Assessing the relative status of languages in medieval Ireland

Raymond Hickey
Essen University

0 Introduction

The concern of the present paper is to examine the status of Middle English and Anglo-Norman[1] at the beginning of the settlement of Ireland from Britain in the late 12th century. Both of these languages were introduced after the first invasion from England in 1169. A reliable assessment must take into account the ethnic composition of the newcomers, their internal relations and their relative social position in Ireland. The original settlement of Ireland brought with it Welsh, Flemish, Anglo-Norman and English settlers (Cahill 1938: 160). The leaders of this group were unequivocally the Normans as these were the military superiors of the rest.

The English had a greater status vis à vis the Welsh and the Flemings as they were the representatives of the majority language of England. The Flemings stemmed from a colony in Pembrokeshire, south-west Wales, which had come from Flanders some decades earlier (Martin 1967: 127). The native Welsh left no traces in medieval Ireland; they either abandoned their language or continued to use it without any influence on the remaining languages in Ireland.[2] The Flemings were quickly assimilated and the only linguistic evidence of their presence in Ireland is the small number of loanwords which were still to be found in the archaic dialect of Forth and Bargy in the south-east corner of the country at the end of the 18th century when the last recordings of this variety of early Irish English were made (Hickey 1988).[3]

Leaving Welsh and Flemish aside one is left with Anglo-Norman and Middle English in late medieval Ireland. The linguistic traces we have of these two languages allow certain conclusions as to their status in the centuries after the invasion. The thesis to be discussed in this paper is that the Normans were initially the superiors among the ethnic groups in Ireland but due to the fact that they settled in rural Ireland and hived themselves off from their related rulers in England quickly assimilated to the local Irish adopting the language of the latter, influencing this considerably in the process. The second thesis to be elaborated on here is that English was represented by different varieties due to diverse regional origins of the English followers during the original invasion / settlement and that this fact led to a compromise standard[4] arising in the 13th century which is intermediary between dialect features of various speakers. It is this language which is incorporated in the major literary document of medieval Irish English, the *Kildare Poems*.[5]

Literary documents in English and Anglo-Norman Almost the entire records of medieval Irish English are represented by the poems in the collection to be found in the British Library Harley 913 manuscript (Lucas and Lucas 1990). The sixteen English poems are known at the latest since Heuser (1904) as the *Kildare Poems*. Apart from this there are a few smaller pieces which illustrate Irish English in the pre-early modern period. These are an English version of *Expurgatio Hibernica* by Giraldus Cambriensis ranging from the first quarter of the 15th to the second half of the 16th century (Hogan 1927: 26f.), an English translation by James Yonge (a Dublin notary of the first half of the 15th century) of *Secreta Secretorum*, a treatise on moral questions and duties, see Steele (1898). What is called the *Book of Howth* is a 16th century compilation containing several pieces in English. In addition to these there are a few literary pieces in Anglo-Norman (Risk 1971: 589), notably *The Song of Dermot and the Earl* (Orpen 1892; Long 1975) and *The Entrenchment of New Ross* (Shields 1975-6). The former piece is about the relationship between Dermot MacMurrough and Strongbow and the second deals with the building of a fortification for the medieval town of New Ross in the south east of the country, see the annotated excerpts of these works by Terence Dolan in Deane (ed.) (1991: 141-51).

If the language of the *Kildare poems* is a genuine representation of medieval Irish English then it would seem that an amalgam of the various dialects which were spoken by English settlers had arisen by the early 14th century. As there is no mention of the Bruce invasion in 1315 (Lydon 1967: 153) one can be reasonably confident in dating the *Kildare Poems* to before this event or at least not long after it.[6]

In a review of the attestations of medieval Irish English one should also mention the *Slates of Smarmore*. These consist of a number of inscriptions found near the ruins of a church at Smarmore, a small village near Ardee in County Louth. The slates contain medical recipes and some musical and religious material.[7] The language of the slates is clearly medieval Irish English (the dating is uncertain, but probably 14th century) and certain features can be singled out as indicative of this variety of Middle English.

An incidental aspect of the Slates of Smarmore is that their Irish provenance is obviously undoubted so that the reservations which some authors have concerning the Irish nature of the *Kildare Poems* can be excluded here. This fact is useful when considering putative Irish English features of the *Kildare Poems*. A typical example of such features is the use of /t/8 for ME /θ/ which is clearly attested in the *Kildare Poems* and which is probably due to Irish influence. It should be borned in mind that just after the end of the Middle Irish period (900-1200) the dental fricatives closed to corresponding dental stops (by the middle of the 13th century, O'Rahilly 1926; Dottin 1913). These plosives, /t̪/ and /d̪/, were regarded by speakers of Irish as the nearest equivalents in their language of the dental fricatives of Middle English. Confirmation of this fact, in the opposite direction, by examining the equivalents used for the /ð/ of Anglo-Norman with loanwords in Irish is not immediately forthcoming. These loanwords came into Irish as of the late 12th century when the dental fricatives were still present in Irish. Hence one has forms like *fradhir* 'brother' (probably from Anglo-Norman *fradre*, Risk 1971: 638) which shows *dh* /ð/ in Irish. But recall that English was in an inferior position vis à vis Anglo-Norman in Ireland and that by the time English had established itself in written documents (14th century) the Irish dental fricatives /θ, ð/ had become plosives. This certainly had taken place by the time of the *Kildare Poems* and the Slates of Smarmore.[9]

1 The status of Anglo-Norman

The leaders of the initial invasion of Ireland[10] were Normans from Pembroke- shire in west Wales. The reasoning for their coming was a plea for help from the local lord of the south-east of Ireland, Dermot McMurrough, who in his struggle for power with two other important kings in Ireland of the time, Tiernán O'Rourke and Rory O'Connor (Martin 1967: 123f.), required more military might which he envisaged obtaining from the powerful Normans on the opposite side of the Irish Sea. This Dermot received under the condition that he give his daughter Aoife in marriage to the leader of the Norman expedition one Richard Fitz Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, better known to history by his doubtlessly appropriate name Strongbow (Dolley 1972: 56f.). His coming to Ireland with a military force of some size (Martin 1967: 129) in 1169 marks the beginning of an English presence in Ireland in the sense of an invasion undertaken from mainland Britain.[11] In his retinue Strongbow had among others English speakers. What is striking in this period is the relative homogeneity of the Anglo-Norman military leaders and the motley character of the soldiers cum settlers in their following. The English speakers could have come from any part of west England in a broad band from Devon/Cornwall in the south-west up as far north as Lancashire going on the one hand on the linguistic evidence of the available documents (McIntosh and Samuels 1968 :8) and on the other on historical evidence about Strongbow's retinue.[12]

Anglo-Norman remained the language of the ruling landlords for approximately two centuries after the initial invasion in 1169. In fact the English rulers of the immediate post-invasion period were French-speaking: Henry II, for instance, who came to Ireland in 1171 and issued the Charter of Dublin in the same year, could not speak English according to Giraldus Cambriensis ('Gerald of Wales', an important chronicler in this period, Cahill 1938: 164). There would appear to have been a certain tension between French and English in Ireland and not just between Irish and English as the official view would have had it. This is later attested quite clearly by the *Statutes of Kilkenny* (1366, Lydon 1967: 155), a set of regulatory laws which prohibited, among other things, Irish in public dealings and recommended English. They were composed in French to ensure that the Norman nobility which had assimilated so well to the native Irish by the mid-14th century could understand them.[13]

There was considerable ecclesiastical influence from the Normans on Ireland. Recall that the focal religious point before their arrival was Clonmacnoise on the River Shannon in the centre of the country. This waned in status after the introduction to Ireland of new continental religious orders (Watt 1972: 41ff.) such as the Cistercians (founded in 1098 in Cîteaux near Dijon).

The extent of the Norman impact on Ireland is recognisable onomastically. The frequency of surnames such as Butler, Burke, Ormond, Desmond and all those beginning in *Fitz*-[14] such as *Fitzgerald* testify to the strength of the Normans in Ireland long after such events as the loss of Normandy to England in 1204. Anglo-Norman influence on Irish is considerable in the field of loanwords but the reverse influence is not attested, although official documents exist to almost the end of the 15th century (Cahill 1938: 160) which are written in Anglo-Norman or Latin. The high number of everyday loans (see below) would seem to suggest close contact between Anglo-Norman speakers and the local Irish.

Now consider for a moment that there was a clear distinction between urban and rural life in medieval Ireland. The rural sector was populated by local Irish although there was no exclusion of the native Irish from the towns but as their social organisation

was non-urban their major role was in the rural sphere.[15] The Anglo-Norman landlords established bases in the countryside as clearly attested by the Norman castles still present as ruins throughout the country which they conquered in the years subsequent to the definitive establishment of their power after the conquest of Dublin in autumn 1170 (Martin 1967: 136f.). Those Normans who settled in Ireland were granted land by the English king and had to render service or pay scutage in return. These in their turn had sub-tenants on their land who would also have been of Norman or to a limited extent English or Welsh stock with the native Irish on the level of serfs working under the Norman social super-structure. Because of this organisation there were clear lines of contact between the natives and the new settlers which account for the linguistic influence of Anglo-Norman on Irish.

The Normans having established their military and social supremacy over the local Irish continued, with the linguistic aptitude of their ancestors, to adopt the language of their surroundings although this was a substrate from a sociolinguistic point of view. In these pre-Reformation days there was no religious barrier to assimilation to the native Irish. The transition from Anglo-Norman to Irish for the Normans which lasted for the best part of two centuries provided the period of language contact which led to the import of so many loans from Anglo-Norman. The quantity of loans and their phonological adaptation to the sound system of Irish speaks for both a socially important donor group (the Normans) and at the same time for a large and stable group of substrate speakers. Certainly in the parts of Ireland far removed from the towns of the east the Normans would have been very much in the minority. It is true that they soon conquered parts of eastern Ulster under the leadership of John de Courcy and that they asserted their claim to power in the west with the invasion of Connacht in 1235. But is precisely their extension into wide parts of the country which led to their numerical disadvantage with respect to the native Irish.

The linguistic situation is fairly similar to that in England: a large number of loans occur which are adapted to the phonology of the recipient language. Looking at the form of Anglo-Norman loans in Irish one can see that the degree of adaptation to the sound system of the recipient language is greater in English than in Irish. English accepted many loans from French with voiced fricatives, leading ultimately to the contrast in initial position seen in word pairs like *vile* : *file*, *zeal* : *seal*. However this is not quite as unexpected as one might at first imagine, seeing as how allophonic voiced fricatives existed word-medially since Old English times (cf. the present-day morphonemic alternations in pairs like *wife* : *wives*, *knife* : *knives*). Furthermore the loss of final shwa in words like *rise*, *drive* led to the appearence of voiced fricatives in final position.[16]

The situation in Irish was somewhat different. Here there were no segmental phonological processes (but see comments on stress below) present in Anglo-Norman and embryonically so in Irish. Because of this all loanwords are adapted to the sound system of Irish irrespective of their form in the donor language. This can interpreted as an indication of the strong position of Irish vis à vis Anglo-Norman, if phonological adaptation is accepted as an index of relative vitality of sociolinguistic position with respect to a donor language. To illustrate more closely what is meant here, consider the case of a loanword which entered in the Norman period and which has a modern form due to a contemporary borrowing.

(1) a.   *seaicéad*   'jacket'
     b.   *jacket*   [dʒæːkət]   de Bhaldraithe (1953)

In the first instance the initial affricate is devoiced and simplified to [ʃ], the stress on the second syllable is reflected in Irish by the long vowel of this syllable in the loanword given the equivalence of stress and quantity between Anglo-Norman and Irish of the period. The contemporary loanword is virtually unchanged, the only Irish feature of the pronunciation being the long low front vowel (of the Cois Fhairrge region west of Galway city). Now Irish is in a very weak position vis à vis English in present-day Ireland and there are virtually no monoglot speakers of Irish left. The contemporary loanwords from English show a minimum of phonological adaptation and compared to loans from earlier stages of the language this would appear to be causally linked to the weak sociolinguistic position of the language for the remaining native speakers of the west of Ireland.[17]

Comparisons with contact situations in England throughout history are fruitful for throwing light on the nature of the Anglo-Norman influence on Irish. Take the situation of Scandinavian contact with late Old English as an example. The Irish scenario and the results in terms of borrowings would seem to show that typological similarity between languages or indeed mutual intelligibility are not of great relevance for borrowing in the area of core vocabulary. They happened to coincide in the late Old English period with English and Scandinavian but in Ireland many borrowings of basic lexical items, such as the words for 'boy' (*garsún* < Norman *garcon*) and 'child' (*páiste* < Norman *page*), were still made from the typologically so different Anglo-Norman into Irish. It is the situation which would seem to be most important: given close day-to-day contact broad-based (lexical) borrowing can take place,[18] the necessary adaptations being made, if required. Indeed the adaptations are quite obvious on the phonological level in Irish, see the discussion below.

In another respect the comparison with both the Scandinavian and French contact in England is of interest. The Norman loans in Irish are found in everyday usage, but they did not necessarily replace the native Irish words. For instance the Anglo-Norman loan *páiste* exists side by side with the original Irish word *leanbh* [lʲænəv]. For 'boy' Irish has two words: *garsún* (with the later form *gasúr*) and the original *buachaill* [buəxɪlʲ]. Nor is there any separation of vocabulary according to style or register as is noticeable in English in such standard word pairs as 'freedom' and 'liberty'; 'work' and 'labour', etc. But this division in English is due more to the continuing (Central) French influence after the 12th century than to the Norman borrowings in the century or so after the invasion of England. The conclusion here is that the influence of Anglo-Norman on Irish is parallel to that in the first period of Middle English with the second, later influence lacking in Ireland.

It should be mentioned here that the structure of Irish was not (and is not) an inhibiting factor in borrowing, despite the great typological differences on the morphological and syntactic levels. For instance the ending for quality or abstract nouns *-(e)acht* [əxt] can be suffixed to any appropriate base noun as for example in *siúinéireacht* 'carpentery' (*siúinéir* stems from Anglo-Norman *joignour*, see below).

1.1 Anglo-Norman and Irish: The structure of loanwords

One of the tenets of sociolinguistics is that any language in a substrate position vis à vis another is liable to accept loans from the latter. Going on this premise one would expect many loans from Anglo-Norman in Irish. This is indeed the case. The changes which occur during or immediately after the borrowing supply much information on how

loanwords are accomodated into a recipient language which is quite different from the donor language. The following sections are devoted to a linguistic analysis of these borrowings with a view to throwing light on this accomodation.

Assigning palatality Bear in mind that Irish like many of the Slavic languages has a distinction between palatal and non-palatal segments which extends through the entire inventory of consonants. For all obstruents and for sonorants under most conditions there are no neutral realisations, ie any such segment is either palatal or non-palatal, the latter being phonetically velarised.[19] The major consequence of this for borrowing into Irish is that the consonants of incoming words must be assigned a value for the feature 'palatal'. With the Anglo-Norman borrowings the consonants preceding front vowels are rendered as palatal, those preceding low and back vowels appear as non-palatal. The position with final consonants is not that clear. In this position one has palatal consonants occurring after both front and back vowels in the Anglo-Norman original.

(2)	a.	Anglo-Norman	*duke*	>	*diúice*	'duke'
	c.		*sucre*	>	*siúcra*	'sugar'
	b.		*joignour*	>	*siúinéir*	'carpenter'
	d.		*di(s)ner*	>	*dinnéir*	'dinner'

Palatal consonants in Irish do not undergo a change in manner of articulation, that is /k^j/ as a palatal sound is not the affricate [tʃ] but the palatal stop [c]. However, the affricates of Anglo-Norman were interpreted as palatal and segments surrounding them are rendered as palatal.

(3)	Anglo-Norman	*estraunger*	>	*stróinséir*

Palatalisation in Irish is not just a feature of lexical word forms but along with the initial mutations forms the main exponent of morphological categories such as case and number. From the time of their first appeerence in Irish the Anglo-Norman loanwords participate in the inflectional morphology of the language, e.g. by showing the palatalisation of final consonants typical of the genitive: *bagún* : *bagúin*, 'bacon'-NOM : 'bacon'-GEN.

Reversing lenition One of the major means of indicating grammatical categories in Irish is the weakening of consonants. This was orginally a low-level phenomenon which became established on a grammatical level in the pre-Old Irish period. This morphological lenition (the substitution of fricatives for stops or of one fricative for another) is triggered by a precisely defined set of circumstances in Irish. As it is a process of such generality there are for all obstruents in Irish (except /h/) both a non-lenited and a lenited version. A feature of borrowing in the history of Irish is that if an initial consonant in a loanword is identical with the lenited grade of another consonant then this latter segment is used initially in the borrowed form of the word from the donor language. Consider in this connection the Irish word *seabhac* from English *hawk* (borrowed in the Old Irish period and written *seboc(c)* originally): this has /s^j/ as the initial /h/ was assumed by Irish speakers to be a lenited form of the coronal fricative and there was no independent /h/ in Irish at the time.[20]

Anglo-Norman loanwords are no exeception to this tendency in Irish and show a substitution of /w/ by /b/ which can be explained as the reversal of lenition (Risk 1971: 654) as the lenited form of /b/ was and is /v/ which in its non-palatal form has virtually

no friction, ie is phonetically [w] (de Bhaldraithe 1945: 30ff.). The same principle lies behind the switch from /f/ to /p/ in the fourth example below.

Evidence for the correctness of the interpretation of these substitutions as reversed lenition can be gained from words where one of the original sounds is found in internal position, for instance word-internally the /w/ of Anglo- Norman is rendered by *mh* /v/, the lenited form of /m/ or /b/, and not by /b/ as in initial position (see third example below).

(4) a. *warantie* > *baránta* 'guarantee'
     b. *warde* > *bárda* 'guard'
     c. *aventure* > *amhantúr* 'adventure'
     d. *flour* > *plúr* 'flour'

Initial h In Irish the glottal fricative is either the outcome of leniting /t/ or /s/ or of insertion in pre-vocalic position under certain grammatical conditions, e.g. after a possessive pronoun in the third person singular feminine: *iníon* 'daughter', *a h-iníon* 'her daughter'. An independent /h/ in lexical citation forms practically does not exist in Irish, apart from English loans like *haca* 'hockey', *halla* 'hall' and some classical neologisms.

For Anglo-Norman there are good grounds for assuming that initial /h-/ was pronounced. In French the /h-/ which derived from earlier Germanic loanwords was still heard at least until the 16th century (Rickard 1974: 113). And there are some loans in English from Germanic words in French which have initial /h-/, consider *hamlet* from *hamelet(t)e* ultimately from Middle Low German *hamm* 'home' or *hatchet* from *hatchette* a diminutive of *hache* from Germanic *hapja* 'axe' via medieval Latin.

The general treatment of /h-/ in Anglo-Norman loanwords is for it to be deleted.[21] For instance *ospidéal* 'hospital' comes from Anglo-Norman *hospitale*, itself from medieval Latin, and shows the retention of /s-/ in preconsonantal position, later lost in Central French, but not until the 13th century (Rickard 1974: 71) so that it can be assumed to have existed in Anglo-Norman and indeed is seen clearly in English in the older and new forms of the same Romance word, cf. *hostel* and *hotel*.

The reason for the deletion of /h-/ lies probably in the reversal of the morphological process which would have introduced it in Irish, although naturally this process did not apply to Anglo-Norman. In this respect the treatment of /h-/ can be viewed as parallel to the instances of reversal of (supposed) lenition on borrowing which one can see in words like *bárda* from *warde* (see above).

Dental fricatives The sound system of Anglo-Norman of the late 12th century still included /ð/ from Western Romance /t/ and /d/ in intervocalic position e.g. *vide* /viðə/ ← Latin *VITA* and can be seen in loanwords like *faith* from Anglo-Norman *fed* (Old French *feid*).

Given the disconnection of Anglo-Norman from the continental mainland the fricative would seem to have survived for more than a further century and to have been present in the variety of Anglo-Norman brought initially to Ireland. This fricative was represented by the same sound in Irish and, as of the late 13th century, fell together with /ɣ/ in Irish as part of the general alveolar to velar shift for the lenited forms of /d/ (i.e. /ð/) in Irish (Risk 1971: 639), cf. *scuder* 'squire' → *scuidhér* /skuðʲeːrʲ/ later /skuɣʲeːrʲ/, phonetically [skujeːrʲ].

Canonical word form Another process observable with Anglo-Norman loans is the disyllabification of certain monosyllabic words.

(5) a. *gúna* /guːnə/ 'dress' < *gune*

  b. *póca* /poːkə/ 'pocket' < *poke*

  c. *mála* /maːlə/ 'bag' < *male*

In the above examples the second vowel could have come from the final schwa of the originals if this was still pronounced in the variety of Anglo-Norman brought to Ireland. However many Anglo-Norman and English loans show an additional vowel where there is no question of this originating in the donor language. Words like English *box* and Anglo-Norman *curs, terme* have phono- tactically unacceptable codas for Irish /-ks, -rs, -rm/. Adding schwa causes resyllabification, yielding acceptable structures: /bɔs.kə/, /cuːr.sə/ and /teːr.mə/.[22] The argument from phonotactics would seem to be strengthened from those few instances where an extra vowel is not added: Anglo-Norman *sorte → sórt* 'sort' as the coda /-rt/ is very common in native Irish words.

(6) a. *box* (Eng) > *bosca*

  b. *hat* (Eng) > *hata*

  c. *wall* (Eng) > *balla*

  d. *coat* (Eng) > *cóta*

  e. *curs* (A-N) > *cúrsa*

Cluster metathesis Among the most salient phonological processes affecting loanwords is the metathesis of clusters consisting of stop and fricative. In Middle and Early Modern Irish there was an obligatory rule which prohibited any sequence of /t/ + /s/. Any such cluster was reversed by metathesis to /s/ + /t/. The word Irish *báisteach* 'rain', which comes from an earlier form *báitseach*, shows the metathesis (O'Rahilly 1932: 73) clearly. Other common words like *étsecht → éisteacht* 'listening' also experienced this metathesis. Equally English words are effected if they meet the structural description for the process, see the example of *box* above which shows that the input for metathesis is not restricted to clusters of homorganic segments.

  Now among the Anglo-Norman loanwords were many which had the affricates /tʃ/ or /dʒ/. The voiced one is devoiced[23] automatically as Irish had, and still has, no voiced sibilants. The affricate appears in two forms: simplified to a fricative in initial position or after a sonorant (usually /n/ or /r/) and metathesised to /sʲtʲ/ in word-internal position.

(7) a. *chaumbre* > *seomra* /sʲoːmrə/ 'room'

  b. *archer* > *airseóir* /arʲsʲoːrʲ/ 'archer'

  c. *page* > *páiste* /paːsʲtʲə/ 'child'

  d. *college* > *coláiste* /kəlaːsʲtʲə/ 'college'

The equivalence of the [ʃ] in the Anglo-Norman affricate to Irish palatal /sʲ/ is natural as the latter has [ʃ] as its phonetic manifestation. The [s] of Anglo-Norman was viewed as equivalent to the non-palatal /s/ of Irish.

(8) a. *palais* > *pálás* 'palace'
     b. *pinsur* > *pionsúr* 'pincers'
     c. *solas* > *sólás* 'solace'

This fact may be somewhat surprising, seeing as how the [s] in early French loans in English is frequently rendered as [ʃ] which would seem to point to a retroflex fricative [ʂ] which was matched acoustically in English by the alveolo-palatal fricative which was already present in the latter language.

(9) a. *cu(i)ssin* > *cushion*
     b. *bro(i)sse* > *brush*

1.2 Dating the borrowings

There is difficulty in dating the borrowings from Anglo-Norman. The problem is not so much that which besets literature in England, ie that there was a considerable break in the documentation of English after the Norman invasion, but rather that the manuscripts from the period immediately after the Norman invasion of Ireland are in antiquated Irish. This is a feature of all texts up until the late Classical Modern Irish period (approx. 1200-1600). For instance the *Leabhar na hUidre* (Book of the Dun Cow) was compiled in the 11th and 12th centuries at Clonmacnoise and contains secular and religious texts (Rockel 1989: 53). However, the language used is that of the 6th to 8th centuries, ie Old Irish. The position is only marginally better with the Bardic Poets (Irish *filí*) who enjoyed an unbroken high standing in Anglo- Norman society as entertainers at the courts of the new lords. Two of these were active in the immediate post-invasion period: Domhnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (circa 1180-1250) and Muireadach Albanach Ó Dálaigh (circa 1175-1244). The material of this poetry is the glorious past of the sagas. Even when the content was a eulogy for a patron the language was still archaic. One is relying here on the poets using a contemporary form by accident or a loan-word for which there was no Old Irish equivalent at the time of writing.

A further problem concerns the kinds of extant documents. Most are of a scholarly and/or religious nature so that not only a learned vocabulary is found but also loanwords which are quite close to a classical original. For instance, there are loanwords which show non-metathesised clusters, for instance Latin *NOVICIUS* appears as *nobitsi*. Whether this was also the colloquial pronunciation is not certain. It survives in the later form as modern *nóibhíseach* /noːvʲiːsʲəx/ with affricate simplification.

The question which arises here is at what time the metathesis rule which one can see in *páiste* 'page' became active in Irish. The metathesis is not immediate from the beginning. According to Risk (1974: 70f.) unmetathesised forms occur in manuscripts in the 15th century while they become rarer in the 16th and disappear completely in the 17th centuries.[24] Given the cleft between written and spoken Irish one can postulate that metathesis was concurrent with borrowing and only later appeared in writing.[25]

Distinguishing English and Anglo-Norman loanwords The process of borrowing from the languages of settlers from Britain has been an on-going one in Ireland since the late Middle Ages. This means that a given loanword can be either Anglo-Norman or English

from a later stage when the latter had re-established itself in Ireland (at the beginning of the early modern period as of the seventeenth century).

There are, however, a number of clear indications for Anglo-Norman origin. Loans from this source have a long vowel for the stressed vowel of the donor language as stress correlates with quantity.

(10)	a.	*bagún*	'bacon'		
	b.	*barún*	'baron'		
	c.	*garsún*	'boy'	<	'garçon'
	d.	*siúinéir*	'joiner'	<	'joignour'

The last two examples above show additionally the raising of nasalised vowels on borrowing into Irish /oː/ > /uː/.

Another aspect of Anglo-Norman loans is that the vowels before affricates are always long whereas with later English loans this is not the case.

(11)	a.	*páiste*	'page'	(A-N)
	b.	*coláiste*	'college'	(A-N)
	c.	*paiste*	'patch'	(Eng)
	d.	*maiste*	'match'	(Eng)
	e.	*laiste*	'latch'	(Eng)
	f.	*brainse*	'branch'	(Eng)

1.3 Accent in Southern Irish

The last process to be considered here is the change of stress in southern Irish (that of the province Munster) which is evident after the Norman conquest.[26] Bear in mind that stress in Anglo-Norman was on the last syllable or the penult if the final vowel was a weak *-e*. This stressed vowel was then rendered as long in Irish.

(12)	a.	*bagage*	>	*bagáiste*	/bagaːs^{j}t^{j}ə/	'baggage'
	b.	*(a)vauntage*	>	*buntáiste*	/buntaːs^{j}t^{j}ə/	'advantage'

As opposed to O'Rahilly (1932: 86-92) Risk (1971: 589) does not believe that the shift of initial accent to long vowels in subsequent syllables, which is characteristic of southern Irish, could be due to Norman influence. But note that this accent shift only occurs in the dialects of Irish spoken in the regions with the greatest Norman influence in the late Middle Ages. Rockel (1989: 59) goes even further and assumes that this situation is due to Normans who switched to Irish retaining the stress patterns of their native French. Now while there may have been a section of the Norman population for whom this was the case this group would not have been numerically sufficient to effect an accent shift. The large section of native Irish must have adopted the stress patterns of Anglo-Norman, either directly or from those Normans who had begun to speak Irish.

What one has here is a conflict in the interpretation of a linguistic situation. As O'Rahilly rightly points out a language, such as Middle Irish, with strong stress (not pitch) accent on the initial syllable and long vowels in later syllables shows an inherent instability. This can be resolved in one of two ways. Either the long vowels in post-initial syllables are shortened (this is the solution in Ulster Irish, O'Rahilly, *loc. cit.*) or they remain long and attract the stress as in Munster Irish. Western Irish lies

inbetween these two poles and would be, on O'Rahilly's analysis, an instable system as it allows long vowels in unstressed syllables. However, the stress pattern of Western Irish has been retained to the present-day.

To understand the situation in the stress system of Irish before the onset of borrowing from Anglo-Norman one must point out that long vowels had arisen due to compensatory lengthening with the lost of intervocalic voiced fricatives from Old Irish in the Middle Irish period.

(13)   Old Irish (600 - 900): Lexical root stress

Middle Irish (900 - 1200): Long vowels develop through vocalisation of voiced fricatives in non-initial position. This leads to tension with initial short vowels and long vowels in later syllables.

Apart from the mechanisms of stress shift or vowel shortening in non-initial syllables, a third (partial) solution is possible and indeed is that which is frequently practised in Western Irish: the short stressed initial syllable in words with a long post-initial vowel is lost by syncope bringing the long vowel into initial position, e.g. *coláiste* > [klɑːʃtʲə] 'college'. The only condition here is that the cluster which would result from syncope be phonotactically acceptable, hence the lack of syncope in a word like *scudán* [skʊdɑːn] 'herring' as an initial sequence [skd-] is not possible. In some cases procope may occur as in *taspáin* 'show' West: [ʔspɑːnʲ], South: [təˈspɑːnʲ].

(14)   Long vowels in unstressed syllables

North (Ulster)	Post-initial vowels are shortened
West (Connacht)	Syncope moves long vowels to initial syllable
South (Munster)	Stress is shifted to post-initial long vowels

sceireog   'fib, lie'

North	ˈV.VV	>	ˈV . V	/ˈsʲkʲɛrʲəg/
West	ˈV.VV	>	ˈø . V	/ˈsʲkʲrʲoːg/
South	ˈV.VV	>	V . ˈV	/sʲkʲɛˈrʲoːg/

With regard to the southern Irish shift note that this is opaque to morpho- logical information. Hence it also occurs with suffixes, moving stress away from the lexical root as in *deilbh* /ˈdʲɛlʲvʲ/ 'shape' and *deilbhíocht* /dʲɛlʲˈvʲiːxt/ 'morphology'. The stress shift is not to be found with long initial vowels, cf. *imnigh* /ˈiːmʲrʲiː/ 'worry'.

What is important when considering possible Norman influence on the stress system of Irish is that there is a dialectal distribution in Irish which shows various attempts at solving the inherent lack of equilibrium of those words with post-initial long vowels in Middle Irish. If the shift in Munster were purely a transfer phenomenon from Anglo-Norman then one would not expect any changes in the remaining dialects.

There is a certain reciprocality about the southern Irish shift. Long vowels in non-initial syllables attract stress and this exerted tension in Irish and Anglo-Norman stressed vowels were interpreted as long as speakers equated stress with vowel length.

The situation here is one which is found so often in the history of English in Ireland. A phenomenon is present in English and Irish but its source in either language could be due to transfer or due to internal developments. The compromise interpretation

is to regard contact as reinforcing an inbuilt tendency in the language affected by the contact.

In conclusion one can remark that, although a substrate to Anglo-Norman, Irish showed a rapid and complete integration of loanwords which points to a strong position in respect of the language of the invaders. If one only considers the language internal evidence for the status of Irish then this conclusion begs a question, namely that phonological adaptation to the recipient language is a sign of a vital social position of the language involved. Certainly the reverse is the case. This can be seen with Modern Irish where English loans flood the language (Hickey 1982; Stenson 1990) and are not necessarily adapted phonologically, or only sporadically (see above).

A plausible explanation for the relatively strong position of Irish in the post-invasion period can be found in the extensive bilingualism among the Anglo-Normans. Indeed it is known that they assimilated rapidly to the Irish, intermarrying and, from the point of view of the mainland English, eventually becoming linguistically indistinguishable from them. Indeed two members of the Anglo-Norman nobility became noted Irish poets, the First Earl of Kildare (died 1316) and Gerald the Third Earl of Desmond (died 1398), 'Gerald the Rhymer'. So complete was the adoption of Irish by the Anglo-Normans that centuries later in 1541 the Earl of Ormond had to translate the declaration of Henry VIII as King of Ireland (Hayes-McCoy 1967) into Irish for the parliament in Dublin to understand. Before the close of the first period of English in Ireland which terminated with the defeat of the Irish forces in Kinsale (1601) and the massive settlement of English speakers in the course of the seventeenth century there are a few commentators on the state of Ireland the most notable of whom is Richard Stanyhurst (1586) who bemoaned the weak position of English with respect to Irish even in the towns of the east coast.

It should be borne in mind here that for the Anglo-Normans to switch to Irish was not a sign of subjugation to Irish culture but simply a practical step which facilitated their domination of Ireland and that the retention of Irish for such a long period after the initial invasion (Cosgrove 1967) helped to cement their independence from English-speaking mainland Britain, something that was not seriously threatened until the advent of the Tudors (Dudley-Edwards 1977).

2 The position of English

English in medieval Ireland[27] was in a different situation to that of Anglo-Norman. Recall that the leaders were Anglo-Normans and that among their followers were many English who came from different parts of the west and the south-west of England. The speakers of these different varieties were to be found in greatest numbers in the east of the country, ie in the area of initial settlement. They did not always spread out into the west as the socially superior Normans did or if so then frequently as their servants. Many of the English and Welsh settlers left after pressure from the local Irish of equal standing. Apart perhaps from Galway and Limerick it was the eastern strip of the country with its urban centres, from somewhat north of Dublin to Waterford in the south-east, that formed the main area of English settlement from the late 12th and 13th centuries onwards.

Cahill, contra Curtis, sees the position of English in the post-invasion period as relatively weak, giving way to Irish by the end of the 14th century in rural areas. Curtis (1919: 242) sees the towns (east coast with Galway and Limerick on the west) as the strongholds of English, places from where it spread again when it was reintroduced to Ireland in the Tudor period.

Both authors agree that, however weak English was in terms of the whole country, it was relatively strong in the east coast. Within this band English was widespread not only in the towns but also in some rural areas as testified by the two Sprachinseln, the baronies of Forth and Bargy in the extreme south-east corner in county Wexford and the area named Fingal, immediately north of Dublin. These areas retained their features well into the early modern period. The major towns of this eastern area are Waterford, Wexford, New Ross, Kilkenny, Kildare and of course Dublin.

The east coast variety of English which developed out of an amalgam of varieties in the course of the 13th century came under increasing pressure from Irish. By 1500 one can safely say (Bliss 1976: 559; 1977) that Anglo-Norman and English in rural Ireland had completely succumbed to Irish. In the towns the position of Irish was also strong leading to a low point in the expanse of English towards to the close of the 16th century.[28]

Turning now to the linguistic features of Irish English one finds that these fall into two groups. The first are those which can be reasonably regarded as characteristic of the medieval Irish variety of Middle English and the second are those which can be traced back to influence from Irish.

The first group represent what McIntosh and Samuels (1968: 9) term a 'phonetic compromise' of forms in a community of speakers with mixed dialect backgrounds. To substantiate their arguments they quote the form *euch(e)* 'each' which is the preferred form in medieval Irish texts. This they see as a common denominator, an intersection so to speak, of the form *each(e)* to the south of Herefordshire and south-west Worcestershire and *uch(e)* to the north of this area. It is compromise of this type which they see as relevant for the 'evolution of new colonial dialects'. Other features which one could enumerate are the following, these features in combination pointing particularly to Irish English.

(i)   The presence of initial /θ/ only in the nominative of the third person plural pronouns (*thai, thay*).

(ii)   The inflected and possessive forms *ham*, *har* 'them, their'.

(iii)   A high vowel in *sill, syll(e)* 'sell' and *hir(e), hyr(e)* 'hear'.

(iv)   *i,y* as a prefix for past participles and as a suffix for the infinitive.

(v)   Initial *h-* in *hit, hyt* 'it'.

Concerning the last feature note that initial *h-* is lost in many words which have retained it to the present-day: *ad* 'had', *is* 'his' (Heuser 1904: 31f.) and is found at the beginning of words where there is no justification for it: *hoke* 'oak', *hold*, 'old' (Henry 1958: 67). This could be uncertainty on the part of the Irish English speakers as /h-/ occurs only as a morpho- logically determined prefix in Irish and the triggering environment for it would of course not have been present in English.

Possible transfer features in medieval Irish English could be the confusion of *t* and *th* in writing, the use of *w* for /v/ possibly due to Irish where the non-palatal /v/ is often realised without any friction [ß, w], the devoicing of stops in unstressed final syllables and the gemination (in writing) after short vowels (Hickey 1993: 228) and some long ones such as *botte* 'boat', *plessyd* 'pleased'.

3 Conclusion

The above examination of the effect of Anglo-Norman on Irish and of the status of English in the immediate post-invasion period indicates quite clearly that Anglo-Norman definitely enjoyed a superior standing in Ireland compared to English. The dominant position of the variety of French imported into the country is also evident in the kind of influence which it had on native Irish. The latter at this period was resilient enough to absorb large quantities of loanwords, adapting them to the sound structure of Irish in the process. However, the significance of English in this early period should not be underestimated. This lies in the fact that it was never extinguished in Ireland despite the Gaelic resurgence of the 14th to 16th centuries. The reason for this is that English was a language primarily used in the towns of late medieval Ireland. In these locations it was to survive, albeit somewhat dormantly, up to the beginning of the modern period in the seventeenth century after which it became the unequivocably dominant language of Ireland and has remained so since.

Notes

1   This term is taken to refer to the variety of Northern French which was transported to England immediately after the Norman conquest and which was spoken by the Norman inhabitants in south-west Wales from where the original settlers of Ireland originated. The later, more-central variety of French which is important in the development of English played no role in the linguistic changes in Ireland after the 12th century. On the literature of the period, see Legge (1963) and Vising (1923); specifically on Anglo-Norman in Celtic countries, see Trotter (1994).

2   There is a certain amount of influence of Welsh on Irish from the Old Irish period which was due to previous contacts between both sides of the Irish Sea during the period of early Christianisation (see C. Rahilly 1924 in which there are two sections on loans: 'British loan-words in Irish' and 'Irish loan-words in British', pp. 137-41 and 142-6 respectively). This led to a moderate amount of linguistic influence either directly or to be seen in the British form of Latin borrowings, O'Rahilly (1957: 40f.).

3   Words such as *bibberen* are derived from Low Countries speech (Modern Dutch *bibberen* 'shake, shiver'). A phonological similarity is the initial voicing of fricatives which one finds in both Forth and Bargy and in Flemish and Dutch, though this has a more direct source in the varieties of southern Middle English which show this too and which formed an input to early Irish English (Hickey 1988: 238). The material for these glossaries are available as glossaries, see Vallancey (1787-88), Barnes (1876), Dolan and O'Muirithe (1979). See Bliss (1979: 45ff.) for comments on the similarly archaic dialect of Fingal, north of Dublin.

4   The notion of a compromise dialect arising in Ireland has been aired before by McIntosh and Samuels (1968) but not followed up any more, see discussion below.

5   It is a matter of much debate whether the manuscript which contains these pieces, Harley 913 in the British Museum, is the work of several hands or not. In two recent studies Benskin (1989 and 1990) regards the pieces as the work of a single scribe (1990: 163); in this respect Lucas and Lucas (1990: 288) agree with him. Furthermore Benskin maintains that the compiler of the manuscript copied the texts in the same dialectal form as they were available to him, ie he did not 'translate' them into his own variety of English

(Benskin 1990: 189). Additional treatment of medieval Irish English material is to be found in Holthausen (1916), Irwin (1932, 1933), Zettersten (1967).

6   This invasion was carried out from Scotland at the invitation of some of the Irish and led to large parts of Ulster and north Leinster falling into the hands of Edward Bruce, the brother of Robert of Scotland, and his gallowglasses (foreign mercenaries). Edward was crowned king on 1 May 1316 in Dundalk. His reign was brief, however, as he died in battle at Faughart near Dundalk in 1318 (Dudley-Edwards 1981: 52ff.).

7   See the account by Bliss (1965) and the updated examination by Britton and Fletcher (1990).

8   It is not possible, given the nature of the orthography, to say for definite if the realisation was dental or alveolar, i.e. [t] or [t], a consideration which is, however, of central importance for present-day Irish English (Hickey 1984).

9   It may have been the case in medieval Irish English that both the dental fricatives and the alveolar stops of Middle English were rendered by the dental stops of Irish if one accepts the evidence provided by the few examples of ME *t* appearing as *th*, cf *rathel* E ME *rattel* 'rattle', a plant name (Britton and Fletcher 1990: 56f.).

10   This was the second major invasion. Ireland, like England, was subject to incursions by the Vikings and the language of the later invaders of the latter group led to many loanwords of Scandinavian origin in Irish (Sommerfelt 1975; Ó Cuív 1975; Geipel 1971: 56ff.).

11   It would appear that Henry II sought legal sanction for an invasion of Ireland, ostensibly to carry out religious reform, in 1155 from the only ever English pope Nicholas Breakspear, Adrian IV (1154-9) and it is probable that the latter issued a bull *Laudabiliter* commissioning Henry to carry out the task.

12   See Otway-Ruthven (1968: 115f.) who equally assumes a broad band from Devon and Cornwall up as far as Lancashire going on the surnames imported to Ireland with the Norman settlement.

13   According to Cahill (1938: 164) Anglo-Norman began to cease as a vernacular in the mid 14th century and was replaced by Irish. Compare this with the position in England where the demise was more rapid (Rothwell 1975-6).

14   This derives from the Norman pronunciation of *fils, fiz* 'son' (Rothwell 1992: 306) and matched the prefixes *Ó* and *Mac* already present in Irish.

15   See the chapter 'The structure of Norman-Irish society', pp. 102-25, in Otway-Ruthven (1968) and Flanagan (1989). Works which deal specifically with urban development in the history of Ireland are Butlin (1977) and Harkness and O'Dowd (eds) (1981).

16   This loss is later than the initial period of French in England, estimates usually settle on the early 14th century (earlier in the north) as a likely time for the disappearence of /-ə/, Jespersen (1909: 33f.), Brunner (1963: 32).

17   This is not true of the non-native Irish language enthusiasts who deliberately avoid the frequent use of loanwords or code-switching which are regarded as signs of impurity.

18   There are no structural changes in Irish which can be traced back to Anglo-Norman influence, if one excepts the negation construction found in Munster Irish, cf. *Níl puinn*

Gaeilge agam [is-not point Irish at-me] 'I cannot speak Irish' which shows the use of French *point* (Rockel 1989: 59).

19   The orthography of Irish indicates palatality by a high vowel (*i* or *e*) before and after the consonant in question. All other vowel graphemes (*a, o, u*) indicate a non-palatal articulation.

20   See Thurneysen (1946: 571f.). Loanwords such as *hata* from English 'hat' with an initial /h-/ are of a much later date.

21   As Risk (1971: 596+641) mentions there is one instance of /h-/ being treated as a lenited form of /s/ in the Annals of Inisfallen (largely 12th and 13th centuries) in the name *Henry* which as it is a Germanic loan in French (< *Heinrich* from *heim* + *rich* 'home' + 'powerful') can be assumed to have had initial *h* phonetically and not just in writing.

22   This form could have had an epenthetic vowel to break up the cluster as Irish *arm* [arəm] does. An instance of this is seen with the word *seirbhís* [ʃɛrəv^{j}iːʃ] originally from Anglo-Norman *service* with the internal sequence [-r^{j}əv^j-].

23   Risk mentions the devoicing of /dʒ/ and the metathesis of this and /tʃ/ in word-internal position but does not deal with the matter any further.

24   *Stáitse* 'stage' is one of the few survivals of a non-metathesised word but in this case the metathesis would have led to a sequence of similar clusters /st...s^{j}t^j../ which may well have inhibited it.

25   *Pace* Rockel (1989:60) who assumes that this is a feature of later borrowings without giving any reason for his stance, however.

26   See Blankenhorn (1979) for a general treatment of the prosody of modern Munster Irish. On the remaining area of (east) Munstern Irish, see Breatnach (1947).

27   See the overview chapter by Lydon (1967) for an outline of the English colony in Ireland in the 14th century. On language in particular, see Bliss (1984) and Bliss and Long (1987). Irish English literature of this period has been dealt with by Seymour (1929).

28   It is interesting to consider what did not happen to English in late medieval Ireland. One does not have any records or anyway accurate references to grammatical restructuring of English as has been postulated somewhat improbably for Middle English by Bailey and Maroldt (1977) in their creolisation hypothesis (dismantled by Görlach 1986 and Thomason and Kaufman 1988) although there was a constellation of at least three languages in Ireland (Anglo-Norman, Irish and English).

References

Bailey, Charles James - Karl Maroldt
        1977   'The French lineage of English' in Meisel (ed.) 21-51.
Barnes, William
        1876   *A glossary of the old dialect of the English colony of Forth and Bargy by Jacob Poole*. (London: J.R.Smith).
Benskin, Michael
        1989   'The style and authorship of the Kildare poems - (I) *Pers of*

Birmingham', in Mackensie and Todd (eds) 57-75.

1990   'The hands of the *Kildare Poems* manuscript', in Dolan (ed.) 163-193.

Bhaldraithe, Tomás de

1945   *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, Co.Galway.* (Dublin: Institue for Advanced Studies).

1953   'Nua-iasachtaí in nGaeilge Chois Fhairrge' *Éigse* 7: 1-34.

Blankenhorn, Virginia S.

1981   'Pitch, quantity and stress in Munster Irish', *Éigse* 18: 225-250.

Bliss, Alan J.

1965   'The inscribed slates at Smarmore', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 64C: 33-60.

1976   'The English language in early modern Ireland', in Moody, Martin and Byrne (eds) 546-560.

1977   'The emergence of modern English dialects in Ireland', in O'Muirithe (ed.) 7-19.

1979   *Spoken English in Ireland 1600-1740. Twenty-seven representative texts assembled and analysed.* (Dublin: Cadenus Press).

1984   'Language and literature', in Lydon (ed.) 27-45.

Bliss, Alan J. - Joseph Long

1987   'Literature in Norman-French and English to 1534', in Moody, Martin and Byrne (eds) 708-736.

Breatnach, Risteard B.

1947   *The Irish of Ring, Co. Waterford.* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies).

Britton, Derek - Alan J.Fletcher

1990   'Medieval Hiberno-English inscriptions on the inscribed slates of Smarmore: Some reconsiderations and additions', in Dolan (ed.) 55-72.

Brunner, Karl

1963   *An outline of Middle English.* Translated by G.Johnston. (Oxford: Blackwell).

Butlin, R.A. (ed.)

1977   *The development of the Irish town.* (London).

Cahill, E.

1938   'Norman French and English languages in Ireland, 1170-1540', *Irish Ecclesiastiacal Record, 5th series* 51: 160-173.

Cosgrove, Art

1967   'The Gaelic resurgence and the Geraldine supremacy', in Moody and Martin (eds) 158-173.

Cosgrove, Art (ed.)

1987   *A new history of Ireland. Vol.2: Medieval Ireland 1169-1534.* (Oxford: University Press).

Curtis, Edmund

1919   'The spoken languages of medieval Ireland', *Studies* 8: 234-254.

Deane, Seamus (ed.)

1991   *The Field Day anthology of Irish literature. 3 Vols.* (Derry: Field Day Publications).

Dolan, Terence P. - Diarmuid O'Muirithe

1979   *Poole's glossary with some pieces of verse of the Old Dialect of the English Colony in the Baronies of Forth and Bargy, County of Wexford. Supplement to The Past, Vol.13.* (Wexford: no publisher).

Dolan, Terence P.
    1991   'The literature of Norman Ireland', in Deane (ed.), 141-170.
Dolan, Terence P. (ed.)
    1990   *The English of the Irish*. (Dublin: no publisher).   *Irish University Review,* Vol. 20.1.
Dolley, Michael
    1972   *Anglo-Norman Ireland*. (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).   *Gill History of Ireland,* Vol. 3.
Dottin, Georges
    1913   *Manuel d'Irlandais Moyen. I: Grammaire, II: Textes et glossaire*. (Paris: Champion).
Dudley Edwards, Ruth
    1977   *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors. The destruction of Hiberno-Norman civilization*. (London/New York: Croom Helm/Barnes and Noble).
    1981   *An atlas of Irish history*. 2nd edition. (London: Methuen).
Fisiak, Jacek (ed.)
    1988   *Historical dialectology*. (Berlin: Mouton-de Gruyter).
Flanagan, M.T.
    1989   *Irish society, Anglo-Norman settlers, Angevin kingship*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
Geipel, John
    1971   *The Viking legacy. The Scandinavian influence on the English and Gaelic languages*. (New Abbot: David and Charles).
Görlach, Manfred
    1986   'Middle English - a creole?', in Kastovsky and Szwedek (eds) 329-344.
Harkness, David - Mary O'Dowd (eds)
    1981   *The town in Ireland*. (Belfast).
Hayes-McCoy, G.A.
    1967   'The Tudor conquest', in Moody and Martin (eds) 174-188.
Henry, Patrick Leo
    1958   'A linguistic survey of Ireland: Preliminary report', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. Supplement 5*, 49-208.
Heuser, Wilhelm
    1904   *Die Kildare-Gedichte. Die ältesten mittelenglischen Denkmäler in anglo-irischer Überlieferung*. (Bonn: Hanstein). *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, Bd.14*
Hickey, Raymond
    1982   'The phonology of English loan-words in Inis Meáin Irish', *Ériu* 33: 137-156.
    1984   'Coronal segments in Irish English', *Journal of Linguistics* 20: 233-251.
    1988   'A lost Middle English dialect. The case of Forth and Bargy', in Fisiak (ed.) 235-272.
    1993   'The beginnings of Irish English', *Folia Linguistica Historica* 14.1-2: 213-238.
Hogan, James Jeremiah
    1927   *The English language in Ireland*. (Dublin: Educational Company of Ireland).
Holthausen, Friedrich
    1916   'Zu den Kildare-Gedichten', *Anglia* 40: 358-364.
Irwin, P.J.

1933 'The lost Loscombe manuscript: a transcript', *Anglia* 57: 397-400.

1935 *A study of the English dialects of Ireland, 1172-1800* PhD thesis. (London: University College London).

Jespersen, Otto 1909-49. *A modern English grammar on historical principles. 7 vols*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Kastovsky, Dieter and Aleksander Szwedek (eds)

1986 *Linguistics across historical and geographical boundaries. In honour of Jacek Fisiak on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday*. (Berlin: Mouton-de Gruyter).

Legge, M.Dominica

1963 *Anglo-Norman literature and its background*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Long, Joseph

1975 'Dermot and the Earl: Who wrote 'The Song'?', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 75,C: 263-272.

Lucas, Angela M. - Peter Lucas

1990 'Reconstructing a disarranged manuscript: The case of MS Harley 913, a medieval Hiberno-English miscellany', *Scriptorium* 44:2: 286-299.

Lydon, James

1967 'The medieval English colony', in Moody and Martin (eds) 144-157.

1973 *Ireland in the later Middle Ages. Gill History of Ireland, Vol.6*. (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).

Lydon, James (ed.)

1984 *The English in medieval Ireland*. (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy).

Mackensie, J.L. - R.Todd (eds)

1989 *In other words. Transcultural studies in philology, translation,and lexicology presented to Hans Heinrich Meier on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*. (Dordrecht: Foris).

Martin, Francis Xavier

1967 'The Anglo-Norman invasion (1169-1300)', in Moody and Martin (eds) 123-143.

McIntosh, Angus and Michael Samuels

1968 'Prolegomena to a study of mediæval Anglo-Irish', *Medium Aevum* 37: 1-11.

Meisel, Jürgen (ed.)

1979 *Pidgins - creoles - languages in contact*. (Tübingen: Narr).

Moody, Theodore and Francis Xavier Martin (eds)

1967 *The course of Irish history*. (Cork: Mercier).

Moody, Theodore, Francis Xavier Martin and Francis.Byrne (eds)

1976 *A new history of Ireland. Vol.3: Early Modern Ireland (1534-1691)*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Ó Cuív, Brian (ed.)

1975 *The impact of the Scandinavian invasions on the Celtic-speaking peoples c.800-1100 A.D.*. (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies).

O'Muirithe, Diarmuid

1977 'The Anglo-Normans and their English dialect of South-East Wexford', in O'Muirithe (ed.), 37-55.

1990 'A modern glossary of the dialect of Forth and Bargy', in Dolan (ed.), 149-162.

O'Muirithe, Diarmuid (ed.)

1977   *The English language in Ireland*. (Cork: Mercier).

O'Rahilly, Cecile
1924   *Ireland and Wales. Their historical and literary relations*. (London: Longmans, Green and Co.).

O'Rahilly, Thomas F.
1926   'Notes on Middle Irish pronunciation', *Hermathena* 44:152-195.
1957   *The two Patricks. A lecture on the history of Christianity in fifth-century Ireland*. (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies).
1976 [1932]   *Irish dialects past and present*. 2nd edition. (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies).

Orpen, G. H.
1892   *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press). Otway-Ruthven, A.J.
1968   *A history of medieval Ireland*. (London: Ernest Benn).

Rickard, Peter
1974   *A history of the French language*. (London: Hutchinson).

Risk, Henry
1968-1971 'French loan-words in Irish (i)', *Études Celtiques* 12: 585-655.
1974   'French loan-words in Irish (ii)', *Études Celtiques* 14: 67-98.

Rockel, Martin
1989   *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der irischen Sprache*. (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften).

Rothwell, William
1975-1976 'The role of French in thirteenth century England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 58: 445-466.

Rothwell, William - et al.
1992   *Anglo-Norman dictionary*. (London: The Modern Humanities Research Association).

Seymour, St John D.
1970 [1929] *Anglo-Irish literature 1200-1582*. (Cambridge: University Press). Shields, Hugh
1975-1976 'The Walling of New Ross', *Long Room* 12-13: 24-33.

Sommerfelt, Alf
1975   'The Norse influence on Irish and Scottish Gaelic' in o̜ Cuív (ed.) 73-77.

Stanyhurst, Richard
1808 [1586] 'A treatise containing a plaine and perfect description of Ireland...', (London). *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland in 6 Vols. 6:Ireland*.

Steele, Robert
1898   *Three prose versions of the Secreta Secretorum. I: Text and glossary*. (London: Trübner). *Early English Text Society, Extra Series No.74*.

Stenson, Nancy
1990   'Patterns of mutation in Irish loanwords', *Éigse* 24: 9-2.

Thomason, Sarah - Kaufman, Thomas
1988   *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press).

Thurneysen, Rudolf
1946   *A grammar of Old Irish*. (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies).

Trotter, D.A.
1994   'L'anglo-français au pays de galles: une enquête préliminaire', *Revue de*

Linguistique Romane 58: 461-487.

Vallancey, Charles
      1787-1788 'Memoir of the language, manners, and customs of an Anglo-Saxon colony settled in the baronies of Forth and Bargie, in the County of Wexford, Ireland, in 1167', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 2: 19-41.

Vising, Johann
      1923   *Anglo-Norman language and literature*. (Oxford: University Press).

Watt, John
      1972   *The church in medieval Ireland. Gill History of Ireland, Vol.5*. (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).

Zettersten, Arne
      1967   *The virtues of herbs in the Loscombe manuscript. A contribution to Anglo-Irish language and literature*. (Lund: Gleerup).