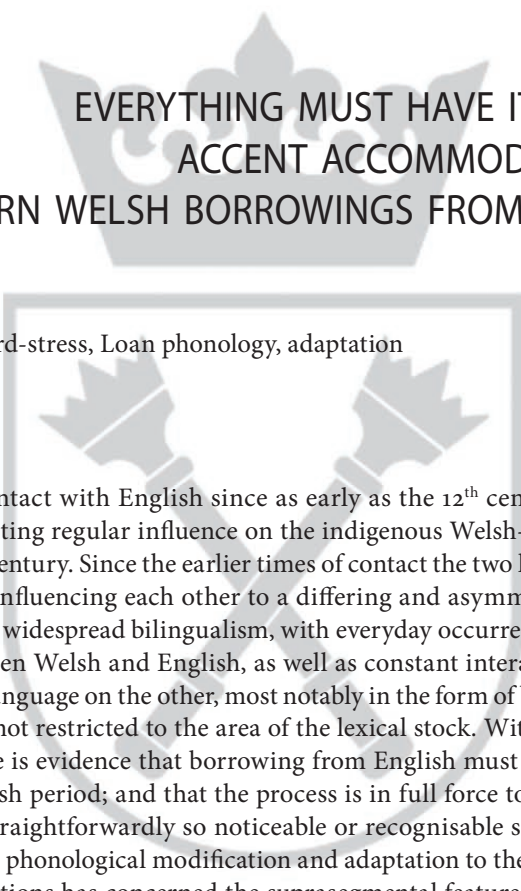


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EVERYTHING MUST HAVE ITS PLACE: ACCENT ACCOMMODATION IN MODERN WELSH BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH

Keywords: Welsh, word-stress, Loan phonology, adaptation

Abstract

Wales has been in contact with English since as early as the 12th century, with the English language exerting regular influence on the indigenous Welsh-language community since the 14th century. Since the earlier times of contact the two languages have interacted, mutually influencing each other to a differing and asymmetrical degree. The situation is that of widespread bilingualism, with everyday occurrences of natural code-switching between Welsh and English, as well as constant interaction and mutual influence of one language on the other, most notably in the form of borrowing and substratum patterns, not restricted to the area of the lexical stock. Within the lexical sphere, however, there is evidence that borrowing from English must have begun as early as the Old English period; and that the process is in full force today. The older borrowings are not straightforwardly so noticeable or recognisable since they have undergone substantial phonological modification and adaptation to the native system. One of these modifications has concerned the suprasegmental feature of word stress. The adaptation of Anglicisms at the segmental level has been investigated before, while the accent accommodation to the Welsh pattern has only occasionally been noticed or commented upon. And yet, since there exists a systemic difference between the two phonological systems in that in English the word-accent is quantity sensitive, whereas in Welsh it is fixed (mostly) to the penultimate syllable, one can expect a considerable amount of conflicting points and necessary adjustments to eliminate illicit metrical structure. The research into these issues appears to suggest that we cannot talk about mechanical inclusion of borrowed words into the word-stress pattern functioning in Modern Welsh, as will hopefully become clear after examination of the data set. It is to such issues that this paper is going to be devoted.

0. Introduction

Various types of emergent patterns are observed in loanword phonological adaptation (Kang 2011), yet not much research so far has focused on the tendencies in suprasegmental adjustments. This paper is an attempt to partially fill this gap by investigating certain more or less universal preferences for adjusting loans in terms of (word) stress assignment.

As succinctly expressed by Phillips (2007: 168), present-day spoken Welsh is changing quickly, with several (cross-linguistically) salient features becoming recessive in the spoken language of the present day:

A closer look at Welsh, though, reveals grounds for concern: the language is changing, becoming more like the English in which almost all Welsh speakers are now fluent. Lexical borrowing, calquing, perhaps incipient metatypy, mean that the language of many younger speakers is very different to that of the oldest generation. (Phillips 2007: 154)

This, obviously, is hardly a trend confined to the situation of Welsh speakers. Geographical proximity to England and the fact that English is the language of daily communication for many Welshmen, provide continual occasions for contact situations to occur. The result of these will be linguistic interference which may manifest itself in a number of ways, not the most infrequent of these being lexical interference, i.e. borrowing.

The most general definition of linguistic borrowing or interference is the exchange of linguistic material between two varieties of speech, mainly two languages. Therefore, “loanwords” are items borrowed from one language to another, which, on the way from the donor language (DL) to the borrowing language (BL), undergo a series of adaptation processes to make them conform to the grammar of the host language. Thus, in the recipient language new items or patterns are introduced, such as previously have been attested only in the source system. As pointed out by Fisiak (1962: 286; after Haugen 1950), such novel formations may be taken over without any changes, in which case we deal with *importations*, or, alternatively, they may become nativised (or adapted) on several levels and thus we talk about *substitutions*. In the phonology, it means observing the structural constraints relating to all facets of phonological structure, and thus reflecting the segmental, phonotactic, suprasegmental and the morphophonological restrictions of the borrower.

Calabrese (2009: 66–67) explains the idea more specifically, discussing two prevailing possibilities that present themselves when the conditions under which linguistic borrowing occurs lead to the formation of loanwords:

Assume two languages L1 and L2. L1 is the borrowing language and L2 the loaning language. Borrowing occurs when a speaker of L1 “borrows” a word of L2 to fill a lexical gap in L1. The reasons for this lexical gap can be many: lexical or cultural innovation may introduce objects or actions that do not have a name in L1; certain words may be felt as non-prestigious; certain words may simply be unknown, or just forgotten; new words may be created for playing, etc. In any case, there are two possible scenarios in which borrowing occurs:

- I: A speaker is bilingual in L1 and L2. A lexical gap in L1 is filled in by taking a word from L2. The speaker retrieves the underlying representation of this word from his L2 mental dictionary [...] and generates its surface representation while speaking in L1. If the surface representation of the word is generated by using the phonological, or more generally the grammatical, system of L2, the word is pronounced as in L2. There are no adjustments or adaptations. However, if the surface representation of the word is generated by using the phonological, or more generally the grammatical, system of L1, the word undergoes adaptations and adjustments. It is nativized according to the L1 grammar [...].
- II: The speaker of L1 does not know L2 well. He fills a lexical gap in L1 by learning the relevant word from a L2 speaker. Once the learned word will be uttered publicly or even silently, it becomes a loanword. Given that the speaker does not speak L2 well, the word will display adjustments and adaptations. There are two possible hypotheses to account for this. The first is that during perception and learning, the acoustic of the nonnative segments is faithfully mapped into abstract featural representations [...] then modified during production. The second is that the modifications already occur during perception and learning.

1. Phonological adaptation of borrowings

From the very beginning of cross-linguistic studies, some authors have tried to sketch valid classifications for borrowing and interference. Some have come up with some fairly interesting proposals. One of the types involves classifications according to the level or sub-system of the target/receiving language affected by a given fact of interference (Gomez Capuz 1997: 82–83). Thus, Clyne (in Gomez Capuz 1997) proposes a typological classification of interference and distinguishes eight categories in relation to the eight levels of any given linguistic system: phonological borrowing, prosodic borrowing, graphematic borrowing, morphemic borrowing (transference of bound morphemes), morphological borrowing (transference of morphological patterns), semantic borrowing (transference of sememes), lexical borrowing (transference of lexemes), and syntactic borrowing (transference of syntactic rules) (Gomez Capuz 1997: 83). Among these, phonetic or graphic phenomena are to be subordinated to “lexical borrowing” when they are found within loanwords. Independently, formal phonological borrowings originate following well-known features of a prestigious foreign language, usually English, in a third language, e.g. the pronunciation of lexical units from the Latin *sine die* is turned into [sain dai] by way of French broadcasting.

Several factors are at play when adaptation of borrowings from the donor to the host language takes place. The primary one of these is the different grammars that the two language systems may possess. Adjustments are also dependent on perception, phonetic and local variation, level of bilingualism, orthography and the degree of integration. The pivotal variable appears to be the perception of borrowers, who try to mimic the original phonetic form of the loan. Yip (2006) proposes a model explaining loanword adaptation:

- (1) L2 source → Perceptual module → Non-native percept → L1 grammar → Adapted loanword

Thus, the new, adapted phonological shape of the borrowed word depends largely on the grammar of the borrowing language, to the effect that the phonetic surface form is adjusted closer to original forms of the host rather than the donor language. The degree of substitution is also crucially related to the perceived prestige of the donor language, which, if considered prestigious, demands retaining the near-original sound structure, with mispronunciations or variant adaptations seen as symptoms of ignorance or excessive carelessness. Kertész (2006: 14) enumerates a series of non-phonological or even non-linguistic factors that can influence the processes of adaptation: the role of “spelling pronunciation” (especially when shifting from one alphabetic system to another), the frequency of use – how frequently an item is used or how long it has been around in the language; age groups; the linguistic environment of a speaker (individual mono- and bilingualism). Finally, she mentions *paradigm uniformity*: sometimes the presence of a foreign feature in an element can only be explained by the behaviour of another member of its paradigm, which already contains the given feature (Kertész 2006: 14). This will prove a fruitful way of looking at some examples from the data set. The general regularity which transpires from the emergent patterns seems to be that “elements that are not part of the native core vocabulary (like mimetic words and borrowings) are allowed to violate certain constraints” (Kertész 2006: 12).

If indeed the role of perception in loanword phonology is acknowledged, it must be viewed as closely related to phonetic approximation or similarity between the outputs of the donor and the recipient languages, consisting in the replacement operation between the non-native element and the native one and defined as “acoustic proximity or proximity in the sense of fine-grained articulatory gestures” (Calabrese 2009: 69). Consequently, illicit configurations, blocked by active constraints in the native language grammar, must be adjusted and repaired to produce an acceptable, nativised representation. At all times, it is doubtless that all aspects of non-native phonological structure, including segments, prosodic, and syllable phonotactics, are systematically distorted during speech perception and, therefore, need to be adjusted to native phonology (Calabrese 2009: 74).

Since this paper will not investigate all aspects of loanword phonology, let us concentrate on the pattern which appears to be most relevant to the cases of prosodic adaptation, namely what Kang (2011) refers to as the *retreat to the unmarked*.¹ Loans seem to behave differently according to their degree of integration into the borrowing language. Thus, in the case of what have been considered well-integrated loanwords, the L1 (host) grammar takes over nearly completely and consequently, the borrowings are transformed according to the phonological constraints of L1, with complete disregard to the items’ original segmental make-up, length of vowels or

¹ Kang enumerates five distinct categories of regular patterns emerging in segmental loanword phonology. It is my belief that the fifth category, explained by recourse to UG default settings, can be perceived as relevant for borrowed accent accommodation.

consonants or the stress pattern. Thus, loanwords are transformed into an unmarked form, which in the case of stress assignment is demonstrated by assuming a default accent assignment pattern, the most general occurring in the language. This may be at least partially explained, as Kang (2011) argues, not through the influence of native grammar, but rather by the default setting of Universal Grammar.

2. Stress assignment in loanwords from English – a survey of tendencies

Stress assignment in loanwords has been studied in a number of languages. These studies generally suggest two possible outcomes for loanword stress assignment (Friesner 2009: 121):

- (2) A. maintenance of stress position from the source language or
- B. adaptation to the unmarked stress position of the recipient language.

In terms of a core-periphery model mentioned earlier, these two possibilities could be restated as non-adaptation and full adaptation.

Friesner (2009: 122) points out, however, that even an impressionistic look at the data from numerous language pairs paints a more complex picture, some examples constitute neither non-adaptation, nor full adaptation; therefore other possible intervening factors must be decisive here, such as the presence of secondary stress in the source form, analogy with other lexical items in the native vocabulary of the recipient language, or the need for loanwords to adhere to morphological requirements of the recipient language. When only Anglicisms are investigated, they appear to choose one or the other option of (2), at least in the languages of Europe. Görlach (2004: 6) remarks that where differences in word stress and intonation exist between English as the donor language and a borrowing language, they are likely to be carried over, affecting the pronunciation of loans and occasionally leading to phonological innovations in the borrowing language. A significant factor deciding for or against retaining the pronunciation close to the original is the age of the loan: in the cases examined older loans tend to be fully assimilated, while more recent (also more specialised) loanwords normally retain their (nearly) English pronunciation.

Before any investigation of the situation pertaining to accentual (non-)adaptation of items borrowed from English into Welsh is attempted, a brief commentary on the stress assignment patterns found in both systems is worth recalling.

3. Accentual patterns of English (DL) and Welsh (BL)

Without going into detailed explanations of the category of lexical word-accent,² let us observe first that the two interacting languages belong to separate typological

² See, however, a rather matter-of-fact presentation of these issues in Buczek-Zawiła (2012) and works cited there.

groups as far as stress placement is effected: English is a *variable stress language* while Welsh is one of many *fixed accent languages* (Buczek-Zawiła 2012: 76–77). Apart from that, the two languages differ additionally in the application of phonetic clues to word stress.

3.1. English variable stress

Van der Hulst, Hendriks and van de Weijer (1999: 426) describe the accent system for underived words in English in the following fashion: “a quantity-sensitive system with bounded, trochaic feet which are assigned from the right word edge, final extrametrical syllables, and main accent on the head of the rightmost foot”. The quantity-sensitive nature of English stress accent manifests itself in placing the stress on the antepenultimate syllable when the penult is open and contains a simple vocalic nucleus (a short vowel), whereas the penultimate syllable receives stress if it is closed or contains a complex (long) vocalic melody. Stress assignment is then sensitive to the weight of syllables within words. In derived words, on the other hand, the major distinction bearing significance to accent assignment is the one between “accent-sensitive” (Class I) and “accent-neutral” (Class II) affixes. Accent-neutral formatives do not influence the position of the stem accent, which, occasionally, may fall outside the three-syllable window to which it is limited in simple words. The rules of accentuation in derived words with accent-sensitive (class I) formatives remain the same as those in underived words. In nominal compounds primary accent usually falls on the first member (van der Hulst et al. 1999: 427).

A brief summary of the facts outlined above is offered in van der Hulst (2010: 445):

- (3) Approximation of English stress placement
 - a. Primary stress falls on the final syllable in nouns if the vowel is long, in verbs if the vowel is long or there are two closing consonants.
 - b. In other cases, stress falls on the penult if it contains a long vowel or coda.
 - c. Otherwise stress is antepenultimate.
 - d. Secondary stress falls on alternate syllables to the left (many exceptions).

The phonetic exponents of word accent in English will be discussed in contrast with the non-corresponding details and facts about Welsh.

3.2. Welsh fixed stress

Almost all Celtic languages have a weight-insensitive stress assignment system: in the Brythonic group it is assigned from the right word-edge. In Welsh the primary stress in the clear majority of indigenous polysyllabic words falls normally on the penultimate syllable and occasionally on the ultimate, and that happens regardless of the number of syllables a given word might have (Ball, Williams 2001: 166). Secondary stress in its turn, being merely the rhythmic prominence, occurs in words of four or more syllables as well as in trisyllabic ones provided they are end-stressed. A special feature of Welsh is though that the final syllable, and not the stressed penultimate,

is pronounced with the most prominent pitch movement and with much greater force (than in English, for instance) (van der Hulst et al. 1999: 445). This inherent high pitch, which is the effect of the post-apocopy accent shift during the Old Welsh period is also carried over into the Welsh accent of English. Technically, that involves a high degree of pitch movement on an unaccented post-tonic syllable as well as a high degree of independence as for pitch in unaccented, pre-tonic positions (Penhalluric 2004: 115).

As discussed in Ball and Williams (2001: 171), the higher pitch of the Welsh ultima has long been noted, even if auditorily at first. They provide a detailed account of how these auditory impressions have been confirmed instrumentally. It has also been underlined that not every final syllable is marked by the higher pitch, the regularity is nonetheless so prevalent that it deserves to be classified as more than a simple tendency. It is most regular in “the speech that occurs before the nuclear syllable” (Ball, Williams 2001: 172). A spectrogram shown below³ demonstrates the higher pitch on the final syllable of the word *Morien* (as in a phrase *Morien Morgan o Aberpennar*).

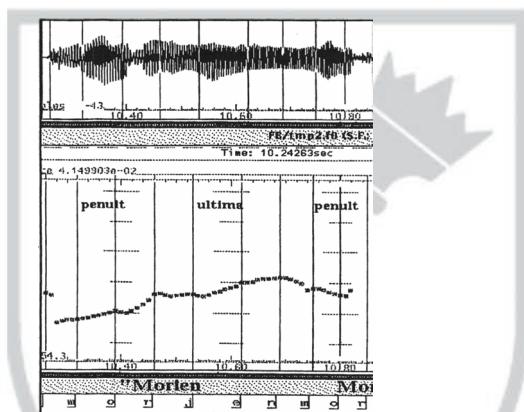


Fig. 1. A spectrogram of the word *Morien* (Ball, Williams 2001: 173)

It has also been pointed out that this word pitch prominence occurs as if independently of sentence intonation, which is true also when the two, stress and pitch collocate.

Ball and Williams (2001: 169) enumerate the typical acoustic phenomena correlated with word stress:

- (4) Stress involves:
 - a. Higher F_0 on the stressed syllable
 - b. Greater duration of the stressed vowel
 - c. Greater loudness of the stressed vowel
 - d. More peripheral (less schwa-like) realization of the stressed vowel

³ The spectrogram originally comes from the relatively recently-collected speech data base of Williams, here it follows Ball and Williams (2001: 173).

Of these, perceptibly only the vowel loudness can be used as a phonetic cue of stress in the accented penultima. F_0 and stress perception do not seem to be correlated in Welsh, and longer duration is not a reliable cue (Williams 1999: 323; Ball, Williams 2001: 169). An intonational rise or fall cannot be equated with stress – quite unlike in English. As Williams (1999: 323–324) writes: “A stressed penult may contain a vowel that is shorter and less intense than the following ultima, but in which stress is signaled by F_0 configuration and segmental cues such as post-stress consonant lengthening.” This contrasts significantly with English, where the accented vowel is typically both longer and more intense in comparison to unstressed syllables in the same word. The F_0 peak in English would be a direct cue to stress, in Welsh, however, the peak is characteristically associated with the final syllable, giving a somewhat special status (Buczek-Zawiła 2003). Additionally, the situation becomes even more complex when we take into account the fact that the distribution of schwa in Welsh does not accord with the distribution of stress: unlike in English, this vowel may appear in any syllable except for the final, while the stress accent typically resides in the penultimate. Thus, due to the aforementioned accent shift, it is possible to find the schwa in the stressed syllable – hence the cue specified in (4d) is not applicable in this system. All this contributes to a situation where non-Welsh speakers frequently report their impressions of the final syllable of words to be the most prominent and most salient (Buczek-Zawiła 2003), as a function of the characteristic pitch movement – a phenomenon which helps in resisting vowel reduction (Thomas 1997).

A number of studies have been devoted to the perception of word stress in Welsh. Their findings are extensively reported in both Williams (1999) and Ball, Williams (2001). To summarise, the general claim is that the judgments given by native speakers as to the location of word stress uniformly indicate the awareness of the speakers as to the penultimate site of accent, and that is despite sometimes shorter vowel duration, lower overall amplitude and a change in F_0 of less than 10 Hz during the vowel. It has even been remarked that such judgments are a comparatively redundant procedure, as stress location in Welsh is fixed (Williams 1999: 313). The situation seems to be different when monoglot English speakers are taken into considerations, as they probably tend to seek clues for syllable salience in Welsh that they would expect in English, and that means pitch. Consequently, studies investigating the perception of Welsh word stress by non-Welsh speakers report the perceived prominence of the final rather than the penultimate syllable.

To sum up, then: “In Welsh [...] it is the phonetic realization of stress which is problematic rather than its phonological patterning; there are no phenomena such as the backshifting seen in English, since stress location is fixed” (Williams 1999: 324).

All this underlines the difficult situation encountered when novel items are imported from English and attempts at assimilation in terms of stress accommodation are undertaken by speakers. The most natural locus of lexical stress ought to be the last but one syllable, with the concomitant higher pitch in the final syllable. The problem is non-existent in monosyllables where the two elements, termed

“the stress element” and the “pitch element”⁴ (Ball, Williams 2001: 184) are both retained. This becomes evident in those instances of borrowed items which, if they do not adjust accentuation to the regular penultimate site, opt for retaining the word stress in the final syllable, particularly so if that was the original location of stress. In terms of the degree of prominence, even an unstressed final syllable may have equal prominence to the accented penultima. Additionally, as pointed out by Thomas (1997: 72), in Welsh the long vowels are characteristically found only in accented syllables, thus if length is preserved in the loan, it will naturally attract word-stress. Sometimes, however, as will be illustrated in the section below, it is the antepenultimate or even pre-antepenultimate syllable which receives or rather retains the accent. This is peculiar indeed, bearing in mind that prosodically these are the weakest positions in the word.

4. Stress accommodation in borrowing from English (DL) into Modern Welsh (BL)

Parry-Williams (1923: 11) points out that for a long time there was “a very strong feeling of prejudice against borrowing indiscriminately, arising probably from a jealous spirit which in some cases had its origin in the firm belief in the necessity or desirability of preserving the homogeneity of the Welsh vocabulary.” As he puts it, Welsh has to be seen as a language which is phonetically conservative,⁵ thus trying to maintain its segmental and other phonological properties. And yet, it seems rather natural that a foreign word that has been borrowed orally from a living language preserves, as far as possible, its original characteristic sound-value. However, various influences may be at work, and when the “foreigner” finds himself in Rome, he is generally obliged to “do as the Romans do”. Segmental trans-phonemicisation aside, in terms of prosodic features, it is the usual practice to make the word conform to the standard “rules” of change that are manifest in the borrowing language and which also comprise older loans. That would call for fixing the position of the stress accent on the site where indigenous Welsh words have it. Any unusual positions of accent may bring about changes like the suppression of unaccented (post-tonic or pre-tonic) vowels (Parry-Williams 1923: 15). The remainder of this paper will try to examine whether such regularities are substantiated by the data.

4.1. The data set

The data analysed here come from a compilation of Welsh loanwords from English, or sometimes, those that entered Welsh via English.⁶ The compilation was prepared on the basis of several sources, the primary of which was a dictionary study, where

⁴ Buczek-Zawiła (2003) proposes here names such as “prosodic” versus “melodic” stress.

⁵ In contrast to English, which had shown a progressive tendency, which is astounding in its changes and in the swiftness of them.

⁶ See Fisiak (1962) for an elaboration on the role of what he calls complex contact situations.

the abnormal position of word stress is marked. The dictionary in question is the *Geiriadur yr Academi: The Welsh Academy English-Welsh Dictionary*, edited by Griffiths and Jones and published by the University of Wales Press in 1995. Additionally, a survey of web-available papers or power-point presentations investigating the phenomena bordering on the code-switching / borrowing distinction was performed, supplemented by several sessions of listening to popular programs on *Radio Cymru* (the Welsh-medium radio station), to experientially verify certain observations. Altogether over 360 items were noted down for analysis and preliminary classification. Needless to say, only some are presented here for illustration of the observed effects. Only the words which are currently used – yet in various spheres of life – are included for investigation. The selection is intended to allow verification of actual pronunciations by native speakers, not the prescribed or desirable ones. Thus, we deal here with what can be regarded as “popular” borrowings, i.e. those that appeared orally in the colloquial language. Additionally, the “learned forms” and the easily distinguishable “international loans” (frequently disguised as neoclassical formations) have been included, since all of these may have interacted to produce the actual surface forms. The exclusion affected also calques (or loan translations), as these will naturally assume the pattern characteristic of the target language (railway \Rightarrow *rheilffordd* (rail = rheil + way = ffordd; political correctness \Rightarrow *cywirdeb gwleidyddol* – correct = *cywir*; correctness = *cywirdeb* etc.). Consequently, the analysis is based on the relatively frequently occurring forms (both everyday and scientific) that remain after the exclusions from the larger data set.

4.2. Classificatory parameters

Winter-Froemel (2008: 158) distinguishes two separate parameters on which loanwords can vary, as a result obtaining two criteria in which each of them may take two values:

- (5) A. conformity vs. non-conformity to the source language (SL) form (importation vs. substitution),
- B. conformity vs. non-conformity to the target language (TL) system.

The criteria defined both in (5A) and in (5B) inherently involve language comparison, as they rely on a comparison between SL forms and their TL equivalents, however, in (5B) a more language-internal perspective is adopted. This distinction appears to be valid when considering loanword integration in the BL. Winter-Froemel (2008: 159) proposes the following definition:

- (6) The term ‘LOANWORD INTEGRATION’ is employed to designate processes by which a borrowed word is changed from the SL form in order to obtain structures that conform to the TL.

It is our understanding (but also hers – judging by her examples) that stress accommodation is one of these integrative processes. As a result, the specific position where the word stress is located may constitute grounds for classifying the borrowing along

the lines determined by the criteria and may be seen as a more or less integrative element. Let us investigate specific examples beginning with colloquially used items.

4.3. Non-conformity with the Source Language = Conformity to the Target Language

In Welsh polysyllables the main stress falls as a rule on the last syllable but one. If one or more syllables are suffixed, the rule still applies, i.e. the stress will automatically move forward to the last syllable but one, e.g. *ffenestr / ffenestri* (pl.) 'window(s)'. In general, the flow of borrowings from the dominant language into its neighbour is considerable. The older borrowings are not so straightforwardly recognisable as they have undergone phonological adaptation and modification, which in a good number of cases involves the stress accent accommodation to the primary stress site in Welsh (Table 1 – the accented vowel is underlined), which happens in the greater number of recorded items, i.e. in over 80 cases:

English (various)	Welsh (penultimate)
gooseberry	<i>gws<u>ber</u>i</i>
post-office	<i>post<u>off</u>is</i>
school-master	<i>sgwl<u>m</u>aster</i>
certificate	<i>stiff<u>ic</u>et</i>
courtesy	<i>cwr<u>t</u>esi</i>
Rosemary	<i>Ros<u>m</u>ari</i>
present	<i>pre<u>s</u>ennol</i>

Table 1. Stress-shift to the penultimate site: underived loans

Accent accommodation is sometimes accompanied with vowel syncope in the post-tonic unaccented syllable or apocopy of the unaccented ultima, so that the accent may or may not retain its original site but in Welsh it becomes penultimate (Table 2: 12 examples out of 32 noted):

English (various)	Welsh (penultimate; after syncope or apocopy)
astr <u>o</u> nom <u>y</u>	<i>astr<u>o</u>nm<u>i</u></i>
de <u>s</u> t <u>i</u> ny	<i>te<u>s</u>ni</i>
d <u>i</u> am <u>o</u> nd	<i>de<u>i</u>mwnt</i>
ca <u>m</u> omile	<i>ca<u>m</u>il</i>
li <u>q</u> urice	<i>li<u>q</u>ris</i>
la <u>b</u> ourer	<i>la<u>b</u>rer</i>
so <u>c</u> iety	<i>se<u>i</u>at</i>
wh <u>e</u> elbarrow	<i>wh<u>i</u>lber</i>

English (various)	Welsh (penultimate; after syncope or apocopy)
lib <u>er</u> ty	lib <u>ar</u> t
pen <u>d</u> ulum	pen <u>d</u> il
ch <u>oc</u> olate	si <u>oc</u> led

Table 2. Penultimate stress after syncope or apocopy of the English source

Penultimate stress shift turned out to be productive in forms based on roots (mono- or polysyllabic) adopted from English which in Welsh yield morphologically complex items (Table 3: 12 instances of a very frequent pattern, over 120 forms noted):

English (various)	Welsh (penultimate)
ca <u>n</u> vass	can <u>f</u> asio
co <u>m</u> fortable	cyff <u>y</u> rdus
co <u>n</u> jure	con <u>s</u> urio
me <u>l</u> odious	me <u>l</u> odaidd
me <u>l</u> odies	me <u>l</u> odïau
to <u>u</u> rism	tw <u>r</u> istaeth
pe <u>r</u> sonal	pe <u>r</u> sonol
me <u>s</u> merise	me <u>s</u> me <u>r</u> iddio
me <u>a</u> sure	me <u>s</u> uro
ba <u>r</u> gain	ba <u>r</u> geinio
ki <u>d</u> nap	ci <u>d</u> napio
ma <u>n</u> age	ma <u>n</u> ejio

Table 3. Stress-shift to the penultimate site: derived items

Very recent incorporations, sometimes termed “unlisted English” with Welsh derivational terminations, and bordering on the code-switches – borrowings status, behave accordingly, as manifested in the following examples (the stressed vowel again underlined). Notice that here no translation needs to be provided: **text-*io***, **download-*io***, **brief-*io***, **quote-*io***, **bulk-*io***, **ban-*io***, **bypass-*io***, **crush-*o***, **trample-*o***, **base-*io***, **connect-*io***, **babysit-*io***, **decorate-*io***, **concentrate-*io***, **mollycoddle-*io***, **power-walk-*io***.

The principle of having borrowed items stressed penultimately applies also to words that are not so commonly used, namely in the medical or general scientific vocabulary. Let us quote only a few examples. Strangely enough, while they all are accented on the last but one syllable, it is also the stressed syllable in the SL: catalepsy > *catalepsia*; cerebellum > *serebelwm* (*serebela*, pl.); ophthalmology > *offtalmoleg*; penicillin > *penisilin*; astrology > *astroleg*. Many of the words in this group, however, will have stress transferred from English.

The overwhelming predominance of the penultimate stress pattern is evident, also, in the fact that all borrowed nouns (save two cases) when pluralised, shift stress to this default site, regardless of where it was placed in the process of borrowing.⁷ It thus appears that when a word enters the morphological (inflectional or derivational) component of Modern Welsh it becomes phonologically native and fully regularised. It seems, therefore, justified to classify all the above-cited examples as instances of stress-accent substitution, understood in line with Winter-Froemel (2008: 158) as cases exhibiting non-conformity to the SL while clearly observing the principle of TL accentuation.

4.4. Conformity with Source Language = Non-conformity to the Target Language

Non-conformity to the Target Language *default* stress-pattern can take several forms. Watkins (1974) notices that although in present-day spoken Welsh the word-stress is normally penultimate, when listening to a Welsh conversation one is struck by the frequency of pre-penultimate or final accent. The latter is not perceived as a fundamentally foreign phenomenon, since it is indigenous to Welsh, brought about by vowel coalescence or by compounding. Adding to this the special prosodic status that the final syllable enjoys, it is hardly surprising that when borrowing *end-stressed* words from English, most naturally the position of stress-accent is not modified. Table 4 therefore contains a selection (12 out of 42 items recorded) of those borrowings which have kept their original final syllable stress pattern:

English	Welsh
appeal	<i>apêl</i>
brigade	<i>brigâd</i>
persuasion	<i>perswâd</i>
parade	<i>parêd</i>
promenade	<i>promenad</i>
farewell	<i>ffarwel</i> , or <i>ffarwel</i>
Jubilee	<i>jiwbilî</i>
cassette	<i>cysêt</i>
Sedate	<i>sidêt</i>
cocoon	<i>cocŷn</i>
Delete	<i>dileu</i>
umbrella ⁸	<i>ymbarel</i>

Table 4. Faithfulness to the SL end-stress

⁷ The illustration of this regularization will be exemplified in the following section, for the sake of convenience.

⁸ This example is somewhat problematic in that the Welsh form indeed has the final stress, whereas the English source does not. This demonstrates the constraint in Welsh which bans

As for the ante-penultimate stress, it is characteristic of numerous borrowed English items with which especially conversational Welsh is loaded (Watkins 1974). It can safely be assumed that the stressed pre-penultimate position, prosodically the weakest in Welsh (Williams 1999), is a clear indication of the foreign provenience of an item. The antepenultimate (or generally pre-penultimate) accent may be the effect of importing the original stress site from the SL, here English (Table 5, for nouns, the plural is also shown):

English (ante-penultimate)	Welsh (ante-penultimate)	Welsh plural (for nouns)
elephant	<i>eliffant</i>	<i>eliffantod</i>
insuline	<i>inswlin</i>	—
labyrinth	<i>labyrinth</i>	<i>labyrinthau</i>
melody	<i>melodi</i>	<i>melodiau</i>
parachute	<i>parasiwt</i>	<i>parasiwtiau</i>
paradox	<i>paradocs</i>	<i>paradocsau</i>
paragraph	<i>paragraff</i>	<i>paragraffau</i>
pension	<i>pensiwn</i>	<i>pensiynau</i>
calendar	<i>calendr⁹</i>	<i>calendrau</i>
interlude	<i>anterliwt</i>	<i>anterliwtau</i>
telegraph	<i>telegraff</i>	<i>telegraffau</i>
telegraphy	<i>telegraffi</i>	—
telegram	<i>telegram</i>	<i>telegramaau</i>
testament	<i>testament</i>	<i>testamentau</i>
tournament	<i>twrnamaint</i>	<i>twrnameintiau</i>
codicil	<i>codisil</i>	<i>codisilau</i>
ambulance	<i>ambiwllans</i>	<i>ambiwllansys</i>
academy	<i>academi</i>	<i>academiau</i>
bungalow	<i>byngalo</i>	<i>byngalos</i>
catapult	<i>catapwlt</i>	<i>catapyltiau</i>
hooligan	<i>hwligan</i>	<i>hwliganiaid</i>
curriculum	<i>cwricwlwm</i>	—
isolate	<i>eisoletio</i>	—

Table 5. Ante-penultimate stress importation from English to Welsh

the schwa vowel from occurring in the ultima, thus the English final schwa was simply elided in the assimilation process.

⁹ This item appears to contain an illicit cluster word-finally, however, in actual pronunciation a svarabhakti vowel breaks up the -dr- cluster, so in fact the word is trisyllabic.

The group of words which characteristically import the accent position from the source language comprises the so-called “neo-classical compounds”. Twelve typical examples are provided below (Table 6), the pattern appears in at least 46 other recorded forms. When pluralised, they, again, shift the stress to the last but one syllable (save in one case listed at the bottom of the table).

English	Welsh	Welsh plural
centimeter	<i>sentimedr</i>	<i>sentimedrau</i>
centigramme	<i>sentigram</i>	<i>sentigrammau</i>
deciliter	<i>desilitr</i>	<i>desilitrau</i>
dictaphone	<i>dictaffon</i>	<i>dicatffonau</i>
Plantagenet	<i>Plantagenet</i>	—
Methodist	<i>Methodist</i>	<i>Methodistaidd</i>
Mercury	<i>Merchwri</i>	—
metropolis	<i>metropolis</i>	<i>metropolisau</i>
radiogram	<i>radiogram</i>	—
radiotherapy	<i>radiotherapi</i>	—
tubectomy	<i>tiwbiectomi</i>	<i>tiwbiectomiau</i>
cerebrum	<i>serebrwm</i>	<i>serebra (!)</i>

Table 6. Neo-classical importations from English

Fisiak (1962: 293) argues that such formations constitute a separate category insofar as they are created on either a Greek or Latinate basis in English and then, adopted by a number of languages, with possible slight semantic interference and regular adaptation mechanisms. He also believes that these need nonetheless to be treated as loans from English, as they mostly either originated in English and entered the target language through direct contact or were first adopted by English, and then, transmitted to other systems, indirectly. This is the line of reasoning we are willing to adopt here as well and, thus, treat these neo-classicalisms as importations from or via English.

5. Concluding observations

The general picture painted here may give the impression that, in their majority, borrowing from English, either colloquial or scientific, do not agree with the target language typical, penultimate accentuation. This, however, would be a false impression. While the selection presented here comprises a wide range of items, they are mostly those which have been borrowed comparatively recently. Thus, the result of the study has been the presentation of a compelling number of non-penultimate (non-native) stresses. Older loans are phonologically fully integrated and have already

conformed to Target Language phonology (also in terms of participating in the mutation system). With time, both the older and the newer items may also further integrate prosodically into the Welsh system. This prosodic integration is already happening as far as the higher pitch resident in the final syllable is concerned: even the most recent, “unlisted” items exhibit a higher pitch characteristic of native Welsh (as well as Welsh-English) words in addition to the acquired penultimate word stress. It is to be expected that the stress on the last but one syllable will be the predominant pattern in the newly adopted items as well, even if not immediately. This is an observation which has actually been reported in certain preliminary studies or seminars in Bangor University.

This paper does not seek to establish absolute truths or explain the current mechanism. Let it, therefore, serve as a contribution to observations concerned with the interaction between two neighbouring languages on the phonological level. Undoubtedly, the antepenultimate stress importation (preservation) comes as an effect caused by the dominance of the English language over the Welsh language usage. It is a situation that has existed in Wales for centuries and continues until today. It is, nonetheless, hoped that this modest attempt will provide some insightful observations and prospect for further research.

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