# Ireland and its Contacts

# L'Irlande et ses contacts

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# WELCOME BY THE SECRETARY OF THE EMBASSY OF IRELAND TO SWITZERLAND

## Justin DOLAN
## Embassy of Ireland to Switzerland

Bhí áthas mór orm a bheith ann i Lausanne, in éineacht libhse, chun an Siompóisiam faoin Staidéir na hÉireann a oscailt.

It was a great honour for me to participate in the discussions of the Irish Studies Symposium, held in the University of Lausanne, an event where Irish culture was on display and the strong links of friendship between the people of Ireland and Switzerland were celebrated.

This has been an important time in the Irish-Swiss cultural calendar. In 2012 we celebrated the journeys made around 1,400 years ago by a number of learned Irish monks who were passing though Central Europe and brought their teachings, art and customs with them, from the shores of the Atlantic, The great Irish Saint Columbanus passed through these lands and his colleague Gallus, famously stopped in the area where a city and canton bearing his name were founded. He and other lesser known disciples of this early Irish tradition spread their influence around this whole region, returning the favour of those Celts that had earlier brought their culture and language from the area around Lausanne, to the islands on the fringe of Europe, centuries beforehand.

All those who attended this symposium were sure to have found a fulfilling programme, with themes from this ancient past and today's interconnected world all features of the discussions.

I would like to thank all of those who have assisted at putting this exciting symposium together, including those who travelled from other parts of Switzerland and directly from Ireland to share their knowledge of Ireland's rich culture with us all. I would especially like to thank Patricia Ronan for her enthusiastic approach to organising the symposium, as well as the Department of English and the Dean of the *Faculté des lettres* for offering the beautiful space at the University as a space to share and enjoy each other's cultures. The University of Lausanne continues to be a welcome friend of Ireland and has consistently shown its support of the teaching of Irish language and culture, as well as the deepening of understanding between our two countries. Finally I would like to thank the students and friends of Ireland in Lausanne and the rest of Switzerland for taking such an interest in Irish and Celtic traditions and culture.

I hope the result of the symposium will be that your interest has been sparked and that you get to travel to Ireland soon to discover its wild and energetic culture for yourselves, especially in this, the year of the Gathering!


Go raibh míle maith agaibh et merci beaucoup.

# LA SUISSE ET LE MONDE CELTIQUE : HÉRITAGES IGNORÉS…

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**Résumé**

La notion de « celtique » est aujourd'hui principalement associée par le grand public aux îles Britanniques et tout particulièrement à l'Irlande, à sa musique, ses pubs et sa langue « étrange ». Les Français et les Suisses d'aujourd'hui ont tous appris que « leurs ancêtres », respectivement « gaulois » et « helvètes », étaient des Celtes mais, sauf exceptions, ne se sentent pas celtes eux-mêmes et ignorent largement ce que ce passé celtique a apporté à leur culture, leur histoire ou leur géographie. Ce petit article n'a pas la prétention de faire le point sur les apports de la civilisation celtique dans les cultures européennes continentales, qui demeurent trop peu étudiés, mais se propose d'évoquer quelques domaines où cette influence est bien tangible, en se concentrant sur la Suisse, dont le bipartisme culturel latin et germanique a, plus qu'ailleurs peut-être, gommé les héritages plus anciens, en l'occurrence celtiques.

## 1. L'HÉRITAGE HISTORIQUE

Les territoires qui constituent la Suisse actuelle n'ont jamais formé un ensemble politique unifié durant la Protohistoire, mais ont presque tous appartenu au domaine celtique, c'est-à-dire de langue celtique, avant leur intégration dans l'Empire romain, achevée durant les dernières décennies du Ier siècle avant J.-C. Les Helvètes du plateau suisse, les Allobroges de Genève, les Séquanes du Jura, les Rauraques du coude du Rhin, les peuples valaisans (Nantuates, Véragres et Sédunes) et les populations lépontiques du Tessin appartenaient en effet tous à un même groupe linguistique, celtique, qui, nous le verrons, a considérablement marqué la toponymie de ces régions probablement celtophones depuis l'âge du bronze (IIe millénaire avant notre ère ; voir notamment Kruta, 2000).

L'histoire des peuples qui occupaient la Suisse comme nations indépendantes puis comme cités gallo-romaines (Civitas Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, etc.) est à l'origine d'agglomérations et de frontières qui se sont perpétuées jusqu'au Moyen-Age, puis aux temps modernes. Elle est aussi à l'origine d'un « fond de population » gallo-romain en large partie indigène, malgré l'apport d'éléments

germaniques burgondes et alémanes à partir du Vᵉ siècle de notre ère (voir Flutsch, 2004).

Progressivement élaborée de la Renaissance au milieu du XIXᵉ siècle, l'histoire nationale de la Confédération « helvétique » a eu recours aux Helvètes, et donc au passé celtique, pour justifier les limites territoriales de la Confédération, du lac de Constance au Léman. La bravoure des guerriers de cette nation, relevée par César, a parallèlement été exploitée pour souligner la valeur militaire de ces fiers ancêtres, ainsi que leur attachement farouche à leur liberté, mais la tentative d'émigration de 58 avant notre ère les a disqualifiés de la prétention au titre de « pères de la nation », au contraire des « Gaulois français ». La domination romaine est présentée dans les ouvrages d'histoire suisse comme un épisode civilisateur, bénéfique sur tous les plans. Les Helvètes se romanisent puis disparaissent au Haut Moyen-Age et avec eux toute référence au passé celtique de ces régions, désormais considérées comme alémaniques ou burgondo-latines (romandes).

La mythologie relative aux origines de la Confédération (Guillaume Tell, le Serment du Grütli, etc.) est placée dans un contexte de Waldstätten de langue alémanique, mais de nombreux éléments d'origine celtique ont pu y être relevés, comme la tenue du conseil des trois cantons forestiers sur une prairie retirée et, peut-être, la date de signature du Pacte de 1291 « au début du mois d'août », qui pourrait être liée avec la grande fête celtique de Lugnasad (nom irlandais), le 1ᵉʳ août, qui comprenait des assemblées et des délibérations politiques. Selon certains auteurs, ces traditions se seraient perpétuées auprès de populations principalement constituées de « Romano-helvètes » (Welsches) refoulés sur les hauteurs par l'installation des Alémanes dans l'est, puis au centre, du plateau suisse. Les territoires des cantons primitifs semblent dans tous les cas avoir été encore largement celtopohones jusqu'au XIᵉ siècle (Vouga, 1988), ce qui expliquerait la part des termes d'origine celtique dans leur toponymie et dans les dialectes qui y sont encore parlés aujourd'hui (voir *infra*).

## 2. TOPONYMIE

La toponymie est certainement le domaine où le passé et plus particulièrement la langue celtiques ont laissé le plus de traces en Suisse, surtout en ce qui concerne les noms de phénomènes hydrologiques et d'agglomérations. Le *Léman* < *Lemanos* « le Lac » (Sims-Williams, 2006 : 83), le *Rhône* < *Rhodanos* « le Violent » (Delamarre, 2001 : 221), le *Rhin* < *Rhenos* « le Rapide » < *\*rēnos* (Delamarre,

2001 : 217) mais aussi l'*Arve*, la *Venoge*, la *Morge*, l'*Orbe*, la *Thielle*, la *Sarine*, l'*Aar*, la *Reuss* et la *Limmat* portent, par exemple, des noms d'origine celtique. Il en est de même de nombreux noms d'agglomérations romandes comme *Genève < Genava* « l'Exutoire » *< Genaua* « l'Embouchure » (Delamarre, 2001 : 149), *Nyon < Noviodunon* « la Nouvelle Place forte » (Delamarre, 2001 : 136), *Lausanne < Leusonna* « la Rivière aux falaises » *< Lousonna < *lauso* « lauze » ou *\*lusso* « plants, herbes » *< Lausonius < lēmo-* « orme » (Sims-Williams, 2006 : 83), *Yverdon < Eburodunon < eburos + dunum* « la Citadelle des ifs (ou des sangliers) » (Delamarre, 2001 : 130, 134) et probablement *Avenches < Aventia* « la Source, la Rivière » (Delamarre, 2001 : 52). Plusieurs agglomérations alémaniques portent des noms de même origine : *Bienne*, *Berne* très probablement (Kaenel, 2012), *Soleure < Salodurum* « Citadelle de sel », *Zurich < Turicum* (peut-être de la racine gauloise *\*tur* « hauteur »), *Windisch < Vindonissa* (de la racine *uindo* « blanc » ; Falileyev, 2010 : 34), *Winterthur < Vitudurum < uitu* « saule » *+ durum* « fort » (Falileyev, 2010 : 240), etc. Certains cantons, en plus de ceux dont le nom reprend celle d'une agglomération précédemment mentionnée, portent également des appellations d'origine celtique, comme le *Tessin < \*tēk$^u$-ino-s* ou *\*tik$^u$-ino-s* « rivière sauvage » (Falileyev, 2010 : 216), *Zoug* et deux des trois Waldstätten : *Uri* « pays des Aurochs » et *Schwytz*, dont le nom, attesté sous la forme ancienne *Suittes*, semble construit à partir du radical gaulois *su-* « bon, bien », relativement courant en ethnonymie et en anthroponymie gauloise (*Suessones*, *Suagros* ; p. ex. Delamarre, 2001 : 239). Le nom même de la *Suisse*, dérivé de celui de ce dernier canton, est donc très certainement d'origine celtique et non germanique comme sa graphie pourrait le laisser supposer.

## 3. HÉRITAGES LINGUISTIQUES

Les éléments d'origine celtique sont relativement rares dans les parlers franco-provençaux de Suisse occidentale et dans le français contemporain, où l'on ne relève traditionnellement qu'une petite centaine de mots directement originaires du gaulois : *alouette < alauda* (Delamarre, 2001 : 31)*, ambassade < ambactos* « serviteur » (Delamarre, 2001 : 35)*, benne < benne* « char » (Lambert, 2003 : 190), *char < carros* (Delamarre, 2001 : 92)*, lande < landa* « terrain » (Delamarre, 2001 : 165), *vassal < vassos «* serviteur » (Delamarre, 2001 : 258), etc. La parenté entre le gaulois et le latin a cependant certainement conduit à une sous-estimation des apports du premier, par ailleurs à l'origine de termes argotiques peu étudiés, comme *bagnole* pour désigner une voiture, qui dérive du gaulois *benne* « char », ou *gourde*

pour une femme peu avisée, qui n'a pas de rapport avec le récipient mais découle de l'adjectif gaulois *gurdos*/*gurda*, « grossier, stupide ». L'importance du gaulois dans les patois des cantons romands est encore mal évaluée, mais apparaît dans certaines expressions comme « Ça va, le *talus* ? » du gaulois *talu-*/*talos* « front, surface » et par extension « tête, esprit » (Delamarre, 2001 : 244). Son importance semble par ailleurs assez considérable dans la structuration de la langue française et expliquerait une large part de ses particularismes au sein des langues romanes (« latin parlé par les Gaulois »).

La part des éléments celtiques dans les dialectes alémaniques fait encore l'objet d'âpres discussions entre linguistes, mais semble, en Suisse centrale du moins, être plus importante que dans les parlers romands. Des dérivés des mêmes termes gaulois se retrouvent d'ailleurs dans les deux langues comme les français *benne* et *bagnole* et l'alémanique *Bäna* « bagnole ».

## 4. US ET COUTUMES

Des traditions d'origine « païenne » se sont perpétuées en Suisse comme ailleurs en Europe occidentale, sans qu'il soit toujours possible de définir si leurs racines sont celtiques, germaniques ou communes aux deux cultures. La Toussaint/Fête des Morts, directement liée, comme Halloween, à la fête celtique de Samain/Samonios, le sapin de Noël (symbole de renouveau, associé au solstice d'hiver) et le lièvre de Pâques (symbole de fécondité) appartiennent parmi d'autres à ces coutumes d'origine « protohistorique » qui structurent et imprègnent encore profondément les cultures occidentales.

Ces « traditions ancestrales » sont également bien marquées dans le domaine alimentaire avec une opposition toujours présente (bien qu'en nette régression) entre une Europe méditerranéenne cuisinant à l'huile d'olive et consommant du vin et une Europe interne et atlantique cuisinant à la graisse animale (beurre, saindoux) et buvant de la bière. Déjà fameux dans l'Antiquité, les jambons, la charcuterie et les fromages gaulois font assurément partie des héritages les plus précieux dont notre civilisation est redevable au monde celtique ou, plus largement, à des traditions alimentaires d'Europe tempérée auxquelles ont doit également l'importance du chou et du poireau dans les gastronomies régionales. La fondue au fromage et le papet aux poireaux vaudois (avec sa saucisse aux choux) n'existaient pas au Second âge du fer, mais n'en demeurent pas moins le produit de traditions qui remontent à la période gauloise.

## 5. ARTS ET ARTISANATS

L'art de La Tène (Second âge du fer celtique) a disparu en Suisse avec la romanisation, mais ses dérivés germaniques ont été réintroduits dans nos régions par les Burgondes et les Alémanes et semblent à l'origine des entrelacs et d'autres éléments de l'iconographie médiévale et des arts populaires modernes et contemporains.

L'absence de valorisation d'une identité culturelle celtique en Suisse a exclu ces traditions artistiques de l'art officiel, dans laquelle Helvetia est représentée sous les traits d'une figure divine classique, proche de l'image de Rome ou d'Athéna/Minerve. Le personnage encapuchonné qui figure à l'avers des pièces de cinq francs de la Confédération helvétique porte certes un *cucullus* de tradition gauloise, mais conçu comme un costume alpin, reprise de l'imagerie de Guillaume Tell et des Waldstätten, qui demeure la source d'inspiration majeure de l'imagerie nationale. Si l'arbalète et la hallebarde demeurent les emblèmes nationaux par excellence, des éléments évoquant le passé celtique ont récemment fait leur apparition sur des insignes militaires, comme celui de l'Infanterie (porté seulement par les cadres formateurs), qui présente un triskèle laténien et un poignard du Premier âge du fer (découverte archéologique d'Estavayer, Fribourg), ou celui d'un régiment d'infanterie où figure un casque de la fin de l'époque gauloise (découverte archéologique de Port, Berne). Cette utilisation contemporaine d'une imagerie celtique recréée demeure néanmoins rare en Suisse et n'a que peu inspiré le graphisme commercial, à l'exception de rares reprises du triskèle pour des bières artisanales ou de l'hydromel. Quelques exemples d'utilisation de découvertes archéologiques gauloises ou de tradition gauloise peuvent être relevés, comme celle de la tête de statue de taureau tricorne de Martigny (étiquettes de bouteilles de vin notamment), mais leur utilisation désigne une identité régionale contemporaine plus qu'une référence culturelle au domaine celtique.

Nous ne nous étendrons pas ici sur les apports techniques des cultures celtiques à la civilisation occidentale, particulièrement importants dans le domaine de la métallurgie et du travail du bois. Les Gaulois ont largement contribué au développement du travail du fer et sont à l'origine de nombreuses innovations reprises par les Romains, comme la cotte de maille, le casque en fer ou la longue épée de cavalerie, qui poursuivront leur évolution jusqu'à la Renaissance et au-delà. Les outils en fer déjà très diversifiés employés par les Gaulois sont par ailleurs à l'origine d'une bonne partie de l'outillage employé depuis en Europe et ont été

repris sans grandes modifications par le design industriel occidental. Les apports des Celtes dans le domaine du travail du bois sont également nombreux et ne concernent pas seulement la tonnellerie mais aussi la construction navale et, tout particulièrement, la charronnerie, dont le développement depuis l'époque romaine est largement tributaire d'inventions gauloises.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

La Suisse, pour conclure, n'est pas « celtique », car les langues de cette famille n'y sont plus parlées depuis quinze à dix siècles selon les régions. L'histoire de son peuplement, ses frontières, les langues latines et germaniques qui y sont parlées, sa toponymie et, plus largement, la culture des populations qui s'y sont succédées sont néanmoins profondément marquées, nous l'avons vu, par un passé et des traditions remontant à l'époque où des populations de langue celtique y étaient établies. Le rattachement de ces populations aux domaines latin et germanique, excluant de fait une « identité celtique », mais aussi d'autres facteurs, comme la valorisation d'un héritage gréco-romain considéré comme supérieur à celui des « cultures barbares », ont conduit à une faible exploitation du passé celtique dans le discours et les arts officiels d'une Confédération dont le nom d'helvétique a toujours été compris comme une recréation érudite sans réel contenu historique, culturel ou ethnique. La christianisation a certainement aussi contribué à la disparition d'une identité conservée jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité, mais désormais « inutile » pour les populations concernées et dont les dernières traditions étaient combattues ou détournées par l'Eglise. En Suisse, cette perte de conscience n'a guère été compensée par le développement de l'enseignement scolaire, qui ne s'est jamais penché sur les apports du passé celtique et se contente souvent de rappeler la valeur guerrière, mais aussi l'imprudence, d'Helvètes présentés de manière plus distante que les Gaulois dans les manuels d'Histoire de la République française.

L'essor des connaissances sur la « période celtique » grâce aux découvertes archéologiques permettra peut-être à terme de donner au public suisse une image plus claire et plus concrète des liens qui l'unissent à cet épisode de « son » passé. Un développement de l'enseignement des langues celtiques, presque inexistant en Suisse, contribuerait certainement à cet objectif.

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# INTRODUCTION

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**Résumé**

**Au cours de son histoire, l'Irlande a été habitée par différents groups de population — des Celtes parlant irlandais, des Vikings, des Anglo-normands et des colons anglais — et le pays est entré en contact avec la chrétienté et avec des langues et des cultures classiques. Plus tard, les Irlandais eux-mêmes ont voyagé et influencé des langues et des cultures à l'étranger et ont été influencés par elles. Ce volume retrace ces contacts linguistiques et leurs origines culturelles.**

Dans son livre sur les contacts de langues, Thomason (2001 : 8) souligne que les contacts sont omniprésents et qu'aucune langue ne s'est développée de manière isolée. Un de ses paradigmes du contact linguistique est la Suisse ; un autre est le développement de la langue anglaise, et Thomason utilise la situation de la langue irlandaise comme un exemple de bilinguisme (2001 : 3, 4, 10). Les immigrations successives des peuples en Grande-Bretagne et en Irlande, facilitées par l'accès par la mer, ont mené à un contact de langues considérable au cours de leur histoire.

Le cas de l'Irlande est particulièrement intéressant car l'Irlande a subi des changements linguistiques répétés au cours des deux derniers millénaires, et cet ouvrage interdisciplinaire examine des contacts linguistiques en Irlande du début des périodes attestées à nos jours. Les premières attestations linguistiques existantes de l'Irlande proviennent de locuteurs de l'irlandais ancien, un peuple celte. D'où et quand la population actuelle de l'Irlande est arrivée est toujours une question contestée, et la possibilité d'une origine dans la région méditerranéenne est discutée. On s'est même demandé si on était en droit de considérer ces colons comme des « Celtes ». McCone (dans ce volume) apporte une réponse à la question de savoir si nous pouvons alors considérer les « Celtes » comme unifiés dans la mesure où nous plaidons pour un contact linguistique avec des Celtes, ou si la celticité est une idée plus tardive.

Au cours de la première partie du millénaire après J.-C., un commerce et des contacts linguistiques considérables ont eu lieu entre la population de l'Irlande et des groupes de population du pays de Galles et sur la côte ouest de la Grande-

Bretagne en général. Nous savons qu'il y avait des seigneurs de guerre britanniques en Irlande (cf. Sims-Williams, 2011). Il a également été prouvé qu'il y a eu de grands groupes de population irlandaise en Grande-Bretagne, principalement, mais pas exclusivement, au pays de Galles. Ceci est montré par la présence de pierres oghamiques avec des inscriptions irlandaises, par la présence de mots empruntés à l'irlandais dans le gallois et vice versa, par des références dans les listes de rois, et par des motifs littéraires communs (McManus, 1997 ; Sims-Williams, 2011 : 2-4). Il nous semble donc justifié d'affirmer l'existence d'influences linguistiques entre ces deux peuples. Le type de contact aurait correspondu à ce que Thomason (2001 : 20) définit comme le contact ente des peuples voisins, souvent par le commerce ou le mariage.

Une langue et une culture qui ont exercé une forte influence sur la langue et la culture irlandaise, même si peu de mouvements de population ont eu lieu, sont la langue latine et la pensée classique, qui sont arrivées en Irlande avec l'avènement du christianisme à partir du milieu du V$^e$ siècle. Même s'il est probable que seuls les groupes de population instruits ont pu utiliser le latin dans une mesure significative, Clarke (dans ce volume) montre que la familiarité de l'élite intellectuelle avec la langue latine et avec la pensée classique a eu une forte influence sur le développement culturel et linguistique de l'Irlande médiévale. Le type de contact qui s'est produit ici et ses influences culturelles sont également connus dans des contacts linguistiques anciens et contemporains avec une *lingua franca* d'éducation comme l'arabe ou le latin, ou, surtout ces derniers temps, l'anglais (cf. Thomason, 2001 : 20-1). Une présence plus immédiate que celle de l'apprentissage du latin a été fournie par les Scandinaves, qui sont arrivés sur les côtes de l'Irlande à partir de la fin du VIII$^e$ siècle et ont construit des postes commerciaux et des villes. Nous pouvons supposer que, en plus des hostilités fréquentes, c'est au départ surtout des contacts commerciaux qui ont eu lieu entre les Irlandais et les Vikings. Cela n'aurait nécessité que des contacts linguistiques occasionnels. Les contacts ont naturellement augmenté au fil du temps, cependant, avec plus d'interactions et des mariages mixtes entre Irlandais et Vikings. Cette situation est très fréquente dans les scénarios de contact linguistique après des migrations (Thomason, 2001 : 18). Le contact aurait conduit à une certaine quantité de bilinguisme et certains transferts linguistiques. L'influence de contact la plus forte, cependant, a bien sûr été exercée par les Anglo-normands. Les types d'influences linguistiques réciproques entre ces deux groupes de population ont subi divers changements au cours de leur longue histoire de contacts en Irlande. La situation de contact entre le normand français et l'irlandais est attestée par Hickey

(1997, 2011). Des contacts entre l'irlandais et l'anglais ont été discutés à plusieurs reprises. Les conséquences des changements dans le statut social respectif des populations anglaises et irlandaises sont discutées par Ronan dans ce volume. Ces changements de statut social des langues sont également responsables à la fois de la situation précaire de la langue irlandaise en Irlande contemporaine et du développement d'une variété distincte de l'anglais irlandais. La question de savoir dans quelle mesure cette variété anglaise irlandaise est alors perçue comme une variété d'anglais clairement distincte est étudiée par Walshe dans ce volume. Ce dernier étudie la présentation de l'anglais irlandais dans la culture populaire américaine. Une perspective inverse a été prise par Senn dans ce volume. Alors que l'étude de Walshe est basée sur la perception de l'anglais irlandais créée par l'immigration des Irlandais aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Senn (dans ce volume) montre comment la mobilité internationale ainsi que des normes d'éducation élevées peuvent être utilisées, et ont effectivement été utilisées, pour créer des langues mixtes à des fins artistiques. Il fournit des preuves de l'utilisation explicite du multilinguisme pour des effets littéraires dans l'œuvre de James Joyce. Dans le dernier article, Gerold Schneider décrit une investigation des traits de l'anglais irlandais, basée sur la partie irlandaise d'un corpus d'anglais international, le corpus « ICE Ireland ». Cet investigation nous montre le statut d'un nombre de traits typiques dans ce corpus de langue contemporaine, et il compare ces traits à d'autres variantes de l'anglais et montre comment ils diffèrent, utilisant des requêtes avec l'aide des outils de corpus qui peuvent atteindre une précision et un taux de rendement suffisant et en même temps sont faciles à employer.

Ce volume décrit ainsi les schémas et les conséquences des différentes situations de contact qui ont influencé la situation linguistique et culturelle contemporaine de l'Irlande. Il semble approprié que le volume, produit dans un pays également multilingue, la Suisse, doive aussi être multilingue, comprenant des études en français et en anglais.

Les articles de ce volume sont une sélection de présentations données lors de deux colloques sur les langues et cultures irlandaises, qui ont eu lieu à l'Université de Lausanne en 2010 et en 2012. Nous tenons à remercier l'ambassade d'Irlande en Suisse ainsi que la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Lausanne pour leur soutien lors de ces événements. Merci également à tous les collègues qui ont contribué à améliorer le volume en prodiguant généreusement leurs conseils dans leurs commentaires des articles, et au professeur Thierry Luginbühl, de l'Institut d'archéologie de l'Université de Lausanne, pour avoir mis en évidence l'importance

des Celtes pour la Suisse. Finalement nous remercions en particulier le Centre de linguistique et des sciences du langage pour la publication des actes dans ses *Cahiers*, Monsieur Antoine Bianchi pour son aide dans le processus d'édition, et Madame Marie Molina pour la mise en page et les réviseurs anonymes des articles pour leurs conseils.

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# THE « CELTS »: QUESTIONS OF NOMENCLATURE AND IDENTITY

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### Abstract

This paper counters doubts raised recently about the validity of the term « Celtic » as a linguistically oriented ethnonym with evidence that the ancient continental peoples so designated in classical sources did indeed call themselves *Keltoi* and with an etymology of their hitherto problematical name as a formation most unlikely to have been created after the Proto-Celtic period itself. Various attested designations of speakers of closely related « Celtic » languages in Ireland and Britain are then considered. Finally, a brief look at the modern revival of the term after centuries in abeyance leads to the conclusion that it remains valid, linguistically at least, despite various questionable uses to which it has been put since its reintroduction into academic and popular discourse.

## 1. *KELTOÍ*, *GALÁTAI* AND *GALLI* ON THE CONTINENT

The ethnonym *Keltoí* is attested first by Herodotus (2.33.3) in the fifth century B.C. and then by various other Greek authors such as Xenophon (*Hellenica*, 7.1.20) in the fourth and Polybius (1.13.4, 3.48.6, etc.) in the second. It is patently not a Greek word, and an element *Celt-* is actually seen in the names of a number of ancient Gauls such as Celtillus, the father of Vercingetorix (Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, 7.4.1; Ellis Evans, 1967 : 332-3). The inhabitants of southern Gaul called themselves *Keltoí* according to Strabo (4.1.14) and Diodorus (5.32), both probably drawing on a Celtic ethnography in a lost history by Posidonius, who is known to have visited southern Gaul (Tierney, 1960). Caesar, who campaigned all over Gaul from 58 to 51 B.C., cannot be lightly discounted when asserting that most of its people « are called Celts [*Celtae*] in their own tongue and Gauls [*Galli*] in ours » (*de Bello Gallico*, 1.1). The learned Greek antiquarian Pausanias similarly insists that « it was late that the practice of calling them Gauls [*Galátai*] prevailed, for of old they used to be called Celts [*Keltoí*] both among themselves and by others » (1.4.1). *Galátai* is first attested, albeit indirectly, by the Sicilian Greek historian Timaeus' reference to *Galatía* along with an eponymous ancestor *Galátēs* (Hofeneder, 2005 : 56-8) in the early third century B.C., and was apparently used in more or less free variation

with *Keltoí* by Polybius (e.g. 1.6.2-4) over a century later. The variant *Kéltai* attested in Strabo (e.g. 4.1.4), for instance, and borrowed into Latin presumably reflects the influence of *Galátai*.

*Keltoí* and *Galátai* cannot be mere « orthographic variants of the same word » (Chapman, 1992 : 33). Cunliffe is nearer the mark with the claim that « *Celtae*/*Keltoi* was the general name by which the broad sweep of peoples stretching from north of the Alps to Iberia were known to the classical world, and knew themselves », whereas « *Galli*/*Galatae* was a specific term applied to those tribes who chose to migrate to the south and south-east » (1997 : 2). However, his surmise that the name *Galatai* was somehow coined by Polybius as a Greek equivalent of Latin *Galli* is undermined by Timaeus' implicit acquaintance with it.

Writing in the sixth century A.D., Gregory of Tours (*Historia Francorum*, 1.32) refers to the destruction of « that shrine which they call Vassogalate in the Gaulish tongue [*quod Gallica lingua Vassogalate vocant*] » in the territory of the Gaulish Arverni. Given late Gaulish loss of final *-s* (Lambert, 1994 : 45), this looks like a combination of *\*Vassos* (cf. Gallo-Latin *Dago-uassus* « Good Lad » and Welsh *gwas* « young man, servant »; Ellis Evans, 1967 : 188-9) with *Galatias* or *\*galatis* « ferocious, furious ». The former would be the genitive singular of the toponym *Galatia* underlying nearby *Jaude* (< 12th cent. *Gialde*; Poisson, 1910) and presumably meaning « place of the *\*galatis* », while the latter would simply be the base form itself. Either interpretation would entail a native Gaulish term *\*galatis* readily explicable as a derivative of Celtic *\*galā* (MW *gal* « ferocity, hatred, enmity », OIr. *gal* « fury, valour, steam », also used as the verbal noun of *fichid* « fights ») by means of a pertinentive suffix *\*-ati-* (McCone, 1995 : 6-7) also seen in the likes of Gaulish *toutios Namausatis* « citizen of *Namausā* [Nîmes] » (Lambert, 1994 : 58-9, 84-5). Viewed thus, *\*galatis* would be a fitting native term for a young warrior prone to bouts of strength-enhancing battle frenzy, like a Norse berserk or Ireland's mighty Cú Chulainn (McCone, 2006 : 98-102; 2010 : 7-10), was simply adapted into Greek as *Galatēs* and was not an ethnonym in origin.

Livy (5.34) tells of a first migration into Northern Italy by a host of young Gauls led by Bellovesus. The Po Valley seems to have passed from Etruscan into Gaulish control during the fifth and earlier fourth centuries B.C., a contingent of Gauls famously going on to sack Rome in 387 or 386 B.C. About a century later, Gaulish hosts attacked Greece and passed into Asia Minor, where they troubled many Greek cities and settled a part of central Anatolia called Galatia after them. Justin (25.2.8-10) states, in his summary of the since lost *Philippic Histories* written

in the later first century B.C. by Trogus Pompeius, the Romanised grandson of a Gaul, that young Gaulish males were widely employed in the third century B.C. as mercenaries by Hellenistic Greek monarchs in the Near East.

If the Gauls' initial impact on the Mediterranean world was primarily a military one typically involving fierce young *galatīs* (the plural of *galatis*, inferred above) hungry for land or employment, it would have been natural for the Greeks to apply this name for the type of *Keltoi* that they usually encountered to the nation as a whole as *Galátai*. Although Celts in the East may eventually have begun to use it of themselves, their compatriots in the West still clung to *Keltoi* on the good evidence of Caesar above. The problem of Latin *Gallus* can be solved by positing an Etruscan intermediary. The first major people of Italy to encounter Celtic invaders, the Etruscans spoke a language that lacked a phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops but had developed intervocalic voiced allophones before undergoing extensive syncope around 500 B.C. (Rix, 2004 : 547-50). Accordingly *Galatis* could easily have been adapted into Etruscan as *Kalade* and then syncopated to *Kalde*. In view of admittedly sporadic correlations such as Lat. *gubernare* < Gk. *kubernân* « steer, guide » or Lat. *gladius* « sword » < Gaul. *kladi-* « sword » (corresponding to OIr. *claideb*, MW *cledyf*), this could have been borrowed into Early Latin as *Galdos* and would then (cf. Lat. *Pollux, Polluces* < *Poldouces* < Gk. *Polydeukes*) have developed regularly into classical *Gallus* (McCone, 2006 : 104-7). If so, Caesar was essentially right about *Galli* being a Latin equivalent of native *Celtae*.

## 2. THE ETYMOLOGY OF *KELTOÍ*

Populations still basically called *Keltoí* could be defined with greater geographical precision by adding the names of other peoples in the vicinity (Hoenigswald, 1990), e.g. *Kelto-lígues* (NW Italy/SW Gaul; Strabo, 4.6.3) or *Kelto-skýthai* (Black Sea; Strabo, 1.2.27) with Gaulish connections and *Kelt-íbēres* (Lat. *Celtiber-es/-i*; Strabo, 1.2.27 etc.) speaking a manifestly non-Gaulish variety of Celtic around the Middle Ebro in Spain.

It seems, then, that *Keltoi* was the name once used by virtually all continental peoples known, on good inscriptional and/or onomastic evidence, to have spoken what are now called Celtic languages in an arc stretching from Iberia in the West to Scythia in the East, and that Etruscans and Greeks were responsible for making an ethnonym of native *galatīs* originally referring to warlike young *Keltoi*.

Difficulties confronting previous etymologies of « Celt » (Birkhan, 1997 : 47-9) can be overcome by starting from Caesar's statement, which there is no reason to doubt (Hofeneder, 2005 : 209-10) in view of his long sojourn in Gaul and friendship with the druid Diviciacus (Hofeneder, 2008 : 37-41), that « the Gauls declare that they are all descended from *Dis Pater* and say that this has been handed down by the druids » (*de Bello Gallico*, 6.18). An underworld and its god(s) were liable to be hidden from sight and the well-attested root *$*\acute{k}el$* « hide, conceal » (Schumacher, 2004 : 394-7) certainly appears in the Germanic name of the underworld and its presiding goddess (ONorse *Hel* < *$*hal\text{-}j\bar{o}$* < *$*\acute{k}ol\text{-}$*) still surviving in English as *Hell*. It probably also occurs in *Sucellus*, a regular outcome of *$*su\text{-}kel\text{-}no\text{-}s$* « well hidden » or « good hider » (McCone, 2008 : 38-9). This arguably infernal Gaulish god is discussed by de Vries (1961 : 91-6) and accompanied by a three-headed hound reminiscent of Cerberus on one monument. In Proto-Indo-European, *vṛddhi*-derivatives (see Wackernagel & Debrunner, 1954 : 103-12; Darms, 1978 : 1-2) were adjectives meaning « pertaining to », « made of » or « descended from » their base, from which they were formed by adding an *e* to its « weakest » available stem (thereby lengthening *e* or *o*, if already present) and, if it was athematic, suffixing the so-called « thematic » vowel *-o-* to it. That being so, *Keltos* makes perfect formal and semantic sense as a *vṛddhi*-derivative of Proto-Celtic *$*kl\b{}tos$* « hidden » (< PIE *$*\acute{k}l\b{}tos$* « hidden », also seen in Lat. *oc-cultus*), later *$*klitos$* (> OIr. *-cleth* « was hidden », pret. pass. of *ceilid* « conceals » < *$*\acute{k}ele\text{-}ti$*; cf. OEng. *hel-an* « conceal » etc.; Rix et al., 1994 : 286). *Keltos* would then mean « descended from the hidden one », namely the Gaulish underworld god equated with Roman Dis Pater by Caesar.

The vocalism of a *vṛddhi*-derivative in relation to its base was simply [+ length] in the case of a vowel (*ē/e* and *ō/o*) and [+ *e*] otherwise (e.g. *er/r̥*, *el/l̥*, *en/n̥* and *em/m̥*), but this relationship will have been greatly complicated (to *ī/e*, *ā/o*, *er/ri*, *el/li*, *en/an*, *em/am*, etc.) by well-known Proto-Celtic sound changes (McCone, 1996 : 49-51, 59-60). Consequently *vṛddhi*-derivation can hardly have remained viable beyond the Proto-Celtic period and such formations are correspondingly uncommon in Celtic languages. It follows from the requirement of *$*kl\b{}tos$* rather than *$*klitos$* as its original base that *$*keltos$* was formed in the Proto-Celtic period and that speakers of Proto-Celtic actually called themselves *$*Keltoi$* « Celts » as descendants of the god of the underworld.

Far from being a Greek term for a vast ethnically and linguistically diverse swathe of people as claimed by Chapman (1992 : 30-2), *Keltoi* was the native

ethnonym of a linguistically rather homogeneous populations that had spread quite rapidly over much of continental Europe by the third century B.C. Earlier Greek and Roman failure to distinguish them clearly from other northern peoples was soon rectified by the likes of Caesar and Tacitus, once the Romans had made closer contact with Germani.

## 3. NAMES OF CELTOPHONE POPULATIONS IN EARLY BRITAIN AND IRELAND

It must be admitted that classical authors never call the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland *Keltoí/Celtae* or, for that matter, *Galátai/Galli*. The plural *Brettanikaí Nêsoi* « British Isles » is used in the second century B.C. by Polybius (3.57.3), whom Strabo (2.4.1) states to have been referring to an earlier work by Pythias, a Massiliote who claimed to have visited *Brettanikḗ* « Britain ». These look like derivatives of the ethnonym *Brettanoí*, which happens not to be directly attested until Diodorus (5.22). Shortly before him, Caesar in his *de Bello Gallico* had called the largest island *Britannia* (5.12-3), its inhabitants *Britanni* (4.21, 5.14), and the second largest island *Hibernia* (5.13) without naming its people, whom Diodorus (5.32) simply calls « *Brettanoí* inhabiting *Íris* [Ireland] ».

Middle Welsh *Prydein* points to native *\*Pritanyā* (Lat. *Britannia*), while Middle Welsh *Prydyn* « Picts » and Old Irish *Cruithin* indicate the presence on both islands of people called *\*Pritenoi* (Gk. *Brettanoí*, Lat. *Britanni*) or *\*Kʷritenoi*, which was either the original form before British $k^w > p$ or the result of Irish substitution of $k^w$ for a $p$ lacking in the language until the fifth century A.D. (McCone, 1996 : 69-70, 92; cf. OIr. *cásc* « Easter » < *\*kʷaskā* for Lat. *pasc[h]a*). An extension of *\*kʷrito-* « cut off », presumably from the Continent by the sea, would be a plausible Celtic etymology but a pre-Celtic origin cannot be excluded. Either way, Celtic speaking immigrants to Britain seem to have received a name connected with their new island home by a relatively early stage, presumably in place of some earlier designation that could well have been *\*Keltoi*. Subsequent restriction of *Prydyn* to inhabitants of the Scottish Highlands may have been due to displacement by new designations for the Welsh, notably native *Cymry* (< *\*kom-brogī* « sharers of territory »; MW *bro* « land, region »; cf. the Gaulish *Allo-broges*) and English *Wealh* (basically « foreigner »). Recent settlement by Belgic tribes, apparently speakers of a form of Gaulish, in the south of Britain was contrasted by Caesar with much earlier occupation of the interior (*de Bello Gallico*, 5.12-3). This

is the area referred to in Tacitus' casual mention of the similarity of British and Gaulish speech at the end of a survey of Britain's various inhabitants based chiefly upon dubious physical and geographical considerations (*Agricola*, 11).

Meyer (1910 : xv) had « no doubt that the bands of *Scotti* who made common cause with the Picts in the third and fourth centuries in harassing Roman Britain were also called *fiana* ». Old Irish *fian*(*n*) < *\*wēnnā* < *\*wēd-nā* (McCone, 2012 : 20-1) effectively meant « wild bunch » as a derivative of *\*wēd-u-* (> OIr. *fiad* « (wild) game », OBret. *guoid*, MW *guyd* « wild »; cf. *\*wid-u-*, underlying OIr. *fid* « (wild) wood », O/MW *guid*/*gwyd* « trees »; Matasović, 2009 : 408, 420). The Proto-Celtic term for a band of *\*galatīs* seems to have been *\*koryos* (OIr. *cuire* « band », Gaul. *Tri-*/*Petru-corii*) directly inherited from Proto-Indo-European, while *fian*(*n*) has no cognates outside Irish. The latter looks like a rather late prehistoric Irish replacement of the former (McCone, 2012 : 20-1) and so Meyer's surmise above seems unlikely to be strictly correct.

The Irish almost certainly borrowed their historic name *Goídel* « Gael » (pl. *Goídil*) from British *\*gwoid-elo-* (OW *Guoidel* « Irishman », MW pl. *Gwydyl*) < *\*wēd-elo-* referring to the type of *Scotti* mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (20.1.1, 26.4.5, 27.8.5, etc.) as wild raiders upon Roman Britain in the latter half of the fourth century A.D. If so, it can only have entered Irish after long *ē* had been diphthongised to *oi*/*ui* in British in the course of the seventh century A.D. (Jackson, 1953 : 330-5). An older designation may survive in the term *Féni* < (*i*-stem) *\*wēnīs* or (*yo*-stem) *\*wēniyī*, which often refers to free Irishmen in general in legal texts (Kelly & Charles-Edwards, 1983 : 133-4) and has a Welsh cognate in *Gwynedd* (< *\*Wēniyā*) along with [V]ᴇɴᴇᴅᴏᴛɪs (< *\*Wēniyātis*), the direct precursor of the later name *Gwyndot* for an inhabitant of the area (Jackson, 1953 : 188, n. 1; 551, n. 3), on a British Latin inscription dated to the end of the fifth century A.D. Since there had been early Irish settlement in the northwestern part of Wales so designated (Dillon & Chadwick, 1973 : 60-1), it seems likely that the name *\*Wēniyā* was created in the fifth century A.D. and originally meant « [land] belonging to the *\*wēnīs*» (cf. *Galatia* and *galatīs* above). As a probable derivative of a PIE root *\*u̯ei̯H* « strive after, pursue » underlying the rare MW verb *gwyn-* « plunder » (< *\*wi-na-*; Rix et al., 1998 : 609-10; cf. Matasović, 2009 : 412-3), *\*wē-ni(-yo)-* would have had an original sense « raider », or the like, probably as an Irish word used to name an occupied part of Wales but possibly a British one adopted by the Irish a couple of centuries before *\*gwoidel*. Either way, the relationship between *\*wēnīs* or

*wēdelī* (probably Irish and British terms respectively) and *Skotī* is reminiscent of that between *galatīs* and *Keltoi* at an earlier stage.

Scot(*t*)*i* is apparently first recorded as a name for the Irish by Ammianus (above), being also used by Saint Patrick in the fifth century and quite widely in Latin thereafter. Unlike *Picti* « the painted ones », it has no obvious Latin source and so seems likely to have been borrowed from Irish, where it apparently became obsolete not long after. The Irish *ā*-stem noun *scoth* « flower, pick » provides the key on the reasonable assumption that in Ireland a Celtic speaking upper class became known as *skotās* « flowers » or a masculine equivalent *skotī* as the « pick » of the population, this term then being borrowed into Latin.

Scot(*t*)*i* sometimes appears with *Aticotti*, who also seem to have come from Ireland and appear on no less than ten occasions as auxiliary troops serving in the Western Roman Empire in the late fourth-century *Notitia Dignitatum* (Freeman, 2002). Since it need not originally have been identical with Old Irish *aithech* « vassal » (Vendryes, 1959 : 54-5), the first element of Medieval Irish *aithech-thúatha* « subject peoples » may be reconstructed as *atiko-* and taken as an adjective formed by suffixing *-ko-* to the well-attested Celtic prepositional element *ati*. Its sense « ex-, former », as applied to people, could easily become negative as in the case of the apparently Insular Celtic *ati-wiros* « ex-man » (> MIr. *aith*(*f*)*er*, MW *adwr* « coward »). The adjective *ati-ko-* meaning something like « ex-, demoted » would suit peoples deprived of their full rights by subjugation to a Celtic speaking élite of *skotās*. Groups of such subjects and hence the category as a whole could then have been denoted by an early compound *Atiko-tōtās* contrasted with superior *Skotās*, thereby triggering a shift in the application of the term *Kʷritenoi* in Ireland. Be that as it may, Primitive Irish *Átiko-tōtās* would presumably have been borrowed into Late Latin as *Aticótoti* parallel to *Scoti*, and then become *Aticotti* as a result of an observable Vulgar Latin tendency to syncopate post-tonic vowels (Grandgent, 1907 : 99-102).

The status of *Scoti* and *Aticotti* as an Irish ruling élite and its subjects respectively in the fourth century A.D. would account not only for their twinning on Irish expeditions but also for the role of *Aticotti* as mercenaries in the Roman army, since paid service abroad would appeal most to the underprivileged (cf., for instance, Polybius, 1.68.7, on the significant proportion of slaves and deserters among Carthage's mercenaries at the end of the First Punic War). *Scot*(*t*)*i* seems to have acquired a geminate *t* under the influence of *Aticotti* before the latter fell out of use after the fourth century A.D.

## 4. THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Medieval speakers of what are now called Celtic languages in Ireland and Britain plus Brittany had no reason to regard the ancient Celts or Gauls on the Continent as close relatives. Latin *Gallus* was borrowed into Irish as *Gall* but connotations of barbarism rather than ethnic affinity soon made it a term for wild Viking intruders and then, after the Norman invasion, for any non-Gaelic settler from outside. « Celt » simply dropped out of use because the continental peoples once so named had been culturally as well as linguistically assimilated to Latin, Greek or Germanic environments in the Roman imperial period or its immediate aftermath and because *Celtae* was much rarer than *Galli* in Latin sources, although *Keltoí* or *Kéltai* was on a more equal footing with *Galátai* in Greek ones.

A further lack of any sense of particular ethnic affinity between the medieval Irish and British themselves is confirmed by origin legends first recorded in a Latin history of the Britons apparently compiled in the ninth century A.D. by a certain Nennius (Morris, 1980 : 19-20, 60-2), based as they are upon divergent choices between the two main starting points for such accounts in the Christian West at the time (Juaristi, 2000 : 99-109, 118-21). Having lost most of the Roman province once inhabited by them to the incoming Anglo-Saxons, the Britons understandably invoked an eponymous ancestor, Brito, and linked him with the prestigious Roman myth of Aeneas. He was later replaced by Brutus with a famous Roman name probably extrapolated from Isidore of Seville's unflattering suggestion that the British (*Britones*) were so called *eo quod bruti sunt* (« because they are stupid »; *Etymologiae*, 9.2.102) by reinterpreting it as « because they are of Brutus ». The Irish turned to the no less prestigious biblical account of Israel's exodus from Egypt by introducing a virtually eponymous Scythian, or *Scythus*, married to a *Scotta*, and an intermediate Spanish staging post doubtless suggested by the influential Isidore's view that Ireland owed its name (*Hibernia*) to the fact that « its nearer parts look towards Iberia [*Hiberia*] » (*Etymologiae*, 14.6.6).

In the early eighth century A.D. the Northumbrian monk Bede (*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, 1.1) divided Britain between the four linguistically distinct ethnic groups of English (*Anglorum*), British (*Brettonum*), Irish (*Scottorum*) and Picts (*Pictorum*), all sharing the ecclesiastical culture of « Latins » (*Latinorum*). The Picts faded from the scene in the following centuries as their now virtually unknown language(s) gave way to Irish and Norse in the Highlands, but the other three ethno-linguistic identities endured.

In Bede's day « British » could be applied straightforwardly to the language and inhabitants of Brittany, Southwestern Britain, Wales and Cumbria plus Strathclyde, where it had apparently been replaced by English or (in Galloway) Gaelic by the twelfth century. Around the end of that century it was still clear to Giraldus Cambrensis (*Descriptio Cambriae*, 1.6) that « in Cornwall and Brittany they speak almost the same language as in Wales […] but probably closer to the original British speech ». Despite increasing divergence thereafter, an awareness of these shared origins persisted in learned circles at least.

Although the charters of Scotland's king William the Lyon (1165–1214) still referred to « faithful subjects, French, English, Scots, Welsh and Gallovidian » (Smout, 1972 : 31), the term « Scot » had acquired its typical modern sense by the thirteenth century (Barrow, 1981 : 153). Soon afterwards Robert the Bruce could ignore his Norman ancestry and baldly assert in a short letter to the Irish that « our people and your people […] share the same national ancestry » (Barrow, 1988 : 314). Once his throne was secure, the so-called « Declaration of Arbroath », seeking papal recognition of Scottish independence from England in 1320, made the unprecedented claim that the *Scotti* had conquered Northern Britain directly from Spain, without reference to Ireland (Duncan, 1970).

There thus arose a difference of opinion as to which island was first settled by the *Scotti*. The Irish, of course, stuck to the original version enshrined in their *Leabhar Gabhála* or « Book of Invasions » (Carey, 1993) and the hardening of lines between Protestantism and Catholicism in the sixteenth century lent it added significance, to judge from the statement that « nine out of ten in the island are Catholic » and « say that Kingdom belongs to Your Majesty because it was originally Spanish » in the report of a visit to Ireland presented by a Basque sea-captain to Philip II of Spain in 1574 (Valdés Miyares & Tazón Salces, 1997 : 219). An authoritative revision of *Leabhar Gabhála* was completed in 1631 and it was a major foundation for Geoffrey Keating's history of Ireland, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, which quickly acquired classic status after its appearance in 1635 (Cunningham, 2000 : 218).

## 5. THE REVIVAL OF « CELTIC » AND « CELT »

« Celt » was still available to be picked up from classical sources, especially from the fifteenth century onwards as western scholars rediscovered ancient Greek literature. The Italian Annius of Viterbo gave Japhet a great-grandson called Celtes in 1497 (Piggott, 1975 : 124) and the sixteenth century saw the beginnings of a French interest in the ancient Gauls that was to play a significant and often politically motivated role in France's intellectual life thereafter (Juaristi, 2000 : 234-42). The Scyths had been the great barbarian people of the East in classical ethnography and, unlike their Celtic counterparts in the West, had continued to figure in the Middle Ages. Indeed, the Irish had adopted a Scythian ancestor early on, presumably because *Scottus* sounded like *Scythus*. By the end of the medieval period Germanic peoples were widely regarded as Scyths and the sixteenth century saw « Scythomania » in full swing (Juaristi, 2000 : 157-228). It is to be borne in mind that, « when scholars in this period referred to Celts and Gauls, they had no modern sense that these were linguistic categories closely tied to Wales, Scotland and Ireland » but « were variously arguing that the classical Gauls, Celts or Germans were their own ancestors and had spoken whatever language was appropriate to that ancestry » (Chapman, 1992 : 203).

The Dutch Scythicist Boxhorn did break new ground in the mid-seventeenth century with linguistic arguments for a close relationship between Gaulish and British (Juaristi, 2000 : 246). Meanwhile the term « Celt » came into limited circulation as an alternative to « Gaul » in accordance with an essentially classical usage still seen in a book by Pezron tracing Bretons from Gauls within a Scythian framework that was published in 1703 with the title *Antiquité de la nation et de la langue des Celtes, autrement appelés Gaulois* (Juaristi, 2000 : 247-8).

Lhuyd's attempt to trace the « original language » of the British Isles in his *Archaeologia Britannica* of 1707 not only placed the long recognised relationship between Welsh, Cornish and Breton as well as their more recently surmised link with Gaulish on a firmer footing, but also first demonstrated a close connection between Irish and British and tended, albeit inconsistently, to use « Celtic » as an umbrella term rather than a mere synonym for « Gaulish » or « Gallic », with its increasing French associations (McCone, 2008 : 27).

The union of the Scottish and English crowns in 1603 led the Stuart wearers of both to coin the new term « Great Britain », which was turned into a political reality by the Act of Union in 1707 and attracted terms such as « Briton » and « British » into its orbit, the resultant gap soon being filled by Lhuyd's « Celtic » in the works of antiquarians with a druidic bent (Juaristi, 2000 : 253-6; McCone, 2008 : 27). The romantic appeal of Macpherson's works, which he published in the 1760s and fraudulently claimed to have translated from ancient Gaelic originals by Ossian, helped to fuel emergent « Celtomania » in Europe (Juaristi, 2000 : 253-6). Ireland, however, remained largely immune, not least because of resentment at Macpherson's denigration of Irish culture, along with the appropriation of the heroic *Fianna* for Scotland (Juaristi, 2000 : 267-9). Although the traditional connection with Spanish coreligionists initially retained its appeal in the face of the proposed link with the Protestant Welsh and Ledwich had been attacked for espousing Celtic origins in 1790, the likewise Protestant but fervently nationalist Thomas Davis managed to establish « Celt » as a synonym for the Gaelic Irish by the middle of the nineteenth century (Comerford, 2003 : 69-70).

« Celt » or « Celtic » had thus gained fairly general currency as labels applicable not only to certain ancient continental peoples but also to the inhabitants of areas where a Gaelic or a British language was still or had recently been spoken. Further encroachment by English in Ireland, the Isle of Man, Northern Scotland, Wales and Cornwall or by French in Brittany has since resulted in the traditional local idiom being no longer spoken by a majority of those living within their boundaries and often still regarded as Celts by themselves and others. Once language was not insisted upon as an essential criterion, a Celtic identity could be claimed in regions where no Celtic idiom had been spoken since ancient times, as by some Romance-speaking Gallegos whose name continues that of the presumably Celtic Gallaeci inhabiting the Spanish province of Galicia in Antiquity. Switzerland's former Celtic inhabitants, the Helvetii, were the basis for the seventeenth-century creation of a female symbol for the Swiss Federation named Helvetia, who appears regularly on Swiss coins and postage stamps, and have since provided the abbreviation CH (*Confoederatio Helvetica*) as a further means of avoiding the cumbersome claims of several national languages where space is limited.

The ancient Celts' remoteness in time and politically un-centralised occupation of a large area leaves scope for the imagination, as does the marginal location of most modern speakers of Celtic languages on Europe's Atlantic seaboard.

Accordingly, they have been given many different roles in relation to language, culture, politics or even religion on levels ranging from the local or regional to the national or even European. Their potential as a prototype of cultural and political harmony over much of what is now the EU has, for instance, been exploited in the volume accompanying the major 1991 exhibition in Venice entitled *I Celti: la prima Europa* in Italian and *The Celts: the Origins of Europe* in English. The foreword to this refers to « the great impending process of the unification of western Europe, a process that pointed eloquently to the truly unique aspect of Celtic civilization, namely its being the first historically documented civilization on a European scale » (Moscati et al., 1991 : 14).

## 6. CHALLENGES TO THE « CELTIC CONSTRUCT », AND THE INDO-EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK

The Celtic identity constructed over the last three centuries has developed extensive ramifications with the help of romanticism, prejudice, wishful thinking or sheer fantasy in various proportions. It is small wonder that a reaction set in a couple of decades ago, when Chapman (1992) and James (1999) impugned « Celt(ic) » as a modern construct lacking a real historical foundation.

One is bound to agree with them that the medieval or modern populations concerned are hardly « Celtic » in any meaningful biological, in effect racial, sense. Not only is considerable genetic continuity with older Neolithic populations on Europe's Atlantic fringe demonstrated by recent samplings of DNA, but simplistic correlations between language and genetic makeup are also undermined by the recurring phenomenon of language shift. Hence « Celt(ic) » is inadmissible as a racially oriented term, but hardly more so than many other ethno-linguistic labels.

Its complete lack of currency in the Middle Ages also calls into question the common practice of applying the label « Celtic » to the medieval kingdoms, Christianity, society, literature, art or the like, of Ireland, parts of Britain and Brittany (e.g. Dillon & Chadwick, 1973). This back-projection of an essentially modern concept tends to detract from profound political and cultural affinities and interaction within the British Isles, including Anglo-Saxon England. This matrix might be more suitably termed « insular » without thereby denying a significant broader European input or the existence of the broadly « Irish », « British », « Pictish » and « English » regional variants identified by Bede (above).

That said, sceptics are on much shakier ground in questioning the validity of « Celtic » as a linguistic term, chiefly on account of the Indo-European hypothesis established and conclusively validated in the nineteenth century. Whatever their inadequacies by today's standards, works by Prichard (1831), Pictet (1837) and Bopp (1838) largely dispelled doubts about the Celtic family's Indo-European credentials. The foundations for the scientific study of its earliest attested stages, especially Old Irish, were then laid by Zeuss (1853), while further progress in comparative Indo-European linguistics led to and in turn flowed from the rigorous « Neogrammarian » approach initiated in the 1870s. Both strands converged in Pedersen's great work (1909, 1913) and subsequent advances in historical Celtic and Indo-European linguistics include a significant increase in information about ancient Continental Celtic, thanks to inscriptions discovered in recent decades.

As a result, it is a firmly established scientific fact that Irish or Goedelic and British or Brythonic belong with Gaulish and Celtiberian to a well-defined language family conventionally called Celtic, after Lhuyd, and itself a subgroup of the large Indo-European family. This is a serious stumbling block that revisionists like Chapman and James must try to negotiate.

In addition to expressing utterly unfounded doubts about the linguistic affiliation of the ancient Celts, both suggest that « Celtic » was hardly an automatic choice as the modern umbrella term. The obvious reply is Shakespeare's « What's in a name? ». One might as well question the conventional modern labels « Germanic » and « Indo-European » on the grounds that their respective speakers cannot possibly have called themselves by the Latin word *Germani* and a term reflecting a much later expansion. Indeed, « Celtic » or « Celt » is more valid than these and other similarly established terms such as (American) « Indian », insofar as speakers of the reconstructed « Proto-Celtic » language apparently called themselves *Keltoi*.

Since people were the only effective means of spreading a language in the absence of modern mass media and Celtic speech apparently emerged in continental Europe around the turn of the first millennium B.C., its subsequent presence in Britain and Ireland must be put down to the migration of Celtic speakers thither from the Continent. That said, the incomers' numbers need not have been unduly large, if they established themselves as a dominant elite liable to be imitated by their more numerous subjects.

# 7. CONCLUSION

To conclude, in the centuries before Christ's birth peoples generally calling themselves *Keltoi* and speaking closely related languages occupied a broad arc of territory from Iberia to Asia Minor. Migration and invasion demonstrably furthered their expansion on the Continent, and can be safely assumed to have brought Celtic speakers first to Britain and then to Ireland. A distinctive subfamily of Indo-European can be identified as « Celtic » not only on grounds of well established modern usage but also because it reflects the name actually applied to themselves by speakers of its reconstructed « Proto-Celtic » source. Neither the reality of the linguistic continuity involved nor the unique suitability of « Celtic » as the name for it are open to serious doubt.

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# LINGUISTIC EDUCATION AND LITERARY CREATIVITY IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND

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**Abstract**

   **Texts in medieval Irish were traditionally used as a source from which to excavate the remnants of a radically ancient language and world-view – Celtic, oral, pre-Christian, ultimately Indo-European. In the past twenty years a new perspective has become dominant, emphasising the sophisticated contemporary concerns of the monastic literati who composed the texts that have come down to us. However, the disjuncture between those two approaches remains problematic. This article attempts a new approach to the question, emphasising the educational and scholarly context of medieval Irish creativity. Many of the monuments of the early Irish language are part of an enquiry into the history of language and languages, in which Irish interacts closely with the « three sacred languages » and especially Latin; the texts' depiction of the pagan past of Ireland is oriented through a scholarly engagement with Graeco-Roman paganism; and some of the key discourses of Irish saga literature are influenced by the programmes and methodologies of the Latin-based educational system of the time, especially question-and-answer dialogues. The article applies this approach in a case study from the heroic tale *Tochmarc Emire*, « The Wooing of Emer », in which a riddling dialogue between lovers is shown to be directly related to the lore of the canonical glossaries of Old Irish.**

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Conventionally, the cultural history of any European language is seen as a movement from simplicity to complexity.[1] The language begins as something radically primitive, associated with an archaic world-view;[2] it develops into the familiar genre traditions – epic, hymn, historiography, didactic, personal poetry – with its integrity disrupted along the way by the introduction of Christianity; and it eventually moves either towards decline and death or towards stable life and permanency in the world of the modern nation state. The template example has long been Greek, but a variant exists for almost any language we encounter (cf. Goldhill, 2002 : 246-93). So one expects that the earliest attestations of (say) Latin or Norse

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[1] This essay has been shaped by the advice and insights of many colleagues, especially Abigail Burnyeat, Jacopo Bisagni, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, Brent Miles, and Pádraic Moran. I am grateful to Patricia Ronan and this journal's anonymous reader for their encouragement.

[2] Cf. Sweetser (1990) for a sophisticated and updated example of this approach.

or a Celtic language will take us back towards a time of primal simplicity, a time before the speakers of the language were in contact with the languages of their later neighbours, and ultimately, towards the holy grail of linguistic features or even phrasal collocations that go back to Indo-European antiquity.[3] Although we are nowadays encouraged to recognise that this kind of narrative is a myth born of nineteenth-century assumptions, the narrative itself has not gone away, if only because it reappears as a template for interrogating the concrete evidence piece by piece.

Irish studies are troubled by a particularly intense version of this problem. For the scholars who rediscovered the language and began the extraordinary adventure of publishing and interpreting its literature, the medieval texts served as a conduit for the transmission of a radically Gaelic world-view, from which in turn could be extracted phrases and motifs transmitted from even earlier ages, their antiquity and authenticity guaranteed by cognate survivals in other Indo-European languages.[4] Evidence of disorderly cross-influence or contamination from beyond that horizon, most obviously from Latin learning or the vernacular cultures of Ireland's non-Celtic neighbours, took at best a marginal place in the overall interpretation.[5] The vast majority of scholars now accept that this approach led to distortions and fantasies, and that for almost all of its knowable history the Irish language interacted closely with the Latin language and Latinate culture of contemporary Christianity (McCone, 1990, remains the classic statement). Nonetheless, the full implications of this are not always realised, and monastic intellectualism is too easily seen merely as an aspect that accompanies or competes with the transmission of more ancient realities. In this paper I will explore some of the new directions that open up when this language and its literature are treated not as the embodiment of tradition but as a reflexive commentary upon it.

Treating a similar issue in the study of ancient myth, Marcel Detienne set up a theoretical dichotomy between what he labels *exegesis* and *interpretation*:

> The exegesis is the unceasing and also immediate commentary that a culture arrogates of its symbolism, of its practices, of everything that makes up its living culture. A parasitic word, seizing everything it can evoke, exegesis proliferates

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[3] Influential recent works that imply explicit or covert acceptance of this paradigm include Watkins (1995), and West (2007).

[4] For the famous example of kingship and its rituals in Ireland and ancient India, see most recently Doherty (2005).

[5] For an exuberant and still influential experiment in this mode see Rees & Rees (1961), and compare Mac Cana (2011).

from within; it is a word that nurtures and fosters the growth of the tradition to which it attaches itself and from which it derives its own substance […] Interpretation arises when there is distance and perspective from without on tradition based on memory […] For interpretation to begin it is necessary to begin to have a discussion, to begin to criticise tradition. (Detienne, 1986 [1981] : 68)[6]

Exegesis in this sense is practised by the participant in traditional discourses; interpretation is practised by cultural outsiders who seek to understand them and export their meanings into the intellectual frameworks of their own quite different world. Pursuing this contrast, virtually all the surviving literature of Ireland deserves to be assigned to the latter category; and this is especially true when its authors treat of the origins of Irish culture itself, including language, literature and real or invented history. This is because the self-representation of the Irish *literati* was bound up with the study and interpretation of the Latin language and of Latinate literature and cosmology. This outward-looking perspective frames and conditions the representation of pre-Christian Ireland, even in texts that purport to present authentic and unmediated traditions of the past. As I will try to show, our texts are the record of sophisticated engagement with linguistics and cultural history as subjects of study in their own right, and much if not all of the literature needs to be understood in terms of that activity. Texts that we use as evidence for language may be the record of an experiment in linguistic science; texts where we seek fragments of knowledge about pre-Christian beliefs and practices may in fact be a reflection of the established practices of interpreting old stories in the light of Graeco-Roman mythology and of tracing the movement from paganism to Christianity in the grand scheme of Classical and Biblical world history.

## 2. TRANSLATION AND SEMANTICS IN THE OLD IRISH GLOSSES

My starting point is the fact that early Irish literature and learning were bound up with the world of the monastery, and that any text that we can read was shaped and transmitted in a milieu dominated by the concerns of monastic intellectualism (Charles-Edwards, 2000 : 246-81; with McCone, 1990 : 29-53, 84-106). It is now accepted that the monasteries were functionally bilingual, with Irish and Latin in

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[6] The terms are derived from Sperber's anthropology.

close symbiosis (see e.g. Bisagni & Warntjes, 2007; Johnston, forthcoming).[7] The implications of this for the study of the language are profound. Turning to our standard corpus of Old Irish, the assemblage of texts from pre-1100 manuscripts published as the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (Stokes & Strachan, 1901-1903)*,*[8] the great bulk of materials in this work are marginal glosses from manuscripts written in Latin: they elucidate, translate and extend the main texts in the vernacular language of the scribes or students who used them. The two volumes are dominated by three sets of glosses: the Milan glosses on a commentary on the Psalms, the Würzburg glosses on St Paul's Epistles, and the St Gall glosses on a text of the Latin grammarian Priscian. The Würzburg glosses from about AD 750, those of St Gall from about 850, Milan is from somewhere in between: together the three manuscripts show us language in action among travelling scholars (*peregrini*), drawn to Francia under the stimulus of Charlemagne's intellectual and educational programme.[9] This pattern of survival is partly an accident. Within Ireland itself the combined forces of damp, destruction, and neglect ensured that no book of such early date survived unless preserved as a relic or as the inherited responsibility of a particular family, and few books written in Old Irish have been saved here by those means (Sharpe, 2010). On the Continent the declining influence of the Irish *peregrini* after the Carolingian period made it unlikely that any record of vernacular writings in the language would survive except accidentally in the margins of manuscripts written in Latin. It remains vital for any interpretative strategy that the glosses are composed in such close interaction with Latin: very many of them, especially in Würzburg and Milan, give Irish translations of Latin words and phrases, and do so with a one-to-one equivalence between Latin and Irish vocabulary items that is remarkably consistent from gloss to gloss and even between the glosses and much later monuments of Irish. Thus the earliest monuments of Old Irish are a function of constant cross-mapping with another language, the language that was itself the focus of learned enquiry into human and theological truth.

A close look at a representative example will illustrate the depth of the implications. The Irish word *dásacht* and its close derivatives recur through the glosses matching words in the family of Latin *furor* and *amentia* – « frenzy », « madness » – and the correspondence is so consistent that one has to assume a

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[7] I rely here especially on Bisagni's ongoing study of code-switching in the Old Irish glosses.

[8] In the notes that follow, references to items in Stokes & Strachan (1901-1903), are listed with the standard referencing system, beginning with the abbreviated location name of the source manuscript.

[9] For a survey of this phase in intellectual life, see Contreni (1995).

close loan-translation relationship between them.[10] To « hand a man over to *dásacht* » amounts to putting him under the sway of Satan.[11] Such consistency – for which countless parallel examples could be cited – suggests a two-way mapping between Latin and Irish in the bilingual culture of the monastery, albeit one that may have been more close and consistent in theological discourse than in any other domain of language. It becomes truly remarkable when we find *dásacht* and cousins used as translation-words for exactly the same group of Latin vocabulary several centuries later in the homiletic texts of the Leabhar Breac, referring to madness or frenzy as demonic possession;[12] and in the series of great prose renderings of heroic saga composed in Middle Irish between about 1000 and 1200 AD, we find the word closely keyed to Latin *furia* in the mythological sense, as a female demonic being who seizes the mind and causes or embodies self-destructive madness.[13] The continuity suggests that for much of its early history the literary variety of Irish may have been in such a close relationship with Latin that the creative lives of two languages were inseparable from each other.

## 3. THE PROBLEM OF « DRUID »

This issue becomes particularly problematic when we consider words that *sound* like remnants of Celtic antiquity. *Druí* « druid » has a venerable past – Caesar reports the cognate term from among the Gauls of his time – and in Old Irish it is plainly an inherited lexical item, belonging as it does to the non-productive declensional group of stems in *-t* and representing a direct descendant of a compound reconstructed as *\*dru-wid-s* « he who knows sturdy wisdom » or with a more baroque semantic reconstruction « he who has knowledge from the oak tree » (McCone, 1994 : 112; citing Uhlich, 1993 : 110-3).[14] Yet our earliest Irish attestations denote nothing of this kind. In the Würzburg glosses the glossator explains that the signs that presage the coming of Antichrist will be worked by

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[10] For the correspondence between *dásacht* and *furor,* see Ml 34a21 (Stokes & Strachan, 1901-1903, vol. 1) and the Karlsruhe glosses on Augustine, Acr 4.36 (vol. 2). For *dásacht* and *amentia*, see Ml 18a13, 20b7. For *dásacht* and *insania,* see Wb 12d36 (vol. 1), Ml 60b2 and similarly for *insensati*, see Wb 19b3.

[11] For this equivalence, see the pair of linked glosses, at Wb 9b7, on 1 Corinthians 5:5.

[12] See for example Atkinson (1887 : 2160-818).

[13] See for example *Fled Dúin na nGéd* (Lehmann, 1964 : 289-91), where *dásacht ocus mire menman* is co-ordinated with the assault of the Fury Tisiphone, and *In Cath Catharda* (Stokes, 1909 : 4179), where *tri dasactaide ifirn* « the three Furies of hell » are named as an expansion of the Greek name of these beings, *Eumenides*, in Lucan's original (6.695). I collect kindred examples in my forthcoming paper (Clarke, forthcoming b). For a collection of further examples of *dásachtach* in later medieval narrative, see Poppe, (1992 : 84-7).

[14] I am grateful to Jacopo Bisagni for discussion on this.

*druid* « druids » (Wb 26a20, on II Thess. 2:9); and the Egyptian wizards who opposed Moses are *da druith aegeptacdi* – « two Egyptian druids » (Wb 30c17, glossing 2 Timothy 3:8 and referring to Exodus 7:11)? In these glosses the word clearly functions as the equivalent for a cluster of semantically overlapping Latin terms, principally *maleficus*, *magus*, labelling a pagan priest or magician. In the Middle Irish of *Saltair na Rann* these same Egyptian wizards are again *druidi* (3849; cf. 6777, 8339),[15] and the equivalence repeats itself in the sagas derived from Classical epic, where for example it names the profession of the Theban prophet Teiresias (*Togail na Tebe*, 1624; in Calder, 1922). Now the earliest accounts of the conversion of Ireland by Patrick are of course written in Latin, and there the pagan wizards who oppose the saint on behalf of the old paganism are consistently called *magus*; and in Irish texts the same individuals' name is correspondingly *druí*.[16]

Somewhere in this sequence of linguistic equivalence belongs the famous *Lorica* of St Patrick, long claimed as the saint's own composition. As he girds himself with faith to greet the morning, he calls for divine assistance against the agents of evil,

1.     fri sáibrechtu heretecdae,
       fri himchellacht n-idlachtae,
       fri brichtu ban ⅂ gobann ⅂ druad,
       fri cech fiss ara-chuiliu corp ⅂ anmain duini. (Stokes & Strachan, 1901-1903, vol. 2 : 357; lines 6-9)

    « against false laws of heretics,
    against craft [?] of idolatry,
    against spells of women and smiths and druids,
    against every knowledge that endangers man's body and soul. » (Bieler, 1953 : 71)

The word translated as « spells », *brichtu*, seems caught between a remote past and the present of its composition. A phrase precisely cognate with *brichtu ban* « spells of women » is attested in a magical text on a Gaulish lead tablet of the first century AD (see Koch, 2006, vol. 1 : 284), so that the phrasal collocation seen here apparently stretches back to the Common Celtic origins of Irish. It is paralleled

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[15] For this poem, see n. 24 below.

[16] The *locus classicus* is the confrontation between Patrick and the druids of king Lóeguire: see the *Life* of Muirchú, 1.16(15)-(21)20 (Bieler, 1979 : 86-99), with the corresponding narrative in the Irish of the *Tripartite Life* (Stokes, 1887, vol. 1 : 40-60).

elsewhere within Old Irish,[17] and seems to have had the status of an archaic formula; but at the same time the word *bricht* refers to a real phenomenon of early medieval life. In the Milan glosses the word labels the incantations that snake-charming magicians (*venefici*) sing to counteract the poison of snakebites (Ml 76a21, on Psalms 57:6). The *Penitential of Vinnian*, dated as early as 600 (Bieler, 1963 : 3-4), prescribes penances for witch or wizard (*maleficus*, *malificus*) that imply the certainty that such people exist and that their craft may be powerful (Bieler, 1963 : 18-20).[18] How are we to understand the *Lorica*'s « druids »: as a cultural memory of the last defenders of primeval Irish paganism, or as figures artfully constructed to be the structural equivalent to men like Simon Magus, the first occultist to oppose the apostles with his sorcery (Acts 8:9-24, with the apocryphal *Acts of Peter*; Elliott, 1993 : 401-23)? The latter is the choice to which the literature directs us when Patrick faces his enemies in person, as the parallel with Simon Magus is explicitly alluded to in the Latin versions of his Life (Muirchú, 1.17(16).5; Bieler, 1979 : 88).[19] The circle is closed when Simon himself reappears as *Simon drui* in the Middle Irish translations from the New Testament apocrypha (see Atkinson, 1887 : 1645, 1736), and likewise when he is named as the one who taught his occult skills to Mag Ruith, the archetypal malevolent druid of the heroic narrative cycle (text in Müller-Lisowski, 1923; modern discussion in O'Leary, 2000).[20] Whether Patrick is pitted against *druí* or *magus*, the same point is being made about the constructed history of Ireland and its place in the world. The opposition between saint and enemy is parallel to that between Moses and the pagan wonderworkers of Egypt, or between Daniel and the magicians of Babylon, or between the Apostles and the agents of pagan religion against whom they strove in the conversion of the Mediterranean world to Christianity.[21]

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[17] The word occurs in the early tale *Echtrae Chonnlai* in the contexts « spells of women » and « spells of druids » (6, 11; McCone, 2000).

[18] The still earlier penitential text known as the *First Synod of St Patrick* prescribes penalties against the *accusation* of witchcraft or vampirism that suggest a movement towards uprooting public belief in their existence (16; Bieler, 1963 : 56-57).

[19] A corresponding reference in the *Tripartite Life* has been obscured in transmission (Stokes, 1887, vol. 1 : 56; on line 17); cf. also the Latin *Vita Secunda* (36.1; Bieler, 1979 : 90-1).

[20] Interestingly, the archaic tonsure worn by British and Irish monks was explained by those who condemned it as an invention of Simon Magus; see Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (5.21; Colgrave & Mynors, 1969), and see Stokes, 1887, vol. 2 : 509, for references from the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* and O'Mulconry's glossary. In Tírechán's *Life of Patrick* (144; Bieler, 1971), when Patrick converts Máel the latter's hair is cut « in druidic fashion »; does this refer to the same identification with Simon Magus? See further James, 1984 : 86-7.

[21] See the important analysis by O'Loughlin (2003) in relation to the Biblical model at Daniel 3:1-24.

# 4. THE CONSTRUCTED PAST OF IRELAND AND THE WORLD

In this way, the (to us) ambiguous semantics of *druí* cease to be an interpretative problem, and become instead a path into the creative logic pursued by the authors of this literature. Their overall achievement is to construct for Ireland a sequence from archaic paganism via the wars of heroic warriors to the coming of Christianity and the integration of this peripheral Atlantic island into the mainstream of a world centred on Rome and Jerusalem. Looking more widely, this may suggest a way of explaining why so much of the Middle Irish literary corpus consists of renderings of Latin texts. In the centuries after the composition of the Old Irish glosses, translation in the most creative sense was an activity of high seriousness and intellectual depth, reaching from one cultural world to another and recasting the meanings of the source text in the codes and conceptual structures of the target language.[22] This can be seen, already, in the ninth-century poems of Blathmac, where the meaning of Christian redemption is recast in Irish legal terminology;[23] and in the subsequent phase of the literature it becomes the motivating theme of the series of poems known as *Saltair na Rann*, a rendering into Irish language and metrical patterns of the entire sequence of sacred history from the Creation to the Second Coming.[24] This extraordinary *tour de force* might be seen as a didactic or even proselytising work, designed to preach the truth of the Bible to the Latinless; but in its elaborate allusive richness it goes far beyond any such aim. It deserves to be seen as a sustained act of cross-cultural mapping, re-framing Biblical expression of revealed truth in the linguistic resources available in Irish for the portrayal of ancient history and high cosmology.

What applies to cross-cultural translation applies also to chronology, and an equivalent schematisation is explicit in the Annals, which co-ordinate the events of Irish history and pseudo-history with those of the great nations of the world,[25] and above all in the origin legend in the *Leabhar Gabhála* (edited and translated by Macalister [1938-1956]), which constructs a myth of wanderings for the Goídil that

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[22] I discuss this theme in Clarke (2011).

[23] The poems are edited and translated by Carney (1964); on the vocabulary of redemption, see Lambkin (1985-1986).

[24] The complete text with full translation by David Greene is accessible at http://www.dias.ie/index.php?option=com_content&id=4742. For the opening sections see also Carey (2000 : 24-50); for other sections, Greene, Kelly & Murdoch (1976).

[25] See especially the *Annals of Tigernach* (Stokes, 1993 [1895-1896]), and for general analysis McCarthy (2008).

takes them across the early medieval map of the world from Scythia in the East via Egypt, the Mediterranean and Spain to Ireland itself.[26] This narrative enmeshes the origin story of the Goídil with the origin legends of the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Franks and British, placing the ancestors of the Irish in locations, scenes and story-patterns that resonate with the origin legends of the top nations of contemporary Europe: kin-slaying in the eastern world, exile at Pharaoh's court, wandering in the Maeotic marshes, sailing the Mediterranean in search of a new home, resisting the sirens' songs by stuffing their ears with wax like Ulysses' men. Such correspondences serve to set up a meaningful correlation between the human origins of this peripheral island and those of the heartlands of European identity.[27]

A complementary though structurally distinct kind of narrative is constructed for the Irish legal system in the (probably eleventh-century) Pseudo-Historical Prologue to the great legal compilation known as the *Senchas Már* (Carey, 1994; discussion in Carey, 1990). After Patrick has converted Ireland to Christianity, the men of Ireland face a problem that makes them unwilling to accept the new dispensation: the old system of reciprocal justice will become unworkable as the new doctrine of forgiveness is introduced. This problem, the disjuncture between the law of vengeance and the doctrine of turning the other cheek, is a recurring one in narratives of the Christianisation of the northern peoples (O'Brien O'Keeffe, 1991), but the solution arrived at in this text is remarkable because it leads to the validation of much of what lay at the pagan pole of the opposition. The men of Ireland put Patrick to the test, murdering one of his followers to see if he will forgive them; but a display of divine anger reduces them to submission, and Patrick himself wins the right to decide the issue. Yet he entrusts it to the chief poet of Ireland, *rígfhile insi Érenn*, whom he describes as « a vessel [*lestar*] full of the Holy Spirit » (4). In due course the men of Ireland arrange to display all their laws before Patrick, and under the chief poet's leadership the old laws are harmonised with Christianity, excising only those parts that prove irreconcilable with it. The result is the *Senchas Már* compilation itself. The text explains why this rapprochement was possible:

2.    Ar in Spirut Naem ro labrastar ⁊ doaircechan tria ginu na fer fíréon ceta-rabatar i n-inis Érenn amail donaircechain tria ginu inna prímfháide ⁊ inna n-uasalaithre i recht petarlaice; ar rosiacht recht aicnid már nád roacht recht litre. Ina bretha fíraicnid trá didiu ro labrastar in Spirut Naem tre ginu breithemon ⁊ filed fíréon

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[26] For the translated text of a representative version of the *Leabhar Gabhála*, see Carey & Koch (2003 : 226-71). The standard studies remain the analytic surveys of R. Mark Scowcroft (1987, 1988).

[27] This summarises the argument that I advance in Clarke (forthcoming a).

fer nÉrenn ó congbad in insi-seo co cretem anall, dosairfen Dubthach uili do Pátraic. (7)

« For the Holy Spirit spoke and prophesied through the mouths of the righteous men who were first in the island of Ireland, as He prophesied through the mouths of the chief prophets and patriarchs in the law of the Old Testament; because the law of nature [*recht aicnid*, literally "justice of the mind"] reached many things which the law of scripture did not reach. As for the judgments of true nature [or "true mind"] which the Holy Spirit uttered through the mouths of the righteous poets and judges of the men of Ireland, from the time this island was settled till the coming of the faith: Dubthach revealed them all to Patrick. »

As John Carey has shown, the « law of nature » here is a reaching for moral truth of which even pagans could be capable through innate good sense (Carey, 1990 : 9). The effect of this extraordinary narrative is to bridge the gap between the ancient, pagan, isolated Ireland on the edge of the world and the new Christianised Ireland in which Irish-language law and poetry can stand in harmony with the globalising discourses of Latin Christianity. This effects for law the same rapprochement that the *Leabhar Gabhála* expresses in terms of historiography and geography.

# 5. THE MYTH OF THE ORIGIN OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE

Within the variant and developing versions of this origin legend, a key moment is the creation of the Irish language itself. Versions of the story are found in many sources, including the *Leabhar Gabhála* (Macalister, 1938-1956, vol. 2.; prose and verse accounts), but it finds its most complex expression in *Auraicept na n-Éces*, a quasi-scientific exposition of the nature of the Irish language. The core of this text, the so-called « canonical version » (Ahlqvist, 1983), was created as early as the seventh century, in close interaction with scholarly reworkings and commentaries on the Latin grammarians by scholars from a Hiberno-Latin milieu,[28] and it was extended and expanded in subsequent centuries by the addition of commentary and exegesis that was then progressively absorbed into the main text.[29] Already in the core text, the essentials of the legend are stated:

3.    Cía ar· ránic a mbérla-sa ⁊ cía airm an-ar· n-ícht ⁊ cissi aimser ar· ícht? Ni ansae: ar-a· ránic Fénius Farrsaid ocin tur Nemruaid cinn deich mblíadnae íar

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[28] Burnyeat (2007) synthesises the evidence for characterising the *Auraicept* in this way. See also Ahlqvist (1983 : 14-7).

[29] The expanded version is published with translation in Calder (1917).

scaíliud ón tur […] ⅂ is and ro· an Fénius feissin ocin tur ⅂ is and ad· rothreb conid and-sin con· atgetar cuici in scol bérla do thepiu dóib asna ilbérlaib, acht combad leo a n-óenur no· beth no la nech fo· glennad leo. **(**Ahlqvist, 1983 : 47; 1.2-3, 7-10**)**

« Who has invented this language and in what place was it invented and at what time was it invented? Not hard: Fénius Farsaid invented it at Nimrod's tower at the end of ten years after the dispersion from the tower […] and it is there Fénius himself stayed, and it is there he lived, until the school asked him to extract a language out of the many languages such that they only would speak it or anyone who might learn it from them. »

The expansions of the later version clarify this audacious story (lines 148 ff.; Calder, 1917). When God punished the builders of the Tower of Babel (Nimrod's Tower), the languages of men were confounded and seventy-two mutually unintelligible languages were born; poets and learned men came from Scythia to learn these languages, one for each of the languages and one each for Latin, Greek and Hebrew, led by Fénius Farsaid, the master (*ollam*) of their school. But he did not find perfection[30] in these languages, and he sent a host of scholars to gather them all – one for each of the seventy-two, one for each of the three sacred languages Greek, Latin and Hebrew. When they met again, Fénius fashioned a new language by « cutting out » the best parts of them all, and this language was passed down for the next generation to Gaedel Glas, who became the eponymous ancestor of the Irish race.

This account claims a special status for the Irish language: a synthetic creation superior to the diversity of world languages, and on a parallel with the three sacred languages that are pre-eminent over the others. At its outset the text pins this claim specifically on the act of cutting, culling, selecting, pinned on the superior register or variety referred to as *tobaide*, 'cut out':

4.    Cest, cia tugaid ara n-ebarar berla tobaide din Gaedilg? Ni ansa. Uair ro tebedh as gach berla; ⅂ gach son fordorcha gach berla, fo[fh]rith ined doib isin Gaedelg ara forleithi seach gach mbescna. (9-12)

« Query, what is the reason why "select language" [literally "cut-out language"] should be said of Gaelic? Not hard. Because it was selected ["cut"] from every language; and for every obscure sound of every language a place was found in Gaelic, for the sake of its comprehensive breadth as against every other customary language. »

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[30] Or « completion »: *comhlainius* (line 166; Calder, 1917).

The text goes on to explain that of all the languages Fénius might have taken from the Tower there was none to surpass Irish, *ar a cuibdi, ar a edruma, ar a mine ⌐ a forleithiu* « because of its aptness, lightness, smoothness and comprehensiveness » (32). The notion that Irish originated in this extraordinary way – free of the sinfulness of Babel, asserting itself as an essence of excellence abstracted from all the languages of the world – is so staggeringly self-assertive that it is hard not to believe that it began as a kind of joke; but nothing in the text supports that feeling. The narrative is rooted in the academic linguistics of its time, and makes sense in that context alone. Just as the Late Antique grammarians like Donatus and Priscian (and commentators upon them) lie behind the linguistic science of the main body of the *Auraicept*, so behind the story of Fénius Farsaid stands the linguistic and cultural encyclopedia of early medieval world-knowledge, the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (translated by Barney et al. [2006]; Latin text edited by Lindsay [1909-1911]). Isidore's analysis of language diversity is framed by the Babel story: Hebrew was the sole language beforehand, but at Babel the seventy-two languages came into being, within or alongside which stand the three sacred languages (9.1). Likewise, the *Auraicept*'s division of Irish into varieties or registers is deliberately evocative of Isidore's account of the varieties of Latin, and the story of Fénius Farsaid draws on and moulds itself around this paradigmatic exposition (9.1.6-7; Calder, 1929: 197-201).[31] This is not a narrative about something tied to the land of Ireland and the special cultural identity of its people: it is is a narrative about scientific linguistics.

Seen in this way, the opening narrative of the *Auraicept* is only the most overt expression of a principle that pervades the articulation and transmission of Irish lore. The frame is metalinguistic and meta-literary: when the inheritance is preserved and transmitted it is simultaneously interpreted and glossed and made the focus of comment and reflection. This is entirely characteristic of the educational system of Carolingian and post-Carolingian Europe.[32] The central authorities for sacred and secular knowledge – the Bible on the one hand and Vergil, Boethius and Martianus Capella on the other – were written up and read and understood not in unmediated form but as the carriers of a vast and ever-growing body of commentary, exegesis and expansion, so that the usual manuscript format consists of a body of main text in the centre of the page surrounded by a body of scholastic

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[31] I benefit greatly here from the observations of Pádraic Moran in a series of research papers and discussions.

[32] Useful resources on this theme are gathered on the *Marginal Scholarship* website, at http://www.huygens.knaw.nl/marginal-scholarship-vidi/.

material that threatens to merge with or engulf the words of the « original » author (cf. Love, 2012). In the secular sphere, Vergil decked out by Servius' commentary is the closest complement to Isidore's *Etymologies* as a repository of systematised knowledge about everything in the world beyond the words of Biblical revelation. For Ireland and the Irish language, a select body of canonical texts were decked out and transmitted in exactly the same way, with the difficult and archaic poetic language (*Kunstsprache*) of the main text accompanied by an ever-growing body of linguistic, literary and encyclopaedic commentary. Significantly, two groups of Irish texts were enshrined in this way: on the one hand the more venerable documents of Irish legal writings, on the other a limited and well-defined selection of poetic texts; for example the versified calendar of saints called *Félire Oengusso*, the *Amra Coluimb Cille* or *Death-Song of Columba* (Clancy & Márkus, 1995 : 96-128) and the *Lorica* hymn claimed to be by St Patrick, which were canonised among the set of religious poems in Latin and Irish collected in the *Liber Hymnorum* (edition and translation by Bernard and Atkinson [1898]). It is not accidental that these two corpora belong respectively to the judges and the poets, the two groups of authority figures who had to be yoked into the power structures of Christianity in the Prologue to the *Senchas Már* described above.

## 6. THE GLOSSARIES

Although the story of Fénius Farsaid's invention of Irish may seem merely whimsical to us as outsiders, its claims find an echo in texts that represent the practical application of linguistic theory to the Irish language: the group of glossary compilations dominated by O'Mulconry's glossary and *Sanas Cormaic*, dated respectively to the early eighth and early ninth centuries.[33] Entries in these works analyse Irish vocabulary using the accumulated techniques of Late Antique Latin etymological study, creating miniature origin-tales for words by squeezing, distorting and combining words and phrases from Irish and from other languages, especially the « three sacred languages » – Latin, Greek and Hebrew.[34] It does not matter that many of the etymologies are unbelievable or even absurd according to

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[33] On the dating, see Mac Neill (1932). Pending the planned publication of a series of new editions and translations of the glossaries, transcribed texts are presented by Paul Russell, Pádraic Moran and Sharon Arbuthnot in the Early Irish Glossaries Database (http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries/). For consistency's sake, examples cited in this discussion are taken wherever possible from the Yellow Book of Lecan text of *Sanas Cormaic*.

[34] For general studies of the glossaries, see Russell, 1998, 2008; about the use of Greek and Hebrew, see Russell (2000); Moran (2010, 2012).

the modern understanding of linguistic change, still less that others happen to be plausible or even convincing according to those standards. What is important is that the lexicon is being analysed and contextualised as if it contained elements or traces of words and phrases that exist also in other world languages, and that the project of linguistic self-discovery and self-analysis follows an international and multi-lingual perspective. Further, the etymologies are intermingled with lore and narratives about the Irish past, reaching back into pagan antiquity, with each such narrative typically centring around the headword under which it appears. Thus the glossaries act both as an analysis of the language and lore of Ireland and as a repository of knowledge about the past. A classic example is the entry in *Sanas Cormaic* for *Ana*:[35]

> 5.   Ana .i. mater deorum Hibernensium. Robo maith didiu ro biathad-si deos. De cuius nomine ana dicitur .i. imed, et de cuius nomine Da Chich nAnand iar Luachair nominant[ur], ut fabula fertur .i. amail aderait na scelaide. *Vel* ana anyon graece, quod interpretatur dapes .i. biad. (Y 31)
>
> « Ana, viz. the mother of the gods of the Irish people. Well did she nourish the gods. From her name is said ana, that is "abundance," and from her name are named the Two Breasts of Ana in west Luachair, as the legend is told, viz. as the storytellers say. Or: Ana [is, corresponds to] *anyon* in Greek, which is interpreted as [Latin] *dapes*, i.e. "food." »

Amid the confluence of Latin, Greek and Irish word-histories comes the first known reference to a pair of breast-shaped hills in west Kerry, nowadays known as the Paps. Those who trawl early Irish literature for the vestiges of Celtic mythology rely heavily on *Sanas Cormaic* when they characterise the Paps as a survival from a pre-Christian conception of sacred anthropomorphism in the landscape (cf. MacLeod, 1998-1999; with e.g. Dames, 1992 : 62, 88); but to do this without caution is to ignore the learned comparative context of this entry. The wording suggests a close and deliberate parallelism with Graeco-Roman mythology. Cybele, the goddess known as *Magna Mater*, the Great Mother, is an obvious *comparandum*; and it is possible to posit a precise chain of influence from Servius' Vergilian commentary and the *Etymologies* of Isidore, two texts that we know influenced the learned compilers of the Irish glossaries. Servius notes that Cybele of Mount Ida is the same as Earth, which is « the mother of the gods », *mater deorum* (e.g. on Vergil: *Georgics*, 4.64; *Aeneid*, 10.252, cf. 7.136); Isidore identifies this divinity with many Greek and Roman goddesses, and explains the basic concept:

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[35] On the Greek in this entry, see Russell (2000 : 409). So far as I know, the *anyon* of this entry has never been explained.

> 6. Eandem et tellurem et Matrem magnam fingunt […] Matrem vocatam, quod plurima pariat; magnam, quod cibum gignat; almam, quia universa animalia fructibus suis alit. (8.11.61)
>
> « They imagine the same one as both Earth and Great Mother […] She is called Mother, because she gives birth to many things; Great, because she generates food; Kindly, because she nourishes all living things through her fruits. »

The same conception is common in the Carolingian mythographic compilations,[36] where we also find her identified as *montium domina*, mistress of mountains.[37] The parallels are so close – mountain-goddess, mother of the gods, nourishment, fertility – that it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the lore in the Irish glossary may have been shaped in emulation of this Classical mythography. This is not to deny the possibility that some such image of Ana was indeed a genuine theme in pre-Christian tradition:[38] but the resonance with the Classical Cybele dominates its interpretation and transmission by the authors of the glossaries. Either way, this example shows that in the realm of myth and religion, as of language, the transmission of inherited tradition was filtered through cross-cultural and cross-linguistic comparison, constantly reflecting upon the inheritance and comparing it with the world-view prescribed by the universal learning of the Latin-dominated schoolroom.

## 7. THE GENRE OF THE COLLOQUY

A dominant mode of discourse in that schoolroom was the dialogue between teacher and pupil. Internationally, the teaching of Latin to non-native-speaker children was formalised in dialogue texts based on simple question-and-answer exchanges;[39] and many texts survive in which dialogue of this kind is built into fantastical and poetic Latin conceits (Gwara & Porter, 1997). This kind of creativity is closely parallel to the extraordinary invented Latinity of the *Hisperica Famina*, poems that seem to have originated in Ireland or among Irish-influenced circles on the Continent (Herren, 1974, 1987).[40] On a more complex and creative level, the

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[36] E.g. *2 Myth. Vat.* (58, 153; Kulcsar, 1987).

[37] See *1 Myth. Vat.* (225.4).

[38] See MacLeod (1998-1999), for references to Anu in other medieval sources. The relationship between the names *Ana/Anu* and *Danu* is beyond the scope of this study.

[39] The most famous example is the *Colloquy* of Aelfric, whose Old English glosses are nowadays often used for teaching that language to students. It may well be an accident of survival that no such basic pedagogical texts survive from the Irish schools.

[40] On affinities between the *Hisperica Famina* and colloquy texts, see Orchard (2000).

dialogue between master and pupil is the springboard for a fully fledged literary genre, the collections known as *Joca Monachorum* or « Monks' Conundrums », in which often bizarre questions elicit recondite and paradoxical information about Biblical and theological knowledge.[41] These in turn relate to more elaborate and sophisticated dialogues in which one interlocutor represents pagan antiquity and the other Christian revelation. The standard texts are Latin, but they were emulated and redeveloped in vernacular languages including Old English (Cross & Hill, 1982) and medieval Irish. As shown in an ongoing series of studies by Abigail Burnyeat, the late medieval manuscript Egerton 1782 preserves a much earlier collection of pedagogically based texts that bear witness to the way this educational programme was adopted and « nativised » in Irish-language intellectual life (Burnyeat, 2012). Crucially for our purposes, the collection includes two parallel texts, perhaps of early eleventh-century date, in which the lore of Ireland and the lore of world history are set alongside each other: *Dúan in Choícat Cest*, or « The Poem of the Fifty Questions » on divine matters, and *Dúan in Chethrachat Cest*, « The Poem of the Forty Questions » on correspondingly abstruse questions about the Irish past, especially the national origin legend discussed earlier in this article.[42] These literary examples reflect a curriculum in which the fine grain of knowledge about the history or pseudo-history of Ireland and the world was subsumed into a single continuous system, mediated through the dialogue framework.

The texts discussed so far could be fairly characterised as academic in the narrow sense, and their affinity with classroom dialogues might suggest that they were peripheral to living literary and poetic artistry. To show that such an assessment gives them too narrow a scope, we can adduce a particularly eloquent and complex example, *Immacallam in Dá Thuarad* or « The Colloquy of the Two Sages » (Stokes, 1905).[43] The setting here is a contest for supremacy between two poets. An aged poet, Ferchertne, has been awarded the robe of chief poet (*ollam*) of Ireland; the young son of his now dead predecessor challenges him for the title, wearing a false beard of grass to disguise his immaturity, and they hold an exchange (*immacallam*) to vie with each other in subtlety of language. This dialogue was a celebrated one: for example it is referred to in the Prologue to the *Senchas Már* (discussed above), which records that the obscurity of the poets' words in their contest led to their being stripped of the right to give judgments

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[41] The fundamental study of the *Joca Monachorum* is Suchier (1955). A useful survey, with an edition of an early example in the Bobbio Missal, is found in Wright & Wright (2004).

[42] Edited respectively by Thurneysen (1921a) and Tristram (1985 : 285-93).

[43] The edition is composite but substantially follows the version in the Book of Leinster.

(Carey, 1994 : 10).[44] The dialogue between the rival poets is based on the simple and familiar question formulae of the pedagogical dialogues – What is your name? Where have you come from? – but its agonistic centre is in the exchange of riddling answers in the high and difficult language of their art, *bérla na bhfiled*, the « language of the poets » that originated according to the *Auraicept* with Fénius Farsaid himself. In practice much of what they throw back and forth is not difficult individual words but allusive and metaphorical images, kennings that can only be understood with deep knowledge of history and cosmology as well as language. I give one fine example to illustrate the character of the whole text:

> 7.     – Os tussu, a mmo sruith, can dollod?
> – Ni ansa:
> iar colomnaib áise,
> iar srothaib Galion,
> iar síd mnā Nechtáin,
> iar rig mnā Nuadat,
> iar futhiur gréne,
> iar n-adbai ēscai,
> iar srinci ōic. (32)

> « [*Néde*] And you, my elder one, from where have you come?
> [*Ferchertne*] Not hard [to say]:
> along the columns of age,
> along the streams of Galion,
> along the otherworld mound [*síd*] of Nechtán's wife,
> along the forearm of Núada's wife,
> along the grove of the sun,
> along the dwelling of the moon,
> along the young one's umbilical cord. » (adapted from Stokes)

Embedded glosses unravel these lines as a statement that the poet has passed through the east midlands of Ireland by day and night. The *columns of age* are the six ages of human life; *Galion* refers to the province of Leinster; the *otherworld mound* is at the source of the Boyne; the *umbilical cord* is « the foundation of knowledge »; to know the locations of moon by day and sun by night is the boast of

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[44] The connection is noted by Stokes in the introductory remarks to his edition of the *Colloquy*, where Stokes also notes the overlaps with *Sanas Cormaic* (Stokes, 1905 : 6). It is of course possible that the text referred to here was a variant or forerunner of the surviving *Immacallam*, not the surviving version itself.

the visionary poet.[45] Many such images have the ring of great poetic antiquity, but others betray the close affinities of such discourse with the Latinate learning of the time. The young poet challenges the elder to reveal his name, and he replies

> 8.     Ni handsa.
>        Macsa fir ro buí nad ro genair,
>        aradnacht i mbrú a mathar,
>        ro basted iarna écaib,
>        arnaisc a chētgnúis,
>        cétlabrad cech bí,
>        iachtad cech mairb,
>        Ailm irard a ainm. (141-7)

> « Not hard:
> I am the son of the man who lived but was not born,
> who was buried in his mother's womb,
> who was baptised after death;
> his first presence bound him;[46]
>  [he is] the first utterance of every living one,
> the cry of every dead one:
> the lofty [ogham letter] a is his name. »

The answer is *Adam*, as the glosses explain: no woman bore him; he was buried in the earth from which he was produced; he was baptised in Christ's passion;[47] he died figuratively through sin, and the agony of birth or death is expressed by a wordless cry that sounds the first letter of his name. This is a fine demonstration of the vast resources of metaphor and allusion characteristic of *bérla na bhfiled*,[48] but it is rooted in the scholastic dialogues. The conundrum is derived from the *Joca Monachorum*:[49] a version of it is found, for example, in the early *Joca* text in the Bobbio Missal (Wright & Wright, 2004 : 111-12), and it recurs in the Old English colloquies *Solomon and Saturn* and *Adrian and Ritheus* (Cross & Hill, 1982 : 75-

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[45] The same species of knowledge is attributed to St Colum Cille in *Amra Choluimb Cille* (5.12-13); see Clancy & Markus (1997 : 108-9). In the *Leabhar Gabhála* Amairgen the arch-poet claims it for himself in the lines he speaks as he sets foot in Ireland; see Macalister (1938-1956, vol. 5 : 112; on lines 2687-90).

[46] The Irish of this line remains obscure, but a gloss explains it as a reference to his (figurative) death through sin.

[47] The glosses do not make explicit the idea, well attested elsewhere, that the blood and water that came from Christ's side served to baptise his corpse, which lay under the hill of Golgotha (see Cross & Hill, 1982, below).

[48] For the affinities between poetic inspiration and linguistic learning, see especially the text known as *The Caldron of Poesy* (Breatnach, 1981).

[49] Genre affinities between *Immacallam in Dá Thuarad* and the *Joca Monachorum* will be studied in Wright (forthcoming; *non vidi*); in the interim, see Wright & Wright (2004 : 110; n. 72).

9).[50] There are signs that Insular scholars played a major role in the reception and dissemination of the mainstream *Joca* texts (see Bayless in Bayless & Lapidge, 1998 : 13-24); and it is no accident that a very close parallel for the version cited above is found in the Hiberno-Latin collection known as the *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*:

> 9.  Dic mihi quis homo, qui non natus est, et mortuus est, atque in utero matris suae post mortem baptizatus? Est Adam. (123; Bayless & Lapidge, 1998 : 136-7)
>
> « Tell me, what man was not born, and who died, and was baptized in the womb of his mother after death? It is Adam. »

These fictive contests of wit and knowledge associate educational exchange with the formation of the vernacular literary tradition. By the same token the « native » poetic tradition itself becomes inseparable from academic engagement with language. To be a poet, in short, is to be a reflective student of linguistics, and these two roles in combination refract Latin learning through a vernacular lens as well as *vice versa*.

In Irish, as also in Old English,[51] the same quasi-dramatic structure informs a more complex genre centring around a figure from the remote past who is questioned by a Christian (Nic Carthaigh, 2007). A case in point is *The Colloquy of Colum Cille and the Youth*, perhaps originally composed in the early ninth century (edition by Carey [2002]; on the dating see 56-57). Colum Cille encounters a mysterious youth, describing himself as a shape-shifter who has lived under many animal forms, who teaches him first the otherworldly wonders that lie beneath the lake that he sees before him, Lough Neagh in eastern Ulster, and then describes the corresponding wonders that lie under the ocean beyond:

> 10. As-bert Colum Cille aitherruch frisin n-óclaig .i. « Os a mmuir-se frinn anair, cid fo-thá? » « Ní [ansa], » fris-gart ind óclach. « Fil firu fonnmaru foltlibru fóo. Fil búu uathmara alachtmara fóo asa mbind ngéim. Fil damu damdai. Fil echu echdai. Fil déichendai, fil trechendai, i nEoraip, i nAisia, i tírib ingnath, i ferunn glas, asa imbel imbel coa inber. » (18-21; Carey, 2002 : 60)

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[50] Further parallel examples are collected by the editors *ad locum* and in Bayless & Lapidge (1998 : 228).

[51] The most elaborate example of the Old English development is the group of Solomon and Saturn dialogues using alliterative verse, edited by Anlezark (2009). Although the names of the interlocutors are shared with the prose dialogues mentioned above, the literary form is far more ambitious and there appears to be no close linkage between the these texts.

« Colum Cille said again to the youth, "And this sea to the east of us,[52] what is under it?" "Not hard to answer," said the youth, "there are long-haired men with broad territories beneath it; there are fearsome greatly-pregnant cows beneath it, whose lowing is musical; there are bovine oxen; there are equine horses; there are two-headed ones; there are three-headed ones in Europe, in Asia, in lands of strange things, in a green land, whose border is a border as far as its river-mouth [?]." » (adapted from Carey)

The last group of images, though obscure in detail, derives unmistakeably from the international mythical cosmography and « the wonders of the East », the accounts of fantastic beings on the edges of the world that were associated in our period with the discoveries made by Alexander the Great.[53] This text illustrates how the fictive conversation between sage and learner can serve as background for geography and even cosmology concerned with the relationship between Ireland and the wider world.

Generically similar colloquy texts use the dialogue as a frame for imparting venerable information about the remote past. In *Scél Tuáin Meic Chairill*, « The Tale of Tuán Mac Cairill » (edited and translated by Carey [1984]), Finnia, a saint journeying through Ulster and converting its people to Christianity, encounters an aged cleric who explains that he is the sole survivor of the first group of humans to reach Ireland after the Flood, and that he has continued down the ages by assuming the forms of different birds, animals, fish and humans until at last converted by Patrick. From him Finnia learns the history of the successive invasions or settlements of Ireland, with the implication that the saint's participation sanctions their inclusion within the ambit of Christian world-knowledge. The theme is parallel, but the verbal artistry is more elevated, in a group of dialogues featuring Fintan Mac Bóchra, another shape-changing revenant and « custodian of the histories of the western world ».[54] In *Fintan and the Hawk of Achill*, Fintan and an ancient carrion bird discourse about the history of Ireland and the invasions grouped around the Biblical Flood (Meyer, 1907);[55] in *The Settling of the Manor of Tara*, he is summoned to settle a dispute over the distribution of powers in the land, and uses his ancient knowledge of Ireland and of divine revelation to do so (edition

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[52] The transmitted text is obscure, and the translation « to the west of us » is also possible. See Carey's note ad loc.

[53] For the background, cf. Clarke (2012).

[54] See Nic Carthaigh (2007 : 44), citing the text *Cethri Arda in Domain* (text in Lebor na hUidre; Best & Bergin, 1929 : 10066 ff.).

[55] Translation and (outdated but thought-provoking) discussion in Hull (1932); further discussion in Nic Charthaigh (2007).

and translation by Best [1910]). In these texts the dramatic enactment of knowledge is inseparable from its transmission from learned elder to novice, and thus matches the enactment of tradition in the schools.

## 8. THE LEARNED COLLOQUY IN *TOCHMARC EMIRE*

Up to now I have not discussed heroic narrative, the strand of literature dominated by the so-called Ulster Cycle with its cast of warriors grouped around king and druid and dominated by Cú Chulainn, the hero who seems so easily to fit the model of « the Irish Achilles ». The Ulster Cycle, especially *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, seems to invite characterisation as a « primary epic » tradition, radically archaic and analogous to the Homeric depiction of the Greek « heroic age » (Clarke, 2006), but recent scholarship has shown that the cycle is full of cross-linguistic echoes, and that the narratives owe much of their form and substance to Roman epic and Carolingian scholarly commentary (Miles, 2012). This means that their origins are much closer to the world of the monastic library than once realised. In relation to the theme of the present study, I will restrict myself to a single example to illustrate the close dependence of this literature on the authors' scholarly engagement with language study.

Ever since the Ulster Cycle narratives were defined as heroic literature, it has been difficult for scholars (and still more for translators) to make sense of their characteristic internal changes in pace and register. In particular, there are long passages in which action is suspended and the text proceeds through verbal communication between the characters, the so-called « watchman device » (Miles, 2012 : 175-93). A classic example is the text called *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, « The Sack of Da Derga's Hostel », in which over half the text involves no directly narrated action at all: the main characters are on a headland many miles from the scene of the action, and the unfolding drama is conveyed through the giant Ingcél's richly decorated descriptions of what he sees happening on the plain beyond, each description interpreted in another speech by his companion Fer Rogain.[56] In *Táin Bó Cuailnge* this strategy is pervasive. The approach of each of Cú Chulainn's challengers is crystallised in a description from sight by his charioteer Láeg while Cú Chulainn himself looks away; and the climactic moment when the enemy encounters the sign of his hostile challenge – four severed heads stuck on a branch

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[56] Ralph O'Connor's analysis of focalisation patterns in this text will be published in his forthcoming monograph (2013).

in the middle of a river – is the cue for three warriors to evoke his presence and his significance by recounting tales of his prowess and strength (O'Rahilly, 1976 : 374-824; 1968 : 718-1216). The technique is used to brilliant effect in the climactic scene where a messenger comes to tell the king of the approach of the enemy army: each element of the messenger's speech is a riddling allusive image of part of the scene he has witnessed, and his listeners solve each riddle in turn to translate them into plain description (O'Rahilly, 1976: 3545-870, O'Rahilly, 1968: 4284-599). In all these examples the underlying principle is the same: the discourse moves from the realm of action and is focalised through artful speech, its images crafted by the character's own linguistic dexterity.

This aesthetic combines with the dialogue format in *Tochmarc Emire*, « The Wooing of Emer », one of the most complex and elegantly conceived of the Ulster Cycle tales.[57] The thematic starting point is the extreme sexual energy of Cú Chulainn. Sent from the court to divert him from other men's women, he pledges his love and fidelity to Emer but is forced by her scheming father to go abroad for training in the magical arts of war, undergoing several exotic sexual encounters on his travels before he returns to marry Emer at last. The tale looks ultimately to Cú Chulainn's encounter with the son born to one of his otherworldly lovers, whom he will kill unrecognised because neither of them can refuse the challenge to single combat. So summarised, it is the stuff of heroic myth. However, the developed version of the text, represented by a series of manuscripts from the early twelfth century onward, devotes over a quarter of its entire length to the narration and interpretation of an episode in which there is no action at all. Cú Chulainn and his charioteer ride up to find Emer on the open plain among her companions, who are learning embroidery and handicraft from her. The episode picks up on and develops the convention that wooing is an occasion for the exchange of riddles and subtle language between man and woman.[58] Cú Chulainn and Emer speak to each other throughout in learned and figured language, so that her companions will not understand that they are talking about marrying each other in defiance of her father.[59] The basic substance of the conversation is rooted in the simple themes of

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[57] In the absence of a modern critical text, in what follows I cite from the edition by Van Hamel (1933 : 16-68). On the textual history, see Toner, 1998; on themes and language arts in the text, see Sayers (1991-1992); see Edel (1980, especially pages 212-42) on the kennings discussed in this paper; and for an application of the discipline of discourse analysis to the dialogue, see Findon (1998 : 45-53).

[58] For the question-and-answer dialogue in wooing, see also *Tochmarc Ailbe* and *Tochmarc Cruinn Macha* (Thurneysen, 1918, 1921b).

[59] Explained (28).

the scholastic colloquies – Where have you come from? What is your name?[60] – but it is expanded and elaborated into a display of rich verbal art. Much of what they say in these exchanges has the character of metaphors and kennings, and its affinities in detail are with the learned colloquies and glossary material that we have been studying throughout this article. This becomes especially clear afterwards when Cú Chulainn interprets the conversation item by item to his charioteer, and we see the established curriculum of allusive poetic figures, legends embedded in place-names, fragments of myth and pseudo-history. A particularly revealing example comes in the passage – familiar from modern retellings where, predictably, the learned and opaque elements are trimmed away – in which Cú Chulainn's riddles turn to Emer's own body:

> 11.  Atchí Cú Chulainn bruinne na hingine dar sedlachaib a léned. Conid and asbert-som: « Caín in mag so mag alchuing. » (27)
>
> « Cú Chulainn saw the girl's bosom through the upper part of her smock. So that then he said, "Fair is that plain, the plain beyond the yoke." ».[61]

She grasps the erotic metaphor,[62] which he repeats three times, and each time she replies in similarly allusive language, listing the feats and skills that she demands of the man who will win her. The last of her three demands is the strangest:

> 12.  « Ní rúalae a mag sa, » ol sí, « nad écmonga benn Súain meic Roiscmilc ó samsúan co hoímelc, ó oímelc co beltine, co brón trogain ó beltine. »
>
> « Asberthar, dogéntar, » ol Cú Chulainn. (27)
>
> « "No-one comes to this plain," she said, "who does not strike the point of Sleep son of Roiscmilc from *samsúan* to *oímelc*, from *oímelc* to *beltine*, to the sorrow of *trogan* from *beltine*."
>
> "It is said, it will be done," said Cú Chulainn. »

His acceptance of the challenge seals their union. On their return journey Cú Chulainn gives scholarly explanations of the riddles to his charioteer, « to shorten

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[60] For these formulaic questions and answers as the basic wooing dialogue, cf. *Tochmarc Cruinn ⊓ Macha* (252; Thurneysen, 1918).

[61] I read this as *mag al chuing* « the plain beyond the yoke ». Van Hamel here reads the one word *alchuing* « weapon-rack » (1933 : glossary, s.v.), but Cú Chulainn himself inteprets the phrase to Lóeg (52) as if the noun were simply *cuing* « yoke ». Note that the uncommon preposition *al* « beyond » is elsewhere used in etymological explanations (see *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, s.v. 1 *al*), so it is appropriate in the riddling context here. Following Sayers (1991-1992 : 134-5), *mag al chuing* as « the plain beyond the yoke » is her abdomen beyond the double-yoke shape of her breasts, the sight that Cú Chulainn has just seen. The landscape metaphor is peculiarly appropriate when Emer herself has headed the kennings describing herself with the name of a hill above a great plain: *Temair ban* « Tara of women » (18). See further Findon (1998 : 47-8).

[62] Interpreted later for Lóeg (52).

the road »; [63] and the effect is to project the exegetical techniques of the glosses and glossaries back into the text, erecting a new level in what is already a complex narratological structure (cf. Sayers, 1991-1992 : 141). He explains that « to strike the point of Sleep son of Roiscmilc » is a kenning meaning to go without sleep, and that he is to do so for an entire year, because *samsúan*, *oímelc*, *beltine* and « the sorrow of *trogan* » indicate the four quarter-days of the solar cycle. Cú Chulainn explains these names through a characteristic combination of learned or invented etymology, ancient Irish lore, and *bérla na bhfiled*. *Trogan*, he says, is a name for the earth: in autumn the earth groans or grieves under her fruits, so this is Lugnasad, in modern terms the last day of August. *Trogan* itself is etymologised as such in *Sanas Cormaic*, and the kenning *Brón Trogain* occurs in later poetry with the same meaning.[64] The other names are versions of the normal names of the quarter-days, distorted to support the supposed etymologies. Each of the three includes materials that are closely paralleled in the Old Irish glossaries.[65] *Bel-tine* is of course Bealtaine or May-Day, and Cú Chulainn gives it two analyses. First he renders it *bil-tine*, glossed as « fortunate fire », and says that the druids used to light a pair of great fires on this day and set the cattle between them, to bring about magical protection for the year. Then alternatively he makes it *Bel-dine*: *díne* names the young of cattle, which he says were placed under the protection of the pagan deity Bel, familiar from the Old Testament. Both these etymologies occur in the same form in *Sanas Cormaic* (Y 122, Y 153). Oímelc, from *Imbolc* « the first day of spring », is similarly given two etymologies of which one, from *oí* « sheep » and *melc* « milking », appears in *Sanas Cormaic* (Y 1000), while the other is unique to our text: from *imbe a folc*, roughly « its rain around it », distinguishing the rain of spring from that of winter.

So far, the impression is that these puzzles were framed and interpreted by a glossary virtually identical with our *Sanas Cormaic*. This is confirmed by the most difficult of the four explanations, that for *samsúan*. This is clearly a distortion of *Samhain*, the quarter-day that we know as Hallowe'en. Here is the text of Cú Chulainn's explanation:

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[63] *Do irgairdiugud in seta* (29).

[64] See the poem *Lige Guill* « The Grave of Goll », edited by Ó Murchadha (2009), where the phrase occurs as *lathi brón trogain* « on the day of earth's sorrow » (70.4), referring again to Lughnasa. The fact that the context is identical strongly suggests that the author of the poem has learnt this term for « earth » from *Sanas Cormaic* or a source directly linked to it.

[65] I cite from *Sanas Cormaic*, from the Yellow Book of Lecan text (Meyer), using the transcriptions in the Irish Glossaries Database (http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries, last accessed 20 January 2013).

13.    […] ó samuin .i. sam-fuin .i. fuin in tsamraidh and. Ar is de roind no bíd forsin mblíadain anall, .i. in samrad ó beltine co samain ⁊ in gemred ó samain co beltine. Nó samfuin .i. sam súain .i. is and sin feraid sam súana .i. samsōn. (55)

« […] from Samuin, viz. *sam-fuin*, i.e. that is the concealment [*fuin*] of the summer. For it is from this that the division was upon the year long ago, viz. the summer from Beltaine to Samhain and the winter from Samhain to Beltaine. Or, *sam-fuin*, viz. *sam* of sleep, viz. it is then that *sam* pours out sleeps, viz. samson. »

The structure is the same as with the other explanations: first a purely lexical explanation, taking the word as a compound, then a fragment of cultural history, then a difficult alternative etymology. Here again *Sanas Cormaic* is the key *comparandum*, but the relationship is more complex than in the other cases. The parallel is in the entry for *samrad* « summer »:

14.    Samrad .i. *sam* ebraice, *sol* latine, unde dicitur *Samson* .i. sol eorum. Samrad didiu riad reites grian ⁊ is and is mo doatne. (Y 1155)

« *Samrad*, viz. *sam* in Hebrew, *sol* in Latin, from which is said *Samson*, viz. “their sun.” Summer indeed is the course that the sun rides, and it is then that it shines most. »

The Hebrew lore here is derived ultimately from Jerome's *On Hebrew Names*,[66] where the name of the Biblical hero Samson is explained as meaning in Hebrew *sol eorum* « their sun » or *sol fortitudinis* « sun of strength » (Antin, 1959 : 101, 157). This etymology is found in several early Latin works with Irish associations, and the techniques by which the Hebrew word has been deployed is peculiar to Irish linguistic scholarship, stripping off affixes to produce a simple syllable that can purportedly be found in the lexicon of Old Irish.[67] Clearly the last element of the *Tochmarc Emire* passage, .i. samson, was included by the scholar who borrowed this information from the *Sanas Cormaic* entry for *samrad*, even though the etymology of Samson is a digression in the context of the analysis of *samsúan*.[68]

The above might, of course, be seen as mere learning for learning's sake – lofty explications imposed on a text whose dramatic life is independent of them. Such an interpretation would not do justice to the complex affiliations of the dialogue. Although the explications may have begun as intrusive glosses added to an early

[66] Note that this work is named as a source in the Latin preface to O'Mulconry's glossary (Russell, 1988 : 5-6).
[67] I am grateful to Jacopo Bisagni and Pádraic Moran for their observations on this matter.
[68] The explanation of *oímelc* digresses in the same way, listing further parallel examples of the pattern of compounding with *oí-* as the first element.

version of the tale, in the text as we have it they are an integral part of the whole. The parallels mentioned above show that the complexity of the structure – riddling dialogue followed by extended explanations – is characteristic of the art of medieval Irish narrative, and should not be marginalised. Within *Tochmarc Emire* there is another neat confirmation of the affinity between this exchange and those of the learned schoolroom dialogues discussed above. After Emer has successfully parried the thrusts of the hero's riddling language, he praises her:

> 15.    « Cindus dano, » ol Cú Chulainn, « nachar chomtig dún dib línaib comríachtain? Ar ní fúarus-sa cosse ben follongad ind airis dála imacallaim fon samail seo frim. » (26)
>
> « "How then," said Cú Chulainn, "would it not be fitting for the two of us to come together? For never before have I found a woman who could hold out in this way against me in a tryst-meeting of *imacallam*." »[69]

Their equal skill in *imaccallam,* « dialogue », is what impresses him (cf. Findon, 1998 : 49); and it may not be coincidental that this word, effectively a loan-translation from Latin *colloquium*, is the technical name for the learned colloquy texts that we surveyed earlier in this article. In *Tochmarc Emire*, then, the discourses associated with the historical, theological and poetic study of language itself are embedded in the genre of literature that transmits the tradition of the heroic past of Ireland.

# 9. CONCLUSION

I have tried to show something of the creativity and sophistication of the engagement with language and poetics that can be found in early Irish literature, and to suggest that its essential orientation came from the contemporary educational system, grounded in Latin learning and constantly looking outward to the world beyond Ireland – above all, to the heartlands of Christendom in the eastern Mediterranean. The scholars responded to the stimulus of cultural bilingualism and philological awareness by reflecting upon the nature of language itself, so that verbal creativity was enmeshed with metalinguistic reflection and interpretation. Our texts are not a portal to a lost primeval world; they are a monument to an extraordinary and arguably unique culture of collective self-awareness and self-presentation, where a national language came into being with linguistic science as its midwife. To those who come to early Irish literature in search of primeval Celtic

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[69] Reading *i n-airius dala*, with the Lebor na hUidre text (Best & Bergin, 1929 : 10316-7).

simplicities, this is a disappointment. It does not need to be so for a generation reared on Joyce and Woody Allen and *No Logo*, a generation for whom identities, including linguistic and cultural identities, are accepted and respected as elective constructs rather than as fixed sources of stability. Perhaps at this time more than at any other since this literature was first brought back from obscurity, the medieval project of self-discovery, self-representation and self-invention deserves respect in its own right.

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# L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA LANGUE ANGLAISE EN IRLANDE

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**Résumé**

Cet article examine l'influence des transformations socio-historiques sur la direction des contacts entre l'anglais et le gaélique irlandais, en se référant au modèle dynamique de Schneider (2003). Nous constatons que dans la première période de contacts entre les locuteurs gaéliques et anglo-saxons, les contacts semblent avoir été légers et à l'exception de mots d'emprunt, peu d'influences anglo-saxonnes peuvent être observées sur l'irlandais, et vice versa. Le bilinguisme est resté rare au début et des langues de types maternels et non maternels peuvent être clairement distinguées. Après la période de conversion linguistique au XIXᵉ siècle, une variété distincte d'anglais irlandais s'est développée, encore fortement marquée par le gaélique irlandais. En raison de la diminution du nombre de locuteurs de gaélique irlandais, les particularités linguistiques de l'anglais irlandais sont aujourd'hui en voie de disparition et un nivellement dialectique se produit.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Il est bien connu que l'anglais et le gaélique sont en contact en Irlande depuis plusieurs siècles.[70] Ce contact a conduit à une situation de grande précarisation pour la langue gaélique irlandaise, qui est en danger d'extinction. Il s'agit bien sûr d'un destin qui est partagé par de nombreuses langues qui sont entrées en contact avec une langue plus puissante au cours de leur histoire (cf. p. ex. Thomason, 2001 : 15-24). En raison de l'histoire socio-économique et du développement de la langue anglaise, le contact avec l'anglais a souvent mis en danger la survie de langues parlées par des populations socio-économiquement défavorisées, surtout celles des locuteurs de langues celtiques de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande, qui ont toujours été en contact étroit avec l'anglais (cf. p. ex. Crystal, 2002). Cependant nous pouvons constater que les langues celtiques ne meurent pas sans laisser de trace. Elles ont laissé une empreinte sur les variétés d'anglais parlées dans les pays celtiques, aujourd'hui souvent appelées *Celtic Englishes*, les « anglais celtiques » (cf. p. ex.

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[70] Merci beaucoup à Antoine Bianchi pour sa relecture de mon français.

Tristram, 1997), et une forte influence des langues celtiques sur la langue anglaise en général est également de plus en plus évoquée (cf. p. ex. Filppula, Klemola & Pitkänen, 2002 ; Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto, 2008). Ces influences des langues celtiques sont particulièrement claires lorsque l'on considère les variétés anciennes d'anglais, ou l'utilisation de la langue par des locuteurs traditionnels avec des niveaux d'éducation souvent faibles (Hickey, 2007 : 303-9). Cela rend ces variétés ressemblent à des variétés de langue non-maternelle, ou dans la terminologie de Kachru (2006 : 71) des variétés du cercle extérieur de l'Anglais, dans des pays où l'Anglais est une langue administrative ou commerciale du pays. Lorsque nous étudions les variétés contemporaines, surtout celles des locuteurs urbains non traditionnels, les particularités linguistiques sont alors généralement moins prononcées. Cet article examine la façon dont l'intensité et la direction des contacts linguistiques entre l'anglais et l'irlandais ont été influencées par la transformation des contextes socio-historiques des deux cultures. Les facteurs socio-historiques qui ont accompagné et facilité la propagation de l'anglais en Irlande sont examinés dans le présent article pour montrer comment la langue anglaise a gagné en force dans la zone de contact linguistique.

Nous nous référons à la description du modèle dynamique de l'évolution des variétés de l'anglais de Schneider (2003), selon lequel l'utilisation de la langue commence par l'arrivée de ses locuteurs dans une zone, la « phase de fondation », avant que la langue ne se stabilise sur la base de ses variétés de source, un procédé appelé « stabilisation exonormative ». Quand une partie de plus en plus importante de la population locale utilise la langue nouvellement arrivée, un processus de « maternalisation » se produit, qui introduit des caractéristiques des langues locales. Ceci conduit finalement à l'adoption d'une norme linguistique interne, appelée « stabilisation endonormative ». Dans une dernière étape, cette variété de la langue peut développer d'autres caractéristiques, comme une différenciation régionale. La variété de langue utilisée aide les locuteurs à définir leurs rôles sociaux (Schneider, 2003 : 243-54, 240).

Dans la présente étude nous constatons que, alors qu'elle était une langue minoritaire et potentiellement menacée d'extinction au début de l'époque moderne, la langue anglaise est devenue *de facto* la première langue en Irlande. Nous soutenons que, en dépit de la forte position des colons anglo-saxons et anglo-normands, la langue gaélique irlandaise a conservé une forte position socio-historique jusqu'au XVIIe siècle. Après cela, les locuteurs de la langue gaélique ont de plus en plus opté pour l'anglais et ont eu jusqu'au XIXe siècle une influence

linguistique suffisante sur l'anglais pour que des caractéristiques dues au contact linguistique soient observables dans la variété d'anglais qui en résulte, mais cette influence est en récession dans les temps modernes.

## 2. PEUPLEMENT ET CONTACTS ANTÉRIEURS

Selon le témoignage de légendes anciennes, plusieurs peuplades sont arrivées en Irlande après le déluge (O'Donovan, 1848 ; *Annales des quatre maîtres* Anno Mundi 2550-3500). Le dernier groupe serait arrivé par bateaux et aurait pris le territoire des anciens habitants (Anno Mundi 3500.1). Les nouveaux colonisateurs sont appelés « Gaels » ou « Goidels » et « Milesians ». Le nom *Milesians* peut provenir de Milesius, irlandais *Míl Espáne*, dont il est possible que l'origine soit *Miles Hispanie* « soldats d'Espagne » (Carey, 1995 : 5-6). Cette étymologie suggère un lien entre le peuple gaélique et la péninsule ibérique. C'est une origine qui a aussi été suggérée pour les autres grands peuples européens par Isidore de Séville dans son *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorume et Suevorum*. Des hypothèses similaires sont faites dans le *Historia Brittonum*, œuvre anglaise du IXe siècle, qui postule l'origine du peuple *scotti* en Espagne (Carey, 1995 : 5-6 ; et Clarke, ce volume). Même s'il ne peut être établi clairement qui s'est installé à quel moment, la plupart des chercheurs conviennent que l'Irlande aurait été colonisée dans la seconde partie du premier millénaire avant J.-C. (Ó Corráin, 1989 : 1).

Il semble qu'il n'y a pas eu de grands changements socio-culturels jusqu'à l'arrivée de la religion chrétienne. Ó Corráin (1998 : 8) indique que les premières missions en Irlande devaient venir de Gaule aux IVe ou Ve siècle. Le premier missionnaire réputé fut Palladius. Il serait arrivé en Irlande en l'an 431 de notre ère mais, selon les Annales d'Ulster (Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, 1983), il aurait été rapidement suivi par Saint Patrick en 432 (AU 431.1, 432.1). L'arrivée de la religion chrétienne a aussi causé la fondation de communautés monastiques, le développement de règles monastiques et la connaissance de la langue latine et des cultures classiques. Ces nouvelles idées ont été exportées en Bretagne et sur le continent européen dans les siècles suivants.

Selon les Annales, c'est au même siècle qu'il y aurait eu des contacts avec les Saxons en Irlande. Les Annales d'Ulster mentionnent une première attaque en 434 (AU 434.1) et une seconde en 471 (AU 471.1). Elles disent en vieil irlandais, à propos de l'attaque, *di Ere no ind h-Eirinn* (AU 434.1) « d'Irlande ou en Irlande » et en latin pour l'année 471 *Praeda secunda Saxonum de Hibernia* « la seconde

attaque saxonne de l'Irlande ». D'autres attaques sont enregistrées plus tard dans les Annales, surtout en 685. Les Annales d'Ulster, la patrie des peuples Dal Riada, montrent beaucoup d'intérêt pour les affaires des Saxons, des Picts, des Britanniques et des Gaels et pour leurs interactions. Pour le X$^e$ siècle, quand les Vikings établissent des colonies et des cités sur les côtes irlandaises, diverses batailles entre les Vikings et les Anglo-saxons sont aussi mentionnées dans les annales irlandaises (p. ex. AU 918.4, 936.1, 952.2). En dépit de l'intérêt manifesté, il ne semble pas qu'il y ait eu tellement d'interactions entre les Gaels et les Anglais en Irlande, bien que les interactions entre les Vikings de Dublin et ceux de l'île Britannique soient bien documentées, et que nous trouvions des mots d'emprunt communs.

Nous savons en revanche qu'il y avait beaucoup d'interaction entre les Gaels et les peuples britanniques sur l'île Britannique. Nous avons des preuves d'attaques des Gaels contre les peuples britanniques à partir du IV$^e$ siècle. Des colonies gaéliques ont été établies au pays de Galles et Ó Corráin (1989 : 6) note que le sud-ouest du pays de Galles était bilingue en gallois et gaélique au V$^e$ siècle. Dans le nord-est, le nom de la presqu'île de Llŷn reste une référence aux colonisateurs irlandais de Leinster, les « Laigin », qui ont aussi établi des colonies en Cornouailles et une grande colonie en Ecosse. Ó Corráin cite *Sanas Cormaic*, le « Glossaire de Cormac », œuvre du IX$^e$ siècle, disant que « [t]he power of the Irish over the Britons was great, and they had divided Britain between them into estates; […] and the Irish lived as much east of the sea as they did in Ireland » (Ó Corráin, 1989 : 6). Il y a une preuve supplémentaire de cette déclaration sur des pierres levées portant des écritures oghamiques en vieux gaélique datant du V$^e$ au VII$^e$ siècle, au pays de Galles, en Cournouailles, dans le Devon, et sur l'île de Man.

Durant cette première période de contacts entre les locuteurs gaéliques et anglo-saxons, les contacts semblent avoir été légers et à l'exception de mots d'emprunt, peu d'influences anglo-saxonnes peuvent être observées sur l'irlandais, et vice versa, bien qu'il y ait eu plus de contacts entre les Vikings d'Irlande et ceux de l'île Britannique et entre les Irlandais et les peuples du pays de Galles.

## 3. L'ANGLAIS EN IRLANDE PENDANT ET APRÈS LE MOYEN-ÂGE

Comme les autres villes d'Ancienne Irlande, Dublin, fondée par les Vikings, était une ville indépendante avec une population d'origine viking. Dublin était entourée

par les territoires des rois de la province Leinster, et les combats étaient fréquents. Au milieu du XII$^e$ siècle le roi de Leinster, Dermot MacMurrough, fut détrôné à l'instigation de Tiernán O'Rourke, roi du royaume nord-occidental de Bréifne. Par conséquence, Dermot MacMurrough s'adressa au roi d'Angleterre, Henri II, pour qu'il le soutienne en 1166 (Simms, 1989 : 56-7). Plus tôt dans son règne, le pape Adrian IV avait donné le droit de gouverner l'Irlande à Henri II, et Henri permit à ses sujets d'aider MacMurrogh. Le comte de Pembroke, aussi connu sous le nom de « Strongbow », s'était vu promis en mariage la fille de MacMurrogh, et ainsi la succession du royaume de Leinster. Wexford, dans le sud-est, s'était vu proposer d'autres combattants, les demi-frères cambro-normands Maurice FitzGerald et Robert FitzStephen. La conquête fut un succès, et en 1171 Henri II arriva pour recevoir les actes de foi et les hommages non seulement de Strongbow, mais aussi des rois et des princes de Limerick, de Cork, de Leinster, d'Airgialla et d'Ulster. Dublin fut donnée aux hommes de Bristol, et toute la province jusqu'à la rivière de Shannon devait être administrée par Hugh de Lacey, alors que l'ancien roi suprême, Rory O'Connor, de la province de Connacht, gardait les autres régions, principalement dans l'ouest. Les nouveaux seigneurs étaient suivis par des chevaliers, des bourgeois, des artisans et des métayers d'origines anglaise, galloise et flamande, qui vivaient côte à côte avec des métayers serviles irlandais, tandis que les classes nobles irlandaises étaient déplacées vers les territoires non colonisés (Simms, 1989 : 57-9, 63-6). La langue de la nouvelle classe noble était le normand, et celle des métayers et artisans était l'anglais. Sous le règne du roi John, fils de Henry II, la majorité du pouvoir politique fût donnée aux officiers, et de plus en plus de titres féodaux furent créés durant le XIII$^e$ siècle. Le mode de vie gaélique se maintenait dans les territoires non colonisés et était critiqué par l'Église anglaise, surtout quant aux pratiques de la vie conjugale des ecclésiastiques (Simms, 1989 : 74).

Peut-être est-ce dans ce contexte que l'on devrait analyser les premiers exemples de littérature anglo-irlandaise, les poèmes religieux *Kildare Poems*. Ils sont écrits en anglais et en latin, et ils semblent avoir été compilés entre 1330 et 1340 (Lucas, 1995). Le premier poème, *The Land of Cokaygne*, mêle des images natives irlandaises avec une description partiellement satirique et salace de la vie monastique :

1.1. Fur in see bi west Spayngne / Is a lond ihote Cokaygne. (1-2)

1.2. Though Paradis be miri and bright, / Cokaygn is of fairir sight. (5-6)

1.3.    The met is trie, the drink is clere, / To none, russin and soppper. / I sigge for-soth, boute were, / Ther nis lond on erthe is pere, / Vnder heuen nis lond iwisse, / Of so mochil joi and blisse. (19-24)

« Far away in the sea, to the west of Spain, is a land called Cockaigne.

Though Paradise may be merry and bright, Cockaigne is of a fairer sight.

The food is excellent, the drink is clear, for lunch, for afternoon meal, for supper. I say truthfully, without doubt, that there is no land on earth that is equal. Under the Heaven there is not a land indeed of so much joy and bliss. »

« Loin sur la mer, à l'ouest de l'Espagne, se trouve un pays appelé Cocagne.

Aussi heureux et lumineux que puisse être le paradis, Cocagne est d'un abord plus séduisant.

La nourriture y est délicieuse et le nectar y est clair, pour le déjeuner, la collation et le souper. Je dis en vérité, sans aucun doute, qu'il n'est pas de pays sur cette terre qui soit son égal. Sous les cieux il n'est en effet pas d'autre pays d'une telle joie et d'une telle félicité. »

La langue de ces poèmes est le moyen anglais, avec peu d'influences perceptibles du contact linguistique en dehors de mots d'emprunt occasionnels. La langue maternelle de l'auteur, ou des auteurs, est inconnue, mais un poème est attribué à « Michael de Kildare » et son épithète indique une origine de Kildare, proche de Dublin. Globalement, les poèmes présentent des caractéristiques de différents dialectes, et il est possible que cela puisse avoir le caractère distinctif d'une variété émergente d'anglais irlandais (p. ex. Hickey, 2007 : 54-65), ou que cela indique des auteurs différents. Si l'auteur n'est pas de langue maternelle anglaise, quelques images et mots d'emprunt font penser qu'il connaissait bien la tradition gaélique. Il pourrait par exemple être un membre de la population indigène qui s'est orienté vers l'anglais. Par exemple le mot *russin* (1.3 ci-dessus) vient du gaélique et indique un repas léger pris l'après-midi.

Par contraste, d'autres exemples d'anglais irlandais de périodes proches montrent une forte allégeance à la société et à la politique anglaises et l'emprise considérable des normes anglaises dans les régions qui étaient sous administration anglaise. C'est particulièrement évident dans l'est du pays, comme le montrent des exemples du *Secreta secretorum* de James Yonge (XVᵉ siècle) :

2.    This wyrchipphul knight Syr Stewyn Scrope, in kynge Recharde-is tyme and Kynge Henry-is tyme the fourth Also, Hauyng*e* the gou*er*naunce of Irland*e*, many extorcionys did, Lyu*er*ȝ takynge, lytill good Paynge, moche he traualit,

lytille espolid in the Iryssh, enemys he had al the mene tyme. Atte the last the excellent lord, Thomas of lancastre, oure lege lorde is brodyr, that now is lieuten*n*t of Irland, makyd Stephyn his depute, Irland to governe. (Steele 1898 : 133)

« This worshipful knight, Sir Stephen Scrope, in king Richard's time and in king Henry IV's time as well, had the government of Ireland and did many extortions, took livery, had little good pay, laboured much, gained little from the Irish, and had enemies all the same. At last the excellent lord, Thomas of Lancaster, our liege-lord's brother, made Stephen his deputy to govern Ireland. »

« Cet honorable chevalier, le sieur Etienne Scrope, du temps du roi Richard ainsi que du temps du roi Henri IV, qui avait le gouvernement de l'Irlande, se livra à de nombreuses extorsions, emportant des provisions, étant peu payé ; il travailla beaucoup, n'obtint que peu des Irlandais, et avait quand même des ennemis. Finalement, le très bon seigneur Thomas de Lancastre, le frère de notre seigneur régent, fit d'Etienne son substitut pour gouverner l'Irlande. »

Des exemples comme celui-ci sont peut-être attribuables à la population non autochtone. En termes de modélisation socio-linguistique, cette situation représente une phase de fondation selon le modèle de formation du dialecte de Schneider (2003), dans lequel l'anglais reste varié, mais cette variété perd de plus en plus les formes qui sont difficiles à comprendre pour les autres locuteurs, afin que la communication devienne plus facile. Schneider avance que le développement de traits linguistiques partagés coïncide avec l'évolution partagée de caractéristiques socio-psychologiques et qu'il reflète une évolution historique commune (Schneider, 2003 : 244, 240). Cette identité linguistique partagée ne se trouve pas encore dans les variétés précoces de l'anglais en Irlande.

Dès le XIII$^e$ siècle, les royaumes gaéliques restants passent sous contrôle anglais et sont administrés par des barons normands. Afin de conserver leurs terres, les seigneurs gaéliques établissent des relations personnelles avec les nobles anglais, par exemple par mariage (Simms, 1989 : 79-80). Par ailleurs, les relations entre la noblesse en Irlande et la couronne anglaise sont soumises aux exigences financières d'Edward I et d'Edward II pour financer leurs autres campagnes militaires. En plus d'une noblesse native irlandaise qui s'est assujettie à la couronne anglaise, et d'une noblesse anglo-irlandaise qui suit partiellement les coutumes irlandaises, on trouve une large classe de nobles qui possèdent des titres terriens mais qui vivent en Angleterre, surtout après les maladies et les mauvaises récoltes du XIV$^e$ siècle. Suite à ces événements, les biens sont devenus de moins en moins

rentables et les faibles profits ont été imputés à une mauvaise administration et à trop de coutumes irlandaises dans la noblesse. Par conséquent diverses expéditions ont eu lieu depuis l'Angleterre pour tenter de reconquérir le territoire. Pour améliorer la situation, les nobles anglo-irlandais ont été encouragés à se tenir à l'écart de la culture irlandaise indigène par des lois telles que les statuts de Kilkenny, écrits en français et promulgués in 1366. Ils exigent l'utilisation des coutumes anglaises par les colonisateurs anglo-irlandais, telles que la loi, les vêtements et la langue (Simms, 1989 : 83-8). Le préambule des Statuts de Kilkenny précise que les Anglais doivent utiliser des noms anglais et la langue anglaise et que le non-respect de ces règles peut entraîner la perte de la propriété (Bliss, 1979 : 13). D'autres lois de différents endroits à travers le pays montrent que cet effort n'a réussi que partiellement. Les chercheurs Bliss (1979 : 13) et Kallen (1994 : 152) mentionnent l'ordonnance de Waterford (1492-3), qui dit que l'irlandais ne doit pas être utilisé dans le tribunal de la ville et que toutes les transactions commerciales doivent être faites en anglais, si nécessaire avec l'aide de traducteurs, sauf si l'un des participants est originaire de la campagne. Ces deux textes de loi montrent l'expansion socialement et régionalement limitée de la langue anglaise aux XIV$^e$ et XV$^e$ siècles. Des preuves semblables sont visibles dans les documents d'État du XVI$^e$ siècle. Dans les premières années de ce siècle, l'usage de l'anglais était principalement limité aux villes, tandis que la population rurale conservait la langue et la culture irlandaises. En 1541, Henry VIII pris le titre de roi d'Irlande et fût proclamé roi au Parlement irlandais, où la proclamation fût lue en irlandais. Kallen (1989 : 153-4) constate que ce n'était pas parce que la noblesse irlandaise ne connaissait pas l'anglais suffisamment bien ; au contraire, c'était un acte symbolique pour intégrer la noblesse irlandaise dans le nouvel état irlandais. La langue irlandaise a certainement continué à être utilisée dans le domaine officiel de l'État au cours du siècle, par exemple par le régent de Sligo, O'Connor Sligo, quand il se présenta à la reine Elisabeth I$^{re}$ en 1568 (Kallen, 1989 : 154). Le chroniqueur Stanyhurst déplore même le fait que l'utilisation de l'anglais décline dans la zone anglophone du « Pale » autour de Dublin en 1577, constatant que la population anglaise était « so acquainted themselves with the Irishe, as they have made a mingle mangle, or gallamaulfrey of both languages » (Kallen, 1989 : 154). Cette déclaration confirme la position de Stanyhurst comme un locuteur d'une variété exonormative d'anglais. Il adhère à une norme commune non autochtone, mais il dénonce la « maternalisation » déjà forte des locuteurs de l'anglais, qui s'identifient à la culture irlandaise, et qui ont plus de caractéristiques lexicales et grammaticales locales dans leur discours. Cette situation est contraire au comportement typique

des colons selon le modèle de Schneider. Schneider (2003 : 244-5) constate que la langue des colonisateurs est normalement de plus en plus homogénéisée durant la phase de fondation, et que les colons n'estiment pas nécessaire d'apprendre les langues autochtones. Au lieu de cela, une partie de la population locale apprend les langues des colons. Une fois la communauté des colons en place, le modèle prédit que les colons devraient s'identifier à leur pays d'origine, l'Angleterre, et se sentir comme aux avant-postes de la culture et de la langue anglaises. La population indigène, d'autre part, devient généralement de plus en plus bilingue (Schneider 2003 : 244-5). Cela semble avoir été seulement partiellement le cas en Irlande.

Nous pouvons trouver des preuves linguistiques de ceci dans l'édition de Bliss (1979), qui a réuni un nombre d'exemples littéraires dont on pense qu'ils représentent des variétés mixtes de l'anglais. On pense que la date de composition de l'exemple suivant, imprimé en 1605, est 1596 (Bliss, 1979 : 31) :

3.1. *Oneale* Fate is the token? fate siegne that *Brian Mack Phelem* said he would hang oot?

3.2. [O']*Han*[lon] I feate I kno not ask the Shecretary. (Bliss, 1979 : 77)

« *O'Neale* What is the token? What sign [is it] that Brian Mac Phelem said he would hang out?

*O'Hanlon* I, faith, I know not, ask the secretary. »

« *O'Neale* Quel est le symbole ? Quel [est ce] signe que Brian McPhelemy a dit vouloir suspendre ?

*O'Hanlon* En vérité je ne sais pas ; demandez au secrétaire. »

Ce court passage illustre diverses caractéristiques communément attribuées au vernaculaire anglais irlandais primitif : l'utilisation de <f> pour <wh>, la confusion de <s> pour <sh>, et de <t> pour <th> dans la fricative dentaire non voisée du mot *faith* en 3.2 (bien que la fricative dentaire voisée soit maintenue dans le mot *that* en 3.1). Cependant, l'intention derrière de telles compositions est potentiellement dépréciative, et il est bien possible que les particularités linguistiques des personnages aient été exagérées pour un effet comique. Si le contexte de ce passage, l'opposition contre l'armée anglaise et l'utilisation de noms irlandais dans une partie du texte, est pris à la lettre, ce texte semble imiter les habitudes discursives de locuteurs irlandais natifs et non celles d'anciens Anglais bien assimilés à la culture irlandaise.

La preuve présentée par Kallen (1989) montre que jusqu'au début du XVII$^e$ siècle la langue irlandaise est restée en concurrence sérieuse avec l'anglais, et nous

constatons que la langue anglaise est menacée en Irlande à l'époque, ce qui contredit le bilinguisme croissant suggéré par le modèle de Schneider. Cependant l'étendue de cette concurrence est contestée. Alors que Bliss (1979 : 17) pense que les anciens Anglais se sont convertis complètement à la langue irlandaise, Kallen (1989 : 154-6) trouve diverses indications que l'anglais était encore couramment utilisé dans le pays à cette époque. Cela semble particulièrement vrai pour les régions de Forth et de Bargy dans le comté de Wexford. Pour ces régions, Bliss (1979 : 22) note également que l'on pense que la population utilisait encore une variété de l'anglais de Chaucer en 1682, et que les gens de la baronnie de Forth parlaient encore une langue saxonne simplifiée en 1770. La région de Fingal dans le comté de Dublin est décrite comme s'étant trouvée dans une situation similaire à celles de Forth et de Bargy, mais une plus grande influence de l'irlandais est signalée pour ce dialecte. Cette plus grande influence est décrite comme étant due au contact prolongé des deux langues dans cette région (Bliss, 1979 : 27). Bliss identifie trois textes de sa collection comme étant originaires de Fingallian. Des extraits de deux de ceux-ci sont donnés ici :

4.  On a Day in the Spring, / As I went to Bolring / To view the jolly Daunceirs, / They did trip it so high / (Be me shole!), I did spee / Six C— abateing Seav'n hairs. (*The Fingallian Dance*, 1650-60 ; Bliss, 1979 : 111)

    « On a day in the spring, as I went to [the] bull-ring, to view the jolly dancers, they did trip so high (by my soul!), I did spy six c—abating seven hairs. »

    « Un jour de printemps, alors que je me rendais aux arènes pour voir les joyeux danseurs, ils bondirent si haut (par mon âme !) que je vis six c— couper sept cheveux. »

5.  Dear Joy, St *P*atrick, vil dou hear / Dee own Cheeld *Nees* make his Pray-ere, / Dat never did, or I'm a Teef, / so much before in all mee Leef. (*The Irish Hudibras*, 1689 ; Bliss, 1979 : 126)

    « Dear joy, St. Patrick, will you hear your own child Nees make his prayer, who never did, or I'm a thief, so much before in my life. »

    « Chère joie, Saint Patrick, entendras-tu ton propre enfant Nees faire sa prière, qui n'a jamais fait, ou je suis un voleur, autant jusqu'ici dans ma vie ? »

Par rapport à l'exemple 4, l'exemple 5 a de nombreuses caractéristiques irlandaises. Dans l'exemple 4, nous trouvons seulement *shole* « âme », où /ʃ/ remplace /s/, et il manque une diphtongue dans *spee, spy* « voir, espionner », qui serait attendue pour les variétés d'anglais datant d'après le grand changement vocalique du milieu du XVIIe siècle, qui avait pris fin au XVIe siècle en Angleterre. A l'inverse, dans

l'exemple 5 nous trouvons une confusion entre /w/ et /v/ (*vil* pour *will*), /d/ et /t/ pour /θ/ et /ð/ (*dat* pour *that*) et /ii/ ou /i:/ pour /ei/ ou /ai/ dans les mots *dee, thy* « ton », *cheeld, child* « enfant », et *leef, life* « vie ». Cette variation pourrait indiquer soit une variation dialectale entre des versions plus ou moins vulgaires, soit l'exagération de ces traits dans certains cas mais pas dans d'autres.

Dans la première partie de cette période, la langue gaélique irlandaise a conservé une position socio-historique forte jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle et il n'y avait pas beaucoup de bilinguisme. Des variétés du vieil anglais ont été conservées dans des domaines traditionnellement anglophones, un phénomène connu sous le nom de *colonial lag* « retard colonial » (Görlach, 1987). Cette étape montre une certaine « stabilisation exonormative » de l'anglais irlandais mentionné ci-dessus. Les normes de l'anglais sont celles de l'Angleterre ; les mots d'emprunt pour la topographie et les concepts culturels sont introduits de l'irlandais. Au XVIIe siècle, l'anglais des anciens Anglais présente les effets de phénomènes de contact importants avec l'irlandais, mais les autres anglophones moins assimilés ont conservé les normes anglaises de l'Angleterre. Nous pouvons voir que, en plus des normes exonormatives de l'anglais, une « maternalisation » forte du dialecte a eu lieu, et cette « maternalisation », la troisième phase du modèle de Schneider, semble être largement basée sur l'introduction des phénomènes de contact dans le discours des locuteurs de l'anglais. Néanmoins, l'acquisition non structurée de l'anglais par des locuteurs de langue maternelle irlandaise est aussi présente.

## 4. L'ANGLAIS PENDANT LA PÉRIODE MODERNE

Alors que la langue anglaise n'a pas eu un impact majeur sur l'utilisation de l'irlandais jusqu'au début du XVIIe siècle, cela a changé dans le nord du pays au début du XVIIe siècle avec la colonisation d'Ulster. A la fin du XVIe siècle diverses rébellions se sont produites surtout en Munster et en Ulster après le développement d'entreprises coloniales civiles et l'imposition d'une taxe foncière, mais la résistance irlandaise fût écrasée en dépit du soutien d'un débarquement de l'armada espagnole à Kinsale en 1601. Les seigneurs indigènes durent fuir et la terre fut accordée aux propriétaires anglais pour dompter l'opposition catholique irlandaise. A partir de 1603, le roi James Ier encouragea la redistribution des terres d'Ulster à des colons venus des basses terres d'Écosse et du nord de l'Angleterre. Ceux-ci apportèrent avec eux les variétés d'anglais du nord et d'écossais qui forment la base de la langue anglaise en Ulster. Peu de temps après, d'autres révoltes éclatèrent en

Ulster, et celles-ci furent également écrasées. Après les défaites lors des rébellions, la plus grande partie de la noblesse indigène irlandaise fuit vers le continent en 1607 (Canny, 1989 : 127-34).

Après une nouvelle rébellion et le massacre des colons protestants, de nouvelles forces anglaises furent envoyées sous Olivier Cromwell, et entre 1649 et 1652 les comtés du centre et du sud furent recolonisés (Canny, 1989 : 144-8). Les soldats, qui venaient principalement du centre et du sud de l'Angleterre, furent payés avec des terres. Cela eût pour résultat que la plupart des propriétaires fonciers furent remplacés, tant les propriétaires indigènes que les anciens Anglais, qui s'installèrent alors dans l'ouest, où le sol était moins fertile (cf. Bliss, 1979 : 19), et la langue anglaise du sud se trouva établie avec les nouveaux propriétaires dans le sud de l'Irlande. Dans un premier temps, l'impact linguistique de ces nouveaux colons ne fût pas uniforme dans tout le pays. Kallen remarque qu'une majorité des colons anglophones se trouvent dans le seul comté d'Antrim en Ulster. Les données du recensement de 1659 indiquent que 54% de la population parlait l'anglais en Antrim, contre 25% à 45% dans le reste de l'Ulster. Dans le sud, Dublin avait le pourcentage le plus élevé de population parlant l'anglais, 45%, et les régions les plus occidentales avaient des pourcentages inférieurs, le comté de Clare en ayant seulement 3% (Kallen, 1998 : 157). Dans l'ensemble, les villes avaient des pourcentages plus élevés de population anglaise que la campagne, et les banlieues avaient une position médiane. Mais comme la plus grande partie de l'administration locale et du commerce était entre les mains des anglophones, l'importance de la maîtrise de l'anglais était croissante pour la population indigène.

Après un certain nombre d'autres révoltes, des lois furent promulguées dans les années 1695 et 1704 pour bannir le clergé catholique, et pour restreindre les droits pour les catholiques de posséder des terres, des chevaux ou des armes, ou d'accéder à l'éducation. Dans un article bien connu, Wall (1969) constate que la classe moyenne catholique a montré de la loyauté envers la couronne anglaise et a abandonné la langue irlandaise afin d'obtenir la reconnaissance civile. Par conséquent, l'irlandais est devenu la langue de la population rurale et moins instruite. Pendant le XVIIIe siècle, le bilinguisme s'est également propagé parmi les moins instruits, surtout par l'enseignement dans les écoles communautaires par d'autres membres plus instruits de la communauté. Il s'agit de la période de « maternalisation » de la langue anglaise en Irlande, au cours de laquelle la population indigène a commencé à passer à l'anglais. Wall soutient que la montée de l'anglais a été conduite par la nouvelle classe moyenne anglophone, et par la

prise de conscience politique de la population à la fin du XVIII$^e$ siècle (1989 : 88). Afin de promouvoir une république irlandaise en Angleterre et dans d'autres pays, la langue anglaise fût utilisée. Une situation de diglossie a alors commencé à émerger. L'anglais fut progressivement préféré dans tous les domaines tandis que l'irlandais était réservé à la vie quotidienne, en particulier dans les zones rurales. La langue anglaise fit de plus grandes avancées quand le système scolaire national, qui utilisait seulement l'anglais, fût introduit en 1831. Mais le coup quasi mortel fût porté à la langue irlandaise lors du dépeuplement des zones rurales, surtout dans l'ouest, suite à grande famine dès 1845 (Wall, 1989 : 86-7).

En cette période de conversion linguistique importante, deux variétés d'anglais irlandais ont été établies : l'anglais d'Ulster s'est développé sur la base des variétés d'Ecosse et du nord de l'Angleterre, l'anglais du sud de l'Irlande s'est développé sur la base des variétés d'anglais des régions centrales et du sud. Selon le modèle de Schneider, la différenciation dialectale n'arrive qu'après la phase suivante, la stabilisation endonormative (Schneider, 2003 : 249-50 ; cf. ci-dessous). Mais en anglais irlandais le processus principal de différenciation des dialectes a précédé la stabilisation endonormative, ce qui est dû à l'histoire de la colonisation du pays. Lorsque des groupes importants de population ont subi la conversion linguistique au XIX$^e$ siècle, de nombreuses caractéristiques de la langue gaélique ont été transférées à l'anglais, ce qui a conduit à une maternalisation continue de l'anglais en Irlande.

## 5. LA STABILISATION D'UNE VARIÉTÉ D'ANGLAIS IRLANDAISE

L'importance croissante de l'anglais, en particulier dans l'économie et dans la politique, a conduit à une diminution constante de l'emploi de la langue irlandaise dans toutes les régions du pays. Au fil du temps, le très répandu monolinguisme irlandais s'est transformé en bilinguisme et a été largement remplacé par le monolinguisme anglais. Ce développement a connu une certaine inversion après la fondation de l'État libre d'Irlande en 1922 (cf. tableau dans Kallen, 1994 : 161), quand l'enseignement de la langue irlandaise fût introduit dans les écoles publiques. Bien que le nombre de locuteurs de langue maternelle ne pût pas être augmenté, le nombre d'anglophones ayant de la compétence en irlandais progressa. Selon les données du recensement de 2006, 72'000 locuteurs utilisent quotidiennement l'irlandais, et 1,66 millions de locuteurs indiquent qu'ils ont au moins une certaine

connaissance de l'irlandais (Central Statistics Office, 2006). Outre les conséquences évidentes pour la langue irlandaise, la diminution massive de locuteurs natifs de l'irlandais est également susceptible d'avoir influencé le développement de l'anglais irlandais au fil du temps. L'évolution de la situation linguistique en Irlande offre un exemple de conversion linguistique d'une majorité linguistique socio-politiquement moins puissante vers la langue qui était autrefois celle de la minorité socio-économiquement plus puissante. Cette conversion a laissé seulement une minorité de locuteurs maternels de l'irlandais.

La situation est un bon exemple du contact linguistique entre langues majoritaire et minoritaire, tel que décrit par Heine et Kuteva (2005 : 237-9). Aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, et au début du XIXe siècle, nous nous trouvons en présence de compétences répandues en irlandais comme langue maternelle, avec une acquisition de l'anglais qui se déroule d'une manière largement non scolaire. Cette forme d'acquisition du langage conduit à un transfert de structures linguistiques de la langue parlée par la majorité de la population (ici l'irlandais) à la langue apprise, l'anglais. C'était nettement le cas dans les années de formation de l'anglais irlandais du XVIIe au XIXe siècle. La conversion vers l'anglais a conduit à la reproduction de structures de la langue irlandaise dans certaines caractéristiques bien connues de l'anglais irlandais. Il y a notamment une phonologie caractéristique, avec moins de diphtongues qu'en anglais moderne : la prononciation systématique de la lettre *r*, et la préférence de /t/ et /d/ à /θ/ et /ð/ (cf. Hickey, 2007 : 316-25). De plus, il y a un système distinct de temps et d'aspects, avec par exemple l'aspect accompli, exprimé par *after* + participe présent (6), l'aspect habituel avec *do be* (7), et des fonctionnalités pragmatiques telles que l'utilisation extensive des phrases clivées (8). Diverses études ont mis en évidence l'utilisation de ces caractéristiques dans le discours traditionnel ou vernaculaire (Filppula, 1999 ; Hickey, 2007) ou dans la littérature (Taniguchi, 1972) :

6. But we seen a lot of people that were dead, laid out where *they're after being shot*, in the rooms […]. (Filppula, 1999 : 99)

   « Mais on voyait beaucoup de gens qui étaient morts, étendus là où *ils avaient été abattus*, dans les chambres. »

7. And err, when I *do be listen'* to the Irish here, I *do be* sorry now, when you're in a local having a drink, nobody seems to understand it. (Filppula, 1999 : 130)

   « Et euh, quand j'*entends* de l'Irlandais ici, je *suis* déçu maintenant ; quand vous êtes dans un bar pour prendre un verre, personne ne semble le comprendre. »

8.      [Have many people left this area at all, or – or given up farming at all – or?] Ah, very little's give up farming round this area. It's *looking for more land* a lot of them are. (Filppula, 1999 : 250)

« [Est-ce que beaucoup de gens ont quitté la région, ou… ou abandonné l'agriculture ? ou…] Ah, peu de gens abandonnent l'agriculture dans cette région. La plupart d'entre eux sont plutôt *à la recherche de terrain supplémentaire*. »

Ces exemples montrent clairement les caractéristiques indigènes, et même si ces caractéristiques, qui sont manifestement non conformes à la grammaire anglaise standard, seraient critiquées à l'école, la variété s'est stabilisée avec différentes caractéristiques morpho-syntactiques et phonétiques qui ne sont pas influencées par des normes extérieures, ce qui constitue une « stabilisation endonormative » selon le modèle de Schneider (2003 : 249-50). Cette phase apparaît normalement après l'indépendance politique. La plupart des variétés à ce stade sont linguistiquement homogènes.

Toutefois la direction de l'influence linguistique dans le contact linguistique est en train de changer. La situation linguistique contemporaine en Irlande, en partie monolinguisme anglais et en partie bilinguisme anglais et irlandais, correspond à la catégorie de bilinguisme asymétrique de Heine et Kuteva (2005), dans lequel les locuteurs de la langue minoritaire sont à l'aise dans la langue de la majorité, mais la majorité ne parle pas la langue de la minorité. Ils observent que cette situation conduit à la reproduction extensive, c'est-à-dire à l'influence linguistique, de la langue de la majorité dans la langue de la minorité. Cette influence linguistique existe en effet en irlandais contemporain, en particulier dans le lexique, la morphologie et la phonologie (cf. Stenson, 1993), tandis que l'utilisation de l'irlandais n'exerce que peu d'influence supplémentaire sur l'évolution actuelle de l'anglais irlandais. Cette perte d'influence du bilinguisme irlandais peut causer un certain nivellement dialectal entre l'anglais irlandais et l'anglais britannique ou américain. Par rapport aux exemples 3 et 5, nous pouvons constater que les données contemporaines ont un caractère moins distinctivement irlandais. Lorsque nous considérons la langue contemporaine parlée par des locuteurs pas explicitement traditionnels dans les zones urbaines, nous voyons que les caractéristiques spécifiques vernaculaires, en particulier dans la grammaire et le lexique, ne sont pas très fréquentes. Ceci peut être observé dans l'*International Corpus of English – Ireland Component* (ICE-Ireland ; Kallen & Kirk, 2008). Les corpora ICE se composent d'un million de mots et sont basés sur du matériel écrit et parlé. Ils

constituent une bonne représentation des formes de variétés d'anglais qui ne sont pas explicitement traditionnellement vernaculaires. Observez l'extrait suivant :

9.     The committee had the power to prohibit the sale and distribution of « indecent or obscene » books. The publishing, selling or distribution of literature advocating birth-control was also deemed an offence under the Act. Theatre in the Saorstát in the 1920s enjoyed freedom from censorship. However, when the Abbey Theatre performed Sean O'Casey's *The Plough and the Stars*, there were vocal protests against the bringing of the tricolour into a public house and to the presence there of a prostitute, Rosie Redmond. The play ran for two weeks but with the lights on in the theatre and with gardaí lining the passages at the sides of the pit. Conservatism remained a feature of most aspects of the Irish administrative, cultural and social life in the 1920s. (ICE-Ireland, Popular Humanities South, W2B-010, 56-60)

« Le comité avait le pouvoir d'interdire la vente et la distribution de livres "indécents et obscènes". La publication, la mise en vente ou la distribution de littérature plaidant pour le contrôle des naissances était également considérée comme un crime sous cette loi. Le théâtre était libre de censure dans le Saorstát dans les années 1920. Pourtant, lorsque l'Abbey Theatre joua *The Plough and the Stars* ("*La Charrue et les étoiles*") de Sean O'Casey, il y eut des protestations soutenues contre l'intrusion du Tricolore dans un établissement public et la présence d'une prostituée, Rosie Redmond, dans un tel endroit. La pièce se donna pendant deux semaines, mais avec les lumières allumées dans le théâtre et des gardaí postés dans les couloirs et de part et d'autre de la fosse. Le conservatisme resta un trait dominant de la plupart des aspects de la vie administrative, culturelle et sociale irlandaise dans les années 1920. »

Si cet extrait ne comporte pas de détails phonologiques, il ne contient pas non plus de particularités grammaticales spécifiquement irlandaises. Ceci est en accord avec l'observation de Kirk et Kallen selon laquelle les caractéristiques claires de transfert du *Celtic* sont rares dans l'ICE-Ireland (Kirk & Kallen, 2007 : 292). Nous trouvons cependant l'utilisation d'une terminologie officielle dérivée de la langue irlandaise, *Soarstát* « État libre » et *gardaí* « policiers ». Ces termes officiels sont peut-être les exemples les plus visibles de l'influence de la langue irlandaise en anglais contemporain urbain irlandais (voir aussi G. Schneider, ce volume).

En plus d'être compatible avec les théories du contact linguistique mentionnées ci-dessus, les développements de l'anglais irlandais sont également compatibles avec les théories sur le développement des variétés de l'anglais. Les différentes étapes de Schneider sont clairement visibles dans les étapes de l'anglais irlandais.

L'anglais irlandais a dépassé le stade où il reflétait des variétés d'anglais de l'Angleterre, puis des caractéristiques locales ont été de plus en plus présentes, et une variété distincte a émergé. D'une part, la variété a émergé quand les colons anglophones ont effectué une conversion à l'irlandais d'un degré inhabituel. D'autre part, en particulier au XIX$^e$ siècle, des groupes importants de la population ont effectué une conversation linguistique à l'anglais. Une différenciation des dialectes linguistiques s'est produite à un stade précoce déjà, en raison de modes de peuplement différents dans le nord et dans le sud de l'Irlande, puis plus de variétés régionales distinctes se sont développées. Mais comme dans beaucoup de variétés de l'anglais, le nivellement dialectal semble aujourd'hui prendre place. Ceci est probablement dû à plus de contacts avec les variétés standardisées de la langue dans l'éducation et les médias internationaux en Irlande contemporaine.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Cette enquête a retracé l'expansion de l'anglais en Irlande. Il a été démontré que la langue celtique, le gaélique irlandais, et l'anglais ont été en contact pendant une période de temps considérable sans qu'aucune conversion linguistique complète n'ait lieu. Cependant des preuves linguistiques de contacts culturels peuvent être identifiées et montrent que la situation sociale a été favorable au contact des langues dans les deux directions. Cette évolution diverge en partie du modèle dynamique de Schneider en ce que les colonisateurs ont démontré au début une conversion approfondie à la langue vernaculaire. Par ailleurs, la différenciation du principal dialecte a eu lieu à un stade précoce, en raison de causes externes plutôt que de développements internes. Mais en Irlande, comme dans d'autres régions sur les îles Britanniques, la direction des contacts a changé durant les temps modernes sous la pression de la langue socio-économiquement dominante, de sorte que la langue gaélique est maintenant plus susceptible d'être influencée par l'anglais que l'inverse. A cet égard, la situation en Irlande est similaire aux nombreuses variétés d'anglais internationales. Mais l'anglais irlandais se distingue des autres variétés internationales en ce sens que le changement de rapport à la langue anglaise a pris beaucoup de temps. Cela est dû à une forte position socio-culturelle de l'irlandais durant la période postmédiévale.

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# « IRISH ACCENTS DRIVE ME NUTS »: THE REPRESENTATION OF IRISH SPEECH IN DC COMICS

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**Abstract**

   This article investigates the depiction of Irish speech and Irishness in American popular culture. It compares the language of Irish superheroes in the Marvel universe with that of Irish characters who appear in DC comics. It shows that the linguistic description of the characters hinges on perceived salient features and it discusses differences between the two comic-book worlds, as well as the question of to what degree the two representations are grounded in reality.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Since the eighteenth century, the Irish have regularly featured in cartoons, comics and caricatures – first appearing in satirical publications such as *Punch* in Great Britain and *Puck*, *Harper's Weekly* and *Yankee Notions* in the USA. Irish characters in these magazines were typically modelled on the familiar figure of the Stage Irishman, who could be found treading the boards in theatres on both sides of the Atlantic at the time. Both on the stage and in print, these characters were depicted as ignorant simian-like figures, with a propensity to drunkenness, fecklessness and violence. Their appeal to local audiences, however, was not just their ridiculous appearance and behaviour, but also the way they spoke, as, according to Bourgeois, the typical Stage Irishman « has an atrocious Irish brogue, makes perpetual jokes, blunders and bulls in speaking, and never fails to utter, by way of Hibernian seasoning, some screech or oath of Gaelic origin at every third word » (1913 : 109).

   However, Irish characters have not solely served as comic relief or appeared in only humorous comics and cartoons, but rather have featured in strips and stories where they were not intended to be figures of fun. Indeed, since the mid-twentieth century, they have increasingly appeared in serious roles in superhero comics, where they serve to bring an international dimension to crime-fighting teams, such

as the Leymen or the Global Guardians, or where they add ethnic flavour to communities in fictional cities such as Gotham and Blüdhaven. In light of these developments, this paper will examine the speech of six such characters from the DC universe – the setting of the stories in DC comics and the home of such famous figures as Superman, Batman, Wonder Woman and Green Lantern.[71] The characters under examination will be The Gay Ghost, Jack O'Lantern, Bridget Clancy, Dudley Soames, Mrs McIlvaine and Donovan Flint. Their speech will be analysed to discover whether and how their Irishness is conveyed (phonologically, lexically and grammatically) and to establish to what extent it corresponds with existing portrayals of Irish English.

## 2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

To date, research on the representation of the Irish in caricature and cartoons has largely focussed on political cartoons and comic strips from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and includes « From Shanties to Lace Curtains: The Irish Image in *Puck*, 1876–1910 » (Appel, 1971), *The Distorted Image: Stereotype and Caricature in American Popular Graphics, 1850–1922* (Appel & Appel, 1973), *Pat-Riots to Patriots: American Irish in Caricature and Comic Art* (Appel & Appel, 1990), *Das Bild der Iren und Irlands im Punch 1841–1921* (Weimer, 1993), *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Perry Curtis Jr., 1997) and « From Swarthy Ape to Sympathetic Everyman and Subversive Trickster: The Development of Irish Caricature in American Comic Strips between 1890 and 1920 » (Soper, 2005). These studies have predominantly focussed on how the Irish were initially portrayed as the « brogue-spouting, irresponsible, inebriated, recalcitrant, happy-go-lucky Irish Pat and Bridget » (Appel & Appel, 1990 : 8) and how that representation slowly changed over time. Those studies which focus on the Irish in the US show that as acceptance of the Irish grew around the turn of the twentieth century, « Micks, Bog Trotters, Queens of the Kitchen, and Knights of the Hod – a few of the nicknames applied to Irish immigrants – gradually metamorphosed in caricature from troublesome Pat-riots to blarneying but respectable working and middle class Irish-Americans, including winsome colleens and law-and-order enforcing cops » (Appel & Appel, 1990 : 10). It is this latter type of more positive portrayal of the Irish that can be seen in the comics under

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[71] The name of the publishing house has changed over time and although DC was not the company's name when the earliest comics from this corpus were published, it will be used throughout for the sake of simplicity, as is customary in comic studies (cf. Wright, 2001 : xix).

discussion, one in which their roles have changed but their Irish brogue remains well and truly intact.[72]

When it comes to the representation of Irish speech in comics, there have been very few studies thus far. Weimer's aforementioned work, however, does dedicate a few pages to the topic. He offers a summary of the most salient features used in suggesting Irish speech in *Punch* magazine and explains that it involves respelling to suggest Irish pronunciation, as well as the use of typically Irish grammar and lexical items. With regard to pronunciation, he notes that the most common respellings are <oi> for <i> (*foine, Oireland*), <i> for <e> (*iligant, gintry*), and <a>, <ay> or <ai> for <ea> (*bastes, trayson, aisy*) (1993 : 465). When it comes to grammar, he notes that the use of Irish English (hereafter IE) grammatical forms (or those believed to be such) is rare and limited predominantly to the use of *them* rather than *those* as a demonstrative pronoun, the use of *what* rather than *who*, *which* or *that* as a relative pronoun, the use of *will* rather than *shall* as a modal when used with the first person singular in questions, the lack of subject-verb concord, and the use of the tag *is it?* to create questions (1993 : 466). Instead, the most frequent way to suggest Irishness is through the use of typical lexical items or expressions. These consist largely of euphemistic exclamations such as *bejabers, begorra, bedad, arrah, accushla, musha, troth* and *faix* or *faith*, which are usually used to emphasise the emotionality and wildness of the Irish (1993 : 466-7). Other religious oaths also appear regularly in *Punch*, with expressions such as *The blessed saints preserve us!*, *By St Patrick!*, or *By the soul of St. Pat!* featuring prominently (1993 : 471). Weimer concludes his summary by mentioning the presence of stereotypical expressions such as *the broth of a boy*, a typical form of praise for an Irishman, and *the top uv the mhornin' to ye* and *more power to yer elbow*, which are supposedly typical greetings (1993 : 470-1).[73]

The first more in-depth study of the linguistic portrayal of Irish characters in comics or caricatures was this author's 2012 study « "Ah, Laddie, Did Ye Really Think I'd Let a Foine Broth of a Boy Such as Yerself Get Splattered…?": Representations of Irish English Speech in the *Marvel* Universe ». It investigated the speech of Irish characters in Marvel superhero comics from the mid-twentieth to

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[72] Interestingly, Clancy and Mrs Mac, two of the characters in this study and both of whom were created in the 1990s, continue to occupy the traditional Irish female emigrant role of the housekeeper, even if Clancy's role has been elevated somewhat to that of the building's superintendent. What is more, Clancy's first name, like her Queen of the Kitchen forbears, is Bridget. Soames, another character under investigation, also fits into a role traditionally occupied by the Irish in America, namely that of a police officer.

[73] For the complete findings, see Weimer (1993 : 464-73).

the early twenty-first century, and was based on a corpus of 150 comic books (approx. 25,500 words), dating from 1967 to 2009, and featuring the characters Banshee, Siryn, Black Tom Cassidy, Shamrock and Irish Wolfhound. The study offered a representative overview of the speech of Irish figures in the Marvel universe, in that the comics were taken from 28 different series, such as *Uncanny X-Men*, *X-Factor*, *Generation X* and *Excalibur*, and were written by 28 different writers or writing teams, including such luminaries as Chris Claremont, Roy Thomas, Len Wein and Peter David. The study unearthed some very interesting discoveries, which are summarized below in some detail as they are also of import to the current paper.

In keeping with Weimer's observations for *Punch* magazine, the comics in the Marvel corpus contained very few grammatical features of IE. Those that did appear were either used incorrectly (e.g. the famous "*after*-perfect") or they were used so frequently in short spaces of time in the speech of individual characters that they drew negative attention to themselves (e.g. *it*-clefting). A further similarity to Weimer's observations concerned lexical items and expressions. Interjections and religious exclamations, particularly those relating to saints, were very common, while stereotypical terms such as *begorrah* and *top o' the morning*, although present in the corpus, occurred only rarely – three times and once respectively. Indeed, it turned out that the most frequent IE, or supposedly IE, terms used in the comics were the affirmative *aye*, and the vocatives *lad*, *laddie/laddy*, *lass*, *lassie*, *boyo* and *bucko*. These findings reflected a general tendency in the comics for speakers of foreign languages or varieties of English other than Standard American to be characterised by their use of code switches or dialectal words, particularly in the form of affirmatives, negatives, vocatives and exclamations. Thus, for example, French characters typically use terms like *oui*, *non*, *mon ami*, and *sacre bleu!*, while Germans use *ja*, *nein*, *mein Freund* and *mein Gott!*[74]

Findings regarding the portrayal of Irish accent in the Marvel universe were also interesting in that the respellings indicated by Weimer as being common in *Punch* were almost completely absent with only one or two isolated occurrences in the 25,500 word corpus. What is more, even if one were to look beyond Weimer's study to find additional possible respellings that could have been used to represent IE, these were also absent. For example, Taniguchi conducted a study of the

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[74] Foreign expressions are not always correct and often display errors in spelling or grammatical agreement. For example, in *Uncanny X-Men #100*, the German character Nightcrawler says « Ich verst'hen, Herr Doktor », thus not conjugating the verb, while in *Uncanny X-Men #148*, he says « Auf weidersehn », which is misspelled.

representation of Irish speech in plays and novels, but the respellings he mentions were present only a handful of times, if at all, in the Marvel corpus. Thus, there was no evidence of <s> being respelled as <sh>, as in *shtop* rather than *stop*, or of <j> being used instead of <d>, as in *projuce* rather than *produce* (cf. Taniguchi, 1972 : 239-41). What is even more surprising is that there was only one substitution of <t> for <th> in all 150 comics, despite the fact that this is always a salient feature in descriptions of Irish accents (cf. Amador Moreno, 2010 : 77). Instead, Irish accent was chiefly indicated via what Preston terms « allegro speech ». Allegro speech forms are those that « attempt to capture through the use of nonstandard spellings (some more traditional than others) the fact that speech is casual, not carefully monitored, relaxed – perhaps slangy » (1985 : 328). This is done chiefly via elision (e.g. the loss of the /v/ in *of* before consonants; Roach, 2000 : 143) and the use of weak forms (e.g. /ən/ or /n/ for *and*; Roach, 2000 : 114). While one could argue that these strategies are common in spoken casual speech and thus not out of the ordinary, they stand out in the comics in question as the Irish characters are indicated as using them much more frequently than other characters do.

One final finding from the study, and one which was particularly interesting, was that there was a tendency for the writers to confuse Irish speech with Scottish speech. Thus, Irish characters in the Marvel comics often use terms more commonly associated with Scottish English, such as *lassie*, *laddie*, *bonny* and *beastie* (cf. OED). Not only that, but they sometimes use Scottish negation, saying *nae*, *cannae*, *dinnae*, *didnae*, etc. (cf. Miller, 2004 : 303), or they make erroneous references to Scottish popular culture, such as the traditional Scottish song « The Bonnie Banks o' Loch Lomond » or the movie *Brigadoon*.

In light of the findings for Irish speech as represented in Marvel comics, a number of research questions emerge that will be of interest with regard to the portrayal of Irish speech in DC comics. 1) In what ways is Irish speech most frequently represented in the comics? 2) Are features of IE grammar also rare, in keeping with both Weimer's observations and the findings of the Marvel study? 3) Which IE expressions or phrases are most frequent? Are they also affirmatives, vocatives and exclamations, as in the Marvel corpus? 4) Is Irish accent represented via respellings as in *Punch* and in many plays and novels, or is the focus mainly on elision and weak forms as in the Marvel comics? 5) Do Scottish features also occur erroneously in Irish speech in the DC corpus? Before those questions can be answered, however, a few words must be dedicated to the methodology used for the

current study, the composition of the corpus and the main characters whose speech will be investigated.

# 3. METHODOLOGY

## 3.1. THE CORPUS

Great efforts were taken to compile a corpus of DC comics that was as compatible as possible with the one from the Marvel study. To that end, the corpus for the current paper also comprises 150 comic books, this time from the DC publishing house. Again, the comics are taken from a broad range of series, 20 in total (including *Sensation Comics*, *Nightwing*, *Primal Force* and *Star Hunters*) and were authored by at least 20 different writers or writing teams (including Gardner Fox, Chuck Dixon and Steven Seagle). However, whereas the previous study focussed on five characters, this study by necessity examines six in order to achieve a corpus of 150 comics from the DC universe, where individual Irish characters recur less frequently.[75] The breakdown of appearances per character is as follows: The Gay Ghost (35), Jack O'Lantern (39), Bridget Clancy (31), Dudley Soames (31), Mrs McIlvaine (18) and Donovan Flint (8). Every utterance was transcribed for each character, regardless of whether it displayed features of IE, and the total number of words in the corpus amounted to approximately 36,650. This figure is greater than the 25,500 words of the Marvel corpus, due to the fact that some of the characters in the current study, such as The Gay Ghost, are the main protagonists in the stories they appear in, whereas their counterparts in the Marvel comics, despite perhaps being better known to the average comic reader, usually appear as members of teams, like the X-Men, and thus have to share speaking time. It should also be noted that, even within the DC corpus, there are substantial differences regarding the number of words spoken per character. For instance, some characters, such as Flint, have few appearances in total but speak a great deal, whereas others, such as Mrs Mac, appear more regularly but have less to say. The approximate word count per speaker is as follows: Gay Ghost (14,100), Jack (9,900), Clancy (3,700), Soames (3,100), Mrs Mac (650) and Flint (5,200). As in the previous study, I will not calculate the total number of occurrences of a linguistic feature in the corpus. Instead, each feature will simply be noted as either occurring or not occurring in a comic. The reason for this is that counting whether or not a feature occurs in a

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[75] It should be noted that within those 150 comics some characters, e.g. Clancy and Soames, appear in the same issues and therefore when one totals the number of appearances per character the sum is actually greater than 150.

particular issue will better reflect how likely it would be for readers to encounter that feature if they were to consult any of the comics in the corpus. For example, the lexical item *lad* occurs in 32 of the 150 comics, meaning that one has a 21.3% chance of encountering it if one looks at any of the comic books (which, as it happens, is the same rate as for the Marvel corpus). If, on the other hand, one were to count the total number of appearances of *lad* in the entire corpus (including repeat occurrences in individual issues), it would add up to 60, almost twice that of the original findings. This is because a high rate of appearances of the feature in individual comics greatly skews the impression created for the whole corpus. This is nicely illustrated in *Nightwing #68*, where Soames speaks in only 10 panels, yet uses the vocative *lad* on 8 occasions in those brief exchanges:

1. Good t'hear, lad.

2. Dissension in the ranks, lad?

3. And when did I admit t'bein' a hero, lad?

4. We're gonna settle some scores, lad.

5. And what's so wrong with us makin' the rules, lad?

6. There's always goin' t'be crime, lad.

7. Now yer usin' yer brains insteada your fists, lad.

8. Y'test me, lad.

Such idiosyncratic overuse of a feature is very conspicuous and would inflate the numbers for the whole corpus, making them less reliable.

### 3.2. IRISH CHARACTERS IN THE DC UNIVERSE

The first Irish character to appear in the DC universe was The Gay Ghost, created by Gardner Fox and Howard Purcell in *Sensation Comics #1* (January, 1942). The Gay Ghost is the ghost of a nobleman who lives in Castle Connaught in the erroneously named County Ulster. He was murdered in cold blood in Ireland in the 1700s but remains on earth as a spirit who is able to possess the bodies of good men. In the 1940s, the period in which the comics are set, he assumes the body of the American fighter pilot Charles Collins and goes on to fight the Nazis and Japanese in World War II. Although he inhabits Collins' body, his speech can still be examined in this study, because whenever he leaves his host he continues to speak as he did in Ireland. This speech can vary greatly, however, depending on the

writer of the comic at the time.[76] For instance, the earliest representations show the Ghost speaking in a slightly antiquated and very formal manner, but rarely using any particularly Irish features. In this regard, his speech is greatly contrasted with that of the supporting cast of locals, whose Irishness is much more marked.[77] However, from *Sensation Comics #13*, his style of speaking changes dramatically and suddenly has an almost Shakespearean quality. It appears as though a new writer came on board and was told the premise of the comic but never bothered to read any back issues or else simply was not concerned about continuity. Examples of the kind of speech in that comic include

9.    Marry come up, 'tis a sorry stew of things! Needs must I find a way hence! Belike in the next room are keys to this dungeon keep!

or

10.    'Tis as yonder thieves said, he knows not their evil devices! Only one course can I follow!

This speech style is not at all in keeping with what had come before in the series and must have been very jarring for regular readers at the time.

The next Irish character to appear in DC comics was Donovan Flint, created by David Micheline. He debuted in *DC Super Stars #16* (September, 1977) and is a trouble-shooter aboard a starship in the year 2128. Flint is described in this comic as speaking « with an unmistakable Irish brogue », a description which is superfluous as his Irish accent is immediately evident. He is a cocky character and very much fancies himself as a ladies' man. However, his attitude is not to everybody's liking and, in *Star Hunters #6*, he is described by another character as « an Irish ape ». This description is interesting given that Irish Wolfhound, one of the heroes in the Marvel corpus, was exposed to a similar slur, namely « Gaelic Gorilla » (cf. Walshe, 2012 : 288). Such descriptions reflect traditional simian representations of the Irish, as testified to in the titles of both Perry Curtis Jr. and Soper's aforementioned works on depictions of the Irish in caricature.

A further Irish character is Jack O'Lantern, a superhero with a magic lamp that bestows powers on him. He was created by E. Nelson Bridwell and first appeared in

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[76] It should be noted that, since writers were not credited in comics in the 1940s, there is no overt indication that a new writer has taken over. However, shifts in speech style in the comics usually make it very apparent that there has been a change.

[77] For example, a servant named Michael says « Wanderin' toughs, as me name is Michael O'Mara! After thim, me lads! » or « The murtherin' rats! Me byes are afther thim now! » (*Sensation Comics #1*). It should be noted, however, that the speech of peripheral Irish characters, be they the locals in the Gay Ghost stories or Jack O'Lantern's Irish friends, is not included in the quantitative findings of this paper.

*Super Friends #8* (November, 1977). Over the years, three different men have assumed the guise of Jack O'Lantern. The first, Daniel Cormack, is a poor farmer from County Cork. His speech is quite marked as being Irish, or what passes for Irish, with him being the only character in the entire corpus to use the stereotypical *begorra*, saying

> 11.   Begorra! I'm thinking you're right, me boy!

on his first appearance. However, as is usually the case, this main character's speech is not as marked as that of the locals in his stories or that of the supporting cast, such as that of his leprechaun friend Fergus, for example. The second man to assume the mantle of Jack O'Lantern is Marvin Noronsa, who first appeared in *Justice League Europe Annual #1* in 1990. Interestingly, he is not actually Irish, but rather an impostor from the fictional state of Bialya who has stolen Daniel's lantern and costume and is impersonating him. However, he can be included in this study as he tries (successfully) to pass as the Irish superhero and thus speaks accordingly. Indeed, he bizarrely continues to speak that way even when talking to himself when there is nobody around, saying things such as

> 12.   Ay, it's a gay old game we're playin', Jack me boy! Ha! (*Justice League Europe #30*)[78]

The third incarnation of Jack O'Lantern is Liam McHugh from Crossmaglen, County Armagh. He first appears in *Justice League Quarterly #14* (Spring, 1994) and is Daniel Cormack's cousin, who inherits the lantern when his kinsman dies. His speech also features a number of IE features, with those more frequently associated with Northern Ireland (e.g. *aye* and *wee*) being most prominent, as in the following example:

> 13.   Aye, well, I'm not a wee little boy, so I can take care of my own time, thanks. (*Primal Force #8*)

Stories involving Batman's sidekick Robin are significant in the DC corpus, as they happen to feature three recurring Irish characters: Bridget Clancy, Dudley Soames and Mrs McIlvaine. The first of these, Clancy, was created by Chuck Dixon and Scott McDaniel and first appeared in *Nightwing #2* (November, 1996), a series dedicated to Dick Grayson, the former Robin, who has left Gotham City to pursue a new identity as the crime-fighter Nightwing in the city of Blüdhaven. It is noteworthy that in their depiction of Clancy the creators play with readers'

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[78] This example employs *aye*, *it*-clefting, and the respelling of *my* as *me*, all of which are common indicators of Irish speech in the corpus.

expectations concerning the physical appearance of the Irish. It has previously been noted that comic book artists frequently include « phenotypic attributes that American audiences would expect » of their comic book characters (Dowling, 2009 : 185), and, as shown elsewhere (Walshe, 2012 : 268), this proved to be the case for Irish characters in the Marvel comics, where Banshee, Siryn and Shamrock were all frequently depicted with the red hair and freckles typically associated with the Irish.[79] Bridget Clancy, however, does not fall into this pattern, as she is of Asian appearance. Thus, an incongruity is created between the visual and aural representation of the Irish character. This incongruity is heightened in the *Nightwing* series by the fact that the first few times Grayson encounters her he does not see her face, as the artist makes a point of always concealing it, either behind a box, behind a door, or beneath a sink. Grayson can therefore only hear her voice and is immediately smitten with her Irish brogue, saying « Irish accents drive me nuts ». When Clancy finally reveals herself to him (and indeed to the reader) in *Nightwing #6,* she is in the company of a red-haired friend. Grayson (and probably the reader) erroneously assumes that this flame-haired colleen is the owner of « that Irish lilt that's been driving [him] crazy for weeks ». Reacting to Grayson's embarrassment at his racial profiling, Clancy responds by saying

14.    Chill out, boyo. It's me who should be apologizin' […] A cruel trick that… me lookin' like Kowloon and talkin' like Londonderry.[80]

Another recurring Irish character in the *Nightwing* series is Detective Dudley Soames, a.k.a. Torque, a corrupt member of the Blüdhaven police department, who makes his first appearance in Chuck Dixon's *Nightwing #1* (October, 1996). Although Soames is never explicitly identified as Irish, he shares many of the same linguistic features as Clancy and attention is drawn to the otherness of his speech by various characters.[81] For example, in *Nightwing #5,* when he warns his boss about Grayson, saying

15.1. Don't be making the same mistake I made underestimatin' that lad, Chief.

the police chief replies

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[79] In this regard, Appel and Appel comment on the fact that correspondence courses for would-be cartoonists actively perpetuated stereotypes, encouraging artists to « rely on evocative, symbolic, already widely-recognized models ». For the Irish, that meant that « "[t]ypical," often-caricaturized Irish features included a heavy brogue, prominent chin, projecting jaw, pronounced eyebrow ridge, and red hair » (1990 : 12).

[80] In *Nightwing #7*, Clancy elaborates on her background more, saying : « You wouldn't be the first person to do a doubletake at a Chinese girl with a 'Derry brogue. I was adopted by a nice Irish family. I left Hong Kong when I was a baby. I came to America to go to college and never went back ».

[81] Nightwing does so, too. In one exchange in which Soames has called him a « smart lad » twice on the same page, Nightwing responds by saying « But a smart lad like me…? » (*Nightwing #2*).

15.2. Just don't underestimate me, Soames. I'm deadly serious about wanting that « lad » eliminated.

The quotation marks in the chief's comments draw attention to the fact that Soames' use of the word *lad* was salient to him. Indeed, as we shall see, it is one of the most common features associated with the Irish in the comics corpora.

The third Irish character connected to Dick Grayson is Mrs McIlvaine, the housekeeper for Grayson's successor as Robin, Tim Drake, who was also created by Chuck Dixon and first appeared in *Robin III #3* (February, 1993). Mrs McIlvaine comes from Kilkenny and is the female equivalent of the butler Alfred Pennyworth in the Batman comics, namely cooking for and caring for the young superhero. Given her more peripheral role, she also speaks much less than her compatriots.

Having briefly looked at the characters under discussion, we can now move on to the findings of the study.

# 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first point of note about the findings of this study is that in all but 17 of the 150 comics some attempt or other was made to portray the speech of the characters as being Irish. The comics that do not contain any features are very often those in which the Irish characters have only a sentence or two of dialogue. This is very often the case for Mrs McIlvaine, for instance. The second, and perhaps more important, finding is that the results from the DC corpus displayed a great degree of parity with those of the Marvel one. This applies with regard to the phonology, grammar and terms and expressions that appear, all of which will be addressed in what follows.

*4.1. PHONOLOGY*
We will begin with phonology, as this was once again the aspect of speech that was most frequently used to indicate Irishness. This was to be expected as phonological differences between varieties are typically the most salient markers, since « syntactic structures are repeated less often than phonological ones and are thus less available for social assessment » (Hickey, 2000 : 61). What makes the phonological findings interesting, however, is the fact that the same strategies were used (or not used) as in the 2012 study. Thus, in keeping with the findings for the Marvel corpus, those strategies which had been described as common in Irish speech portrayals in *Punch* magazine were almost completely absent, while once

again allegro speech forms were the most common. The findings are described in more detail below.

### 4.1.1. Vowel and Consonant Substitutions

Unlike traditional portrayals of Irish speech, which have primarily involved the substitution of vowels and consonants to suggest the Irish brogue, the DC comics hardly ever resort to this. Thus, the respellings described by Weimer very rarely occur. As with the Marvel corpus, there is not a single instance of <e> being respelled as <i> in the speech of the major Irish characters in the DC corpus,[82] nor of <ea> being rewritten as <a>, <ay> or <ai>. The same applies to respellings of <i> as <oi>. What is more, the types of typical respellings described by Taniguchi as being common in plays and novels are not evident either. Thus, there are no instances of <s> being replaced by <sh>, or of <d> being exchanged for <j>, and there is only one instance of <o> being written as <ou>. It occurs in the realization of *old* as /aʊl/, a common occurrence in colloquial Irish English (Hickey, 2007 : 75).

16.  Don't try it out with *oul* Jack O'Lantern! (Jack, *JLA Classified #1*)

One of the respellings which one would definitely expect to find in fictional representations of Irish speech, the respelling of <th> as <t> or <d> to reflect the typically Irish pronunciation of the dental fricatives, is also extremely rare in the DC corpus, occurring only twice in the 150 comics. In those instances, the substitution is lexically bound to the word *thing* and comes from the pen of the same author. The examples are as follows:

17.  Most hideous *t'ing* I've ever seen. (Mrs Mac, *Eighty Page Giant 1*)

18.  *Anyt'ing's* possible now, isn't it? (Clancy, *Nightwing #3*)

The most common dialect respelling to occur in the corpus is one that is not mentioned by Weimer, although Taniguchi (1972 : 248) does include it, namely that of *my* being rewritten as *me*. This was also one of the most common respellings in the Marvel comics, appearing 45 times. It occurs in 28 of the DC comics, also occurring once in the word *myself*, as can be seen in the example below.

19.  Faith an' ye're a man after *me* own heart, Sturm! I'm mighty fond o' them little liver sandwiches *meself*! (Flint, *Star Hunters #6*)

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[82] There were, however, two instances of such a respelling in the speech of peripheral characters in the comics. See footnote 7.

The rest of the sound changes which are indicated in the DC comics can be subsumed under the broad heading of allegro speech (i.e. elision and weak forms). As noted above, the use of allegro speech is by no means a strictly Irish phenomenon. However, it occurs more frequently in the speech of Irish characters than in that of non-Irish characters in these comics and thus would appear to be strongly associated with the Irish. This would correspond to Hickey's assertion that « there is a degree of indistinctiveness about southern Irish English, probably due to the amount of elision and assimilation found in the variety » (2007 : 11). What is more, a perceptual dialectology study conducted by this author (Walshe, 2010) revealed that when asked to describe features they typically associate with Irish speech, native speakers of English from Canada, the USA, Australia, the UK and Ireland tended to mention Irish people's quick speech and lack of clarity as being a defining factor of the variety.

Of the various forms of allegro speech that appear in the corpus, one of the most frequent is the respelling of <-ing> as <-in>. This change frequently applies to the progressive and gerund forms of verbs, as one would expect, but also to nouns such as *mornin'*, *evenin'*, *lightnin'*, *anythin'*, *nothin'* and *feelin'* and to adjectives such as *friggin'*, *bleedin'* and *interestin'*. Some examples of the phenomenon are given below.

20. Sure wish I knew what was *goin'* on here. We don't even know where we are, an' *somethin'* bad is *happenin'*. (Jack, *Primal Force #3*)

21. Most of the *buildin'* is empty. Folks're away for the *thanksgivin'* holiday. (Clancy, *Robin #96*)

*4.1.2 Elision*
As noted above, elision is the deletion of phonemes in rapid speech. The example of *of* was already mentioned above and is also the first one to be addressed below.

*4.1.2.1. <o'> for <of>*
The elision of <of> to <o'> is quite a common feature in the corpus, appearing in 31 of the comics. An example is:

22. Aye, an' that I was, Jake – in a manner *o'* speakin'! (Flint, *Star Hunters #4*)

*4.1.2.2. <'tis> for <it is>*
A further example of elision can be seen in the contraction of *it is* to <'tis> rather than <it's>. This form occurred 24 times in the corpus, with over half of the occurrences appearing in comics featuring The Gay Ghost. High occurrences in those comics were, however, to be expected, as although this form of contraction is

archaic in modern Standard English, it was common until the seventeenth century. The appearances in other comics can, however, be accounted for by the fact that most varieties of English in Ireland have not changed greatly since then (cf. Bliss, 1979 : 20) and many features such as this, which are obsolete in other varieties, continue to exist there. The aforementioned elision of the copula in the corpus is not restricted to the present tense but also occurs in the past, future and conditional tenses, with *it was* being realized as *'twas*, *it will* as *'twill* and *it would* as *'twould*, as in the following:

23.   Easy, lad. Easy. *'Tis* a burden but *'tis* also all in the past. (Soames, *Nightwing #55*)

24.   Hmm. *'Twould* seem someone's had a bit much o' the grape t'night. (Flint, *DC Super Stars #16*)

25.   *'Twas* a pleasure to work with him, Superman – as *'twill* be a particular pleasure to team up with you! (Jack, *DC Comics Presents #46*)

### 4.1.3. Weak Forms

#### 4.1.3.1. <an'> or <'n'> for <and>
The use of the weak forms of *and* is a relatively frequent phenomenon appearing in 33 of the comics in the corpus, although that figure is considerably lower than the corresponding figure for the Marvel corpus, namely 59. Examples include:

26.    Sure *n'* it's Mr Grayson out fer an evening stroll. (Clancy, *Nightwing #6*)

27.   *An'* then I blow you all t'hell! (Jack, *Justice League Europe #4*)

#### 4.1.3.2. <t'> or <ta> for <to>
Another common feature in the DC comics corpus is the use of /tə/, the weak form of *to*. This is achieved through the respelling <t'> and occasionally <ta>. These occur in a total of 53 comics, 48 and 5 respectively, slightly more than in the Marvel corpus. Examples can be found in 27 above and 28 and 29 below:

28.   You've enough *t'*worry about, Mister Drake. And there's me cab. God bless all of you. (Mrs Mac, *Robin #100*)

29.   That lunatic tried *ta* kill me – (Jack, *Primal Force #8*)

#### 4.1.3.3. <ye> or <y'> for <you>
As was the case for the Marvel corpus, the weak form of *you*, indicated by the spellings <ye>, <y'> and <ya> is very common, appearing in a combined total of 88 comics. Of these, the <ye> spelling is slightly more common, occurring 34 times in contrast to the 30 occurrences of <y'> and the 24 of <ya>. The *ye* form is used to

suggest both singular and plural forms, although it is not clear whether the plural form is intended to be read as *ye* [jɪ], the second person plural form common in IE (cf. Hickey, 2007 : 238). Other possible ways of forming the second person plural in IE such as *youse* or *yiz/yis/yez* (cf. Hickey, 2007 : 239) occur only once, as can be seen below.

30.    Sure an' I wish *ye* wouldn't say things like that, Pally. I frighten so easy, *y'*know… (Flint, *Star Hunters #3*)

31.    An' I can kill *yez* all in a thousand more stupid, undignified ways! (Jack, *JLA Classified #1*)

Weak forms of *you* can also be found in related words such as *you're*, *your*, *yourself* and *yourselves*. The *you* in these words is respelled as <yer>, <ye're> and <y'r> in 31 comics in the corpus. Examples include:

32.    Be warned *yerself*, bucko! *Ye're* talkin' to Donovan Flint! So *ye'd* better watch *yer* language before I stuff them fancy cannons where they'll be mighty painful to fire! (Flint, *Star Hunters #6*)

33.    Ha! So *ye* find that *ye're* no match for the Gay Ghost, eh? Well – t'was better men than *you* that found out the same thing centuries ago! (Ghost, *Sensation Comics #5*)

Although the use of the strong form *you* in the last instance may appear to be inconsistent, given the <ye> spelling in the previous two instances, it is not inaccurate. Indeed, it would have been a mistake to apply the <ye> respelling across the board, as the final instance requires the strong form, as it is a stressed position. That is not to say that writers do not make mistakes, as the following example shows:

34.    I know *yer* do *yer* best, boyos. (Soames, *Nightwing #50*)

The first instance of <yer> is wrong. Perhaps the American writer thought that intrusive /r/ was a feature of IE just as it is in some varieties of English in neighbouring Britain. However, this is not the case, as confirmed by Hickey, who states that « intrusive /r/ is not to be found in Irish English, northern or southern, where the only instances of /r/ are those which are historically justified » (2007 : 17).

*4.1.3.4. <fer> for <for>*
*For* undergoes a change similar to that of *your*, with its weak form being respelled as <fer> or <f'r>. Such respellings occur in 11 of the comics.

35.   C'mon, ye black-hearted sons o' toads, if it's me skin ye want – ye'll have to work *fer* it! (Flint, *Star Hunters #4*)

36.   Aye, but it does have its points of interest! *F'r*instance, I remember readin' about these old anti-gray flitters. (Flint, *Star Hunters #1*)

### 4.1.3.5. <th> for <the>

The weak form of the definite article also occurs in the corpus and is represented as <th>. This is the case for 16 comics, with examples including:

37.   That's not it. *Th'* buildin's damaged and I'm not sure you goin' up to your flat won't bring the house down. (Clancy, *Nightwing #21*)

38.   Annie, I think the only way ta keep you an' *th'* people on this plane safe is for you to come with me. No tellin' what might be waitin' for ya at the other end. (Jack, *Justice League Quarterly #14*)

### 4.1.3.6. Summary

A summary of the findings for the representation of Irish accent can be found in Tables 1 and 2 below. Table 1 shows features that could have been expected based on the findings from Weimer and Taniguchi, while Table 2 includes the main features that actually occur in the comics. These and all the other tables that follow also offer figures from the Marvel corpus for comparison and include a calculation of occurrences per 100,000 words, based on the 36,650 word DC corpus and the 25,500 word Marvel one.

| Feature | No. of comics in which feature occurred | | No. of occurrences per 100,000 words in | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DC | Marvel | DC | Marvel |
| <t> for <th> | 2 | 1 | 5.46 | 3.92 |
| <ou> for <o> | 1 | 1 | 2.73 | 3.92 |
| <i> for <e> | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <a>, <ay> or <ai> for <ea> | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <oi> for <i> | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <sh> for <s> | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <j> for <d> | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 1 : Distribution of expected phonological features (based on Weimer, 1993; Taniguchi, 1972)

| Feature | No. of comics in which feature occurred | | No. of occurrences per 100,000 words | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DC | Marvel | DC | Marvel |
| <ye>, <y'> or <ya> for <you> | 88 | 75 | 240.11 | 294.12 |
| <-in'> for <-ing> | 77 | 78 | 210.10 | 305.88 |
| <t'> or <ta> for <to> | 53 | 48 | 144.61 | 188.24 |
| <an'> or <'n'> for <and> | 33 | 59 | 90.04 | 231.37 |
| <o'> for <of> | 31 | 43 | 84.59 | 168.63 |
| <yer>, <y'r> or <ye're> for <your> or <you're> | 31 | 30 | 84.59 | 117.65 |
| <me> for <my> | 28 | 45 | 76.40 | 176.47 |
| <th'> for <the> | 16 | 10 | 43.66 | 39.22 |
| <fer> for <for> | 11 | 26 | 30.01 | 101.96 |

Table 2 : Distribution of actual phonological features in the DC corpus

The results for the representation of Irish accent display several similarities between the Marvel and DC corpora. In each case, the writers have eschewed the kind of traditional respellings described by Weimer and Taniguchi (see Table 1) and instead have resorted to allegro speech forms (see Table 2). Although these latter forms are by no means exclusive to IE, they are used more in the speech of Irish characters than in those of other protagonists who appear with them in these comics. As noted above, these allegro speech forms appear to be used to reflect the common perception that Irish speech is faster and more indistinct than other varieties of English.

### 4.2. LEXICAL ITEMS AND EXPRESSIONS
Aside from representing the Irish accent, the writers of the comics use other strategies to convey the Irish speech of the characters, many of which will already have become clear to the reader from the examples above. One of these strategies is the use of lexical items or expressions associated with the Irish. As in the Marvel corpus, these fall predominantly into the categories of affirmatives, vocatives, oaths and exclamations and adjectives.

### 4.2.1. Affirmatives
The affirmative *aye* was the joint most frequent feature in the Marvel comics and it comes in a close second in the DC corpus, with appearances in 27 of the 150 comics. The use of *aye* seems to be a type of shorthand for conveying Irishness and also occurs in comics that have relatively few Irish features besides. Indeed, attention is drawn to the conspicuousness of the feature by the fact that non-Irish characters imitate Irish characters who use it. This happens, for instance, in *Primal*

*Force #4*, where the American superhero Meridian mockingly echoes Jack O'Lantern's words.

39.    Jack: Y'know, I think I know why he did it. *Aye*! I'm sure of it. Come on.

       Meridian: « *Aye* »

       Jack: *Aye*!

In addition to the use of *aye* for affirmation, there is a tendency for Irish characters in the comics to use the syntactical structure *That* + subject + verb to express agreement. This emphatic use of *that* has also been observed in IE by Taniguchi (1972 : 25) and Amador Moreno (2006 : 149) and was also evident in the Marvel corpus. Examples of the structure, the first in combination with *aye*, can be seen below.

40.    Aye, *that I have*. Don't know what it is, but I like it. (Jack, *Primal Force #2*)

41.    *That I do*, Fergus! Come along if you like and see the spell I cast! (Jack, *Super Friends #40*)

42.    *That I will*, Johny – go on about your job as if nothing has happened. (Ghost, *Sensation Comics #32*)

### 4.2.2 Vocatives

As was the case for the findings in the Marvel corpus, the most common means of conveying that a character is supposed to be Irish is through the use of vocatives. These can take a number of forms and include *lad*, *laddie*, *lass*, *boyo*, *bucko* and *laddie buck*. These terms can also be found in the corpus as descriptors rather than vocatives, albeit less frequently. The individual terms are described below with examples.

### 4.2.2.1. Lad

The most frequent lexical item used to suggest Irishness in the corpus is *lad*. It appears in 32 comics, the same number as in the Marvel comics, where it was the joint most common feature. It is spread widely across the whole corpus and is frequently used as a term of address, both in the singular and the plural. Despite its popularity, the use of *lad* in the vocative singular, as it mostly occurs in the corpus (see examples 1 to 8 earlier in this paper), is widely regarded as being Stage Irish. The vocative plural form *lads*, however, does not suffer from the same connotations and is frequently used in IE (cf. Walshe, 2009 : 141-2). An example is given below.

43.    Well, *lads*? What are ye waiting for? (Ghost, *Secret Origins # 42*)

*4.2.2.2.* Laddie/laddy

*Laddie*/*laddy*, which is related to the term *lad,* appears in 9 comics in the corpus, again the same number of occurrences as in Marvel. The use of this term, like the aforementioned vocative use of *lad* singular, has strong associations with Stage Irishness or indeed with Scottishness (OED) and occurs in the following examples from *Nightwing #11*.

44. There's some mistake here, *laddies* – I was expectin' Mr Desmond.

45. I dunno about that, *laddie*. (Soames, *Nightwing #11*)

A related term, *laddie buck* (see *bucko* below), also occurs in the corpus on 2 occasions.

46. Faith, now, *laddie buck*, you can surely find honest work without resorting again to crime! (Ghost, *Sensation Comics #28*)

47. Well, don't just flap yer capacitors, *laddy-buck* – out with it! (Flint, *Star Hunters #4*)

*4.2.2.3.* Boyo *and* bucko

Further vocatives that occur quite prominently are *boyo* and *bucko*, features that again were also common in the Marvel corpus. *Boyo* is described by the OED as being colloquial and dialectal and is regarded chiefly as an Irish feature. It means *boy* and is used « especially as a jovial form of address », appearing in 15 of the comics. *Bucko* is defined in Dolan's *Dictionary of Hiberno-English* as being « a young fellow » and consists of the Old English *buc*, a male deer, and the Irish suffix *-o*, which is used to suggest affection (Dolan, 2006 : 33). *Bucko* occurs in 5 comics in the corpus. Both *boyo* and *bucko* occur in the vocative in all cases and in the second of the examples below *bucko* is even used as a term of address by a character who is speaking to himself. What is more, both terms can also occur in the plural form as in example 34 above and example 50 below.

48. I'm a good Catholic girl, *boyo*. There's no « and like that » t'night. (Clancy, *Nightwing #31*)

49. Flint, me *bucko*, sometimes I wonder how ye get into messes like these! (Flint, *Star Hunters #7*)

50. Grab anything ye can, *buckos*, an' hit 'em hard! (Flint, *Star Hunters #7*)

*4.2.2.4.* Lass

Whereas Irish characters typically address male characters in the comics using the terms *lad*, *laddie*, *bucko*, *boyo* and *laddie buck*, female characters tend to be

addressed using the word *lass*. *Lass* is recognized as a feature of British dialects, particularly those in the north and midlands (OED), but is not attributed to IE. However, that does not mean that it is not associated with the variety. Indeed, the fact that the feature is strongly associated with Irish speech can be seen in *Nightwing #14*, where one of Clancy's American tenants, Mr Law, replies to her jokingly saying *That I am, lass*. The fact that he uses the term *lass* together with the aforementioned emphatic use of *that* just serves to underline its perceived Irishness. In total, the term occurs in 10 comics in the corpus, both as a vocative and as a descriptor as can be seen in the examples below.

51.   Do ya know where your brother is, *lass*? Is he here? (Jack, *Primal Force #6*)

52.   Poor *lass*, wonder what happened to her? (Ghost, *Sensation Comics #2*)

It should be noted that the related term *lassie/lassy*, which occurred in some comics in the Marvel corpus, does not appear in the DC corpus. This is a positive finding as *lassie* is actually a term associated with Scottish English (OED).

### 4.2.3 Exclamations and Oaths

Aside from characters using supposedly Irish forms of affirmation and vocatives, the findings of the Marvel corpus showed that a common way of indicating where a character is from is to have them emit oaths or exclamations that are associated with that place. This also proved to be the case in the DC corpus, with religious exclamations, in particular, playing a prominent role. This is to be expected as the use of such expressions has long been associated with the Irish. Indeed, as early as in 1610, it was commented on by Camden, who described the speech of the Irish as follows:

> At every third word it is ordinary with them to lash out with an oth [*sic*], namely by the Trinity, by God, by S. Patrick, by S. Brigid, by their Baptisme [*sic*], by Faith, by the Church, by my God-fathers [*sic*] hand, and by thy hand. (Camden, quoted by Bartley, 1954 : 34)

The use of religious features in Irish speech continues to be prominent today and it has been shown that IE displays a larger and more varied use of religious expressions than other varieties of English (cf. Amador Moreno, 2010 : 69-70; Farr & Murphy, 2009; Walshe, 2009 : 129-37).

Within the DC corpus, just as in the Marvel corpus, references to saints are manifold, with examples including *By all the Saints*, *B-by the face of Ste. Brigid*,

*Holy St Patrick*, *Blessed St. Patrick* and *Saint Patrick preserve me*.[83] Additional religious exclamations include *Glory be*, *Sweet Mary*, *Sweet mother o' mercy*, *Sweet Mary and Joseph*, *By all that's holy*, *Holy Hell*, *Thank th' Lord*, *Praise the Lord*, *Oh my Lord*, *My sweet Lord*, *Bless me soul* and *Good Heavens*. Some of the most interesting religious oaths in the corpus, however, are those used by The Gay Ghost. They do not resemble those that occur in the other comics, in that, in keeping with the character's seventeenth-century origin, they are antiquated and more euphemistic. For instance, he uses terms involving *Gad* and *Od* (euphemisms for *God*) in a variety of phrases such as *Gad's my life* and *Od's blood*. He also says *Egads* or *Egad's* (probably euphemisms for *oh God*) as well as *Gadzooks* and *zooks* (perhaps from *God's hooks*, the nails of the Crucifixion) and *zounds* (a euphemism for *God's wounds*).[84] Finally, the use of the stereotypical oaths *faith*, *by my faith* and *by my troth* occur much more frequently in the DC corpus than in the Marvel one, mostly in the speech of the Gay Ghost and Flint, and can be seen in the examples below.

53. *Faith* an' it's grand t'be wanted, warden – (Flint, *Star Hunters #7*)

54. *By my troth*, that was a narrow escape! (Ghost, *Sensation Comics #24*)

*4.2.4. Adjectives*
One final group of lexical items that can be used to indicate Irishness is adjectives. Those which were most common in the Marvel corpus were *wee*, *grand* and *bleedin'*, and this also proved to be the case in the DC corpus. The findings are outlined below with examples.

*4.2.4.1.* Wee
*Wee*, meaning « small », occurs in a total of 17 comics in the corpus, almost three times as many occurrences as in the Marvel corpus, where it appeared in 6 issues. Commenting on its appearance in that corpus, I noted that it was out of place for the Irish characters who use it, as the feature is normally associated with northern varieties of IE, whereas all the characters were southern. In the DC corpus, in contrast, many of the characters are explicitly described as being from the north, which makes the higher frequency of occurrences acceptable (see example 13, for instance). Having said that, the southern characters do also use the structure, as can be seen below.

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[83] Peripheral characters also offer a wide range of oaths and exclamations but those were not taken into account for the study. Some of them are pagan – as they are used by leprechauns. Examples include *By Finn's beard*, *By the hand of Finn*, *By Lucifer*, and *Shades of Abaddon*!

[84] All definitions come from the Merriam-Webster dictionary.

55.   I was a *wee* bit judgmental myself, Mr. Drake. (Mrs Mac, *Robin #49*)

56.   Aye, Missy, but what reason? Don't it strike ye as bein' a *wee* bit peculiar that we're out here searchin' for what might be the grandest discovery in history – (Flint, *Star Hunters #2*)

*4.2.4.2.* Grand

Although the use of *grand* to mean *fine* or *splendid* (cf. Dolan, 2006 : 114) is usually a very salient feature of Irish English speech, it occurs in only 5 comics, all but one of which feature Flint. Examples include

57.   *Grand* night. The stars are brilliant! (Ghost, *Sensation Comics #2*)

58.   Sure an' it's *grand* t'hear yer dulcet tones o' gratitude, missy – (Flint, *Star Hunters #3*)

*4.2.4.3.* Bloody*,* bleedin' *and* soddin'

The adjectives *bloody*, *bleedin'*, and *soddin'* are symptomatic of another phenomenon that was observable in both the Marvel and DC corpora, namely Irish characters' use of mild expletives not found in American English but that can be found on the other side of the Atlantic. These, together with terms like *bloke*, *blackguard* and *sod,* which are also not used in America, add an extra dimension of otherness or foreignness to the speech of these characters, even if terms like *sod* and *bloke* are actually more likely to be associated with British varieties rather than Irish ones (cf. Merriam-Webster). Some examples include

59.   Tornado! What the *bleedin'* hell are you doin', man? (Jack, *Primal Force #4*)

60.   Beaten up by *soddin'* gorillas. (Jack, *JLA Classified #2*)

The most frequent terms and expressions in the DC corpus to suggest Irishness are included in Table 3. Comparative figures for the Marvel corpus are also given.

| Feature | No. of comics in which feature occurred | | No of appearances per 100,000 words | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DC | Marvel | DC | Marvel |
| *Lad* | 32 | 32 | 87.31 | 125.49 |
| *Aye* | 27 | 32 | 73.67 | 125.49 |
| *Wee* | 17 | 6 | 46.38 | 23.53 |
| *Bloody* | 16 | 16 | 43.66 | 62.75 |
| *Boyo* | 15 | 24 | 40.93 | 94.12 |
| *Faith* | 15 | 2 | 40.93 | 7.84 |
| *Lass* | 10 | 14 | 27.29 | 54.90 |
| *Laddie* | 9 | 9 | 24.56 | 35.29 |
| *Sure and...* | 9 | 6 | 24.56 | 23.53 |
| *Bucko* | 5 | 4 | 13.64 | 15.69 |
| *Grand* | 5 | 4 | 13.64 | 15.69 |
| *By my troth* | 5 | 0 | 13.64 | 0 |
| *Beastie* | 5 | 4 | 13.64 | 15.69 |
| *Bleedin'* | 4 | 4 | 10.91 | 15.69 |
| *Blackguard* | 4 | 1 | 10.91 | 3.92 |
| *Laddie-buck* | 2 | 0 | 5.46 | 0 |

Table 3 : Distribution of the most frequent terms and expressions

The results display quite a high degree of parity between several of the lexical features used in the DC and Marvel comics. For example, the two most common lexemes used to convey Irishness were the same in each case, namely the vocative *lad* and the affirmative *aye*. However, some differences can also be observed in the corpora. A noticeable one is in the frequency of *wee*, which occurred in almost three times as many comics in the DC corpus. This higher rate of appearance can be attributed to the fact that the feature is more common in Northern Irish English and thus would be expected to occur more in the speech of characters who are explicitly identified as coming from the North, as is the case for many of the DC characters. Another striking difference between the corpora concerns the frequencies of the oaths *faith* and *by my troth*. This time the higher frequency in the DC corpus can be attributed to period rather than locale, as these particular oaths, as described above, were very frequent in Irish speech in the seventeenth century and thus could be expected of someone like the Gay Ghost, who hails from that period and who is responsible for the majority of the uses. One final point of note is that although the DC corpus does not display the same variety or number of Scotticisms as the Marvel one, which also included *bonny*, *lassie* and *laird*, other Scottish features nonetheless find their way into the Irish DC characters' speech. Thus, *laddie* appears in an equal number of comics in each corpus, with *beastie* even occurring in one more issue in the DC corpus than the Marvel one.

*4.3. GRAMMAR*

With regard to grammar, the features mentioned by Weimer once again do not feature very prominently. Thus, there were no instances of *will* being used instead of *shall* in questions in the first person, only two instances of the tag *is it?* used to create questions and only four cases each of *them* being used as a demonstrative (see examples 19 and 32) and of *what* being used as a relative pronoun, as in the example below:

> 61.   Now, Doc, ye shouldn't go bein' so harsh. It ain't everyone *what* can be a successful drone – (Flint, *Star Hunters #6*)

Hickey describes this use of *what* as a relativiser, particularly with an animate antecedent, as being a stereotypical feature of IE, noting that respondents to his *A Survey of Irish English Usage* regarded it as sounding « Stage Irish » (2007 : 260).

Other non-standard grammar features in the corpus are those which can be found in many varieties of English, namely multiple negation (4 comics), a lack of subject-verb concord (6 comics), the use of non-standard verb forms (6 comics) and a lack of negator contraction (5 comics). The use of *ain't* for *am not, are not, is not, have not* and *has not* is one of the more conspicuous features, not only because it occurs in 13 comics, a relatively high rate of occurrence for any grammar feature in the corpus, but also because it is a feature not typically associated with IE. Indeed, the contraction of *am not* to *ain't*, which comprises 7 of these instances, does not occur in the variety and is even described by Hickey as one of the « definite signs that a speaker is not Irish », the others being h-dropping and r-lessness (Hickey, 2004 : 95).

One feature certainly recognised as Irish is the « *after*-perfect ». However, as in the Marvel corpus, it is not used correctly in its sole occurrence in the DC corpus. The *after*-perfect is a means of expressing the perfect and consists of a form of *be* + *after* + verb-*ing*. Thus, where speakers of Standard English would say *I have eaten my dinner*, speakers of IE tend to say *I'm after eating my dinner*. It is important to note that this structure does not signal intention, but rather that something has happened immediately prior to the time of speaking or time of reference. Those who are not familiar with IE, however, tend to assume that the structure does indeed have this meaning of intention, as shown by Harris (1993) in his survey of British respondents. This misunderstanding is also evident in the only example of the *after*-perfect in the DC corpus.

> 62.   Do you know who *he was after killing*? (Jack, *Super Friends #44*)

In this sentence, Jack uses the structure to ask his uncle who the intended victim of a murder is. Thus, the meaning is one of intention and not of expressing the past as it would be in IE. Incorrect uses of the *after*-perfect by those who are not familiar with the variety are nothing new. Indeed, Hickey has previously commented on this saying that « it is often used by non-Irish speakers in syntactic frames that do not allow it, e.g. with stative verbs as in *She after knowing Paddy for years* » (2000 : 58).

A possible reason for the structure being used incorrectly with stative verbs is that Irish English permits much more liberal use of the progressive form, including with stative verbs, particularly those of perception and cognition, such as *hear*, *want*, *wonder*, *know*, *think* and *believe* (cf. Harris, 1993 : 164). This was also reflected in the DC corpus, where progressive forms occur with stative verbs in 9 of the comics and is one of the most frequent ways of indicating Irishness on a grammatical level. Examples include

63. I should *be knowin'*. I'm the super, y'see? (Clancy, *Nightwing #2*)

64. To try to get us some help, if it's any of your business, which *I'm thinkin'* it's not. (Jack, *Primal Force #11*)

Another feature frequently associated with speakers of Irish English is repetition for emphasis (cf. Walshe, 2009 : 128). This usually involves the repetition of the verb or an auxiliary verb in a final tag and occurs in 6 of the comics in the corpus:

65. You're a wonder, *you are*. (Clancy, *Nightwing #31*)

66. It's t' laugh, *it is*. (Soames, *Nightwing #50*)

Numerous studies mention the use of *it*-clefting as being a common feature of IE and one that occurs more frequently and in more contexts in that variety than in other varieties of English (Filppula, 1999 : 248-56; Taniguchi, 1972 : 146-77). The structure does indeed occur, in 6 of the comics in the corpus, 2 examples of which can be seen below. One of these examples also features an instance of an unbound reflexive, which again is a feature commonly associated with the variety. However, unbound reflexives only occur in 2 comics in the DC corpus.

67. By all that's holy, *it's wrong I hope they are*! (Jack, *Super Friends #37*)

68. By all the Saints! *'Twas himself the coach appeared to*! (Jack, *Super Friends #44*)

The findings for the most common grammar structures used to suggest Irishness in the DC corpus are summarized in Table 4 below.

| Feature | No. of comics in which feature occurred | | No of appearances per 100,000 words | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DC | Marvel | DC | Marvel |
| *Ain't* | 13 | 2 | 35.47 | 7.84 |
| Progressive with stative verbs | 9 | 14 | 24.56 | 54.90 |
| *It*-clefting | 6 | 4 | 16.37 | 15.69 |
| Repetition for emphasis | 6 | 2 | 16.37 | 7.84 |
| Lack of subject-verb concord | 6 | 0 | 16.37 | 0 |
| Non-standard verb forms | 6 | 0 | 16.37 | 0 |
| Lack of negator contraction | 5 | 5 | 13.64 | 19.61 |
| Multiple negation | 5 | 0 | 13.64 | 0 |
| *Them* as demonstrative pronoun | 4 | 2 | 10.91 | 7.84 |
| *What* as relative pronoun | 4 | 0 | 10.91 | 0 |
| Unbound reflexives | 2 | 1 | 5.46 | 3.92 |
| *Is it* as question tag | 2 | 0 | 5.46 | 0 |
| *After-perfect* | 1 | 1 | 2.73 | 3.92 |
| Scottish negation | 1 | 6 | 2.73 | 23.53 |

Table 4 : Grammar features used to convey Irishness

The results for the grammar features display the greatest differences between the DC and Marvel corpora. Table 4 reveals that the Marvel comics on the whole tend to forego using grammar features to convey Irishness, apart from one unsuccessful attempt at the *after*-perfect, and the occasional use of *it*-clefting, the progressive with stative verbs and a lack of negator contraction. The most telling feature of Marvel's use of grammar features is the relatively high occurrence of Scottish negation. Although Scottish negation can occasionally be found in Northern Irish speech (cf. Kirk & Kallen, 2008 : 187), the characters in the Marvel corpus were all clearly identified as coming from the south and thus this feature should not be present in the corpus. DC comics, in contrast to Marvel, employ a wider range of grammar features, some of which are common in, but by no means exclusive to, IE. These include a lack of subject-verb concord and the use of non-standard verb forms. Other features regarded as being typical of IE, such as repetition for emphasis, *is it?* as a question tag and unbound reflexives, are also to be found in the corpus, albeit sparingly. Interestingly, the most common morpho-syntactical structure used in the DC comics is not a feature of IE at all. *Ain't*, as noted above, is actually regarded as an indicator that a speaker is not Irish.

# 5. CONCLUSION

From the above, it is clear that the representation of Irish speech in DC comics differs considerably from that described by Weimer in *Punch* magazine. Respellings to suggest different realizations of vowels and consonants are rare, with allegro speech features instead being the most common way of representing the Irish accent. This is in keeping with the findings in the Marvel comics corpus and may reflect the fact that respellings can often be confusing or difficult to read and can slow a reader down, whereas allegro speech features serve a function similar to eye dialect in that they are merely a visual signal that the speech in the text is in some way non-standard, but they do not slow the reader down too much or impede understanding. Another parallel between the findings in the DC and Marvel corpora was that the lexical features most frequently used to convey Irishness in both are primarily affirmatives, vocatives and exclamations or oaths, with a few adjectives completing the representation. In comparison to the Marvel corpus, however, the DC one displays fewer examples of stereotypical expressions such as *begorra*, and also fewer instances of confusion with Scottish English, with the terms *lassie* and *bonny*, for example, never occurring and Scottish negation being limited to one comic book in the corpus. Finally, salient IE grammar structures such as the "*after*-perfect" and unbound reflexives turned out to be rare in the DC corpus, with Irishness being suggested instead through non-standard features that are also evident in other varieties of English (and indeed through some features which do not occur at all in IE). On the whole, then, these findings, coupled with those from the Marvel study, offer some wonderful insights into American perceptions of Irish speech. They clearly show which features Americans believe (correctly or not) to be typical of the variety and they offer a rich body of examples that can be used in further comparative studies, perhaps for other comics or animated cartoons.

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# HOW JAMES JOYCE TRANSLATES HIMSELF

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**Abstract**

The article shows, in concrete examples, how Joyce's works, in particular *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, do in fact translate some of their material internally. This does not only happen to foreign phrases when rendered into English, often with humorous side effects, but also on a large scale. It is characteristic of Joyce's *Ulysses* that it metamorphoses itself into various distinct shapes, styles, modes, perspectives that are often magnified into parodies, so that almost each episode is highly idiosyncratic and so easily identifiable. The double nature of the English vocabulary (basic Germanic elements alongside those derived from Latin) is exploited to the utmost. Joyce also highlights the Gaelic substratum that shows in the elaborate use of Hiberno-English. *Finnegans Wake* obviously translates its own features at almost every turn and so expands linguistic borders. Certain phrases and passages, moreover, can literally be read or heard as English as well as French, German, Spanish or more remote languages. In his multiple transformations Joyce may well be the most Irish of all writers as well as the least Irish and most cosmopolitan.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Joyce tends to go to extremes – and beyond them, as in *Finnegans Wake*. Paradoxically his works display both more scrupulous, detailed reality and, at the other end of the scale, more fictional phantasy, Dublin minutiae jostle with free-floating textuality. There is an imbalance between random seeming confusion and meticulous structure.

Some age-old questions – how far can you go in interpretation? – are magnified and can no longer be overlooked. Translatability is one of them: can Joyce's later works be translated at all? The answer is, axiomatically, *no* (the impossibility is overwhelming) and *yes* (it must be and it has been done). What adds to the vexation is that Joyce's fictions not only and manifestly transform themselves, but in part also translate their own material, as will be shown with representative samples.

## 2. *DUBLINERS* AND *A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A YOUNG MAN*

Of course there is a high incidence of foreign words and terms right from the beginning. *Dubliners* sets off with a triad of (practically) foreign words that haunt as well as fascinate the young boy who tells the story from his memory, « paralysis … gnomon … simony », so much so that the words themselves, the signifiers, move into the foreground (D 9). In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses*, Stephen Dedalus, in this respect following his creator, treasures eccentric words like *lourdily*, *mort*, *Frauenzimmer*, *crosstree*, *joust*. The first episode in *Ulysses* contains words in Latin, Greek, German, French, Middle English and traces of Irish. Apart from their frequency in Joyce, items in foreign languages are nothing new in narrative fiction. Not even small quasi-editorial translations are unprecedented. That a whole sentence is given first in English and then in its French original – *Old hag with the yellow teeth. Vieille ogresse with the dents jaunes* (U 3.232) – is not a new device, but one that will be expanded in increasing variation with new twists.

Instant clarification occurs as early as in *Dubliners*, where a character, Cunningham, in a conversation around a sick bed, is pontificating about Pope Leo XIII and papal mottos:

1.   – I often heard he was one of the most intellectual men in Europe, said Mr Power. I mean, apart from his being Pope.
     – So he was, said Mr Cunningham, if not the most so. His motto, you know, as Pope, was *Lux upon Lux* – *Light upon Light*.
     – No, no, said Mr Fogarty eagerly. I think you're wrong there. It was *Lux in Tenebris*, I think – *Light in Darkness*.
     – O yes, said Mr M'Coy, *Tenebrae*.
     – Allow me, said Mr Cunningham, positively, it was *Lux upon Lux*. And Pius IX, his predecessor's motto was *Crux upon Crux* – that is, *Cross upon Cross* – to show the difference between their two pontificates. (« Grace », D 167)

Not only did popes not have such mottos (though there are spurious « Prophecies » of Saint Malachy of Armagh, which offer *Lumen in Caelo* and *Crux de Cruce* for the respective popes), but mottos would hardly be piling light upon light, or cross upon cross, and manifestly could not consist of a mixture of uninflected Latin and English pronouns. Little light is thrown either on the content or its grammatical form. The foray into Church Latin becomes part of the persistent theme of failure in the *Dubliners* stories.

Similar playful examples occur in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, where students speak a kind of interlinear pseudo Latin:

3.  *Per pax universalis*. (P 194)

4.  *Credo ut vos sanguinarius mendax estis*, said Cranly, *quia facies vostra monstrat ut vos in damno malo humore estis*. (P 195)

5.  *Quis est in malo humore* […] *ego aut vos*? (P 195)

6.  *Nos ad manum ballum jocabimus*. (P 198)

7.  *Ego credo ut vita pauperum est simpliciter atrox, simpliciter sanguinarius atrox, in Liverpoolio*. (P 216)

The mistakes are clearly intentional and aimed at a comic effect. Some nouns are not inflected; adverbs are not distinguished from adjectives; words and idioms are transferred from English in a deadpan way: *hand ball* is turned into an *ad hoc* neologism, *ad manum ballum*. This kind of translingual play poses additional problems to its translation. Normally foreign languages can be taken over as they are, left untouched, but that would prove inadequate, since some Latin words make sense only as back-translations from English (*in malo humore*). [*S*]*anguinarius* hinges on the double meaning of *bloody*, for which other languages do not have an analogous expletive. So all translations that simply take over *sanguinarius mendax* (as the majority of them does) are « wrong » in the sense that they have no foundation in their own language, whereas a Spanish substitute, *simpliciter futute atrox* (Alonso, 1926 : 257) is idiomatically justified. One more paradox created by Joyce is the correct rendering of wrong translations.

The *Portrait* contains a famous passage where Stephen Dedalus and the English Dean of Studies, in a discussion on the procedure to light a fire, focus on different words for an object:

8.  – To return to the lamp, he said, the feeding of it is also a nice problem. You must choose the pure oil and you must be careful when you pour it in not to overflow it, not to pour in more than the funnel can hold.
    – What funnel? asked Stephen.
    – The funnel through which you pour the oil into your lamp.
    – That? said Stephen. Is that called a funnel? Is it not a tundish?
    – What is a tundish?
    – That. The… funnel.
    – Is that called a tundish in Ireland? asked the dean. I never heard the word in my life.

– It is called a tundish in Lower Drumcondra, said Stephen, laughing, where they speak the best English.

– A tundish, said the dean reflectively. That is a most interesting word. I must look that word up. Upon my word I must. (P 188)

The emphasis is on the difference between uses in England and in Ireland, but, contrary to expectation perhaps, it is not a native Irish word pitted against an English one, as the one known in Ireland is Anglo-Saxon (a *tun-dish*), while *funnel* is derived from Latin (*fundibulum*, from the verb *fundere* « to pour ») via French. One ironic twist is that neither speaker in this case uses his own language: Irish Stephen offers an English word, the Englishman French. Historical issues or warps are vaguely intimated. Quite possibly, Joyce also insinuates propitious advice for readers: *I must look that word up*! And note the two different uses of *word*.


# 3. *ULYSSES*

One of the key features of *Ulysses* is its constant inner metamorphosis and the corresponding need for readers to re-adapt from stage to stage. Joyce put it succinctly in a letter to Carlo Linati that has often been quoted:

My intention is to transpose the myth *sub specie nostri*. Each adventure (that is, every hour, every organ, every art being interconnected and interrelated in the structural scheme of the whole) should not only condition but even create its own technique. (21 September 1920, LI 146)

The author characterizes the book as a transposition. And this twice over: not only is the old myth and epic transposed, but within the book each episode with a distinctive « technique » represents yet another re-formulation of its content. It is the versatility of the various episodes that separates *Ulysses* from most of its predecessors. Odysseus was called *polytropos* in the first line of the *Odyssey*; that is to say he was versatile, all-round, resourceful, adaptable. This quality characterizes the book's variation of mood, perspective, style, even typography. The differences are so manifest that often a simple glance at a page reveals in which chapter it occurs. For readers it means that each new episode, from a not quite certain point onwards, demands new adaptations, a new way of coping, as though one had to learn, not perhaps a new language, but a new texture or design. *Ulysses* is the Book of Varieties.

One of the most parochially limited novels, confined to one city at one particular day, is also one of the most comprehensive in theme and linguistic scope.

Its very title points towards a Greek myth, which however will not be the manifest subject at hand, but remains an undercurrent that may or may not become significant in the readers' minds, but was clearly part of a ground plan. One implication is that *Ulysses* adapts themes of the *Odyssey* and is therefore – on one among many levels – a remake, a re-working, a transposition. The title may and is generally taken to be the usual English name for Odysseus. As it happens, *Ulysses* is neither the Greek *Odysseus* nor the classical Latin *Ulixes*, but a hybrid form which developed later among others. It is just conceivable that *Ulysses* is meant to call up a form that is already the result of cultural translations, that is to say a further stage in a long on-going process.

Internal translations can occur in details, on the spot. Very early in the book, still on its first page, we come across a strange disruption when the prominent character Buck Mulligan is caught in a moment of silence:

> 9.  He peered sideways up and gave a long slow whistle of call, then paused awhile in rapt attention, his even white teeth glistening here and there with gold points. Chrysostomos. Two strong shrill whistles answered through the calm. (U 1.26)

*Chrysostomos* is an oddity, not only a foreign word, but also as a single word in the narrative context of consecutive sentences – an obtrusive monolith, it stops the even flow of the telling. It is best accounted for as a translation where the visual impact of gold teeth in an open mouth is rendered into Greek: Mulligan is, dentally, « golden-mouthed ». The sudden change, a rapid shift of perspective, is generally considered the first instance of the technique of the interior monologue, which will soon be switched on and become pervasive. That the Greek composite was applied to eloquent speakers is fitting in view of Mulligan's spectacular show of rhetorical virtuosity. So in a book that relates to a Greek epic, a close-up of an open mouth is translated into Greek.

On the large scale of the eighteen increasingly distinctive episodes the translations affect tone, perspective, style, vocabulary and typographical arrangement. It is enough to offer two examples. In one of the more realistic episodes we find Bloom watching a disgusting scene of eaters in a crowded cheap restaurant, which brings a poem to mind, obviously a reminiscence of school days:

> 10.  That last pagan king of Ireland Cormac in the schoolpoem choked himself at Sletty southward of the Boyne. (U 8.663)

The same memory occurs towards the end of the book, in a much more abstract and factual manner, as though it were transposed into another key:

11.   Cormac Mac Art († 266 A. D.), suffocated by imperfect deglutition of aliment at Sletty and interred at Rossnaree. (« Ithaca », U 17.35)

Bloom's *choked himself* is colloquial, the way he would think. The same notion is expressed with emotional distance and scientific precision in a chapter that tries to appear objective: *suffocated by imperfect deglutition of aliment* consists of words of Latin origin, far removed from ordinary speech. An act of internal translation is called for (no matter how short it may be among the educated), a mental process, so that the meaning reveals itself with a minute recognition delay.

Transitions are possible within a single episode. One of them, referred to by Joyce's private notation as « Cyclops », is structured on a continuous oral tale in a fairly low idiom of punchy expressions, which is interspersed with parodic inserts that take up the topic at hand and distort it in monstrous exaggeration (Joyce called the technique « gigantism »). One such pretentious insert describes a new arrival in a pub:

12.   And lo, as they quaffed their cup of joy, a godlike messenger came swiftly in, radiant as the eye of heaven, a comely youth and behind him there passed an elder of noble gait and countenance, bearing the sacred scrolls of law and with him his lady wife a dame of peerless lineage, fairest of her race. (U 12.244-5)

The diction is reminiscent of Victorian versions of Homer, with choice words, ornate epithets and a bent towards superlatives. In a step from the intended sublime to the vulgarly coarse this is brought down to earth in a crude and even nasty register:

13.   Little Alf Bergan popped in round the door and hid behind Barney's snug, squeezed up with the laughing. […] And begob what was it only that bloody old pantaloon Denis Breen in his bathslippers with two bloody big books tucked under his oxter and the wife hotfoot after him, unfortunate wretched woman, trotting like a poodle. (U 12.249-55)

Both versions are hyperbolic, the one with an ennobling, the other a denigrating tendency. The drop from *noble gait* to incompatible *in his bath slippers* is noticeable; *fairest of her race* cannot be reconciled with *trotting like a poodle*. Perspectives and attitudes clash. An optical term for such diversion is written into the novel, *parallax* (U 8.110), the apparent displacement of an object depending on one's point of view.

One episode, the fourteenth, carries the device to an extreme. In reverse it back-translates the action of the present, 1904, into past historical styles, as they might have been employed, say, in Elizabethan times, or how specific authors (Swift,

De Quincey, etc.) could have formulated the events in their own periods. This results in historical counterfeits, which, taken together, amount to an anthropology of English prose styles, analogous to the prevalent theme of the growth of the human embryo. The chapter runs from transposed Old English (*before born babe bliss had*, U 14.60) via rapid stages (*the whatness of our whoness hath fetched his whenceness*, U 14.399) to the nineteenth century (*scintillant circumambient cessile air*, U 14.1409). For practical proposes, specialists apart, some words have to be looked up and rendered into contemporary English: *welkin* « sky », *Agenbuyer* « redeemer », *orgulous* « proud ». Such translations are vertical; diachronically, they evoke a linguistic past.

In contrast the chapter of sequential written styles ends in a burst of amazingly and confusedly inspired speech from a whole assembled group hurrying to a pub before closing time, where almost nothing is said in a straightforward way, but transformed into dialects, slang, foreign quotations, ponderous circumlocutions. For readers this results in one of the most demanding challenges, to distinguish who is actually speaking what, and in which particular distortion. What is avoided is the colloquial or obvious. This represents a horizontal expansion of English against the vertical ones in the preceding parodies.

Reading here becomes translation. *Where the Henry Nevil's sawbones and ole clo?* resolves into « Where the devil [*Henry Nevil* is rhyming slang] is the doctor and Bloom [who once sold old clothes]? ». Some utterances are far-fetched, others downright banal: Tiens, tiens, *but it is well sad, that, my faith, yes* (U 14.1558). When the German translator Goyert asked for help, Joyce explained the passage: it was a word-by-word adaptation of French *Mais c'est bien triste, ça, ma foi, oui*. He advised: « Translate word by word? […] The English is quite unconvincing and meant to be so » (6 March 1927; Joyce, 1967 : 199). The conglomerate of simple words is a trite French exclamation rendered with literal naiveté; it consists of an « act » of translation.

The guilt that haunts Stephen Dedalus for not kneeling at his mother's deathbed occurs to him in the shape of *Agenbite of inwit. Conscience* (U 1.481). At one point it is helpfully translated, *Agenbite of inwit: remorse of conscience* (U 9.809), and echoed in *Inwit's agenbite* (U 10.875). The foreignness in this case is temporal, from a theological treatise on sin translated from Latin into Middle English. An equivalent had to be coined for *remorsus conscientiae*, an inner knowledge (*conscientia = in-wit*) that keeps biting (*re-morsus = agen-bite*) the soul. The term did not survive in English, where the Latin terms were simply adapted, so the Middle

English substitute is a linguistic dead-end, which is now experienced as something alien and distant; emotionally it may be more removed from actual pain than a direct one. In other words, the consciousness is taken out of a word for conscience.

Stephen Dedalus likes and treasures odd or choice words in marginal linguistic areas, like Gipsy words that may be misleading: *bing awast to Romeville* (« go away to London »; U 3.375). When he is groping for the perfect description of a woman with a bag on the beach he samples verbs in different languages for optimal effect: *She trudges, schlepps, trains, drags, trascines her load* (U 3.393).

Joyce makes ample use of Hiberno-English, the way English as spoken in Ireland is affected by Irish pronunciation, vocabulary, or syntax. *Is there Gaelic on you* (U 1.427) reflects the syntactic pattern for « Do you speak Gaelic? » – *An bhfuil Gaeilge agat?* – in that language. In a scene in the National Library, in the ninth episode of *Ulysses*, Stephen Dedalus unfolds his views on Shakespeare, *Hamlet* in particular, and claims that Shakespeare himself identified with the dead king Hamlet and not the prince of the same name. This ties in with theological concerns about God the Father and God the Son being « consubstantial »; the chapter is suffused with aspects of paternity. Stephen at one moment internally comments on what has been said and misunderstood: *He is in my father. I am in his son* (U 9.390); it sounds quite in tune with his argumentation about fatherhood. But he is actually calling up the Gaelic construction *Tá sé im'athair. Tá mé ina mhac*. What the Gaelic word-by-word equivalent means is « He *is* my father. I *am* his son ». Two levels are superimposed, an English and an Irish one.

A waiter in a hotel bar, named Pat, is described as *deaf*, or *hard of hearing*, and in changing variations also *bothered*: *Bald Pat, bothered waiter, waited for drink orders*; *Bald Pat who is bothered mitred the napkins* (U 11.287, 11.318, 11.444, etc.). There is nothing overtly troublesome in view for the waiter's leisurely occupation; *bothered* here is the Anglicized form of an underlying Irish word, *bothair*, meaning « deaf » – one more instance of a manifest English and a latent Irish usage side by side. The same word reoccurs in *Finnegans Wake*: in *botheared* two English ears are at variance with Irish deafness (FW 156.23). Joyce was never one to waste a potential meaning or ambiguity in utilizing both a (deceptive) surface and a(n underlying) sense of the words.

In addition to translations in the narrower sense, items can also be transferred or re-arranged. A few musical effects of the « Sirens » episode could be seen in this light. A poised vignette is characterized by assonances and alliterations:

14.    Miss Kennedy *sauntered sadly* from bright light, *twining* a loose *hair* behind an *ear*.

Its parts are then reassembled with variations:

15.    *Sauntering sadly*, gold no more, she *twisted twined a hair*. *Sadly* she *twined* in *sauntering* gold *hair* behind a curving *ear*. (U 11.81; repetitions are marked in italics).

The transferences are partly syntactic and grammatical, as though to indicate in how many different ways a simple action could be expressed. The technique consists of variations with changes (which might serve as a thumbnail definition for conventional music).

Syntactic variations of a theme can take grotesque forms, as in a sequence of short paragraphs: the first one is a simple clipped report, the second a jarring displacement of the component elements (as though instruments played out of step). The third one compensates by pedantic clarification:

16.    He remembered one night long ago. Never forget that night. Si sang *’Twas rank and fame*: in Ned Lambert’s ’twas.

17.    Goulding, a flush struggling in his pale, told Mr Bloom, face of the night, Si in Ned Lambert’s, Dedalus house, sang *’Twas rank and fame*.

18.    He, Mr Bloom, listened while he, Richie Goulding, told him, Mr Bloom, of the night he, Richie, heard him, Si Dedalus, sing *’Twas rank and fame* in his, Ned Lambert’s, house. (U 11.778)

Joyce’s translations are not confined to human speech. Bloom’s cat is memorable for her unorthodox deviation from the standardized *miao*: her pronunciation is closely observed as elaborate and more consonantal, *Mkgnao! … Mrkgnao! … Mrkrgnao!* Her insistence on getting fed seems to come across intuitively, until a satisfied *Gurrhr* closes the quest (U 4.15, 4.25, 4.32, 4.38). Communication is effected.

Gulls, too, enunciate in their own way. Bloom feeds them some Banbury cake and comments *Lot of thanks I get. Not even a caw*. Later on, at night, in an imagined courtroom scene he is accused of crimes and defends himself and has the gulls of the morning testify for his charity: *Kaw have kankury make* (U 8.84, 15.686). Gulls speak in *caw* or an even harsher *kaw*.

In the same hallucinatory chapter the hero of an Irish Ballad, *The Croppy Boy*, is hanged for treason with the guttural dying words *Horhot ho hray hor hother’s hest* (U 15.4547); it is the language of strangulation for the words in the original:

*[I] forgot to pray for my mother's rest*. This is analogous to the equally defective articulation *Table talk. I munched hum un thu Unchster Bank un Munchday* (U 8.692) if you want to say « I met him in the Ulster Bank on Monday ».

## 4. *FINNEGANS WAKE*

In *Finnegans Wake* everything is exaggerated and intensified, including the number of languages that play their part. A deviation like *Munchday* would not look amiss in it but sound in tune with such specimens as *which is all so munch to the cud*; this similarly combines *so much to the good* with alimentary words (FW 164.1). In Joyce's last work borderlines are transgressed at each turn. Its title alone overlays a common name, Finnegan, which also occurs in a ballad, *Finnegan's Wake* (with an apostrophe), with the mythological figure Finn, and throws in a French *fin* along with a Latin *negans*: the book is indeed negating that there is an end and so it does not have one. Once we go behind English, perhaps more potential items can be extracted, like a German goose, *Gans*, whose significance, or validity, if any, does not seem to have been shown. Such stray semantemes, tangential possibilities, are an intrinsic hazard of the lexical wide sweep. Once graphic units are broken up there is no obvious limit. Common sense or consensus rarely helps.

*Finnegans Wake* in its turn and its distortions also flaunts a few on-the-spot auto-translations as though in order to communicate universally. The thematic number of Anna Livia Plurabelle's children is presented in linguistic disparity:

> 19.    Some say she had three figures to fill and confined herself to a hundred eleven, wan bywan bywan, making meanacuminamoyas. Olaph lamm et, all that pack? (FW 201.28)

The multiply redundant number 111, *a hundred eleven*, is numerically spelled out as « one by one by one » (what *bywan* could mean otherwise has not yet been determined, but according to McHugh [1991] Cornish *wan* seems to mean a large number). The long conglomerate *meanacuminamoyas* splits into three words in Kiswahili for 111, *mia na kumi na moja*, adding a third variant (Joyce moreover stuffed the fluvial chapter with river names: *Mean*, *Acu*, *Umina*, *Moy*). *Olaph lamm* […] *pack* plays around the Hebrew letters *Aleph*, *Lamedh* and *Pe*: in their numerical function (1, 30, 80, respectively) they add up to 111 one more time (tangentially an *ollave* is an Irish poet; *Lamm* is German for « lamb »; etc.). In a chapter flooded with river names many meanings flow together. The passage, as so much in *Finnegans Wake*, is dispersive with river names and seemingly randomly

scattered debris, but the alternatives for a number also serve to tighten the passage centripetally. If we don't capture the sense in one language, or variant, it may manifest itself through another.

In *Was she wearing shubladey's tiroirs in humour of her hubbishobbis* […]? (FW 511.27), what the lady in question is wearing is indirectly answered, first in German (*Schublade*), and then in French (*tiroir*), both meaning the drawer of a piece of furniture, but clearly the second meaning of « drawer(s) » as women's underwear is insinuated. Neither in German nor in French is there such an undercurrent sense, a sense that emerges through double refraction.

On occasion the *Wake* unfolds a semantic list (often of twenty-nine items, the number of days in February, relating a lunar cycle) of a term in various languages. It can be peace:

20.  (Frida! Freda! Paza! Paisy! Irine! Areinette! Bridomay! Bentamai! Sososopky! Bebebekka! Bababadkessy! Ghugugoothoyou! Dama! Damadomina! Takiya! Tokaya! Scioccara! Siuccherillina! Peocchia! Peucchia! Ho Mi Hoping! Ha Me Happinice! Mirra! Myrha! Solyma! Salemita! Sainta! Sianta! O Peace!) (FW 470.36-471.5)

But an analogous list hinges around words or notions for death:

21.  Mulo Mulelo! Homo Humilo! Dauncy a deady O! Dood dood dood! O Bawse! O Boese! O Muerther! O Mord! Mahmato! Moutmaro! O Smirtsch! O Smertz! Woh Hillill! Woe Hallall! Thou Thuoni! Thou Thaunaton! Umartir! Udamnor! Tschitt! Mergue! Eulumu! Huam Khuam! Malawinga! Malawunga! Ser Oh Ser! See ah See! Hamovs Hemoves! Mamor! (FW 499.5)

Often a passage is permeated by lexical variety of a term, as in the case of polylingual eggs:

22.  (his oewfs […] his avgs […] his eiers […] his uoves, oves and uves […] his ochiuri […] his soufflosion of oogs […] his Poggadovies […] his Frideggs à la Tricarême) (FW 184.26-32)

Numerous phrases accept readings in different languages. *Warum night* is equidistant from English *Warm night* and German *Warum nicht?* « why not? »; in each case there is one aberrant or missing letter. In this case the duplicity works in written or printed form only, phonetically *night* and *nicht* are not significantly close to each other. A frequent dichotomy of what we can see or hear in itself is a Wakean duplicity.

*Warum night?* is followed immediately by *Conning two lay payees* (FW 479.7), which as English makes little sense but is recognizable as an approximation of French *Connais-tu le pays ?* According to where something is spoken, the *Wake* seems to imply, its meaning changes, often drastically, as visitors to other countries may experience.

In a primeval verbal encounter, *Come on, fool porterfull, hosiered women blown monk sewer?* (FW 16.4) sounds like a rancorous obscene threat, to judge by its English components, but it mutates into a polite ordinary greeting formula in French: *Comment vous portez-vous, mon blanc monsieur ?* This happens to be a first variant of a recurrent motif in linguistic refractions, based on « How do you do today, my light (or dark) sir? ». We find it translated, among a dozen other incarnations, for example, into:

23.  Comb his tar odd gee sing your mower O meeow?  (Italian « Come sta oggi, signor moro mio ? »; FW 409.14)

24.  Fee gate has Heenan hoity, mind uncle Hare?  (German « Wie geht es Ihnen heute, mein dunkler Herr? »; FW 466.29)

25.  Huru more Nee, minny frickans? (Swedish « Hur maar ni, mina fröken? »; FW 54.10)

26.  Houdian Kiel vi fartas, mia nigra sinjoro? (Esperanto « Hodiaû kielvi fartas, mia nigra sinjoro ? »[85]; FW 160.31)

The pattern may be reduced to a faint echo: *Commodore valley O hairy* (Latin « Quomode vales hodie »). The range is international. Some approximations can be spelled out with little difficulty; others are more removed; some still have not revealed their linguistic secret and in each case digressive meanings can be extracted.

Internal translations can affect items in long passages. Early in the book an extended contemplation of Irish history and Irish places shows how civilization may decline but that flowers remain as they always were:

27.  Since the bouts of Hebear and Hairyman the cornflowers have been staying at Ballymun, the duskrose has choosed out Goatstown's hedges, twolips have pressed togatherthem by sweet Rush, townland of twinedlights, the whitethorn and the redthorn have fairygeyed the mayvalleys of Knockmaroon, and, though for rings round them, during a chiliad of perihelygangs, the Formoreans have

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[85] Since Esperanto purports to be a universal language it figures appropriately in a book that strives towards the same goal.

brittled the tooath of the Danes and the Oxman has been pestered by the Firebugs and the Joynts have thrown up jerrybuilding to the Kevanses and Little on the Green is childsfather to the City (Year! Year! And laughtears!), these paxsealing buttonholes have quadrilled across the centuries and whiff now whafft to us, fresh and made-of-all-smiles as, on the eve of Killallwho. (FW 14.35)

In gross simplification it starts with the beginnings of Ireland, often traced to the legendary Heber and Heremon (combined with evolutionary predecessors, *he-bear*, *hairy man*). Various flowers have been around in rural Dublin surroundings, while Ireland suffered a series of invasions, attributed to the Formorians, Tuatha Dé Danann and Firbolgs in succession, and in historical times to Vikings (Danes, Oxmen) in the surroundings of Dublin. Cities have been built – cheaply (*jerrybuilding*) – and ruined. In contrast flowers have survived in peace and are still as fresh as they were then. Many pages later the matrix of the passage is given in its original French (Edgar Quinet's *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire de l'humanité*, 1834):

28.  Aujourd'hui comme aux temps de Pline et de Columelle la jacinthe se plaît dans les Gaules, la pervenche en Illyrie, la marguerite sur les ruines de Numance et pendant qu'autour d'elles les villes ont changé de maîtres et de noms, que plusieurs sont entrées dans le néant, que les civilisations se sont choquées et brisées, leurs paisibles générations ont traversé les âges et sont arrivées jusqu'à nous, fraîches et riantes comme aux jours des batailles. (FW  281)

This shifts the ground to Roman authors and places, not Irish history. The setting is antique, not Irish; history repeats itself in different cultures. Cities have changed their masters and their names (a Wakean feature), civilizations have tumbled, but the peaceful flowers, all female, outlast them all. The translation is both verbal and cultural, temporal and local.

A footnote is appended to the quotation: *Translout that gaswind into turfish* (FW 281). It appropriately deals with translation; whether it is into Turkish or Irish (Ireland is the country of turf), it leaves open. German *laut* « loud » and *geschwind* « quickly » add yet another local colour, and the result may be nothing but gas and wind.

Further echoes and variants occur later in further elaboration:

29.  Since the days of Roamaloose and Rehmoose the pavanos have been strident through their struts of Chapelldiseut, the vaulsies have meed and youdled through the purly ooze of Ballybough, […] those danceadeils and cancanzanies

have come stimmering down for our begayment through the bedeafdom of po's taeorns, the obcecity of pa's teapucs, as lithe and limbfree limber as when momie mummed at ma. (FW 236.19)

30. While Pliny the Younger writes to Pliny the Elder his calamolumen of contumellas, what Aulus Gellius picked on Micmacrobius and what Vitruvius pocketed from Cassiodorus. (FW 255.18)

31. […] since the days of Plooney and Columcellas when Giacinta, Pervenche and Margaret swayed over the all-too-ghoulish and illyrical and innumantic in our mutter nation […] (FW 615.2) etc.


# 5. CONCLUSION

Enough has been adduced to show that *Finnegans Wake* is not confined to one language but that it frequently transforms its own substance from one into another. All of Joyce involves a perpetual re-processing of its own material, some specific features of which have been displayed here.


## ABBREVIATIONS

D: JOYCE James (1967). *Dubliners*, ed. Robert Scholes. New York : Viking. (D+page #)

FW: JOYCE James (1939). *Finnegans Wake*. London: Faber & Faber. (FW + page and line #)

L: JOYCE James (1957). 21 September 1920. In *Letters of James Joyce*, Vol. 1, ed. Stuart Gilbert. London: Faber & Faber. (L + page #)

P: JOYCE James (1964). *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, ed. Chester G. Anderson. New York: Viking. (P+page#)

U: JOYCE James (1986). *Ulysses*, ed. Hans Walter Gabler with Wolfhard Steppe and Claus Melchior. London: The Bodley Head. (U+chapter and line #: U11.81 + 11th chapter, line 81)


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# INVESTIGATING IRISH ENGLISH WITH ICE-IRELAND

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**Abstract**

The investigation of specific features of Irish English has a long tradition. Yet, with the arrival of large corpora and corpus tools, new avenues of research have opened up for the discipline. The present paper investigates features commonly ascribed to Irish English on the basis of the ICE Ireland corpus in comparison with ICE corpora representing other varieties of English. We use several corpus tools to access the ICE corpora. First, an offline concordance program, *AntConc* V 3.3 (Anthony 2004). Second, *Corpus Navigator*, an online corpus query tool allowing researchers to query regular expressions on the surface texts. Third, we are in the process of writing a version of *Dependency Bank* (Lehmann and Schneider 2012) which contains a selection of ICE corpora, and which will be called *ICE online*. This research methodology allows us to reassess how specific features found in Irish English are in comparison with other international varieties of English and illustrates that even simple corpus-based search patterns can produce powerful results.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 THE INTERNATIONAL CORPUS OF ENGLISH (ICE)

The International Corpus of English[86] (Greenbaum 1996) is a collection of corpora of national or regional varieties of English with a common corpus design and a common scheme for grammatical annotation. [87] The primary aim of the corpus series has been to provide material for comparative studies of English worldwide. Each ICE corpus consists of one million words of spoken and written English produced after 1989, and comprises 500 texts (300 spoken and 200 written) of approximately 2,000 words each.

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[86] **http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.htm**

ICE-Ireland (Kallen & Kirk, 2008) contains both data from Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, allowing us on the one hand to compare Irish English to other varieties of English, and on the other hand to investigate differences between Northern and Southern Irish English. For our comparison to Irish English, we have used most of the ICE corpora that are currently complete and available. We have included the following ICE Corpora in our comparison:

- ICE Canada
- ICE Great Britain
- ICE Hong Kong
- ICE India
- ICE Ireland
- ICE Jamaica
- ICE New Zealand
- ICE Philippines
- ICE Singapore

This selection includes four varieties that are known as Inner Circle varieties, i.e. first language varieties of English (Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand and Ireland itself) and five Outer Circle varieties, varieties from countries where English is used as a second language (Kachru, 1992). On the one hand, Irish English is certainly a classical Inner Circle variety, and has contributed to the variety formation in a large number of countries that were at some stage English colonies and in other territories. On the other hand, Ireland itself has been under British rule for several centuries, and had extensive contact with Celtic languages (Ronan, this volume). For long periods, the majority of the speakers of Irish English had Irish as their first language, which means that substrate influences which are typical of L2 languages and Outer Circle English varieties, can be expected and have been described in linguistic research. We give an overview of those features of Irish English that are of interest for this paper in section 1.2 and present detailed results of our own research into these features in ICE Ireland in section 3.

Our aim in this study is threefold. First, we would like to contribute to research on Irish English by showing which of the many of the described features can indeed be found in relatively small corpora such as ICE Ireland, and which others may be too rare, and which are potentially receding or do not hold up to empirical scrutiny. Second, we would like to illustrate, using ICE Ireland as a show-case, how corpus software can be used easily, also by the less computer-savvy, to investigate regional variation and operationalize linguistic features. Third, we will give a preview of

*ICE online*, an advanced online tool supporting syntactic queries and statistical tests. We discuss our retrieval approach in section 2.

## 1.2 IRISH ENGLISH FEATURES: OVERVIEW

Many features have been claimed or described for Irish English. The list of phenomena we investigate using the ICE Ireland corpus in this study is not comprehensive. We use Trudgill and Hannah (2002), Hickey (2007) and Filppula (1999) as starting points. Trudgill and Hannah (2002: 106-108) describe pronunciation differences, lexical features, and amongst others the following morphosyntactic characteristics of Irish English:

a. Low frequency of *shall* (section 3.2; see also McCafferty, 2011)
b. Habitual aspect with *do* (section 3.7; see also Filppula, 1999: 130ff.)
c. *After* perfect (section 3.5; see also Filppula, 1999: 99ff.)
d. Clefting with copular verbs (section 3.4; see also Filppula, 1999: 243 ff.)
e. Indirect questions with inversion (section 3.8; see also Filppula, 1999: 167ff.)

We discuss one lexical feature, and the listed morphoysntactic features in section 3. Except for the low frequency of *shall,* all of the morphosyntactic characteristics are also listed in Hickey (2007: 146-147), who also mentions additional features. We will discuss a selection of them, in particular

f. *For to* infinitive (section 3.3; see also Filppula, 1999: 185)
g. *Be* as auxiliary with past participle (section 3.11; see also Filppula, 1999: 114 ff.)
h. Singular existential with plural NP (section 3.6; see Hickey, 2005: 121 and Walshe 2009)

We further include two additional features from the extensive description of Filppula (1999):

i. reflexive pronouns in place of non-reflexive pronouns (section 3.9; Filppula, 1999: 77-8 calls them unbound reflexives)
j. medial object perfect (section 3.10; Filppula, 1999: 107 ff.)

## 2. METHODS

In order to retrieve instances of the features under discussion, we use *AntConc*, *Corpus Navigator*, and *ICE online*. We explain the retrieval queries that we use in detail, aiming to show that formulating queries is not difficult after an initial learning step. We discuss simple word-based queries, slightly more tricky regular expressions and powerful syntactic queries. Except in syntactic queries, the aim is typically to achieve an operationalization which is often a crude approximation. Typically, the queries retrieve many hits (the instances that are found and displayed to the user), but often the majority of them do not contain the feature under investigation, and we need to filter the results, separating the wheat (true positives) from the chaff (false positives, also referred to as garbage). Generally, this is a two-step procedure:

> 1. We formulate a permissive corpus search query, which should contain most of the instances of the phenomenon under investigation. In other words, it should have high recall, but it may have low precision.
> 2. We do a manual filtering and inspection to select those matches which really are instances. This step repairs the low precision from step 1.

The two evaluation measures *precision* and *recall* are defined as follows. Precision expresses how many of the returned matches are positive samples. Recall expresses how many of all the positive samples in the corpus are returned by the retrieval query. While we can easily increase precision by manual filtering of the hits, we can never be sure that our query has maximally high recall. Often, one is even ready to use queries which explicitly only find a subset of the instances of the phenomenon. We then need to make the assumption that the subset is representative of the complete set. Not every measurable difference between occurrence groups (for example Irish English versus British English or written versus spoken) is meaningful if counts are small, therefore we need to do significance tests to separate random fluctuation from significant differences.

An approach related to ours is Kirk and Kallen (2006), who searched ICE Ireland for the *after* perfect (section 3.5), the medial object perfect (section 3.10), unbound reflexives (section 3.9), and indirect questions with inversion (section 3.8). In the present study we include more features, and also use syntactically analysed corpora. The syntactic analysis is done with Pro3Gres (Schneider, 2008), a Dependency Grammar parser. The full annotation pipeline, and an introduction to syntactic queries, are given in Lehmann and Schneider (2012). A case study similar

to this has been carried out on Indian English (Schneider, 2013). There, the approach is different, however, because a corpus-driven approach has been used, while here we test well-known features.

# 3. RESULTS

## 3.1 LEXIS : THE EXAMPLE OF *WEE*

In place of the description of a host of lexical items, we restrict the discussion to one example: the word *wee* (with the meaning of « small »), which can be used by speakers of Irish English (see e.g Walshe, this volume). Finding lexical items in corpora using concordance software is trivial: typing the word from into the search field retrieves all its occurrences. Figure 1 shows the result of the word form query for <wee> using the concordance program *AntConc* V 3.3 (Anthony 2004), after loading the ICE Ireland corpus raw text, as distributed. Indeed, *AntConc* and *Corpus Navigator* report 220 hits, so as a first approximation we may assume that *wee* is an Irish English feature.

It could of course be, however, that *wee* is also frequent in other varieties of English. Loading some other ICE corpora reveals that *wee* is known in most Englishes, but is much less frequent. For the Inner Circle varieties, the counts are: 8 in ICE-Canada, 61 in ICE-New Zealand, 4 in ICE-GB. Even if we consider that the sizes of the corpora vary a little, the Irishness of the feature seems to be confirmed, and after applying a significance test which reveals that the difference is highly significant, we might stop here. However, *wee* is considered to be a typically Scottish dialectal word so it is no wonder then that it appears in ICE-GB and Irish and Scottish emigrant countries. If we split ICE-Ireland into its Northern (NI) and Southern (RoI) part, a stark difference appears: Northern Irish English, which has been much influenced by Scottish immigrants, dominates the counts, as figure 2 shows. The concordance plot also shows that the word is more frequent in the beginning of the corpora, which is due to the fact that the first 3/5ths of the corpora are spoken language. In conclusion, *wee* is mainly a Scottish feature which has come to Northern Ireland (and to other places, such as New Zealand) via Scottish settlers. However, it also enjoys relative popularity in Southern Irish English, and the feature distribution also shows that Scottish English is very narrowly represented in ICE-GB.
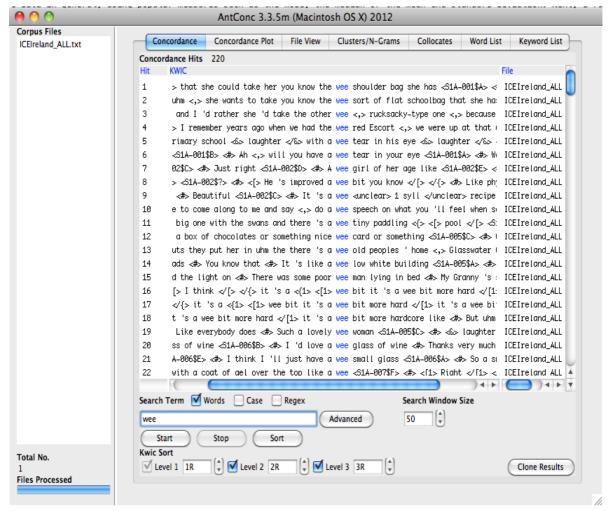
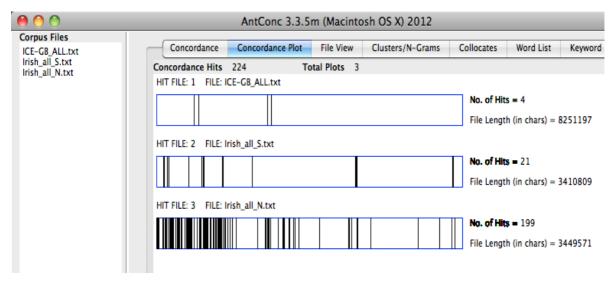Figure 1: query for *wee* in ICE Ireland using the concordance program *AntConc*



Figure 2. Concordance plot of *wee* in ICE-GB, ICE Ireland South and North

As described by Kirk and Kallen (2010), there are similarities between Scottish and Irish English. While they conclude that the influence was relatively small, there seem to be areas in lexis where there was considerable import, as is indeed visible in the use of *wee* in Irish English.

## 3.2 LOW FREQUENCY OF *SHALL*

In Irish English, *shall* is used very infrequently, most forms have been replaced by *will*. McCafferty (2011) traces the history of the decline of the auxiliary *shall* in Irish English. When comparing ICE-Ireland to other corpora from the ICE family, this feature is immediately apparent. The frequency of the auxiliary *shall* is lower than in any other 8 ICE corpora used in our study, and the difference is highly significant (chi-square contingency test, p<0.01%). In *ICE online*, the necessary chi-square test of significance is done automatically, which is useful when doing exploratory research.

**Distribution of Query 'h1= r1=aux17aux d1=shall eq1=' according to the category 'corpus'**

Tabulate: [ corpus ] ( Go! ) Crosstabulate: X [ -- ] / Y [ corpus ] show [ Count of Instances ] ( Go! )

| corpus | n | words | relative frequency per 10000 words |
|---|---|---|---|
| ICECAN | 76 | 1051581 | 0.7 |
| ICEGB | 178 | 1070703 | 1.7 |
| ICEHK | 119 | 1215724 | 1 |
| ICEIND | 189 | 1126149 | 1.7 |
| ICEIRE | 47 | 1057065 | 0.4 |
| ICEJAM | 226 | 1072444 | 2.1 |
| ICENZ | 89 | 1207008 | 0.7 |
| ICEPHI | 248 | 1139253 | 2.2 |
| ICESING | 89 | 1030868 | 0.9 |

rProg: nrow=c(76, 178, 119, 189, 47, 226, 89, 248, 89); nonrow=c(1051581 - 76, 1070703 - 178, 1215724 - 119, 1126149 - 189, 1057065 - 47, 1072444 - 226, 1207008 - 89, 1139253 - 248, 1030868 - 89); chitable=data.frame(nrow,nonrow);
chisq.test(chitable);
rAnswer: Pearson's Chi-squared test data: chitable X-squared = 291.9854, df = 8, p-value < 2.2e-16

Figure 3. Screenshot of the results of the query for shall as auxiliary in ICE online

## 3.3 *FOR TO* INFINITIVE

The features that we have described so far are lexical or morphological, and thus easy to find with word form searches. But there are many morphosyntactic features which are described as being frequent in Irish English. On of these is the *for to* infinitive (Filppula, 1999: 185). This often, but not necessarily, expresses a purpose infinitive. As it involves the two-word complementizer *for to*, surface word form

searches will probably still find most occurrences, in other words achieve high recall. A search for <for to> in AntConc reveals 4 hits in ICE Ireland, one of which is a false positive, though, arising from a false start or correction in spoken data.

1.  S1A-043:1:33:A We'll do the talking **for to** for you re too drunk.

It is essential to inspect the matches – or a random subset of them if numbers are large – to obtain an assessment of the precision of one's queries, which in this case is 3/4 = 75%. Importantly, also seemingly unambiguous queries, such as <for to> can retrieve false positives. The other 3 occurrences are true positives, for example:

2.  S1A-014:152:B_ No it's no it was two hundred no it's two hundred and twenty from Gatwick and then I haven't paid **for to** get over to London yet but then the rest of it was all insurance.

Checking in other Inner Circle varieties (ICE-GB, ICE-NZ, and ICE-Can), we observe that this construction can also be found there. The 3 occurrences returned from ICE-GB are all true positives:

3.  icegb:S1A-074:5:326:C Uh when should I pop back **for to** sign those and read them through and send them off.

4.  icegb:W1B-030:1:8 I do not think I have changed the meaning at all, but perhaps it would be as well **for to** cast a final eye over it anyway.

5.  icegb:w1b-030:6:120 We would be grateful if you would consider providing funding **for to** attend the course as outlined above and look forward to hearing from you with any queries you might have.

We conclude that *for to* is generally rare but permissible, it intuitively seems old-fashioned, but the claim that it is an Irish feature merits reassessment.

## 3.4 *IT* CLEFTING WITH THE COPULA

Another syntactic feature described by Filppula (1999) is *it* clefting with a copula (Filppula, 1999: 243 ff.). The placing of the preposition towards the end of the sentence is quite popular in sentences with *it* clefting in Irish English. For example «It's Glasgow he's going to tomorrow» is more likely to occur than «It's to Glasgow he's going tomorrow».

This feature is much more difficult to operationalise than any discussed before in this paper. It is probably impossible to formulate a word-based search string. As clefting is a syntactic long-distance dependency, the distance between the copula

and the preposition can be very long – unlike in the non-clefted version. We first tried to examine this theory by looking at the position of prepositions in such sentences in the corpus, but we were overwhelmed with hits and extremely low precision. During our inspection of the examples discussed in the literature we noticed though, first, that there are occurrences where the sentence-initial *it is* gets contracted to *'tis* or *'twas*, and second, that the distance between *it* and the main verb remains quite short.

Based on the first observation we queried for *'Tis* (returning 14 hits) and *'Twas* (returning 4 hits). Note the capitalization, which ensures sentence-initial position. Such a pattern is explicitly a serious compromise, it will have very low recall, all non-contracted forms and all non-sentence-initial forms are missed in principle. On top of these disadvantages, it turns out that, first, all 14 matches are false positives, none contains a moved preposition; second we observed that the spelling variants *'tis* and *'twa*s are unique to ICE-Ireland, and mostly from spoken categories, which means that we are probably dealing with transcribing conventions rather than linguistic features. Although the ICE corpora are intended for comparison and share standardizing guidelines, when it comes to the nitty-gritty details, standardization is often insufficient, and care needs to be exerted constantly.

Based on the second observation, there is a chance to bring down the 1543 hits of sentence-initial *It is* in ICE Ireland to a size that is manageable for manual inspection. If we additionally take into consideration that many examples are in the progressive, a simple operationalisation is to search for *It is* and then *is* a few words later. In the AntConc query language, the hash symbol (#) can be used to stand for any word, a so-called *wildcard* word. We can formulate queries such as «It 's ## is» for two intervening words, and «It 's ### going» for three intervening words. These queries returned many false positives, but still no true positives.

In addition to dealing with very high levels of false positives, it is cumbersome to have to deal with many queries. There is a query language that is much more powerful, and is available both in *AntConc* and *Corpus Navigator*: so-called *regular expressions*. Regular expressions allow for fast searches, because they can be translated into finite-state automata whose search time is linearly correlated with corpus length.

```
Regular Expression Primer:
http://marvin.cs.uidaho.edu/~heckendo/Handouts/regex.html

Most important regular expressions:

a?         optional a
a*         0 to infinite a's
a+         at least one a
(aa|bb)    aa or bb
[abc]a or b or c, e.g. s[iauo]ng
\w         any word character = [A-Za-z]
\b         word boundary
\n         newline
\t         tab
\s         whitespace = [ \t\n\r\f]
[^a]       anything but a, e.g. [^_]+_N is a noun-tagged word
a{1,5}     between 1 and 5 times a
```

Figure 4: Regular Expression Primer

Using the powerful regular expressions in *Corpus Navigator* or *AntConc* we can e.g. formulate the following query (for *AntConc* and ICE Ireland):

```
It 's ([\w']+ ){1,5}\w+ing
```

A word consists of one or several word characters (\w) or the apostrophe ('), we are looking for between 1 and 5 five words intervening between the sentence-initial *It's* and a word ending in *–ing* as it can be expected of verbs in the progressive. The query brings 129 hits, but only one true positive.

6.  S1B-015:46:A_  **It's the introduction you're looking for** okay introduction

We can also use variants of the above query, restricting to typical proper names, typical NP beginnings, and extended the window of intervening words.

```
It 's [A-Z]([\w']+ ){1,8}\w+ing

It 's a ([\w']+ ){1,8}\w+ing

It 's the ([\w']+ ){1,8}\w+ing
```

But we found no further instances with these queries. On qualitative grounds, it can be argued that the non-clefted version of this sentence sounds equally or less acceptable in all English variants, *It's for the introduction you're looking …*

On quantitative grounds, a single example is insufficient evidence. Similar queries on other ICE corpora return very few true positives, we have found none in the other inner circle varieties. ICE Hong Kong furnishes the following example:

7. icehk:S2A-028:1:89:A **It s the countries that they are selling to** that is so sensitive with Washington.

Thus, we cannot draw any conclusion regarding the use of *it*-clefts in ICE Ireland. This feature is too rare to be found in the one-million word corpus, particularly as we had to use an operationalisation with low recall. We have learnt though, that alternative surface operationalisations can at least furnish examples, and that it is worth testing as many formulations as possible. To complicate matters further, we should point out that the above patterns only work for ICE Ireland and in *AntConc*. In ICE-GB and ICE Canada *It's* is not pre-tokenized in the distributed version, the space between the two words therefore needs to be omitted. Again, comparisons across the ICE corpora need to consider that not everything is standardised. In *Corpus Navigator*, the pre-tokenization of ICE Ireland *'s* has the effect that the apostrophe is deleted by the corpus tokenizer. The apostrophe thus needs to be omitted in the query.


## 3.5 THE *AFTER* PERFECT

The possibly best investigated feature of Irish English is the *after* perfect (e.g. Filppula, 1999: 99 ff.), which is considered to have developed due to contact with Irish Gaelic. Surface search string operationalisations to find this feature in corpora fortunately are simple:

```
after \w+ing

(am|'m|m|be|was|is|'s|s|are|'re|re) after \w+ing
```

The first query has very low precision. The second query finds frequent forms of the auxiliary *be* followed by *after* and an *–ing* form. It returns 9 hits from ICE Ireland, 8 of which are true positives, given in the following.

8. S1A-046:100:A_ A new fella is **after taking** over uhm one of the pubs at home

9. S1A-046:100:A_ And he's **after coming** back from England you know

10. S1A-055:145:E_ They thought he was **after going** into a coma with diabetes

11. S1A-067:111:D_ The wife and children are **after going** off there the other day

12. S1B-017:99:D_ I'm **after booking** one

13. S2A-012:2:A_ In the opening round I thought for a while that Walsh was going to win inside the distance but he's **after running** into a couple of hard ones here from Barrett

14. S2A-047:2:A_ Okay and here it's **after listing** the command that it's executed

15. S2B-014:1:4:C And we ve had no word or phonecall or anything you know we we ve we **re after** we re after being trying in Waterford city all with a pile of guest houses down there.

The first query (*after \w+ing*) has the disadvantage that it returns 71 hits, mostly false positives, but it also finds one occurrence which the second query does not find:

16. S1B-077:90:A_ There's nothing new **after coming** in anyway so

7 of these 9 occurrences were also found by Kirk and Kallen (2006: 95-98). As the next step, we need to test if the *after* perfect might occur in other English variants. Manually filtering hundreds of false positives after using the first query would be cumbersome. In order to get a different perspective on the data, in order to start with a high precision base, and thus in order not to need to do very much filtering, we also used the syntactic query function which *ICE online* and *Dependency Bank* (Lehmann and Schneider, 2012) provides. The full results are given in figure 5. All 4 hits from ICE Ireland are true positives, one of them (line 16) has escaped our surface searches. All hits from the other ICE corpora are false negatives, except for line 2 from ICE Canada.

With counts of 10 in ICE Ireland against 0 in the other corpora (or 1 in ICE Canada), the differences are highly significant, according to the binomial test.

We looked for *after* perfect constructions by using key words like <after + ing>, and by a syntactic query. But *after* perfects can also occur in noun phrases, e.g. *We're just after our dinner*. Using the following query, we found one such instance.

```
after (\w+){1,5} (dinner|breakfast|tea|lunch|sleep|nap|beer|walk)
```

17. S1A-008:112:A_ I'm not not that long **after my dinner**

| No | Reference | Solutions 1 to 22 Page 1/1 Processed for gerold at 130.60.155.214 |
|---|---|---|
| | Your Query:'h1=be r1=pobj d1= eq1=h2= r2=prep d2=after eq2=depID=headID' returned 22 results in ICE9_t6571. | |
| 1 | ICECAN:S2B-001:1:13:A | He 's back among the best in the world after winning a bronze medal. |
| 2 | ICECAN:W2B-008:1:94 | " They 're after chang ing the music " says 79 -_: year-old Joe Kennedy as he takes a break from playing me some tunes in his cluttered house deep in the woods near Inverside. |
| 3 | ICEGB:S2A-001:1:198:A | Again the England defence can do the mopping up and again it 's back with Chris Woods back in the England goal after missing the last three internationals. |
| 4 | ICEGB:S2A-016:1:22:A | He 's now back in his element after coming through the mountains and just about getting through the mountains. |
| 5 | ICEGB:S2B-010:1:31:A | Throughout the day members of the Security Council have been in one huddle after another trying to agree on whether at midnight tonight diplomacy is officially declared dead. |
| 6 | ICEHK:S1B-075:1:307:A | Oh I see this one uhm latest statement yih lihng lihng yat ji well okay this is after gau uh nine eleven. |
| 7 | ICEHK:S2B-006:2:131:A | Defending champion Steffi Graf will be the will be there after whipping Natalie Zvereva of the Commonwealth of the Independent States. |
| 8 | ICEHK:W2C-010:5:81 | It had been reported that Mr Zhou had been in poor health soon after taking up the post. |
| 9 | ICEINDIA:S1B-003:2:208:A | Nerve tonic that is after reading lesson. |
| 10 | ICEINDIA:S1B-038:1:130:B | And has the mosque been built on that site after detroying the temple ? |
| 11 | ICEINDIA:S2A-019:1:17:A | So it's a great day for me to be here after winning the last national being played in Chandigarh to come here and commentate today on this mens ` and the womens ` singles. |
| 12 | ICEINDIA:W2C-017:1:41 | It was only after rolling for about 185 feet that both the front and rear wheels were touching the ground. |
| 13 | ICEIRE:S1A-046:1:100:A | A new fella is after taking over uhm one of the pubs at home. |
| 14 | ICEIRE:S1A-055:1:145:E | They thought he was after going into a coma with diabetes. |
| 15 | ICEIRE:S1A-067:1:111:D | The wife and children are after going off there the other day. |
| 16 | ICEIRE:W1B-007:2:30 | This was after him sending me a mushy letter to work on Tuesday. |
| 17 | ICEJAM:S2B-014:0:16:A | This is after admitting to importing and possessing marijuana with a street value of more than twenty -_: seven thousand U S dollars. |
| 18 | ICENZ:S2B-019:1:17:R | and the former kiwi half back clayton friend is back in the country after playing for carlisle in england. |
| 19 | ICENZ:W1B-006:4:131 | I do sympathise with the long distance relationship and you 're right after seeing them again it's always harder !. |
| 20 | ICENZ:W2C-013:6:120 | Clark went in the 11th over for 40 while Bracewell was still there at stumps after compiling 59. |
| 21 | ICESING:S1B-075:1:101:B | That must be after paying back. |
| 22 | ICESING:W1A-001:1:26 | And " I was equally confounded at the Sight of so many Pignies ;_: for such I took them to be , after having so long accustomed my eyes to the monstrous objects I had left .. |

Figure 5 : *after* in the ICE corpora

We conclude that the *after* perfect, one of the best known features of Irish English, can be observed very well in relatively small corpora such as the ICE series of one million carefully sampled running words. We also conclude that, despite lower recall, syntactic queries are a useful approach to data exploration.

## 3.6 SINGULAR EXISTENTIAL WITH PLURAL NP

The *singular existential* (see Hickey, 2005: 121 and Walshe, 2009) is another well-known Irish feature. A simple surface operationalisation can be made by the following query:

```
there ?'?s \w+s
```

This query returns 53 hits, about two thirds are false positives. The true positives contain examples like the following.

18. S1A-027:177:C_ I'm sure **there's loads** of cafes saying that they're the they're

19. S1A-028:52:C_ But **there's lots** of uhm like I mean say if you were going to analyse a a rock face I mean there's probably only one way you can actually analyse it

20. S1A-064:1:16:E You know when like when you ve got all these tractors and all I suppose on the road at home and I was there going oh yeah **there's tractors** on all the roads.

21. W1B-003:3:56 Talking of which, **there's soldiers** all over the show here -_: everywhere ya fuckin' look!

The true positives are dominated by *loads* and *lots*, which can be seen as lexicalised predeterminers, but also abstract nouns and even some animate nouns, as in the last example, can be found. The last example is from the written part, but intends to represent spoken language.

The same query reports 44 hits in ICE-Can, 58 in ICE-NZ, 31 in ICE-GB, for example:

22. icecan:S1A-006:114:1:B You know **there's things** to do

23. icegb:S2A-025:91_1:A_1 And **there's examples** of the damage to those which required the building to be closed with the possibility of demolition involved in that case

Also the levels of false positives do not seem higher at a first glance. We use a syntactic query in ICE online to obtain higher precision finds. The query can be seen in figure 6. The verb *be* needs to have a subject *there* and an object which is in the plural, which we constrain by requiring the object dependent to have the part-of-speech tag *NNS*. We restrict the verb to its singular third person form by requiring it to have the tag *VBZ*.

Figure 6. Query for copula-complement concord violation in ICE online.

The distribution across the 9 ICE corpora in ICE online can be seen in figure 7. The occurrences are cross-tabulated between the corpora and spoken/written. We can see that singular existential is mainly a feature of spoken language, and that there is some regional variation. ICE Ireland even displays this feature sparingly in comparison with ICE Canada, ICE New Zealand and even ICE-GB.



| corpus/iceCat1 | spoken | written | total |
|---|---|---|---|
| icecan | 121 | 7 | 128 |
| icegb | 65 | 5 | 70 |
| icehk | 21 | 10 | 31 |
| iceind | 18 | 4 | 22 |
| iceire | 13 | 1 | 14 |
| icejam | 24 | 4 | 28 |
| icenz | 122 | 6 | 128 |
| icephi | 10 | 3 | 13 |
| icesing | 32 | 5 | 37 |
| total | 426 | 45 | 471 |

Figure 7. Distribution of singular existentials across 9 ICE corpora

We conclude that singular existentials are probably globally on the rise in spoken language. Inner Circle varieties appear to be in the lead in this process, and their use does not seem to be a particularly Irish feature.

## 3.7 HABITUAL ASPECT FORMS

Habitual aspect forms with *do* or with *be(e)s* have been described as an Irish feature (Filppula, 1999: 130 ff.; Ronan, 2011), which may have arisen in the contact situation with Irish Gaelic. Expected examples are «They do be there every Friday» or «They be(e)s there every Friday». These forms have been described as getting rarer, but still used in rural Ireland. We used surface queries for *bees* (which returned interesting insights into the species *apis mellifera*, but no habituals) and *bes*, which returned a single hit (which, given the context, may be a performative use):

> 24. S1A-032:37:A_ He just stands there and **bes** Frankenstein

The query *does be* also returns exactly one hit:

> 25. S1A-087:139:B_ That that buck that **does be** on the television on the video

Both these matches are also found by Ronan (2011). Queries on the other ICE corpora returned no hits, as expected. For queries including all verbs we used the tagged version available in Corpus Navigator and ICE online for the surface queries

```
doe?s?_VB[ZP] \w+_VB.?
```

The hits are overwhelmingly cases of emphatic rather than habitual *do*, or at best ambiguous. In the other ICE corpora, we find similar levels of hits, typically higher in Inner Circle varieties than in Outer Circle ones (counts are highest in ICE New Zealand, followed by ICE-GB, and then ICE Ireland). In conclusion, the feature is still used, but it is too infrequent for quantitative claims in the case of *bes*, and disambiguation between emphatic and ambiguous is difficult in many cases, and the emphatic form seems to be less used in Outer Circle varieties.

## 3.8 INVERSION IN INDIRECT QUESTIONS

In Irish English, indirect questions can retain the inversion of direct questions, resulting in sentences such as «I asked him was he going home». According to Bliss (1984: 148), indirect questions can take two forms. The first form is that of indirect simple questions, which in Standard English require an introductory *if* or *whether* and which can often be answered by a simple *yes* or *no*. In Irish English, however, the *if* or *whether* is omitted and the inversion, also known as «embedded inversion» (Filppula, 1999: 167), is retained. Typical verbs which introduce this type of indirect question include *ask*, *wonder*, *know* and *see*. A second form that these

indirect questions can take is as indirect complex questions. These preserve the interrogative word (*who, what, when, where, which* and *how*) and unlike in Standard English they again retain the word order of a direct question. Filppula observed that embedded inversion was more likely to occur in simple *Yes/No* questions than in complex WH-questions.

We have used the following surface query, focusing on the question word *ask*. As we only allow one intervening word, the query has a preference for finding the first type.

```
\bask\w* \w+ (was|is|are|will|would)
```

Among the 21 hits for this query we get 11 true positives, for example:

26. S1A-035:62:B_ And then I **asked her would** she let him and she said no

27. S1A-088:173:D_ And Medbh **asked me would** I come over and would I bring Jane with me right

28. S1A-088:173:D_ So I Lara rang today and I **asked Lara would** she do it

29. S2B-021:6:D_ So she **asked her would** she have any food that she could give her some and feed the baby

30. W2C-012:5:p_D Quoting the handwritten note - "If pressed on this question keep repeating the above" - Ms Harney said she had repeatedly **asked who was** the Minister who had written it.

The same query on ICE-GB obtains 9 hits, and 3 true positives are among them, for example:

31. icegb:S1B-015:1:89:A In a sense you 're **asking what is** the next stage.

The number of hits (21) is highest in ICE Ireland of all the 9 ICE corpora in our investigation. The comparison across the ICE corpora based on the number of hits does not reach statistical significance yet. We added further question words like *wonder*, which only returns few hits in all ICE variants, and *know*, which returns very many hits. As most true positives of *know* are negated, we restricted the search to *not know* and *n't know*:

```
n['?o]t know\w* \w+ (was|is|s|are|will|ll|would)\b
```

The results have high precision, 12 of the 18 hits from the spoken part of ICE Ireland (and all 4 in ICE-GB) are true positives. There are strong, and statistically significant differences across the ICE corpora. Outer Circle varieties, particularly ICE Hong Kong and ICE Philippines show high frequency, while low frequency

can be observed in all Inner Circle varieties except for ICE Ireland, as we can see in figure 8.

**Crosstabulation of Query 'n['?o]t know\w* \w+ (was|is|s|are|will|ll|would)\b' accordi Frequency.**

Tabulate: corpus [Go!] Crosstabulate: X iceCat1 / Y corpus

| corpus/iceCat1 | spoken | written | total |
|---|---|---|---|
| icecan | **4** | **0** | **4** |
| icegb | **4** | **0** | **4** |
| icehk | **35** | **6** | **41** |
| iceind | **15** | **2** | **17** |
| iceire | **18** | **6** | **24** |
| icejam | **12** | **3** | **15** |
| icenz | **9** | **1** | **10** |
| icephi | **27** | **1** | **28** |
| icesing | **18** | **2** | **20** |
| total | **142** | **21** | **163** |

Figure 8. Frequency of matches using negated *know* and inverted indirect questions.

We can also see that the feature, as expected, is largely a spoken language feature. Interestingly, in some Outer Circle varieties, and in ICE Ireland, it is also sometimes used in the written part. 5 of the 6 hits from the written part of ICE Ireland are true positives, as can be seen in figure 9. We conclude that inversion in indirect questions is indeed an Irish feature, and the patterning of ICE Ireland between an Inner and Outer Circle variety (Kachru, 1992) is particularly interesting, and merits further investigation.

We have also used patterns including more intervening words between the matrix and subordinate verbs. A query for up to 5 intervening words is:

```
\bask\w*( \w+){1,5} (was|is|are|will|would)
```

Although precision for this query is very low, it returns some new true positives, for example:

32. S1B-057:35:C_ I just want to **ask the Taoiseach is** he going to start

| Your Query:'n['?o]t know\w* \w+ (waslislslarelwilllllwould)\b' returned 163 results in Reduced to 6 with restriction ICE9_meta.iceCat1='written' and ICE9_meta.corpus='iceire' | | |
|---|---|---|
| **l<** **<<** **>>** **>l** (Show Page:) 1 (KWIC View) (Show Tags) (New Query ⇅) (Go!) | | |
| **No** | **Reference** | **Solutions 1 to 30    Page 1/1**    Processed for gerold at 178.192.45.239 |
| 1 | ICE9:iceire:W1B-004:2:34 | I just do**n't know what s** the best thing to do. |
| 2 | ICE9:iceire:W2B-004:2:20 | I did**n't know what was** going on, but I crept back upstairs, because if my mother had caught me down there she d have hit me!. |
| 3 | ICE9:iceire:W2C-002:5:12 | The house was full of petrol fumes and I really did **not know what was** happening. |
| 4 | ICE9:iceire:W2C-003:1:24 | My girlfriend and son had to fly home **not knowing what was** happening to me.. |
| 5 | ICE9:iceire:W2F-012:1:58 | I do**n't know what s** been on my mind really since the accident, Aunt Cissie. |
| 6 | ICE9:iceire:W2F-020:1:76 | The way things are today, I do**n't know what s** happening. |

Figure 9. The 6 hits from the written part of ICE Ireland

Kirk and Kallen (2006: 106 ff.) search parts of ICE Ireland for inversions in indirect questions. Except for the question word *don't know* their frequencies remain low and do not reach statistical significance.

## 3.9 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN PLACE OF NON-REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

Irish English can use reflexive pronouns instead of non-reflexive pronouns. Filppula (1999: 77-8) refers to them unbound reflexives. A simple query for surface forms of reflexives in sentence-final position reveals 5 occurrences among 30 hits.

    (your|her|him)self\b ?\.

33. W1B-006:39:p_A So how's it going **yourself .**

34. W1B-006:34:p_A What's the crack with **yourself .**

35. W1B-022:7:p_N I'm sure this offer will be attractive to local motorists like **yourself** .

36. W2A-007:96:p_A The other females in the book are all doubles for **herself .**

37. W2B-020:131:p_A Particularly so for someone of maturing age such as **himself .**

We found no unbound reflexives among the hits in ICE-GB. The probability (5 versus 0) according to the two-tailed binomial test is 6%, which would only be sufficient to reach lowest significance levels. Kirk and Kallen (2006: 103 ff.) have a more detailed investigation of unbound reflexives, and considerably more hits, probably based on manually filtering all occurrences of reflexive pronouns. In their investigation, only subject conjunction (e.g. *mum and myself*) emerges as

statistically significant, while the category that we have searched for here (*object* in Kirk and Kallen's terminology) is also found in ICE-GB and therefore not restricted to the Irish English data.

## 3.10 THE MEDIAL OBJECT PERFECT

The medial object perfect is described in detail in Filppula (1999: 107 ff.). It involves a non-canonical word order, placing the object between the auxiliary and the participle. A simple lexis-based surface operationalization to find these in a corpus is

```
have \w+ done
```

It has very low precision but allows us to find a first true positive:

> 38. S1A-002:48:A_ They **have obituaries done** for William and Harry

Using the tagged version of ICE-Ireland in Corpus Navigator or ICE online we can also formulate more restricted queries, for example requiring the intervening word to be a pronoun, which increases precision.

```
ha(s|ve)_VB. \w+_PRP \w+_VB[ND]
```

This query allowed us to find e.g.

> 39. S1A-067:73:D_ I **have it wrote** down.

> 40. S1A-087:295:A_ They probably **have him chained** so he won't get out.

A similar query restricting the intervening word to be a singular noun is:

```
ha(s|ve)_VB. \w+_NNS? \w+_VB[ND]
```

This query returned the following hit, among many false positives:

> 41. S1A-006:1:144:C But he cos I cos when he said last night then I was saying I was thinking och no maybe he **has something organised** cos he was saying aw you know

Kirk and Kallen (2006: 98 ff.) have a detailed investigation of the medial object perfect in ICE Ireland, including the discussion of many occurrences and semantic interpretations, therefore this section may be considered a technical footnote to their contribution.

## 3.11 *BE* AUXILIARY WITH PAST PARTICIPLE

Filppula (1999: 114ff.) describes the use of the *be* perfect. In Early Modern English, *be* was still preferred to *have* for perfect-formation and in some dialects it is still used in rare cases. The prototypical participle is *gone*, although other dynamic verbs can be used. Semantically, this perfect stresses the resultative aspect, and it is difficult to distinguish it from adjectival uses. We concentrate on *gone*, using the simple surface search *is gone* which returns the following instances.

42. S2B-033:4:B_ In his famous dialogue in Hybernian Stile Swift noted the use of many Gaelic phrases carried over into English I wonder what **is gone** with them meaning I wonder what has happened to them

43. S2B-049:2:A_ That time **is gone**

We have also used a syntactic query to obtain more forms. We restrict our search to verbs which have a realised surface subject. The results in figure 10 reveal, however, that using the auxiliary *be* with the participle *gone* is an option in most ICE corpora. The 4 hits in ICE Ireland are

44. S1A-073:1:23:A But they but they if they bring the divorce in before they amend that it ll fail again and then **it ll be gone** for a whole generation not just ten or five years the next time.

45. S1A-078:1:177: **That ripple icecream ll be gone** soft.

46. S1B-068:1:25:B All **that** would have **to be gone** into.

47. W2F-018:1:50 **Anything** that has to get gone into **can be gone** into in the morning Rose said.

Only one of them (45) is neither adjectival nor passive. On quantitative grounds, the use of the *be* perfect with *gone* is thus too sparse to reach significance levels in ICE Ireland.

| Distribution of Query 'h1=go r1=subj d1= eq1=h2= r2=aux1 d2=be eq2=headID=headI |
|---|

Tabulate: [ corpus    ▼ ] ( Go! ) Crosstabulate: X [ --    ▼ ] / Y [ corpus    ▼ ]

| corpus | n | words | relative frequency per 10000 words |
|---|---|---|---|
| ICECAN | 1 | 1051581 | 0 |
| ICEGB | 4 | 1070703 | 0 |
| ICEHK | 2 | 1215724 | 0 |
| ICEIND | 2 | 1126149 | 0 |
| ICEIRE | 4 | 1057065 | 0 |
| ICENZ | 6 | 1207008 | 0 |
| ICEPHI | 3 | 1139253 | 0 |
| ICESING | 3 | 1030868 | 0 |

Figure 10. Frequencies of *be* + *gone* in a syntactic query on 9 ICE corpora.

## 4. CONCLUSIONS

We have investigated 11 salient features of Irish English using relatively simple retrieval strategies on the ICE Ireland corpus. We have compared the results to other ICE corpora. The features commonly ascribed to Irish English can be divided into three categories. First, the category where ICE Ireland offers enough evidence, and where a quantitative comparison to other ICE corpora shows statistically significant differences:

    a.  Low frequency of *shall* (section 3.2; see also McCafferty, 2011)
    c.  *After* perfect (section 3.5; see also Filppula, 1999: 99 ff.)
    e.  Indirect questions with inversion (section 3.8; see also Filppula, 1999:
     167ff.)

Second, a category in which sparse data does not allow us to draw any conclusion, if we base our investigation on the ICE corpora only, and using only our simple, coarse retrieval patterns:

    d.  Clefting with copular verbs (section 3.4; see also Filppula, 1999: 243 ff.)
    b.  Habitual aspect with *do* (section 3.7; see also Filppula, 1999:130 ff.)
    g.  *Be* as auxiliary with past participle (section 3.11; see also Filppula, 1999:
    114 ff.)

Third, the category of Irish features where we think that their status as specific features of Irish English needs re-assessment.

f. *For to* infinitive (section 3.3; see also Filppula, 1999: 185)

h. Singular existential with plural NP (section 3.6; see Hickey, 2005:121 and Walshe 2009)

In our discussions of the non-reflexive pronouns (section 3.9) and the medial object prefect (section 3.10) we pointed out that Kirk and Kallen (2006) offer more detailed investigations based on more manual filtering than in our study, which is intended to be a show case.

We have shown how *AntConc*, *Corpus Navigator* and *ICE online* can be used with relatively simple search queries by any corpus linguist. We have also shown that syntactic queries, which are offered in Dependency Bank and ICE online, can be used with ease for exploratory research.

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# REMARQUES CONCLUSIVES

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Les études individuelles dans cette revue ont montré diverses influences sur la langue et la culture en Irlande au cours des siècles de son développement documenté. Nos premières informations sur l'histoire du peuplement de l'Irlande par les Celtes, qui se sont aussi installés en Suisse (voir Luginbühl dans ce volume), viennent de la preuve de la linguistique indo-européenne, des auteurs classiques et de l'archéologie. McCone (dans ce volume) démontre comment les différents noms des groupes de populations celtes pourraient avoir surgi sur le continent et en Grande-Bretagne et Irlande et confirme donc que nous restons en droit de considérer les Celtes comme un groupe ethnolinguistique. La redécouverte de leur lien historique a pris de la vitesse au 16$^{\text{ème}}$ siècle et le concept de celticité a été de plus en plus appliqué à inclure les populations insulaires au 18$^{\text{ème}}$ siècle.

Après que la société irlandaise médiévale précoce qui s'était développée en Irlande a évolué vers un système politique stable, présidé par des rois locaux et provinciaux, une influence culturelle majeure est apparue sous la forme de l'apprentissage de la culture et de la langue chrétienne et classique. Ceci a influencé l'approche des études de la langue et la culture irlandaise médiévale et poste-médiévale dans tous les domaines (voir Clarke, ce volume).

Après que les Anglo-Normands ont pris pied dans l'Irlande du 12$^{\text{ème}}$ siècle, des changements socio-politiques et linguistiques majeures ont été stipulés, et bien que la culture gaélique traditionnelle ait continué à rester forte pendant des siècles, elle a finalement été ébranlée. La langue irlandaise est restée comme un marqueur important de l'identité et de la culture jusqu'à nos jours et a eu une influence particulière sur la langue et la culture contemporaine en Irlande (voir Ronan ce volume). Les caractéristiques distinctes de l'identité culturelle et linguistique irlandaise se sont répandues surtout à partir du 19$^{\text{ème}}$ siècle et Walshe montre de quelle façon les traits distinctifs de l'anglais irlandais sont perçus et décrits dans la culture populaire américaine, qui met l'accent sur une sélection stéréotypée de certaines caractéristiques linguistiques notables.

Les voyages internationaux d'une part et la migration d'autre part ont également eu comme influence d'insuffler des caractéristiques linguistiques et culturelles internationales dans la langue et culture en Irlande. Senn (dans ce volume) donne un exemple particulier de cette fertilisation croisée en montrant comment la créativité littéraire et linguistique de James Joyce intègre des caractéristiques de son multilinguisme dans son œuvre littéraire. Loin de se limiter à une œuvre littéraire, l'influence de cette internationalisation est exercée par les voyageurs et les extrapatrimoniaux. Avec la mondialisation croissante de l'anglais, et l'internationalisation de la culture, des caractéristiques distinctes de l'anglais irlandais ne se sont non seulement répandues dans les pays anglophones étrangers, mais également dans des variétés d'anglais (irlandais) moins traditionnelles où l'on remarque qu'un nivellement des caractéristiques des variétés linguistiques spécifiques arrive aussi. Schneider (dans ce volume) montre que ces croissantes similitudes et différences parmi les variétés internationales d'anglais peuvent être facilement capturées à l'aide d'un corpus électronique.

Les études démontrent que les influences culturelles et linguistiques ne sont pas seulement unidirectionnelles, elles se trouvent prises dans un réseau d'influences déterminé par le prestige des cultures et des langues concernées. A ce jour, l'Irlande a conservé une identité unique basée sur ces influences culturelles et linguistiques variées. La sauvegarde des langues et de la culture dans l'Île et dans sa diaspora lui assurera un caractère distinctif dans un monde de plus en plus globalisé.