlier: an Irish outlaw’ (< Ir. *tóraí* ‘pursuer, hunter’, *tóir* ‘pursuit’);
- whisky** ‘wódka wytrawna produkowana ze spirytusu zbożowego’ < E *whisky* (< Sc.G *uisge beatha* ‘water of life’; E *whiskey* < Ir. *uisce beatha* ‘water of life’).

It is sometimes difficult to assess whether the given borrowing is ultimately of Irish or Scottish Gaelic origin. As can be seen from the above list, eight Polish words have their origin in these two languages: *bard*, *druid*, *drumlin*, *klan*, *pled*, *slogan*, *torys* and *whisky*. The word *klan*, so characteristic of the Celtic social organisation, is in fact an early Latin loan in Irish, with Latin /p/ changing into Old Irish /k/: Lat. *planta* > OIr. *cland*.³ Another well-known Celtic internationalism, *whisky* (Sc.G *uisge beatha*, Ir. *uisce beatha*) is an example of loan translation from Latin *aqua vitae* ‘water of life’ (cf. Polish *okowita* id.). Welsh contributed four words: one simple lexeme *flanella*, and two original Welsh compounds: *kromlech* and *pingwin*.⁴ Breton contributed (through French) three terms: *bizuteria*, *dolmen*, and *menhir*, though the later two are in fact French archaeological neologisms.

Of the 14 above listed items, 4 belong to specialised terminology (*dolmen*, *drumlin*, *kromlech*, *menhir*), further 4 retain their broad Celtic associations (*bard*, *druid*, *klan*, *whisky*), whereas the remaining 6 items have undergone considerable semantic changes already in the intermediate languages and their Celtic origin is visible only to specialists. Additional Celtic items may be found in Polish texts dealing with archaeology, geology, religion, mythology and folklore, these lexemes, however, cannot be treated as borrowings but rather as citation forms, or highly specialised terminology, e.g.

- brehon** ‘sędzia starodawnego prawa’ (< E *brehon* ‘a judge in early Ireland’ < Ir. *breitheamh*, id.);

³ Irish possesses also a later variant of this borrowing, with preserved /p/: Ir. *planda* ‘plant’.

⁴ This is not to claim that English borrowed a Welsh name for the penguin, most probably this term underwent some shift from the name of a bird with a white head (Great Auk?) to a different bird discovered by the sailors in the New World; cf. also the W name *penddu* ‘black-headed gull’. For a recent discussion of the etymology of this word, cf. Thier (2007).

- corgi** ‘walijska rasa owczarka’ (< E *corgi* ‘a Welsh breed of dog’ < W *cor*gi < *cor* ‘dwarf’ + *ci* ‘dog’);
- esker** ‘oz; akumulacja lodowcowa’ (< E *esker* ‘a ridge of gravel left after a glacier’ < Ir. *eiscir* ‘a ridge of mounds, or mountains; a glacial ridge’);
- geis** ‘kłątwa, zakaz’ (E *geis*, *geasa* ‘a taboo, an act of prohibition’ < Ir. *geis*, pl. *geasa* ‘a taboo, a bond, solemn injunction’);
- karn** ‘kopiec z kamieni’ (< E *cairn* ‘pile of stones’ < Sc.G *càrn* ‘heap of stones’);
- kelpie** ‘konik morski, zły duch wabiący jeźdźców’ (< E *kelpie* ‘a malevolent water spirit’ < Sc.G *cailpeach* / *colpach* ‘a colt; a heifer’);
- ogam** (also *ogham*) ‘rodzaj pisma alfabetycznego zaświadczonego w inskrypcjach’ (< E *ogam* / *ogham* ‘ancient Irish alphabetic system’ < Ir. *ogam* / *ogham* < OIr. *ogum* / *ogom*).

3. Ancient Celtic elements in Polish

Ancient contacts between Celtic and Germanic tribes resulted in a number of Celtic borrowings in the Germanic languages,⁵ similarly, the contacts between Celts and Romans resulted in Celtic borrowings in Latin (and Romance languages). Such words can be attested now in various languages and they belong to the earliest strata of Celtic internationalisms.

At least the following Polish lexemes can be classified as ‘ancient Celtic elements in Polish’: *ambasada* ‘embassy’, *ambasador* ‘ambassador’, *biret* ‘biretta’ (probably also *beret* ‘beret’), *bryczesy* ‘breeches’, *budżet* ‘budget’, *garota* ‘garrotte’, *gladiator* ‘gladiator’, *kamizelka* ‘waistcoat’ (possibly also *komża* ‘surplice’), *kareta* ‘carriage’ (and related forms: *karoca* ‘coach’, *karoseria* ‘car-body’, *karuzela* ‘carousel’), *lanca* ‘lance’, *rzesza* ‘Reich’, *wasal* ‘vassal’.⁶ A detailed discussion of these items falls outside the scope of this note, however, a brief presentation of two words – *ambasada* ‘embassy’ (and the related form *ambasador* ‘ambassador’), and *budżet* ‘budget’ – may show their history in relation to their Celtic origin.

The word *ambasada* ‘embassy’ is an 18th century borrowing from French *ambassade*, which comes from Italian *ambasciata*, borrowed from Old Provençal *ambaisada* ‘office of ambassador’. The Provençal form was derived from Medieval Latin *ambactia*, which in turn comes from Old High

⁵ On Celto-Germanic contacts, see Zabrocki (1963), Bednarczuk (1988), Evans (1981) and Hickey (1995).

⁶ Due to lack of a complete etymological dictionary of Polish it is not possible to verify the etymologies of all the above mentioned items. It is interesting to note that Bańkowski (2000) in most cases does not consider the Celtic etymologies of the discussed words.

German *ambaht* ‘officer, official’ (cf. Gothic *andbahts* ‘servant’, and modern German *Amt* ‘office’ and *Beamter* ‘civil servant’).⁷ The ultimate source is Gaulish *ambactos* ‘dependant, vassal’.⁸ The Polish word *ambasador* ‘ambassador’ comes from (Middle) French *ambassadeur*, from OF *embassator*, from Lat. *ambactus* ‘vassal, servant’, again ultimately from Gaulish *ambactos*. It is interesting to note here the related, now obsolete, Welsh word *amaeth* ‘husbandman, serf’, and the contemporary Welsh form *amaeth-* ‘agriculture; cultivate; farm’, which displays semantic specialisation of the original Celtic term (cf. also MidW *amaeth* ‘ploughman’, Evans [1994]: 27). Additionally, the Old English forms *ombiht* ‘herald; office; officer’ (cf. Bammesberger 1989: 172), and *ambiht*, *ambeht* ‘servant’ derive from Germanic **ambahta-*, and ultimately from Gaulish *ambactos*. As noted by Serjeantson ([1968]: 56) the word is common in OE, both as an independent word and in compounds, and in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* it corresponds to the Latin terms *minister* and *discipulus*.

The second item to be discussed in some more detail is the word *budżet* ‘budget’. According to Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 20) this word is one of the oldest Polish borrowings from English, attested for the first time in 1792. Polish dictionaries note that this word derives from the English form *budget*,⁹ MidE *bouget* ‘leather pouch; wallet’, which in turn comes from OF *bougette*, dim. of *bouge* ‘leather bag’. Usually the ultimate form is given as Lat. *bulga* ‘leather bag’. This etymology omits the Celtic origin of the discussed form which can be reconstructed as Gaul. *bulga* ‘bag’ (cf. MidIr. *bolg* ‘bag’, Ir. *bolg* ‘bag, pouch; belly’, MidW *boly* ‘bag; belly’, W *bol* ‘belly, stomach’, B *bolc’h* ‘flax pod’). This item shows the complexity of semantic changes across centuries and languages. A most interesting continuation of this old word was noted by Michael Traynor in the dialect of Donegal, where one of the meanings of *budget* survived as ‘a travelling tinker’s bag for holding the implements of his trade, hence a tramp’s bag’ (Traynor 1953: 39).¹⁰

⁷ For a brief discussion see Hickey (1995: 97-98). The Gothic noun *andbahts*, the verb *andbahtjan*, and the derived noun *andbahti* have several occurrences in Wulfila’s *Bible*, cf. the searchable text at Wulfila Project (<http://www.wulfila.be/Corpus/Find.asp>), where the word is translated as ‘minister/to minister’.

⁸ For details, see Lambert (1994: 186) who observes that French *ambassade* “est un mot qui a voyagé”. As noted above, also the word *vassal* (Pol. *wasal*) is of Celtic origin.

⁹ The contemporary – financial – meaning of the English word *budget* dates from c. 1733.

¹⁰ Cf. also Scots *budget* ‘a workman’s wallet’ (Warrack 1911 [2002]: 72).

4. Conclusion

This note has briefly discussed the Celtic elements in Polish vocabulary. In all cases these are indirect borrowings, referred to as 'Celtic internationalisms', which entered Polish mainly through English or French. Further studies are required to give precise etymologies of the presented lexemes and to find possible additions to the above (admittedly incomplete) list.

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Language names

B	Breton	MidIr.	Middle Irish
E	English	MidW	Middle Welsh
Fr.	French	OE	Old English
Gaul.	Gaulish	OF	Old French
G	German	OIr.	Old Irish
Gmc.	Germanic	Pol.	Polish
Ir.	Irish	Sc.G	Scottish Gaelic
Lat.	Latin	W	Welsh
MidE	Middle English		

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