

English–Welsh language contact in the realm of negation
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Transmission and Diffusion Congress
Radboud University Nijmegen / Max Planck Institute for
Psycholinguistics, 17 January 2008

1 INTRODUCTION

Several changes to negation systems in Celtic suggest possible contact with English or French as an explanation:

- (i) Welsh grammaticalized a new postverbal negative marker *ddim* < indefinite pronoun ‘anything’ from the thirteenth century, slightly later than English grammaticalized *no(h)t* via the same path;
- (ii) Breton undergoes a period of using various postverbal reinforcers to negation (e.g. *tamm* ‘a bit’, *banne* ‘a drop’) before selecting *ket* as its new postverbal negator, closely mirroring the history of French.

Focus here concerns a third change, the realignment of the system of indefinite pronouns and negative quantifiers in Welsh.

1.1 Outline of developments in Welsh negation

- Middle Welsh (1150–1500) sentential negation is expressed in main clauses by *ni(d)* in preverbal position:

(1) **ny** dywot ef wrthi hi un geir
 NEG say.PAST.3S he to.3FS her one word
 ‘he didn’t say a word to her’ (PKM 5.1–2) (Middle Welsh)

- a new postverbal negative marker *ddim* (< ‘anything’ < ‘thing’) emerges and spreads, eventually becoming compulsory in most main-clause environments in speech (Willis 2005, 2006):

(2) ...ac ni ddoeth ef **ddim**...
 and NEG come.PAST.3S he NEG
 ‘...and he did not come...’ (YK 101v. 8) (1567–1609)

- indefinite pronouns (‘N-words’) (*neb* ‘anyone’, *dim (byd)* ‘anything (in the world)’) start out as weak negative polarity items, appearing in non-negative as well as negative contexts:

(3) **ny** eill **neb** uynet drwydi
 NEG can.PRES.3S anyone go.INF through.3FS
 ‘no one can go through’ (PKM 40.25) (Middle Welsh)

(4) ae guell y gwna **neb** uy neges i wrthyt ti no mi uu hun?
 Q better PRT.do.PRES.3S anyone my mission I to.2S you than I myself
 ‘Will anyone carry out my mission to you better than me myself?’
 (PKM 69.17–18) (Middle Welsh)

- (5) a dywedut bot arnaw o bechodeu mwy noc ar **neb**
 and say.INF be.INF on.3MS of sins more than on anyone
 ‘and (he) said that he had more sins than **anyone**’ (YSG 2766) (Middle Welsh)
- (6) O gelly wneithur da y **nep**
 if can.PRES.2S do.INF good to anyone
 ‘If you can do good to anyone...’ (BBCS ii.33) (Evans 1964) (Middle Welsh)

Their use becomes more restricted e.g. they are no longer possible in yes-no questions:

- (7) *Oes **neb** wedi ffonio?
 be.PRES.3S anyone PERF phone.INF
 (‘Has anyone phoned?’) (Present-day Welsh)

- new indefinite forms develop (initially *unrhyw* ‘any’ < *un* ‘one, a, any’ + *rhyw* ‘kind’, then also *unrhyw un* ‘anyone’, *unrhyw beth* ‘anything’) and grammaticalize as weak negative polarity items:

- (8) Dw i ddim wedi gweld **unrhyw un**.
 be.PRES.1S I NEG PERF see.INF anyone
 ‘I haven’t seen anyone.’ (Present-day Welsh)

- (9) Oes **unrhyw un** wedi ffonio?
 be.PRES.3S anyone PERF phone.INF
 ‘Has anyone phoned?’ (Present-day Welsh)

- indefinite pronouns are currently becoming negative even in the absence of a sentential negation marker:

- (10) Dwi ’n gobeithio [gweld **neb**].
 be.PRES.1S PROG hope.INF see.INF no.one
 ‘I’m hoping to see no one.’ (Present-day Welsh) (Borsley & Jones 2005: 79)

- the language therefore looks as though it is ‘aiming’ for one-to-one correspondence between:

dim = English *no*
unrhyw = English *any*
neb = English *no one*
unrhyw un = English *anyone*
dim byd = English *nothing*
unrhyw beth = *anything*

The two main contact-induced developments are therefore the change of indefinite pronouns into (inherently) negative quantifiers, and the emergence of new indefinite NPIs.

Is contact responsible for these changes, and, if so, what are the influencing mechanisms? Are the changes compatible or incompatible with existing models of contact-induced syntactic change (Coetsem 2000, Heine and Kuteva 2003, Heine 2005, Heine and Kuteva 2005, McCafferty 2004, Thomason 2001, Winford 2003a, 2003b)?

2 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS > INHERENTLY NEGATIVE QUANTIFIERS

Historically, to give a negative interpretation, the indefinite pronouns *dim* ‘anything’, *neb* ‘anyone’, *dim byd* ‘anything’ and the indefinite quantifier *dim* (as in *dim bwyd* ‘any food’) needed to be licensed by a negative marker (e.g. a preverbal negative marker, main clause *ni(d)* or embedded clause *na(d)* or a postverbal negative marker *ddim*). There are now a number of contexts where this requirement is relaxed, and these pronouns seem to have inherently negative interpretations as negative quantifiers:

(i) nonfinite complement clauses (‘*bod*-clauses’) and various other nonfinite clauses (see (10) above).

(ii) in ‘absolute’ clauses

- (11) O’n i ’n llithro yn araf dros yr ochr, a **neb** yn
 be.IMPF.1S I PROG slip.INF PRED slow over the side and no.one PROG
 poeni o gwbl.
 worry.INF at.all
 ‘I was slowly slipping over the side, and **no one** was worrying at all.’

(Present-day Welsh) (Borsley and Jones 2005: 81)

(iii) in irrealis *fel*-clauses (‘as’-clauses) and other conditional clauses:

- (12) Ond dowch am ’paned o de, a bytwch fel tasa
 but come.IMPER.2P for cup of tea and eat.IMPER.2P as be.IRR.3S
dim wedi digwydd.
 nothing PERF happen.INF
 ‘But come for a cup of tea, and eat as though **nothing** had happened.’

(*Traed mewn cyffion* 148) (1936)

Here, the earlier form would be:

- (13) ...fel pe **na** bai **dim** wedi digwydd.
 as if NEG be.IMPF.SUBJ.3S anything PERF happen.INF
 ‘...as if **nothing** had happened.’

(Present-day Welsh)

- (14) Os oes **neb** i redeg y rês...
 if be.PRES.3S no.one to run.INF the race
 ‘If there’s **no one** to run the race...’

(Present-day Welsh)

Here the earlier form would be:

- (15) Os **nad** oes **neb** i redeg y rês...
 if NEG be.PRES.3S anyone to run.INF the race
 ‘If there’s **no one** to run the race...’

(Present-day Welsh)

Conversely, these items once occurred in weak NPI licensing contexts (interrogatives, conditional clauses, comparative clauses, subjunctive clauses etc.). They have been losing this ability. Today these items may occur in some of the original weak NPI licensing contexts, but not in others.

- (16) *Wyt ti wedi gweld **dim byd**?
 BE.PRES.2S you PERF see.INF anything
 ‘Have you seen **anything**?’ (ok as ‘Have you seen nothing?’) (Present-day Welsh)
- (17) Mae hyn yn fy nharo i yn fwy na **dim byd** arall.
 be.PRES.3S this PROG 1S strike.INF me PRED more than anything other
 ‘This strike me more than **anything** else.’ (Present-day Welsh)

- (18) *Os oes **dim byd** wedi digwydd...
 if be.PRES.3S anything PERF happen.INF
 ‘If **anything** has happened...’ (ok as ‘If nothing has happened...’)(Present-day Welsh)

Apart from perhaps (ii), these seem to be quite recent (twentieth-century) innovations.

3 INNOVATION OF *UNRHYW*-ITEMS

Although a form like the new indefinite *unrhyw* or *un rhyw* is found as far back as Middle Welsh, in the earlier period it always seems to be understood as *un* ‘same’ plus *rhyw* ‘kind’, hence ‘of the same kind’.

- (19) Ac y Dduw y bo ’r diolvvch, yr hwn a ðodes
 and to God PRT be.PRES.SUBJ.3S the thanks the which PRT put.PAST.3S
 yn-calon Titus yr **vnryw** *’ofal [-: ‡ gur, gark] y trosoch.
 in-heart Titus the same care over.2P
 ‘And may the thanks be to God, who put the **same** care for you in Titus’s heart.’
 [= 1588 ‘Ac i Dduw y byddo’r diolch, yr hwn a roddodd yng-halon Titus yr **vn-**
rhyw ofal trosoch.’]
 [= modern edn. of 1588 ‘Eithr i Dduw y byddo’r diolch, yr hwn a roddodd yr **un**
 diwydrwydd trosoch yng nghalon Titus.’]
 (*Testament Newydd* 2 Cor. 8.19) (1567)

Middle Welsh does though use *neb ryw* ‘any kind’ (< *neb* ‘any’ + *ryw* ‘kind’) as a negative polarity item, more or less equivalent in meaning to ‘any’:

- (20) Ac ny welei yn yr ynys honno **neb ryw** gyuanedd.
 and NEG see.IMPF.3S in the island that any kind dwelling
 ‘And he couldn’t see **any** dwelling on that island.’ (*YSG* 2032) (Middle Welsh)

This is common enough in late Middle Welsh that it might be considered to be a grammaticalized form for ‘any’.

For *unrhyw* in the sense of ‘any’, the earliest attestation given by the *University of Wales Dictionary* (henceforth *GPC*) dates from 1567:

- (21) llymach nac vnrryw gleddau-daufinioc
 sharper than any sword two-edged
 ‘sharper than any two-edged sword’ (*Testament Newydd* 330b) (1567)

Frequent examples appear only in the eighteenth century:

- (22) a. na Thwng ddim, –na MYNdim, nag AR ddim,
 NEG swear.IMPER.2S NEG NEG by anything nor on anything
 ar **unrhyw achos**
 on any occasion
 ‘do not swear, – neither BY anything, nor ON anything, on **any occasion**’
 (*Gwael gardod ysprydol i’r Cymro* 10) (1752)

- b. gan nad oes yn yr achos hynny ddim lle i **unrhyw**
 since NEG.COMP be.PRES.3S in the case this any place to any
amheuaeth mewn perthynas iw gyflwr.
 doubt in relation to+3MS state
 ‘since there is in this case no room for **any doubt** in relation to his state.’
 (Samuel Pike, *Llythyrâu rhwng Mr. Samuel Pike, a Mr. Robert Sandeman* 249)
 (1765)
- c. Ond nid yw hyn ddim yn cynnwys **unrhyw** **weithred**
 but NEG be.PRES.3S this NEG PROG contain any act
bennodol o eiddo Duw...
 particular of POSS.3MS God
 ‘But this does not contain **any particular act** of God...’
 (*Casgliad o bregethau* 219) (1776)
- d. Ni ddichon neb ddeall **unrhyw** **ddawn**,
 NEG can.PRES.3S no.one understand.INF any gift
 Neu ‘Stori heb iawn, Ystyrio.
 or story without properly consider.INF
 ‘No one can understand **any gift** or story without considering [it] properly.’
 (Twm o’r Nant, *Tri chryfion byd* 7) (1789)

All the cases in (22), apart from example d., are in works translated from English. The *unrhyw*-cases are clearly a minority pattern, and more normal (non-translated usage) is with N-words in the contexts, even in yes-no questions and if-clauses:

- (23) a. Oes **dim gwin** na brandi hynod[?]
 be.PRES.3S any wine or brandy special
 ‘Is there **any wine** or brandy?’ (*Protestant a neilltuwr* 25) (1783)
- b. Ydach yn cael **dim Bwyd** yn unlle?
 be.PRES.2P PROG get.INF any food in anywhere
 ‘Do you have **any food** anywhere?’ (*Cwmp dyn* 63) (1767)
- c. os mynnant gael **dim lleshâd** o hynny
 if want.PRES.3P get.INF any improvement of this
 ‘if you want to get **any benefit** from this’
 (Thomas Bisse, *Prydferthwch sancteiddrwydd yn y weddi gyffredin* 64) (1722)

The examples given so far have all been with the simple item *unrhyw*. New pronouns appear too, namely *unrhyw beth* ‘anything’ and *unrhyw un* ‘anyone’, but their spread is somewhat later. *Unrhyw beth* is attested in the eighteenth century (*GPC* 3714). The first attestation for *unrhyw un* ‘anyone’ dates from 1852 (*GPC* 3714).

Unrhyw un ‘anyone’ actually gains at the expense of an existing innovation, *undyn*, a grammaticalization of *un* ‘one, any’ + *dyn* ‘man’:

- (24) a. yr hyn nid all synwyr *naturiol* **un-dyn**, mo
 the DEM NEG can.PRES.3SG sense natural anyone NEG
 ‘i wneuthur...
 3MS do.INF
 ‘...which the natural sense of **no one** can do...’
 (Thomas Bisse, *Prydferthwch sancteiddrwydd yn y weddi gyffredin* 64) (1722)

This highlights the role of contact more clearly, since there is no distribution difference between *undyn* and *unrhyw un*. The only difference is that the latter calques English *anyone*, whereas the former does not.

4 SOCIAL BACKGROUND TO LANGUAGE CONTACT

- no significant body of Welsh-English bilinguals until the mid eighteenth century in 1800, 90% of population of Wales spoke Welsh, >70% were monolingual in Welsh
- growth in bilingualism and language shift to English during the nineteenth century

	1800	1891	1911
monoglot English speakers	c. 10	45.5	55.2
bilingual	c. 20	24.1	35.9
monoglot Welsh speakers	c. 70	30.4	8.7

Table 1. Language ability in Wales 1800-1911 (%) (Jenkins 1998)

- bilingual Welsh speakers outnumber monolingual speakers from about 1900; today all adult speakers are bilingual in English.
- language revitalization from the 1970s, mediated primarily through the education system

Language ability	1990/91	2001/02
Speak Welsh at home	6.9	6.2
Do not speak Welsh at home but who can speak it with fluency	7.0	10.5
Speak Welsh but not fluently	14.1	31.2
Cannot speak Welsh at all	72.0	52.0

Table 2. Primary school pupils aged 5 and over, ability to speak Welsh (%) (Schools in Wales: General Statistics 2006)

- Welsh-speaking children from non-Welsh-speaking homes now outnumber those from Welsh-speaking homes

5 CHANGES IN NEGATION IN CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE CONTACT

- Winford (2003): generally assumed that influence in situations of language maintenance is borrowing (recipient-language agentivity). However, language dominance is not the same as language maintenance: a language may be maintained even though many of its speakers have adopted another language as their primary language. These speakers may cause change in the maintained language, and this change involves source language agentivity.
- up to 1750, almost all Welsh speakers were Welsh-dominant; thereafter proportion of English-dominant Welsh speakers increases, mostly as a transitional stage in language shift; in the twentieth century, a new group of English-dominant Welsh speakers emerges as language shift is partially reversed. This creates the conditions for source-language agentivity of contact-induced change.
- eighteenth-century use of *unrhyw* to translate English 'any' is likely to be the result of source-language agentivity by educated bilinguals (borrowing)

- once both *unrhyw* and *dim* are available for ‘any’ in a variety of contexts, English-dominant speakers are liable to ‘over-opt’ for *unrhyw*
- omission of licensing negative marking in sentences such as (12) and (14) may be initiated by English-dominant bilinguals who treat *neb* etc. as direct translation equivalents of English *no one* etc. and use them in contexts where no licenser can easily be added
- these processes create effects that look like an English ‘substrate’ despite (mostly) language shift from Welsh to English or language maintenance
- not easy to accommodate within a model of contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2005). The creation of the items *unrhyw* ‘any’, *unrhyw beth* ‘anything’ and *unrhyw un* ‘anyone’ is undoubtedly grammaticalization, but it may be the spread rather than the actuation of the new form than is influenced by contact. The relevant concept here is ‘contact-induced grammaticalization’ (rather than ‘replica grammaticalization’).

(25) Contact-induced grammaticalization

- a. Speakers notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
- b. They create an equivalent category Rx in language R on the basis of the use patterns available in R.
- c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction Ry in order to develop Rx.
- d. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx. (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 81)

All languages express negation; therefore, the changes give rise to new expression of an existing category rather than expression of a new category. They therefore do not fit straightforwardly with the model, which finds it difficult to account for reorganization of constraints under influence of contact. So there is grammaticalization here and the changes are contact-induced, but none of them is contact-induced grammaticalization.

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