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Title	A Few Notes from the Celtic Twilight
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Citation	大阪外大英米研究. 1983, 13, p. 47-64
Version Type	VoR
URL	https://hdl.handle.net/11094/99063
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A Few Notes from the Celtic Twilight

Ian C. Stirk

At the beginning of the Christian era, the Celtic world extended over a great part of Europe, and even had an offshoot in Asia Minor, in the neighbourhood of present-day Ankara – the Galatians to whom St Paul wrote.[1] Now Celtic culture is almost entirely restricted to the Western edge of the Old World, and there are few monoglot speakers of the surviving languages, Irish, Scots Gaelic, Welsh and Breton. It is a vigorous culture, however, and has become even more so in recent years. There are surprisingly strong movements to revive in some measure two extinct languages, Cornish and Manx. There need be no apology for writing about such matters as a significant part of "Ei-Bei Kenkyu".

My personal connection with the "Celtic Twilight" is due to a Welsh mother (though not of a Welsh-speaking family) and a Cornish uncle, so it is mainly about these languages that I shall write.

Before you read on, though, I feel I should make a confession: I am an unrepentant linguomane. When I began to study linguistics, I expected to find that most linguists would suffer from the same condition. I was surprised that so few did, and that many even wanted to distance themselves from such enthusiastic language learners. Just to give one example: Robert Lord addresses a book on comparative linguistics firstly to "students of languages" but then continues, "Lastly, my introduction is intended for those armies of 'linguomanes' who frequent evening institutes and extra-mural departments of every kind, avid in pursuit of more and rarer languages."[2] Hence the need for confession. Linguomania has its uses, though, it seems to me. About 1975, in the journal 'Linguistic Inquiry', somebody (I won't mention any names here) suggested that a certain raising rule existed in the Turkish language. Actually, the evidence offered for this could have been refuted by

any linguomane who had passed by Turkish in their avid pursuit. Still, if the distinction is to be made, then this will be a linguomanic rather than a linguistic essay.

Cornish has achieved some fame among linguists as a dead language whose death is quite well recorded historically. The name of Dolly Pentreath is often quoted as that of the last speaker of the language, though the actual history is more complex than the popular tale, as P. A. S. Pool has shown[3].

Naturally enough, many place names in Cornwall preserve the language in fossilized form, and it was here that the language first caught my attention, in my schooldays, as I compared elements of place names with the fragments of Welsh that I knew. Many of the correspondences are quite transparent, as for example, 'eglos' in Cornish and 'eglwys' in Welsh, signifying 'church'.

In 1974, while on a summer holiday in Cornwall, I discovered in a bookshop a small volume entitled 'Cornish Simplified', by A. S. D. Smith[4], a name I vaguely remembered having seen on the covers of a series of booklets called 'Welsh Made Easy'. A quick glance showed that it contained some fifty lessons in what seemed to be a *living* language, rather to my surprise. Anyway, it seemed a suitable addition to a linguomane's library, so I bought it. At the time I was working in Libya, and I took the book there, thinking it might while away some long and lonely winter evenings. Of course some knowledge of Welsh was a good start, but there must have been more long winter evenings than usual that year, for I found I had finished the book by the following spring!

The knowledge seemed too good to waste, so on my return to Britain I decided to get in touch with the group of revivalists mentioned by Smith in his grammar book. I expected it to be a small and eccentric coterie, but found a large and varied group of mostly Cornish people who are very determined to set the language on its feet again after a two hundred year pause.

The Welsh and Cornish Languages

It would be useful here to sketch a few of the salient points about Welsh and Cornish, the kind of points which strike an English speaker most forcibly when learning one of these languages.

The Celtic languages form a sub-group of the large Indo-European family, and perhaps a glance at the Welsh and Cornish numerals from one to ten would serve as a simple example to show this:

	Welsh	Cornish
1	un	un
2	dau	deu
3	tri	try
4	pedwar	peswar
5	pump	pymp
6	chwech	whegh
7	saith	seyth
8	wyth	eth
9	naw	naw
10	deg	dek

The two languages are obviously very closely related as far as this evidence goes, and at a casual glance these numerals night remind one most of those in Latin and the modern Romance languages. Further, one would notice that there are words like "ffenestr" in Welsh and "fenester" in Cornish, comparable with "fenestra" in Latin, for "window". Words for "bridge" are "pont" in Welsh and "pons" in Cornish, while (in the accusative case) "pontem" is classical Latin. Some verb forms also compare closely – "collasa*nt*" in Welsh, "colso*ns*" in Cornish for "they lost" agrees with Latin "perdidu*nt*". Here

there are already examples of Cornish having "s" (phonetically [z]) where Welsh has "t" or "d". This is the most obvious historical sound change that separates them.

Such comparisons are dangerous, however, for the amateur historical linguist. Welsh and Cornish speakers had a lot of contact with Latin, naturally enough, during the Roman occupation of Britain, and it is often difficult to disentangle borrowings and "genuinely" cognate forms. "Windows" and "bridges" should be disregarded, while the verb ending "nt" is widespread in the Indo-European family. Some historical linguists do link the Celtic and Italic languages in an "Italo-Celtic" family, but the most important reason seems to be that both groups share a similar "P and Q" distinction[5]. In Latin we find "quis" for "who" and "quinque" for "five", while another Italic language, Oscan, had "pis" and "pumpe". In Celtic, we already have "pedwar, pump" and "peswar, pymp" in the list above, while Irish has "ceathair" and "cuig" for "four, five".

That is a matter of historical dispute, but the P, Q distinction marks the major division in the Celtic group, of consequence to the learner. If you know Welsh, then a page of an Irish book is not only unintelligible, but does not even seem to be in a related language. Some expertise is needed to pick out the cognate points. On the other hand, a page of Cornish would be full of familiarities, even if it could not be readily understood. Such comparisons are difficult to draw, but Cornish and Welsh probably resemble each other to the same degree as Italian and Spanish, to mention two more well-known Indo-European languages. As a particular example, the question "Are you ready?" appears as

"Ough-why parys?" in Cornish,

and "Ydych chi'n barod?" in (colloquial) Welsh.

Obviously similar, yet perhaps not similar enough for mutual comprehension. The 's – d' sound change again appears. This frequently occurring feature,

combined with a number of vocalic changes, often causes words which are in fact cognate to assume a puzzling appearance: thus 'gos" ([gɔ:z]) in Cornish signifies "blood" and is cognate to "gweud" ([gwaid]) in Welsh, even if it doesn't look like it.

I might mention in passing that Breton, spoken in Brittany (Bretagne in France) is even more closely related to Cornish than Welsh. In fact, the Breton people do not represent a surviving enclave of the Gauls in France, as many people, including Bretons, believe, but were in the main British Celts who fled to the Continent to avoid the Saxons. In this regard it's worth saying too that "Great Britain" is not a title of immodesty, but served to distinguish the place from "Little Britain" – now Brittany.

Phonetically, the only surprising or difficult feature of these languages for the English speaker is the sound represented in Welsh orthography by "ll". It is an alveolar lateral fricative, represented in the International Phonetic Alphabet by ɬ. It is not particularly hard to learn to articulate, and short practice makes it easy enough. Essentially it involves putting the tongue in the position for English "1" and blowing air round the obstruction formed. It occurs quite commonly in Welsh, and tourists are often perplexed by place names such as "Llangollen" or "Llanelli". It is not a common sound among the world's languages; only a few North American and South African languages seem to have it too. This is rather surprising, I always think, since it involves only a commonly used place of articulation (alveolar) and a common manner of articulation (fricative). In short, it should be an "easy" sound to fit into Indo-European phoneme inventories, compared with, say, the pharyngeal sounds of Arabic or the clicks of Xhosa. Historically, it is an offshoot of the /l/ phoneme, and Cornish has only the /l/ phoneme in its place. "Knife" is "cyllell" ([kəɬeɬ]) in Welsh, and "collel" ([kɔlel]) in Cornish. I was once told by a Welsh phonetician that Welsh speakers fall into "left-handed" and "right-handed" groups with respect to this sound, depend-

ing on which side of their tongue they blow round, to put it crudely. Auditorily, this makes no difference, but a person's "sidedness" is supposed to be a matter of genetic inheritance. I have heard nothing of this curious tale since, and would not like to vouch for its authenticity!

Phonologically and morphologically, Cornish and Welsh can offer something pretty rare, their system of "mutations". Other Celtic languages have them too, but the system seems more extensive in the P-Celtic group. Essentially, a certain group of initial consonants in words can change its phonetic character according to the context or syntactic function of the word. Tabular examples might make this most clear.

English	*Welsh*	
cat	cath	
the cat	y gath	(soft mutation of feminine noun after article)
my cat	fy nghath	(nasal mutation after 'fy')
his cat	ei gath	(soft mutation after 'ei')
her cat	ei chath	(aspirate mutation after 'ei')
their cat	eu cath	(no mutation)

English	*Cornish*	
cat	cath	
the cat	an gath	(soft mutation of feminine noun after article)
my cat	ow hath	(aspirate mutation after 'ow')
his cat	y gath	(soft mutation after 'y')
her cat	hy hath	(aspirate mutation after 'hy')
their cat	aga hath	(aspirate mutation after 'aga')

A glance at these shows how Welsh and Cornish use similar mutations, though often in different circumstances. Welsh has a nasal mutation, Cornish does

not; though Cornish has a hard mutation lacking in Welsh. The word for 'my' nasalizes in Welsh but aspirates in Cornish. In each language the mutation system is used in a variety of apparently disconnected ways, confusingly different in each one. Thus in Welsh the soft mutation for some reason marks the direct object after certain verb inflections. For example, "dyn" is "man" but "I heard a man" becomes "Clywais *dd*yn". This does not happen in Cornish: "Clewys den". On the other hand, the definite article causes a soft mutation in masculine plural nouns in Cornish: "byrth", "poets"; "an vyrth" – but not in Welsh: "beirdd", "y beirdd".

For the learner, the main problem with this system is wondering which part of the dictionary to look in, for the linguist it is its arbitrariness. Languages such as Swahili use "beginnings" rather than "endings" to indicate the functions of words, but in a much more systematic way. Many linguists have tried to find some common feature among these varied uses, but all have failed. This is not so surprising when you consider that Welsh and Cornish show rather different sets of uses. If mutations had some underlying unified "purpose", it should be apparent in both languages. If Welsh has "a chyllell" with aspirate mutation for "and a knife", then why should Cornish be content with "ha collel" with no mutation? Zwicky[6] suggests accepting this situation as inexplicable. Geoffrey Pullum finds "irreducible irregularities" in other languages too, and writes[7]. "There is apparently no natural class waiting to be discovered in these arbitrary lists that encumber grammars at some points." It is interesting to compare this with Chomsky's remarks about the position of idioms in a grammar[8]. There are features like this in all natural languages, and they just will not fit easily into generative grammars. Formal grammars really only cope easily with regularities, and it is my belief that this is the reason for their current stagnation.

Syntactically, there are various points that make both Cornish and Welsh peculiar from the English speaker's point of view. Perhaps the most striking

is that both are basically VSO languages, that is, verb – subject – object is the normal word order in sentences that contain these elements. Thus in Welsh:

Fe glywodd y plant eu tad yn siarad Cymraeg
Heard the children their father speaking Welsh

and Cornish: Y clewas an fleghes aga thas ow kewsel Kembrek

This is the usual order in Welsh, although in some constructions an SVO order may occur:

(colloquially) Llyn y Bala ydy'r llyn mwya prydferth yng Nghymru
Lake Bala is the lake most beautiful in Wales

In Cornish it is also in every case possible to use a construction of the form:

An fleghes a glewas aga thas ow kewsel Kembrek.

This seems to be precisely equivalent to the verb-first form.

"The corner of the room" is expressed in Welsh by

Cornel yr ystafell

and in Cornish by: Cornel an stevel

In each case there is no preposition expressed, and the initial article is missing. In Cornish it is also possible to say:

An gornel a'n stevel

using an "ordinary" preposition "a".

In relative clauses in both languages, unlike English, pronouns are retained:

Welsh: Dyma'r llyfr y darllenais y stori ynddo.
This is the book (which) I read the story in *it*

Cornish: An vowes a scryfys dhedhy
The girl (who) I wrote to *her*

In Cornish, again, there is a "normal" alternative

An vowes dhe nep y scryfys
The girl to whom I wrote

Interestingly, these syntactic peculiarities are shared by classical Arabic and the Hamito-Semitic group of languages in general. So these, and other, "non-Aryan" oddities led Sir John Morris-Jones[9] to suggest that the Celtic languages represent a framework of "pre-Aryan" syntax derived from some Hamitic language formerly spoken in the Celtic world, onto which has been grafted an Indo-European vocabulary. This idea was also taken up by A. S. D. Smith[10]. Apart from the inherent implausibility of the view that people might adopt the entire vocabulary of another language while preserving their original syntax, such syntactic arguments would hardly appeal to present-day linguists. There are too few syntactic possibilities in human languages for it to be surprising if unrelated languages share them. VSO and SVO languages share many features, as may be seen by consulting Greenberg's list of universals[11], even if one does not want to go as far as McCawley and suggest that SVO languages may be "deeply" VSO, at least in some cases[12]. In any case, Cornish almost always has SVO alternatives in these constructions, and this may historically be the case for Welsh also – both may have had SVO origins.

In the case of retained pronouns in relative clauses, Cornish again has an alternative construction, and in any case, such pronouns are found in at least one other Indo-European language, Swiss German[13]. To give an example:

Das mäitli, wo t mer verzelt häsch von em
That girl, who you told me about *her*

There is no suggestion that this does not have a Germanic origin. Even in English, such pronouns occur not infrequently as "performance errors":

That is the road which I don't know where it goes

As a final feature of Welsh it is worth pointing out that it has almost entirely lost a former passive construction. Certain rather literary forms persist, as in the shop notice:

Siaredir Cymraeg yma

Is spoken Welsh here

but generally passives are expressed in ways which strike the English ear as strange, for example:

Yr wyf i'n cael fy ngweld i

which translates "literally" as "I am receiving my seeing". Constructions of the form "fried egg" are dealt with rather "ingeniously" by such expressions as:

wy wedi ei ffrio

egg after its frying

Cornish still retains a construction with a passive participle:

My yu gwelys

I am seen

though probably its use is not so frequent. "Fried egg" comes out simply as "oy fryyes". The "-ys" or "-es" participle ending is more familiar to the English speaker than it looks, bearing in mind the d-s sound change.

Dasserghys ve dhe Vewnans

"Dasserghys ve dhe vewnans" – "It was raised to life" is a line from a mediaeval play, "Bewnans Meriasek", "The Life of St Meriasek", part of the rather small corpus of surviving Cornish literature. It might serve as a heading for a few words about the Cornish revival movement.

Doubtless the poverty of literature contributed to the death of the language. There was never even a translation of the Bible into Cornish, which forced a devout folk to read it in English, whereas in Wales the Welsh Bible was probably the main instrument in the spread of a standard literary language. Cornwall had no such standard, and even the spelling was never made uniform, although the mediaeval texts are considerably less irregular than later ones. The examples I have given so far have all been in Unified

Cornish, a twentieth century product.

As an example of this, here is the beginning of a well-known Cornish folk tale, 'John of Chyannor', as recorded by one John Boson about 1660:[14]

En termen ez passiez thera trigaz en St. Levan dean ha bennen en tellar creiez Chei an Horr. Ha an weale a kothaz scant; ha meth an dean da an wreag, me a vedn moze da whelaz weale da weele, ha whi el dendal goze bounans obba.

Once upon a time there lived in St Levan a man and a woman, in a place called Chyannor. Work became scarce there, and the man said to his wife, "I'll go and look for work to do, while you stay and earn your living here."

In Unified Cornish this appears as:

Y'n termyn us passyes, yth-esa trygys yn Synt Leven den ha benen, yn tyller cryes Chy an Horth. Ha'n whel a-godhas scant; hag yn-meth an den dhe'n wrek, "My a-vyn mos dhe whylas whel dhe wul, ha why a-yl dyndyl agas bewnans omma."

One or two grammatical modifications have also been made here, but even a quick comparison of the spellings shows how Boson was struggling to adapt the idiosyncratic spelling of English to a language of a quite different phonological character.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, a strong revival movement started in all Celtic countries and regions. Probably there were two reasons for this. One was that largely as a result of the work of German philologists, the wealth of Celtic literature and its historical importance was brought to the attention of scholars, and Celtic studies suddenly became respectable. The Celtic gentry, who had abandoned their ancient languages to the peasantry in favour of the elegance of English and French suddenly found that Celtic

folklore was in fashion. The other reason worked lower down the social ladder: for some time central governments had been trying to improve education on a national scale, which inevitably involved the suppression of regional languages and cultures. In Wales, for example, children at National Schools had a stick hung round their necks if they were heard to use Welsh on the premises: they were beaten with it before going home. Needless to say, the new attitudes to Celtic culture led to a fierce reaction against these measures.

The revival caused a reversal in the opinions of Henry Jenner, a Cornish philologist and antiquarian who worked at the British Museum. In the 1870's, he apparently believed that although the Cornish language had historical interest and value, its disappearance from daily life had been a very good thing, since people who were more at home in a minority language were cut off from national progress. By the turn of the century, however, he had become determined to establish Cornwall once more as a Celtic nation with its own language, and his historical studies were devoted to uncovering as much as possible of former Cornish grammar and vocabulary. This effort enabled him to succeed in having Cornwall admitted as a member of the Celtic Congress, a grouping of Celtic nations. A feature of cultural life in Wales and Brittany is a yearly competition in the arts, needless to say with special attention given to verse and prose composition in the national language. Winners may become bards (roughly, "poets") and use a bardic name. A meeting of bards is known in Welsh as a Gorsedd, and Jenner worked to establish a Cornish Gorseth, which still flourishes.

Another leading figure in the earlier days of the revival was Robert Morton Nance, who began learning Cornish himself from antiquarian books, and then from a handbook published by Jenner. Nance also began to work indefatigably in resurrecting what details still survived of the language. It was he who finally unified the spelling system, and his standard textbook, "Cornish for

All" (1929) was the basis of modern "Unified Cornish". Nance also went on to produce Cornish-English and English-Cornish dictionaries suitable for those who wanted to learn Cornish as a modern language. The spelling system is mainly based on mediaeval Cornish, the time when the language had previously come closest to standardization. It is certainly not phonemic, but on the other hand does not present the learner with many problems.

An important event in the revival movement came in the 1930's, when a professional language teacher learned Cornish and applied his expertise to encouraging the spread of the modern language. This was A. S. D. Smith, for whom I feel a personal regard as a really high-flying linguomane! He had already learned Welsh, and even become a bard of the Welsh Gorsedd with the name Caradar. This was no mean feat when you consider that in Welsh he was competing against native speakers. His 'Welsh Made Easy' was one of the best instructional courses of those days. Smith first came across Cornish in a book written by Professor Henry Lewis, designed to stimulate the interest of Welsh students of Celtic studies, "Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol" – "Handbook of Middle Cornish". Smith also wrote a textbook of Cornish, which I have already mentioned, and also contributed a good deal to the language's modern literature. He also went on to help in the revival of a Q-Celtic language, Manx, in the Isle of Man.

Smith's last literary work was a version in Cornish verse of the story of Tristan and Isolde, "Trystan hag Ysolt".[15] This tale is of course widespread in Europe, as part of the Arthurian tradition, but it seems reasonably clear that the earliest form of it was in Cornish – unfortunately part of that large amount of lost literature. Like Gottfried von Strassburg's German version, Smith's was left unfinished at his death, but it has been completed by David Watkins (with the bardic name of Carer Brynyow).[16]

That Smith was first and foremost a linguomane is attested by E. G. R. Hooper's comment in his preface to "Trystan hag Ysolt"[17]: he "knew little

of our history, traditions, or folklore. . . ". E. G. R. Hooper (Talek) himself became a Cornish bard in the same year as Smith, and still works enthusiastically for the language.

I have mentioned some leading figures in the revival movement, but there were many others. Berresford Ellis[18] has written a good historical account.

Kernewek Bew?

"Kernewek Bew" – "Living Cornish" – is the title of an excellent modern textbook of the language, written in the "direct method" tradition.[19] How far the language really lives today is not such an easy question to answer. The Cornish Language Society must number now over a thousand members, and in shops and pubs all over Cornwall signs are appearing such as, "DEGEEUGH AN DARRAS" – "shut the door", "ARLODHESOW" and "TUS JENTYL" – "ladies" and "gentlemen". On the other hand many people do not progress in their knowledge of the language much beyond an understanding of these signs and a few greetings. An enthusiastic pamphlet on the Cornish language,[20] written for tourists, gives a few phrases and an account of the mutations, concluding that Cornish is "not an easy language for the non-Celt to learn". Of course being a Celt or not makes no difference – Cornish is a quite difficult language for monoglot speakers of English – which most Cornish folk are – to learn. There are now some eighty bards, though, as well as others who have completely mastered the language. This number increases every year, as does the amount of modern literature they produce. It is impossible to predict now just how far this movement will spread, but it is an interesting one for a linguist to observe. It is noteworthy how many people succeed in mastering Cornish even after failing in modern language courses at school. Enthusiasm and social expectation are factors often overlooked by language teachers. A clear case in point is Hungary, whose people were noted for their linguistic ability before the war, but who now generally only fail to learn

Russian at school. Both the English and the Japanese are notable as poor linguists, and in neither country is there any social pressure to *master* another language – in fact, probably the reverse, since it is a mark of eccentricity to do so. A will to learn properly may be growing in Cornwall, though.

Some enthusiasts would place the Cornish revival on a level with that of Finnish, Norwegian, or Albanian, among other languages, even if they do agree that it is hardly comparable to the resurrection of Hebrew. Unfortunately for this view, though, Finnish and Albanian were never dead, and while modern Norwegian is "new", it is similar enough to existing dialects to cause no problem in learning. Some children have now been brought up to speak Cornish, but a real community of everyday users of a language is necessary to make it really "live".

Needless to say Celtic revival movements have no shortage of detractors. The Welsh national Eisteddfod reaches the British national press, but "The Times" never fails to publish a sarcastic article every year. It is true that the bardic Gorsedd is a late 18th century invention, and that its apparent historical roots in ancient Druidism are purely fictional. To concentrate on this is to miss the point, however, which is the yearly language competition, something essential to encourage authorship in languages whose readership is inevitably small.

As for Cornish, critics point out that the Unified language is no real descendant of the extinct language. Words have been borrowed from Breton and Welsh to fill in gaps in the surviving vocabulary, and enthusiastic pioneers like Morton Nance and Jenner made mistakes in this research which are now enshrined in learners' textbooks. For example, "kettryn" is now the standard word for "bus", even though it turned out that this word is of West Indian origin, rather than Cornish, and was never used with that meaning! Further, basing Unified Cornish on the mediaeval language failed to take account of later developments in the living tongue. For example, in the text I quoted

above, Boson uses "vedn" and "obba" for "vyn" and "omma", and the evidence is that this represents a later change in the phonetic value of these nasal consonants.

It seems to me that the revivalists can be quite complacent about these criticisms. Languages change in unpredictable ways, and words can be arbitrarily borrowed. No one can say what Cornish might have become if it had not died, while the Unified language is certainly a form of Cornish and not of any other language, and is thus suitable for the Cornish people.

Another commonly voiced criticism is that Cornish today has no set of literary standards by which modern works can be judged. Such standards can only be set in a true language community. Arthur Koestler, a writer who turned from using German to using English, notes in his autobiography, "The Invisible Writing", that learning to write a new language involves learning all its clichés: at the beginning, almost any combination of words sounds original and "good". This is true, but if the Cornish language movement continues to grow, then there will come a time when it produces its own clichés, too.

One of the most esoteric little books in my collection is a history of the Cornish language and literature written in Esperanto.[21] Maybe it could never be more than a dream, but it is pleasant to imagine a world where people could not only express their cultural identity in a language peculiar to it, but also explain it to anyone else in a neutral tongue common to humankind.

P. A. S. Pool[22] concludes his pamphlet on 'The Death of Cornish' with an old proverb which acquired an ironic meaning:

An lavar koth yw lavar gwir
Na bos nevra dos vaz an tavaz re hir
Bes den heb davaz a gollaz i dir
The old saying is a true saying,
A tongue too long never did any good,

But the man without a tongue lost his land.

I will conclude with one of similar import from Wales:

Cenedl heb iaith, cenedl heb galon
A nation without a language is a nation without heart.

Ian C. Stirk
November 1982

Notes

1. Chadwick (1970) gives an archaeological and historical outline.
2. Lord (1966) p. v.
3. Pool (1975)
4. Smith (Caradar) (1939)
5. Pei (1965) p. 113
6. Zwicky (1974)
7. Pullum (1979) p. 251
8. Chomsky (1980)
9. There is a work by Sir J. Morris-Jones cited as 'Pre-Aryan Syntax in Insular Celtic' (Oxford University Press, 1900). Unfortunately I have not been able to consult it, and I am not even sure if it is published separately or as part of a volume by the same author entitled 'The Welsh People'.
10. Smith (1966)
11. Greenberg, 'Some Universals of Grammar' in Greenberg (ed) (1966)
12. McCawley, 'English as a VSO Language' in Seuren (ed) (1974)
13. Baur (1977)
14. I have taken the two Cornish versions from Nance (1969). The translation is mine.
15. Smith (1951)
16. Watkins (1973)
17. Smith (1951) – page unnumbered
18. Berresford Ellis (1974)
19. Gendall (1972)

20. Unfortunately I have mislaid my copy of this, and have forgotten title, author and publisher.
21. Sutton (1969)
22. Pool (1973) p. 31. The idiosyncratic spelling of the Cornish here is that of a Welshman who recorded the rhyme, and it is also grammatically odd.

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