# Typologi ar Brezhoneg
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## ABSTRACTS

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### Breton reflexives: Stability in a dynamic typological landscape

Beginning with the Middle Ages, the linguistic landscape in north-western Europe underwent major changes: the languages on the British Isles (Insular Celtic and several varieties of English) started to become ever more similar to each other while at the same time collectively diverging from the relatively stable contact varieties on the continent.

The situation of Breton in this dynamic setting is a very special one: being a language of Brittonic descent, its typological profile initially clearly patterns with the languages on the British Isles. Subsequently, given the massive exposition of Breton to continental languages, one is lead to hypothesize that Breton picked up the dynamics of its contact languages and diverged from the Insular area by accommodating its typological profile to the quickly emerging continental area.

In order to assess this hypothesis and to examine the path Breton took between its closest relatives Welsh and Cornish and the ever growing influence of Gallo-Romance varieties, we took a closer look at a particular construction, namely the way in which reflexivity is expressed, and compared the development of the typological profile of Breton to the changing profiles of a dense sample of languages attested in the same spatio-temporal setting.

To do so, we calculated the changing similarities between the sampled languages and Breton; the plot below shows the measured change in similarity towards the expression of reflexivity in Breton from the high Middle Ages (roughly 1200 CE) until today. As can be seen from this map, the languages on the continent and in broader Scandinavia converge with Breton, while the languages on the British Isles and Breton drift apart.

These results suggest that Breton, which is located at the white border between blue and reddish-purple in the centre of Brittany, did not actually move away from the Isles towards the continent. Rather, Breton remains stable, and it is, on the one hand, the continent that drifts towards Breton, with the Isles moving away simultaneously.

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**Typological properties of word order in Breton –
and what they show us about syntactic typology**

Among the Celtic languages it is probably the word-order pattern of Breton that has been discussed most controversially. This paper discusses alternative approaches to Breton word order (either a VSO language in line with Borsley et al. 1996, or essentially a verb-second language in line with Anderson 2000) and parameters required to account for the attested variation, demonstrating that a part of the variation still remains unexplained by these approaches. The paper aims to show that the word order possibilities of Breton in fact reveal the scoping properties of the involved functional elements in a clear-cut way (e.g. the sentence-initial negation scopes over the final verbal predicate and is followed by it; it does not scope directly over verbal complements and cannot be followed by them, etc.). These regularities constrain the basic rule of fronting to the first position due to assignment of either Topic or Focus. Further typological discussion points to different possibilities of scoping in Celtic and a partly similar group, Slavic (further elaborating on Borsley et al. 1996).

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**Breton verbal syntax: An explanatory framework**

Breton manages the trick of being at the same time both VSO (from Insular Celtic) and V2 (from Old French and ultimately Germanic). A more accurate characterization would be (P = predicate) (X)PSO and T2 (tense-second), where X in "lead-in presentations" may be S(ubject) / O(bject / Prep Phrase / Adv. etc. and either focused ˈX or thematic, scene-setting ºX; "bare presentations" PSO do not have much differential information structure – the whole clause is relatively new information. There are two adjustment rules which ensure that in affirmative predicate-initial bare presentation PSO the T2 constraint is observed (thus making the simplest affirmative PSO clauses derived, typologically highly unusual): (a) AUXILIARY-DO CREATION and (b) AUX-PRED INVERSION. In negative clauses, the negative tense particle *ne* may fill the first position, making such adjustment rules unnecessary; but *ne* also freely admits constituents to its left.

There are three basic verbal structures: (a) SIMPLE VERB, (b) AUX-PRED (verbal, adjectival, nominal, existential predicates); (c) DYN-VP + GRAMMATICAL VERB (as in English, the progressive construction is limited to dynamic, not stative, verbs, and this also goes for the ACTIVITY-DO STRUCTURE, which is thus not a mere variant of AUXILIARY-DO in affirmative bare PSO presentations).

"Conjugated" tense+person endings are seen as the result of POST-VERBAL SUBJECT PRONOUN INCLUSION, and a scenario is proposed to explain the unusual, asymmetric lack of subject agreement in affirmative S V order, but presence of subject agreement in negative S V order.

When considering the constructions found in a given Breton variety, the same example needs to be tested (a) with an expressed lexical subject, and (b) with the corresponding pronominal subject, which when post-verbal, will be subject-included and not a separate element. There appears to be an increasing reluctance in many varieties to allow SO order with expressed lexical subjects: this means that certain squares in the framework may be becoming obsolescent, depending on whether the subject is lexical or pronominal.

In some varieties, especially in the south-west, there appears to be slackening of the traditional T2 constraint, with more than one constituent allowed before the element bearing tense.

Finally, the traditional embedded clause order was PSO only (with no adjustment rules needed since the matrix clause complementizer is deemed to fill the first position). However, since at least the 18th century, SPO orders have been allowable in some embedded clauses, but not all: "factual" complementizers such as 'I think that John will come' often show embedded SPO order (in Arabic, they *require* it), but "virtual" complementizers like 'I want John to come' do not (Arabic requires PSO for these).

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### The typological significance of voicing and devoicing patterns in Breton

Breton phonology demonstrates many voicing and devoicing patterns, including final devoicing of obstruents, regressive voicing assimilation in sandhi (including the typologically unusual pre-sonorant voicing), provection in consonant clusters, suffix-driven provection, 'exceptional sandhi' before items such as *bennak*, devoicing in sandhi before 'phantom *h*', and patterns related to the lenition and provection mutations; conspicuously missing, however, is word-internal regressive voicing assimilation of a type found in Romance or Slavic.

I explore the significance of these facts for several recent approaches to the phonological representation of laryngeal contrasts. I demonstrate that all the Breton patterns enumerated above submit to an analysis where the fortis ('voiceless') obstruents are more marked than the lenis ('voiced') series. Hence, Breton is phonologically more similar to languages like Welsh, where *fortes* are aspirated and *lenes* are partially voiced, than to languages like French where *fortes* are unaspirated and *lenes* are fully voiced. Phonetically, Breton is like French rather than Welsh, against the predictions of 'laryngeal realism'. I argue that Breton provides crucial evidence against the tight coupling of phonological representation and phonetic substance; however, contrary to some recent arguments, patterns such as the Breton ones do not prove that laryngeal features are binary rather than privative.

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### Verbs with *en em* in Modern Breton

Old Brittonic *im* from the Proto-Celtic preposition *\*ambi-* 'about, at all sides' underwent quite different developments in the individual Brittonic languages. In Middle Welsh, the verbal prefix *ym-* functions predominantly as a marker of middle situation types, while *ym-* as a reflexive marker is rare. From early Middle Welsh onwards, the intensifier *X hun(an)* (*my hun, dy hun, e hun* etc.) co-occurs in this function and becomes the only marker in Modern Welsh.

In South-West-Brittonic, the verbal prefixes Breton *em* and Cornish *om-* become the standard reflexive and reciprocal markers, while verbs belonging to other middle situation types seem to be used frequently without the prefix. In addition, Breton *em* became combined with personal pronouns and the combination *en em*, consisting of *em* preceded by the of 3sg. mask. pronoun *en* is considered by modern grammarians rather as a pronoun than as a verbal prefix. Due to linguistic convergence with French, bilingual speakers frequently equate *en em* with the French reflexive and reciprocal marker *se*, which is also a pronoun.

The present paper will examine the functions and distribution of *en em* in a corpus of written texts of native speakers of Breton and compare them to those of Middle Breton and Middle Welsh.

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### Typology and microsyntactic variation of Breton embedded V2 orders

Contrary to most verb-second Germanic languages, Breton allows for more than one element before the tensed verb, like Old Romance languages, or Germanic Mòcheno or Cimbrian. Breton is unique in allowing heads to saturate V2 (*linear V2*), which could prevent V2 in embedded, but Breton has a wide array of embedded V2 orders, going beyond cases reducible to parataxis.

I develop a typology of embedded V2 with corpus data and elicitations with traditional native speakers from three different dialectal points in Leon and Kerne. Embedded V2 appears like in Germanic in adjunct causal clauses, complements of verbs of saying and thinking (1) - (3), or relatives of temporal nouns (4). V2 after *ma* or *pa* are typologically isolated and show strict dialectal & syntactic restrictions.

1) *Me oar   a-walh **lar**   eur vuoh wenn he-deus kalz a lêz.*                    *(Uhelgoat)*

2) *N'  ouzon ket  **ha** ( lennet /-g-eñ ) en deus (lennet) al  levr.*                    *(Treger)*

3) *Bevañ a reomp un amzer **hag** <u>gouzout</u> a ra ar vugale …*                    *(Lesneven)*

4) a.        *Kontant e vichen      **ma** <u>d'ar gouel</u>   e teufe   Yann.*      *(Plougerneau)*

  b.    * /?                                                          *(Lesneven)*

  c.    *                                                          (*Kerne*)

5)     *Joaius e   vez **pa**  ( <u>Yann</u> )  deu  (Yann)  d'ar gouel.*        *(Plougerneau)*

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**Variation in Breton stress patterns: monosyllabic stress shift**

This paper examines stress patterns in Breton noun phrases where a monosyllabic noun is preceded by the indefinite article or the numeral *daou/div* 'two'. In the KLT dialects of Breton, stress falls on the penultimate syllable (although the Vannetais dialects tend to have final syllable stress). Existing accounts of KLT Breton (e.g. Desbordes, 1983) state that when a monosyllabic noun is preceded by certain function words (including the indefinite article and numerals), the stress shifts from the noun to the article, e.g. *ún ti* 'a house', in contrast to *an tí* 'the house'. However, further investigation reveals that in fact there is much variation in this feature, and many KLT speakers do not seem to use it. Data from linguistic atlases indicate that monosyllabic stress shift is confined to the north and west of the KLT dialects, and even within this area, it is often absent. Further data from the Banque Sonore des Dialects Bretons (Cheveau et al, 2018) sustain this picture, and suggest that there may be a substantial degree of interspeaker variation. This suggests that loss of monosyllabic stress shifts may be part of an existing change in Breton, which may have begun much earlier in its history.

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**The recategorisation of the inflected preposition *a* 'of' as direct object and subject pronouns in the Breton of south-central Cornouaille**

While the function of the inflected preposition *a* (*ac'hanon* 'of me', *ac'hanout* 'of thee', *anezhañ* 'of him', *anezhi* 'of her'…) as a direct object pronoun is well-known in KLT Breton, its use as a sentence-final subject-referent for the third person singular/plural is less well known. The objective of this paper is thus to describe its use by traditional speakers from south-central Cornouaille as well as the syntactic and semantic constraints to which it is subjected.

One of the arguments that will be made is that both functions of pronominal *a* appear to be internal to Breton and are part of an ongoing synthetic-to-analytical shift in the language.

I shall conclude with a discussion of some potential diachronic explanations for this phenomenon as well as possible parallels in Welsh.

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### Les phrases sans verbe conjugué en moyen-breton : Phrases nominales, phrases à nom verbal.

On propose un classement des différents types de phrases sans verbe : phrases nominales sans verbe copule ni verbe être conjugué, et phrases avec un noyau nom verbal (qui peut être le nom verbal du verbe être). On doit d'abord reconnaître les produits de la « réduction en coordination » : ellipse du verbe être dans la phrase coordonnée à une première phrase comportant le verbe être ; substitution du nom verbal au verbe conjugué en coordination, lorsque les désinences de temps, de personne du verbe précédent devraient être répétées. Mais les phrases sans verbe ont un spectre d'emplois bien plus large que ce que l'on attendrait de la réduction. Elles peuvent être indépendantes, ou coordonnées, ou apposées (l'apposition se faisant à différents niveaux de syntaxe). Les constructions apposées et coordonnées comportent en général un pronom en coréférence avec un élément du contexte immédiatement précédent. En apposition ou coordination, l'effet de sens est souvent comparable à celui des « constructions absolues » (ablatif absolu du latin ou génitif absolu du grec). On donne ci-dessous quelques exemples.

### Phrases nominales apposées :

Apposée à un nom, *euel vn den <u>collet gantaff e squient</u>*  (Cath. 28), « comme un homme qui a perdu sa conscience »

Apposée à un verbe, *ez eo tremenet hebiou dit <u>goloet he visaich</u>* (Cath. 34) « … elle est passée à côté de toi le visage couvert ».

*Joseph a yez… da Pylat gant poes, da mennat espres corff hon roe Jesus, <u>ef pur morchedus</u>* (J. 151b) « Joseph alla auprès de Pilate pour lui demander expressément le corps de notre roi Jésus, lui (étant) très triste »

### Phrases nominales coordonnées (ou mieux, apposées-coordonnées):

*Pan oa golchet net / Ho treit gant Roe an bet / <u>Hac ef morchedus</u>* (J 19 b) « Quand leurs pieds eurent été lavés proprement par le Roi du monde, et lui (étant) triste »

*Na pez rez a prezeguez te / en cuz, <u>ha hy fals evalse</u> ?* (J 76-77) « Et quelle loi prêches-tu en cachette, et elle si fausse ? »

*Comz ouz e mam ne estlam quet / <u>ha hy marou-yen ha lyenet</u>* (Gwen. 1081-2) « il ne s'étonne pas de parler à sa mère, et elle complètement morte, et ensevelie »

### Nom verbal apposé :

*Claff uoe gant auy an Roue Herodes dre fin frenesy / <u>Ho bout deuet ho try</u> da clasq ho Siluat* (Nl 270) « Le roi Hérode fut malade de jalousie, par une parfaite folie, qu'ils soient venus tous trois pour chercher leur Sauveur »

### Nom verbal apposé-coordonné :

*Ne deux tra temporal na metal en talfe / Aour a larg nac archant, <u>ha bout an hoant gante</u>* (M 1800-01) « il n'y a chose temporelle ni métal qui le vaille, or ni argent en quantité, quoiqu'on les désire »

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### Some remarks on the grammatical innovations and metatypic changes in Premodern Breton

The Modern Breton language presents some grammatical and syntaxic innovations being a result of metatypic changes due to the trilingualism (Breton, Latin and French) of the authors of written literature and the first descriptive and prescriptive grammars and colloquies. The changes appear in Middle Breton but during the so called Premodern period of Breton (seventeenth–eighteenth centuries) become one of the characteristics of the written language.

The influence of Latin and French can be seen in the appearance in Middle Breton of the verb *kaout/endevout* 'to have' formed on the basis of *bezañ/bout* 'to be'. The necessity of setting it up as a separate verb instead of simply operating with an inflected form of *bezañ/bout* is not at all obvious if we start from the Breton verbal system. Another example of metatypy is the word *pehini*, pl. *pere* 'which' not existing in colloquial Breton but invented by Breton-speaking priests in order to translate Latin prayers and lives of saints.

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### The "Person-Case" Constraint in Breton

In a range of languages of various case alignments (Icelandic, Finnish; Basque; Choctaw, Chinook), oblique subject + nominative/absolutive object constructions (e.g. DAT BE NOM/ABS = 'have') are subject to a constraint whereby the nominative object is restricted to 3rd person, while a 1st/2nd person is ineffable or coded in a way otherwise unavailable (nonagreement, strong form, or accusative/ergative). This work examines the constraint in

Breton (accusative alignment). A single construction presents a candidate structure for the constraint, that of *have* originating in oblique possessor + BE + nominative object. The constraint is found in relevant descendants (type *hon eus int* rather than regularisations to plain transitives). A comparative study clarifies the Breton construction, e.g. *have*-structures in Finnish share with Breton a parallelism in the coding of objects of *have* and imperatives, and Icelandic sheds light on variation in the treatment of 1st/2nd person objects of *have* in Breton. In turn, Breton contributes evidence about the nature of the constraint; of particular interest is dialectal replacement of originally nominative enclitic morphology by morphology adapted from prepositional agreement/clitics for objects of *have* and imperatives but not other uses of enclitics.

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**Complex prepositions in Breton**

Complex prepositions are a rich and striking aspect of Celtic typology. Breton complex prepositions of the type [prep + noun] make use of three complementation patterns with a pronominal complement, illustrated below with *a-enep* 'against' which is attested in all three patterns:

Pattern 1:      *en  da  enep*
                in  your  against

Pattern 2:      *a-enep      dit*
                against to-you

Pattern 3:      *enepdout*
                against.2sg

In Pattern 1, the personal complement is expressed as a possessive infix, thus prep + poss + noun. In Pattern 2, the prep + noun is followed by a simple preposition with its usual personal inflections; thus, *a-enep* 'against' becomes *a-enep da*. Pattern 3 is arguably the most grammaticalized in that the etymologically complex prep + noun has fused into a simplex preposition which is then inflectable accordingly. A fourth pattern, the predominant trend in colloquial Welsh though much less so in Breton, is for prepositions (complex or simple) to take pronominal objects directly (e.g. *etre eñ ha Jefinig* 'between Jefinig and him').

Here we propose a study examining the structure and use of complex prepositions in a corpus of Breton texts, including literary production and oral folklore, as well as their presentation in descriptive grammars.

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## Kudenn ar c'hensonennoù-dibenn e brezhoneg

Gant ma c'helenner brezhoneg Albert Boché e oa bet termenet peder reolenn diazez evid ar brezhoneg komzet : an taol-mouezh, hirder ar vogalenn dindan an taol-mouezh, divouezhadur ar gensonenn en dibenn absolut hag **ar liammadurioù**.

Nawazh e oa bet ankouaet ar liammadurioù e studïoù ar yezhoniourion, un ankouaadeg guriuz gant ar pouezuz m'ema fenomenoù ar juntadur er yezh komzet. Rag stankoc'h e kaver enni liammadurioù eged **kemmadurioù**. Daoust da se e oa chomet ar liammadurioù er-maez ag ar preder, beteg hiziw c'hoazh, koulz lâred.

Dindan levezon ar galleg ema ar brezhoneg hiziw-an-deiz, liammadurioù enkontet. Evid kompren ar wask-se e tiskouezin mod-ober ar galleg ha heni ar brezhoneg war ar poent-se.

Ouzhpenn-se e welimp ar liamm stard a zo etre ar yezh skrivet hag ar yezh komzet ha penaoz e c'hoari an **efed Buben** a-fed liammadurioù er brezhoneg a-vremañ.

Gant choaz ar c'hensonennoù dibenn-ger eh omp amañ fasibl. E 1941, pa oa bet savet ar **peurunvan**, e oa bet dalc'het gant ur reolenn termenet e 1902, pa ne ouie ket an dud e oa daou rummad lostgerioù e brezhoneg. Ur choaz tidel e ouiomp hiziw e oa digempouell pa welomp e efedoù war ar brezhoneg komzet.

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## Brezoneg Plougerne

E-pad ur bloavez hanter etre ar bloaveziou 2003 ha 2004 on bet o chom war ar mêz e parrez Plougerne e Leon. D'ar mare-se e oa dre vraz beo ar yez e-touez an dud hag o doa ouzpenn pemp bloaz hag hanter kant, da lavared eo, an dud ganet a-raog 1950. Enrollet ha filmet ez eus bet war-dro ugent den er barrez ha war dro kant a zo bet o sikour ahanon gant ar rannyez, en o zouez ar skrivagner Goulc'han Kervella. En eur heulia ar studiou hag ar yezaduriou anavezet mad hag en eur gomz eo bet notennet stummou ar rannyez, met an oll a jom war baper. Klask a rin diskouez amañ eun tamm diouz ar pez a zo bet graet, komz diwar-benn stad ar yez ha rei eun tañva anezi deoh.

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## On the grammaticalisation of motion verb constructions in Middle Breton

Cross-linguistically, grammaticalisation of motion verbs for TAM-marking is a wide-spread phenomenon. In European languages, motion verbs are often used to express passive or aspectual meanings or grammaticalise into analytic tenses, cf. particularly in respect to Romance and Germanic languages amongst others Dietrich 1973, Wiesinger 1989, Di Meola 1994, Devos and Wal 2014, Sansò and Ramat 2015, Tellier 2015. In French for example, we find that *aller* 'go' forms the immediate future, or the *going-to*-future in English. From a typological point of view, Bybee 2007, pp. 964–970 describes the three steps of movement/motion > intention > future as a universal pattern. In addition to this, however, we also find anterior tense or aspect expression with the verb *come* as e.g. in French with the immediate past (passé proche) formed by *venir de* + infinitive.

In Modern Breton, *mont* 'go' and *dont* 'come' also feature in two analytic constructions to express posteriority (*passé proche*) and anteriority (*futur proche*) respectively. Yet, to our knowledge, a thorough description of their diachronic developments is a desideratum, cf. Ernault 1890 and Le Roux 1957, who only make short mention of this construction.

The aim of our paper is, firstly, to identify the different uses of motion verbs in a small corpus of Middle Breton texts and secondly, to track potential paths of grammaticalisation from a cross-linguistic perspective. In addition, we will provide a comparison to Middle Welsh uses of motion verbs.

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### Le marquage non-canonique du sujet syntaxique en breton

En breton, un ensemble de verbes ne peuvent être conjugués par les marques canoniques du sujet et mobilisent à cet effet les formes du paradigme de l'objet indirect, aboutissant ainsi à un marquage non-canonique du sujet :

(1)      'Wechoù falve(z)e ket <u>de</u>' mont ue

| 'veʃu | fal've-e | ke | <u>de</u> | mõn | əe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| parfois | vouloir + IMPF | NEG | à-<u>P3PL</u> | aller | aussi |

*Des fois, ils/elles ne voulaient pas avancer aussi*

Le sémantisme de ce groupe de verbes exprime un procès que le sujet ne contrôle pas et de ce fait, favorise la sélection de l'expérient.

Les parlers centre-bretons ont étendu cette possibilité de marquage aux structures copulatives :

(2)      Tonius e oa d'ho <u>mamm-gaer</u>.

| 'tõɲyz | e wa | d | o | <u>mãm</u> | <u>'gɛʁ</u> |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| élégant | être / IMPF | c. à | POSS P2PL | mère | belle |

*Votre belle-mère était élégante.*

Ce type de structure peut alterner avec un marquage canonique du sujet sans qu'aucune différence sémantique ne soit impliquée :

(3)      <u>C'hwi</u> zo tonius.

| <u>xwi</u> | zo | 'tõɲys |
|---|---|---|
| <u>P2PL</u> | être.EXIST | élégant |

*Vous (*i.e. *tu) êtes (*i.e. *es) élégant.*

Le marquage non-canonique des arguments centraux est bien attesté dans les langues du monde (Seržant 2013), notamment dans le cas des langues germaniques (Eythórsson & Barðdal 2005) :

(4)      Honum mæltist vel.                islandais (Andrews 2001)

| P3M.DAT | spoke | well |
|---|---|---|

*He spoke well*

Cette spécificité du breton nous conduit à nous interroger sur la nature exacte de la relation du breton avec l'aire SAE, entre convergence et périphérie proche (Haspelmath 2001).

## Gloses

P3M    pronom personnel 3ᵉ personne du singulier masculin
DAT    datif
IMPF   imparfait
P2PL   pronom personnel 2ᵉ personne du pluriel
EXIST  existentiel
POSS   pronom possessif
NEG    négation

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### Breton accentology

The behaviour of word-accent and stress in Breton dialects is extremely diverse. In this respect, Breton may claim to have a leading position among the languages of Europe. According to the geographical position of a dialect, stress may fall on any syllable of a polysyllabic word. There is first the well-known division of the Breton speaking area into KLT Breton and Vannetais Breton. KLT Breton has stress on the penultimate syllable of a word, and Vannetais Breton on the ultimate syllable. This leads to a different morphophonemic behaviour of words in inflexion. But word-accent within either of these two areas is far from being homogeneous. In principle, every dialect may have its own peculiarities. In addition, the borderline between KLT and Vannetais is not clear-cut. There is a transitional zone where still other features may be found. Among others, there is indication that in a small area, dialects with pitch-accent may exist. We will exemplify the behaviour of word-accent in a number of selected dialects taken from various regions of the Breton speaking area. Sentence phonetics will have to be taken into consideration too.

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**A corpus analysis of Breton soft mutation inconsistencies**

Traditional Breton grammars state where the soft mutation should and should not occur (Hemon 1995). Using an online Breton corpus (Eckart and Quasthoff 2013), we investigate how often the soft mutation actually surfaces. We focus on the mutation triggers *da*, *daou*, *div*, *holl*, *pa*, *pe*, and *re*, which should always trigger the soft mutation, and on mutation targets beginning with *m-*, *p-*, *t-*, *k-*, and *gw*, which should all undergo the soft mutation. We also look at *d*-initial targets after definite and indefinite articles. We find variation across the board, with *p-* in particular standing out.

Three patterns emerge from our study. First, all triggers fail to cause mutation some of the time. *pe* causes mutation less frequently than the others. Second, the frequency of mutation varies with the initial consonant of the target. *p*-initial targets mutate the least. Finally, we observe *d*-initial targets mutating to *z-* after articles, where *d-* is prescriptively immune to mutation. These findings show that the prescriptive rules for the soft mutation are not rigidly followed; some triggers fail to cause mutation, and some immune targets nevertheless undergo mutation. A similar phenomenon is observed in Scottish Gaelic (Hammond et al. 2017).