Directional Idioms in English and Welsh: A Usage-Based Perspective on Language Contact

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Abstract

The English verb-particle construction or phrasal verb (PV) has undergone dramatic semantic extensions from the expression of literal motion events (*the ball rolled down the hill*) – a pattern known as satellite-framing – to idiomatic figurative uses (*the company will roll out a new plan*) where selection of the particle is motivated by Conceptual Metaphors. Over the course of its long contact with English, Welsh – also satellite-framed with literal motion events – has extended the use of its verb-particle construction to replicate even highly idiomatic English PVs. Through a case study of ten metaphorical uses of *up* and its Welsh equivalent, we argue that this dramatic contact outcome points to the convergence by bilingual speakers on a single set of Conceptual Metaphors motivating the PV combinations. A residual Celtic possessive construction (lit. *she rose on her sitting* 'she sat up') competes with English-like PVs to express change of bodily posture.

1   Introduction

The long coexistence of English and Celtic languages in the British Isles has created a laboratory for the study of language contact reaching back many centuries. The kinds of English influence on the structure of Welsh that have been claimed include several clearcut cases involving matter replication or

MAT (Matras and Sakel, 1997) in which pronounceable material is borrowed from Model language (ML) into Replica language (RL), as well as cases where the evidence is circumstantial involving pattern replication or PAT (Matras and Sakel, 1997).[1] In PAT, the ML supplies abstract patterns that are reproduced in the RL using indigenous material. Instances of MAT in English-Welsh contact include lexical borrowing (cf. Parry-Williams, 1923) and the noun plural ending *-s*, which can be used not only on borrowed nouns but also on some native nouns (Thomas, 1982). Instances of PAT include preposition stranding (cf. Hirata, 2012), the semantics and use of modal verbs (Thomas, 1982), the replication of the *way* construction (Rottet, forthcoming), the convergence of Welsh word order with English more globally (Davies, 2010), and the replication of idiomatic phrasal verbs (Rottet, 2000; Rottet, 2005; Listewnik, 2018; Rottet and Morris, 2018).

The English verb-particle construction or phrasal verb (PV) has been a nearly inexhaustible topic of interest in the linguistic literature at least since Kennedy (1920). Those working in Cognitive Linguistics (CL) have been interested in PVs for two primary reasons: (1) An important current of research following Talmy (1985, 1991) has examined how different languages encode motion events. English PVs such as *climb up*, *run off* or *walk back* illustrate *satellite-framing*, one of the principal ways that languages encode motion events. Much of the CL literature on this topic focuses on what happens when learners seek to acquire a language whose preferred patterns of expression of motion events differ from those of their L1 (e.g., Slobin, 2004; Cadierno, 2004; Slobin, 2006). (2) Non-literal uses of the particles in English PVs have played a key role in the study of metaphor: many verb-particle combinations including those which are used to express literal motion events, have acquired figurative meanings, and ever since Lakoff and Johnson (1980), these meanings have been analyzed in terms of conceptual metaphors (CMs). For instance, the metaphor by which positive emotions and excitement are construed as 'up' while neutral or negative emotions are 'down' underlies PVs like *cheer up* and *calm down*. Later, Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) drew explicitly on metaphor to facilitate the teaching of PVs in ESL pedagogy. For instance, she identifies the basic sense of the particle OUT as 'leaving a container'; thus, a number of the PVs using OUT deploy the metaphor that bodies, minds and mouths are containers

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1   This is the familiar idea in the contact literature in which the RL copies a pattern from the ML but uses its own material in doing so. The contact-induced grammaticalization framework of Heine and Kuteva (2005), and PAT in Matras and Sakel (1997), are two recent models of contact that both involve the RL refashioning material that it already has, as opposed to borrowing it wholesale (MAT) from the Model Language.

(Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003: 20) as seen in *cry out*, *speak out*, *stick out* (*one's hand*), *hand out* (*an exam*), *fill out* (meaning 'gain weight'), etc. Analyses that see the choice of particle as metaphorical, and thus as motivated, have a clear pedagogical advantage over traditional account of PVs that viewed them as opaque idioms needing to be memorized individually.

Like the Celtic languages more broadly, Welsh has a native system of directional particles that are used to express literal motion events such as *fly away* or *run back* (Rottet, 2005). English influence is thus unnecessary to account for the presence of such formulations in Welsh, although it may have played a role in reinforcing these patterns. But this system of verb-particle combinations has also been extended in Welsh in metaphorical ways that coincide almost exactly with equivalents found in English (Rottet, 2005; Listewnik, 2018; Rottet and Morris, 2018). Essentially calques of English PVs, these metaphorical combinations are so numerous and so frequent in contemporary Welsh that rather than being the random calquing of individual English PVs, what we have here, in our view, is the replication of the CMs that underlie the English combinations. Viewing the verb-particle combinations in terms of CMs means that their copying from the ML, English, into the RL, Welsh, is straightforwardly motivated.

In this case study we will focus primarily on one highly polysemous English particle, *up*, and its Welsh translation equivalent *i fyny* (or *lan* in southern dialects of Welsh). Specifically, we will examine the metaphorical senses of *up* and show how they are realized in Welsh. In addition, for a sub-type of verbs used to describe bodily posture, we will see how the PV-based formulation seen for instance in Welsh *eistedd i lawr* 'to sit down' competes with a native Celtic formulation based on an entirely different pattern, e.g., Welsh *mynd ar ei eistedd* 'to sit down', literally 'to go on his sitting'.

This paper is organized as follows. In part one we will selectively review some of the work on English PVs. In part two we lay out the facts about the Brythonic verb-particle construction found in Welsh and its sister language, Breton. We turn, in part three, to an examination of the metaphorical extensions of *up* and its Welsh equivalent *i fyny*, and its competition, for expressing verbs of bodily posture, with a clearly old Brythonic construction. Finally, in part four we will discuss the findings in the light of a usage-based perspective on language contact.

2 The English Verb-Particle Construction: Motion Events and Beyond

In his research on the expression of motion events cross-linguistically, Talmy (1985, 1991) found two major patterns with respect to how the semantic

components involved in a motion event are packaged. The two patterns vary in terms of where the Path or direction of motion is encoded, with the primary choices being in the main verb (giving the *verb-framed* pattern), or in a satellite to the verb (giving the *satellite-framed* pattern). As a corollary, languages differ in how much attention they pay to the Manner of motion (such as *walk, skip, fly, dance, glide*, etc.),[2] and when they do, where this information gets encoded.

In the **verb-framed** pattern, there are typically a small number of Path verbs (e.g., *come, go, enter, exit, ascend*) that specify the direction of motion but disregard the Manner of motion. If Manner is expressed at all, it is encoded in a separate, optional phrase such as an adverbial or a gerund. Languages in which verb-framing is the preferred strategy include the Romance, Turkic and Semitic languages, as well as Greek, Japanese, Korean, and Basque.

In the **satellite-framed** pattern, the Path is expressed in a nonverbal satellite such as the English particles (*in, out, up, down, back, away, off*), the verbal prefixes found in Slavic languages (*vy-letela sova* 'the owl flew out', literally out-flew owl), or the separable verbal particles in German (*ausfliegen* 'to fly out', *ich fliege aus* 'I fly out'). This leaves the main verb free to express other semantic content, typically the Manner of motion. Languages in which satellite-framing is the usual strategy for packaging motion events include Germanic, Slavic, Celtic and Finno-Ugric languages.[3]

We illustrate the two patterns with the following verse from the New Testament (which, given that translations exist in many languages, provides a handy way to make certain cross-linguistic comparisons), using a translation of Acts 21: 32, in English (1) and Spanish (2).[4]

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2   Regarding the definition of Manner of motion, Slobin (2006: 3) writes: "'Manner' is a cover term for a number of dimensions, including motor pattern (e.g., *hop, jump, skip*), often combined with rate of motion (e.g., *walk, run, sprint*) or force dynamics (e.g., *step, tread, tramp*) or attitude (e.g., *amble, saunter, stroll*), and sometimes encoding instrument (e.g., *sled, ski, skateboard*), and so forth."

3   Subsequent research has led to various refinements of Talmy's original formulation. First, scholars have argued that there are yet other lexicalization patterns, such as verb serialization (Slobin, 2004). Secondly, languages like English and French do not conform perfectly to either pattern: English has numerous Latinate verbs like *ascend, descend, enter, exit*, that encode path, leaving manner unspecified, whereas French allows satellite-framing with some manner verbs (e.g., *courir* 'to run'). For this reason, we will refer to languages having preferences or preferred types rather than absolute ones.

4   In addition to standard morpheme gloss codes, we use the following: AFF=affirmative marker; COLL=collective; CPRT=comparative; DEM=demonstrative; PRT=particle; VN=verbal noun.

(1) *He   at once took soldiers and centurions, and ran*
     down to   them.

(2) *Al   instante, tomando éste   soldado-s y   centurion-es,*
     at-the   instant   taking   DEM.M   soldier-PL and   centurion-PL

     baj-ó   **corriendo**   *a*   *ellos.*
     descend-3SG.PST   running   to   them
     'At once, taking soldiers and centurions, he ran down to them.'

In the English text, the post-verbal particle *down* expresses the Path, whereas the finite verb *ran* expresses the Manner of motion; this is a typical example of satellite framing. In the Spanish text, on the other hand, the finite verb *bajó* 'descended' expresses the Path, while Manner of motion is conveyed in a participial adjunct *corriendo* 'running'. This is a typical example of verb framing.

Much of the work on the evolution of the English PV has focused on the gradual replacement of the preverbal prefixes of Old English by the postverbal particles of Modern English. However, Brinton (1988) shows that the post-verbal particles are already well-attested in Old English, even with figurative uses: "[O]ne can say that both the semantics and the syntax of the phrasal verb appear to be quite well-developed even in Old English, especially with the particles *of*, *forð*, *ofdūne*, *onweg*, *up*, and *ūt*. […]. The verbs in these combinations have both literal and metaphorical meanings, though the former are more common in Old English." She provides examples like (3), in which *up* has the sense 'presented (as to eye level) for human consideration', (4) in which *up* is used metonymically for physical growth, and (5) where *ūt* 'out' portrays the human body as a container 'out of' which evil spirits can be driven.

(3) *Þær   bær   Godwine eorl   up   his   mal*
     there   bore   Godwine earl   up   his   case
     'Earl Godwine brought his case up (forward).' (Brinton, 1988: 224)

(4) *siÞÞan   ic   up   weox*
     since   I   up   grew
     'Since I grew up.' (Brinton, 1988: 224)

(5) *Deofolseocnessa*   *ūt*   *to*   *adrifanne*
     devilsickness   out   to   drive
     'To drive out the devilsickness.' (Brinton, 1988: 223)

From the incipiently figurative semantics illustrated in (3) through (5), the English directional particles would undergo complex idiomatic extensions. Like idioms more generally, PVs have traditionally been viewed as non-compositional, having a meaning that is not motivated by their component parts. CL takes a different view of idioms in general, arguing that many of them are at least partially compositional (Nunberg et al., 1994). Specifically for English directional particles, this is the perspective developed in Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lindner (1983), Tyler and Evans (2003), Brinton (1988) and Boers (1996), among others, all of whom analyze the particles in terms of metaphor or metonymy.[5] The resulting PVs are so numerous and so ubiquitous in English that they have given rise to dictionaries of PVs for learners of English (e.g., Cowie, 1993). The possibility of using these metaphors and metonymies as pedagogical tools to frame the teaching of PVs has been exploited, for instance in Rudzka-Ostyn (2003). Given the truly pervasive nature of the PV in English, it is unsurprising that some languages in intense contact with English would reveal influence in this area. This is the case with Welsh, to which we turn in the next section.

3   The Brythonic Verb-Particle Construction

Welsh, like the Celtic languages more broadly, has a native system of directional particles that are used to express literal motion events such as *fly up* or *run back* (Rottet, 2005; Rottet and Morris, 2018), using a satellite-framed pattern quite similar to English. A typical example is shown in comparing Acts 21: 32 in its English version (repeated as (6)) and its translation into Breton, a regional Celtic language of France that is closely related to Welsh, shown in (7).

(6) *He   at   once   took soldiers   and   centurions,   and   ran down   to   them*

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5   Figurative uses of directional particles have usually been thought of as metaphorical, but Brinton (1988: 236) argues that the semantic extension from spatial to aspectual is a case of metonymy, since space and time are closely associated domains. We will generally say metaphor though we recognize the important role of metonymy.

(7) *Hemañ   kerkent   a   gemer-as   gant-añ   soudard-ed   ha*
    DEM.M   at.once   PRT   take-3SG.PST   with-3SG.M   soldier-PL   and

    *kantener-ion, hag a   **red-as**   d'   an   traoñ** betek an   dud.*
    centurion-PL and PRT   run-3SG.PST   to   the   base   until the   people

    'He at once took with him soldiers and centurions, and ran down to the
    people.'

In the Breton text, the Manner of motion is expressed in the verb – here, *redas* 'ran' – whereas Path is conveyed via a post-verbal particle or lexicalized directional phrase – here, *d'an traoñ* 'down', literally 'to the base'. The Breton packaging of the motion event is thus similar to the English one and quite different from the verb-framed pattern of Spanish seen in (2) above.

The Breton directional phrase *d'an traoñ* is just one of a battery of such elements that are found in combination with verbs expressing Manner of motion to express direction. Table 1 shows most of the canonical possibilities, illustrated here using the verb *to run* in English, Welsh and Breton.

The fact that Breton expresses literal motion events in the same way as Welsh is important because, unlike Welsh, Breton has never been in intense

TABLE 1   Directional particles in Welsh and Breton[6]

English	Welsh	Breton
run away / off	*rhedeg i ffwrdd*	*redek kuit*
run back	*rhedeg yn ôl*	*redek en-dro*
run down	*rhedeg i lawr*	*redek d'an traoñ*
run in	*rhedeg i mewn*	*redek tre / e-barzh*
run out	*rhedeg allan / mas* (S)	*redek er-maez*
run round	*rhedeg o gwmpas*	*redek tro-war-dro*
run up	*rhedeg i fyny / lan* (S)	*redek d'an nec'h*
run forward, on	*rhedeg ymlaen*	*redek war-raok*
run past	*rhedeg heibio*	*redek hebiou*

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6   South Walian forms (marked "(S)" in the table) sometimes differ from North Walian and the standard language.

TABLE 2   Iconic origins of some directional particles in Welsh and Breton

English	Welsh	Breton
around, about	*o gwmpas* (< *cwmpas* 'circuit') *o amgylch* (< *amgylch* 'circumference')	*tro-dro* (< *tro* 'turn')
away, off	*i ffwrdd* (< *ffordd* 'road') *bant* (S) (< *pant* 'valley')	
back	*yn ôl* (< *ôl* 'track, trail')	*en-dro* (< *tro* 'turn')
down	*i lawr* (< *llawr* 'floor, ground')	*d'an traoñ* (< *traoñ* 'base, bottom')
forward, on	*ymlaen* (< *blaen* 'front edge')	*war-raok* ('on [the] fore')
out	*mas* (S) (< *maes* 'field')	*er-maez* (adv.), *e-maez* (prep.) (< *maez* 'countryside')
up	*i fyny* (< *mynydd* 'mountain') *lan* (S) (< *glan* 'shore')	*d'an nec'h* (< *krec'h* 'hill') *d'al laez* (< *laez* 'top')

contact with English.[7] This point argues strongly for a shared origin of satellite-framing in their common Brythonic ancestor. The antiquity of the pattern is also suggested by an examination of the particles, which are iconic in origin. The origins of some of the particles are shown in Table 2.

Etymologically, the directional elements in Table 2 are mostly prepositional phrases showing varying degrees of phonetic erosion as is common in cases of grammaticalization. For instance, if Breton *d'al laez* 'up' still transparently means 'to the top', the other phrase, *d'an nec'h*, deploys a variant of *krec'h* 'hill' from an older form (*knec'h*). The two regional variants to express 'up' in Welsh are considerably less transparent today; *i fyny* [ivəni] and *lan* [lan] come from the expressions *i fynydd* [ivənɪð] 'to a mountain' and *i'r lan* [irlan] 'to the shore' (cf. *mynydd* 'mountain', *glan* 'shore'). While the changes in initial consonant ([m] > [v], [g] > [Ø]) are due to lenition or soft mutation – a regular pattern occurring productively in a variety of morphosyntactic contexts – some of the other developments are phonetic reductions characteristic of grammaticalization, such as the loss of the final <dd> in *i fyny*(*dd*), or the loss of the preposition + definite article in (*i'r*) *lan*. Losing the article also eliminates the

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7   The Breton particles even have a built-in subtlety that Welsh ignores, distinguishing between dynamic particles that express motion and static particles expressing location, e.g. *d'an nec'h* or *d'al laez* 'upwards' vs. *en nec'h* 'in the top' or *el laez* 'in the summit'.

motivation for lenition (feminine singular nouns undergo lenition after the definite article) and thus makes the source of *lan* less transparent. A few other particles such as Welsh *allan* 'out' and *ymaith* 'forward' and Breton *kuit* 'away'[8] are not synchronically analyzable at all, confirming their antiquity.

The facts observed here for Welsh and Breton are also true of Cornish, the third Brythonic language. Most of the Cornish particles, too, are iconic in origin; thus, *yn-ban* 'up,' *yn-mes* 'out,' *yn-nans* 'down,' and *dhe'n leur* 'down' involve the nouns *bann* 'height, prominent place,' *mes* 'open field,' *nans* 'valley' and *leur* 'floor, ground' respectively (cf. George, 1998). Though only three particles have cognates in all three languages (B. *er-maez,* W. (*i'r*) *maes*, C. *yn-mes* 'out;' B. *hebiou*, W. *heibio*, C. *hebiou* 'past' and W. *rhagddo*, C. *war-rag*, B. *war-raok* 'forward(s)'), others have cognates in two (e.g., W. *i lawr* and C. *dhe'n leur* 'down'). Nonetheless, the overall similarity of the patterns leaves no doubt about the common origin of this system. If there is inherited variation in some of the terms – for instance, 'up' can involve the word for 'mountain' (in Welsh), 'summit' (in Breton) or 'height' (in Cornish) – there is also variation for some particles even within modern Welsh (as seen in Table 2). Such variation must be as old as the system itself.

The fact that these closely related languages find themselves in situations of intense contact – Welsh[9] with the satellite-framed English, and Breton with the verb-framed French – creates an interesting laboratory in which to examine possible effects of contact on a language's typological profile. Indeed, there are suggestions in the literature that a language's profile with respect to the expression of motion events can be influenced by language contact. Slobin (2004) points to suggestions that Italian, which is more satellite-framed than its sister Romance languages, may have developed its profile through contact with German in Northern Italy. Similarly, Brussels French reveals a history of contact with Dutch (Treffers-Daller, 2012). De Knop and Dirven (2008: 298), in an analysis of English, German and French, suggest that "English, due to its historical French influence, is somewhere in between the two others, though basically much closer to German." Along these lines, Rottet (2017) examined a corpus of English novels translated into Welsh and into Breton, and found that the satellite-framing was preserved nearly 84% of the time in Welsh but only 50% of the time in Breton. These findings are compatible with the claim that the Brythonic satellite-framed preference has been reinforced in Welsh by

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8   *Kuit* is actually a borrowing from Old French, related to *quitter* 'to leave'.

9   Cornish officially died out in the late 18th or early 19th century. There is a revival movement, but here we will focus on the two languages with an unbroken tradition.

contact with English, and weakened in Breton through its long contact with French. He shows that these trends are reinforced by lexical borrowing from French into Breton increasing the number of Path verbs, such as *antreal* (from French *entrer*) competing with *mont tre* or *mont e-barzh* 'to go in', and *sortial* 'to exit' (from French *sortir*) competing with *mont er-maez* 'to go out', whereas lexical borrowing from English into Welsh has tended to increase the number of Manner of motion verbs such as *swagro* 'to swagger' and *trotian* 'to trot'. In these ways, the extent of contact-induced change in Welsh would seem to be a matter of reinforcing patterns that Welsh already had. But we will see in what follows that the contact effects in fact go much further.

It happens that the extension of the PV pattern from literal to idiomatic uses that is so characteristic of English is also attested in Celtic. Doyle (2001) documents a number of verb-particle combinations in Irish that do not appear to have exact counterparts in English, such as *cuir isteach ar* 'apply for' (lit. 'put in on'), *cuir amach* 'to vomit' (lit. 'put out') and *tabhair amach do* 'to scold' (lit. 'give out to') (see also Stenson, 1997). Welsh, too, has some PVs that do not have straightforward English equivalents. Some of these are listed in Table 3.

Even more tellingly, Rottet (2005) lists a handful of idiomatic verb-particle combinations in Breton, where appeal to an English model would be completely implausible (see Table 4).

The fact that Breton has even a small number of idiomatic verb-particle combinations reveals that they can emerge without the presence of English

TABLE 3   Some native Welsh Particle Verbs and their English Equivalents

Native Welsh Particle Verb	Approximate English Equivalent
bwrw'r amser heibio (lit. 'to cast the time past')	'to while away the time'
rhoi (*corff*) *heibio* (lit. 'to put (a body) past')	'lay out (a body) for burial'
bwrw ymlaen (lit. 'to cast forward/ on/along')	'to press on, go on, continue'
gweithio ymlaen (lit. 'to work forward/along')	'to work overtime'
codi allan (lit. 'to rise out')	(1) 'to hold a short service in the home of a deceased person before burial'; (2) 'to stir out of doors (after an illness)'

TABLE 4   Some native Breton Particle Verbs and their English Equivalents

Breton Particle Verb	Approximate English Equivalent
dont 'barzh (lit. 'to come in')	'to regain consciousness, recover after an illness'
mont 'barzh (lit. 'to go in')	'to be elected'
kregiñ 'barzh (lit. 'to catch in')	'to help oneself (to a dish on the table, etc.)'
mond en-dro (lit. 'to go around, go back')	'to function; to beg'
chom er-maez (lit. 'to stay out')	'to be beaten (in an election)'
kas en-dro (lit. 'to send around')	'to animate'
ober war-dro (lit. 'to do around s.o.')	'to look after (someone)'

influence. But it is impossible not to notice that the vast majority of idiomatic PVs in Welsh today have immediately obvious English translation equivalents recognizable to anyone fluent in English. By way of illustration, the following examples use the Welsh verb *torri* 'break, cut'.[10]

(8) *cyn   i   mi   dorr-i   i mewn   trwy   chwal-u*
     before   to   me   break-VN   in   through   smash-VN

     ffenest   yn   rhacs jibidêrs.
     window   PRED   smithereens

     'Before I broke in by smashing a window.' (Stevens, 2003: 265)

(9) *Diwrnod mowr ydoedd   diwrnod   torr-i   'r   mashîn*
     day   big   be.3SG.IPFV day   break-VN   the   machine

     gwair   hon   i mewn
     hay   that   in

     'A big day was the day of breaking this hay-cutting machine in.'
     (Williams, 1953: 82)

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10   The emphasis in the examples is ours (KJR).

(10)   *Pan*   ***dorr-odd***   *y*   ***Rhyfel***   ***allan***,   *ni*
       when   break-3SG.PST   the   war   out   NEG

       wydd-ai   *neb*   *beth*   *i*   *'w*   *feddwl*
       know-3SG.IPFV   no one   what   to   3SG   think.VN
       'When the war broke out, nobody [...] knew exactly what to think.'
       (Roberts, 1936: 159)

(11)   *rydw*   *i*   *wedi*   *dod*   *yma*   *i*   *ddianc.*
       be.1SG.PRS   I   after   come.VN   here   to   escape.VN

       Bydd-af   *yn*   ***torr-i***   ***allan*** *drwy*   *un*   *o*   *'r*   *ffenestr-i*
       be.1SG.FUT   PRED   break-VN   out   through   one   of   the   window-PL
       'I've come here to escape. I will break out through one of these
       windows.' (Jones, 1971: 200)

(12)   *dweud* *wrth-i*   *am* *gadw*   *draw* *am* *byth,*   *a*   *'i*   ***thorr-i***
       tell.VN to-3SGF for keep.VN away for   ever   and   3SGF   cut-VN

       allan   *o*   *'r*   *teulu*
       out   of   the   family
       'To tell her to keep her distance, and cut her out of the family.' (Roberts,
       1936: 141)

(13)   *am*   *fod*   *un*   *o'nyn*   *nw*   *'di*   ***torr-i*** *'i*   *fys*   *i ffwrdd*
       for   be.VN   one   of.3PL   them   after   cut-VN his   finger   off

       efo   *'r*   *bolt cutters*
       with   the   bolt cutters
       'Because one of them had cut off his finger with the bolt cutters.'
       (Prysor, 2008: 129)

(14) *gynllun*   *doeth*   *a*   *didramgwydd*   *i*   *garfio*
      plan   wise   and   expedient   to   carve.VN

ffowlyn.   *Arfer-ai*   *ei* **dorr-i i fyny** *yn y*   *bwtri*
bird   be.wont-3SG.IPFV its   cut-VN   up   in   the buttery

cyn   *dechrau*   *'r*   *cinio*
before   start.VN   the   lunch

'A wise and expedient plan for carving a bird. She used to cut it up in the buttery before the start of lunch.' (Griffith, 1955: 146)

(15) *Yn nghanol*   *pangfe-ydd*   *o*   *lawenydd,*   **tor-wyd**   *y*
      in middle   fit-PL   of   happiness   break-AUT.PST   the

cyfarfod   i fyny.
meeting   up

'In the midst of fits of happiness the meeting broke up.' (Owen, 1885: 338)

(16) *Yr*   *unig*   *adeg*   *bendant*   *yr*   *wyf*   *yn*   *gofio*
      the   only   period   certain   PRT   am   PRED   remember.VN

yn   *hanes*   *y*   *pren*   *crabas*   *ydyw*   *y*   *dydd*
in   story   the   tree   crabapple   is   the   day

y   *gorchymyn-odd*   *gŵr*   *y*   *Plas*   *ei*   **dorr-i   i lawr**.
PRT   order-3SG.PST   man   the   estate   its   cut-VN   down

'The only certain time I recall in the story of the crabapple tree was the day the landowner ordered it to be cut down.' (Owen, 1885: 84)

(17) *wedi*   *i*   *iechyd*   *fy*   *nhad*   **dorr-i**   *lawr*.
      after   to   health   my   father   break-VN   down

'When my father's health had broken down.' (Williams, 1953: 116)

(18)   *Mae   'n   trio   **torr-i   lawr   ar   smocio**.*
       be.3SG.PRS PRED   try.VN   break-VN down   on   smoke.VN
       'He's trying to cut down on smoking.' (Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, p.
       3533, article TORRAF)

The preceding set of examples of PVs with *torri* 'to break, cut' shows numerous highly idiomatic combinations, none of which are unusual or surprising in Welsh. This kind of list could be repeated for many other verbs such as *troi* 'to turn', *rhoi* 'to give' and 'to put', *cael* 'to get'. The correspondence with English is generally so close that no one could seriously propose that the two languages came upon these uses independently of one another. Listewnik (2018: 209) states it well: "[D]espite the fact that PVs are deeply rooted in the Welsh language, there can be no doubt that mechanisms of transfer play a crucial role in the widespread use of these constructions. The degree of direct word-to-word correspondence between Welsh and English PVs cannot be coincidental."

Calques of English PVs are explicitly recognized in some dictionaries and grammars as an insidious kind of Anglicism. For example, the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (GPC) or University of Wales Dictionary gives two elements of definition for the particle *i fyny* 'up', (1) *"tuag at le neu safle uwch"* (lit. 'towards a higher place or situation'), and (2) *"hefyd gyda bf. fel gosod, llyncu, rhoddi, torri, etc., i drosi priod-ddull Saesneg"* (lit. 'also used with certain verbs to translate English idioms'), thus explicitly recognizing that uses of *i fyny* are not fully describable without reference to English.

The question is therefore not whether contact with English is involved – there can be no reasonable doubt about that – but rather how this state of affairs came about. When the point of departure for the comparison is a verb (e.g., *torri* 'cut, break') and the various PV combinations it can enter into, it might seem that every combination is a more or less independent loan translation, with little reason to suppose that combinations using other English verbs will necessarily be calqued as well. This approach corresponds more or less to the traditional way of looking at idioms, which sees them as unsystematic, unmotivated expressions.

A different way to look at the issue suggests itself when we notice that the systematic nature of PVs resides less in the verbs than in the particles. Following a CL perspective in which the uses of the particles are motivated by metaphor, PVs can be seen as forming coherent, motivated groups rather than being a grabbag of arbitrary lexical items. This is the perspective we will develop in the next section examining the metaphorical interpretations of *up* and its Welsh equivalent.

Here it is important to note that, to the extent that these semantic extensions are motivated, as we will show in the next section with *up*, it is not impossible that another language could come upon some of the same extensions as found in English without contact having played a role. However, the match between English and Welsh is too extensive and too idiosyncratic to be coincidental. It would be extremely implausible to find that precisely the same sets of metaphorical extensions had developed in two neighboring languages that in fact have a long history of contact, without that contact having played any role. At minimum this type of shared development would represent a case of multiple causation, where native developmental tendencies (i.e., internal causation) and contact-induced change (i.e., external causation) conspired to give the same result. But if the role of external causation in these Welsh facts is undeniable, it is equally clear that Welsh provided fertile soil for these developments; being already satellite-framed, it natively had the raw material needed to calque idiomatic PVs in the form of a complete battery of directional particles and the propensity to use them in idiomatic ways, as seen in (9) above.[11]

Our argument is that CMs (as in Lakoff and Johnson, 1987) are essential to understanding precisely how, and why, Welsh speakers were ready and able to follow the English model so fully with respect to idiomatic PVs. In the next section, specifically focusing on the CMs associated with the meaning 'up', we will show how the extensive contact effects being described are motivated.

4   Welsh-English Contact: Constructions and Metaphors

The effects of contact with English PVs on Welsh will be examined in this section with reference to: (i) the semantic extensions of the Welsh particles in ways mirroring those of English, which we analyze through the lens of shared metaphors, and (ii) the competition of the PV-formulation with an apparently native Brythonic construction used to talk about bodily posture.

4.1   *Metaphorical Senses of the Particles*
The possibility of metaphorical extensions of the directional particles in Welsh, based at least in part on an English model, presupposes that Welsh

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11   The fact that other languages in intense contact with English have not necessarily replicated English PVs follows in part from the fact that these other languages do not always have the same raw material and the same set of propensities as Welsh did.

speakers had established interlingual identifications[12] like *up = i fyny*, *out =
allan*, *back = yn ôl* that occurred in the expression of literal motion events.
The semantic extension of the Welsh particles from literal uses to non-literal
uses contributes to a significant level of convergence, in which the two lan-
guages of the speech community have come to be more alike over time. We
suggest that the extensive nature of this convergence was enabled in that
the figurative uses of the English particles are not purely idiomatic and non-
compositional, but are in fact motivated by a small (though still complex)
set of CMs. English and Welsh speakers have thus converged (to a significant
degree[13]) on a single set of CMs that were introduced into Welsh by bilingual
speakers of Welsh and English. Members of the speech community can thus
draw on all of their linguistic resources in a bilingual communication event
without drawing a strict line of demarcation between their two languages
(cf. Matras, 2009).

It would be impossible in one article to attempt an exhaustive catalog of all
of the metaphorical extensions of the directional particles found in Welsh and
English. In the remarks that follow we will concentrate on the particle *up* and
its translation equivalent *i fyny*.[14] *Up* and *out* are the two most polysemous par-
ticles in English.[15] Scholars have proposed various analyses of the senses of *up*
(and other particles), with competing typologies often cross-cutting each other,
or dividing up the semantic space differently; there is no definitive semantic
analysis of the network of senses. By far the most extensive exploration of *up*
is given by Lindner (1983). We propose here our own distillation of ten broad
senses of *up*, drawing on Lindner and other sources, though necessarily with

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12   First identified by Weinreich (1953), an *interlingual identification* is a mental link between
     X, a word (or phrase, construction, etc.) in one of the languages of a bilingual community
     with a unit Y in the community's other language. The link is a kind of association in which
     X and Y are thought of as translation equivalents. An interlingual identification is based on
     perceived similarity in terms of structural, phonic, semantic, functional, pragmatic, or other
     criteria, or any combination of these (Höder, 2012: 9–10).

13   Needless to say, by no means do we intend to suggest that convergence between Welsh and
     English is total. Welsh is still very different from English in countless ways.

14   For convenience we will refer solely to *i fyny*, which is used in Standard Welsh and northern
     dialects (where shortening to *fyny* is also common), but we remind the reader that *lan* is
     used in southern dialects.

15   In her corpus consisting of five contemporary novels and a number of periodicals, Listewnik
     (2018: 158) found that *allan* 'out' was the most productive particle in Welsh PVs, with 167
     different tokens representing 100 distinct types. This was followed by *i fyny* 'up' representing
     96 tokens and 54 types. On the other hand, the most frequent particle in her corpus was
     ymlaen 'on, forward', with 369 tokens, though only 49 types.

less nuance and detail than found in Lindner's book-length study (which dealt exclusively with English).[16]

It is important to note that not all PVs in Welsh have the same socio-stylistic evaluation (cf. Listewnik, 2018). Some uses are perfectly standard, acceptable even in literary Welsh, whereas others are found only in highly informal or non-standard styles. This distinction is important in pedagogy and descriptive grammars and dictionaries, but is less important in the present discussion since even informal registers are part of the Welsh language – and indeed, many would argue that the vernacular is the "real" language, whereas literary styles represent a prescriptively-oriented overlay, not acquired outside the school context. A typical Welsh novel contains a mix of registers, ranging from informal or even dialectal styles in character speech, to fairly neutral or even formal and literary styles in the language of the narrator. In our perspective, all of these are Welsh.

With these caveats in mind, we turn now to the different metaphorical extensions of *up*, with examples provided from original writing in Welsh.[17]

4.1.1 Positions of the Human Body

Arguably the most basic and transparent of the metaphorical extensions of the particle *up* is its use to refer to upright postures of the human body (e.g., *stand up, straighten up, sit up, jump up*), which is often contrasted with *down* (e.g., *sit down, lie down, fall down*). Part of the reason this use is so basic is that human language is regarded in CL as *embodied*, reflecting and even lexicalizing the human experience of moving through the world in a physical body with actual dimensions and spatial orientation. Some illustrative examples follow.

(19) *A   doedd   Titsh,   pan   oedd   o   'n*
     and   be.3SG.IPFV Titsh   when   was   he   PRED

 sefyll   i fyny,   ddim yn   cyrraedd dim ond   at
 stand.VN   up   not   PRED   arrive.VN only   to

 bennaglin-iau   Wil Robaits
 knee-PL   Wil Robaits

 'And when Titch was standing up, he barely reached Will Roberts' knees.' (Prichard, 1961: 128)

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16   Listewnik (2018: 187–189 ff.) follows Rudzka-Ostyn in identifying five senses of UP. We have opted for a more nuanced typology with ten subtypes, though ultimately the exact number is arbitrary.

17   The translations we provide are our own. About half of the literary works cited have published English translations, but the translations are themselves literary pieces which may not always render the language as closely as needed to make the relevant points.

(20) *Erbyn*   *hynny*   **eistedd-ai**   **i fyny**   *yn*   *ei*   *wely*
      by   DEM   sit-3SG.IPFV   up   in   his   bed

'By this time he was sitting up in bed.' (Hughes, 1947: 32)

(21) *na*   *fydd-ai*   *'r*   *diawl-ed*   *ddim*   *yn*   *adnabod*
      NEG   be-3SG.COND   the   devil-PL   not   PRED   recognize.VN

      talent   *tasa*   *fo*   *'n*   **neid-io**   *i f yny*   *a*   *'u*
      talent   be.3SG.COND   3SGM   PRED   jump.VN   up   and   3PL

      brath-u   *nhw*   *ar*   *eu*   *trwyn-au!*
      bite-VN   them   on   their   nose-PL

'The bastards wouldn't recognize talent if it jumped up and bit them on their noses!' (Owen, 2004: 115)

We will come back to the expression of changes of posture in section 3.2, since this is an area in which Welsh presents variation between the English-style formulation seen here, and a traditional Celtic pattern.

Related to the use of directional particles to refer to changes of posture, *up* can refer to BEING AWAKE before going to bed or after one has risen (e.g., *stay up late, be up, wait up, sit up* [*reading,* etc.], *get up, wake up*).

(22) *Yn*   *gyffredin*   **eistedd-ai**   **Bob**   *i fyny*   *am*   *rai*
      in   general   sit-3SG.IPFV   Bob   up   for   some

      or-iau   *wedi*   *i*   *fy*   *mam*   *a*   *minnau*   *fyned*
      hour-PL   after   to   my   mother   and   me   go.VN

      i   *'r*   *gwely*
      to   the   bed

'Generally Bob sat up for several hours after my mother and I had gone to bed.' (Owen, 1894: 185)

The reference to verticality present in the particle *up* can also refer, by extension though still quite transparently, to HUMAN GROWTH (e.g., *grow up*) and to CHILDREARING (e.g., *bring up children*).

(23) *Efallai*   *fod*   *dyn-ion*   *yn*   *aeddfed-u, ond so*   *nhw*   *byth*
      perhaps   be.VN   man-PL   PRED   mature.VN but   NEG   3PL   never

      yn   *tyf-u*   *i fyny.*
      PRED   grow-VN   up

      'Maybe men do mature, but they never really grow up.' (Owen, 2006:
      261)

(24) [*N*]*i*   *wn*   *i*   *am*   *neb*   *a*   *ymegnï-odd*   *fwy*
      NEG   know.1SG.   I   about   no one   PRT   put.energy-3SG.PST   more
            PRS

      i   *ddwyn*   *i fyny*   *ei*   *thy-aid*   *mawr*   *o*   *blant*
      to   bring.VN   up   her   house-ful   big   of   children

      'I know of no one who put so much energy into bringing up her large
      houseful of children.' (Gruffydd, 1942: 34)

The next use is somewhat more metaphorical, although it is still ultimately
based on positions of the human body.

4.1.2   Feelings and Emotions
As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have it, *Happy is up, sad is down*. They explain
this metaphor by relating positive emotional states (such as happiness) to the
physical postures of wakefulness and activity, and negative states (such as sad-
ness, depression) to the postures associated with inactivity or sickness. Thus it
is that *up* occurs in expressions like *cheer up, brighten up, perk up*.

(25) *Diflann-odd*   *y*   *llinell-a i fyny trwyn-a 'r*   *hog-ia*   *mewn*
      disappear-3SG.PST   the   line-PL up   nose-PL the   boy-PL   in

      eiliad,   *a*   *sbriwsi-odd*   *pawb*   *i fyny*   *'n*   *syth.*
      instant   and   perk-3SG.PST   everyone   up   PRED   straight

      'The lines of cocaine disappeared up the boys' noses in an instant, and
      everyone perked up quickly.' (Prysor, 2008: 76)

(26) *Ond*   *prysur-ais*   *yn*   *fy*   *mlaen,*   *gan*   *geis-io*   **cadw**
      but   hurry-1SG.PST   in   my   fore   with   try-VN   keep.VN

      fy   *ysbryd*   *i fyny.*
      my   spirit   up

      'But I hurried along, trying to keep my spirits up.' (Owen, 1885: 90)

This figurative use presupposes the descriptions of posture (4.1.1.) and is there-fore ultimately motivated by the linguistic encoding of physical embodiment.

4.1.3   Location on a Metaphorical Scale
Metaphors of verticality are used in English (and Welsh) to talk about temper-ature (*warm the food up, turn up the heat*), prices (*run up a bill, prices are going up*) or amounts (*the number of casualties is going up*), sound volume (*turn up the radio*), and expectations (*live up to the teacher's expectations*). The "higher" or larger values are construed as *up* and the "lower" or smaller values as *down*.

(27) *Mi*   *fydd*   *yn*   *gamp*   *i*   *unrhyw un*   **ddŵad**   *i fyny*
      AFF   be.3SG.FUT   PRED   feat   to   anyone   come.VN   up

      â   *gofyn-ion*   *John Williams.*
      with   demand-PL   John Williams

      'It will be a feat for anyone to come up to John Williams' expectations.'
      (Roberts, 2007: 16)

(28) *rwy*   *'n*   *ofn-i*   **na**   *fydd-ech*   **chi**   *fyny*
      be.1SG.PRS   PRED   fear-VN   NEG   be-2PL.COND   you   up

      i   *'r*   *job.*
      to   the   job

      'I'm afraid you wouldn't be up to the job.' (Ebenezer, 2000: 163)

(29) **Tro-dd**   **Cledwyn**   *y*   *sŵn*   *i fyny*   *ar*   *y*
      turn-3SG.PST   Cledwyn   the   sound   up   on   the

      chwaraewr CDs
      CD player

      'Cledwyn turned up the volume on the CD player.' (Prysor, 2008: 281)

(30) *wrth*   *ganfod*   *ei*   *fod*   *wedi*   ***oer-i***   ***i lawr***
      at   find.VN   his   be.VN   after   cool-VN   down

      i   *all-u*   *gwneyd*   *hyny*   *ymron*   *yn*   mechanical
      to   be.able-VN   do.VN   that   rather   ADV   mechnical

      'Upon discovering that he had cooled down to the point of being able
      to do this rather mechanically.' (Owen, 1885: 325)

(31) *Ac*   *os*   *ydy*   *pris*   *menyn*   *a*   *moch*   *wedi*   *cod-i,*
      and   if   be.3SG.PRS   price   butter   and   pig.COLL   after   rise-VN

      mae   *'u*   *bwyd-ydd*   *nhw*   *wedi*   *cod-i*   *hefyd,*   *ac*
      be.3SG.PRS   their   food-PL   3PL   after   rise-VN   also   and

      mae   *llog*   *arian*   *wedi*   ***mynd***   ***i fyny***.
      be.3SG.PRS   interest money   after   go.VN   up
      'And if the price of butter and pigs has risen, so too have feeding
      costs, and the rate of interest on the money we've had to borrow has
      gone up as well.' (Roberts, 1936: 187)

Like the first two uses that are ultimately derived from the postures of the
human body, references to locations on a vertical scale are also physical in ori-
gin; if objects are stacked on top of one another, the stack gets higher as there
are more items in it. Thus, in literal contexts, physical height corresponds to
larger amounts. Obviously this becomes metaphorical when the amounts in
question are temperatures or other non-physical qualities (such as someone's
expectations). The extension from physical to non-physical domains is never-
theless a totally ordinary kind of metaphor in human language.

4.1.4   Assembling, Building, Creating
The metaphorical use of *up* with verbs denoting acts of construction, inven-
tion or creation, too, is fairly transparent: building or assembling something, in
literal cases, generally involves the creation of physical elevation (e.g., *put up
the Christmas tree, set up equipment, prop up the wall*).

(32) *pa*   *beiriann-au*   *i*   *'w*   *cael*   *a*   *sut*   *i*
      what   machine-PL   to   3PL   get.VN   and   how   to

      'w   *gosod*   *i fyny*
      3PL   set.VN   up

      'What machines to get and how to set them up.' (Y Cymro, 5-6-2000: 21)

The metaphor is extended to nonliteral cases as well, in which the thing being created is not necessarily physical at all but may be intangible (e.g., *think up a plan, dream up an idea, cook up a scheme, conjure up a solution*).

(33) *Os* *ydi*   *o*   *gymaint* *o*   *isho*   *stori*   *wleidyddol,*   *be*
      if   be.3SG.PRS   he   so.much   of   want   story   political   what

      am   *wneud*   *un*   *i fyny.*
      about   make.VN   one   up

      'If he wants a political story so badly, what about making one up?'
        (Williams, 1999: 107)

Here, we are still comfortably in metaphorical language of abstraction that originally had a physical motivation.

4.1.5   Making Something Available for Consideration or Accessible to
            Perception
With this fifth use we still ultimately make reference to the physical orientation of the body. When an object is presented for examination, it must be made accessible to the eyes. In prototypical cases, objects are held with the hands, which are lower than the head, so examination of them involves bringing them "up" towards the head and the eyes. Example (34) nicely illustrates this prototypical case. Similarly, *hanging up* a poster (35) means posting it so as to present it for viewing.

(34) *tynnodd*   *fag*   *plastig*   *oddi*   *ar*   *goler*   *y*   *ci,*
      pull.3SG.PST   bag   plastic   from   on   collar   the   dog

      a   *'i*   *ddal*   *i fyny*   *fel* *y*   *gall-ai*
      and   3SG   hold.VN   up   as   CONJ   be.able-3SG.COND

pawb	*weld*	*y*	*ddwy*	*bilsen*	*las*	*yn*	*ei*	*waelod.*
all	see.VN	the	two	pill	blue	in	its	bottom

'He drew a plastic bag off the dog's collar and held it up so everyone could see the two white pills at the bottom of it.' (Price, 2010: 192)

(35)
Mi	*rodd-odd*	*yntau*	*ei*	*boster-i*
AFF	put-3SG.PST	he	his	poster-PL

Cymdeithas	*yr*	*Iaith*	*i fyny*	*yn*	*syth!*
Society	the	Language	up	ADV	at.once

'He put his Language Society posters up straight away!' (Roberts, 1990: 90)

By extension, bringing anything to human attention is bringing it "up", whether the mode of perception will be literal vision or simply intellectual awareness, and whether the thing to be contemplated is physical or abstract (e.g., *bring up a topic, the subject always comes up, My keys haven't turned up, to pop up on the screen, speak up so we can hear you*).

(36)
Ond	*er*	*noson*	*y*	*ddamwain,*	*yr*	*oedd*
but	since	night	the	accident	PRT	be.3SG.IPFV

yr	*olwyn-ion*	*nid*	*yn*	*unig*	*wedi*	*tro-i*	*ond*	*wedi*	*chwyrnell-u.*
the	wheel-PL	NEG	ADV	alone	after	turn-VN	but	after	whirl-VN

Cordd-ent	*i fyny*	*bob*	*hen*	*grach*	*o*	*waelod-ion*	*ei*
churn-3PL.IPFV	up	each	old	gripe	from	bottom-PL	her

hymwybod.
consciousness

'But since the night of the accident, the wheels hadn't just turned, they had whirled. They were churning up every old grievance from the depths of her conscious mind.' (Elis, 1956: 114–15)

(37) *mae*   *o*   *wedi*   *coll-i*   *myharan,*   *ac*   *yr*
      be.3SG.PRS   he   after   lose-VN   ram   and   PRT

      ydw   *inna*   *wedi*   **cymryd** *y*   *cês*   *i fyny*.
      be.1SG.PRS   I   after   take.VN   the   case   up

       'He has lost a ram, and I've taken the case up.' (Griffith, 1955: 119)

(38) *Dyna*   *'r*   *rheswm*   *pam*   *na*   *wna-wn*   *i*
      behold   the   reason   why   NEG   make-1SG.COND   I

      fyth   *athro.*   **Tro-i**   *fyny 'n yr ysgol*   *ddydd ar ôl dydd?*
      ever   teacher   turn-VN   up   in the school day   after day

       'There's the reason I'll never make a teacher. Me, turn up in school day
       after day?' (Owen, 2004: 99)

Thus, *up* in these uses means approximately '(made) accessible to human
awareness.'

4.1.6   Movement Towards a Goal or a Reference Point
Movement towards a reference point is regularly construed as *up* in English
(e.g., *He ran up to me on the sidewalk; We went up to the ticket window*). This is
distinct from literal uses in which change in vertical elevation is involved (*He
walked up the hill*).

(39) *roedd*   *fy*   *ngorffennol*   *i*   *i*   *'w*   *weld*
      be.3SG.IPFV   my   past   1SG   to   3SG.M   see.VN

      yn   **dal**   *i fyny*   *hefo*   *mi.*
      PRED   catch.VN   up   with   me

       'My past seemed to be catching up with me.' (Owen, 2004: 180)

Sometimes an utterance may be ambiguous between the two readings. If John
is standing at a higher elevation, *She walked up to John* can be intended liter-
ally. But it is also quite ordinary to utter this sentence even with no change in
elevation. This ambiguity, too, is attested in Welsh.

(40) *modur* *yn*   *tro-i*   *o*   *'r*   *ffordd* *ac*   *yn*   **dod**
      car   PRED   turn-VN   from   the   road   and   PRED   come.VN

      i fyny   **'r**   **dreif**
      up   the   drive

      'A car turning in from the road and coming up the drive.' (Elis, 1956: 112)

This use can be derived from the preceding one in which *up* meant 'accessible to awareness or perception', but it involves greater abstraction since the reference point need not be an animate perceiver. Thus, *He walked up to me* is more transparently motivated than *He walked up to the ticket window*. But even in the latter case one imagines an animate perceiver behind the window. Yet the reference point may even be a state or condition, towards which events are construed as leading. In other words, the goal or endpoint may be temporal rather than spatial.

(41) **Benn-odd**   **Tess lan**— *fel*   *y*   *rhan* *fwya*   *o*   *bobl*
      end-3SG.PST   Tess up   like   the   part   most   of   people

      oedd   *yn*   *wael*   *eu*   *meddwl*   *y*   *dydd-ie*   *hynny*—
      be.3SG-IMP   PRED   ill   their   mind   the day-PL   DEM

      wedi   *'i*   *chlym-u*   *i*   *fainc*
      after   her   tie-VN   to   bench

      'She ended up—like most mentally ill people in those days—strapped to a bench.'
      (Stevens, 2003: 217)

(42) *mi*   *o'dd*   *'i*   *threigliad-a*   *hi*   *'n*
      AFF   be.3SG.IPFV   her   transformation-PL   3SG.F   PRED

      para   *i*   *fod*   *yn*   *broblam* *idd-i*   *reit*   **i fyny**
      continue.VN   to   be.VN   PRED   problem   to-3SG.F   right   up

      at   **'i**   **marwolath.**
      to   her   death

      'Her transformations continued to be a problem for her right up to her death.' (Owen, 2004: 18)

Since this use involves a significantly greater level of abstraction than most of the preceding uses, the fact that Welsh can use its particles *i fyny* and *lan* in this way appears suggestive indeed of extensive contact with English. This is true as well for all of the remaining uses we identify below.

4.1.7 Joining, Bringing Together, Making more Compact

Flowing from the previous use of *up* in which to approach a reference point is to go *up* to it, the particle *up* can be further extended to refer to bringing things closer together or making them more compact (e.g., *hook up those wires, tie up the sticks, crumple up the letter, lock up the building*; Lindner, 1983: 143–44).

(43) *Mmm,   dwi   wrth   fy   modd   hefo   crempog*
      mmm   be.1SG.PRS   at   my   delight   with   crepe.COLL

      […].   Eu   rhowl-io i fyny, eu   torr-i   yn rhol-ion b ach,
      […]   their   roll-VN   up   their   cut-VN in roll-PL   small

      a   'u   bwyt-a   nhw   'n   boeth[18]
      and   their   eat-VN   3PL   PRED   hot

      'Mmm, I love crepes – […] Roll them up, cut them in small rolls, and eat them hot.'

(44) *Petai   fodd   clo-i   Jôs y Plisman   i fyny   yn*
      be.3SG.COND   way   lock-VN   Jôs the Policeman   up   in

      y   Rheinws   am y   noson
      the   hoosegow   for   the   night

      'If it were possible to lock Jones the Policeman up in the hoosegow for the night…' (Griffith, 1955: 58)

Like other uses seen thus far, what is made more compact or brought closer together may be one or more physical objects, like a crepe (43), but the image may also be extended to non-physical things, like beliefs.

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18   https://maes-e.com/viewtopic.php?f=26&t=27063 Consulted March 19, 2020.

(45) *mae*   *yn*   *gorfod*   **sym-io**   **i fyny**   *ei*   *gredo*
      be.3SG.PRS   PRED   oblige.VN   sum.VN   up   his   creed

      i   *ddau*   *air –*   *Ni-s*   *gwn.*
      to   two   word   NEG-3SG   know.1SG.PRS

      'He has to sum up his creed in two words: (I) don't know.' (Owen, 1894:
      251)`

4.1.8   Consuming, Filling or Covering Completely

It is not difficult to grasp the original physical value of *up* in *fill up a container*,
whose origin is iconic in that the level of the filling substance rises towards the
top; thus it is perceived as going *up*.

(46) *Os*   *bydd*   *ychwaneg*   *o*   *le*   *yn*   *cask,*
      if   be.3SG.FUT   more   of   place   in   cask

      llen-wch   *ef*   *i fyny*   *â*   *thriagl.*
      fill-2PL-IMP   it   up   with   treacle

      'If there is more room in the cask, fill it up with treacle.' (Humphreys,
      1860: 42)

Insofar as a container which is filled *up* is one that is *completely* filled, a meton-
ymy has resulted in which *up* can come to refer to the completeness with
which a thing is affected (e.g., *eat up the sandwich; the puddle dried up; use up
our matches; gas up the car; the windows fogged up*). The relevant notion is no
longer that of level, but simply that of completeness.

(47) *Teiml-wn*   *erbyn*   *hyn*   *fy*   *nhu mewn*   *yn*   *cael*   *ei*
      feel-1SG.IPFV   by   this   my   inside   PRED   get.VN   its

      fwyt-a   **i fyny**   *gan*   *gywilydd.*
      eat.VN   up   with   shame

      'By this time I felt my insides being eaten up with shame.' (Owen, 1885:
      298)

(48) **angeu** *yn*   **sel-io**   *y*   **wybodaeth**   **werthfawr** **i fyny** *am* *byth*
      death   PRED   seal-VN   the   knowledge   valuable   up   for   ever

      'Death sealing the important knowledge up forever.' (Wyn, 1906: 89)

The motivation for the use of *up* to convey the completeness with which a thing is affected is not obvious until the connection is made with the image of a container being filled up. Even then, it is a highly idiosyncratic choice, and one that languages do not frequently come upon.

4.1.9 Affecting something to its full or canonical extent

This ninth use is closely related to the preceding one having to do with completeness of affectedness, differing from it in that it additionally introduces a canonical endpoint. For instance, when one *dresses up*, *cleans up one's room*, or *tightens up the screw*, there is an implied canonical result or state of preparation (Lindner, 1983: 158–59).

(49) *Yn   enwedig pan   mae   o   wedi   'i   **wisg-o**   **i fyny**
      ADV   namely   when   be.3SG.PRS   he   after   his   dress-VN   up

      fatha   clown.
      as   clown

      'Especially when he's dressed up like a clown.' (Price, 2010: 271)

(50) *mae   hi   'n   cynnwys   gweinydd-u 'r   cwsmer-iaid,*
      be.3SG.PRS she   PRED   include.VN   serve-VN   the   customer-PL

      golch-i   i fyny,   *glan-hau   a   gosod   byrdd-ay (sic)...*[19]
      wash-VN   up   clean-VN   and   set.VN   table-pl

      'It includes waiting on the customers, washing up, cleaning and setting tables.'

(51) *Yn   haf   y   flwyddyn   1879, **yr   oedd**   fy   amser i fyny*
      in   summer   the year   1879 PRT be.3SG-IMP my   time   up

      yn   y   coleg
      in   the   college

      'In the summer of the year 1879, my time was up in the college.' (Wyn, 1907: 87)

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19   This is a quote from the website: http://www.engagetochange.org.uk/article/meet-ambassadors-elsa/?lang=cy; consulted on March 17, 2020.

In (51), when a student's time is up at college, this implies that she has reached some recognizable endpoint, such as completing her studies. In (52), we get a large group of people being broken up into smaller groups of a specified, and thus canonical, size.

(52) *Torr-odd*   *y*   *cwmni*   *y*   *perthyn-ai*   *Huw*
     break-3SG.PST   the   company   PRT   belong-3SG.IPFV   Huw

     a   *'i*   *gyfeill-ion*   *idd-o*   *i fyny*   *'n*   *adrann-au*
     and   his   friend-PL   to.3SG.M   up   PRED   department-PL

     o   *ddeng*   *person*   *bob*   *un.*
     of   ten   person   each   one

     'The company that Huw and his friends belonged to broke up into units of ten people each.' (Boyer, 1960: 97)

It is worth noting that the different uses identified in this or any other typology of metaphorical extensions are probably never mutually exclusive. Dividing a big group into smaller ones in example (52) would seem to fit just as well under the label of *making more compact*, explored in 3.1.7.

4.1.10   Preparing Something for Action

Finally, the tenth use refers to bringing something into a state of preparation or getting it ready for action, e.g., *saddle up the horses, rouse up the crowds*. This use of *up* hints at at least two of the preceding metaphors: uprightness is the readiness posture of humans (3.1.1), and something prepared for action has been the focus of human attention and has been made accessible, as to the hands (3.1.5).

(53) *"Oh*   *ma*   *'r*   *Iwnionists*   *yn*   *cael*   *i*
     oh   be.3SG.PRS   the   Unionists   PRED   get.VN   their

     chwip-io   *i fyny*   *yn*   *ofnatsan*   *ar ol*   *y*   *llythyr-au*   *rheiny*
     whip-VN   up   ADV   horrible   after   the   letter-PL   those

     yn   *y*   *Times..."*
     in   the   Times

     'Oh, the Unionists are being whipped up horribly after those letters in the Times.' (Evans, 1898: 23)

Taking up arms refers of course to acquiring and holding them in a state of readiness for use.

(54) *Chwardd-ai*   *'n*   *ddistaw*   *wrth-o*   *ef*   *ei hun*
      laugh-3SG.IPFV   ADV   quiet   to-3SG.M   him   himself

      o   *ddychmyg-u*   *gweld*   *wyneb*   *y*   *Cyrnol*   *pe*   *bai*
      of   imagine-VN   see.VN   face   the   Colonel   if   be.3SG.CND

      'n   *dweud*   *wrth-o*   *nad*   *oedd*   *am*   *gymryd*
      PRED   say.VN   to-3SG.M   NEG   be.3SG.IPFV for   take.VN

      arf   *i fyny*   *mwy-ach;*
      arm   up   more-CPRT

      'He laughed quietly to himself, imagining seeing the Colonel's face if he
      told him that he didn't want *to take up arms* any more.' (Boyer, 1960: 56)

    The ten uses that we have catalogued here are not exhaustive – no list would
be – nor are they totally mutually exclusive. But they do give a fairly compre-
hensible and comprehensive breakdown of the figurative uses of *up* and its
Welsh equivalent, showing how these uses are ultimately motivated and not
purely arbitrary.
    In the next section, we turn to another Celtic pattern used to express posi-
tions of the body (thus, another way to express the ideas in 4.1.1).

4.2   *Verbs of Bodily Posture*

The uses of *up* related to postures of the human body seen especially in 4.1.1
above are a particularly interesting category of metaphorical extensions in that
the use of the particle coexists with what is arguably an older, more traditional
pan-Celtic pattern making use of a possessive construction but no directional
particle. Some illustrative examples in Welsh are as follows.

(55) *Munud*   *wedyn*   *fe*   *saf-odd*   *yn*   *ei*   *gwrcwd*   *ar*   *ben*
      minute   later   AFF   stand-3SG.PST   in   his   squat   on   head

      y   *mur.*
      the   wall

      'A moment later he crouched down (lit. stood in his crouching) on top
      of the wall.' (Lewis, 1930: 32)

(56) **Cod-odd   Karl   i   'w   sefyll   ac   edrych   arn-i.**
rose-3SG   Karl   to   his   stand.VN   and   look.VN   at-3SGF

'Karl stood up (lit. rose in his standing) and looked at her.' (Elis, 1956: 33)

(57) **Cod-ai   'n   fore-ach,   eistedd-ai   'n   hwyr**
rose-IMP-3SG   ADV   early-COMP   sat-IMP-3SG   ADV   late

ar   ei   draed   yn   darllen.
on   his   feet   PRED   read.VN

'He rose earlier, and sat up (lit. sat on his feet) late reading.' (Elis, 1953: 98)

(58) *Dilynodd   Tom   y   llais   i   weld   Ifan   yn   **eistedd***
followed-3SG   Tom   the   voice   to   see.VN   Ifan   PRED   sit.VN

yn   ei   gwman   wrth   y   tân
in   his   crouch   by   the   fire

'Tom followed the voice to see Ifan crouching (lit. sitting in his crouching) by the fire.' (Lewis, 2007: 60)

(59) *Byddai   'n   well   iddo   **aros   ar   ei   eistedd** yn*
be-COND-3SG   ADV   better   to-3SGM   wait.VN   on   his   sit.VN   in

ei   oed   o.
his   age   3SGM

'It would be better for him to remain seated (lit. stay on his sitting) at his age.' (Roberts, 1980: 112)

The antiquity of this pattern is clear from a comparison with Breton, where the same kinds of possessive pattern are used.

(60) *Mimi Andro   a   zeu-as   ruz-ruz,   prest   da   leñv-añ.*
Mimi Andro   PRT   come-3SG.PST   red-red   near   to   weep-VN

Jani,   hi,   a   oa   sav-et   en   he   sav.
Jani   3SGF   PRT   was   rise-PP   in   her   stand

Mimi Andro turned really red, nearly in tears. As for Jani, she stood up (lit. rose in her standing).' (Drezenn, 1977)

(61) *Hogen, dilavar   e   **chôme**   an   dud **en** **o**   **sav***
      but   speechless PRT stay-IMP-3SG the   folks in   their stand

      en-dro   d'   an   tantad.
      around   to   the   bonfire

      'But people stood (lit. remained in their standing) silently around the
      bonfire.' (Gwalarn, 1938, nos. 110–111: 9)

(62) *ur vigoudenn   gozh,   **en** **he** **c'hoazez**,   war dreuzoù   an*
      a   Bigouden-F   old   in   her   sitting   on   threshhold the

      nor   houarn   vras.
      door   iron   big

      'An old Bigouden woman, sitting (lit. in her sitting) in the doorway of
      the big iron door.' (Drezenn, 1977)

(63) *Un   evnig   gant   va   c'houlmig   wenn,   Dindan*
      a   bird-DIM   with   my   dove-DIM   white   under

      *hec'h eskell,   en   he   neizh, Hag hi brav   **war** **he***
      her   wing-PL   in   her nest   and she lovely on   her

      ***fuch**   e-   kreiz*
      squatting   in   middle

      'A little birdie with my white dove, under her wings, in her nest,
      looking fine, squatting (lit. on her squatting) right in the middle.' (Al
      Liamm, 1972, no. 153: 181)

(64) ***Sev-el** **a**   **re-as**   **war** e   **goazez**, kreg-iñ   a   re-as*
      rise-VN PRT did-3SG on   his sitting   grasp-VN   PRT   did-3SG

      en   e   fuzuilh
      in   his   gun

      'He sat up (lit. rose on his sitting), he grabbed his gun...' (Inizan, 1977 :
        219)

What is particularly interesting is that modern Welsh often offers a three-way choice for how to express changes of posture.[20] For 'she sat down', one may encounter any of the following.

(*a*)   *Aeth hi ar ei heistedd.* (lit. 'went she on her sitting')
(*b*)   *Eisteddodd hi.* (lit. 'sat she')
(*c*)   *Eisteddodd hi i lawr.* (lit. 'sat she down.')

Pattern (c) has been regarded by Welsh scholars as being attributable to contact with English. For instance, Listewnik (2018), who considers the particle to be pleonastic in expressions like *tyfu i fyny* 'to grow up' and *eistedd i lawr* 'to sit down', notes that these instances are "mentioned in [the] literature as nonstandard borrowings from English." This is also the view of Peter Wynn Thomas in his monumental Welsh grammar (1996: 561). Thomas suggests that these calques are limited to informal Welsh and especially speech.[21]

Needless to say, the fact that scholars believe something does not necessarily make it true. But it is not irrelevant to note that the particle verb constructions for these posture expressions are completely lacking in Breton; of the three possible formulations given above, patterns (a) and (b) are quite usual in Breton but pattern (c) is unattested. On the other hand, the three patterns are attested in the Goidelic languages, and (c) is in fact attested as early as Old Irish.[22]

Whether or not the use of *up* (and *down*) in Welsh for posture verbs is an Anglicism, the fact remains that it is perceived as one, and it clearly resembles the English pattern strongly whereas pattern (a), the old Celtic idiom, is quite unlike English. English influence could then be predicted to favor patterns (b) and especially (c) and to disfavor pattern (a).[23] We cannot provide a thorough

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20   These three patterns are also attested in Irish (Nancy Stenson, personal communication 3/16/2020).

21   Giving the examples (Thomas, 1996: 561) *llenwi allan* 'fill out', *codi i fyny* 'get up', *torri i ffwrdd* 'break off', *eistedd i lawr* 'sit down', *syrthio i lawr* 'fall down' and *ysgrifennu i lawr* 'write down' as translations from English which are common in informal Welsh and especially speech, Thomas notes that in the formal context of the National Eisteddfod, for instance, the Archdruid would never invite the winning bard to "eistedd i lawr yn hedd yr Eisteddfod' ('sit down in the peace of the Eisteddfod'). The verb *eistedd* 'sit' is always used in such a setting without the particle.

22   Kevin Scannell (personal communication, 3/16/2020) provided the following example from a 14th century manuscript of the Táin: *Said sís, or Ailill, co nimberam fidchill* 'Sit down, said Ailill, so that we may play chess.'

23   The Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru or University of Wales Historical Dictionary (available online at http://geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html) provides dates of first attestation, though for early phenomena their dates are suggestive at best, in part because Old Welsh is poorly documented. They do nonetheless confirm that the possessive phrases are older than the PV formulations: *yn ei eistedd* 'in his sitting' is given as 13th century, *eistedd i lawr* 'sit down' as

study of this competition here, but preliminary evidence does strongly suggest that patterns (b) and especially (c) are the usual way to express these ideas today, at least in informal language. Pattern (a) appears highly marked, limited to formal usage. One piece of evidence for this is that a recent translation of the Bible (available on beibl.net) that describes itself as "Y Beibl mewn Cymraeg llafar syml" ('The Bible in simple spoken Welsh') quite often uses pattern (c) where the earlier translations of the Bible (in versions of 1567, 1588, 1620 and 1988) often do not (but occasionally do, so this is not absolute); the Celtic idiom of pattern (a) is most likely to occur in William Salesbury's New Testament (1567), and least likely to occur on beibl.net.[24]

5   Discussion: A Usage-Based Perspective on Language Contact

Probably few would disagree that the extent to which Welsh speakers replicate idiomatic English PV s in their Welsh is a rather far-reaching and extensive language contact outcome. In this article we have attempted to analyse the linguistic motivation for this contact outcome.

Traditional semantic analyses of non-literal PV constructions in English, as of idioms in general, have seen them as non-compositional. If this were true, translating such expressions literally into another language could only be a matter of calquing many dozens (if not hundreds) of individual idiomatic expressions, without any particular rhyme or reason for doing so apart from the general subconscious desire of a bilingual community to make its languages converge. But there would be no particular motivation for such convergence to target PV s in particular.

A CL perspective on PV constructions, on the other hand, sees them as compositional; CL analysis reveals that the particles have meanings, even if these are metaphorical, and thus they contribute to the semantics of the resulting PV constructions. This has not always been seen clearly, because the meanings of the particles are not simple. For instance, in her discussion of OUT, Lindner (1983: 109) said: "[C]omponentiality may be recognized only if OUT is characterized not as having a SINGLE meaning, but as having a UNIFIED meaning, that is, if the predicate is viewed as a schematic hierarchy in which more highly specified versions are united at various levels of abstraction by schemas

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1567 and *eisedd i fyny* 'sit up' as 1588. *Ar ei eistedd* 'on his sitting', unfortunately, is undated, simply marked *Ar lafar yn gyffredin* ('in speech, generally').

24   Some suggestive verses include Genesis 48: 2 and 49: 9, Ruth 3: 7, Esther 3: 15, Mattthew 5: 1, Mark 1: 7, and Acts 9: 40.

extracted from them." Clearly the same claims can be made of the extended senses of UP, as we have sought to show in this essay.

Thus, we have argued that the Welsh-English contact result is a natural if still infrequent product of bilingualism, made possible in that (1) the so-called idiomatic PVs of English are motivated by CMs, and (2) Welsh happened to have the linguistic machinery needed to follow the contact language, English, down this particular path.

In Wales, we thus have to do with a speech community (understood here with continuity over many centuries), one of the languages of which made extensive and productive use of a set of CMs, realized in the form of PVs. Given what is known about the reduction of cognitive effort in the bilingual mind by progressive convergence on a single conceptual analysis of the world (as opposed to two separate analyses, one for each language; Matras, 2009), the unsurprising result is that the productive metaphors that were pervasive in one language of the community ultimately came to find expression in its other language as well. In other words, the bilingual speech community increasingly saw (and sees) the world through the lens of a single set of CMs.

This particular kind of convergence certainly did not happen overnight. Non-literal uses of the Welsh particles are first attested sporadically in the 16th century (according to the dates of first attestation provided in the Welsh historical dictionary, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Geiriadur). For instance, *dwyn i fyny* 'to bring up (children)' and *eistedd i fyny* 'to sit up' both appear as early as 1588; *gwneud i fyny* 'to make up, put together' and *llosgi i fyny* 'to burn up', both 1658, and *tyfu i fyny* 'to grow up', 1691. Many others do not appear until the 19th century (*taflu i fyny* 'to throw up', 1849; *troi i fyny* 'to turn up, come to light', 1858) or are simply labeled *Ar lafar yn gyffredin*, that is "In speech, generally" and not dated (e.g., *troi i fyny* 'to turn up (sound, light, heat)', *rhoddi i fyny* 'to put someone up, provide lodging for someone'). Thus we see the gradual emergence of the network of uses, as a usage-based model of language contact would predict.

Given the high frequency of PVs in English (and in Welsh), this outcome represents a rather considerable kind of convergence of the two languages, and given the large number of meanings that the metaphorical extensions of the particles convey, the full-scale sharing of a single set of conceptual resources in this area achieves an important reduction in the cognitive load of the Welsh-English bilingual community.[25] This has undoubtedly facilitated the

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25 Already in Weinreich (1953: 8), "a partial identification of the systems is to the bilingual a reduction of his linguistic burden." Similarly, Matras (2009) talks about "flexibility in recruiting patterns from within [the bilingual's] entire linguistic repertoire", without regard to traditional language boundaries.

maintenance of bilingualism by the community without the need to have two completely different ways of construing the world around it, in linguistic terms.

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