

A Possible Substrate Feature in Some Celtic and Gallo-Romance Bird Names

Anders Richardt Jørgensen

University of Copenhagen/Uppsala University

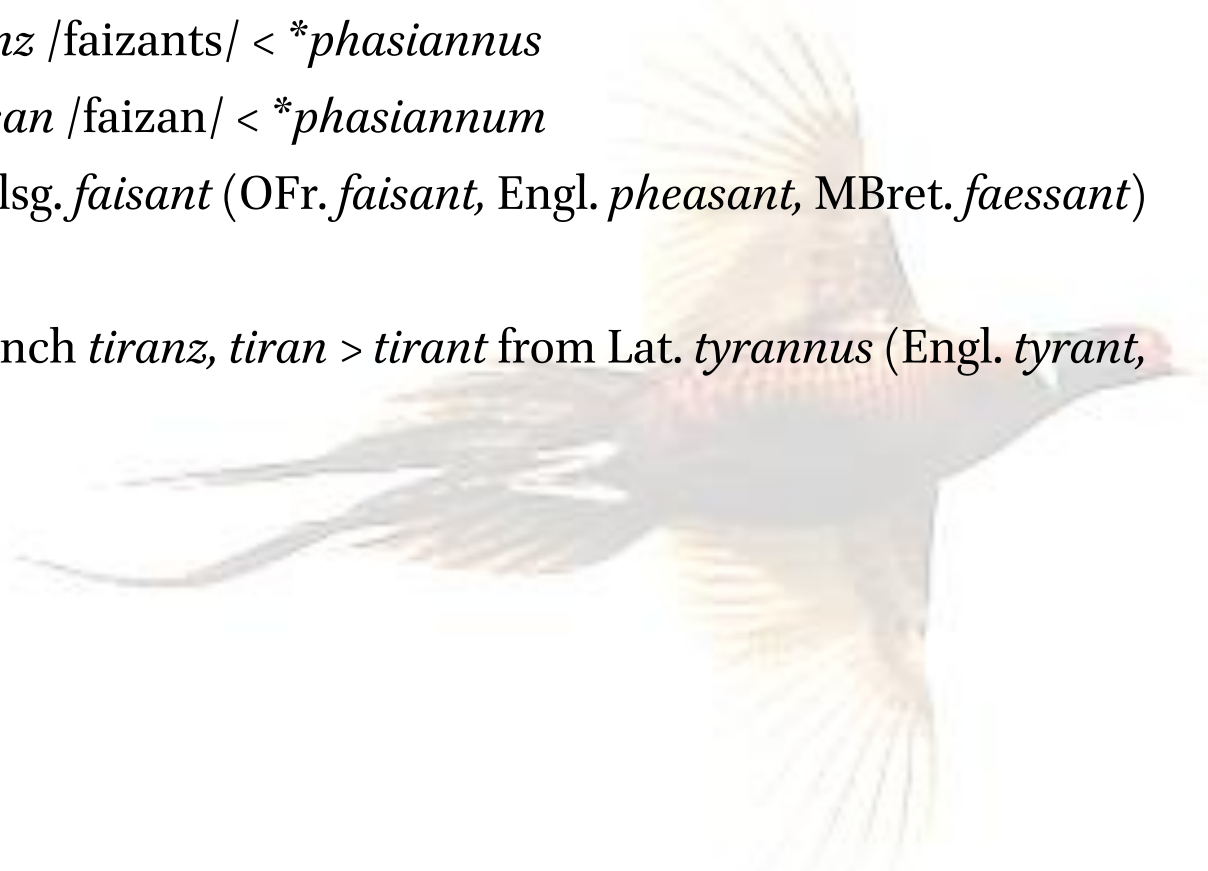
Gallo-Romance *-*annus*?

- Georg Cohn, *Die Suffixwandlungen im Vulgärlatein und im vorlitterarischen Französisch*, 1891, p. 139-144
- Old French *faisan(t)* 'pheasant' < Lat. *phasiānus*
- However, Old French ***faisien* < *phasiānus*
- Rather Old French *faisan(t)* requires Latin **phasiannus*



Gallo-Romance *-*annus*?

- Latin **phasiannus* better explains the attested forms
- Old French as if from idealized paradigm (regular **-nnVs* > OFr. *-nz* /*-nts*/)
 - Nsg. *faisanz* /*faizants*/ < **phasiannus*
 - Oblsg. *faisan* /*faizan*/ < **phasiannum*
 - new Oblsg. *faisant* (OFr. *faisant*, Engl. *pheasant*, MBret. *faessant*)
- Just like Old French *tiranz*, *tiran* > *tirant* from Lat. *tyrannus* (Engl. *tyrant*, MBret. *tirant*)

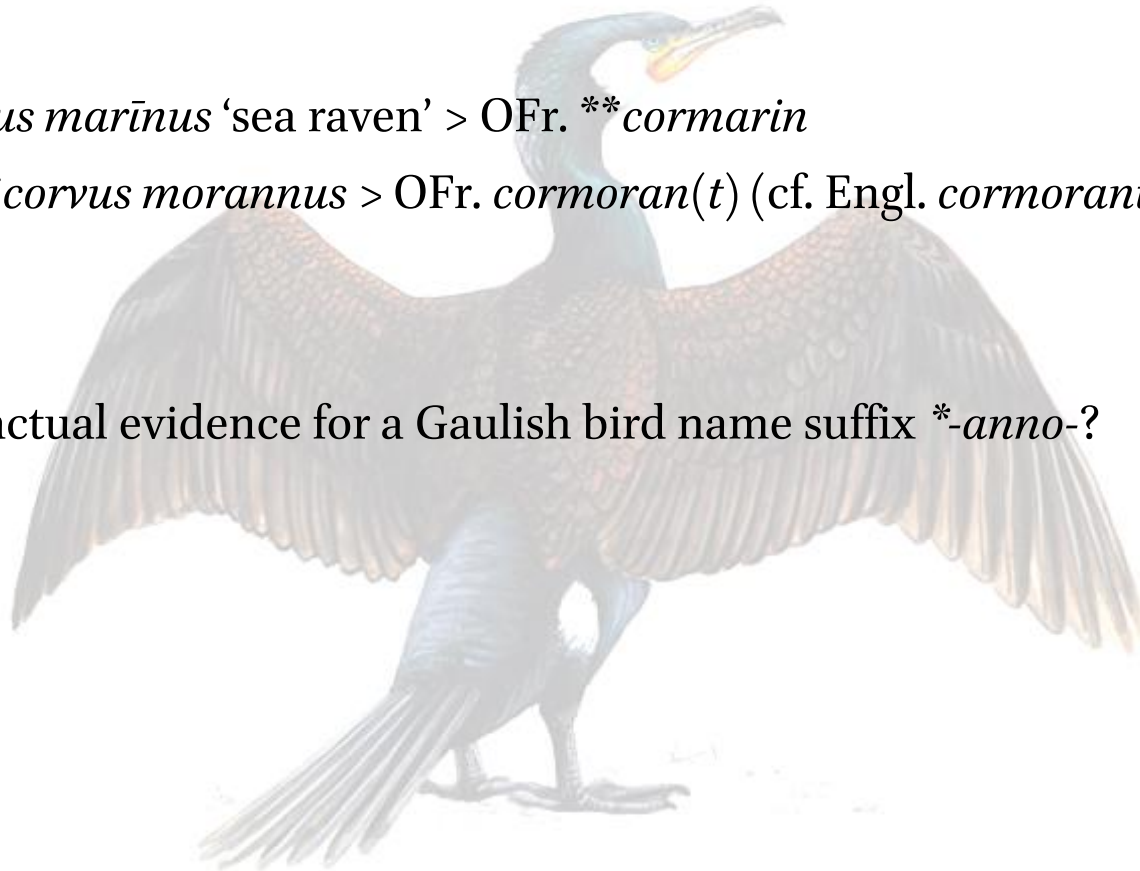


Gallo-Romance *-*annus*?

- Why **phasiannus* instead of *phasiānus*?
- Cohn: influence from Gaulish bird names *-*annos* as seen in LLat. *cavannus* ‘owl’ ← Gaulish
- Many bird names happen to end in -*an*, -*ant*, -*and* in French
- Cohn also gives *halbran*, *chouan*, *galerand*, *cravan*, *bréant/bruant*, *berclan*, *gabian*, *gavian*, *gabrian*, *guan*. Many with unclear etymology, bit of a mess.

Gallo-Romance *-*annus*?

- However, *faisan*(*t*) might just be borrowed from Occ. *faisan*
- Lat. *corvus marīnus* 'sea raven' > OFr. ***cormarin*
- Instead **corvus morannus* > OFr. *cormoran*(*t*) (cf. Engl. *cormorant*)
- Is there actual evidence for a Gaulish bird name suffix *-*anno*-?



Celtic *-anno-?

- **kaṽanno-* ‘owl’ (SBCHP **kuṽannV-*, **kouannV-*, EDPC **kaṽan(n)o-*)
- Irish –
- Gaulish → LLat. *cavannus* (5th c.+) > OMModFr. *chouan*, *chavan*, *chat-huant*, etc.
- MW *Cuan Cwm Kawlwyt* (1x, Culhwch ac Olwen), ModW *cuan* (Lhuyd, Pughe)
- Cornish –
- Vannetais *cohann*, but MBret. *couhenn*, ModBret. *kaouenn*



Celtic **gulbanno-*?

- **gulbanno-* ‘sparrow’ (George **gulbano-*)
- Irish – (Mlr. *gelbann*, *gealbhonn* /g’elβəN/ (DIL G-60), probably borrowed from the (S)WBrit. pl. **gölβenn* or maybe unattested W **gylfan*).
- Gaulish –
- Welsh – (ModW *golfan* ‘house-sparrow’ is a learned borrowing from Old Cornish)
- OCorn. *goluan* (VC 513; final /-nn/ spelled <-n> in VC)
- Vann. *golvann*, CMBret. *goluan*, LMBret., ModLTK *golven(n)*



Celtic **uailanno*-?

- **uailanno*- ‘(sea-)gull’ (SBCHP **uailanV*-)
- OIr. *foilenn*, *fail*- /foɪl’ənn/, /faiɫ’ənn/ (*foilan* 1x) ‘a sea-gull’, MIr. with *-nd*-
- Gaulish –
- MW *gwylan*, pl. *gwylein* ‘gull; fair maiden’, likely borrowed from SWBrit. (**uailan*- expected to give W ***gwaelan*, SBCHP)
- OCorn. *guilan* ‘seagull’ (VC 507); LCorn. *gullan* (→ MEng. *gulle*, ModEng. *gull*)
- OBret. *guilannou* gl. fulice (DGVB 191)
- MBret. *goelann*, Vann. *gouilann*, ModLTK *gouelen(n)* (→ Fr. *goéland*)



Celtic **giguranno-*?

- **giguranno-* ‘barnacle goose’ (US **gegurannā*, Hamp **gigeranV-*, SBCHP **gigurano-*)
 - OIr. *gigrann*, *giugran* /g’iγrənn/
 - MW *gwyrann*, pl. *gwyrein* ‘barnacle goose’
 - Cornish –
 - OBret. *goirann*, ?*Caer Gurannet* (CL)
 - Breton –
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- **-anno-* based on OBret. *goirann* (Old Breton/Old Irish/Old Welsh glosses on Priscian’s *Institutio grammatica* in BN ms lat. 10290)
 - These glosses almost always spell /-Vn/ <-Vn> and /-Vnn/ as <-Vnn>



Celtic *-anno- or *-ano-?

- I have reconstructed *-anno- (*-annā) in all these instances
 - *ka_uanno- ‘owl’
 - *gulbanno- ‘sparrow’
 - *_uailanno- ‘(sea-)gull’
 - ?*giguranno- ‘barnacle goose’
- We also see reconstructions with *-ano- for some of these in the literature.
- Irish: MacNeill’s Law means both *-n- and *-nn- possible in *giugrann* and *foilenn*, but palatalization in *foilenn* works better with *_uailenno- < *_uailanno-.
- Welsh: very early post-tonic -Vnn > -Vn
- Vocabularium Cornicum spells /-Vnn/ as <-Vn>, merger in Middle Cornish.

The Breton material

- This leaves us with the Breton material
- Classical Middle Breton: distinction between post-tonic *-Vnn* and *-Vn*, spelling (not quite reliable) and rhyme (reliable but none of our words are attested in poetry)
- Late Middle Breton and Modern LTK: reduction of post-tonic *-Vnn* > *-Vn*
- Vannetais: preserved distinction due to final stress, shows *-ann*.
- But what about the vocalism in Middle and Modern LTK Breton *-enn*, *-en* in *kaouenn*, *golven*, *gouelen*?

Middle Breton *-ann* > *-en(n)*

- What causes *-ann* to become *-en(n)* in these words?
- Attraction to the singulative suffix *-enn*?
- No, looks like an actual sound change:
 - **kəμ-rann* (MW *kyfran*) > MBret. *queffrann* > *queffrenn*, LTK *kevrenn* ‘part’
 - **trɪdɪ(ð)-rann* (Vann. *terderann*) > MBret. *trederann* > *trederenn* ‘a third’
 - **gwur-ylann* (lit. ‘on the shore’) > MBret. *gourlann* > *gourlen(n)* ‘alguae left by the tide’
 - **gwur-yrann* (cpd. with **grann*, lit. ‘over-bristle’) > **gourrann* > ModBret. *gourren(n)* ‘eyebrow’
 - **jouann* (Vann. *Yoann*, W *Ieuan* < Lat. *Io(h)annes*) > MBret. *Youhen*, ModBret. *Youen* pers. name
 - ? (Vann. *rohann*, MW *rhychwant*) > **rouhann* > MBret. *rouhenn*, ModBret. *raouhen(n)* ‘span’
 - **glas-tann* (OCorn. *glastannen*) > MBret. *glastann-enn* > *glastenn-enn* ‘a holm oak’
 - **a-han-ann* (cf. OIr. *and* ‘there’?) > MBret. *ahanann* > *ahanen[n]*, *ahalenn* ‘from here’

Modern Breton *-en(n)*

- Words in final unstressed **-ann*:
- Always /a/ in Welsh, Cornish and Vannetais (final stress)
- Observable sound change *-ann > -en(n)* in the course of MBret.

			Middle Breton					
PBret. reconstruction	Wel/Cor	Vann.	Plays	Cms.	Ca.	Cb.	17th c.	ModLTK
<i>*kəμ-rann</i> 'part'	/a/		/a/	/a/	/a/	/a/	/e/	/e/
<i>*tridi(ð)-rann</i> 'a third'		/a/	/a/				/e/	/e/
<i>*gḡur-yrann</i> 'eyebrows'							/e/	
<i>*glas-tann</i> 'holm oak'	/a/			/a/	/a/	/e/		
<i>*gḡur-ylann</i> 'algae'		/a/		/a/	/e/	/e/		/e/
<i>*rVxuann</i> 'span'	/a/	/a/			/e/	/e/		/e/
<i>*a-han-ann</i> 'from here'			/a/					/e/
<i>*kouann</i> 'owl'	/a/	/a/		/e/	/e/		/e/	/e/
<i>*gḡuwlann</i> 'gull'	/a/	/a/		/a/	/a/			/e/
<i>*gulβann</i> 'sparrow'	/a/	/a/		/a/	/a/	/a/	/e/	/e/

*-*an* > Modern Breton -*an*

This never happens with older *-*an*

- PBrit. **garan* ‘crane’ (PCelt. **garano-*) > MModBret. *garan* ‘instrument used for making grooves in a barrels; the groove itself’
- Not in **luμan* ‘rope’ (OIr. *loman*) > MBret. *louffan*, ModBret. *louan*
- PBrit. **ldan* ‘wide’ (PCelt. **litano-*) > MModBret. *ledan*,
- PBret. **bixan* > MModBret. *bihan*
- Not in diminutives in *-*an*: *korrigan* ‘goblin’, *amprevan* ‘insect’, etc.
- Not in verbal nouns in *-*μan*: **uɪl-μan*, **küin-μan* > MModBret. *gouelvan*, *keinvan* ‘weeping’
- Regular sound change (around 1400-1450 AD):
 Post-tonic -*ann* > -*enn* (> -*en*) in Middle and Modern LTK Breton
- Supports the Brittonic reconstruction *-*ann* for the bird names

Celtic *-*anno*-?

- So three fairly solid reconstructions and one possible:

**ka_uanno-* ‘owl’

**gulbanno-* ‘sparrow’

**u_ailanno-* ‘(sea-)gull’

? **giguranno-* ‘barnacle goose’

- Can we add more instances of *-*anno*-?

Celtic **baranno-*?

- **barann-īko-/ā* ‘barnacle, limpet’
- ModIr. *bairneach* ‘barnacles, limpets’
- W *brennig* ‘limpets’
- LCorn. *brennik*
- Bret. *brennig*, dial. (K) *berennig*, *birinnig* ‘limpets’ → OMModFr. *bernicle* ‘limpet; barnacle goose’ (→ Engl. *barnacle*)
- Not a bird name, but common belief that ‘barnacle → barnacle goose’ (FEW 20:2, White 1945: 205-207)
- So maybe **barann-īko-* ‘barnacle goose’?
- However, if Ir. *bairenn* ‘large stone; rocky district’ is the basis, rather **barinno-* to explain palatalization and hence **barinnīko-*.

Gallo-Romance **krabanno-*?

- *?*krabanno-* ‘barnacle; barnacle goose’ (**kraganno-* FEW 2:1266)
- MModWFr. (Vendée, Saint.) *cravan* ‘barnacles; barnacle goose’
- Same as previous
- However, late attestation and limited distribution calls for caution.
- Risk of cherry-picking among the mass of modern Gallo-Romance dialect words.

Celtic *-*anno*-?

- Does it make sense to speak of a “suffix” -*anno*-?
 - **ka_uanno*- ‘owl’
 - **gulbanno*- ‘sparrow’
 - **u_ailanno*- ‘(sea-)gull’
 - ? **giguranno*- ‘barnacle goose’
 - ? **barann-īko*- ‘barnacle goose’
 - ? **krabanno*- ‘barnacle goose’
- Look for forms without *-*anno*- or with a different suffix

Celtic *-anno-?

- **kauanno-* ‘owl’
- GRom. **kaŭa* ‘owl’ > OMFr. *choue*, dimin. *chouette* (but may be secondary)
- Possibly related to Slav. **sova*, OHG *hūwo* ‘owl’ (via shared substrate or even from PIE)
- But most likely onomatopoeic (at some stage), so impossible to draw any conclusions.
- *-anno- might look like a “suffix” (the onomatopoeic part would be **kuu-*)

Celtic *-anno-?

- **gulbanno-* ‘sparrow’
- **gulbV-* > MW *gwlf* ‘beak, bill; notch at the end of an arrow’
- **gulbīno-* > OIr. *gulban* (whence MIr. *gulba?*), MW *gylfin*, OCorn. *geluin* ‘beak’
- **gulbū* or **gulbio-* > MW *gylf* ‘sharp-pointed instrument; beak’
- Semantics ‘beak-bird’ of **gulb-anno-* appealing, cf. e.g. Norman Fr. [grɔ bɛ(k)] ‘sparrow’, lit. ‘thick-beak’, ALF 866, Channel Islands.
- PIE status of **gulbV-* uncertain (EDPC: “probably borrowed from some non-IE language”; likewise Derksen EDBalt., comparing Lith. *gulbìs* ‘swan’, OPruss. *gulbis*, ComSlav. **kǫlbъ*).
- **-anno-* looks like a “suffix” here as well.

Celtic *-anno-?

- **uailanno-* ‘(sea-)gull’
- Possibly derived from PCelt. **uailo-* (Mlr *fael* ‘wolf’), cf. Arm. *gayl* ‘wolf’ (SBCHP)
- Makes sense if original meaning of PCelt. **uailo-* ‘wailer’ < PIE **u_{ai}-lo-*
- Semantics then ‘wailer-bird’
- *-anno- then looks like a “suffix” here as well, but to an inherited root
- On the other hand Matasović (2012: 157, fn. 4) on list of substratal words.

Celtic *-*anno*-?

- ?**giguranno*- ‘barnacle goose’
- Maybe related to **gigdo*- ‘goose’ within a substrate framework (Stifter, p.c.)
- If accepted, *-*anno*- looks like a “suffix” here as well
- Irrespective of this, **gigur*- most likely onomatopoeic, but that leaves the second half.

Origin of *-*anno*-

- So if there is a bird name suffix *-*anno*-, where is it from?
- *-*anno*- (Goid. *-*enno*-) difficult to generate from PIE to Proto-Celtic
- Most straightforward PIE *-*nd*(^h)*no*-, *-*nd*(^h)*o*- lead nowhere.
- A *-*nt-no*- might work morphologically (animal names in *-*nt*-?), but phonology without parallels
- If *-*asno*- also gives Goid. *-*enno*- (unstressed position?), a compound with a PIE **p₂t(h₂)-s-no*- 'bird' > *-*anno*- might work
- But this morphologically and phonologically completely *ad hoc*

A substrate origin of **-anno-*?

- We are left with an unexplained Celtic **-anno-* in a number of bird names
- **-anno-* is attached to “roots” of unclear origin
- Bird names in a semantic field where substrate vocabulary (or just plain loan words) would not be surprising
- So at least a possibility, that **-anno-* is from a substrate language
- At least until a probable PIE source is identified

Conclusion

- Some evidence for a Celtic **-anno-* specifically in bird names: **kauanno-* ‘owl’, **gulbanno-* ‘sparrow’, **uailanno-* ‘(sea-)gull’, ?**giguranno-* ‘barnacle goose’, ?**barann-iko-* ‘barnacle goose’, ?**krabanno-* ‘barnacle goose’
- Reconstruction **-anno-* secured by the combined evidence, esp. Breton (with a regular sound change of post-tonic *-ann* > *-enn* in the course of Middle Breton)
- Possible that **-anno-* comes from a Pre-Celtic substrate language, as a “suffix” or nominal classifier carried over into Celtic with the borrowed words.
- Suffix does not look like it is from PIE at least
- Possibility *exists* that Gaulish **-anno-* was strong enough to affect Northern Gallo-Romance, as a second layer of substrate. But still very uncertain.

