

# Two problems in the phonological history of the Ushant dialect

MA Thesis

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RMA Medieval Studies, Celtic Track

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13-07-2012

Academic year: 2011/2012

Word count: 22818

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## List of abbreviations

ALBB	Le Roux, Pierre, <i>Atlas Linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne</i> (Rennes 1924).
BrL	British Latin
Cath.	The Catholicon (1499). The edition that I use is: Le Menn, Gwennolé, <i>Le vocabulaire breton du Catholicon (1499): Le premier dictionnaire breton imprimé breton-français-latin</i> , (Saint Briec 2001).
coll.	collective
cond.	conditional
GPC	Bevan, G. A. & Patrick J. Donovan, <i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i> (Cardiff 2003).
HPB	Jackson, Kenneth H., <i>A Historical Phonology of Breton</i> (Dublin 1967).
ipf.	imperfect
ipv.	imperative
KLT	Kerneveg, Tregerieg and Leoneg
LEIA	Vendryes, Joseph, Édouard Bachallery, and Pierre-Yves Lambert, <i>Lexique etymologique de l'irlandais ancien</i> , 7 vols. (Dublin 1959-1996).
MB	Middle Breton
MoB	Modern Breton
MoFr.	Modern French
MoW	Modern Welsh
NALBB	Le Dû, Jean, <i>Nouvel Atlas Linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne</i> (Brest 2001).
OB	Old Breton
OSWBr.	Old South-West British
pres.	present
SBCHP	Schrijver, Peter, <i>Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology</i> (Amsterdam 1995).
sg.	singular
sgt.	singulative



- P Peurunvan, a spelling that aims to be able to be used for all Breton dialects. As such it does not represent a ‘Standard’ language, which does not exist in Breton, but merely a code to represent all different dialects.
- pl. plural
- U Ushant dialect
- W Welsh

## Symbols used

For phonetic and phonemic transcription I use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), unless indicated otherwise.

- > Changes through regular sound change into ...
- < Derives through regular sound change from ...
- \* Indicates a reconstructed form
- \*\* Indicates a wrongly reconstructed form
- /.../ Indicates a phonemic transcription
- [...] Indicates a phonetic transcription using IPA
- {...} Indicates a phonetic transcription by Malgorn (1909)
- V Any vowel
- C Any consonant
- N Any nasal consonant
- ˈ Indicates a stressed vowel
- ˘ Indicates an unstressed vowel
- ∅ Zero
- \$ Indicates a syllable boundary

# Introduction

Ushant (B *Eusa*, Fr. *Ouessant*) is the largest island before the west coast of Leon, the north-western region of Brittany. The treacherous reefs surrounding the island have been the bane of many a ship. The island is so notorious that there is a French saying from pre-radar times: *Qui voit Ouessant, voit son sang* ‘He who sees Ushant, sees his blood’. The men of Ushant would traditionally be away most of the year, working as sailors on merchant ships. This left the women in charge of running the island. Nowadays, the island is but a shadow of its former self; the twentieth century saw the rapid decline of employment for the Ushant sailors, mainly because they were more expensive than sailors from East Asia. The islanders have therefore come to rely heavily on tourism.<sup>1</sup> This new large scale influx of tourists and the fact that the younger generations are leaving the island for the mainland in search of a better life, are important factors in the rapid decline of the use of the Ushant Breton dialect.

## The Early History

The earliest mention of Ushant was by Pytheas, a citizen of the Greek colony of Massilia (modern day *Marseille*). He was in the area around 325 BC, looking for new supplies of tin after Carthage had established a monopoly of the Iberian sources. The island’s name was recorded as *Uxisama*.<sup>2</sup>

According to Piette (2008: 4 f.), Brittany probably became Celtic from the mid-fifth century BC. By Celtic he means that “[...] [the inhabitants of Armorica] had close connections and similarities with the cultures of other so-called Celtic peoples and showed Celtic features

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<sup>1</sup> Hans Steketee, ‘Zeemanseiland Ouessant’, *NRC Handelsblad* (1995) 9 December 1995, section: overig, 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Galliou and Micheal Jones, *The Bretons* (Oxford 1991) 54 f.

in their art.”<sup>3</sup> In the second half of the fifth century BC the Carthaginian explorer Hamilco reached the land of the *Oestrymnides*,<sup>4</sup> which may have been the same people as the Osismi tribe that Julius Caesar encountered from western Brittany.<sup>5</sup> The similarity between Pytheas’ *Uxisama* and the name of the Osismi-tribe is striking, but might be a coincidence.

In 56 BC Caesar was able to incorporate the, probably by then Gaulish speaking, Armorican peninsula into the Roman Empire. Brittany became a flourishing province under Roman rule.<sup>6</sup> In the second half of the second century AD, Frisian, Saxon and Frankish raiders started wreaking havoc along the coast. The situation worsened considerably during the third century, and coastal towns like Nantes, Brest, Alet and Saint-Servan were fortified.<sup>7</sup> Even though nothing is known about Ushant specifically during that time, one can imagine that the isolation of the island made it an easy target for sea born raiders.<sup>8</sup>

From the third century onward, Britons probably started trickling into Brittany. They approached from the west and dominated the north and west of the peninsula since the middle of the fifth century. Ushant’s position before the west coast makes it probable that it was settled fairly early by the Britons, who brought the British Celtic language with them.<sup>9</sup> The British in Brittany were initially divided;<sup>10</sup> only during the first half of the ninth century were the Bretons united by Nominoé. Brittany and the British Celtic language remained strong from then on, until Vikings started a full-scale attack on Brittany in 908. By 920 most of Brittany had been overrun and the elite had fled to the safer parts of France. By the time that

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<sup>3</sup> Gwenno Piette, *Brittany: A Concise History* (Cardiff, 2008) 4.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick Galliou and Micheal Jones, *The Bretons* (Oxford 1991) 28.

<sup>5</sup> Patrick Galliou and Micheal Jones, *The Bretons* (Oxford 1991) 28, and Gwenno Piette, *Brittany: A Concise History* (Cardiff, 2008) 5 f.

<sup>6</sup> Gwenno Piette, *Brittany: A Concise History* (Cardiff, 2008) 8 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 17 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 18.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 19 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 22 f.

the Vikings had been driven away again in 936-7, the British speaking elite had started to become gallicised by their stay at foreign courts. This was the start of the decline of the Breton language.<sup>11</sup>

### **The Ushant dialect vs. the other dialects**

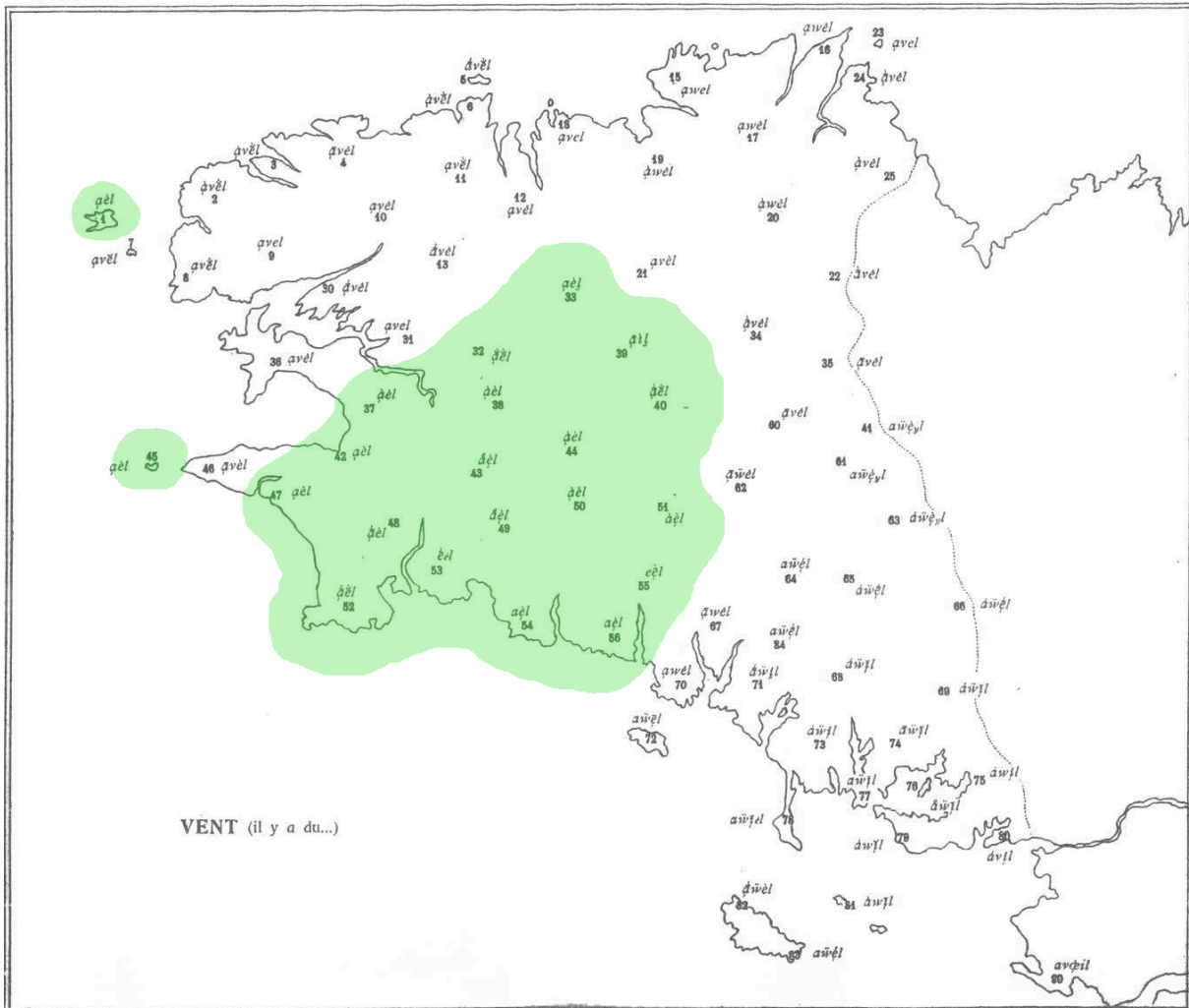
The variety of Breton spoken on Ushant belongs to the Leon dialects, and therefore mostly agrees with its Leon neighbour dialects on the mainland, e.g. ALBB 36 (*P bouzar* ‘deaf’) shows that Ushant and the other Leon dialects have [‘buzar] with internal -z-, whereas [‘buar] (without -z-) is found throughout Kernev to the south, apart from pts. 30 (Plougastel-Daoulas), 36 (Crozon) and 45 (Ile de Sein), which also have [‘buzar]. Treger has [‘buzar] as well, whereas z-less forms like [‘bwar] are found in more or less the Basse Vannetais area. To show the area agreeing with the Ushant dialect, the [‘buzar] area has been marked in green on the ALBB map below:<sup>12</sup>

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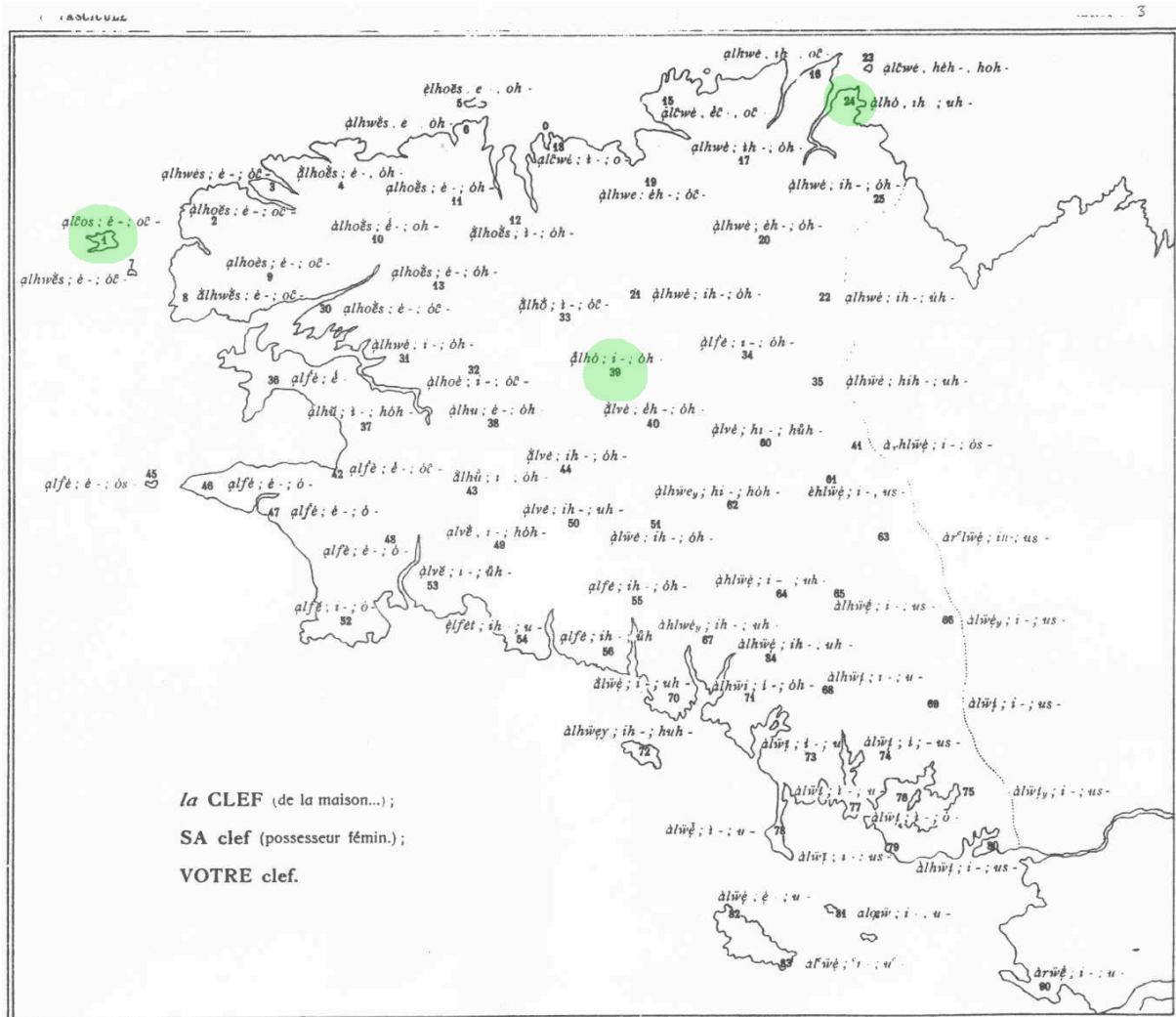
<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 34 f.

<sup>12</sup> The scans of these maps are not my own, but found on the following website: <http://sbahuaud.free.fr/ALBB/> (last visited: 21:19, 11 Juli 2012). I have made the green markings on the maps myself, however.





Then there are also cases where the Ushant dialect appears to be somewhat isolated from the other dialects, e.g. ALBB 3 (P *alc'houez*) has ['alhwe(s)] in mainland Leoneg and in Tregerieg. In Kernev ['alfɛ] is the most common form, but ['alhu] occurs in two northern Kernev dialects (pts. 37 (Plomodiern) and 38 (Lennon)). In Vannes [alhɛ] and [alhɥi] are found. The Ushant dialect has ['alxos], with [o] for P-*oue-*. Two other dialects with [o] for P-*oue-* are pt. 24 (Ploubazlanec) and pt. 39 (Plounézével). Once more I have supplied the NALBB map for illustration, this time with the dialects that have [o] instead of P-*oue-* marked in green:



## Scope and aim of this research

My initial plan for this thesis was to describe all the sound changes between OSWBr. and the modern Ushant dialect of Breton. My first step towards achieving this was to collect data, i.e. Ushant dialect words. There are three sources of Ushant dialect words at my disposal: a list of Ushant dialect words found in an article by Dom Malgorn (1909), the NALBB and the ALBB.

Malgorn's article has the largest collection of Ushant words of the three. I therefore decided to turn his word-list into a table, as that would make the data digitally searchable.



Each entry in his word-list consists of the standard spelling as it is found in the dictionary by Le Gonidec (1850), a French translation, the Ushant form, and a phonetic transcription. The French translation has been translated into English in the table. When a translation does not correspond to the translation found in Favereau's dictionary,<sup>13</sup> it is indicated thus in the notes of the table. The Ushant form given by Malgorn seems to represent the word in modern Breton spelling, but then with an acute or grave accent on the syllable that carries the main stress, and sometimes a tie-bar to indicate a diphthong rather than hiatus. Malgorn does not use IPA for his phonetic transcriptions, but a phonetic alphabet that is based on the spelling of French. He therefore uses *u* for IPA [y], and **u** (*u* with a small *o* attached to the upper left corner)<sup>14</sup> for IPA [u] for example.<sup>15</sup>

I have used the same columns as Malgorn in my table, but have left out the column that shows Le Gonidec's standard spelling of the word, and replaced it with the Peurunvan spelling. I have also added an extra column for my own IPA transcriptions, which are based on Malgorn's phonetic transcriptions plus Malgorn's modern Breton spellings. The latter is used since it shows the stress in the word through an acute or grave accent.

Occasionally Malgorn leaves out parts of entries. The lack of a translation is most often easily fixed, since the Peurunvan form can be looked up in a dictionary. At other times, however, Malgorn's modern Breton spelling of the Ushant form is given without a phonetic transcription. If this is the case, the empty spot is represented in the table with a question-mark. The table can be found in Appendix 1 at the back of this thesis.

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<sup>13</sup> Francis Favereau, *Dictionnaire du breton contemporain: Geriadur ar brezhoneg a-vremañ*, 5th ed. (Morlaix 2000).

<sup>14</sup> I have not been able to find this *u* with a small *o* attached to the upper left corner among the symbols of my own computer. I therefore use **u** to represent Malgorn's symbol for [u] in my table.

<sup>15</sup> Dom Malgorn, 'Le breton d'Ouessant', *Annales de Bretagne*, Vol. 25, nr. 2 (1909) 199 f.

I also made a table of all the Ushant dialect entries found in the NALBB. In this dialect atlas, the Ushant form always appears on the map under pt. 1. As the NALBB is much more recent (2001) than the article by Malgorn (1909), it makes use of the IPA. The IPA transcription is found in the first column of the table, the Peurunvan form in the second, and a translation in the third. The fourth column is used for notes when needed. Sometimes a map contains more than one form under pt. 1. This second form is then entered into the four columns to the right of the first four. The numbers left of each row in the table correspond to the map numbers in the NALBB. This means that if pt. 1 (Ushant) on a specific dialect map is not accompanied by a transcription, the row is left blank in the table as well. An example of this is NALBB map 204. There is no phonetic transcription at pt. 1 (Ushant), and therefore table row 204 is also blank. This makes for easy reference between the NALBB and this table, which is found in Appendix 2 at the back of this thesis.

These appendices form the core data of my research. I also planned on making a table with all the Ushant forms found in the ALBB, but was not able to because of the lack of time. I did use the ALBB to confirm my findings in the data from Malgorn's article and the NALBB, however.

After I had finished the two appendices, I went through them and made a note of all the differences between the Ushant forms and their Peurunvan counterparts. Out of these differences I chose to look into the following two problems: U *-dl-*, *-dr-* (< MB *zl*, *zr*) instead of P *-l-*, *-r-*, e.g. U [ˈgʷɛdɾɛn:] ‘glass’ (P *gwerenn*) (App. 1: 885), which will be dealt with in chapter 1, and unexplained *i*’ in Ushant words instead of *e*’s in their Peurunvan counterparts, e.g. U [ˈginu] ‘mouth’ (P *genoù*) (App. 1: 779), which will be tackled in chapter 2. Since the research in these two chapters is not related apart from the fact that they have both been found

in the same corpus and both concern a problem in the historical phonology of the Ushant dialect, a separate conclusion is given at the end of both chapters rather than a general one at the end.

# 1 Ushant dialect *-dl-*, *-dr-* < MB *-zl-*, *-zr-*

## 1.1 Introduction

When comparing the Ushant dialect with Peurunvan spellings, one of the most striking differences is that the Ushant dialect sometimes has *-dr-*, *-dl-*, where Peurunvan has *-r-*, *-l-*, e.g. U ['gʷɛdrɛn:] 'glass' (P *gwerenn*), U ['godro] 'to milk' (P *goro*), and U [kod'lɛ] 'bull' (P *kole* 'young bull'). These forms make one wonder what lies behind this phenomenon; where does it occur, and how did it come into being? To answer these questions I will first look at the situation in Peurunvan (1.2). In 1.3 the development in the Ushant dialect will be studied by critically evaluating existing theories concerning the matter, before my own views on the matter will be given. In 1.4 we will look at the words that still remain to be explained. An overall conclusion will be presented in 1.5. All Ushant dialect words that (should) contain *dl*, *dr*, or that are of importance to this discussion, can be found in Appendix 3. There are six columns in the appendix. The first column shows the word's position in Appendix 1, the second column shows the the word's position in Appendix 2, the numbers in the third column refer to the maps in the ALBB where the Ushant form can be found under pt. 1, the fourth column shows the Peurunvan spelling of the word in question, the fifth column its Middle Breton form, and in the sixth column an English translation is given. Because the complete references to each word's position in the appendices can be found in Appendix 3, I have chosen to leave these references out in this chapter. If I had placed them after each phonetic transcription, it would have needlessly cluttered the text.

## 1.2 The Modern Breton picture

According to Jackson (1967: 484) PBr. intervocalic *\*-tl-*, *\*-tn-*, *\*-tr-* became Late PBr. *\*-dl-*, *\*-dn-*, *\*-dr-* through lenition. As these consonant clusters appear in MB as *zl*, *zn*, *zr*, it seems that the voiced alveolar plosive *\*d* had further lenited to the voiced dental fricative *ð*.<sup>16</sup> Schrijver (2011: 386) explains that during the MB period this *ð* was lost before *l*, *n*, *r*, but not without leaving a palatal glide *ɛ* after stressed *a* and *o*, so that they became MoB *ae*, *oe* (sometimes *o*)<sup>17</sup>, e.g. MB *lazr* (Cath.) ‘thief’ > *laer*, MB *mozreb* ‘aunt’ (Cath.) > MoB *moereb*, but MB *gozro* ‘to milk’ > P *goro* (for an explanation of this double reflex, cf. 1.2.1). After other stressed vowels and diphthongs the diphthongisation does not take place, e.g. MB *breuzr* ‘brother’ > MoB *breur*, MB *eznes* (MB *ezn* ‘bird’ (Cath.) + fem. suffix *-ez*) > P *enez*.

### 1.2.1 Double reflex of stressed MB *-ozr-*

The double reflex of stressed MB *-ozr-* found in in MoB *moereb* ‘aunt’ and *goro* ‘to milk’ that we saw above can be explained as follows. It is clear that *moereb* shows the expected development of stressed MB *o* before *zl*, *zn*, *zr*. According to this same rule one would expect *\*goero* instead of MoB *goro*, however. Original MoB *\*goero* was probably replaced by *goro* through analogy with all the inflections of the verb with non-zero endings.<sup>18</sup> In these inflected forms of the verb MB *ozr* never developed to MoB *oer* since the addition of a verbal ending would entail the shift of the stress to the new penultimate syllable. This means that MB *o* before *zr* was not in stressed position and therefore simply developed to *o*, e.g. 1sg.

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<sup>16</sup> For an explanation why MB *z* is thought to represent /ð/, cf. *HPB* 484 f.

<sup>17</sup> *HPB* 485. Schrijver also observes that the exact conditions for the development of the glide are unknown, cf. Peter Schrijver, ‘Middle and Early Modern Breton’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 386.

<sup>18</sup> Only the 3sg. pres. and 2sg. ipv. have a zero-ending.

pres. *gor'oan* 'I milk', 3pl. ipf. *gor'oent* 'they milked', and 3sg. pres. cond. *gorofe* 'he/she/it would milk'.<sup>19</sup>

### 1.3 The situation in the Ushant dialect

#### 1.3.1 The conditions and trajectory of MB *-dl-, -dn-, -dr-* > U *-dl-, -dn-, -dr-*

As we saw from the examples in 1.1, MB *-zr-, -zl-* appear in the Ushant dialect as *-dr-, -dl-*. There is also a set of words, though, where this development does not take place, e.g. P *aer* 'adder' (U ['aer])<sup>20</sup> < MB *azr* (Cath.), and P *loer* 'stocking' (U ['loar])<sup>21</sup> < MB *louzr* (Cath.)<sup>22</sup>. Because the examples from 1.1 were all polysyllabic, and those just now monosyllabic, Jackson (1967: 490) argues that the shift *-zr-, -zl-* > *-dr-, -dl-* only occurred in polysyllables. He does note, however, that *-r-, -l-* are sometimes found in Ushant dialect polysyllables, even though one would expect *-dr-, -dl-* instead: U ['lɛrɛn:]<sup>23</sup> 'thong' (not \**ledrenn*) (P *lerenn*) < MB *lezr* (Cath.) + sgt. suffix *-enn*, U ['kɛlu]<sup>24</sup> 'news' (not \**kedlou*) < MB *quehezlou* (Cath.). Jackson's solution to the absence of *d* before *r* and *l* in these two Ushant dialect words will be discussed in 1.4.1. Another example is [lɛru]<sup>25</sup> 'stockings', pl. of ['loar] (P *loer*) < MB *louzr* (Cath.), for which Jackson provides no solution.<sup>26</sup>

Jackson (1967: 495 f.) believes that the Ushant dialect did not simply retain MB *-z-* as U *-d-*, because if that had happened there would be no explanation for *ɛ* in the diphthongs *ae*

<sup>19</sup> An example of stressed MB *a* before *zn* becoming *a* instead of expected *ae* is found in MB *haznat* (Cath.) 'manifest', which became MoB *hanat*, not \*\**haenat*. The absence of the diphthong here might be due to analogical influence from the common related verb MB *aznavez-* 'to recognise, know', cf. *HPB* 487.

<sup>20</sup> *ALBB* 10.

<sup>21</sup> Dom Malgorn, 'Le breton d'Ouessant', *Annales de Bretagne*, Vol. 25, nr. 3 (1909) 394.

<sup>22</sup> Sometimes confusion seems to arise between /o/ and /u/, and in some dialects the sounds seem to have merged as /o/. Cf. Jackson, *HPB*, 117, and Schrijver, 'Middle and Early Modern Breton', 370. This confusion is probably responsible for MB *louzr* (Cath.) instead of expected MB \**lozr*, which is suggested by P *loer* (not \*\**louer*).

<sup>23</sup> Dom Malgorn, 'Le breton d'Ouessant', *Annales de Bretagne*, Vol. 25, nr. 3 (1909) 392.

<sup>24</sup> Dom Malgorn, 'Le breton d'Ouessant', *Annales de Bretagne*, Vol. 25, nr. 2 (1909) 212.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 394.

<sup>26</sup> *HPB* 489 f.

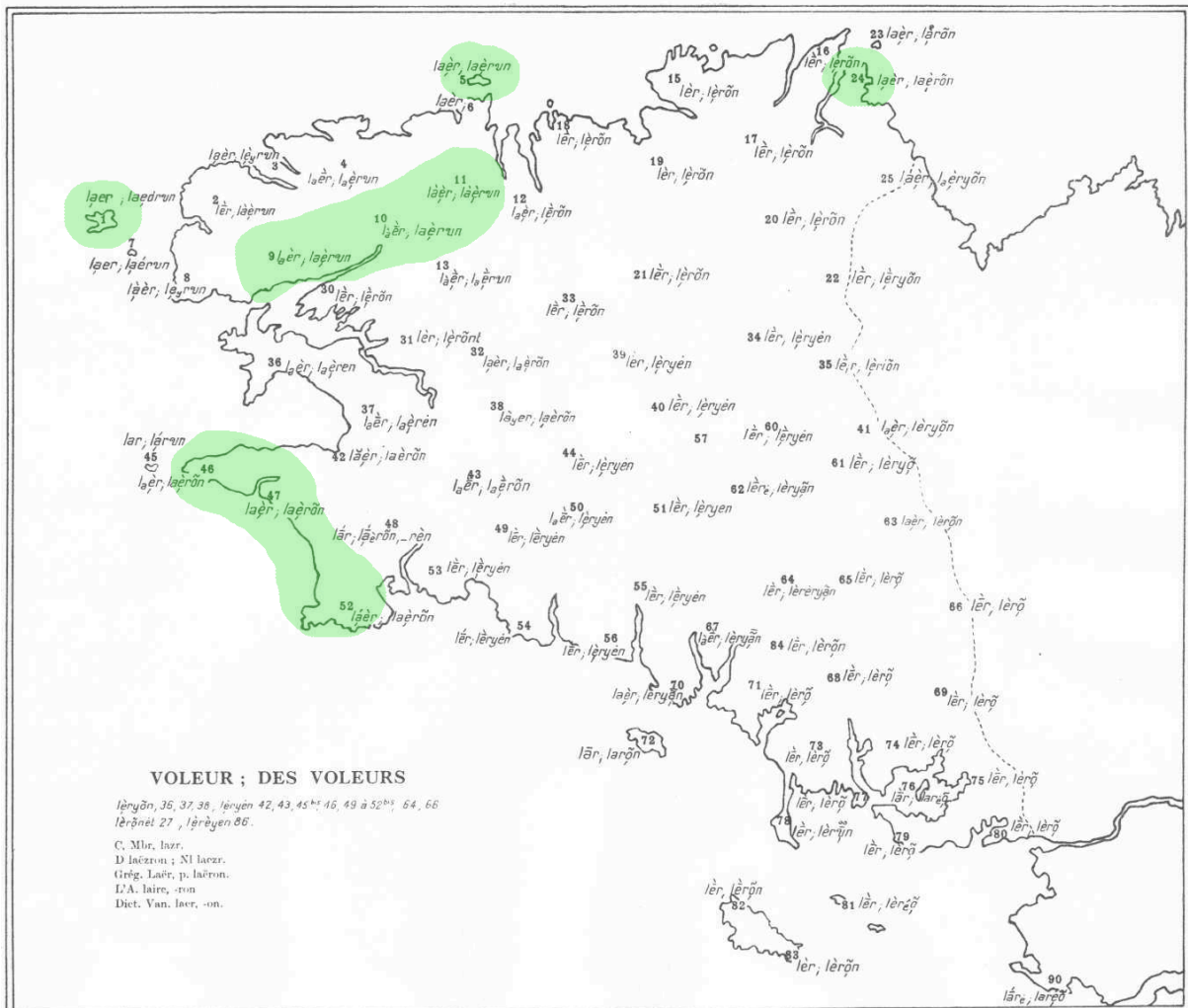
and *oe* in U [la'edrun] ‘thieves’ (< MB *lazron*) (for an explanation for hiatus [ae] instead of diphthong [aɛ], cf. 1.3.2), and U ['mwɛdrɛb] ‘aunt’ (< MB *mozreb* (Cath.)). According to Jackson (1967: 495 f.) the answer can be found in 15th-17th century Vannetais spellings like *Cazdre* and *Pezdron*, which appear in Modern Vannetais dialect as *Cadre* and *Pedron*. The Peurunvan equivalent of *Cadre* is *kaer* ‘pretty’ (< MB *cazr* (Cath.)). Final *-e* in *Cazdre* and later *Cadre* is purely orthographic and has been influenced by French.<sup>27</sup> The equivalent of *Pedron* in Peurunvan is *Peron* (MB *Pezron* (Cath.)). Jackson argues that if MB *Cazr* and *Pezron* became Modern Vannetais *Cadre* and *Pedron* through the intermediate stage of *Cazdre* and *Pezdron*, the same development may have taken place in the Ushant dialect so that we may say that MB *ðr* (and mutatis mutandis *ðl*, *ðn*) became *ðdr*, and subsequently *dr*.<sup>28</sup> After this development *ð* became *ɛ* after stressed *a* or *o* in the same way as in the other MoB dialects (cf. 1.2). Thus, MB *lazron* /laðron/ would first have become *\*laðdron*, after which *ð* became *ɛ* after the stressed *a* so that we ultimately end up with U [la'edrun] ‘thieves’.

### 1.3.2 The development of hiatus in diphthongs

As we saw in 1.3.1, the diphthong *ae* in U [la'edrun] ‘thieves’ seems to have developed hiatus. This is not a feature unique to the Ushant dialect, as the ALBB map 420 shows: [la'ɛrun] (pt. 9 (Bohars), pt. 10 () and pt. 11()), [la'ɛrɔ̃n] (pt. 46 (Plogoff), pt. 47 (Plouhinec) and pt. 52 (Plomeur)), [la'ɛrun] (point 5, Ile-de-Batz), and also [la'ɛrɔ̃n] (point 24, Ploubazianec) in the North-East. I have provided ALBB map 420 with the hiatus-dialects marked in green below:

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 485 fn. 3.

<sup>28</sup> There seem to be some other dialects in Vannes that retained MB *-zr-* as /dr/, e.g. the personal name *Pedron* (P *Peron*), MB *Pezron*, and the place-name *Ludre*, which was *Luzre* in MB. Cf. *HPB* 490.



Hiatus also appears in U ['loar]<sup>29</sup> 'stocking', and U [mo'ɛdrɛp] 'aunt'. Both had MB *-oz-* (cf. 1.3.1) which subsequently became the diphthong *oẽ*. This diphthong fell together with the descendant of PrB *\*oi*, which was also *oẽ* at that time. According to Jackson (1967: 834) PrB *\*oi* became 'o-a'<sup>30</sup> in Leon dialects, which can be observed in U ['loar] 'stocking', and because MB *oð* > *oẽ* had fallen together with PrB *\*oi* > *oẽ*, we can deduce that the latter became 'o-a' in Leon dialects as well. The hiatus seems to have developed when the diphthong was still *oẽ*. The vowel sequence *o-e* then became *o-a* if *e* was unstressed. It remained as *e* if it was

<sup>29</sup> I analyse this as a diphthong because Malgorn did not use a tie bar in his phonetic transcription of {loar}, whereas he did in {koāntik} 'sweet, dear' (App. 1: 285) and {koānzɛz} 'bottom, bum' (App. 1: 287).

<sup>30</sup> Jackson uses the hyphen to indicate hiatus between the two vowels.



stressed. This would then explain the double reflex ['loar] (< \**loer* < \*'lo-*ēr*), but \*'mo $\ddot{e}$ dre $\breve$ b > \*'mo'edreb > [mo'edreb]. Other examples of  $\ddot{e} > a$  are U ['trivax] 'eighteen' (App. 2: 71) P *triwec'h*, and U ['i:zal] 'low' (App. 2: 21) P *izel*. Note, however, that Appendix 1 has ['mw $\ddot{e}$ dr $\breve$ b] without hiatus. This is probably related to the absence of phonemic distinction between /oa/ and /wa/ in some Leon dialects,<sup>31</sup> among which apparently the Ushant dialect.

### 1.3.3 Fine-tuning the phonological trajectory

In 1.3.1 we had already started formulating the phonological development of MB - $\delta$ l-, - $\delta$ n-, - $\delta$ r- > U -dl-, -dn-, -dr-. In this paragraph we will attempt further fine-tuning of this development. Schrijver (1995: 363 ff.) compares the development of MB  $\delta$ l,  $\delta$ n,  $\delta$ r > \* $\delta$ dl, \* $\delta$ dn, \* $\delta$ dr > U dl, dn, dr to a similar Welsh development. In chronological order this development is as follows:

- (a) Late PBr. dl, dn >  $\delta$ l,  $\delta$ n in all environments (except in absolute anlaut);
- (b) Heterosyllabic  $\delta$ l,  $\delta$ n > dl, dn;
- (c)  $\delta$ l,  $\delta$ n after an unstressed vowel became l, n.

In a way this would be a better description of the situation in the Ushant dialect, as it addresses the problem of a word like MB *anazl*, *alazn* (Cath.) 'breath', which is polysyllabic and therefore supposed to end up as U \*\**aladn* if we follow Jackson's observations concerning mono- and polysyllables to the word; the attested form is U ['alan] though, which

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<sup>31</sup> *HPB* 190 f.

lost its  $\delta$  due to Schrijver's rule (c) above: PBr. *\*anatla*:<sup>32</sup> > *\*anadl* > *anazl* /anaðl/ (a) > *alazn* /alaðn/ > U ['alan] (c).

There are other Ushant dialect words that Schrijver's three steps cannot account for, however: Late PBr. *\*ladron* 'thieves' and *\*modreb* would not have become MB *lazron* /laðron/ (Cath.) and MB *mozreb* /moðreb/ (Cath.), since *\*dr* has been left out of the developments above. The *e* (<  $\epsilon$ , cf. 1.3.2) after *a* and *o* in U [la'edrun], U [mo'edreb], U ['laer] 'thief', or U ['loar] 'stocking' (< *\*loer*, cf. 1.3.2) is not explained with the Schrijver's list of developments either. Thus, in order to explain these examples the following changes need to be made to the chronological list of developments:

Late PBr. *\*dr* >  $\delta r$  needs to be added to Schrijver's rule (a) in order to explain how words like Late PBr. *\*ladron* 'thieves' and *\*modreb* 'aunt' became MB *lazron* (Cath.) and MB *mozreb* (Cath.). Schrijver's (b) should be changed to the intermediate stage: Heterosyllabic  $\delta l$ ,  $\delta n$ ,  $\delta r$  >  $\delta dl$ ,  $\delta dn$ ,  $\delta dr$ . Schrijver has two possible outcomes after (b): after an unstressed vowel  $\delta l$ ,  $\delta n$  became *l*, *n*, and after a stressed vowel  $\delta$  remained. In the Ushant dialect there are also two outcomes, but three developments governing them. The first development is that  $\delta$  before  $(d)l$ ,  $(d)n$ ,  $(d)r$  was lost if it stood after an unstressed vowel. Both U ['alan] 'breath' (< MB *alazn*) and U [talad'røgen:] 'sand eel' (< *\*talaðdregen*: < MB *talazr* 'auger' + *-eg-* + sgt. suffix *-enn*) can be accounted for thus. This would then be the new step (c). The second development is that  $\delta$  was lost before  $(d)l$ ,  $(d)n$ ,  $(d)r$  if it stood after a stressed vowel that was not *a* or *o*, e.g. U ['le:r] 'leather' (< MB *lezr* /leðr/). This will be step (d). The third development gives the other possible outcome, which is that  $\delta$  became  $\epsilon$  if it stood before  $(d)l$ ,  $(d)n$ ,  $(d)r$  and after stressed *a* or *o*, e.g. U ['laer] 'thief' (< *\*laer* < MB *lazr* /laðr/ < Late PBr.

<sup>32</sup> Ranko Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 35.

\**ladr*), U [la'edrun] ‘thieves’ (< \**laeðrun* < \**laðdron* < MB *lazron* /laðron/ (Cath.)), and U [mo'ɛdreb] (< \**moeðreb* < \**moðdreb* < MB *mozreb* /moðreb/). The new list of developments now looks as follows:

- (a) Late PBr. *dl, dn, dr* > *ðl, ðn, ðr* in all environments except absolute anlaut;
- (b) Heterosyllabic *ðl, ðn, ðr* > *ðdl, ðdn, ðdr*;
- (c)  $\delta > \emptyset / \check{V} \_ (d)l, (d)n, (d)r$ ;
- (d)  $\delta > \emptyset / \acute{V} \_ (d)l, (d)n, (d)r$  ( $V \neq a, o$ );
- (e)  $\delta > e / \acute{o}, \acute{a} \_ (d)l, (d)n, (d)r$ .

For clear illustration of this list of developments all the examples from this paragraph have been put in the table below. In the top row one can see the Proto-Celtic or Latin ancestor of the word in question, and in the row below that the Late PBr. form of this same word. The rows below represent the steps (a) to (e), with (a) also representing the MB form. Below these developments we find the Ushant dialect form, and below that the Peurunvan form. The last row contains the English translation.

Table 1

	PC <i>*anatla:</i>	L <i>latro</i>	L <i>latrones</i>	PC <i>*ma:trikʷa:</i> <sup>i</sup>	PC <i>*la:trom</i> <sup>ii</sup>	PC <i>*letro</i> - <sup>iv</sup>	PC <i>*taratro-</i> <sup>v</sup>
<b>Late PBr.</b>	<i>*anadl</i>	<i>*ladr</i>	<i>*ladron</i>	<i>*modreb</i>	<i>*lodr</i> <sup>iii</sup>	<i>*ledr</i>	<i>*taladregen:</i> <sup>vi</sup>
<b>(a) (MB)</b>	<i>alazn</i> /alaðn/ (Cath.)	<i>lazr</i> /laðr/ (Cath.)	<i>lazron</i> /laðron/ (Cath.)	<i>mozreb</i> /moðreb/ (Cath.)	<i>louzr</i> /loðr/ (Cath.)	<i>lezr</i> /leðr/ (Cath.)	<i>*talaðregen:</i>
<b>(b)</b>			<i>*laðdron</i>	<i>*moðdreb</i>			<i>*talaðdregen:</i>
<b>(c)</b>	<i>anal, alan</i>						<i>*taladregen:</i>
<b>(d)</b>						<i>ler</i>	
<b>(e)</b>		<i>*laer</i>	<i>*laedron</i>	<i>*moedreb</i>	<i>*loer</i>		
<b>U</b>	[ˈalan]	[ˈlaer]	[laˈedrun]	[moˈedreb]	[ˈloar]	[ˈle:r]	[taladˈrægen:]
<b>P</b>	<i>alan, anal</i>	<i>laer</i>	<i>laeron</i>	<i>moereb</i>	<i>loer</i>	<i>ler</i>	<i>talaregenn</i>
<b>English</b>	breath	thief	thieves	aunt	stocking	leather	sand eel

<sup>i</sup>: Ranko Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 260.

<sup>ii</sup>: *SBCHP* 251.

<sup>iii</sup>: Normally PC *\*la:trom* should have become *\*lɔ:trom* > *\*lɔ:dron* > *\*lɔ:dr* > *\*lɔdr* > MB *\*leuzr* > P *\*leur*. It appears in MB as *louzr* ‘stocking’ (for *u* instead of *o*, cf. fn. 9 above) and in P as *loer*, however. The *\*ɔ:* in PBr. plural *\*lɔ:d’row* ultimately ended up as P *o* (not *eu*), though, because *\*ɔ:* stood in pretonic position in PBr. *\*lɔ:d’row*, and was therefore shortened to *\*o*, not *\*ɔ*. According to Schrijver<sup>33</sup> the vocalism of the plural was then analogically introduced to the singular so that *\*lɔdr* became *\*lodr*.

<sup>iv</sup>: Ranko Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 134.

<sup>v</sup>: *Ibid.* 370.

<sup>vi</sup>: Late PBr. *\*taladregenn* consists of *\*taladr-*, where we see the dissimilation of earlier *\*r...r* to *\*l...r*,<sup>34</sup> the f. substantive suffix *\*-eg* (< PC *\*-ika:*)<sup>35</sup>, and the f. sgt. suffix *\*-en*.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *SBCHP* 251 f.

<sup>34</sup> *HPB* 487.

<sup>35</sup> Stefan Zimmer, *Studies in Welsh Word-formation* (Dublin 2000) 497.

<sup>36</sup> *SBCHP* 260, 264.

### 1.4.1 $\epsilon$ and $\varepsilon$ as indicators of consonant length

We will now look at  $\epsilon$  and  $\varepsilon$  as indicators of consonant length, which might seem a somewhat abrupt change of subject, but is actually needed if we want to see how often each of the PBr. consonant groups  $*dl$ ,  $*dn$ ,  $*dr$  survives into the Ushant dialect as  $dl$ ,  $dn$ ,  $dr$ . The development that occurred most frequently in the previous paragraphs was PBr.  $*dr > *ōdr > U dr$ , e.g. U ['gʷɛdɾɛn:] 'glass' (P *gwerenn*) < MB *gwezrenn* (Cath.), U ['godro] 'to milk' (P *goro*) < MB *gozro* (Cath.), U ['mʷedɾɛp] 'aunt' (P *moereb*) < MB *mozreb* (Cath.) and U ['ɛdɾɛ] 'October' (P *here(ñv)*) < MB *hezraff* (Cath.). We saw one example of PBr.  $*dl > *ōdl > U dl$ , U [kod'lɛ] 'bull' (P *kole*) < MB *cozle* (Cath.), and no examples of PBr.  $*dn > *ōdn > U *dn$ . However, Jackson (1967: 490) believes that there are also traces of this  $*dn < *ōdn$  to be found in the Ushant dialect. According to him the evidence can be observed in the opposition between ['ɛnɛz] 'island' (< MB *enesenn*, but then without the sgt. suffix *-enn*) and ['ɛnɛz] 'pullet' (< MB *ezn* 'bird' + f. suffix *-ez*). He argues that the first  $\epsilon$  in the former indicates that the following consonant (i.e.  $n$ ) is short, and that the first  $\varepsilon$  indicates that the following consonant (i.e.  $n$ ) is long in the latter. Therefore ['ɛnɛz] 'pullet' should rather be interpreted as ['ɛn:ɛz]. The  $n:$  in ['ɛn:ɛz] 'pullet' would then be the product of the secondary assimilation of an older  $*dn$ . According to Jackson, this secondary assimilation would also account for what happened in the word for 'news', where there is also an  $\varepsilon$  to indicate a following long consonant: MB *quehezlou* (Cath.) >  $*kedlu > U$  ['kɛl:u].<sup>37</sup> I believe, however, that his assumption that  $\varepsilon$  and  $\epsilon$  respectively indicate a long following consonant and a short following consonant is wrong.

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<sup>37</sup> HPB 496.

Malgorn (1909) did not use  $\varepsilon^{38}$  and  $\varrho$  to indicate whether a following *n* or *l* was long or not. If he wanted to indicate a long consonant, he wrote it double in his phonetic transcription, and if he wanted to signify a short consonant, he wrote it single, e.g. {ləllik} ‘effeminate’ (P *lellik*) (App. 1: 1041), in IPA [ˈləl:ik], {gwəll} ‘leaven’ (P *goell*), in IPA [ˈgwɛl:], {bugəl} ‘child’ (P *bugel*), in IPA [ˈbygɛl], {pənnad} ‘while, moment’ (P *pennad*), in IPA [ˈpɛn:ad], {prənn} ‘wood, closing’ (P *prenn*), in IPA [ˈprɛn:], and {ənoz} ‘tonight’ (P *henoz*), in IPA [ˈɛnoz]. In order to confirm that the distribution of  $\varepsilon$  and  $\varrho$  has nothing to do with the duration of following *l* or *n*, I have counted all  $\varepsilon$ ’s in Appendix 1 and put them in the following table according to their quality, their position in the word, and the following consonant:

Table 2

	_l:	_l	_n:	_n	Total:
é	11	14	29	19	73
é	4	3		6	13
é	3		2		5
V\$ $\varrho$	8	7	68	8	91
V\$ $\varepsilon$	17	8	76	18	119
V\$e	3	1	5	1	10
$\varrho$ \$V	2	6	5	7	20
$\varepsilon$ \$V					0
e\$V	1		5	1	7
<b>Total:</b>	49	39	190	60	338

<sup>38</sup> Malgorn uses { $\varrho$ } for IPA [ɛ].

From the table above we learn that in a stressed syllable before *n:*, *ε* never occurs. This means that Jackson's interpretation of Malgorn's {*ɛnɛz*} 'pullet' as ['*ɛn:ɛz*] is not justified. Even though *ε* before *l:* does occur, 4 out of 18 times, *ɛ* occurs before *l:* more than twice as often: 11 out of 18 times. This means that interpreting *ε* in ['*kɛlu*] 'news' as indicating *l:* is also not justified. The distribution of *e*'s in table 1 rather seems to show that in stressed syllables /*e*/ is most often realised as [ɛ]. In post-tonic syllables the realisation of /*e*/ is mostly [ɛ], though only by a small margin (V\$*ɛ* = 91 vs. V\$*ε* = 119). In pre-tonic syllables [ɛ] never occurs and [ɛ] is again the most frequent occurring variant (before the consonants *l:*, *l*, *n:*, *n* at least).

Now that it has been proven that ['*ɛnɛz*] 'pullet' and ['*kɛlu*] 'news' are not \*\*['*ɛn:ɛz*] and \*\*['*kɛl:u*] and therefore contain no apparent traces of earlier \**ednez* and \**kedlu* we must ask ourselves the following question: why did these two words not become \*['*ɛdnɛz*] and \*['*kɛdlu*]?

#### 1.4.2 Reason for absence of *-d-* in ['*kɛlu*] 'news'

In 1.4.1 we already saw that no traces of a possible earlier *-dl-* remain to be found in ['*kɛlu*] 'news'. Schrijver (1995: 365) attempts to solve the problem by suggesting that the rise of *-dl-* < \**-ðdl-* < MB *-ðl-* took place when the stem *kel-* was still disyllabic: \**kehweðl* > \**ke(hw)eðl* > \**ke(hw)el*. The singular, however, is not the problem and would also have come about after the stem *kel-* had become monosyllabic, \**kehweðl* > \**keðl* > *kel*, since in both cases \**ðl* was not heterosyllabic and therefore did not develop into \**ðdl* (cf. 1.3.3). The problem remains that plural \**kehweðlow* should have become \**kedlu*. It does not matter

whether the stem was disyllabic or not, as MB *\*ðl* was heterosyllabic either way and therefore should have become *\*ðdl*:

- *\*kehweðlow* > *\*ke(hw)eðdlu* (because *\*ðl* was heterosyllabic) > *\*ke(hw)edlu* > *\*\*kedloù*;
- *\*kehweðlow* > *\*keðlu* > *\*keðdlu* (because *\*ðl* was heterosyllabic) > *\*\*kedloù*.

It would rather seem that we are once more confronted with analogy. Consider the fact that among the 1845 words in Appendix 1 there are only 23 cases where MB *-ð-* left a trace in the form of U *-d-*. Out of these 23 words only 2 appear to have *-dl-* < MB *-ðl-*: [kod'le] 'bull', and [kod'le] 'to be on heat (cows only)'. The latter is a derivative of the first, which would mean that the attestations of *-dl-* < MB *-ðl-* are actually restricted to only one example. This means that a plural formation like *kel*, pl. *\*\*kedloù*, would have been extremely irregular, and therefore very liable to analogy. It is thus that we end up with U ['kɛlu] 'news', which has been analogically repaired on the model of singular *kel*. The reason that *-dl-* was retained in [kod'le] 'bull', and [kod'le] 'to be on heat (cows only)' is that there was no variation in its appearance between the singular and the plural (sg. [kod'le], pl. *\*kodleu*<sup>39</sup>) in the former or in its conjugation in the latter, e.g. 3pl. pret. *\*kodeləox* 'they are on heat' and 3sg. fut. *\*kodleo* 'she will be on heat', as *-dl-* was always heterosyllabic.

### 1.4.3 MB *-ðn-* > U ?

As we already saw in 1.4.1, no traces remain of possible earlier *-dn-* in ['ɛnɛ] 'pullet'. It is noteworthy that the only other word with MB *-ðn-* that I could find is MB *loezn*, *lozn* (Cath.) > U ['loan] 'animal', pl. [lo'ɛnet] (App. 1: 1085). The fact that there is no proof at all

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<sup>39</sup> On the development of *e* before *u* in the following syllable, see chapter 2.



that the shift  $\delta n > \delta dn > dn$  had taken place in the Ushant dialect leads to the simple conclusion that this shift never existed. In the Ushant dialect MB  $\delta n$  was apparently treated the same as in the other Modern Breton dialects (cf. 1.2), which means that  $\delta$  in MB  $\delta n$  simply became  $\epsilon$  after stressed  $a, o$ , and disappeared in all other positions. We therefore have to modify our list of developments from 1.3.3:

- (a) Late PBr.  $dl, dn, dr > \delta l, \delta n, \delta r$  in all environments except absolute anlaut;
- (b) Heterosyllabic  $\delta l, \delta n, \delta r > \delta dl, \delta dn, \delta dr$ ;
- (c)  $\delta > \emptyset / \check{V} \_ (d)l, (d)n, (d)r$ ;
- (d)  $\delta > \emptyset / \acute{V} \_ (d)l, (d)n, (d)r$  ( $V \neq a, o$ );
- (e)  $\delta > \epsilon / \acute{o}, \acute{a} \_ (d)l, (d)n, (d)r$ .

To the following:

- (a) Late PBr.  $dl, dn, dr > \delta l, \delta n, \delta r$  in all environments except absolute anlaut;
- (b) Heterosyllabic  $\delta l, \delta r > \delta dl, \delta dr$ ;
- (c)  $\delta > \emptyset / \check{V} \_ (d)l, (d)r, n$ ;
- (d)  $\delta > \emptyset / \acute{V} \_ (d)l, (d)r, n$  ( $V \neq a, o$ );
- (e)  $\delta > \epsilon / \acute{o}, \acute{a} \_ (d)l, (d)r, n$ .

This way words like U [lo'enet] 'animals' < \**loenet* < MB *loznet*<sup>40</sup> and U ['enez] 'pullet' < MB *ezn* (Cath.) + f. suffix *-ez* are also seen as adhering to the developments instead of being exceptions to them.

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<sup>40</sup> Émile Ernault, 'La vie de Sainte Nonne', *Revue Celtique* Vol. 8 (Paris 1887) 260 (l. 276).

#### 1.4.4 Reason for absence of *-d-* in U ['lɛrɛn:] ‘thong’

One would have expected U ['lɛrɛn:] ‘thong’ (< MB *lezzr* ‘leather’ + sgt. suffix *-enn*) to have retained its MB heterosyllabic *-zr-* as *-dr-*, like ['gʷɛdrɛn:] ‘a glass’. It seems that the original singulative *\*ledrenn* ‘thong’ was analogically repaired to ['lɛrɛn:] on the model of collective *ler* ‘leather’. The reason for this analogy might be that the derivative word ‘thong’ was not as common in day to day usage as its collective ‘leather’, and therefore analogically remodelled.

#### 1.4.5 Reason for absence of *-d-* in [lɛru] ‘stockings’

The plural [lɛru] of [lɔar] ‘stocking’ should have been *\*ledru*, yet again analogy seems to have taken place. Since the example [laɛr] ‘thief’, pl. [la'edrun] proves that a noun where *d* appears in the stem when it becomes a plural is not necessarily unstable and therefore liable to analogy. We must therefore find the analogical motivation elsewhere. When we take a closer look at the plural [lɛru], we see that it looks like a double plural formation with an *i*-affected plural whereby *oa* > *ei*,<sup>41</sup> and a suffix *-ou* plural. The same double plural formation that is found in [tro:at] ‘foot’, pl. [treidu] on map 407 of the NALBB. The only problem is, however, that ‘stockings’ is U [lɛru] not *\*\*[lɛiru]*, and that there are no other examples in either of the Appendices that have stressed U [ɛ] instead of P *ei*. We must therefore also discard this analogical possibility. Another solution may be that after the original PBr. sg. *\*lɔdr* had been analogically remodelled to *\*lodr* on the model of its plural *\*lodrow* (cf. 1.3.3, table 1, note III), but before *\*lodrow* would have become *\*loðdrow*, the *-ow* plural was replaced by the internal plural *\*lədr*. This plural would then have evolved as follows: *\*lədr* > *\*ledr* >

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<sup>41</sup> A Pierre Trepos, *Le Pluriel Breton*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Brest 1982) 70.

*\*leðr* > U *\*ler*. This means that the original Ushant dialect paradigm of ‘stocking’ was [ˈloar], pl. \*[lɛr], where no *-d-* would have been retained in the plural because the MB *ðr* was in tautosyllabic position, just like in the singular. By the time that \*[lɛr] had become the double plural [ˈlɛru], the original *ð* had already completely disappeared due to development (d) (*ð* > Ø /  $\acute{V}$   $\_$  (*d*)*l*, (*d*)*r*, *n* (*V* ≠ *a*, *o*)) (cf. 1.4.3). For further illustration I have added the schematic version of the described development from Late PBr. *\*lɔdr* pl. *\*lodrow* to U [ˈloar] pl. [ˈlɛru] below:

	<u>sg.</u>	<u>pl.</u>	
Late PBr.	<i>*lɔdr</i>	<i>*lodrow</i>	
			↙ analogy    ↓
	<i>*lodr</i>	<i>*lodrow</i>	
	↓	↓ replaced by internal plural	
	<i>*lodr</i>	<i>*lədr</i>	
	↓ (a) <i>*dr</i> > <i>ðr</i>	↓ (a) <i>*dr</i> > <i>ðr</i> , and <i>*e</i> > <i>e</i>	
OSWBr./MB	<i>*loðr</i>	<i>*leðr</i>	
	↓ (e) <i>óðr</i> > <i>óer</i>	↓ (d) $\acute{V}\acute{ðr}$ > $\acute{V}r$ ( <i>V</i> ≠ <i>á</i> , <i>ó</i> )	
	<i>*loer</i>	<i>*ler</i>	
	↓ hiatus	↓	
	<i>*loer</i>	<i>*ler</i>	
	↓ $\acute{e}$ > <i>a</i>	↓ addition of <i>-ou</i>	
U	[ˈloar]	[ˈlɛru]	

#### 1.4.6 Absence of *ɛ* after stressed *o*

In 1.2 it was pointed out that U ['godro] 'to milk' (P *goro*) is an exception to rule (e)  $\delta > \underline{ɛ}/\acute{o}, \acute{a} \_ (d)l, (d)r, n$ , since the MB form was *gozro* /goðro/, which should have become \**goðdro* and subsequently \**goedro*. Thus, original U \**goedro* (with hiatus, cf. 1.3.2) was probably analogically repaired on the model of conjugated forms like U [go'droet] 'milked', and a derivative like U [god'road] 'a milking', which never had diphthongs because these only developed after *a, o* in stressed syllables (cf. 1.4.3, rule (e)). The diphthong would only have developed in the verbal noun itself, the 3sg. pres. (\**godro-Ø*), the 2sg. ipv. (\**godro-Ø*) and perhaps the 3sg. fut. (\**godro-o*), which were heavily outnumbered by all the other conjugations and derivations.

Another example from Appendix 3 where *oɛ* should have appeared, is ['kodlɛ] 'bull'. As the derivative verb [kod'lɛa] 'to be on heat (cows only)' is also attested, we can expect that the same happened as with ['godro] above. In the verb [kod'lɛa] the diphthong *oe* never developed, since *o* was unstressed. The verb [kod'lɛa] and all its conjugations, except for the 3sg. pres. (\**kodlɛ-Ø*), the 2sg. ipv. (\**kodlɛ-Ø*) and perhaps the 3sg. ipf. (\**kodlɛ-e*), heavily outnumbered the noun \**koedle* from which it was originally derived. Original U \**koedle* was therefore analogically remodelled after all derivations where the diphthong *oɛ* had never developed, and thus became attested ['kodlɛ]. Also, if the plural of this Ushant dialect noun is formed with a suffix, e.g. \**kodleu*, the diphthong would not have developed here either and may have analogically influenced the singular as well. A comparison with *koz* 'old' may also have contributed to the analogical repair from \*\**koedle* to ['kodlɛ], depending on how long the first part of the original MB compound \**cozlue* 'young bull' (*coz* 'old' (Cath.) + *lue* (Cath.) 'calf') was recognised as such.

#### 1.4.7. *ɛ* after unstressed *a*

Next to the form [mad'runɛs] 'godmother' (ALBB), [maɛd'runɛz] (App. 1) is also attested in the Ushant dialect. In MB we find *mazron* (Cath.), which should have become U *\*maedrun*. When the feminine suffix *-ez* was added, however, the *a* was in unstressed position and therefore not liable to diphthongisation anymore; hence ALBB [mad'runɛs]. The *ɛ* in [maɛd'runɛz] (App. 1) has two possible explanations according to Jackson (1967: 496):

1. The fem. suffix. *-ez* was simply added to inherited *\*maedroun* after *\*ðdr* had become *ɛdr* after stressed *a*;
2. *a* was changed to *ae* by analogy with ['paɛdrun] 'godfather'.

The *ɛ* in [maɛd'runɛz] might also be explained by a combination of the first explanation that *-ez* was added to inherited *\*maedroun* and the second that *a* in [mad'runɛs] was changed to *ae* by analogy with ['paɛdrun].

### 1.5 Conclusion

So, what lies behind U *dl*, *dr*, *dn* where Peurunvan has *l*, *r*, *n*; where does this phenomenon occur, and how did it come into being? In 1.2 it was shown that MB *ðl*, *ðn*, *ðr* became P *l*, *n*, *r*. If MB *ðl*, *ðn*, *ðr* followed stressed *a* or *o* they became *ɛl*, *ɛn*, *ɛr*. Jackson's explanation for the Ushant forms was that MB *ðl*, *ðn*, *ðr* became *ðdl*, *ðdn*, *ðdr* in polysyllables, after which *ð* developed into *ɛ* after stressed *a* or *o*, just like in Peurunvan (cf. 1.3.1). Schrijver's comparison of Ushant dialect *dl*, *dn*, *dr* with a similar development in Welsh was then discussed in 1.3.3 in order to explain that MB *ðl*, *ðn*, *ðr* only became *ðdl*, *ðdn*, *ðdr* if the consonantclusters were heterosyllabic. This could then explain why *ðn* in MB *alazn* /*alaðn*/ 'breath' (Cath.) never became *\*dn* in the Ushant dialect (U ['alan]), which

should have become *\*\*aladn* if we were to follow Jackson's explanation. Schrijver had provided a group of developments for the Welsh situation in chronological order, which I then altered in order to incorporate Jackson's intermediate *δdl*, *δdn*, *δdr* and the heterosyllabic restraint provided by Schrijver:

- (a) Late PBr. *dl, dn, dr* > *δl, δn, δr* in all environments except absolute anlaut;
- (b) Heterosyllabic *δl, δn, δr* > *δdl, δdn, δdr*;
- (c)  $\delta > \emptyset / \check{N} \_ (d)l, (d)n, (d)r$ ;
- (d)  $\delta > \emptyset / \acute{V} \_ (d)l, (d)n, (d)r$  ( $V \neq a, o$ );
- (e)  $\delta > e / \acute{o}, \acute{a} \_ (d)l, (d)n, (d)r$ .

There were a number of words that did not conform to what we would have expected considering this list of sound laws, however. These exceptions were explained in 1.4. The most important of these were words like U ['loan] 'animal', pl. [lo'enet] and U ['enez] 'pullet' that showed that there was no evidence for U *\*\*dn* < MB *δn* having ever occurred in the history of the Ushant dialect. This meant that the above list of developments had to be altered to exclude the development of heterosyllabic *δn* to *δdn*:

- (a) Late PBr. *dl, dn, dr* > *δl, δn, δr* in all environments except absolute anlaut;
- (b) Heterosyllabic *δl, δr* > *δdl, δdr*;
- (c)  $\delta > \emptyset / \check{N} \_ (d)l, (d)r, n$ ;
- (d)  $\delta > \emptyset / \acute{V} \_ (d)l, (d)r, n$  ( $V \neq a, o$ );
- (e)  $\delta > e / \acute{o}, \acute{a} \_ (d)l, (d)r, n$ .

The remaining exceptions, like ['kelu] 'news' and ['lɛrɛn:] 'thong' instead of *\*kedlu* and *\*ledren:*, were explained in the other 1.4 paragraphs as having undergone analogy.

If we look at the distribution of U *dl*, *dr* < MB *ðr*, *ðl* it becomes apparent that U *dr* is by far the most numerous. Not only are there a lot of examples of this development in Appendix 3 where *ðr* > *dr* was static (i.e. there is no alteration between grammatically related forms where one has *-dr-* and the other *-(e)r-*), e.g. [ˈɛdrɛ] ‘October’ (P *here(ñv)*), [talad ˈrœgɛn:] ‘sand eel’ (P *talarek*), etc., but there is also at least one example where we do see variation between grammatically related forms where some have *-dr-* and one has *-er-*, e.g. [ˈlaɛr] ‘thief’, pl. /laedrun/, /laedrūsi/ ‘robbery’ (P *làer*, pl. *làeron*, *làeronsi*) (MB *lazr* (Cath.), pl. *lazron*). The same might also apply to [ˈaɛr] ‘snake’ (MB *azr* (Cath.)), but its plural *\*aedred* is not found in any of the data that I have searched. The word for ‘drinking glass’, [ˈgʊɛdrɛn] (MB *guezrenn* (Cath.)), might also have a collective without *-d-* (U *\*gwer*), but once again, it is not attested in any of the data. As already mentioned in 1.4.2, there are only two words that have *dl* < MB *zl*, i.e. [kodˈlɛ] ‘bull’, and [kodˈlɛa] ‘to be on heat (cows only)’, and there is no proof of *-dl-* appearing in derivations of words without *-d-*, as the only possible example, [ˈkɛlu] ‘news’, has lost it due to analogy. As shown in 1.4.3 and mentioned above while discussing the list of developments governing the rise of U *dl* and *dr*, there is no evidence that the shift MB *zn* > U *dn* ever occurred.

A last observation that I want to make about U *dr*, *dl* < MB *ðr*, *ðl* is that a number of words that still had *-d-* (< *ð*) when Malgorn (1909) wrote his article and the ALBB (1924) was made, appear to have lost it by the time that the NALBB (2001) was compiled: NALBB [maˈrɛ:n] ‘godmother’ (cf. Malgorn’s [maɛdˈrunɛz] and ALBB [madˈrunɛs]), [o baˈrein] ‘my godfather’ / [paˈrɛ] ‘godfather’ (cf. Malgorn’s [paɛdrun] and ALBB [paˈedrun], also ALBB [paˈrɛ]), and NALBB [mwɛˈrɛ:bet] ‘aunts’ (cf. Malgorn’s [ˈmwɛdrɛb] ‘aunt’) (cf. App. 3).

U [ma'rɛ:n] 'godmother' and [o ba'rein] 'my godfather' / [pa'rɛ] 'godfather' are loanwords from Fr. *marraine* and *parrain*, however. Only NALBB [mwe'rɛ:bet] 'aunts' seems to have genuinely lost *-d-*. This might be due to the decreasing number of Ushant dialect speakers. Their community may not be large enough to resist the influence from other Breton dialects, which never retained MB *ð* as *d*. These dialects are able to influence the language of Ushant dialect speakers in their own homes nowadays, since Breton language programs are heard more and more in the modern Breton media.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> There are Breton language programmes on TV Rennes 35 and a few on France 3. Radio stations that transmit only in Breton are Arvorig FM and Radio Kerne.



## 2. Ushant *i* instead of Peurunvan *e*

### 2.1 Introduction

#### 2.1.1 Unexplained *i*'s

A peculiarity of the Ushant dialect is that it has a lot of words that show more *i*-affected vowels than their Peurunvan counterparts. Many of these are clearly a product of secondary *i*-affection, e.g. U ['igin] 'seed, bud' (P *egin*) (App. 1: 923), U [prɛ'diri] 'to think' (P *prederi*) (App. 1: 1410), U [kri'vinat] 'to scratch, graze' (P *krevignat*) (App. 1: 344), U ['pindy] 'corn smut' (P *penndu*) (with *i*-affection by /y/, cf. 2.1.1.3.2) (App. 1: 1522), and U ['xwizi] 'to sweat' (P *c'hweziñ*) (App. 2: 428).

There are, however, many Ushant dialect words that have *i* instead of P *e* (or another vowel) without a phonetic context that would normally lead to *i*-affection or another sound-law that could have caused this change, e.g. U ['puli] 'pulley, reel' (P *pole*) (App. 1: 1387), U [li'gydør] 'slowcoach' (P *luguder/-our*) (App. 1: 1105), U ['bɛmdis] 'everyday' (P *bemdez*) (App. 1: 98), U ['brɛʃin] 'knitting needle' (P *brechenn*) (App. 1: 1221), U *brisouneg* /brizuneg<sup>43</sup> 'Breton (language)' (P *brezhoneg*) (App. 1: 152), U [kwa'brinu] 'clouds' (P *koabrennoù*) (App. 2: 143), and *i* in the penultimate syllable of U [rĩ'sinat] 'to neigh' (P *razhenniñ*) (App. 1: 363).

The object of this chapter is to find the origins of as many of these unexpected *i*'s as possible. To do that, I will first give a detailed description of the different forms of *i*-affection in 2.1.2. After that I will present all the words in Appendix 1 and 2 that have an unexplained *i* instead of *e* or another vowel in 2.2 Material, where they will be discussed one by one.

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<sup>43</sup> Because Malgorn (1909: 208) does not give a phonetic transcription of this word, I have given a phonemic interpretation of my own.

Throughout this discussion, where I will look at etymology, phonological structure and possible analogical influence, I will attempt to shed some light on the origins of the still unexplained *i*'s. In 2.3 the findings from 2.2 will be evaluated so that a solution to the problem of the unexpected *i*'s may be found. All will be concluded in 2.4.

### 2.1.2 *i*-affection

The phenomenon that is usually responsible for the fronting of a vowel is known as *i*-affection. For this reason a description of *i*-affection will be made before we will look at the problem that I will attempt to solve in this chapter. *I*-affection is divided into three chronologically distinct periods: final *i*-affection, internal *i*-affection, and secondary *i*-affection.<sup>44</sup>

#### 2.1.2.1 Final *i*-affection

Final *i*-affection took place before the loss of final syllables in the middle of the sixth century and was therefore probably well established by the time that apocope came into effect.<sup>45</sup> It is called 'final' *i*-affection because the agents were PBr. *\*i:* and *\*j* in a final PBr. syllable. It entailed the raising and fronting of vowels in the penultimate syllable, so that *\*e* became *\*i*, *\*o* and *\*u* became *\*y*, and *\*a* became *\*e*. Short PBr. *\*i* in the final syllable was able to affect only *\*e* which then became *\*i*.<sup>46</sup> Examples of these developments are respectively:

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<sup>44</sup> HPB 288.

<sup>45</sup> LHEB 597 and HPB 288.

<sup>46</sup> Peter Schrijver, 'Old British', *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 12.

PBr. *\*nexti*.<sup>47</sup> > *\*nixti*: (final *i*-affection) > *\*nixt* > *\*ni:t* (*i*: = *ii*)<sup>48</sup> > *\*ni:θ* > Late PBr./

OSWBr. *\*niθ* > MB *niz* /niθ/ (Cath.) > MoB *nizh* ‘niece’ (W *nith*);

PBr. *\*donjos*<sup>49</sup> > *\*dynjoh* (final *i*-affection) > Late PBr. *\*dyn* > OSWBr. *\*døn* > MB *den*  
‘man, person’ (W *dyn*);<sup>50</sup>

PBr. *\*wikanti*.<sup>51</sup> > *\*wuganti*: > *\*wugenti*: (final *i*-affection) > Late PBr. *\*ugent*<sup>52</sup> > OSWBr.

*\*ygent* > MB *ug(u)ent* ‘twenty’ (W *ugaint*);

PBr. *\*gweltis*<sup>53</sup> > *\*gwiltis* (final *i*-affection) > *\*gwilt* > Late PBr. *\*gwilt* > OSWBr. *gueld enes*

gl. ‘insula indomita’<sup>54</sup> (‘wild/untamed island’) (*gueld-* here actually represents OSWBr.

/gwilt/<sup>55</sup>).

### 2.1.2.2 Internal *i*-affection

Internal *i*-affection is called thus because the agents of this sound-law stood in PBr. internal syllables.<sup>56</sup> Internal *i*-affection occurred after apocope though, so that the agents, *\*i*:, *\*i*, *\*y*, *\*e*, or *\*j*,<sup>57</sup> actually occurred in a new ultimate syllable, which had originally been the PBr. penultimate syllable. Internal *i*-affection triggered the shift of *\*u* to *\*y*, *\*o* to *\*ø*, *\*a* and

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<sup>47</sup> *HPB* 291.

<sup>48</sup> On the development PBr. *\*ixt* > *\*ijθ* > *\*i:θ*, cf. *LHEB* 405. If *\*niit* (< *\*nixt*) had become *\*\*nit*, it would have become P *\*nezh*, as PBr. *\*i* > Late PBr. *\*i* > OSWBr. *\*i* > MB and MoB *e*, cf. Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 14, 21.

<sup>49</sup> *SBCHP* 259.

<sup>50</sup> Finding an example of final *i*-affection *\*u* > *\*y* is difficult, cf. *HPB* 291.

<sup>51</sup> *SBCHP* 258.

<sup>52</sup> The exact rules governing the development of PC *\*wi* > Late PBr. *\*u* (MW <u> /u/, MB <u> /y/ are difficult to ascertain, cf. *SBCHP* 159 f.

<sup>53</sup> *SBCHP* 267.

<sup>54</sup> Léon Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton* (Paris 1964) 187.

<sup>55</sup> In OSWBr. the phoneme /t/ is represented by <e, i>, cf. Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 22.

<sup>56</sup> *LHEB* 579.

<sup>57</sup> Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 12 f.

\*e to \*ē, and \*e: to \*i:. The new \*y and \*e merged with \*y and \*e that had risen from final *i*-affection earlier.<sup>58</sup> Examples of internal *i*-affected vowels are respectively:

PBr. \**budi:na*: ‘troop’ > \**buði:na*: > \**buði:nɔ*: > \**buði:n* > \**byði:n* (internal *i*-affection) >

Late PBr. \**byðin* > OSWBr. *bodin*<sup>59</sup> /bøðin/ (OSWBr. merger of *y* and *ø*, cf. Schrijver (2011: 20)) (W *byddin*);<sup>60</sup>

BrL *coquīna* ‘kitchen’ > \**kogi:na* > \**kogi:n* > \**køgi:n* (internal *i*-affection) > OSWBr.

*cocin*<sup>61</sup> /køgin/ > MB *queguyn*, MoB *kegin* (W *cegin*);<sup>62</sup>

PBr. \**klamito-* ‘sickness’<sup>63</sup> > \**klaβido-* > \**klaβid* > \**kleβid* (internal *i*-affection) > Late PBr.

\**kleβid* > OSWBr. \**kleβid* > OSWBr. \**kliβid* (secondary *i*-affection, cf. 2.1.2.3 below) > MB *cleuet* /klevēd/ (Cath.) > MoB *kleñved* (W *clefyd*);

PBr. \**melino-* ‘yellow’<sup>64</sup> > \**melin* > \**mēlin* > Late PBr. \**mēlin* > OSWBr. \**mēlin* > OSWBr.

*milin* /mīlin/ (secondary *i*-affection, cf. 2.1.2.3 below) > MB *melen* (Cath.), MoB *melen* (W *melyn*);

PBr. \**ke:lijos* > \**ke:lijoh* > \**ke:liðoh* > \**ke:lið* > \**ki:lið* (internal *i*-affection) > Late PBr.

\**kilið* > OSWBr. \**kilið* > MB *heguile*<sup>65</sup>, (*e-*)gile ‘(his) other’ (W *cilydd*).<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> HPB 296.

<sup>60</sup> Jackson (1967: 296, 299) also gives other examples of the internal *i*-affection of \**u*, but these are outdated when compared to contemporary theories: Schrijver (2011: 11) explains that before internal *i*-affection the first loss of vowel features took place in all closed pretonic and open pre-pretonic syllables, so that \**i* and \**u* became respectively \**ə* and \**ø*. Jackson’s examples PBr. \**gulbi:no* ‘beak’, PBr. \**glut:(o)ni:a*: ‘greed’, and PBr. \**kuljones* ‘flies’ all have \**u* in a pretonic closed syllable by the time internal *i*-affection took place, \**gul’bi:n*, \**glut’ni:* and \**kul’jon* (stress was now on the ultimate syllable, as final syllables had been lost due to apocope), so that \**u* here became \**ø* (not \**y*!). See the discussion on secondary *i*-affection below to find out what became of \**ə* and \**ø*.

<sup>61</sup> In OSWBr. the phoneme /ø/ is represented by <o, u, e>, cf. Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 22.

<sup>62</sup> HPB 296.

<sup>63</sup> HPB 297.

<sup>64</sup> HPB 296.

<sup>65</sup> For more about the loss of final -ð and the loss of final spirants in Breton in general, cf. HPB 609 ff., 677 n.

<sup>66</sup> Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 13.

Jackson (1967: 293) dates the earliest beginnings of this sound-law to the second half of the 6th century, and the full development to the end of the 7th to early 8th century. This sound-law was regressive, which means that an *i*-affected vowel itself could cause internal *i*-affection in the preceding syllable, e.g. PBr. *\*lawenijo*<sup>67</sup> > *\*laweniðo-* > *\*lawenið* > *\*lawenið* (internal *i*-affection) > *\*lęwęnið* (internal *i*-affection) > Late PBr. *\*lęwęnið* > OSWBr. *\*lęwęnið* > OSWBr. *\*lŕwinið* (secondary *i*-affection, cf. 2.1.2.3 below) > MB *leuenez* (Cath.) > MoB *leuenez* ‘joy’ (MW *llewenydd*<sup>68</sup>).

### 2.1.2.3 Secondary *i*-affection

Secondary *i*-affection is dated to the 10th-11th century,<sup>69</sup> and can be divided into two stages:<sup>70</sup>

(1) OSWBr. *\*ę* > *\*ɪ*, if *i*, *ɪ*, or *j* stood in the following syllable, e.g. OSWBr. *\*melm* >

OSWBr. *milin* /mɪlɪn/ (W *melyn*) that we already saw above, and PBr. *\*priteri:a:*

‘anxiety’<sup>71</sup> > *\*prideri:a:* > *\*prideri:ɔ:* > *\*prideri:* > *\*pridęri:* (internal *i*-affection) > Late

PBr. *\*pridęri* > OSWBr. *\*pridęri* > OSWBr. *\*pridiri* (stage 1 secondary *i*-affection) >

OSWBr. *pritiri* /pridiri/<sup>72</sup> > MB *predery*, MoB *prederi* (W *pryderi*).

(2) *\*ɪ* (including *ɪ* arisen by stage 1) and *\*ø* (from internal *i*-affected *\*o*, *\*u*) > *i* before *i* or *j* in

the next syllable, e.g. PBr. *\*brani:* ‘ravens’<sup>73</sup> > *\*bręni:* > OSWBr. *\*bręn*, a new *-i* plural

<sup>67</sup> HPB 296 f.

<sup>68</sup> MW *llewenydd* became MoW *llawenydd* by analogy with *llawen* ‘merry, glad’, where the first vowel had not been *i*-affected.

<sup>69</sup> HPB 299.

<sup>70</sup> These two stages are found on page 1 of the handout that accompanied Peter Schrijver’s presentation about ‘Secondary *i*-affection in Breton’ at the ‘Building blocks of Breton grammar’ Colloquium in Marburg on the 26th and 27th of April 2012.

<sup>71</sup> HPB 294.

<sup>72</sup> Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 30.

<sup>73</sup> R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 73 f.

suffix (< *\*-i:ha* < *\*-esa*, the old s-stem pl.)<sup>74</sup> was added then.<sup>75</sup> OSWBr. *\*brēni* then became *\*brini* during stage 1 of secondary *i*-affection, and *\*brini* during stage 2 > MoB *brini*. Another example is PBr. *\*oli:na:* > *\*oli:nɔ:* > *\*oli:n* > *\*øli:n* (internal *i*-affection) > OSWBr. *\*ølin* (secondary *i*-affection stage 2) > P *ilin* (but, MB *elin* (Cath.)). The latter example which has the expected outcome in P (*ilin*), but not in MB (*elin*) shows that especially the secondary *i*-affection of *ø* is problematic. A more detailed discussion of the secondary *i*-affection of *ø* can be found below.

PBr. *\*ə*, the allophone of /i/, (from earlier *\*i*, cf. fn. 60) merged with /e/ before the MB period.<sup>76</sup> PBr. *\*ø* merged with *\*ø* as OSWBr. *ø*. If this *ø* stood in a closed syllable (and was therefore short)<sup>77</sup>, it did not undergo secondary *i*-affection,<sup>78</sup> e.g. PBr. *\*ot-jon-* ‘ox’ > *\*odjon-* > *\*odjon* > *\*ødjon* (internal *i*-affection) > Late OSWBr. *\*edjon* > *\*edjøn* > *\*edjøn*, *\*ødjøn*<sup>79</sup> > *\*edjen*, *\*ødjen* > MoB *ejen*, *eujen*. If *\*ø* stood in an open stressed syllable (and was therefore long), it underwent secondary *i*-affection (stage 2) to *i* only in Tregerieg and eastern Kerneveg. In Leoneg and western Kerneveg it became *e* as though it had not undergone secondary *i*-affection.<sup>80</sup> E.g. PBr. *koki:na:* ‘jay’ > *\*kogi:na:* > *\*kogi:nɔ:* > *\*kogi:n* > *\*køgi:n* (internal *i*-affection) > *\*køgin* > Tregerieg and eastern Kerneveg *kigin*, but Leoneg and western Kerneveg *kegin* (cf. ALBB: 368) (W *cegin*).<sup>81</sup> This means that the double reflex of

<sup>74</sup> SBCHP 393.

<sup>75</sup> The addition of a plural suffix would make this a double plural, which is not rare in Breton, cf. Pierre Trepos, *Le Pluriel Breton*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Brest 1982) 228 ff.

<sup>76</sup> Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 20.

<sup>77</sup> Stressed vowels in an open syllable (i.e. in absolute auslaut or before a short consonant) are long, and short in a closed syllable (i.e. before a long consonant or a consonant cluster). Unstressed vowels are always short. Cf. HPB 84.

<sup>78</sup> Schrijver, ‘Secondary *i*-affection in Breton’ handout (2012) 4. Cf. fn. 70.

<sup>79</sup> Whether *e* in the first syllable became *ø* due to vowel harmony with *ø* in the following syllable depended on the dialect. For this reason there are two reconstructed forms per stage from this point on. Cf. Anders R. Jørgensen, ‘Middle Breton *eugen* ‘Ox’, *euryen* ‘Edge’ and plurals in *-yen*’, *Per Aspera ad Asteriscos* (Innsbruck 2004) 264.

<sup>80</sup> Schrijver, ‘Secondary *i*-affection in Breton’ handout (2012) 4. Cf. fn. 70.

<sup>81</sup> Schrijver, ‘Secondary *i*-affection in Breton’ handout (2012) 3. Cf. fn. 70.

OSWBr. \**olin* ‘elbow’ can be explained as dialectal: P *ilin* is based on Tregerieg and eastern Kerneveg, and MB *elin* probably reflects Leoneg or western Kerneveg. PBr. \**y* became KLT *i* if affected by secondary *i*-affection, e.g. PBr. \**subjV-/subi:-*<sup>82</sup> > \**suβjV-/suβi:* > \**syβjV-/syβi:* (final *i*-affection) > \**syβ* to which the *-i* plural suffix was added (cf. *brini* above) so that OSWBr. \**syβi* > MB *siuy*, KLT *sivi* (W *syfi*). MB Leoneg *e* (< OSWBr. \**ø*: (= *ø* in open syllable)), and Tregerieg and Leoneg *e* (< OSWBr. \**ø*) could become *i* if they stood before *r* or *l* and *i* stood in the next syllable, e.g. L *molīna* > \**moli:n* > \**møli:n* (internal *i*-affection) > OSWBr. \**mølin* > Early Leoneg \**melin* > Leoneg *milin* (ALBB: 458) (W *melin*).<sup>83</sup>

Of the three *i*-affections, secondary *i*-affection is the most subject to fluctuation, e.g. next to MB *cridiff* ‘to believe’ (= /kridiβ̃/ (secondary *i*-affection, stage 2) < OSWBr. *critim* / kridiβ̃/(secondary *i*-affection, stage 1) < \**kr̥ediβ̃* < \**kr̥edi:β̃* (internal *i*-affection) < \**kr̥edi:β̃* < \**kr̥edi:β̃ɔ:* < \**kr̥edi:β̃a:* < PBr. \**kr̥ed:i:ma:*), MB *crediff* also exists,<sup>84</sup> which looks as though secondary *i*-affection never took place so that \**ɛ* in \**kr̥edi:β̃* fell together with /*e*/ during the OSWBr. period.<sup>85</sup> It is more probable, however, that original MB *cridiff* was analogically remodelled to MB *crediff* according to its paradigmatic forms that had not undergone *i*-affection, e.g. 1sg. pres. ind. *credaff* ‘I believe’,<sup>86</sup> 1pl. pres. ind. *credomp* ‘we believe’,<sup>87</sup> 2sg. ipv. *cret* ‘believe!’,<sup>88</sup> and 2pl. ipv. *credet* ‘believe!’.<sup>89</sup> The 1pl. pres. ind. *-omp* and

<sup>82</sup> Matasović (2009: 358) reconstructs PC \**subi-*. This etymology does not work, however, as \**-i* was not able to cause the final *i*-affection of \**u* > \**y*. For this, \**-jV-* or \**-i:-* would have been needed, cf. 2.1.1.1 Final *i*-affection. The example \**sub-* + pl. *-i* was suggested in Schrijver, ‘Secondary *i*-affection in Breton’ handout (2012) 3. Cf. fn. 25.

<sup>83</sup> Schrijver, ‘Secondary *i*-affection in Breton’ handout (2012) 4. Cf. fn. 70.

<sup>84</sup> *HPB* 300 f.

<sup>85</sup> Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 20.

<sup>86</sup> Henry Lewis and J.R.F. Piette, *Handbuch des Mittelbretonischen*, trans. Wolfgang Meid (Innsbruck 1990) 67, 1. 15.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* 61, 1. 19.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* 85, 1. 15.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* 66, 1. 15.

2pl. ipv. could also appear with *i*-affection, even though this is not what we would historically expect.<sup>90</sup> This analogical spread of *i*-affected forms to originally unaffected forms and vice versa shows the degree of confusion in the verbal system during the MB period. In the MoB (P) regular verb paradigmatic forms with *i*-inflection are scarcely recognised, and in the literary Vannetais grammars not at all.<sup>91</sup>

### 2.1.2.3.1 Secondary *i*-affection of *\*ei* and *\*ei*

Schrijver<sup>92</sup> suggests that the diphthongs *\*ei* and *\*ei* were either affected by secondary *i*-affection and *\*øi* was not, or that *\*ei* and *\*ei* always became *i* in penultimate syllables, irrespective of secondary *i*-affection, whereas *\*øi* became *ei*. The evidence for the existence of one of these two developments can be found in the following examples:

- PBr. *\*agri:n-* > *\*ayri:n-* > *\*ayri:n* > *\*eyri:n* (internal *i*-affection) > *\*ëiri:n* > Late PBr. *\*ëirin* > MoB *irin* ‘damsons’ (W *eirin*);
- PBr. *\*axti:n-* ‘gorse’ > *\*axti:n* > *\*exti:n* (internal *i*-affection) > *\*ëiti:n* > *\*ëiθi:n* > Late PBr. *\*ëiθin* > MoB *izhin* ‘heath vegetation’ (W *eithin*);
- PBr. *\*dijeus*<sup>93</sup> > *\*dijeuh* > *\*dijouh* > *\*dijo:h* > *\*diðo:h* > *\*dið* > Late PBr. *\*dið* + *\*lun* (< L *lūna* ‘moon’)<sup>94</sup> ‘Monday’ > OSWBr. *\*deið lyn* > MoB *dilun*;
- PC *\*noxtje:r-* > *\*noxtje:r* > *\*nøxtje:r* (internal *i*-affection) > *\*nøitje:r* > *\*nøiθje:r* > Late PBr. *\*nøiθjuir* ‘last night’ > MoB *neizeur, neizour, neizor*.

The development of *\*ei*, *\*ei* to *i* in the first three examples and *\*øi* to *ei* in the fourth can be explained by two possible rules. The first one is simply that the aforementioned developments

<sup>90</sup> HPB 295.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Schrijver, ‘Secondary *i*-affection in Breton’ handout (2012) 6. Cf. fn. 70.

<sup>93</sup> SBCHP 318.

<sup>94</sup> L *lūna* ‘moon’ > *\*lū:na* > *\*lū:n* > Late PBr. *\*lun*.



always took place. The other possible rule is that *\*ei* and *\*ei* became *i* through secondary *i*-affection, which can explain the first two examples, but not the third, since there is no agent in OSWBr. *\*deið lyn* ‘monday’ that could have caused secondary *i*-affection. This would weigh in favour of the development whereby *\*ei* and *\*ei* always became *i*, if it were not for evidence that suggests that *y* was also an agent for secondary *i*-affection (cf. the next paragraph, 2.1.2.3.2). If this were possible, then OSWBr. *\*deið lyn* could have become MoB *dilun* because of the secondary *i*-affection caused by *y* in the following syllable.

### 2.1.2.3.2 Secondary *i*-affection by *y*

Evidence suggests that there might also be secondary *i*-affection before MB /y/, e.g. BrL *\*septimōna* ‘week’<sup>95</sup> > *\*sextimo:na* > *\*sextiβ̃o:na* > *\*sextiβ̃u:na* > *\*sextiβ̃u:n* > *\*sextiβ̃u:n* > *\*seitβ̃u:n* > *\*seiθβ̃u:n* > *\*seiθun*<sup>96</sup> > OSWBr. *seithun* /seiθyn/ > MB *sizun* (Cath.) > MoB *sizhun*. Another example might be OSWBr. *\*deið lyn* > MoB *dilun* if the diphthong *\*ei* was indeed affectable by *i*-affection, cf. 2.1.1.3.1.

## 2.2 Material

Now that *i*-affection has been discussed in detail, we can now move on to the material. A list words that have U *i* instead of P *e* has been gathered from Appandices 1 and 2 and can be found below. None of them can apparently be explained through *i*-affection or other soundlaws. I will therefore look into the etymology and phonological structure of each entry, and possible analogical influences on each entry for other possible explanations of U *i*. If I cannot find an explanation, that will be stated as well.

<sup>95</sup> *HPB* 303.

<sup>96</sup> There was a tendency of postconsonantal *\*β̃* to be lost, cf. *HPB* 639.

### 2.2.1 U ['bɛmdis] ‘everyday’, P *bemdez* (App. 1: 98)

The etymology of this compound is PBr. \**pa:po-* ‘every’<sup>97</sup> + PBr. \**dijeus* ‘day’<sup>98</sup>. As this chapter concerns the problem of *i*’s appearing instead of *e*’s, I will not look any further into the phonological trajectory of PBr. \**pa:po-* ‘every’. The second part of the compound, U -[dis], appears independently as U [deis] ‘day’ (App. 2: 106), which is the same as P *deiz*. The phonological trajectory of U [deis] and P *deiz* is somewhat problematic: PBr. \**dijeus* > \**dijeuh* > \**dijouh* > \**dijo:h* > \**diōo:h* > \**diō* > Late PBr. \**diō* > OSWBr. \**dīō* > MB *dez* and *deiz* (W *dydd*)<sup>99</sup>. The problem that OSWBr. \**ī* should have become MB *e* has been discussed by Jackson (1967: 93 f.). According to him OSWBr. *ī* appears to have developed into *ei* before *θ*, *ð*, or *s*. This substitution occurs quite erratically, however, as doublets where one variant of the word has *ei* and the other *e* (< OSWBr. \**ī*) occur until a relatively late period, e.g. MB *dez* ‘day’ (Cath.) vs. MB *deiz*<sup>100</sup>, MB *feiz*<sup>101</sup> ‘faith’ vs. MB *fez* (Cath.), and MB *neiz* ‘nest’ (Cath.) vs. MB *nez* (Cath.). It may have something to do with dialectal variation, as it seems to be no mere coincidence that in modern Leon dialects, which have retained final -*ð* as -*z*, \**ī* became *ei* in *deiz* ‘day’, whereas in Kernev and Treger dialects, which did not retain final -*ð*, \**ī* became *e* in *de* ‘day’ (cf. ALBB: 141).<sup>102</sup> Because *e* became *i* in Haut-Vannetais,<sup>103</sup> *di* ‘day’ can be considered as belonging to the same group as Kernev and Treger *de*. I have marked the area that has retained final -*z* (< *ð*) and therefore has *ei* instead of *e* (< \**ī*) on the ALBB map below:

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<sup>97</sup> *HPB* 132 f.

<sup>98</sup> *SBCHP* 318.

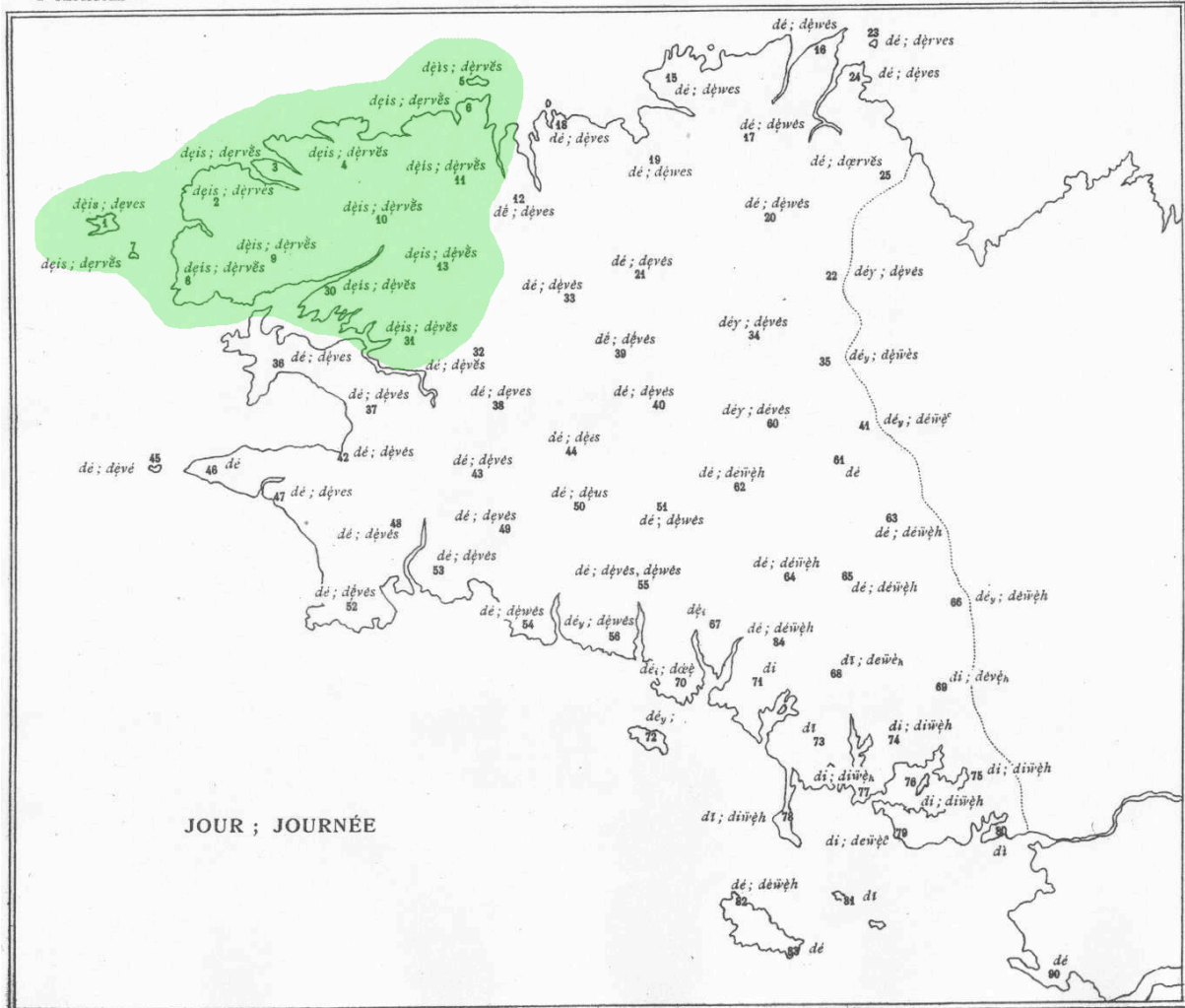
<sup>99</sup> *GPC* 1119 f.

<sup>100</sup> Found in the *Catholicon* (Cath.), and the *Anciens Noël's bretons*, printed by Tanguy Gueguen 1650 in Quimper. The text may be from the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century, cf. Jackson (1967: xxxv).

<sup>101</sup> Found in the *Vie de Sainte Nonne*, a 15th century text, cf. Jackson (1967: xxxv).

<sup>102</sup> *HPB* 680.

<sup>103</sup> *HPB* 103 ff.



P *neizh* ‘nest’ shows a different spread, however: /neiz/ and /neix/ is found in Leoneg and /neiz/ Kerneveg (/naiz/ in the south-east), and *nez* or *nec’h* elsewhere (ALBB: 494). I refer to the map below where the dialects that have *ei* instead of *e* have been marked in green.



The difference between these two maps probably has to do with the fact P *deiz* ‘day’ derives from Late PBr. \**dið* with final \**-ð*, whereas P *neizh* ‘nest’ derives from Late PBr. \**niθ*<sup>104</sup> with final \**-θ*. Final \**-ð* seems to have been retained in Leon dialects only, and therefore was able to change *e* > *ei* only only there. Final \**-θ* on the other hand was retained in Leon and Kerney, and was therefore able to effect the change from *e* > *ei* in a larger area. Regrettably, there is no map in the ALBB or NALBB that shows the spread of P *feiz* ‘faith’.

<sup>104</sup> SBCHP 376.

The shift of OSWBr. \**ɪ* > *ei* before *ð*, *θ*, *s* is not the problem, however. It looks as though OSWBr. \**ɪ* (or later *ei*, as that could have undergone secondary *i*-affection to *i* as well, cf. 2.1.1.3.1) has undergone secondary *i*-affection to U [i]. This cannot have happened, though, since the agent of this secondary *i*-affection is not apparent.

### 2.2.2 U ['britūn] 'Breton', P *breton* (App. 1: 152)

This is a loanword from Fr. *breton*, as the native word for 'Breton' is P *breizhad*, which is composed of PBr. \**brit:ja*.<sup>105</sup> > \**britja*: > \**britjɔ*: > \**britɔ*: > \**brit* > \**briθ* > Late PBr. \**briθ* > OSWBr. \**briθ* > MB *Breiz* (Cath.), P *Breizh* + P *-ad* suffix for denoting inhabitants. The shift *o* > *u* before a nasal is particularly characteristic of Leon dialects.<sup>106</sup> There is no phonetic environment that would obviously trigger the shift \**e* > *i*.

### 2.2.3 U *brisounek* /*brizuneg*/ 'Breton (language)', P *brezhoneg* (App. 1: 152)

This word derives from PBr. \**brit:onika*: (\**brit:on*-<sup>107</sup> + *-ika*: suffix for languages<sup>108</sup>) > \**britoniga*: > \**britonigɔ*: > \**britonegɔ*: (\**i* > \**e* due to *a*-affection, as [ɔ:] is still /a:/) > \**britoneg* > \**briθoneg* > Late PBr. \**briθoneg* > OSWBr. \**briθoneg*, after which \**ɪ* should have become *e*, as can be seen in P *brezhoneg*. In the penultimate syllable there is Leoneg *u* < *o* before a nasal, which we already saw in 2.2.2. A cause for the change of OSWBr. \**ɪ* to U [i] is not apparent.

<sup>105</sup> SBCHP 96.

<sup>106</sup> HPB 834.

<sup>107</sup> SBCHP 96.

<sup>108</sup> The suffix \**-ika* might be a borrowing from L *-icā*, cf. Stefan Zimmer, *Studies in Welsh Word-formation* (Dublin 2000) 497.

## 2.2.4 U ['kigəl] ‘distaff’, P *ke(i)gel* (App. 1: 227)

Pedersen (1909: 239) suggested that this word may have been borrowed originally from L *coluc(u)la* (diminutive of L *colus* ‘distaff’) which had already been dissimilated to *conuc(u)la* in Latin. He says that this was borrowed into PBr. as *\*konukel:a*, and subsequently lost *u* before the British accent. *\*konkel:a* would then have been borrowed into Old Irish, where, according to Pedersen, *\*kon-* was reanalysed as native the preposition *con-*, which appeared as *co-* before old *k*, so that it became *\*kokel:a*. This was then borrowed back into British Celtic. The Old Irish counterpart *cuicél*<sup>109</sup> with long *e* that cannot be explained thus, however, and especially the part where *\*kon-* in *\*konkel:a* was analysed as an Old Irish preposition seems far-fetched.<sup>110</sup> Another possibility that has been suggested to me by Peter Schrijver is that L *col(u)cula* was borrowed into British as a *ja:-*stem noun, so that it became PBr. *\*kolugulja:* (after lenition). The phonological trajectory would then be as follows: PBr. *\*kolugulja:* > *\*koluguljɔ:* > *\*kolugyljɔ:* (final *i*-affection) > *\*kølygyljɔ:* (internal *i*-affection) > *\*kølygyl* > Late PBr. *\*kølgyl*. Somewhere along this development the first *l* must have been lost due to dissimilation, so that we would actually have Late PBr. *\*køgyl*, which then became OSWBr. *\*køgøl*. The OSWBr. form should subsequently have become MB *\*kegel*. The MB form that is actually attested, however, is *queiguel* (Cath.). According to Schrijver (2011: 20) OSWBr. *\*ø* normally becomes MB *e*. The OSWBr. vowel that could sometimes become MB *ei* is *\*e*, e.g. PBr. *\*aljɔs* > *\*aljoh* > OSWBr. *\*el* > Late OSWBr. *eil* ‘second’. The regular reflex of OSWBr. *\*e* is MB *e*, however. If OSWBr. *\*e* and *\*ø* fell together and ultimately became MB *e*, then perhaps *\*ø* may have occasionally become MB *ei* as well. This could then be evidence that OSWBr. *\*e* and *\*ø* first coalesced to *\*e* before becoming *e*. If this is true,

<sup>109</sup> Next to Old Irish *cuicél*, *cuicel* without a *sineadh fada* also exists, cf. *LEIA* C-267 f.

<sup>110</sup> In the *LEIA* it is stated that the etymology is difficult, and that usually Pedersen's theory is followed. Cf. *LEIA* C-267 f.

then *ei* in MB *queiguel* would be justified. Matters become complicated again, however, when we look at the Modern Breton picture on ALBB map 367. It shows /kigel/<sup>111</sup> in northwestern Leon (pt.1 (Ushant), 2 (Plourin) and 3 (Landéda)) and throughout Kernev (apart from two points on the south coast, 53 Clohars-Fouesnant and 54 Nevez, that have /kigil/). The rest of Leon and the whole of Treger. I will not look at the Vannetais data because the stress on the ultimate syllable makes the original vowel quality of pre-tonic syllables uncertain.<sup>112</sup> There is /kegil/ at pts. 7 (Molène), 31 (Rumengol) and 33 (Berrien). ['kɛigɛl] is found at pt. 18 (Plougasnou). Below the graphic representation of the distribution of the different forms is given. Green is /kigel/, red is /kegil/, blue is /kigil/, and purple is ['kɛigɛl].

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<sup>111</sup> I will not give the phonetic transcription of each point on the map, as that would only obscure the tendencies on the map. Points that show similar transcriptions are represented by a phonemic transcription.

<sup>112</sup> The vowel in the initial syllable in Haut-Vannetais /kœ'gel/ probably represents *i* that became *ə* because it was pretonic, cf. *HPB* 90.





difference in distribution between the two maps has to do with *eil* being monosyllabic and *keigel* disyllabic?

Late PBr. *\*køgyl* appears in Middle Welsh as *cogeil* (MoW *cogail*, *cogel*).<sup>113</sup> We actually expect MW *\*kegeil*, because Late PBr. pretonic *\*ø* normally OW *e*.<sup>114</sup> However, Jackson (1953: 592) states that double *i*-affection<sup>115</sup> did not always take place, which means that Late PBr. *\*køgyl* may actually have been *\*kogyl* in the northern dialect of Late PBr. Jackson says that often the reason for the absence of double affection seems to have been analogy. Perhaps the double affection had indeed taken place, but was cancelled again by analogy with L *col(u)cula*. Late (northern) PBr. *\*kogyl* would then become MW *cogeil* without any further problems.

It is clear that the history of P *keigel* and MW *cogeil* ‘distaff’ is riddled with uncertainties and problems. The discussion above has not brought us any closer to the origin of *i* in the Ushant dialect, though, and we must therefore conclude that *i* in U [‘kigɛl] remains obscure.

### 2.2.5 U [kris'tinen:] ‘crust, film’, P *krest(en)enn* (App. 1: 358)

It seems that this word consists of the collective noun *krest* ‘crust, film’ to which the singulative ending *-enn* was added. This was then apparently reanalysed as a collective noun in some dialects so that a new singulative ending was added to make the new singulative *krestenenn*, or in this case U [kris'tinen:]. The etymology of this word is problematic, because

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<sup>113</sup> *GPC* 540.

<sup>114</sup> Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 16.

<sup>115</sup> ‘Double affection’ means that a vowel that was altered by internal *i*-affection could itself cause internal *i*-affection of a vowel preceding it, e.g. *\*kolugyljɔ:* ‘distaff’ (with final *i*-affection) initially became *\*kolygyljɔ:* by internal *i*-affection. This newly affected *\*y* then caused the double affection of preceding *\*o* so that it became *\*ø:* *\*kolygyljɔ:* > *\*kølygyljɔ:*.

if it were a loanword from L *crūsta* ‘crust’, it would, through the stages *\*kri:sta* and *\*kri:st*, have become MoB *\*\*krist*. However, if we consider that old quantity was lost in Vulgar Latin and closed stressed syllables were now short,<sup>116</sup> then classical L *crūsta* would have become *\*krusta*.<sup>117</sup> Schrijver (1995: 259-264) convincingly argues for the shift of *\*-ja:* > *\*-ĕa:* > *\*-a:* in order to explain why native Celtic words in *\*-ja:* never show final *i*-affection. Latin loanwords on the other hand, often do show final *i*-affection. They might either reflect later borrowings, or have been remodelled according to the Latin originals.<sup>118</sup> The latter would mean that *-ia* in L *historia* originally became *\*-ĕa* > *\*-a* together with *\*ja:* in the native vocabulary, before being repaired to *-ia* again, which would then be able to cause final *i*-affection: *\*istorja* (with repaired *\*-ja*) > *\*istryja* (final *i*-affection) > *\*istyr* > *\*əstyr* > W *ystyr* /əstɪr/ ‘meaning’. Vulgar Latin *\*crusta* may have fallen together with other Latin loanwords when these lost their palatal glide before *\*-a*, after which *\*krusta* was ‘repaired’ along with the other Latin loanwords and thus became *\*krustja*. This form would then be able to explain the Peurunvan form: *\*krustja* (after ‘repair’) > *\*krystja* > Late PBr. *\*kryst* > OSWBr. *\*krøst* > P *krest*. The only problem is that Late PBr. *\*kryst* should have become MoW *\*crist* or *\*creist*,<sup>119</sup> not *crest* ‘scab, crust’.<sup>120</sup> Perhaps *\*crist* is indeed the original form, but it became *crest*, just like MW *syr* ‘stars’ became *ser* at a later stage.<sup>121</sup> There is also W

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<sup>116</sup> C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston 1907) 76.

<sup>117</sup> Schrijver pointed out to me, however, that the shortening of originally long stressed vowels in closed syllables in not known to have occurred in any other loanword from Latin in British Celtic. Perhaps shortended Vulgar L *\*crusta* was borrowed from a non-British Latin dialect then?

<sup>118</sup> *SBCHP* 263 f.

<sup>119</sup> Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 16.

<sup>120</sup> *GPC* 592.

<sup>121</sup> D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin 1964) 31. MW *syr* ‘stars’ sgt. *seren* is regular until 1588, after which *ser* sgt. *seren* occurs more often, cf. *GPC* 3226.

*crwst* ‘crust’, but this is a loanword from Middle English *crouste*.<sup>122</sup> This uncertain etymology cannot shed any light on the origin of the [i]’s in the Ushant form, however.

### 2.2.6 U [rī’sinat] ‘to neigh’, P *razhenniñ* (App. 1: 363)

I do not know the etymology of this word. The only thing that can be said about it at this point is that the first syllable has apparently been subject to internal *i*-affection by either *\*i*, *\*y* or *\*e* (not *\*i:*, *\*j*, as we would then expect *i* or *j* in the penultimate syllable) so that *\*a* > *\*e*, which became *\*i* during *i*-affection stage 1 and subsequently *\*i* during *i*-affection stage 2. The U [i] instead of *e* in the penultimate syllable remains unexplained, however.

### 2.2.7 U ['krɛgɪŋ], ['krɛgɪn:] ‘shells’, P *kregin*, *kregen* (App. 1: 368)

I have chosen to create several subparagraphs to increase the readability of the discussion of U ['krɛgɪŋ], ['krɛgɪn:] ‘shells’.

#### 2.2.7.1 Introduction

U ['krɛgɪŋ], ['krɛgɪn:] ‘shells’, together with its sg. P *krogenn*, is part of the plural formation group *o...e* > *e...i*,<sup>123</sup> where the origin of *i* is obscure as well, as, etymologically speaking, one would expect P *kregen*: PBr. *\*krokeni*: ‘shells’<sup>124</sup> > *\*krogeni*: > *\*krogini*: (final *i*-affection) > *\*krogin* > *\*krøgin* (internal *i*-affection) > Late PBr. *\*krøgin* > OSWBr. *\*krøgin* > P *kregen* (but MB *creguin*)<sup>125</sup>. Other examples of the *o...e* > *e...i* plural are: sg. *colen*

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<sup>122</sup> GPC 616.

<sup>123</sup> H. Lewis and J.R.F. Piette, *Handbuch des Mittelbretonischen*, trans. Wolfgang Meid (Innsbruck 1990) 13, and Alf Sommerfelt, *Le breton parlé à Saint-Pol-de-Léon*, New ed. by F. Falc’hun and Magne Oftedal (London 1978) 113.

<sup>124</sup> R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 226.

<sup>125</sup> *Nomenclatur communium rerum... Auctore Hadriano Ivnio Medico* (Bibliothèque National de France, Reserve Section, P. X. 13.) 43. For an edition, cf. G. Le Menn, *Le nomenclatur latin-français-breton de Guillaume Quiquer de Roscoff (1633)* (Saint-Brieuc 2000).

‘whelp, young animal’ with pl. *quelin*<sup>126</sup>, sg. *crochen(n)*<sup>127</sup> ‘hide’ with pl. *crechin*<sup>128</sup>, and sg. *corden(n)* ‘rope’ (Cath.) with pl. *querden(n)* (Cath.) next to pl. *querdinn*.<sup>129</sup>

### 2.2.7.2 Geographical distribution

There are no maps of any of these plurals in the ALBB or NALBB, but there is an accidental recording of it on ALBB map 213, where we find the plural of P *askell kroc'henn* ‘bat’ (lit. ‘skin-wing’) as [eskel 'kre:hij] at Plouarzel (pt. 3). Since the second part in this genitive construction, *kroc'henn*, does not become a plural together with *askell* in most dialects, e.g. [eskel 'grøhɛn] (pt. 6, Lanrivoaré) and [askelju 'kro:hɛn] (pt. 8, Saint-Pabu), no other examples of this *e...i*-plural are found on this map. Other geographically pinpointed attestations of the *e...i*-phenomenon can be found in writings by other scholars: Sommerfelt (1978: 113) has P *kroc'henn* pl. U [kræ:hij] ‘shells’ (P *krec'henn*, *krec'henn*), [kɔrdɛn] ‘rope’ pl. [kærdij] (P *kordenn* pl. *kerden*), [ɔrdɛn] ‘bundle, sheave’ pl. [ærdij] (P *hordenn* pl. *herden*, *herdin*), and [plãŋkɛn] ‘board, plank’ pl. [plɛŋkij] (P *plankenn* pl. *plenken*), Jackson (1967: 397) has *kregijn* ‘shells’ (P *kregen*, *kregin*) and *kerdin* ‘ropes’ (P *kerden*) in the dialect of Beuzec-Cap-Sizun, and Ernault (1930: 481) *herdin*, *herdign* (and *herden*) ‘bundles, sheaves’ (P *herden*, *herdin*) in Treger, and *bréchin* ‘knitting needles’ (P *brechen*, *brechin*) and *golven* ‘sparrow’ pl. *gelvin* (P *golvan* pl. *gelven*) in Leon. This data shows that the phenomenon has a northern and western distribution, which is limited to the coastal dialects in the west.

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<sup>126</sup> Found in *Mystère de sainte Barbe* 713, source: E. Ernault (ed. and tr.), *Le mystère de Sainte Barbe: Tragédie bretonne, texte de 1557, publié avec traduction française, introduction et dictionnaire étymologique du breton moyen* (Paris 1888) 250.

<sup>127</sup> *Nomenclatur communium rerum... Auctore Hadriano Ivnio Medico* (Bibliothèque National de France, Reserve Section, P. X. 13.) 312. For an edition, cf. G. Le Menn, *Le nomenclatur latin-français-breton de Guillaume Quiquer de Roscoff (1633)* (Saint-Brieuc 2000).

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. 109, 168, 311.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. 213.

### 2.2.7.3 Standing theories on the subject

As a solution to the problem of MB *creguin* ‘shells’, *crechin* ‘skins’, *querdin* ‘ropes’ and *quelin* ‘whelp, young animal’, Pedersen (1909: 381) proposed that original *crechen* was analogically altered to *crechin* on the model of *\*\*crein* (pl. of *\*\*croen*), a hypothetical variant of the same word based on the Welsh form, *crwyn* (pl. of *croen*), to attested *crechin*. From there, it would have first spread analogically to *crogen*, a word that was similar to *crochen* in both sound and meaning, and then to other similar words, i.e. *corden* and *colen*. There are two problems with this theory, however. The first one being that apart from *croin* gl. *pellis* ‘skin’ in the *Vocabularium Cornicum*, a monosyllabic variant like *croen*, pl. *crwyn* is not found outside of the Welsh language, and *croin* ‘skin’ in the *Vocabularium Cornicum* is probably not even Cornish, but one of the Welsh words found in this text.<sup>130</sup> The second problem with his theory is that this seems a very unlikely analogy, as *\*\*croen* ‘shell’ pl. *\*\*crein* could hardly be considered similar enough to *crochen* pl. *\*crechen* to facilitate the analogical replacement of the plural *e...e* by *e...i*: *ei* is a diphthong, whereas *e...e* consists of two vowels in different syllables separated by a consonant.

A different theory is offered by Jackson (1967:397 f.). He posits that since OSWBr. *\*-in:* and *\*-en:* had fallen together by OB, the plural forms in *-in* are late attempts to distinguish the plural *e...e* (< *\*ø...i*) more clearly from the singular *o...e* (< *\*o...e*). They would have been influenced by words with secondary *i*-affections like *tarv* pl. *tirvi*. The idea may seem somewhat far-fetched at first, as there are no obvious similarities between *tarv* pl. *tirvi* and *crochen* pl. *\*crechen* that would have facilitated the analogical remodelling of *\*crechen*

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<sup>130</sup> J. Calvete, *The Vocabularium Cornicum* [with CD-Rom] (2005) 47 (on the CD-Rom).

to *crechin*. What Jackson may have meant, however, is that a double plural like *tirvi* ((secondary *i*-affection stage 2) < Late PBr. \**tirwi* (secondary *i*-affection stage 1) < \**terw* (final *i*-affection) + pl. *-i* (cf. 2.1.1.3, *bran* ‘raven’ pl. *brini*) < PBr. \**tarwi*·, sg. \**tarwos*<sup>131</sup>) may indicate that the double plural \**crechini* also existed at one point, which would make a very good agent for the analogy of the simple pl. \**crechen* to *crechin*. The only problem with this theory is that a plural like \**crechini* is not attested.

A similar analogy is presented by Ernault (1930: 478-482). Even though he does not seem entirely convinced that the phenomenon needs explanation,<sup>132</sup> he does state that a plural like *crechin* ‘shells’ was probably analogically remodelled according to *crechinner* ‘shell gatherer?’<sup>133</sup> < \**crechinyer*<sup>134</sup>, which is \**crechen* + *-j*-<sup>135</sup> (which caused the secondary *i*-affection) + agent suffix *-er* (< OSWBr. \**-ær* < Late PBr. \**-ɔr* < \**-ɔ:r* < \**-ɔ:rjoh* < \**-a:rioh* < \**-a:rios* < L *-ārius*<sup>136</sup>) (MW *-awr*, MoW *-or*). The problem with Ernault’s analogy is that the noun *crechinner* is not accompanied by a phonetic transcription. Such a transcription would be able to show us whether *-nn-* in *crechinner* represents [ɲ] or not. If it does, this would prove that *crechinner* indeed derives from earlier \**krexinjer*, which contained the palatal glide *-j-* that could have caused the secondary *i*-affection of \**crechen-* to *crechin-*. Then, after it had caused secondary *i*-affection, the sequence *nj* would have become *ɲ*.<sup>137</sup> Ernault does not supply a comparable analogy for the other *e...i*-plurals though. For now Jackson’s and Ernault’s analogical model seems the most plausible.

<sup>131</sup> R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 371 f.

<sup>132</sup> E. Ernault, ‘Petits textes et notes sur le moyen breton’, *Annales de Bretagne* Vol. 39, nr. 4 (Rennes 1930) 479.

<sup>133</sup> The questionmark means that I cannot find the meaning of this word, and that this is my own interpretation.

<sup>134</sup> E. Ernault, ‘Petits textes et notes sur le moyen breton’, *Annales de Bretagne* Vol. 39, nr. 4 (Rennes 1930) 480.

<sup>135</sup> The origin of *-j-* is unknown. It is also found in other Breton agent nouns, e.g. *bezier* ‘gravedigger’ (*bez* ‘grave’ + *-j-* + *-er*), *kadorier* ‘chair-maker’ (*kador* ‘chair’ + *-j-* + *-er*). It is also found in occasionally in Welsh, e.g. *telyniwr* ‘harpist’ (*telyn* ‘harp’ + *j* + *-wr*) (Zimmer, 2000: 424).

<sup>136</sup> Stefan Zimmer, *Studies in Welsh Word-formation* (Dublin 2000) 421.

<sup>137</sup> *HPB* 821.

### 2.2.8 U [ˈkrɛxiɲ] ‘skins’, P *krec’hen/krec’hin/kroc’henoù* (App. 1: 370)

The etymology of this plural is PBr. *\*krok:eni*.<sup>138</sup> > *\*krokeni*: > *\*krokini*: (final *i*-affection) > *\*krokin* > *\*krøkin* (internal *i*-affection) > *\*krøxin* > *\*krøxin* > *\*krøxin* > P *krec’hen*. For further information about this form, see 2.2.7 above.

### 2.2.9 U [diˈdarza] ‘to leave’, P *dedarzhañ/-iñ* (App. 1: 440)

This is a compound of PBr. *\*di*:- ‘from, un-’<sup>139</sup> + PBr. *\*tard*- ‘explode, break’<sup>140</sup> + PBr. verbal noun ending *-ama*.<sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> According to Jackson (1967: 146 f.) the prefix should have become MB and MoB *di*- but was and is frequently confused with the PBr. prefix *\*to*-/*\*tæ*- ‘to’ > MoB *de*-. If this is the case here, then it seems that the Ushant dialect has retained the original prefix (as ‘leaving’ has much more to do with ‘from’ than ‘to’), whereas the Peurunvan form has not.

### 2.2.10 U [ˈɛgit] ‘than’, P *eget* (App. 1: 629)

According to Fleuriot (1985: 205) this derives from OSWBr. *hac* ‘and, with’ + suffix *-et*. Malgorn (1909: 232) notes that U *negit* is also often used, which is cognate with MW *nogyt*. The MC counterpart *ages*, *agys* agrees with the variant without *n*-.<sup>143</sup> Both the MW and the MC endings seem to point towards SWBr. *\*i*, which should have become *e*, like in P *eget*

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<sup>138</sup> R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 226.

<sup>139</sup> HPB 146.

<sup>140</sup> SBCHP 144.

<sup>141</sup> Stefan Schumacher, *The Historical Morphology of the Welsh Verbal Noun* (Maynooth, 2000) 134.

<sup>142</sup> The semantic connection between ‘exploding’ and ‘leaving’ may not seem very close, but consider the Welsh counterpart *tarddu* ‘to sprout, derive from, issue’. The meaning of the Peurunvan form given by Favereau is ‘to open, burst’.

<sup>143</sup> Léon Fleuriot, *A Dictionary of Old Breton: Dictionnaire du vieux breton: Historical and Comparative*, part I (Toronto 1985) 205.

but not in U ['ɛgit]. This is not the only problem with this word, as the *-a-* in OSWBr. *hacet* is also obscure. Jackson (1967: 115) suggests that the shift OSWBr. *hacet* > MB *eget* is to be explained through vowel harmony. Hemon's explanation (1975: 54) is that both MB *eguet/ eget* 'than, more than' and MB *eguit/evit* 'for' are used after the comparative, and that there seems to have been confusion between them. This confusion between the two may have been responsible for the remodelling of U *\*eget* to ['ɛgit].

### 2.2.11 U ['istun] 'surprise', P *eston* (App. 1: 677)

This is a loanword from OFr. *estoner* 'to surprise' (MoFr. *étonner*).<sup>144</sup> Just like 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 *o* has become *u* before a nasal. There is no apparent reason for the development *\*e* > U [i] here.

### 2.2.12 U [ga'liu] 'slave labour', P *galeoù* (App. 1: 755)

This is a plural of P *gale* 'galley', which is a learned borrowing from L *galea*<sup>145</sup> that was Bretonised by mere suppression of the ending *-a*.<sup>146</sup> The *i*-affection in the Ushant form may have been triggered by the plural ending *-ioù*, which contains a palatal glide that could indeed have caused it. Perhaps the palatal glide could then have been assimilated into the preceding [i], Late PBr. *\*galejow* > *\*galijow* > OSWBr. *\*galijow* > *\*galijow* > *\*galiju* > U [ga'liu], although I know no other examples of this. According to Schrijver (2011: 377) there was a phonemic opposition between /i/ and /j/ in Middle Breton so that the palatal glide in the

<sup>144</sup> J.F.R. Piette, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton* (Cardiff 1973) 116.

<sup>145</sup> Fr. *galée* 'galley' has also been suggested to me as a possible origin. This 'galley' is not a ship though, but a tool used in printing.

<sup>146</sup> J.F.R. Piette, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton* (Cardiff 1973) 60.



plural endings *-ion* and *-ien* is always to be interpreted as *-j-*. This would mean that if earlier *\*galiju* had indeed existed, a development to /galiu/ would have been unlikely since /iu/ and /iju/ are phonemically different. The theory that final [-u] in [ga'liu] actually represents earlier *-ioù* can therefore be discarded. This means that U [i] still remains obscure.

### 2.2.13 U [gi'lawɛn:] ‘leech’, P *gelaouenn* (App. 1: 776)

The MW counterpart is *gel*, and in the *Vocabularium Cornicum* *ghel* gl. *sanguissuga* is found.<sup>147</sup> All three derive from PBr. *\*gelu-* ‘leech’<sup>148</sup>, which became P *\*gel* through regular sound change (only apocope). The second part of the Breton version, P *-aouenn*, seems to be the PBr. pl. *\*-owes* (> *\*-oweh* > *\*-ow* > MoB *-où*)<sup>149</sup> + f. sgt. suffix *\*-inja:* (> *\*-inẽa:* > *\*-in:a:* > *\*-en:a:* > *\*-en:* > MoB *-enn*)<sup>150</sup>. The sgt. suffix was added to the original plural, which means that the old plural was reinterpreted as a collective noun.<sup>151</sup> That the diphthong *\*-ow* appears as *-aou-* has to do with the fact that *\*ow* became /ɔw/ in stressed position, but /u/ when it was in post-tonic. We also see this opposition between stressed and unstressed original *\*ow* in the sgt. *gou'laouenn* ‘light, candle’ and its col. *'gouloù* ‘lights, candles’.<sup>152</sup> The *i*-affection in the first syllable remains to be explained, however.

<sup>147</sup> J. Calvete, *The Vocabularium Cornicum* [with CD-Rom] (2005) 233 f. (on the CD-Rom)

<sup>148</sup> R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 156.

<sup>149</sup> Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 43.

<sup>150</sup> *SBCHP* 260, 264.

<sup>151</sup> Pierre Trepos, *Le pluriel breton*, 2nd ed. (Brest 1982) 243-247.

<sup>152</sup> *HPB* 268 ff, 274 f.

#### 2.2.14 U ['ginu] ‘mouth’, P *genoù* (App. 1: 779)

This word consists of PBr. \**genu-*<sup>153</sup> + PBr. pl. \*-*owes*<sup>154</sup>, which means that PBr. \**e* > OSWBr. \**e* > MB and MoB *e*, as there is no phonetic context that would normally trigger *i*-affection. The Peurunvan spelling therefore represents the form that we would expect through regular sound change. Perhaps the pl. *-où* here was originally *-ioù*, which could have caused secondary *i*-affection. The problem is, however, that the palatal glide seems to have disappeared without leaving any trace (apart from *i*-affection), like the palatalisation of preceding *n* > *n̄* that we would expect.<sup>155</sup> This means that the plural ending is indeed *-où* (not *-ioù*) and could not have caused the secondary *i*-affection of *e* to *i*. The origin of *i* in ['ginu] is therefore still obscure.

#### 2.2.15 U [gʷi'fal:] ‘formerly’, P *gwezhall/gwechall* (App. 1: 837)

This is a loan translation of Fr. *autrefois* ‘formerly’ and therefore consists of P *gwezh* ‘time, occasion’ (< MB *guez* (Cath.) < OSWBr. *gueith* (only three times)<sup>156</sup>, *gueth* < Late PBr. \**wejθ* < \**wejt* < \**wext* < \**wextɔ:* < PBr. \**wexta:*<sup>157</sup>) and *all* ‘other’ (< PC \**aln-*)<sup>158</sup>. U [ʃ] and P *-ch-* in [gʷiʃ]- and *gwech-* can be explained as follows: if *zh* /s/ (< \**θ*) and *i* /j/ stood together, like in the pl. *gwezhioù*, /sj/ became /ʃ/.<sup>159</sup> One might think that the shibilant [ʃ] and the [i] were then analogically imported from the plural \*['viʃu], which we find in U [a'viʃu] (App. 2: 79) ‘sometimes’, to the singular. The singular of P *gwezhioù* ‘times’ is attested in the

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<sup>153</sup> R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 158.

<sup>154</sup> Peter Schrijver, ‘Old British’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 43.

<sup>155</sup> *HPB* 821.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.* 157 f.

<sup>157</sup> R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 419.

<sup>158</sup> *SBCHP* 322.

<sup>159</sup> *HPB* 419 ff.

Ushant dialect, however, and it is [gweʃ]<sup>160</sup> (App. 2: 38) or [gʷeʃ]<sup>161</sup> (App. 1: 872). This means that U [gʷi'ʃal:] ‘formerly’ cannot be a compound of sg. \*[gʷiʃ] ‘time’ and *all* ‘other’.<sup>162</sup> Therefore, *i* in [gʷi'ʃal:] remains unexplained.

### 2.2.16 U [ka'r:iat] ‘to cart’, P *karreat* (App. 1: 970)

This verb derives from the noun P *karre* which is probably a loanword from Gallo, as the final *-e* that derives from OFr. *-ei*, ultimately became (OFr. *ei* > *oi* > *we* > *wε* > ) *wa* in Modern French, cf. Fr. *charroi* ‘transport per cart’. In Gallo the diphthong ended up as *ε* (< *we* < *oi* < OFr. *-ei*).<sup>163</sup> The initial *k-* instead of *ch-* (/ʃ/) is probably there due to influence of MoB *karr* ‘cart’ (< L *carrus*) so that a hybrid form was created. The *i* in the Ushant form remains unexplained.

### 2.2.17 U ['līkr] ‘slippery’, P *lenkr* (App. 1: 1023)

According to Favereau (2000: 473) [līkʀ] is the form found throughout Leon and Treger. Under the entry of P *lintr* ‘slippery, level’ he mentions that it often confused with P *lenkr*.<sup>164</sup> This confusion between the two may have been responsible for *lenkr* in the Leon and Treger dialects taking over the *i* from *lintr*.

<sup>160</sup> The form actually found under pt. 1 on NALBB 38 is ['pet kweʃ]. [k]- in [kweʃ] is due to the phonetic hardening of [g]- caused by preceding [t].

<sup>161</sup> *e* in stressed monosyllables before consonants became [ea] in Leon dialects, cf. *HPB* 166-9, 834.

<sup>162</sup> Do note that NALBB map 38 shows that in other Leon dialects (pts. 1-32) /kwijʃ/ occurs under pts. 5 (Guilers), 6 (Lanrivoaré), 7 (Portsall), 8 (Saint-Pabu), 9 (Landeda), 12 (Gouesnou), 13 (Guipavas), 14 (Kernilis), 16 (Ploudaniel), 18 (Plounévez-Lochrist), 19 (Bodilis), 20 (La Martyre) and 32 (Plounéour-Ménez). Apart from pt. 32 it seems to be confined to the western part of Leon, with the exception of pts. 3 (Plouarzel) and 4 (Plougonvelin) in the south-west and Ushant in the far west.

<sup>163</sup> J.F.R. Piette, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton* (Cardiff 1973) 22 f.

<sup>164</sup> Francis Favereau, *Dictionnaire du breton contemporain: Geriadur ar brezhoneg a-vremañ*, 5th ed. (Morlaix 2000) 481.

### 2.2.18 U [li'gydør] 'slowcoach', P *luguder/-our* (App. 1: 1105)

I cannot find an etymology for this word, which makes the finding of the origin of U *i* difficult. In 2.1.2.3.2 we already saw that *y* may have been able to cause secondary *i*-affection as well, but the secondary *i*-affection of *y* > *i* is not a known phenomenon. Let us assume, however, that the original form was *\*leguder*, where, perhaps just like MoB *sigur* 'pretext' (< BrL *secur-*), *e* was *i*-affected by *u* (/y/) to *i*. The double *y* in the Peurunvan form may then be a product of the vowel harmony that is also responsible for the realisation of P *sizhun* 'week' as ['syzyn] in Northwestern Leon (ALBB: 570).

### 2.2.19 U [miz'ɛvɛn] 'June', P *mezheven/mizheven* (App. 1: 1176)

The etymology is PBr. *\*mediosaminos*<sup>165</sup> > *\*meðiohaβin* > *\*meðhaβin* > *\*meðheβin* > Late PBr. *\*meðheβin* > OSWBr. *\*meðheβin* > P *mezheven*. The source of *i* in U [miz]- (P *mizh-*) is probably the reinterpretation of *mezheven* as *miz* 'month' + *Even* according to other month-names like P *miz Meurzh* 'March' or P *miz Kerzu* 'December'. This reinterpretation of *mezheven* as *miz Even* occurs in all dialects except Haut-Vannetais and Goelo (ALBB: 465).

### 2.2.20 U ['muniz] 'money', P *moneiz* (App. 1: 1188)

Jackson (1967: 302) explains that what is nowadays attested as P *moneiz* was originally borrowed from OFr. *\*moneiðe* (< L *monēta*) as *\*moneið*, MB *monneiz* (Cath.). U *u* instead of P *o* is once again the typical Leoneg *o* > *u* / \_N, cf. 2.2.2. Perhaps U *-[iz]* can be explained through the plural P *moneizioù*. The palatal glide in in the plural ending *-ioù*<sup>166</sup> could have caused the secondary *i*-affection of *ei* > *i*, creating the opposition between U sg.

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<sup>165</sup> HPB 597.

<sup>166</sup> *-ioù* is the only plural option shown by Favereau (2000: 533).

*\*muneiz* and U pl. *\*munizioù*. The plural then analogically influenced the singular so that it became attested U ['muniz].<sup>167</sup> According to Favereau (2000: 533) the forms ['mu:niz] and ['mu:niʒ] are found in Leon. The latter form, ['mu:niʒ], would support the theory that pl. *\*muniziu* analogically influenced the singular, since not only *e* was altered to *i*, but palatalised ʒ (< *zj*, cf. 2.2.15) was taken over as well.

#### 2.2.21 U ['brɛʃin] 'knitting needle', P *brechen*, *brechin* (App. 1: 1221)

For a discussion about the origin of this *e...i* plural of P *brochenn*, cf. 2.2.7.

#### 2.2.22 U ['puli] 'reel, pulley', P *pole* (App. 1: 1387)

The Peurunvan form seems to have been borrowed from Fr. *polie*, *pollye* 'pulley'.<sup>168</sup>

The Ushant form seems to be a later (re-)borrowing of Fr. *poulie*.

#### 2.2.23 U [rɛ'ligu] 'relics', P *relegoù* (App. 1: 1454)

The singular *releg* 'relic' is already found in OSWBr. as *relec* (< L *reliquiae*).<sup>169</sup> The *i* in U [rɛ'ligu] might be there due to influence from Fr. *relique* 'relic'.

#### 2.2.24 U ['linkr] 'slippery', P *lenkr* (App. 1: 1477)

See 2.2.17.

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<sup>167</sup> It is not sure, however, whether secondary *i*-affection of *ei* > *i* really existed, cf. *HPB* 302.

<sup>168</sup> J.F.R. Piette, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton* (Cardiff 1973) 158.

<sup>169</sup> Francis Favereau, *Dictionnaire du breton contemporain: Geriadur ar brezhoneg a-vremañ*, 5th ed. (Morlaix 2000) 632.

### 2.2.25 U ['pindy] ‘corn smut’, P *penndu* (App. 1: 1522)

This is a compound of P *penn* ‘head’ (< PBr. \**pen:o-*)<sup>170</sup> + P *du* ‘black’ (< PBr. \**dubus*).<sup>171</sup> Since neither of the phonological histories of both parts of the compound could have caused the *i*-affection found in the Ushant dialect, this may very well be secondary *i*-affection caused by /y/ like we already saw in 2.2.18 U [li'gydør] ‘slowcoach’.

### 2.2.26 U ['silaw] ‘to listen’, P *selaou* ‘to listen’ (App. 1: 1555)

In Appendix 2 the 2sg. imperative of this verb is found: U ['silu], ['silow] ‘listen!’ (App. 2: 459). In Middle Breton it appears as *sezlou* (Cath.). Schrijver (1995, 421) states that *selaou* lacks an etymology. There is no explanation for the appearance of U *i* instead of P *e*. An interesting detail is that the Ushant verbal noun ends in *-[aw]* whereas the 2sg. imperative ends in *-[ow]*. These may very well be two phonetic variants of the phoneme /ɔw/ (P *aou*). I state this with caution, however, as these two variants are roughly a hundred years apart; ['silaw] is found in Malgorn’s publication (1909) and ['silow] in the NALBB (2001).

### 2.2.27 U [si'buʎa] ‘to completely immerse in water’, P *soubouilhat* (App. 1: 1566)

This seems to be a compound of borrowed French prefix *sous-* ‘under’ + Fr. *bouillir* ‘to boil’. The *i* might be a form of dissimilation, although there are no examples of *u > i* according to Piette (1973: 53 f.).

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<sup>170</sup> R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 177.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.* 108.

### 2.2.28 U [a'vifu] ‘sometimes’, P *a-wechou* (App. 2: 79)

This word is derived from P *gwezh* ‘time, occasion’. For an explanation of U [ʃ] (P *-ch-*) and U [i] I refer to 2.2.15 U [gʷi'fal:].

### 2.2.29 U [dɛ'vifu] ‘lengths of days’, P *devezhiou* (App. 2: 110)

According to Jackson (1967: 664) the OSWBr. singular of this word is *\*diðweiθ*, which became MB *dezuez* (Cath.). The Ushant dialect seems to agree with the Kernev dialects in the loss of the internal *-z-* here. The other Leon dialects all seem to have retained *-zv-* as *-rv-*, cf. ALBB 141. In the Ushant dialect, original *\*devezju* first became *\*devizju* because of the secondary *i*-affection caused by the palatal glide in the plural suffix *-iou*. After that *\*devizju* became [dɛ'vifu] due to the assimilation of *j* into preceding *z*, cf. 2.2.15.

### 2.2.30 U [kwa'brinu] ‘clouds’, P *koabrennoù* (App. 2: 143)

This word consists of P *koabr* ‘clouds’ + sgt. suffix *-enn* (PBr. *\*-in.ja:*) + pl. *-ou* (< PBr. *\*-owes*, cf. 2.2.13). According to Schrijver (1995: 220, 229) the etymology is PC *\*keik<sup>w</sup>ra:* > *\*ke:g<sup>w</sup>ra:* > *\*ke:bra:* > *\*kɛ:bra:* (*a*-affection in Southwest British only) > *\*kɛ:br* > Late PBr. *\*koibr* > OSWBr. *\*koibr* > MoB *koabr* ‘clouds’ (W *cwybr*). Perhaps this is once again a word where the plural is actually *-iou*, but where apart from the *i*-affection, no trace of the palatal glide remains in the quality of *n* (cf. 2.2.14) unlike in U [kwa'briɲɛr] ‘clouds’ (< *\*kwabrinjer*) (also App. 2: 143). The problem with this theory is that I know of no clear examples of singulatives that have a plural in *-iou*.<sup>172</sup> This means that it is extremely unlikely that the plural suffix in [kwa'brinu] actually represents *-iou*. Most plural suffixes added to

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<sup>172</sup> Regrettably I could not find anything about what plurals are usually added to singulatives.

singulatives are *-où*, e.g. P *geottenoù* ‘a few blades of grass’, P *gwezennoù* ‘a few trees’, and P *gwerennoù* ‘a few glasses’. The plural *-ier* also occurs after singulatives, e.g. U [kwa'brɪjɛr] ‘clouds’, which we already saw above, and [gwɛd'rijɛr] ‘glasses’ (App. 2: 492). This complete absence of examples of singulatives that have a plural in *-ioù* together with the phonetic transcription [kwa'brɪnu] clearly showing [n] (not \*[ɲ]), makes it extremely unlikely that final *-[u]* in [kwa'brɪnu] is actually the remnant of earlier *-ioù*. This means that *i* in U [kwa'brɪnu] is still unexplained.

### 2.2.31 U [gwi'zinu] ‘trees’, P *gwezennoù* (App. 2: 172)

This word consists of P *gwez* ‘trees’ (< PC *\*widu-*)<sup>173</sup> + sgt. suffix *-enn* + pl. *-où*. As can be read in 2.2.30, it is unlikely that penultimate U [i] is a product of *i*-affection caused by the plural *-ioù* that had lost its palatal glide (cf. 2.2.30). Even though the origin of penultimate [i] is unknown, it itself is probably the agent that caused secondary *i*-affection in the initial syllable.

### 2.2.32 U [bu'ki:du ku'ku:k] ‘poppies’, P *bokedoù-koukou* (App. 2: 180)

The problem here lies in the first part U [bu'ki:du], which is the plural of P *boked* ‘bouquet’. The Peurunvan form is probably a loanword from OFr. *boquet* (> MoFr. *bouquet*), the Ushant form with [u] instead of [o] has probably been influenced by Fr. *bouquet* after *o* had become *u*.<sup>174</sup> U [i] remains obscure, and interpreting pl. *-où* as actually being *-ioù* that lost its palatal glide after having caused *i*-affection in the preceding syllable would not work, as

*\*bukidju* should then have become *\*bukizu*.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>173</sup> R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 420.

<sup>174</sup> J.F.R. Piette, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton* (Cardiff 1973) 3.

<sup>175</sup> *HPB* 412.



### 2.2.33 U [gis'tinen] ‘chestnut-tree’, P *kestenenn/kistinenn* (App. 2: 186)

This is probably a loanword from the Norman counterpart of OFr. *chastaigne*. The reason for this is that Latin *ca* [ka] had become OFr. *cha* [tʃa] (> [ʃa])<sup>176</sup> long before OFr. *ai* had become *ε* (c. twelfth century),<sup>177</sup> whereas Norman has retained the velar plosive in this position. That it was borrowed into Breton as *kesten*, and not as *\*\*kasten* is due to the assimilation of *a* to *e*, cf. *effereet* ‘crippled’ < Fr. *affaire*.<sup>178</sup> The *i*’s in the alternative Peurunvan form and in the Ushant dialect remain to be explained.

### 2.2.34 U ['kistin] ‘chestnut trees’, P *kesten/kistin* (App. 2: 187)

For the origin of P *kesten*, cf. 2.2.33 above. The origin of the *i*’s in U ['kistin] and in P *kistin* remains obscure.

### 2.2.35 U ['bi:gu] ‘mouths, beaks’, P *begoù* (App. 2: 217)

This is a plural of P *beg* ‘beak’ (< *\*bego-* < PC *\*beko-*).<sup>179</sup> U [i] might once again have come from the secondary *i*-affection of an original *-ioù* plural. The problem, however, is that *\*bigju* should have become *\*bizu*.<sup>180</sup>

### 2.2.36 U [ʃa'dinu] ‘chains’, P *chadennoù, chadinier* (App. 2: 307)

This is a plural of P *chadenn*, which has a somewhat complicated etymology. It does not derive from BrL *catēna*, like MoW *cadwyn*, but is rather a borrowing from Fr. *cadène*

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<sup>176</sup> J.F.R. Piette, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton* (Cardiff 1973) 42 f.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid. 57, 112.

<sup>179</sup> R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 60.

<sup>180</sup> *HPB* 416.

‘chain, chain-gang’, which is itself a loanword from Provençal *cadena*.<sup>181</sup> On the possibility of pl. *-où* actually representing *-ioù*, which could have caused *i*-affection, see 2.2.30. There is no apparent source for the U [i].

### 2.2.37 U [ko'ʃinu] ‘bulls’, P *kochoù* (App. 2: 347)

The origin of this Ushant word is problematic, as Favereau (2000: 420) states that P *koch* is an exclamation used to call the pigs in all dialects, except on Ushant, where it means ‘bull’. A more plausible origin of U [ko'ʃinu] might be that it actually represents the plural of P *kochon* (< Fr. *cochon* ‘pig’), which is used to signify a young animal.<sup>182</sup> Perhaps P *kochon* was reinterpreted as *\*kochenn* (*koch* + sgt. suffix *-enn*) in the Ushant dialect. The same kind of reinterpretation seems to have occurred in U ['kolvɛn:] ‘sparrow’ (App. 1: 802), which is *golvan* in Peurunvan. The semantic shift from ‘young animal’ to ‘bull’ is not an unlikely one when we compare the semantic shift of P *kole* ‘young bull’ to U [kod'lɛ] ‘bull’ (App. 1: 292). The possibility that the sgt. suffix *-enn* became *-inn* due to secondary *i*-affection caused by a palatal glide that originally existed in the plural suffix (i.e. *-ioù*) is very slim, cf. 2.2.30. The *i* in [ko'ʃinu] therefore remains unexplained.

### 2.2.38 U [gwɛdrinu] ‘(drinking) glasses’, P *gwerennoù* (App. 2: 492)

U [gwɛd'rinu] consists of *gwedr* ‘glass’ (< L *vitrum*), + sgt. suffix *-enn* + pl. *-où*. The only possible origin of penultimate *i* that I can think of is that *-où* represents earlier *-ioù*. This is extremely unlikely, however (cf. 2.2.30).

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid. 644 f.

<sup>182</sup> Favereau notes, however, that it signifies any young animal, except for calves and lambs.

### 2.2.39 U [digə'mɛ:ret] 'to receive', P *degemmeret* (App. 2: 531)

This is a compound of the prefix *de-* 'to' (< \**to-*/\**tæ-* 'to') + *kemmeret* 'to take, receive' (< PC \**kom-ber-o-*).<sup>183</sup> It seems that Peurunvan has retained the original prefix, whereas the Ushant dialect has confused it with *di-* 'from, un-' (< PC \**di:-* 'from, un-'), see 2.2.9 for further explanation on this confusion.

## 2.3 Evaluation

### 2.3.1 Summary

The material can be divided into three groups: words that have been soundly explained, words that may have been explained, and words that still remain unexplained.

These have been put in the following table:

<b><u>unexplained</u></b>	<b><u>maybe explained</u></b>	<b><u>explained</u></b>
2.2.1 U ['bɛmdis] 'everyday'	2.2.7 U ['krɛɟɪŋ], ['krɛɟin:] 'shells' (analogical influence by a plural with -j-)	2.2.9 U [di'darza] 'to leave' (confusion between prefixes <i>de-</i> and <i>di-</i> )
2.2.2 U ['britūn] 'Breton'	2.2.8 U ['krɛxiŋ] 'skins' (analogical influence by a plural with -j-)	2.2.19 U [miz'ɛvɛn] 'June' (re-analysis of <i>mezheven</i> as <i>miz Even</i> )
2.2.3 U <i>brisounek</i> / <i>brizuneg</i> / 'Breton (language)'	2.2.10 U ['ɛgit] 'than' (influence of <i>evit</i> 'for, than' due to confusion between them)	2.2.22 U ['puli] 'reel, pulley' (later (re-)borrowing of Fr. <i>poullie</i> )

<sup>183</sup> R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009) 214.

<b>unexplained</b>	<b>maybe explained</b>	<b>explained</b>
2.2.4 U ['kigəl] 'distaff'	2.2.17 U ['likr], 2.2.24 ['linkr] 'slippery' (influence of <i>lintr</i> 'slippery, level' due to confusion between them)	2.2.25 U ['pindy] 'corn smut' (secondary <i>i</i> -affection by <i>y</i> )
2.2.5 U [kris'tinen:] 'crust, film'	2.2.18 U [li'gydør] 'slowcoach' (secondary <i>i</i> - affection by <i>y</i> of hypothetical earlier * <i>e</i> to <i>i</i> )	2.2.28 U [a'viʃu] 'sometimes' ( <i>i</i> -affection by original pl. <i>-iou</i> )
2.2.6 U [rī'sinat] 'to neigh'	2.2.21 U ['brɛʃin] 'knitting needle' (analogical influence a plural with <i>-j</i> -)	2.2.29 U [dɛ'viʃu] 'lengths of days' ( <i>i</i> -affection by original pl. <i>-iou</i> )
2.2.11 U ['istun] 'surprise'	2.2.23 U [rɛ'ligu] 'relics' ( <i>i</i> due to influence of Fr. <i>relique</i> )	2.2.39 U [dige'mɛ:ret] 'to receive' (confusion between prefixes <i>de-</i> and <i>di-</i> )
2.2.12 U [ga'liu] 'slave labour'		2.2.20 U ['muniz] 'money' (analogical influence by plural <i>-iou</i> )
2.2.13 U [gi'lawɛn:] 'leech'		
2.2.14 U ['ginu] 'mouth'		
2.2.15 U [gʷi'fal:] 'formerly'		

<b><u>unexplained</u></b>	<b><u>maybe explained</u></b>	<b><u>explained</u></b>
2.2.16 U [ka'r:iat] 'to cart'		
2.2.26 U ['silaw] 'to listen'		
2.2.27 U [si'buʎa] 'to completely immerse in water'		
2.2.30 U [kwa'brinu] 'clouds'		
2.2.31 U [gwi'zinu] 'trees'		
2.2.32 U [bu'ki:du ku'ku:k] 'poppies'		
2.2.33 U [gis'tinen] 'chestnut-tree' and coll. 2.2.34 U ['kistin] 'chestnut trees'		
2.2.35 U ['bi:gu] 'mouths, beaks'		
2.2.36 U [ʃa'dinu] 'chains'		
2.2.37 U [ko'ʃinu] 'bulls'		
2.2.38 U [gwɛd'rinu] '(drinking) glasses'		

It is clear that the majority of the material could not be explained using existing theories. I have therefore attempted to find similarities between them and subsequently found out that a number of words conform to the phonetic environment that unexplainable [i] stands before [u] in the next syllable. They are:

2.2.2 U ['britün] 'Breton' (P *breton*) (App. 1: 152)

2.2.3 U *brisounek* /bri'zuneg/ 'Breton (language)' (P *brezhoneg*) (App. 1: 152)

2.2.11 U ['istun] 'surprise' (P *eston*) (App. 1: 677)

2.2.12 U [ga'liu] 'slave labour' (P *galeoù*) (App. 1: 755)

2.2.14 U ['ginu] 'mouth' (P *genoù*) (App. 1: 779)

2.2.30 U [kwa'brinu] 'clouds' (P *koabrennoù*) (App. 2: 143)

2.2.31 U [gwi'zinu] 'trees' (P *gwezennoù*) (App. 2: 172)

2.2.32 U [bu'ki:du ku'ku:k] 'poppies' (P *bokedoù-koukoug*) (App. 2: 180)

2.2.35 U ['bi:gu] 'beaks' (P *begoù*) (App. 2: 217)

2.2.36 U [ʃa'dinu] 'chains' (P *chadennoù, chadinier*) (App. 2: 307)

2.2.37 U [ko'ʃinu] 'bulls' (P *kochoù*) (App. 2: 347)

2.2.38 U [gweḁ'rinu] '(drinking) glasses', (P *gwerennoù*) (App. 2: 492)

I have already explored the idea that [u] in all but the first three (2.2.2, 2.2.3 and 2.2.11) might originally have been *-ioù* that could have caused *i*-affection due to its palatal glide, before being assimilated into the preceding consonant. It was shown, however, that this was very unlikely since the outcome of this assimilation should be visible in the phonetic transcriptions. If the palatal glide had been assimilated into the preceding consonant we would for example expect: \*['gɪnu] instead of 2.2.14 U ['ginu] 'mouth', \*[kwa'brɪnu] instead of 2.2.30

U [kwa'brinu] ‘clouds’, \*[ko'ʃɪnu] instead of 2.2.37 U [ko'ʃɪnu] ‘bulls’ and \*['bizu] instead of 2.2.35 U ['bi:gu] ‘beaks’. In 2.2.12 U [ga'liu] ‘slave labour’ *-j-* could not have been assimilated into the preceding *-i-* because of the phonemic opposition between /i/ and /j/. In 2.2.2, 2.2.3 and 2.2.11 there was no hint to the origin of the unexpected *i* at all. We must therefore look for another solution to the problem of the U [i]’s.

### 2.3.2 Others’ thoughts

Trepos (1982: 40 f.) already noted that some *-où* plurals seem to be accompanied by the vowel change *\*e > i*. According to him these occur mainly southwest of Quimper. His own examples are *bég* ‘mouth, beak’ pl. *bigoù*, *roched* ‘man’s shirt’ pl. *rochidoù*, *moger* ‘wall’ pl. *mogiroù*, and from the ALBB he gives [klo'ɛt] ‘fence, barrier’ pl. [klu'izɥ] (P *kloued* pl. *klouidoù*) (map 391, pt. 48, Plugaffan), Ushant and Molène [bu'zilu] ‘intestines’ (P *bouzelloù*) (map 99, pts. 1 and 7), and *hent* ‘road’ pl. *hinchoù* throughout Léon and Trégor (map 317).

Jackson (1967: 293) was not convinced by the idea that *\*e > i* may have had something to do with *u* in the next syllable. He states that most of Trepos’ examples can be explained as having been affected by *j* of the plural *-ioù*. This seems true of [klu'izɥ] ‘fences’ and *hinchoù* ‘roads’, as these show the expected palatalisation of *-d-* and *-t-* to *ʒ* and *f* by following *j*.<sup>184</sup> The other examples of Trepos, however, do not show any palatalisation of the consonant preceding the plural ending, and are therefore just as unlikely to have had pl. *-ioù* as 2.2.2 ['ginu] ‘mouth’, 2.2.30 [kwa'brinu] ‘clouds’, 2.2.31 [gwi'zinu] ‘trees’, 2.2.32

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<sup>184</sup> HPB 411.

[bu'ki:du ku'ku:k] ‘poppies’, 2.2.35 ['bi:gu] ‘beaks’, P *begoù*, 2.2.36 U [ʃa'dinu] ‘chains’, and 2.2.38 [gwɛdrinu] ‘(drinking) glasses’.

Jackson supplies another example of  $*e > i$  with  $u$  in the next syllable: MB *sicour* ‘help’, MoB *sikour*, which is a loanword from Fr. *secours*. He doubts whether this example has something to do with Trepos’ plurals, however.<sup>185</sup>

### 2.3.3 Explaining previously unexplained material

I believe, however, that U ['britũn] ‘Breton’, U *brisounek* /brizuneg/ ‘Breton (language)’, and U ['istun] ‘surprise’, Trepos’ *roched* ‘man’s shirt’ pl. *rochidoù* and *moger* ‘wall’ pl. *mogiroù*, and Jackson’s P *sicour* ‘help’, indeed show that there is a connection between  $*e > i$ , and  $u$  in the following syllable. The absence of palatalisation creates the need for a new sound-law that triggered a raising of  $*e$  to  $i$  if  $u$  stood in the following syllable. If we assume the sound-law  $e > i / \_ (C)u$  to have indeed existed, more forms from 2.2 that were obscure at first become clear now:

2.2.23 U [rɛ'ligu] ‘relics’ (P *relegoù*) does not need to have been influenced by Fr. *relique* in order to explain U [i] instead of  $e$ . The  $i$  here is simply the product of  $e$  being raised to  $i$  because of  $u$  in the following syllable.

2.2.27 U [si'buʎa] ‘to completely immerse in water’ (P *soubouilhat*) can probably be explained as follows. When Fr. *sous bouillir* was borrowed, dissimilation took place so that the first  $u$  became  $e$ .<sup>186</sup> This new  $e$  stood before  $u$  in the next syllable and was therefore raised to  $i$ . P *soubouilhat* may be explained as either not having been dissimilated upon borrowing,

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid. 303.

<sup>186</sup> J.F.R. Piette, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton* (Cardiff 1973) 58. Piette actually talks about the dissimilation of  $o$  to  $e$ , like MB *enor* ‘honour’ < OFr. *onor*, but perhaps we can invoke the confusion between  $o$  and  $u$  in Breton in order to explain that  $u$  was dissimilated as though it were  $o$ .



or as having undergone vowel harmony so that earlier *\*sebouilhat* became *soubouilhat*.

Another possibility suggested to me is that *u* may simply have been raised to *i* by *u* in the following syllable. There are no other examples of this and the counterexamples, where *u* remained *u* before *u* in the following syllable, are numerous: ['kuntrũn] 'carrion worm' not \*\*['kintrũn] (P *kontron*) (App. 1: 302), ['ku'ʎuren:] 'blot, stain' not \*\*['ki'ʎuren:] (P *kouilhorenn*) (App. 1: 329), [dis'kun:u] 'to fan, stir up' not \*\*[dis'kinu] (P *diskounou*) (App. 1: 516), [mu'ʃuer fri] 'handkerchief' not \*\*[mu'ʃier fri] (P *mouchouer fri*) (App. 1: 1067), ['turluŋk] 'cough' not \*\*['tirluŋk] (P *tourlonk*) (App. 2: 438), etc. I therefore choose to stick with the explanation that Fr. *sous bouillir* was borrowed as dissimilated *\*sebouilhat*. The Ushant dialect has [si'buʎa] because *\*e* became *i* before *u* in the following syllable. In Peurunvan the borrowed verb was either not dissimilated in the first place, or *\*sebouilhat* became *soubouilhat* because of vowel harmony.

2.2.13 U [gi'lawen:] 'leech' and 2.2.26 U ['silaw] 'to listen' are somewhat more difficult to explain. U [gi'lawen:] 'leech' was shown to have been *\*gelow* 'leeches' originally, which was reinterpreted as a collective, after which the singulative suffix was added. Therefore, the original plural *\*-ow* did not develop into MoB *-ou* here, like it normally did in post-tonic position, but to /aw/. We still see that *\*e* became *i*, however, which seems to point to the sound law  $e > i / \_ (C)u$  having taken place. In order to incorporate forms with [aw] ([gi'lawen:] and ['silaw]) and forms with [u] ([ga'liu] 'slave labour' and ['bigu] 'beaks, mouths')  $e > i$  must have taken place at an earlier stage of the language when the plural ending was still *\*-ow*. This would mean that the sound-law should rather be  $e > i / \_ (C)ow$ .

Since post-tonic *\*ow* became *u* during the second half of the sixteenth century we may perhaps date  $e > i / \_ (C)ow$  to some time before then.<sup>187</sup>

This gives rise to a new problem, however, because this would then exclude ['britũn] 'Breton' (P *breton*), U *brisounek* /bri'zuneg/ 'Breton (language)' and ['istun] 'surprise', (P *eston*), because these never had *\*ow*. One would need to extend the sound law then so that *e* became *i* before *\*ow* and *o* or *u*, depending on whether the Leon development  $o > u / \_ N$  had already taken place.

There is another, simpler solution for [gi'lawɛn:] 'leech' and ['silaw] 'to listen', however: analogy with grammatically related forms. For U [gi'lawɛn:] the source of the analogy was the collective *\*gilu*, where earlier *\*-ow* was post-tonic (cf. 2.2.13) and therefore developed to *u* so that it was able to raise *\*gelu* to *\*gilu*. In the verb U ['silaw] 'to listen' it is not [i] that has been analogically introduced, but [aw], which should have been *u*, since earlier *\*ow* stood in post-tonic position. The original verbal noun would have been identical to the 2sg. ipv. U ['silu] 'listen!' (App. 2: 459). The verbal noun *\*silu* was changed to attested ['silaw] due to analogy on the model of all inflections of the verb, except those with a zero ending (3sg. pres. *\*silu-∅*, and 2sg. ipv. ['silu]-∅). All these inflections had *\*ow* in penultimate (stressed) position (because of the verbal endings) so that it became U [aw]. This explanation would mean  $e > i / \_ (C)u$  does not need to be moved to an earlier period when [u] and [aw] were still *\*ow*.

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<sup>187</sup> HPB 850.

### 2.3.4 Counter-evidence

There are seventeen words in the appendices, however, that do not show the shift of *e* to *i* before *u* in the following syllable. Only five words come from Appendix 1, which means that out of a total of thirty-two App. 1 words that should undergo the shift  $e > i$  when *u* is found in the following syllable, 15,6% do not. This is in stark contrast with the twelve words from Appendix 2 that make up 50% of the App. 2 words that should undergo  $e > i$ . This shows that the products of the raising of *e* to *i* before *u* in the following syllable have probably been slowly ousted from the language during the almost hundred years between the source of Appendix 1 (published in 1909) and the source of Appendix 2 (published in 2001). The words where *i* is not found before *u* in the following syllable are presented below.

#### 2.3.4.1 U [ar'jɛzu] ‘ways, manners’, P *arvezou*, *ariezou* (App. 1: 55)

Apart from [ar'jɛzu] we also find U [ar'jɛzɔr] ‘grimacer, cry-baby’ (P *arvezier*) (App. 1: 56) and the verb [ar'jɛzi] ‘to grimace’ (P *arveziañ/-iñ*) (App. 1: 57), that both contain no -[u] that could have caused the shift of  $e > i$ , meaning that the *e* in [ar'jɛzɔr] and [ar'jɛzi] are original. The original plural \**arjizu* ‘ways, manners’ became [ar'jɛzu] by analogy with [ar'jɛzɔr], [ar'jɛzi], as well as the sg. *ariez*.

#### 2.3.4.2 U ['kɛlu] ‘news, information’, P *kelou* (App. 1: 231)

I do not know how much ['kɛlu] was still seen as the plural of sg. *kehel*, *kel*, but original \**kilu* may have become ['kɛlu] by analogy with its singular where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

#### 2.3.4.3 U ['dlɛut] ‘to have to’, P *dleañ/-out* (App. 1: 527)

The verbal noun was probably very much outweighed by all its inflections that did not contain [u] and therefore did not undergo the shift of *e* to *i*.

#### 2.3.4.4 U ['fɛl:ut] ‘to be necessary’, P *falliñ/-out, felled/-el/-out* (App. 1: 697)

See ['dlɛut] ‘to have to’ above.

#### 2.3.4.5 U [rɛ'zuni] ‘to reason’, P *rezoniñ* (App. 1: 1471)

This is clearly a loanword from Fr. *raisonner*. The Fr. graph <ai> was already pronounced [ɛ] as early as the twelfth century,<sup>188</sup> so it should have become *\*rizuni* in the Ushant dialect. Maybe the word was re-borrowed at a later stage, or the vowel quality was repaired from *\*i* to *e* again according to the French original. Another possibility why [rɛ'zuni] did not become *\*rizuni* might be that [ɛ] (< MB *ɛ*) was considered a different phoneme from *e* and therefore did not become *i* before *u* in the following syllable. The vowels *ɛ* and *e* were different phonemes in Middle Breton, and remained different from each other in northern Modern Breton dialects (i.e. Leoneg and Tregerieg). The opposition between the two phonemes can only be observed in stressed monosyllables where MB *ɛ* became Modern Leoneg *ea*, however,<sup>189</sup> e.g. ['fɛaz] ‘bored’ (P *faezh*) (App. 1: 694) vs. ['bɛz] ‘finger’ (P *bez*) (App. 1: 116). This means that if there was a difference between /e/ and /ɛ/, the opposition may not have mattered in U [rɛ'zuni], since *e* here was in pre-tonic position. This means

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<sup>188</sup> J. R. F. Piette, *French Loanword in Middle Breton* (Cardiff 1973) 20.

<sup>189</sup> Peter Schrijver, ‘Middle and Early Modern Breton’, *Brythonic Celtic, from Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Elmar Ternes (ed.) (Bremen 2011) 368 f.

[rɛ'zuni] ‘to reason’ is legitimate counter-evidence after all.

#### **2.3.4.6 U [kerja'denu] ‘villages, P *keriadennoù* (App. 2: 11)**

The plural *\*kerjadinu* was probably analogically remodelled to [kerja'denu] according to the sg. *keriadenn* where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

#### **2.3.4.7 U ['bɛgu] ‘mouths’, P *begoù* (App. 2: 217)**

This form is found in Appendix 2 next to ['bigu] that was discussed in 2.2.35. Un-raised ['bɛgu] was probably analogically remodelled according to sg. *beg* where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

#### **2.3.4.8 U [tiɛ'gɛsu] ‘farms’, P *tiegezhoù* (App. 2: 260)**

Once again, the plural was probably remodelled according to the singular where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

#### **2.3.4.9 U ['fɛRMUR] ‘farmer’, P *fermour, fermier* (App. 2: 274)**

['fɛRMUR] may have been analogically remodelled according to P *ferm, feurm* ‘farm’ where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

#### **2.3.4.10 U [falhø'rɛzu] ‘mowing machines’, P *falc'herezed* (App. 2: 303)**

The plural was probably remodelled according to singular where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

#### 2.3.4.11 U [fa'dɛnou] ‘chains’, P *chadennoù* (App. 2: 307)

This form is found in Appendix 2 next to [fa'dinu] that was discussed in 2.2.36. The variant plural without *i* was probably analogically remodelled according to sgt. *chadenn* where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

#### 2.3.4.12 U [my'zɛlu] ‘lips’, P *muzelloù* (App. 2: 400)

This is once again a plural that was analogically remodelled according to its singular, in this case P *muzell* where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

#### 2.3.4.13 U [brɛzu:nɛk] ‘Breton (language)’, P *brezhonek* (App. 2.: 454)

The only source for the analogy that I can think of is contact with other Breton dialects on the mainland where *brezhonek* had not become *\*brizhounek*.

#### 2.3.4.14 U [kastɔlb'rɛnu] ‘saucepans’, P *kastelodennoù, kastelorennoù* (App. 2: 487)

This is once again a plural that was analogically remodelled according to its singulative where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

#### 2.3.4.15 U [ba'nɛu] ‘drops, drinks’, P *banne(c'h)où, bannac'hoù* (App. 2: 497)

The plural [ba'nɛu] was probably analogically remodelled according to sg. *banne* where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

#### **2.3.4.16 U [skal'jɛ:ru] ‘stairs’, P *skalièrou* (App. 2: 539)**

The plural [skal'jɛ:ru] was probably analogically remodelled according to sg. *skalièr* where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

#### **2.3.4.17 U [bala'ɛnu] ‘brooms’, P *balaènnou* (App. 2: 564)**

This is once again a plural that was analogically remodelled according to its singulative where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable.

It is clear that all the counter-evidence words had probably undergone the shift of *e* > *i* before *u* in the following syllable, but were analogically repaired again later. In some cases both the variant with *i* and the analogically repaired variant exist side by side, e.g. 2.3.4.11 U [fa'dɛnou] ‘chains’ next to [fa'dinu], and 2.3.4.7 U ['bɛgu] ‘mouths’ next to ['bigu].

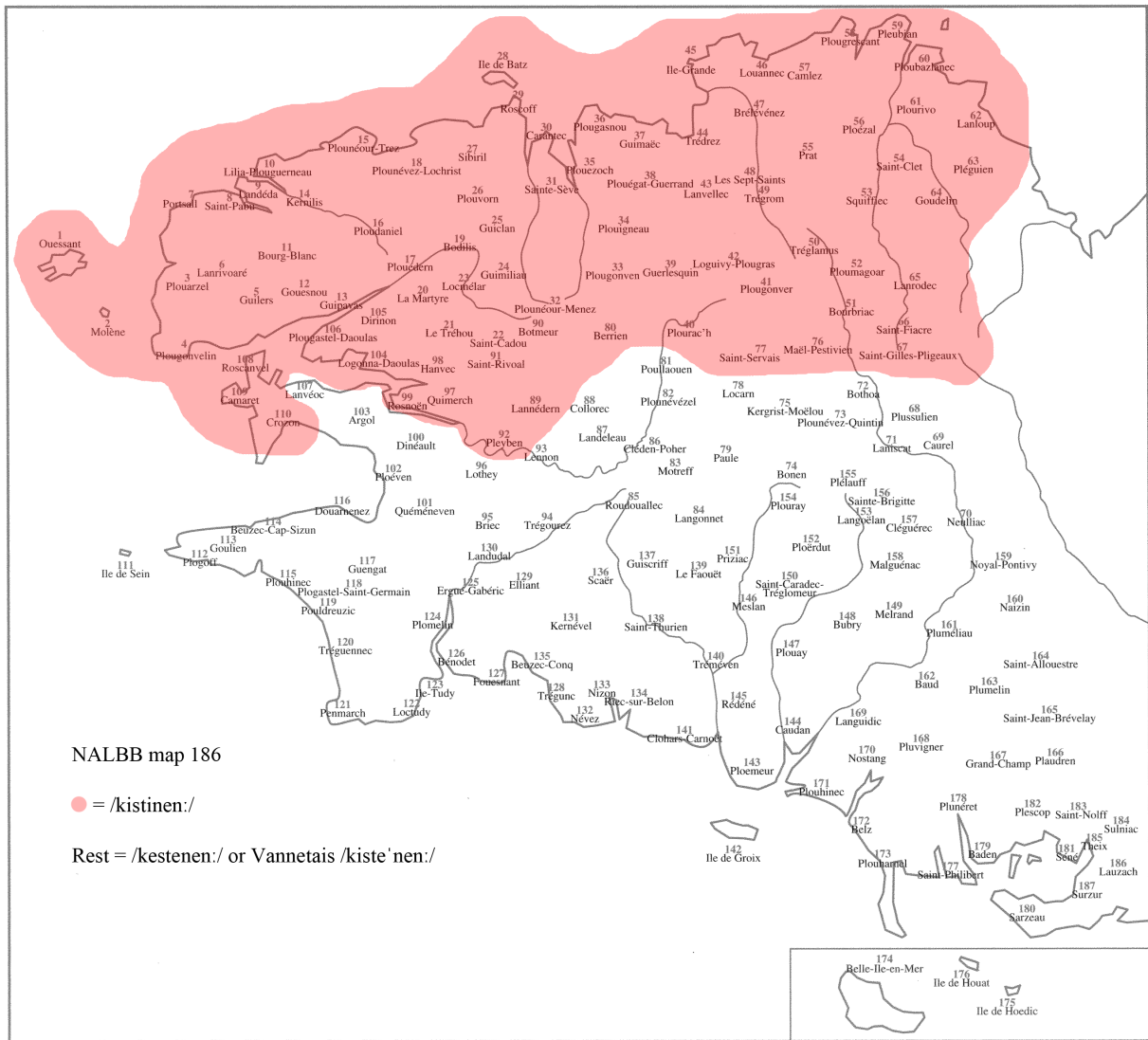
#### **2.3.5 Other material that still needs explanation**

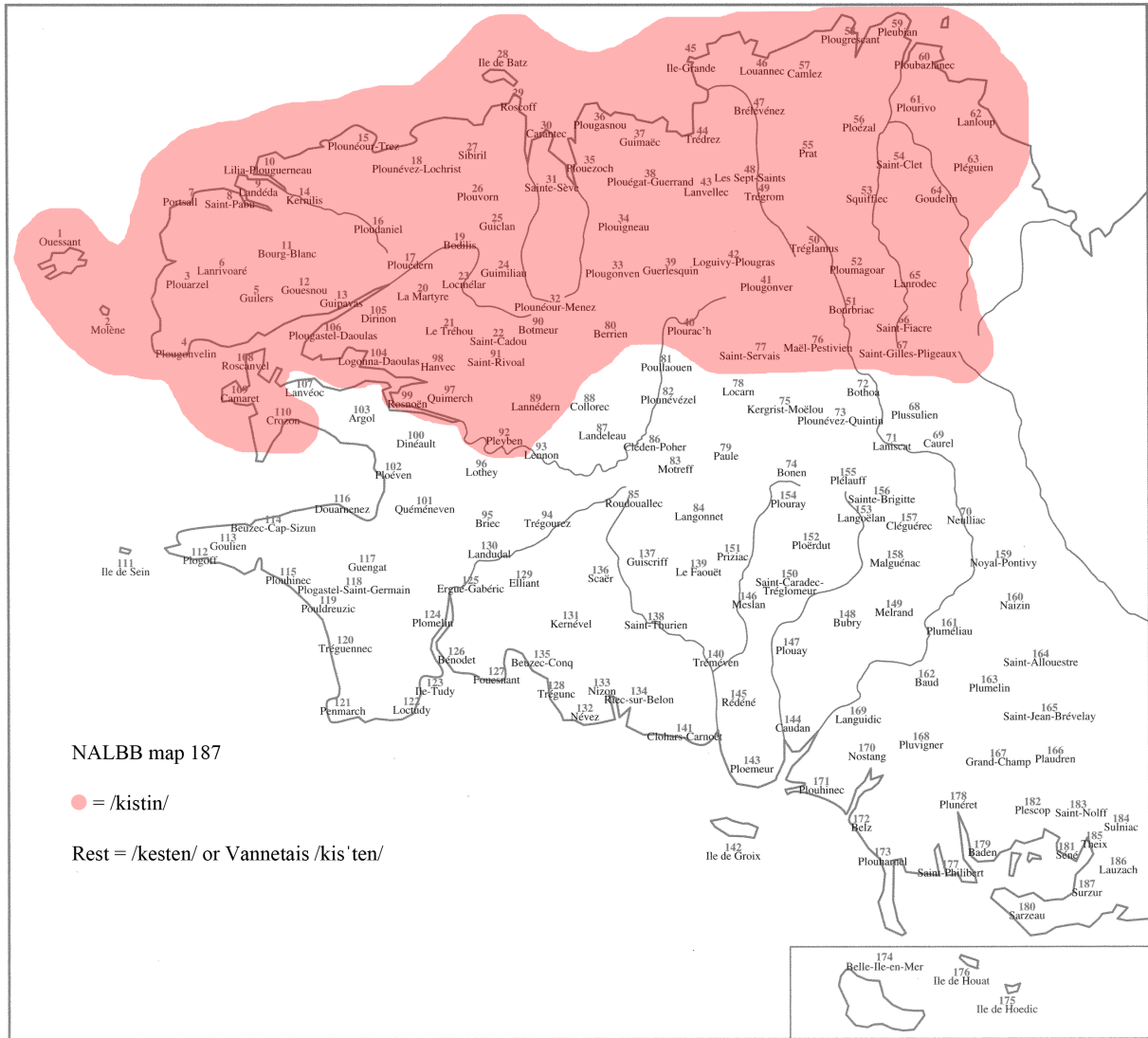
There is still other material that I cannot explain, however. Two of these 2.2.4 U ['kigɛl] ‘distaff’, and 2.2.16 U [ka'r:iat] ‘to cart’. Especially ['kigɛl] ‘distaff’ is obscure to me. I have also included 2.2.7 U ['krɛgɪɲ], ['krɛgin:] ‘shells’, 2.2.8 U ['krɛxiɲ] ‘skins’, and 2.2.21 U ['brɛʃɪn] ‘knitting needle’ here because I am not sure whether the explanation presented by Jackson and Ernault is sufficient, cf. 2.2.7.3. I cannot think of a better alternative, however.

### 2.3.5.1 The *kistin*-group

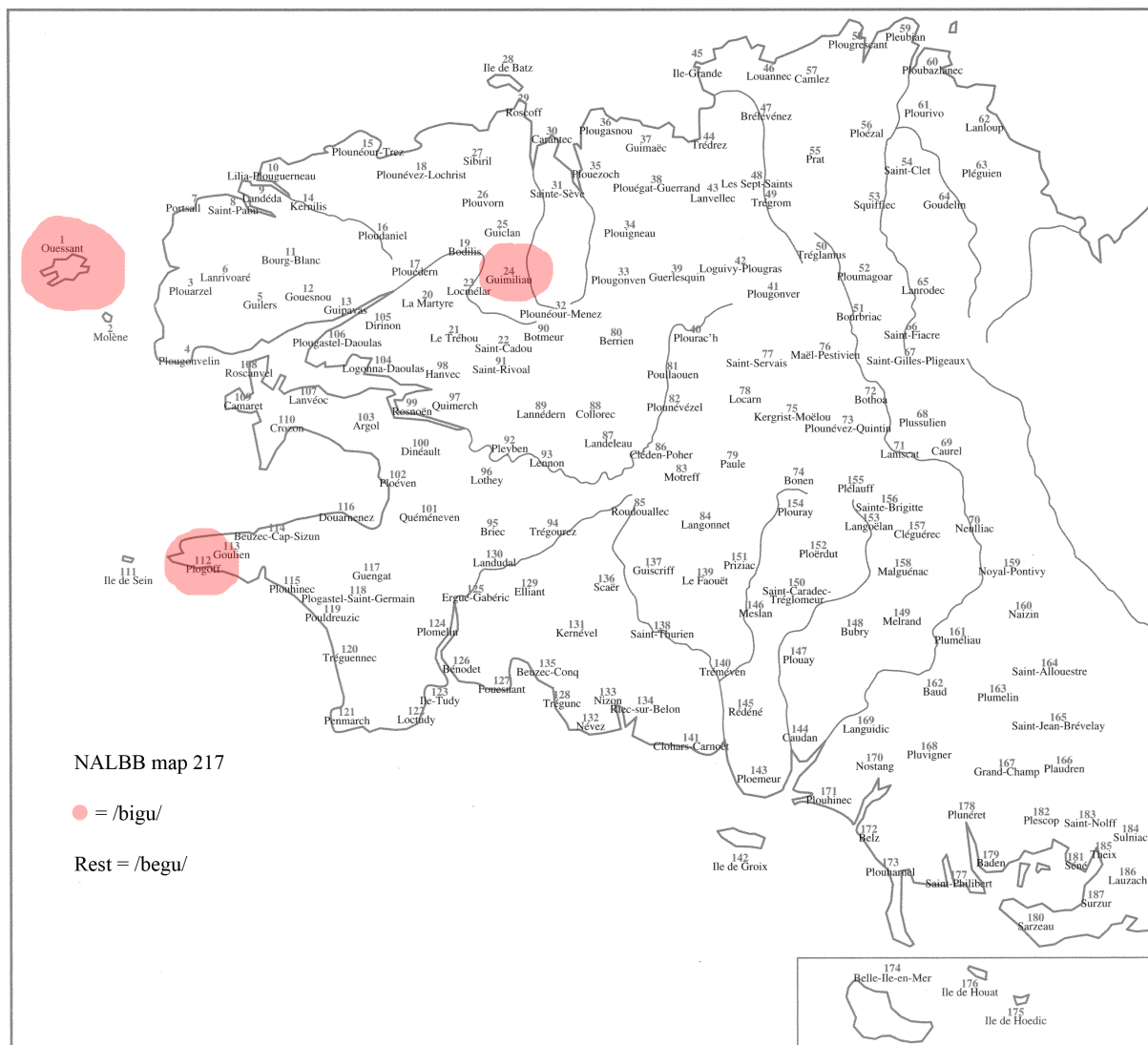
By the *kistin*-group I mean 2.2.33 U [gis'tinen] 'chestnut-tree' (P *kestenenn/kistinenn*), 2.2.34 U ['kistin] 'chestnut trees' (P *kesten/kistin*), and 2.2.5 U [kris'tinen:] 'crust, film' (P *krest(en)enn*). 2.2.6 U [rĩ'sinat] 'to neigh' (P *razhenniñ*) may also belong to the ['kistin]-group, since the verb is probably derived from *\*razhenn* 'a neigh', which appears in the Ushant dialect with two *i*'s. These words still remain unexplained. One might think that an analogy may have existed with a plural where *-ou* had caused the raising of *e* in the preceding syllable to *i*, e.g. the original U sgt. *\*kresten*: 'a crust' may have had the plural *\*krestin:u* which was then used as an analogical basis for the singulative to become *\*krestin*. This does not explain where the *i* in the first syllable came from, however. It could not have been secondary *i*-affection since words like [gwəd'rinu] 'glasses' show that the sound law  $e > i / \_ (C)u$  took place after secondary *i*-affection (otherwise we would have expected *\*\*[gwid'rinu]*). For further evidence of the independence of the *kistin*-group from the sound law  $e > i / \_ (C)u$ , I have made four maps based on the NALBB blank map (NALBB 2). The first two maps show the spread of [gis'tinen] 'chestnut tree' (NALBB 186) and ['kistin] 'chestnut trees' (NALBB 187). These two maps can be found on the following two pages.



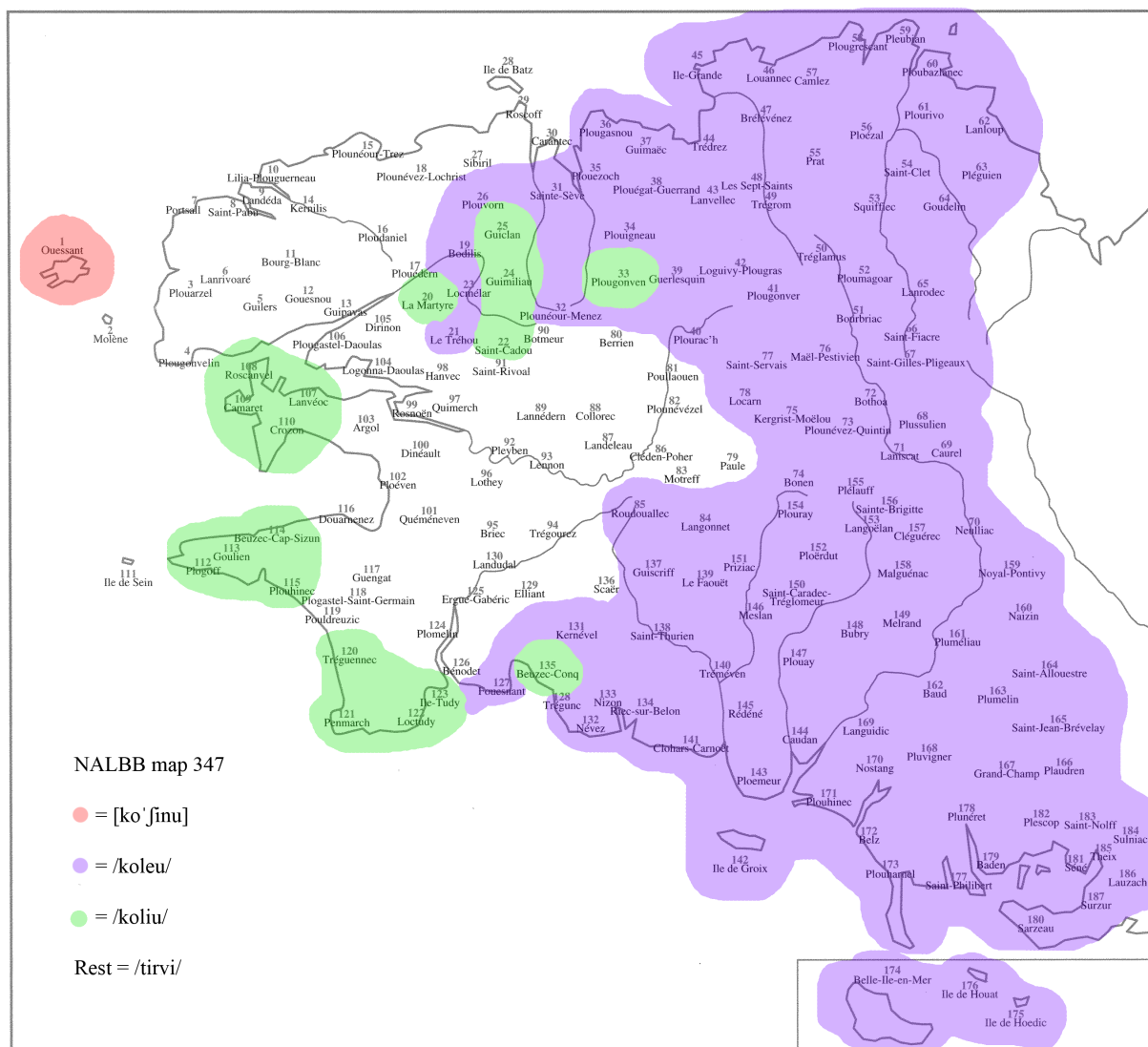




In both maps we see that the form with two *i*'s is restricted to the northern half of Breton speaking Brittany. The following two maps (NALBB 217 and 347) show the spread of the sound law  $e > i / \_ (C)u$ .



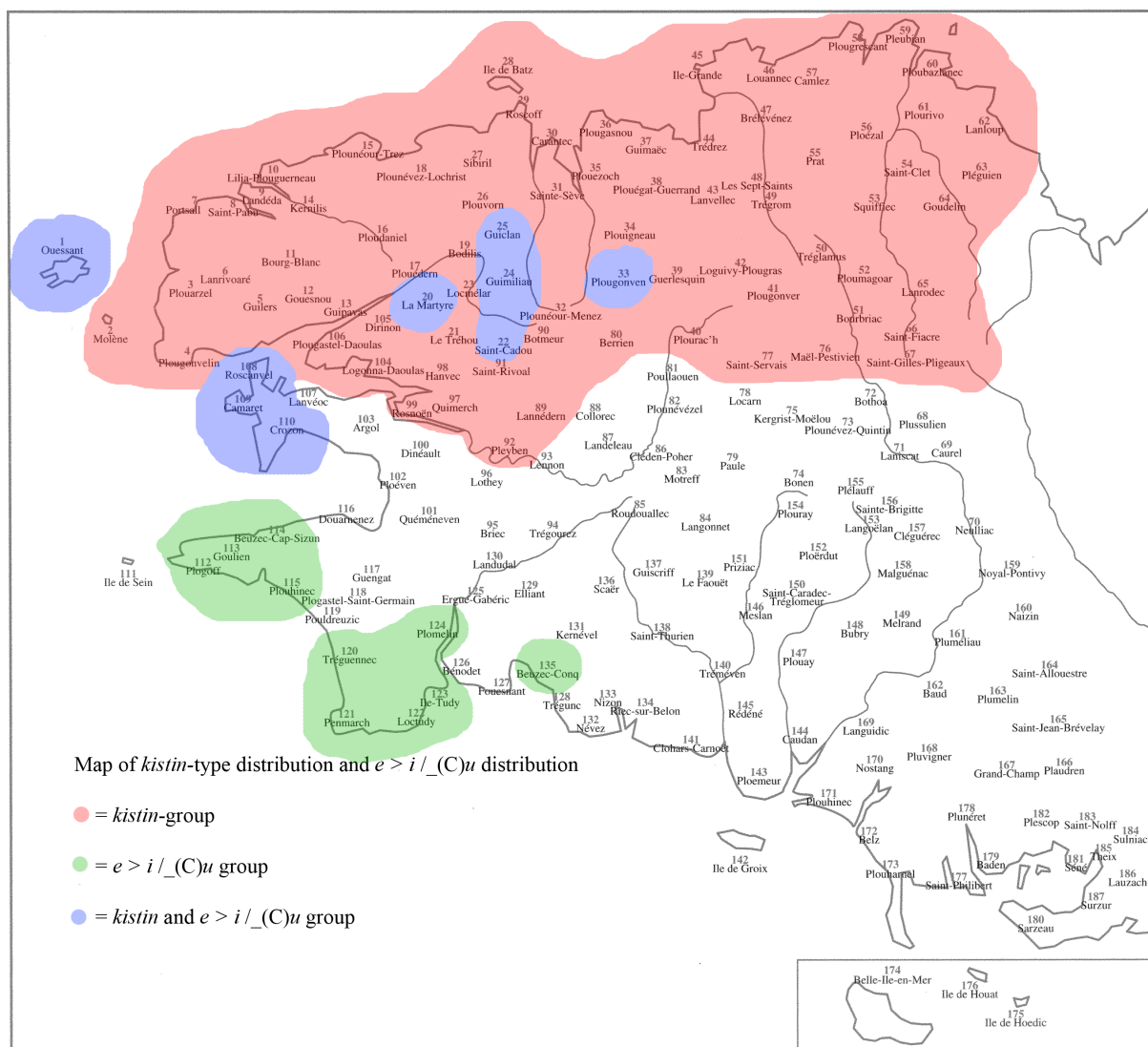
On map 217 (*P begou* ‘mouths, beaks’) we see that /bigu/ is only found in three dialects: pt. 1 (Ushant), pt. 24 (Guimiliau) and pt. 112 (Plogoff). Everywhere else we find /begu/.



This map needs a bit more explanation since three different words occur on it. Only the Ushant dialect (pt. 1) has [ko'ʃinu] ‘bulls’ (red), in the purple and green area we find P *koleoù* ‘bulls’, and in the unmarked area we find /tirvi/ ‘bulls’. This last area is unusable for our purpose since it does not show whether these dialects also have *e* becoming *i* before *u* in the following syllable. The area’s that contain [ko'ʃinu] and P *koleoù* show us the distribution of the sound law  $e > i / \_ (C)u$ . Just like in map 217, pts. 1 (Ushant), 24 (Guimiliau) and 112 (Plogoff) show that they have undergone this sound law. In the case of 24 (Guimiliau) and 112 (Plogoff), however, it is also the area surrounding them: the south-west coast of Kernev, and eastern Leon.

There are also other maps that show words that are found in the material in 2.2., but they are almost useless on their own because the Ushant dialect often uses another word than the rest of the dialects. I will discuss the salient data on them nevertheless, since they may be able to add extra information to the discussion, however small it may be. On NALBB 143 [kwa'brinu] occurs on Ushant (pt. 1) only, and [gwa'brɛnu] on Molène (pt. 2). Everywhere else *koumoul* ‘clouds’, or *nouaj* (< Fr. *nuage* ‘cloud’) is used. NALBB 172 has [gwi'zinu] only on Ushant (pt. 1), everywhere else the collective *gwez* is used for ‘trees’. NALBB 492 shows *gwer* ‘glasses’ everywhere except under pt. 1 Ushant, where we find [gwɛ'drinu]. NALBB 180 shows *bokidoù* on Ushant (pt. 1), in Crozon (pt. 110, west coast of Kernev) and in Plomelin (pt. 124, south-western Kernev). This data is almost meaningless, however, because of the almost complete lack of counterevidence; *bokedoù* is found once in western Kernev (102, Ploéven), occurs on four points in Basse Vannes: pt. 141 (Clohars Carnoet), pt. 142 (Ile de Groix), pt. 144 (Caudan), pt. 146 (Meslan), and once in Haute Vannes: pt. 182 (Plescop).

All the data showing the distribution of *kistin*-type *i*'s and distribution of *e > i* before *u* in the following syllable, has been gathered from the ALBB maps 186, 187, 217 and 347, and the descriptions of the NALBB maps 143, 172, 492 and 180 and put in the following map:



This map clearly shows that the *kistin*-group shows a west to east distribution, whereas the words showing  $e > i / \_ (C)u$  show more of a north to south distribution in lower Brittany. From absence of any words that show  $e > i / \_ (C)u$  in most dialects of the northern half of Brittany we can conclude the following: It means that in most northern dialects our new sound law could not have had anything to do with [gis'tinen], ['kistin] or [kris'tinen:], since it probably did not exist there. I therefore think that the unexpected *i*'s in [gis'tinen] 'chestnut tree', ['kistin] 'chestnut trees', [kris'tinen:] 'crust' and U [rĩ'sinat] 'to neigh' probably have

nothing to do with the sound-law  $e > i / \_ (C)u$ . This would mean, however, that the origin of the  $i$ 's in these three words remains obscure.

### 2.3.6 Unstressed $ei > U i$ ?

The two last words that I would like to discuss are U ['bɛmdis] 'everyday' (P *bemdez*) and U ['muniz] 'money' (P *moneiz*). It was shown in 2.2.20 that the  $i$  in ['muniz] may have been the product of analogy with its plural *\*muniz* (< *\*munizju*), where secondary  $i$ -affection had changed penultimate  $e$  to  $i$ . In 2.2.1 ['bɛmdis] no reason was found why original  $e$  in the ultimate syllable had become  $i$ . However, if we were to posit that unstressed  $ei$  became  $i$  in the Ushant dialect, both words would be solved. I have found other unstressed  $ei$ 's in the Appendices 1 and 2, though, that show that unstressed P  $ei$  as  $ei$  in the Ushant dialect as well:

[gre'jamant] 'rigging' (P *greiamant*) (App. 1: 1294)

[trej'turez] 'abscess under the fingernail' (P *treitourezh* 'treachery') (App. 1: 1764)

['trixejt] 'thrice as far' (P *tric'heit*) (App. 1: 1788)

These should not be seen as reasons to discard this  $ei$  to  $i$  development just yet. [gre'jamant] and [trej'turez] may show that the development of  $ei$  to  $i$  only took place in post-tonic syllables, and ['trixejt] that it probably only occurred before  $z$ . Thus we can carefully posit that the following sound law may also exist in the history of the Ushant dialect:  $ei > i / \check{V} \$ \_ z$ .

## 2.4 Conclusion

The object of this chapter was to find the origins of as many unexpected  $i$ 's in Ushant dialect words as possible. To do that, I first described the sound laws in 2.1 that are normally the cause of  $i$ 's appearing instead of other vowels: final  $i$ -affection, internal  $i$ -affection and

secondary *i*-affection. In 2.2 I then presented my material for this research, which was a list of words that showed these unexpected *i*'s. The material was gathered from Appendices 1 and 2. In this same section I examined the etymology and phonological structure of the words and looked at possible analogical influences, but found out that most of the *i*'s in these words were unexplainable on their own. In 2.3 it was shown that there was a coincidence between many of the still unexplained words: they all showed the unexplained *i* before *u* in the following syllable, e.g. U ['britũn] 'Breton' (P *breton*), U [ga'liu] 'slave labour' (P *galeoù*), and U ['ginu] 'mouth' (P *genoù*). This led to the formulation of a new sound-law, which entailed the raising of *e* to *i* before *u* in the next syllable ( $e > i / \_ (C)u$ ). The phonetic motivation was that the high or close quality of *u* was anticipated by the raising of close-mid or high-mid *e* to high or close *i*. Using this new sound law other words containing *i*'s instead of *e*'s were explained in as well, e.g. U [gi'lawɛn:] 'leech' and U ['silaw] 'to listen', cf. 2.3.3. An exact dating of the sound law cannot be given, but it can only have occurred after post-tonic \**ow* had become *u*, and *o* had become *u* before a nasal in Leon dialects.

Counter-evidence was collected in 2.3.4, but every single example was shown to have undergone analogy, e.g. U [my'zɛlu] 'lips' (P *muzelloù*) was analogically remodelled according to the Ushant counterpart of the Peurunvan sg. *muzell* where *e* had never changed to *i*, since there was no *u* in the following syllable. What the counter-evidence did show, however, was that the results of the sound law  $e > i / \_ (C)u$  have been disappearing from the Ushant dialect during the last hundred years. Among the words gathered from Appendix 1, only 15,6% did not show *i* before *u* in the next syllable. In Appendix 2 twelve out of twenty-four words (50%) did not undergo the sound law even though they should have. In 2.3.5 the remaining unexplained material was revisited, and it was shown that these nine



words were to remain unexplained for now, e.g. ['kigɛl] ‘distaff’ and U ['krɛgɪŋ]/['krɛgɪn:] ‘shells’. An analogy based on hypothetical plurals that had undergone  $e > i / \_ (C)u$  was explored for the *kistin*-group (U ['kistin] ‘chestnut trees’, [gis'tinen] ‘chestnut-tree’, [kris'tinen:] ‘crust, film’, and [rĩ'sinat] ‘to neigh’) in 2.3.5.1. The analogy was shown to be improbable, however. This was confirmed by map evidence from the NALBB that showed that the *kistin*-group has a west to east distribution, whereas the dialects that had undergone the sound-law  $e > i / \_ (C)u$  show a north to south distribution in the western half of Brittany. This lack of overlap meant that the sound law  $e > i / \_ (C)u$  only took place in a small part of the *kistin* area and therefore cannot account for appearance of the *i*'s in the majority of the northern dialects where *e* did not become *i* before *u* in the following syllable.

In the last paragraph (2.3.6) I argued for the possible existence of another sound law in the Ushant dialect, whereby *ei* became *i* before *-z* in post-tonic syllables ( $ei > i / \acute{V} \$ \_ z$ ), in order to explain U ['bɛmdis] ‘everyday’ (P *bemdez*) and U ['muniz] ‘money’ (P *moneiz*). The evidence for this sound law was shown to be scant, however, and a greater corpus of Ushant words would be needed for the confirmation of the existence of the sound law  $ei > i / \acute{V} \$ \_ z$ .

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# **Appendices 1, 2 & 3**

# Appendix 1

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	<u>Ushant dialect</u>	<u>Malgorn's transcription</u>	<u>Standardised transcription</u>	<u>Peurunvan</u>	<u>Translation</u>	<u>Notes</u>
1						
2	a	a	a	a	-	Verbal particle.
3	áhount	aũnt	'aũnt	ahont	over there, yonder	
4	da vád		da 'vad	avat	indeed	
5	avoálac'h	wálac'h	'walax	a-walc'h	enough	Malgorn: also: <i>alac'h</i>
6	aziañvéas	aziãñveas	aziã'veas	a-ziavaez	on the outside	
7	azignán	aziñen	azi'ñen	a-zindan	from beneath	Malgorn: often pronounced <i>azignèn</i>
8	ablámour	ablámur	'blamur	abalamour	because of	
9	abáoue	abawę	'bawę	abaoe	since (then)	
10	pardáez	pardáez	par'daęz	abarda(h)ez, abardae, pardaez	evening	<i>abardaez</i> outside of Leon.
11	pardésia	par'dáęja	par'daęja	aberd(h)eziañ, pard(h)eziañ	to grow against evening	<i>aberdaziañ</i> outside of Leon.
12	abęgi	abęgi	'bęgi	abegiañ/-out	to counterfeit, imitate, change, criticise	P 'to blame, criticise'
13	abęret	abęret	'bęret	abeu(v)ret	covered	P 'watered, drunk'
14	accđant	aksđant	ak'sđant	aksđant	epilepsy	
15	adrén	adrę	'drę	adreñv	back, rear	
16	ėzen	ėzenn	'ezen:	aezhenn	light breeze	P 'steam, mist, breeze, gas'
17	áffer	afer	'afer	afer	need	P 'business'
18	áfust	áfust	'avust	afust	barrell, cask	
19	ac'h	ac'h	ax	ac'h		the verbal part + 2sg. used only with the verb kaout 'to have'.
20	eíenen	eyenenn	e'jenen:	eienenn	source, waterspring	
21	alamándes	alamándes	ala'mandes	alamandez	almonds	
22	ále	alę	'alę	ale(z)	hall, corridor	P lane, path, corridor'
23	álgen	alğenn	'algen:	alğenn	point of a cap	
24	ahęzed	ac'hęzed	a'xęzed	ec'hweder, e'chwedez	lark	According to Malgorn, the sound here is between <i>h</i> and <i>c/h</i> .
25	alc'hoz	alc'hoz	'alxoz	alc'hwezh	key	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
26	alc'hósia	alc'hosa	al'hosa	alc'hwezhañ	to lock	
27	añlloun	añun	'aun	hailhon	bad person	Probably a loan-word from French <i>hailon</i> 'rag'
28	alúzun	aluzun	'alyzyn	aluzen	alms	Malgorn notes: 'pr. <i>Aluzun</i> ' I take this as meaning 'almost aluzun', which means that <i>z</i> here was probably pronounced a bit retracted and towards [ʒ].
29	am	am	'm	'm	my	Here Malgorn cites the example <i>Lavar d'am zad</i> . His dividing seems erroneous however, as it should be <i>Lavar da'm zad</i> .
30	am	am	'm	'm	me	Malgorn sees <i>am</i> as one word. It is actually the verbal particle <i>a</i> + the infixes object pronoun 1sg.
31	ámañ	amá	'amá	amañ	here	
32	amáenn	amáenn	'amænn:	amann, amanenn	butter	Malgorn notes that the intervocal <i>-n-</i> has been dropped. Lepelletier has <i>amáoun</i> for 'butter'
33	amblúdi	ámbludi	'ám'blydi	ambleudiñ	to smoothen the grain (into the milk)	
34	ámi	ami	'ami	ami	handfull (infant's speech)	
35	ampáfal	ámpafal	'ám'paval	amparfal	oaf, clumsy	
36	ánet	anet	'anet	anat	visible	P 'evident, obvious'
37	ankou	áku	'áku	Ankou	Death	
38	éndre	édré	'édré	endra	as long as	P 'al long as, as much as, while'
39	áner	áneñ	'áneñ	aner	vain, useless	
40	ánež	ánež	'ánež	anež	if not	P 'unless, except'
41	anézha	aneža	'aneža	anezhañ	3sg. obj. him / 3sg. m. of the preposition <i>a</i>	
42	anneun	áneñ	'áneñ	annev	anvil	



	A	B	C	D	E	F
43	annéun-hi	āncēi	ā'nōi	anneuiñ, arveññ	to forge	
44	ánzao	āzao	ā'zaw	anzav	to consent, acknowledge	
45	aútrou	aútru	'awtru / 'a'utru	aotrou	lord, sir, mister	
46	aog	aog	'awg	aog	ripe	
47	aóza	aóza	'awza	aozañ	to prepare (food)	
48	argázi	argarzi	ar'garzi	argarzhññ	to abhor	
49	kilarza	kilarza	ki'larza	ki(l)arzhañ	to postpone	
50	ar Gouére	ar gweře	ar'gweře	arc'houere	the long, thin man (a well-known spirit)	P 'ghost, spirit'. The entry has a questionmark in the Favereau.
51	aristel	aristell	a'ristel:	aristell	a mild epidemic (e.g. the flu)	
52	árbel	arbel	'arbel	armel	wardrobe	
53	árneun	arnœ	'arnœ	amev	thunderstorm	
54	arnódi	arnodi	ar'nodi	amodiñ	to try, test	
55	ariézou	aryežu	ar'ježu	arvezouñ, ariezouñ	ways, manners	
56	ariézer	aryežœr	ar'ježœr	arvezier	grimacer, cry-baby	
57	ariézi	aryeži	ar'ježi	arveziañ/-iñ	to grimace, affectate	
58	askoän	askoän	as'kwän	askoan	second supper	P 'light meal'
59	éskarn	eskarn	'eskarn	askorn	bone	
60	ásto	asto	'asto	azdozv	nest egg	
61	áspled	asplet	'asplet	aspled	balustrade	
62	ástal	astal	'astal	astal	interruption	
63	ástenn	astenn	'astenn:	astenn	to stretch	P 'to lie down, stretch'
64	ástud	astud	'astud	astud	riff-raff	
65	avalóuer	avaluær	ava'luer	avalouer	crupper	
66	èu	eu	'eu	avu	liver	
67	ael	ael	'ael	avel	wind	
68	az	az	'az	'z	your (inf. pos. pron. 2sg.)	
69	az	az	'az	'z	you (inf. obj.pron. 2sg.)	
70	avántur	avantur	a'vantyr	avantur	adventure	
	babotina	babujna	ba'bujna	babouinañ/-iñ	to daze, stupefy	P 'to make something multi-coloured'
71						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	bác'hou	bach'hy	'baxu	bach'hou	blockade of several adjacent poles, fishing line with multiple hooks	
72						
73	paláfen	palaf'enn	pa'lavɛn:	balafenn	butterfly, moth	
74	malizen	maliz'enn	ma'lizɛn:	malizenn	suitcase	
75	bann	bann	'ban:	bann	vane of a mill, reel	P 'sunray, article, vane of a mill'
76	bánna	bánna	'bãna	bannañ/-iañ/-iñ	to turn	P 'to throw, launch'
77	bánn	bánn	'bãn:	bannach, banne	white spot on the eye	P 'drop'
78	bávet	baet	'baet	bavet	numbed	P 'stiffened'
	báodre	baodre	'bawdre	baodrez, bôdre	a type of very slippery sea algae	P 'a strip of algae'
79						
80	báouer	bawer	'bawer	bawer	a sticky substance left by kelp	According to Favereau a word typical of Ushant dialect.
81	báoz	baoz	'bawz	baoz	dungpile	P 'manure'
82	bápours	bapurs	'bapurs	babourzh	port side	
	bára-kóurrik	bara-kurik	'barakurik	bara korrig	sponge	When translated literally, it means 'pixie-bread'. Peurunvan for 'sponge' is spoue.
83						
84	báraz, barz	baraz	'baraz	barazh	(churning-)bucket	
85	bárrad	barrad	'barrad	barrad	shower, squall	
	bássa	basa	'basa	basañ/-iñ	to beat, whip (cream, eggs, etc.)	
86						
87	básti	basti	'basti	bastañ/-iñ	to be enough, to provide	
	ar váskoun	oaskun	'waskun	bazh-kañv, marwskoañ	catafalque	The dialect of Ushant seems to use the word <i>koun</i> 'memory, remembrance' rather than <i>kañv</i> 'mourning'
88						
	báskrog	baskrog	'baskrog	bazh-krog	hook-rod (used for pricking fish out of holes)	A compound of <i>bazh</i> 'rod' and <i>krog</i> 'hooked'. The compound is not found in the Favereau.
89						
90	teoden	teodenn	'tewdɛn:	teodenn	clapper, tongue	P 'tongue'

	A	B	C	D	E	F
91	bázenn	bazenn	'baze:	pazenn	step, rung (of a ladder)	
92	béac'h	béac'h	'beax	bec'h	difficult	P 'burden, effort, difficult'
93	béc'hia	béc'hša	'beʃa	bec'hiañ/-iñ	overload, overwhelm	P 'to load, overload'
94	bégal	begal	'bega	begaliat	to bleat	
95	beñlla	beña	'beʎa	beilhañ/iñ	to look after	P 'to keep awake, to sit up, to watch over'
96	beillérez	beñérez	be'ʎerez	beilharesh	evening meeting (veillées)	
97	bégen	begenn	'begen:	begenn	point, tip	
98	bémdiz	bemdis	'bemdis	bemdez	everyday	
99	bennaz	bennaz	'benaz	bennozh	blessing	P 'blessing, thank (you)'
100	béol	beol	'beol	beol	tub	
	gwédret	guédret	g'wedret	gwered, bered	graveyard	According to Malgorn the [ɥ] here is not normal for the Ushant dialect.
101						
102	berrát	berrát	'berat	berraat	to decompose (only used for animal excrements)	P 'to shorten, shrink'
103	béven	bevenn	'beven:	bevenn	selvedge	P 'edge, seam, limit'
104	bézel	bezell	'bezel:	bouzel, beuzel	cow dung	
105	béza	beza	'beza	bezañ, bezout, bout	to be	
106	bizin	bizin	'bizin	bezhin	sea grass	P 'algae, seaweed'
	biken	biken	'biken	biken	never	Malgorn notes that final -n here is not doubled.
107						
108	gaff	gaf	'gaf	bideo	boathook	Obviously a French loanword: Fr. <i>gaffe</i> .
109	bíchic	bişik	'bijik	bisig	cat (infant's speech)	
110	bínim	binim	'binim	bilim, bulum, binim	venom	
111	béoc'h	beoc'h	'beox	buoc'h	cow	
	bírou	biru	'biru	birou	snail	Favereau has <i>birou</i> listed as a Ushant dialect word.
112						
113	bíseost	bizeost	'bizewst	bizeost, bizest	leap year	
114	bíspoun	bispun	'bispun	gwispon	torch	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	béoc'hic-Doúe	begoc'hik-duę	beoxik'duę	bivik-Doue	a kind of beetle	The Ushant word seems to be a different compound: P bech'ig 'difficult one' + Doue 'God'.
115						
116	bez	bęz	'bęz	biz, bez	finger	
	bouđal	bųdal	'bųdal	boudal	to moo, low	Favereau: Found in Kernev and Ushant
117						
118	blfou	blų	'blų	bliv	alert, lively	
119	blóaz	bloaz	'bloaz	bloaz	year	
120	bláneċ	bláneċ	'bláneċ	bloneċ	fat	P 'abdomen, lard'
121	blouns	blųs	'blųs	blońs	contusion	P 'contusion, bruise'
122	bóda	boda	'boda	bodań/-iń	to assemble	
123	bódad	bodad	'bodad	bodad	a large amount	
124	boa	boa	'bwa	boue	buoy	
125	blóskċn	bloskċn	'bloskċn:	bloskċn	ploughed land	
126	boúed	bwęd	'bwęd	boued	food	
127	bouédċn	bwędċn	'bwędċn:	bouedċn	(bone) marrow	P (bone) marrow, kernel, content'
128	boúest	bwęst	'bwęst	boest	can, box	
129	boueta	bwęta	'bwęta	boueta/-at	to eat	
130	chod	šod	'šod	jod, chod, boc'h	cheek	
	chik-ruz	šigruz	'šigrыз	boc'hruz, brennid-ruz, bruch(ed)-ruz, chotig-ruz, jabot-ruz, kofigruz, pichig-ruz, torig-ruz, ruchodċn, alaniċ ruz, jańiċ kof ruz, polu(ig)	robin	The Ushant form is a compound of <i>chink</i> 'chin' and <i>ruz</i> 'red'.
131						
132	polóten	polotċn	'polotċn:	polotċn	ball, knot	
133	tróien	troęn	'troęn	troien/-ion	brewery spent grain	
	borb	borb	'borb	borb	children's disease	According to Favereau a word typical of Ushant dialect.
134						
135	bótez	botęz	'botęz	botez	clog, shoe	
136	bouch	bųš	'bųš	bouch	kiss	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
137	boúcha	búša	'buša	bouchad/-añ	to kiss	
138	bouss	bús	'bus	bos	bump, lump	
139	boútec	bútek	'butek	bouteg	basket	
140	bráe	brae	'brae	brae	pitch	
141	brao	brao	'braw	brav	well-mannered, nice	
142	braz	brāz	'braz	braz	big	
143	bréchin	brēšin	'brēšin	brechenn	knitting needles	The plural of <i>brochemn</i> , so an example of an e...i plural.
144	brejn	brējn	'brējn	brein	rotten	
145	bréman	brēmā	'brēmā	bremañ	now	
146	breuk	brēk	'brēk	breuk	gill (of a fish)	
147	brinnik	brinnik	'brinnik	brennig	shellfish	
148	brinnika	brinnika	'brinnika	brennika	to collect shellfish	
149	braou	brau	'braw	brev	crusher (mill)	P 'break, breaking'
150	blérin	blérin	'blérin	breolim	grindstone, whetstone	
151	bésprenn	bésprenn	'béspren:	bésprenn, bazh-yod	pulping stick	Is listed as a Ushant word in Favereau.
152	Brítoun	britün	'britün	breton	Breton	The word <i>brisounek</i> is also listed in the commentary: [brizünek]?
153	brézé	breze	'breze	breze	bitters, burp	According to Favereau a word typical of Ushant dialect.
154	brézel	brézel	'brézel	brezhell	mackerel	
155	briad	briad	'briad	briad	armful	
156	briken	briken:	'briken:	brikenn	brick	P 'carafe'
157	brimichá	brimiša	'brimi'ja	bremija	afternoon	P 'soon'
158	bríenen	bryenenn	'brjenen:	brewionenn, bre(w)ienenn	crumb, bit	
159	brígnoun	briğun	'briğun	brignon	groats, crumbs	
160	brizkik	brizkik	'brizkik	brizhkig	interlarded meat	
161	brókuz	brokuz	'brokuz	brokus	generous	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	bróella	broëlla	'broëlla	broella	funeral for someone who has died at sea, but whose body has not been found	The word is referred to as coming from Ushant in the Favereau. The Favereau has the stress on the penultimate syllable. Either Malgorn has placed the stress on the wrong syllable, or he failed to indicate that this is a diphthong.
162						
163	bróuënn	brüenn	'bruen:	broen(n)	rush (plant)	
164	brúndu	brundu	'bryndy	brundu	contusion, bruise	
165	broud	brüd	'brud	broud	hot, piquant	P 'point, sharp pain'
166	brouéda	brüeda	'brüeda	broedañ/-iñ	to darn, mend	
167	brousta	brüsta	'brusta	broustañ/-iñ	to put in pieces	P 'to brush'
168	bröz	bröz	'broz	brozh	skirt	
169	brüger	brugër	'brugër	brugër	a french soldier that has served in Northern-Africa	
170	brusk	brusk	'brysk	brusk	legged shellfish	
171	brúzun	bruzun	'bruzyn	bruz(h)un	crumb, bit	
172	bügel	bugël	'bygel	bugel	child	
173	bugádenn	bugadenn	'by gadenn:	bugadenn, buadenn	little laundry	P 'washing, laundry'
174	büen	buën	'byen	buan	quick	P 'lively, quick'
	pútum	putum	'pytym	butun/-um	tabaco	Malgorn: The Ushant dialect has retained the initial p- of older French petun.
175						
	tok-tóusak	tok-tüsak	tok'tusak	kabell-touseg, skabell-touseg, tok-touseg, tog-touseg, boued-touseg	mushroom	Malgorn: pl. <i>togou-tousegi</i>
176						
177	kábest	kabëst	'kabëst	kabestr	halter (of a horse)	
178	cabiten	cabiten	'ka'biten	kabiten	captain	
179	cáboun	cabun	'kabun	kabon	pig's shoulder	P 'mantle, coward'
180	kakách	kakac'h	'ka'kax	kaka(c'h)	poop (infant speech)	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
181	kadrānet	kadrānet	ka'drānet	krabotinnell/-nenn, kadranas, kradanas	padlock	
	kae	kae	kae	kae	wall, quai	Malgom: pl. <i>kaïou</i> . Most Breton dialects seem to have [ɛ:], but [æ] in Leon.
182	kaillarenna	kaɣarenna	ka'ɣarenna	kailharañ/-iñ, kailharenniñ	to muddy, soil	
183	kaillaren	kaɣarenn	ka'ɣarenn:	kailharenn	improper woman	P 'dirty fellow, sloven'
184	kálur	kalur	'kalyr	ka(e)ir, kalis	chalice	
185	kalz	kalz	'kalz	kalz	much, many	
186	kálza	kalza	'kalza	kalzañ/-iñ	to pile, heap up	
187	kalzadenn	kalzadenn	ka'l'zaden:	kalzadenn	pile, heap	P 'haycock'
188	gagn	gaɣ	'gag	gagn, kagn	wretch, pain (in the neck)	
189	kánfard	káfard	'káfard	kanfard	rag, cloth	P 'rascal, crook'
190	kánik	kánik	'kánik	kanik	duck	
191	eném gann	enem gann	é'hem gan:	kann	battle	
192	kásal	kásal	'kásal	kañser	cancer	
193	kántol	kántol	'kántol	kanto(e)ll	fishing rod reel	
194	kaoc'h-houarn	kaoc'h-huarn	kaoc'h'huarn	kaoc'h-houarn	iron slag	
195	kaoz	kaoz	'kaoz	kaoz	word, cause, question	
196	kápouè	kapwe	'kapwe	?	support	
197	kaout	kaɣt	'kaout	kaout	to get, receive	
198	kápouill	kapuɣ	'kapuɣ	kapouilh	yearling sheep	According to Favereau a word typical of Ushant dialect.
199	kar	kār	'kar	kar	a relative	
200	serchanted	seršanted	ser'janted	serjanted	burdock	P 'clamps'
201	krabouñnou	krabūtinu	krabu'tinu	krabotinoù	on all fours	Only used in the expression: <i>mont var ar c'hrabouñnou</i> 'to walk on all fours'
202	karédik	karèdik	ka're'dik	karedig	beloved	
203	karg	karg	'karg	karg	charge (in all senses)	
204						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	kárwask	karask	'karask	garwask	a kind of inflammation of the cuticle	Fr. <i>Sorte de panaris</i>
205						
206	kál'char	kalc'har	'kalxar	karc'har	reinforcement ring for the mill	P 'prison-'
207	kanítel	kanítell	ka'nitel:	karitell	needle box	Malgorn: <i>kanutel</i> is also heard on the island.
208	karriát	karriat	ka'riat	charreat	to tow	P 'to transport'
209	kártel	kartel	'kartel	kartel	quarter	
210	kas	kas	'kas	kas	to send	
211	kas	kas	'kas	kaz	case	
212	kaskálat	kaskalat	kas'kalat	tarlaskat, kaskalat	to scratch	Favereau: a Treger word.
	kásti	kasti	'kasti	kasti(z)	thin, tired	Malgorn: <i>kastiz</i> and <i>kastiet</i> are also heard.
213						
214	kastía	kastia	kas'tia	kasti(z)añ/-iñ	to make thin	
215	káfan	kafan	'kafan	kavan	crow	
216	kázek	kazek	'kazek	kazeg	mare	
	kazéken-goat	kazekèn-goat	ka'zèkèn gwat	kazeg-koad, marc'h-koad, ebeul-koad	European Green Woodpecker	
217						
	kazéken	kazekènn	ka'zèkèn:	kazekenn	Woman's clothing that covers the bust	This meaning seems confined to the Ushant-dialect
218						
	kazegénna	kazegenna	kaze'gen:a	kazegenna	to be on heat	Restricted to mares. Favereau has this as a typical Ushant-word
219						
	kázal	kazal	'kazal	kazel	armpit	
	kazálad	kazalad	ka'zalat	kazeliad	half an armful, a good amount of...	
221						
	kiffen	kiffenn	'kiffen:	kef	(tree)trunk, block (of wood)	Another instance of a Ushant singulative. The <i>-i-</i> of <i>-ienn</i> seems to have become a shibilant due to heavy palatalisation.
222						
	kefélek	kefelek	ke'felek	kefeleg	snipe	
223						



	A	B	C	D	E	F
	kénver	kêver	'kêver	keñver	face to face	Favereau: 'parallel', Malgorn: <i>en eur genver emacomp</i> 'we are face to face'
224						
225	gwiádeur	guiadóer	gwi'adóer	gwiader	spider	P 'weaver'
226	morginíden	morginidenn	morgi'niden:	morgevnið, kevnid-mor	sea-spider	Ushant singulative where P has a regular singular.
227	kígel	kígel	'kígel	ke(i)gel	distaff	
228	kigin	kigin	'kigin	kegin	kitchen	
229	keinek	keinek	'keinek	keinek	having a good back	P 'with a (chair-)back, vain'
230	keít	keít	'keít	keít, kehit	equally long	
231	kelou	kelou	'kelu	kelou, kehelou, keleiter	news, information	
232	kelc'h	kelc'h	'kelx	kelc'h	circle	
233	kíflia	kífla	'kífla	kelc'hiañ	to circle	
234	kellez	kellez	'kellez	kellaezh	colostrum	
235	kement	kement	'kement	kement	equally, (just) as much	
236	kéméret	keméret	'kə'méret	kemeret/-iñ/-out	to take	I have taken the first stressmark to show secondary stress.
237	kemm	kemm	'kem:	kemm	change	
238	kempennúri	kempennuri	'kempə'n:uri	kempenni/-iri	cleanliness	
239	kanvadek	kavadek	'kāvadek	kevadek	contemporary	
240	ken	ken	'ken	ken	so, as	
241	ken aliez	ken aliez	'ken a'liez	ken alies	as much	
242	kèo	kèo	'kəo	kev	antre, refuge	P 'cave, hole'
243	kérkent	kerkent	'kərkənt	kerkent, kenkent	immediately, at once	P 'as soon as'
244	kérc'henn	kerchenn	'kərxen:	kerc'henn	chest	P for 'chest' is bruched, kerc'henn means 'assault', grain of oat'
245	kérne	kerne	'kərne	Kerne(v)	Kernev	
	kémia	kerña	'kərɲa	kerniñ/-iñ	to overfill something so much that a pointy heap forms on top of it	Favereau: Confined to the Ushant dialect
246						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	garnael	gamael	gar'nael	kernigell, goubig, penn- kuchenn, pil-lann	lapwing	
247						
248	kérvé	kerçe	'kerçe	kerse	strange, disappointment	
249	kurz	kurz	'kurz	sili, keuruz, kurz	eel	
	kéré	kerçe	'kere	kevre	link	kérvé is the form actually found in Malgorn's article, but it has the -v- crossed out. P 'connection, treaty, union'.
250						
251	kíchen	kişen	'kişen	(e-)kichen	near	
252	kildant	kildant	'kildant	kildant	molar, back tooth	
253	kíllok	kişok	'kişok	kişog	cock	
254	kíllóget	kişoget	'kişoget	kişoged	fertilized egg	
255	kíllórou	kişurú	'kişuru	kişorou	front-axle of a plough	
256	kimiáda	kimyada	'kimjada	kimiadan/-iñ	to go on leave	
257	kígnen	kiñen	'kiñen	kiñnen	garlic	
	kinnig, kinnig sien	kinnişen	'kinn:ifñen	kennig, kinnig, kinnizien	offer	The stress is not clear from Malgorn's article, the Favereau has it on the penultimate syllable though. Malgorn translates it as a verb (offrit), whereas the Favereau has it as a noun (offre)
258						
259	gwíoc'h	gwíoc'h	'gwíoc'h	gioc'h	(common) snipe	
260	kizidik	kizidik	'kizidik	kizidik	sensitive	
261	klénver	kléver	'kléver	klañviñ, kleñvel	to become ill	
262	klaoustré	klaustré	'klaustré	klaoustle/-tre	bet, wager	
263	kléo	kleo	'kleo	ko(u)lo(u)m	knot	
	kléiz	kleiz	'kleiz	?	?	Malgorn admits that he does not know what kleiz means.
264						
265	klézen	klezenn	'klezen:	kle(t)zh	scar	
266	kléisiard	kleišard	'kleišard	kleizard	left-handed person	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
267	kleo	kleo	'kleo	klev	the jolt that is felt when a fish bites the hook.	P hearing'
268	drouk-mor	druk-mōr	druk'mor	droug-mor	sea sickness	Malgom: the second element carries the stress.
269	kléren	klereṁn	'klereṁ:	klerenn	corss-piece to fix fabric to the sail arm	Peurunvan: 'jamb, girder'
270	kléur	kleūr	'kleūr	kleur	pole pin	Not sure whether this word is mono- or disyllabic. See kleuria on the reason for transcribing it as a monosyllable.
271	kléuria	kleurya	'kleyrja	kleuriañ	leaning on the pole pin of a cart to aid in its steering.	Only found in the Ushant dialect according to Favereau. Also, Favereau has ['klørja]. Once again, not sure on the number of syllables, but stress seems to indicate that it was indeed a diphthong. It has therefore been transcribed as a diphthong.
272	kleúza	kløza	'kløza	kleuzañ/-iñ	to dig	
273	kleúsia	kløša	'kløša	kleuziañ	to raise a slope	
274	kreúzeul	krøzeøl	'krøzeøl	kleuze(t)r	melting pot, oil lamp	
275	klévet	klevet	'klevet	klevet/-out	to hear	
276	Kloastr	kloastr	'klwastr	kloastr	monastery	Malgom: a very widespread in Léon
277	klóchal	klosal	'klojal	klochhat	to cackle	Malgom's phonetic transcription shows does not show a shibilant. Considering the quality of the scan of the article and [klojal] in the Favereau, however, I think that the haček on top of the s has been lost in the scanning process.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
278	klópe <u>nn</u>	klope <u>nn</u>	'klope <u>nn</u> :	klope <u>nn</u>	skull	
279	klopé <u>nn</u> ad	klopé <u>nn</u> ad	kló'pe <u>nn</u> ad	klopé <u>nn</u> ad	stubbornness	
280	skló <u>ssen</u>	sklo <u>ssen</u>	'sklo <u>ssen</u> :	klo <u>ssen</u>	skin, peel	
281	kló <u>ssen</u>	klo <u>ssen</u>	'klo <u>ssen</u> :	klo <u>ssen</u>	shallow water	
282	klouar <u>igez</u>	klouar <u>igez</u>	klua'ri <u>gez</u>	klouar <u>igez</u> h	tepidity	Favereau: only on Ushant
283	klud	klud	'kly <u>d</u>	klud	perch	
284	koantú <u>ri</u>	koāntu <u>ri</u>	kwān'ty <u>ri</u>	koant <u>ri</u>	kindness	
285	koá <u>ntik</u>	koānt <u>ik</u>	'kwant <u>ik</u>	koant <u>ik</u>	sweet, dear (infant speech)	
	drouksó <u>lia</u>	drouksolya	druk'sol <u>ja</u>	adsoliañ/-iñ/-o, berrsoliañ	to reso <u>le</u>	This is clearly a compound of droug- 'bad' and sol 'sole'. In Peurunvan the compound has either ad- 're-' or berr- 'short'.
286						
287	koá <u>nz</u> ez	koā <u>nz</u> ez	'kwā <u>nz</u> ez	koaze <u>z</u>	bottom, bum	
	ko <u>u</u> en	ko <u>u</u> en	'ku <u>en</u>	ko <u>e</u> ñv	swelling, puffiness	Malgorn actually writes ko <u>u</u> en <u>v</u> , with v crossed out, which seems to mean that it is found in Peurunvan, but not in the Ushant dialect. Malgorn's <u>ou</u> seems to signify /w/ before an /e/. This can be deduced from the fact that no stress accent is given, meaning that the word is monosyllabic.
288	ko <u>u</u> éni	kwini	'kwini	ko <u>e</u> iññ	to swell	Favereau has Ushant [kwí:vi], so with v, and without n. Malgorn on the other hand has once again crossed out v in ko <u>u</u> é <u>ñ</u> vi.
289						
290	kó <u>c</u> 'hen	ko <u>c</u> 'henn	'ko <u>x</u> è <u>nn</u> :	ko <u>c</u> 'henn	thin layer	P 'shell, hull'
291	koch	ko <u>š</u>	'ko <u>š</u>	ko <u>jen</u>	young ox	
	kod <u>lé</u>	ko <u>d</u> le	'ko <u>d</u> 'le	ko <u>fe</u> , ko <u>e</u> le, ko <u>d</u> le, ko <u>zh</u> le	bull	ko <u>le</u> or ko <u>le</u> -tarv actually means 'bull calf in Peurunvan. The 'standard' word for 'bull' is tarv.
292						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
293	kolc'h	kolc'h	'kolx	kolc'h	spike (inflorescence)	Favereau: Ushant word.
294	koll-góunid	koll-gunid	kol:'gunid	koll-go(u)nit	??	Malgorn translates 'perd-gagne' = 'lose-win'? Peurunvan form is not in the dictionary.
295	koll-gwél	koll-gwel	kol:'gwel	koll-gwel	loss of sight	This compound is not found in the Favereau, but the individuell elements are the same.
296	kaozéal	kaozeal	kaw'zeal	kaozeal	to talk	
297	kougn	kugñ	'kugn	kogn	corner	
298	kóuincl	kunñkl	'kunñkl	konifl/-ikl	rabbit	
299	koúnta	kúnta	'kúnta	kontañ/-iñ/-o	to count	
300	ampózon	âmpozón	ám'pozón	ampoezon	poison	Malgorn: I have often heard <i>poezion</i> and <i>ampoezon</i> .
301	koútel	kutell	'kutel:	kontell, kountell	knife	
302	koútroun	kuntrün	'kuntrün	kontron	carriage worm	Favereau: Peurunvan meaning is 'worm'
303	koráis	korai	'korais	korais	time of fasting	The Favereau shows that -ais in Peurunvan is [ajs], so a diphthong.
304	kórbell	korbell	'korbel:	korbell	used for children refused for the first communion	
305	korbézen	korbezenn	kor'bezen:	korbozenn	verucose vein	
306	kórden	kordenn	'korden:	kordenn	cord, rope	Malgorn: pl. <i>kerdign</i> .
307	korf	korf	'korf	korf	body	
	koúmpröz	kümpřöz	'kümpřöz	?	a kind of corset	Malgorn: pl. <i>koumprouzou</i> , says that the second syllable was affected by the other two.
308	korn	korn	'korn	korn	horn, corner	Malgorn: pl. <i>kerriél</i>
309	kourm	kurm	'kurm	korn	gurnard	
311	kornók	komök	kor'noik	kornaoueg	West	
312	kórníel	korñel	'korñel	kornell, korniell	corner, wedge	P 'prop, elevation'
313	kornígel	kornigell	kor'niyel:	kornigell	spinning top	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
314	koúrrík	kúrrík	'kurík	korríg	midget, dwarf	
	kórzen	korzen	'korzen:	korzenn	channel, waterway	In Peurunvan korz means 'reed', Favereau lists the local meaning of 'channel' or 'waterway'.
315						
316	gaóuzan	gaúzān	'gawzān	gaouzan	vermin	standard Breton 'mite, moth'
	kos	kos	'kos	klor, klos	(pea) pod	The Peurunvan forms do not seem to be connected with the Ushant form, which seems to be a French loan word.
317						
318	kósten	kostenn	'kosten:	kostenn	coast	Malgorn: pl. <i>kostou/kústou</i>
319	kostésia	kosteša	'kostěja	kosteziñ/-o	to slope, lean over	
	koubl	kubl	'kubl	koubl	rafter	Favereau: in Peurunvan it means 'couple'. Malgorn: it is probably called koubl because a rafter consists of two parts.
320						
321	kóublād	kublād	'kublād	koublād	couple	
	kouer	kuer	'kwer	kouer	peasant	Favereau: Whether disyllabic or monosyllabic depends on the dialect.
322						
323	kéor	keor	'keor	kouevr	copper	
324	koufez	kufēz	'kufēz	kouez	detergent	
	kouch	kʷs	?	kouch	package of pins	Favereau: Peurunvan meaning is 'layer'. I am not sure how to transcribe ʷ.
325						
326	born	born	'born	born, bornn	one-eye	Malgorn: patronymic in Douarnenez and Audiern.
327	kuiḡn	kwiḡ	'kuiḡ	kouign	cake	
328	kloum	klum	'klum	ko(tu)lo(tu)m	knot	Favereau: variant <i>k'loum</i>
329	koulliouren	kuljuren	'ku'ʎuren:	kouilhorenn	blot, stain, slob	Favereau: name of a game.
330	houll	hull	'hul:	ho(tu)	wave	Favereau: French loanword
331	koumpáda	kūmpada	kūm'pada	?	to recommend	perhaps kom + padout 'endure'??

	A	B	C	D	E	F
332	sounj	sūj	sū3	soñj	thought	
	koúntreur	kūutroer	'kūntroer	kontrel, kontrol	contrary	Malgorn's phonetic transcription of <i>koúntreur</i> seems erroneous, as can be seen in the second column. In place of <i>-iū-</i> we would expect <i>-iñ-</i> , and in place of <i>-oer</i> we would expect <i>-oer</i> .
333	koulé	kūlē	'kūlē	?	straw circle placed under the load that one carries on the head	The second accent in the first column does not seem to indicate stress, but rather an open e [ɛ].
334	kourícher	kūrišer	'kūrišer	kouricher	head gear	
335	koušked	kūšked	'kūšked	koušked	sleep	
336	kouskaden	kūskadenn	'kūskadenn	kouskadenn	nap	
337	koz	kūz	'kūz	koz	old	
338	brabánad	kūrabanad	'kūrabanad	krabanad	box on the ear	Malgorn: also often <i>krājanad</i> [kra 'banad], which according to him might be due to confusion with <i>karvanad</i> 'punch in the face'
339						
340	krabínsa	kūrabísa	'kūrabísa	krabissat, krabiñsat	to scratch, graze	
341	kraboútín	kūrabūtín	'kūrabūtín	krabotin	on all fours	
342	kraf	kūraf	'kūraf	??	breadth of a hand or a digit	
343	kráfa	kūrafa	'kūrafa	krafañ/-iañ/-iñ	to mend	
344	krifínat	kūrifínat	'kūrifínat	kravignat	to scratch, graze	
345	krámpouez	kūkrámpwez	'kūkrámpwez	krampouezh	crêpe, flapjack	
346	krāñk	kūkrāñk	'kūkrāñk	krank	crab	
347	krann	kūkrann	'kūkrann	krann	assart	
348	kraouñ	kūkrañ	'kūkrañ	kraoñ	eye of a needle	
349	krávaz	kūkrávaz	'kūkrávaz	kravazh	(wheel)barrow	
	krāñch	kūkrāñch	'kūkrāñch	krāñch	saliva	Favereau also mentions <i>crainch</i> in the 1732 dictionary by Grégoire de Rostrenen
350						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
351	kré	kré	'kré	kreñv	strong	
352	kréañc'h	kréañc'h	'kréañ	krech	rise, klimb	Favereau: Peurunvan 'hight, mountain'
353	krámen	kramenn	'kramen:	kramenn	dirt	
354	krenn	krenn	'kren:	krenn	stocky	
	krénn-baot	krénn-baot	'kren:bawt	krennbaotr	young man	Malgom had column one empty. I therefore copied column two into it so that if I were to arrange the table, it would be listed alphabetically.
355						
356	kreoñ	kreoñ	'kreoñ	kreoñ	(sheep's) pelt	
357	kriski	kriski	'kriski	kreskiñ	to grow	
358	kristinen	kristinenn	'kristinen:	krest(en)enn	crust, film	
359	kreunn	kreunn	'kreun:	kreun	crust	
360	kriyenen	kriyennenn	'kri'yenen:	krignenn	gratin	
361	krignèn	krigñen	'krigñen	krignenn	grit that lies in the sound	
362	kristen	kristen	'kristen	kristen	christian	
363	rinsinat	rinsinat	rinsinat	razhenniñ	to neigh	
364	groa	groa	'grwa	gro(a)	sandy shore, strike?	
365	króazik	kroazik	'krwazik	kroazig	verbena	
366	krog	krog	'krog	krog	okay (adj.)	
367	krógad	krogad	'krogad	krogad	fight	
368	krógen	krogenn	'krogen:	krogenn	shell	Malgom: pl. kregign / kreginn
369	balánsou	balásu	balásou	balánsou	balance	
370	króc'henn	kroc'henn	'kroxen:	kroc'henn	skin	Malgom: pl. krec'hign (p)
371	grósmol	grosmol	'grosmol	groszol	murmur	
372	grosmolat	grosmolat	'gros'molat	groszolat	grumble	
373	klouër	klouer	'kluer	krouer	sieve	
374	krufa	krufa	'kruya	krufañ	to collect oneself	
375	kuir	kuir	'kqir		isn't it (true)?	Malgom: abbreviation for a net <i>gwir</i> ? 'isn't it (true)?'



	A	B	C	D	E	F
376	kuch	kuš	'kyf	kuch	tuft, forelock	
377	kúilla	kuja	'kyáa	kuilh(em)añ/iñ	to coil up	
378	kulátor	kulator	'ky'lator	kulator	curatrix	
379	kuñ	kū	'kŷ	kuñv	soft	
380	kudúrun	kudurun	'ky'dyryn	kurun	thunder	
381	kurúnen	kurunenn	'ky'rynen:	kurunenn	wreath, crown	
382	kurz	kurz	'kyrz	keuruz	eel	With the combining mark under - urz in the second column Malgorn seems to indicate that the word was contracted.
383	kúndu	kundu	'kyndy	kundu	guidance, accompaniment	
384	kúrust	kurust	'kyrust	kurust	altar boy	Malgorn: clear corruption of <i>choriste, choeuriste</i>
385	da	da	da	z	you (object)	Malgorn: example: me da gasso alesse I will send you from there'. In Peurunvan one would expect me az kaso alese.
386	dénañ	deñā	'deñā	da nebeutañ, vihannañ	at least	
387	dáelou	dēilu	'dēilu	dāerou	grief, sorrow	
388	tré	trē	'trē	tre	ebb	
389	bázenn	bazenn	'bazenn:	pazenn, bazh-skeul	echelon	
390	dalc'h	dalc'h	'dalc'h	dalc'h	hold, grip	
391	dálout	dalut	'dalut	dalc'hen/-iñ, delc'her, derc'hel	to keep, maintain, hold, remain	<i>dalc'hen</i> in the Favereau has no tilde on it. Malgorn: 'prendre'
392	dámant	damant	'damant	damant	care	
393	dánta	dānta	'dānta	dantañ/-iñ	to bite	
394	danténna	dāntenna	'dāntenna	dantennañ/-iñ	to shatter	
395	dāñvad	dāvad	'dāvad	dañvad	sheep	
396	daoubléget	daublegēt	'daw	dao	beat (infant speech)	
397	daoubléget	daublegēt	'daw'blegēt	daoubleget	folded in two	
398	daougent	daugēt	'dawgēt	daou-ugent	forty	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
399	dógan	dogan	'dogan	dogan	cuckold	
400	tárbod	tarbod	'tarbod	darbod	sauce-pan	
401	dáré	dare	'dare	darev	point, use, value	
402	tárañ	tarañ	'tarañ	taran	(summer) lightning	
403	darnijal	darnijal	dar'nijal	darnijal	to flutter, flitter	
404	daskílat	daskílat	das'kílat	taskaneat, daskiriat	ruminate	
405	ároun	arun	'arun	aroun	echo	Favereau: In Peurunvan aroun is 'racket (sound, not tennis).
406	déstum	destum	'destym	dastum/-iñ	to collect, amass	
407	díbri	dibri	'dibri	debrin'/-o	to eat	
408	dehásti	deasti	de'asti	dehastan'/-iñ	to come dawdling along, turn up	
409	délé	dèle	'dèle	dele(z)	yard (shipping term)	
410	délez	délez	'délez	derez	stairs	
411	dílen	dilenn	'dilen:	direnn	lighter	
412	dimézèl	dimezèl	di'mezel	dimezell	demoisel	
413	den dióuc'htu	d. diuc'htu	den jujty	den + ? + tu 'side?	a staunch fellow	
414	téna	tena	'tena	denan'/-iñ/-o	to breast-feed	
415	déhou	dèch'hu	'dèxu	dehòu	right	
416	diouéa	diwea	di'wea	diwezañ	to hurry	
417	déport	déport	'dèport	dèport/-iñ	to wait	
418	délc'her	dèlc'hoer	'dèlxoer	dalc'hen/-iñ, delc'her, der'chel	to retain	See also: <i>dálout</i> . Malgorn: 'retenir'
419	dénvi	dèvi	'dèvi	deviñ/-o	to burn	Malgorn: the nasal is without doubt a remnant of the old ending: <i>deuiff</i> .
420	dèspet	dèspet	'dèspet	dèspet	despite	
421	diábaf	diabaf	di'abaf	diabaf	relaxed	
422	diága	diaga	di'aga	diagañ	to use	Favereau only refers to the Ushant word.
423	dialæz	dialæz	dia'laez	dialæz	above (noun)	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
424	diāmpar	diāmpar	di'āmpar	diampar	seperated	
425	diaoulègez	ḡiaulegez	ḡaw'legez	diaoulegezh	devilry	
	diaoust	diaust	'djawst	diaoust	the deuce!	Peculiar that Malgorn does not transcribe ḡ here, but did so for <i>diaoulegezh</i> .
426	diāvēaz	diāvēaz	diā'vēaz	diavaez	outside	Malgorn: the nasal is frequently found on another syllable, or an extra one occurs before the z.
427						
428	diāvis	diavis	di'avis	diaviz	ill-advised, foolish	
429	dibalāmour	dibalamur	diba'lamur	dibalamour	relaxed	
430	dibalédi	dibaledi	diba'ledi	dibalediñ	to burst	
	dibaot		'dibaot	dibaot	seldom	Malgorn has no second transcription.
431						
432	dibárfet	dibarfet	di'barfet	dibarfed	without rigidity	
	dibeüneust	dibeñcest	di'beñcest	dibenvestr	without support	Are the Peurunvan and the Ushant form connected?
433						
434	displeūna	displøa	dis'pløa	diplunvañ/-iñ	to pluck, deplume	
	digéchi	digéchi	di'gexi	digochañ/-iñ (L. digec'hiñ)	to clean	
435						
	dibourvé	diburvé	di'burvé	dibourvez	deprived (of)	Not sure about the acute accent on the last syllable in the second column.
436						
437	dibráda	dibrada	di'brada	dibradañ/-iñ	to raise	
	dibúna	dibuna	di'byna	dibunañ/-iñ	to unwind, unravell	
	diénè	ḡienḡ	'ḡienḡ	?	doll clothing	Looks a lot like Peurunvan diene(ñv). Its meaning 'insensitive, unfeeling' seems very remote. Malgorn: They almost pronounce it lènḡ.
439						
440	didárza	didarza	di'darza	dedarzhañ/-iñ	to leave	
441	didrábas	didrabas	di'drabas	didrabas	unhindered	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
442	dídreu		'dídrc̄e/'dirdr̄ø	didreu	thoroughly	
	diérea	diérea	di'érea	diereañ/-n/iñ	to loosen	There seems to be another diacritic on the second e in the first column. It is not clear enough, however, to be able to say whether it is acute or grave.
443	divémor	divémor	di'vémor	divemor	memoryless	Malgorn: They also say <i>disorj/ disourj</i>
444	difeson	difeson	di'beson	difeson	formless, shapeless	Not actually found in Favereau's dictionary, but seems to be a compound of di- 'not, un-' and feson 'appearance, form'
445	difournia	difur̄ṅa	di'furpa	diforniañ/-iñ	to take something out of the oven	
446	dífoul	difūl	'diul	difoul	calm	
447	difóula	difūla	di'bula	difouliañ/-añ	to (become) calm	
449	difounn	difunn	'diunn:	difonn	unproductive, not very much to rush	
450	difourcha	difur̄ša	di'vur̄ša	difourchañ/-iñ	energetic, dynamic	
451	difrè	difre	'dirre	difrae	to reclaim, exploit	
452	digránna	digranna	di'grana	digrannañ/-iñ	to pull	
453	difrápa	difrapa	di'frapa	difrapañ/-iñ	to debate, to stretch	
454	difréta	difreta	di'freta	difretañ/-iñ	without question	
455	digábal	digabal	di'gabal	digabal	from	Even though Malgorn does not indicate it thus, I believe this word to be disyllabic, as he fails to indicate the accent in this word and the three following words. Malgorn: There are many examples of -g- being omitted.
	diat	qiat	'jiat	digant		
456	digarezer					
457	digarezoer	digarezoer	diga'rezoer	digarezer	Someone who seeks excuses	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
458	dic'harsia	dic'harša	di'xarfa	dic'harzhañ/-iañ/-iñ	reclaim, cultivate	
459	dias	đtes	'dies	digas	to bring (along)	
	digouéni	digwini	di'gwini	digoenñ	to shrink	Malgom actually wrote digouéni, but crossed out the v, probably to indicate that this sound had disappeared in the Ushant dialect.
460						
461	digéc'hi	digéc'hi	di'gexi	digoc'hañ/-iñ	to clear, purify	
462	dígousk	dígusk	'dígusk	digousk	insomniac, sleepless	
463	dilója	diloja	di'loja	dilojañ/-iñ	to move (house)	
	dígriz	digriz	'digriz	digriz	rare, underdone	standard' Breton meaning: 'quick, bright, smart'
464						
	diskroc'henna	diskroc'henna	diskro'xena	diskroc'hennañ/-iñ	to skin	Malgom compares diskroc'henna to Le Gonidec's digroc'henna. The meaning Malgom ascribes to the word, however, points to Peurunvan diskroc'hennañ 'to skin', and not digroc'hennañ 'to crochet'.
465						
466	digrúti	digruti	di'gryti	digrutañ	to limit/restrict oneself	
467	dirgwener	dirguener	dir'guener	digwener	Friday	
	divill	diviļ	'diviļ	dishiliañ/-iñ	to pick, thresh	Malgom comments that thist form poses the question whether the dialect of Ushant has retained -v- instead of -s- from older -sv- (disvill).
468						
469	dihoumpra	diumpra	di'umpra	diemptrañ/-iñ	to take apart	
470	díchal	dšal	'diʃal	dichal	ebb	
471	dichála	dšala	di'ʃala	dichalañ/-iñ	to flow away	
472	dic'haoui	dic'hawi	di'xawi	dic'haouañ/-iñ	to compensate	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	dic'hoána	dic'hoána	di'xwána	di(c'h)wan/-añ/-iñ	to remove a hook	standard Breton has the form without -c'h- and Favereau lists the form with -c'h- as a variant. In Peurunvan it means 'to germinate'
473	dic'hoánta	dic'hoánta	di'xwánta	dic'hoantañ/-iñ	to have had enough of something	
474	dichápapa	dışapa	di'japa	dichapañ	to escape, slip out/away	
	digoc'hína	digoc'hina	di'go'xina		to unsheathe	standard Breton dic'houinañ. The Ushant word seems to be composed of negative prefix di- and koc'hina 'to encrust' (Peurunvan koc'hennañ/-iñ)
476						
477	dic'hoúrda	dic'hurda	di'xurda	dic'hourdañ/-iñ	to stretch, to make more supple	
478	díc'hras	dic'hras	'dixras	dic'hras	graceless	
479	dic'hréuna	dic'hroena	di'xrøna	dic'hreunañ/-iñ	to strip (off) / to pick (berries)	
480	dic'hróza	dic'hroza	di'xroza	dic'hrozañ/-iñ	to rough-grind, hew	
481	dílilad	diljad	'dixad	dilhad	rags	standard Breton 'clothes'
482	dilámmet	dilamet	di'lamet	dilammet	to attack	standard Breton 'to jump, speed'
	dilánsa	dilasa	di'lása	dilansañ/-iñ	to jump up, appear	standard Breton 'to be slow, lag behind' seems to mean the exact opposite.
483	chóas	šoas	'joas	choaz	choice	One would expect -oa- to represent a diphthong, but Malgorn has not indicated it thus by using <u> </u> . He normally does not indicate the accent in monosyllabic words, so that he did here might be an indicator that it is indeed disyllabic.
484						
485	dilézer	diløezer	di'løezer	dilezel	to abandon	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
486	diliéna	diliéna	dil'èna	diliénañ/-iñ	to take linnen off	
487	dilún	dilún	dil'yn	dilun	Monday	
488	dilógod	dilógod	dil'ogod	dilogod	mouse-free	
	dilúria	dilúrya	dil'yrya	?	to depound?	<i>diluriñ</i> is not in the Favereau. It seems to be a compound of the negative prefix <i>di-</i> and <i>lur</i> 'franc, pound', and has been made a verb by suffixing <i>-iañ</i> .
489	dimeja	dimeja	di'meja	?	to wave one's arms to call someone	
490	dismérc'her	dismérc'hoer	dis'merxoer	dimerc'her	Wednesday	
491	disméurs	dismœurs	dis'mœurs	dimeurz	Tuesday	
492	din	din	'din	din	worth	
493	dínac'h	dínac'h	'dinax	dinac'h/-añ/-iñ	to deny	
494	dinátur	dinatur	di'natur	dinatur	degenerate, unnatural	
495	dignán	dipñen	di'pñen	dindan	under	Favereau: Leon [dijp-]
496	dinèr	diner	'diner	diner	penny	
497	dinérad	dinérad	di'nérad	dinerad	for a price	
498	tínta	tínta	'tínta	tintal	to sound, ring (a bell)	
499	pennaoui	pennawi	pe'nawi	pennaoua	to prick up one's ears	
500	diótach	diotañ	di'otañ	diotach	foolishness	standard' Breton: 'mental deficiency'
501	díouer	diwer	'diwer	diou(v)er	lack	
502	díouc'h	diuc'h	'jiux	diouzh	from, according to	Malgom: when inflecting this preposition <i>-c'h-</i> becomes <i>-z-</i> , so <i>diouziñ</i> , <i>diouziñ</i> , <i>diouzomp</i> , <i>diouzoc'h</i> .
503	diouc'htú	diuc'htu	'jiux ty	diouzhtu	immediately	
504	diréol	di-reol	di'reol	di-reol	not regulatory, disordered	
505	diláza	diláza	di'laza		reach, attain (with difficulty)	The verb is not in the Favereau, but <i>dilazh</i> 'a little tiring' is in it.
506						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
507	dirf <b>ign</b>	dirib <b>ij</b>	di'rib <b>ij</b>	dirib <b>in</b>	slope	
508	dir <b>ez</b> on	dir <b>ez</b> on	di'rez <b>on</b>	dir <b>ez</b> on	foolish(ness)	
509	dir <b>eu</b> stra	dir <b>eu</b> stra	di'ro <b>es</b> tra	dir <b>ou</b> estlañ/-iñ	to disentangle	
510	dir <b>o</b> ll	dir <b>o</b> ll	di'rol <b>l</b>	dir <b>o</b> ll	to disorder	
511	dir <b>u</b> ska	dir <b>u</b> ska	di'ryska	dir <b>u</b> skañ/-iñ	to skin, flay	standard' Breton 'to debar, peel'
512	des <b>cu</b> ez	des <b>cu</b> ez	des <b>cu</b> ez	des <b>cu</b> ez/-iñ	to show	
	digou <b>l</b> m	digou <b>l</b> m	di'gul <b>m</b>	di'go(u)lo(u)m, diskoul(ou)m	undone	The first form in the Peurunvan column is the Léon form, the second is the form found in the other dialects. Malgorn notes that digloum is also heard on Ushant.
513						
514	diskou <b>l</b> tr	diskou <b>l</b> tr	dis'kultr <b>er</b>	diskou <b>l</b> tr	(tree) trimmer	
	diskreun <b>na</b>	diskreun <b>na</b>	diskreun <b>na</b>	diskreun <b>añ</b>	to encrust	Favereau has it listed as a Ushant word
515						
516	diskou <b>nn</b> ou	diskou <b>nn</b> ou	dis'kun <b>u</b>	diskou <b>nn</b> ou	to fan, stir up (a fire)	Favereau has it listed as a Ushant word
517	diskou <b>p</b>	diskou <b>p</b>	diskou <b>p</b>	diskou <b>p</b>	shapely, well-formed	Favereau has it listed as a Ushant word
518	diskrou <b>gn</b> a	diskrou <b>gn</b> a	diskrou <b>gn</b> a	diskrou <b>gn</b> al	to grin, show teeth	
519	disku <b>iz</b>	disku <b>iz</b>	disku <b>iz</b>	disku <b>iz</b> h	relaxed	
520	disku <b>ill</b>	disku <b>ij</b>	disku <b>ij</b>	disku <b>ilh</b>	to explain	standard' Breton 'to smoothen out'
	dis <b>ch</b> lao	dis <b>ch</b> lao	dis <b>ch</b> law	dis <b>ch</b> lav	uncovered by the rain	standard' Breton 'rain shelter, out of the water'
521						
522	dis <b>ch</b> 'hri	dis <b>ch</b> 'hri	dis <b>ch</b> 'ri	dis <b>ch</b> wri	incoherent, disjointed	
	dis <b>ch</b> eo <b>l</b>	dis <b>ch</b> eo <b>l</b>	dis <b>ch</b> ew <b>l</b>	dis <b>ch</b> eo <b>l</b>	in the shade, sun shelter	Malgorn actually wrote dis <b>ch</b> 'hevi, but crossed out the -v- to indicate that it was apparently lost in the Ushant dialect.
523						



	A	B	C	D	E	F
	disc'hei	disch'ei	dis'xci	?	to yawn	Favereau has disleviñ 'to yawn', but I cannot see how the -l- could have disappeared in the Ushant dialect. From the Ushant form I would expect Peurunvan *disgeviñ.
524	díslou	disliw	'disliw	disliv	colourless	
525	dilouñka	dilūka	di'lūka	dislonkañ/-iñ	to vomit	
526	dislountra	dislūntra	dis'lūntra	dislontrañ/-iñ	bulging eyes	
527	díspill	dispij	'dispiʎ	dispilhañ/-iñ	to unravel	
528	dispac'ha	dispac'ha	dis'paxa	dispac'hat	to gesticulate	standard' Breton <i>dispac'hat</i> means 'to agitate'.
529						
530	distága	distaga	dis'taga	distagañ/-iñ/-o	to detach	
531	distaolia	distaola	dis'tawʎa	distaoler/-iñ	to clear (the table)	standard' Breton 'to reject'
532	distéra	distera	dis'tera	disterañ	the least	
533	dístarna	distarna	dis'tarna	disternañ/-iañ/-iñ	to unyoke, uncouple	
	disteüler	distœlœr	dis'tœlœr	distoaler	to reject	See <i>distaolia</i> , which makes an interesting case together with this one as they seem to be constructed in the same way, but one perhaps with a dialect form and the other with a loaned standard form?
534						
535	dísteuñ	distœ	'distœ	disteuñv	with a broken frame	Favereau lists it as a Ushant word
536	distlábez	distlabez	dist'labez	distlabez	without disorder, proper	
537	dístaol	distaol	'distawl	distaol	failure	standard' Breton 'rejection'
538	dívount	divunt	'divunt	divont	sale, way out	
539	distréi	distrei	dis'trei	distro	detour	
540	distruja	distruja	dis'tryʒa	distrujañ/-iñ	to destroy	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	divádin	divadĩn	di'vadĩn	da vad	seriously	I was not able to find the exact counterpart in Peurunvan, perhaps it is a close compounding of da vad, which also means 'seriously, well'.
541						
542	divárra	divarra	di'varra	divarrañ/-iñ	to trim	
543	divémor	divemor	di'vemor	divemor	forgetful	
544	divemóri	divemori	di'vemori	divemoriñ	to become amnesic	
	distémpra	distémpra	dis'témpra		to dilute	I found no Peurunvan equivalent in the Favereau, but did find the non-negative trempañ 'to soak'
545						
546	divélgra	divelgra	di'velgra	diverglañ/-iñ	to thrash	
547	divérgond	divérgond	di'vergond	divergont	lawless, loose	
548	díverr	díver	di'verr	diverr	excerpt, extract	
549	divérra	diverra	di'verra	diverrañ/-iñ	to shorten, summarize	
550	dívenz	dívēz	di'vez	divezh	shameless	
551	divéza	duiza	di'ziza	diwezhañ	last	
	divézi	divezi	di'vezi	divezviñ	to sober up	Malgom wrote <i>divézi</i> but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in this dialect.
552						
553	divínout	divinut	di'vinut	divinañ/-iñ	to guess	
554	divinadell	divinadell	di'vadell	divinadell	riddle	
555	diviner	divinoer	di'vinor	diviner/-our	fortune-teller	
	díoz	díoz	di'oz	di(w)voz	pair of palms	Malgom wrote <i>díoz</i> but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in this dialect.
556						
	díozad	díozad	di'ozad	di(w)vozad	pairs of palms	Malgom wrote <i>díozad</i> but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in this dialect.
557						
558	díouéta	diweta	di'weta	divoueta/-at	to stop the feed	
559	d'or	dor	di'or	diwar	from (upon)	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
560	d'or-bénn	dorbénn	dor'ben:	diwar-benn	about, concerning	
561	diwéa	diwéa	di'wéa	diweañ/-iñ	to hurry	standard Breton 'to come loose, to go (at)'
562	divérmia	diver̄ma	di'ver̄ma	diwermiñ/-iñ	to dismay	
563	dizále	dizalè	di'zalè		without delay	Not found in the Favereau, but <i>dale</i> 'delay' is found in it.
564	dflèz	dflèz	dflèz	dilez	abandonment	
565	dizalfoué	dizalfwe	dizal'fwe	dizalc'houez	brutal	P 'open, unlocked'
566	dizazóuzáni	dizawzani	dizaw'zani	disaouzanañ/-iñ	to undecieve	
567	dizéspèr	dizéspèr	di'zèspèr	dizesper	dispair	
568	maleur	malœr	'malœr	maleur	misfortune	
569	diálc'ha	diyalc'ha	di'jalxa	diyalc'hañ/-iñ	to spend	Favereau has this word as typical of the Ushant dialect
570	dirfou	dirij	di'riu	diryaou, dirioù, dizioù	Thursday	
571	dizonj	dizij	'dizj	disonj	forgetful	
572	dizouára	dizwara	di'zwara	dizouarañ/-iñ	to unearth	
573	dizreiza	dizreiza	diz'reiza	dizrezañ/-iñ	to remove brambles	
574	divale	divalè	di'valè	divale	to come	
575	dleout	dleout	'dleut	dleañ/-out	to have to	
576	mab-bíhan	mapiñ	ma'piñ	mab-bihan	grandson	
577	dóúbier	dúbyer	'dubjer	doubier	snell, snood	
578	doubl	dúbl	'dubl	doubl	double	
579	douéti	dújeti	du'jeti	dou(e)tañ/-iñ	to doubt	Among the pronunciations in the Favereau, none of them has -ou- as a syllable of its own, but rather as the glide [w]. One would expect that Malgorn would have written <i>dwéti</i> in the second column if he had heard a semi-vowel, or at least used <u>  </u> to indicate that it was one syllable.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
580	douétuz	d̥u̯ɛ̥tuz	du'ɛ̥tɥz	douetuz	probable	
581	dour	d̥u̯r	'dur	dour	water	
582	doūgen	d̥u̯gɛ̥n	'dugɛ̥n	dougen	to carry	
583	iar-zoūr	yar-z̥u̯r	jar'z̥u̯r	douryar, yar-zour	moorhen	Malgom has a macron in <i>yar-z̄ur</i> , probably to indicate a long vowel.
584	dour-mór	d̥u̯r-m̥ɔ̥r	dur'mor	dour-mor	seawater	Malgom has a macron in <i>d̄ur-m̄or</i> , probably to indicate a long vowel.
585	doūrek	d̥u̯rɛ̥k	'durek	dourek	watery	
586	dorn	d̥ɔ̥rn	'dorn	dorn	hand	
587	mutúka	mutuka	my'tyka	?	to palpate	I cannot find a Peurunvan counterpart.
588	dournérez	d̥u̯rnɛ̥rɛ̥z	dur'nɔ̥rɛ̥z	dornerez	threshing-machine	
	tézi	tɛ̥zi	'tɛ̥zi	dozviñ	to lay (eggs)	Malgom wrote <i>tɛ̥zvi</i> , but the -v- has been crossed out to indicate that it was lost in this dialect. Favereau lists <i>dezviñ</i> as a variant.
589						Malgom: pl. <i>drefter</i>
590	draf	d̥rɛ̥f	'drɛ̥f	draf	barrier	
591	drailla	d̥rɛ̥ʎa	'draʎa	drailhañ/-iñ	to chop	
592	dramm	d̥ramm	'dram:	dramm	swath	
	drams	drams	'drams	?	almost completed	Favereau only lists the verb <i>dramsañ</i> which is supposedly typical of the Ushant dialect. It means 'to make the final touch'
593						Malgom: an exclamation when something is finished. I have not found it in the Favereau.
594	drapp	drapp	'drapp	?	?	
595	dráskal	draskal	'draskal	draskal	to crack	
596	drávan̄k	draoäk	'draoäk	?	large stripe	I am not able to find the Peurunvan counterpart.
597	dre	d̥rɛ̥	'd̥rɛ̥	dre	through	
598	drének	d̥rɛ̥nɛ̥k	'd̥rɛ̥nɛ̥k	draenek	bar	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
599	dreïst	dreïst	'dreïst	dreïst	beyond	
600	dreïst-penn-béz	dr. penn-bez	dreïstpen:'bez	dreïst-penn-biz	nonchalant	
601	dres	dres	'dres	dres	calm	I am not sure about the Peurunvan form as it means 'right, upright'.
602	dréssa	dréssa	'dréssa	dréssañ/-iñ/-o	to replace, put back	
603	droug	droug	'droug	drouk	bad	
604	droug-koúntant	droug-koúntant	dru'kúntánt	droukkontant	unhappy	
605	drouc'hras	drouc'hras	'drouxras	droukc'hras	disgrace	
606	droullivet	droullivet	dru'livet	drouklivet	paled	
607	drouk-pédenn	dr.-pédenn	druk'pédén:	droukpedenn	curse	
608	drouk-prézek	dr.-prézek	druk'prézek	droukprezek	blackening of a good name	
	drouk-sólia	dr.-soja	druk'soša	?	to resoie	Not found in the Favereau, but <i>drouk</i> 'bad' and <i>soliañ</i> 'to (re)sole' are. One can imagine that the meaning of the compound is not that a shoe is resoied badly, but rather that a bad sole is replaced.
609	drouk-mór	dr.-mór	druk'mor	?	evil of the sea	Not found in the Favereau, but it is clearly a compound of <i>drouk</i> 'bad' and <i>mor</i> 'sea'.
610	druza	druza	'druza	druzañ/-iñ	to grease	
611	druza	dua	'dya	duañ/-iañ/-iñ	to blacken	
612	druza	dua	'dya	duañ/-iañ/-iñ	pigeon	
613	píchoun	pişun	'pişun	pichon	tonight	
614	e-bérr	èber	'èber	emberr, e-berr	any, none	Malgorn: Often <i>a-bed</i> .
615	e-béd	èbed	'èbed	e(r)bet	along, past	Malgorn: Often <i>a-biou</i> , or just <i>biou</i> .
616	e-biou	èbiu	'èbiu	(h)e-biou	erroneously, wrongfully	
617	e gaóu	è gaw	'ègaw	e-gaou	as, like	Malgorn: Very often <i>ec'fiz</i> .
618	égiz	ègiz	'ègiz	e-giz	undoubtedly	Malgorn: Several people pronounce it as <i>e-lear</i> .
619	e-léal	èleal	'èleal	e-leal		
620	aléiz	aleiz	'aleiz	e-leizh	in abundance	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
621	a réaz	arəz	a'rəz	e-rez	near, at the edge of	
622	étramañ	ətramā	ə'tramā	ətreze(k), etre-mañ	towards	Malgom: Often <i>etramant</i>
623	éaz	əz	əz	aezh	vapor	
624	ála	ala	'ala	ealañ	to foal	
	ebartz	əbartz	ə'bartz	e-barzh	into, inside	I am not sure where the nasal quality of -a- came from, or if the diacritic is really a tilde and not a macron or just a smudge.
625						
626	ébeul	əbəʊl	əbəʊl	ebeul	foal	
627	eubélez	əbəʊləz	ə'bəʊləz	ebeulez	filly	
	èon	əon	'əon	eeun	right	Malgom: <i>rag èon</i> 'straight, directly'. Notice how the quality of è changed.
628						
629	égit	əgit	'əgit	eget	than	According to Malgom the form <i>regit</i> also occurs.
630	égar	əgar	'əgar	egar	anger	
631	égari	əgari	ə'gari	egariñ	to become angry	
632	sourda	surda	'surda	sourdal	to stop	standard' Breton 'to block'
633	ec'h	əc'h	'əc'h	ec'h	ugh (interjection)	
634	eil-géria	əilgərya	əj'l'gerja	eilgeriat	to retort	
	eiséntez	əizəntəz	əj'əntəz	eizhvetez	octave	Malgom actually wrote <i>eisvéntez</i> , but with -v- crossed out to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
635						
636	éjenn	əjenn	'əʒɛn:	ejen	ox	
637	elc'h	əlc'h	'əlx	helc'h	oppression	
638	alumetézen	aluməteʒenn	alymə'teʒen:	alumetezenn	match (for lighting a fire)	
639	alúmi	alumi	'alymi	alumiñ, elumiñ	to light	
640	em	em	em	e'm	in my	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	éma, emá eñ, hi	éma, emã	éma, e'mã	emañ	he/she is	Malgorn: In other conjugations - <i>a-</i> is omitted: <i>em'ouñ, em'oud, emoump, emouc'h, emint/emaint</i> . He has not heard <i>edñ</i> like on the Isle of Sein, but has heard other persons: <i>edouñ, edoud, edoump, edouc'h (edint)</i> does not exist according to Malgorn); as well as the imperfect: <i>edomn, edos, edo, edomp, edoc'h, edont</i> .
641						
642	eme	eme	eme	eme	says, said	
643	en ém gann	enemgann	en'emgan:	emgann	battle	
644	en ém laz	enemlaz	en'emlaz	emlazh	slaughter	
645	gweláden	gweladenn	gweladenn:	gwela(d)enn	interview	
646	emzínvad	emzivad	em'zivad	emzivat	orphan	
647	énka	ekka	eka	ekañ/-iñ	to shrink, drive back	
648	éndre	endre	endre	endra	as, as far as	
649	énep	enep	enep	enep	opposite	
650	morlarjez	morlarjez	mor'larjez	meurlarjez	carnival, Mardi Gras	
	enez	enez	enez	enez	island	Malgorn: with the article it becomes <i>enezen</i> (so singulative?). Plural: <i>inizi, inizióu, enezemou</i>
651						Malgorn: Plural: <i>enezi, enizi</i> .
652	énez	enez	enez	enez	pullet	
653	enn-déon	enndeon	en'deon	end-eeun	really	standard' Breton 'exactly, correctly'
654	enn én taol	enn en taol	en'entawl	en un taol	suddenly	Malgorn: Often: <i>en eun taol kount</i> .
655	ann hóll	ann oll	an'oll	an holl	all	
656	enói	enoi	ehoi	enoenñ	to annoy	
657	enoámant	enoamant	eno'amant	enoeamant	boredom	
658	enóüz	enouz	ehoyz	enoouz	tedious	
659	éntent	entent	entent	ententiñ	to understand	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	entéski	entéski	en'téski	enteskiñ	to seperate	The Favereau translates is as 'mettre en glane', which I do not know how to translate meaningfully into English or Dutch.
660						
661	etre	etrè	etrè	e(n)tre	between	
662	étre	étrè	étrè	e(n)tre	intermediate (adj.)	
663	entréad	entread	en'tread	etread	intermediary (n.)	
664	éor	éor	éor	eñvor	memory	
665	éo	éo	éo		yes, it is	Used to contradict a negative question.
666	áog	aog	aog	aog	ripe	See also, aog above.
667	éon	eñ	éon	eon	foam	Malgorn: They also say <i>eonenn</i> .
	éontr	eontr	eontr	eontr	uncle	Malgorn: In the contemporary language (1909), <i>tontron</i> is also said. Children use 'uncle' for older men.
668						
669	èost	eost	eost	eost	August	
670	èrè	erè	erè	ere	tie, fastening, link	
671	èro	ero	ero	erv	furrow	
672	err	er	er	herr	dash	
	érven	ervenn	erven:	nervenn, nelvenn	nerve	According to the Favereau, the pronunciation [elvən] occurs in Haute-Cornouaille and Trégor. This might be due to the interpretation of the initial <i>r</i> - as belonging to the definite article, which is <i>an</i> before a vowel.
673						
674	eskénen	eskenenn	es'kenen:	eskenn	fragment, bit	
675	ésprés	esprës	ésprës	espres	explicit, purposely	



	A	B	C	D	E	F
676	éstlamm	ęstlam	’ęstlam	estlamm	sudden fright	Malgorn: Often esklamm. Peurunvan 'extraordinary, fantastic'
	istoun	istun	’istun	eston	surprise	Malgorn does not indicate stress, but Favereau does include it in two out of his three transcriptions. As the transcription [’istōn] (= [’istōn]) is closest to our transcription here, I chose to place the stress on the first syllable as well.
677	éstren	ęstręn	’ęstręn	estren	(the countries/people) abroad	
678	ta	ta	’ta	eta	thus, therefore	I have added the stress marker in my transcription because it is clear that the initial e- was lost because it was unstressed. The latter fact can be found in the Favereau where it is indicated thus.
679	étal	ętal	’ętal	etal	neap tide	Is found in the Favereau as a specific Ushant dialect word.
680	eúflen	ęflęnn	’ęflęnn	elvenn	dust	Favereau: 'cinder'
681	el	el	’el	ul	a	Malgorn: <i>enn</i> and <i>er</i> are also used instead of <i>eun</i> and <i>eur</i> .
682	eúred	ęręd	’ęręd	eured	marriage	
683	ez	ęz	’ęz	eus	from	
684	éfa	ęfa	’ęfa	evañ/-et/-o	to drink	
685	éfach	ęfaš	’ęfaš	evaj	brew(age)	
686	ével	ęvel	’ęvel	evel	like	
687	eel-áto	ęlato	’ęlato	evelato	nevertheless	Malgorn actually wrote <i>evel-áto</i> , but crossed out the -y- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
688						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	évit	évit	évit	evit	for	Malgorn has the stress on the first syllable, whereas Favereau shows the stress to be on the second syllable. I am therefore not sure where to place it myself.
689	eólach	eólach	eólax	evlech	elm	Malgorn has this word as trisyllabic, whereas it is disyllabic in all the dialects transcribed in the Favereau. I am not sure what to transcribe myself.
690	e	é	é	en	in	
691	é	é	é	en	in	
692	ézomm	ézom	ézom	ezhomm	need	
693	faéa	faea	faja	fava	to collect beans	Favereau has this only as a Ushant dialect word.
694	féaz	fəaz	fəaz	fəazh	bored	
695	fachúri	fašuri	fa'lyri	facheri	discord	
696	falläkr	falläkr	fa'liak	falläkr	criminal (adj.)	
697	féllout	fəllut	fəlut	faliñ/-out, felled/-el/-out	to be necessary	
698	fánoj	fanoj	fanoʎ	fanouilh	fennel	
699	faout	faüt	fawt	faout	slit	
700	fard	fard	fard	fard	mooring line/cable	
701	fánda	fanda	fanda	fardañ/-iñ	to prepare	
702	fardikez	fardikez	fardikez	fardikez	unuseable part of the grease	
703	farléa	farlea	far'lea	farlean'/-iñ	to furl	
704	fars	fars	fars	fars	cooked paste	
705	fars	fars	fars	fars	farce	
706	fásil	fasil	fasil	fasil	without doubt	Favereau: 'easy'
707	fávañz	favaz	favāz	favas	bean stalk	
708	fec'h	fəc'h	fəx	fəc'h	ugh!	
709	foúltra	fultra	fultra	feltrañ/-iñ	to scatter, spread	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
710	ferm	fèrm	fèrm	ferm	much	Favereau: 'firm'
711	féson	fèson	fèson	feson	manner	
	c'hèro	c'hèro	xero	c'herv	cruel	Favereau: etrerannyezhel c'hwerw, skolveurieg (c')whero, the meaning in the Favereau is 'bitter, sour'. Malgorn compares this word to Le Gonidec's fero, which is the pronunciation of P c'herv in Basse-Cornouaille.
712						
713	fétiz	fétiz	fétiz	fetiz	even, consistent	
	flipa	flipa	flipa	flipañ	to thrash	Malgorn compares U flipa to Le Gonidec's fibla (P fiblañ) 'to close, surround'. P <i>flipañ</i> 'to sail / to lash' seems to be a better match, however.
714						
715	figez	figez	figez	fiez	fig	
	fin	fin	fin	fin	glow, gleam	It seems to be connected to P fin 'pure, fine'.
716						
717	fīwal	fīwal	fīwal	fīwal	to move	
	fīlbouch	fīlbouš	fīlbuʃ	fīrbouch	somebody who hunts using ferrets / a prier	
718						
719	flak	flak	flak	flak	slack, soft	Favereau: 'inconsistent'
720	flac'had	flac'had	flaxad	flac'had	slap	
721	flamma	flamma	flām:a	flammañ/-iñ	to flame, kindle	
722	fluz	fluz	fly:z	fluz	diarrhoea	Favereau: 'dysentery'
723	fouer-kránk	fwer-kräk	fwer'kräk	foer-krank	crab innards	
724	fouest	fūest	fuest	fouest, fouist	soft, weak	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	fouestadurez	fjuestadurez	fuesta'dyrez	fouestadurezh	weakness	Malgorn does not indicate that the first -e- is /ɛ/, nor does he indicate the stress. I have supplied -ɛ- in accordance with <i>foüest</i> ['fuest], which we saw earlier, and have supplied the stress where in penultimate position, as in most Ushant words we came across.
725						
726	fólla	folla	'fɔ:lɑ	folla	to break loose, rage	
727	fourn	furn	'furn	forn	oven	
728	fors	fors	'fors	forzh	power, force	
729	fos	fos	'fos	foz	canal, ditch	
	foge	fogę	'fɔgɛ	fo(u)gɛ, foug	vanity	I have supplied the stress in penultimate position. Favereau: 'satisfaction'
730						
731	foütra	fūtra	'fultra	foeltrañ/-iñ/-o	to hit	
732	foünnuz	fūnnuz	'fun:yz	fonnus	abundant	
733	fourchétez	fursčetez	'fur'ʃetez	fourchetez	fork	
734	foürmach	fūrmáš	'furmaʃ	formaj	cheese	
	patoüillat	patuʃlat	pa'tuʃlat	patouilhat	to pee, plod (away)	We find the exact meaning of U patoüillat in Peurunvan as foutouilhat. P patouilhat means 'to clean, splash'
735						
736	frank	frāk	'frāk	frank	abundant, spacious	
737	bran-loüed	brān-luęd	'brān'lued	bran-louet	grey crow	
738	fráppad	frappad	'frap:ad	frapad	jerk, shock	
739	frail	fraʃ	'fraʃ	freilh, frailh	plague, flail, scourge	
740	fresk	fřesk	'fřesk	fřesk	cool	
741	fřeska	fřeska	'fřeska	fřeskaat	to cool (down)	
742	fřeuz	fřeuz	'fřeuz	fřeuz	demolition	
743	friántiz	friántiz	'fri'ántiz	friantiz	heat, libido	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	frigassenn	frigassenn	fri'gasenn:	frigasenn	the frying	Favereau: 'sludge, the crushing', the meaning of 'frying' is indicated with P fritadenn.
744						
745	fraouñ	frāñ	frāw	fraoñv	noise	Favereau: 'hum, drone, buzz'
746	fraouñal	frāñal	frāwal	fraoñval	to buzz, hum	
747	frān	frān	frān	fro(e)n	nostril	
	froud	frūd	frod	froud	stream, current	Malgorn: Not used anymore, but still found in the names of currents around the island, e.g. <i>Toull-froud</i> and <i>Mean-ar-Froud</i> .
748						
749	c'huñbu	chuñbu	'xqiby	c'hwibu, fubu	midge	
	furluc'ha	furluc'ha	fy'r'lyxa	furluc'hañ	to raise dust	Favereau: only found in the Ushant dialect.
750						
	dádouj	dadouj	'dadouλ	gagouilh	stutterer	Favereau: the form with <i>d</i> 's instead of <i>g</i> 's is only found on Ushant. The change to <i>d</i> 's may have happened due to this noun being based on an onomatopoeia simulating the stuttering. The sound which is stuttered was replaced by a variant.
751						
752	gaif	gaif	'gaif	gaif	independent pasture	Favereau: only found in the Ushant dialect.
	rougn	rouñ	'rouñ	rogn	scabies	Favereau: 'balanus (a kind of Sessilia)'
753						
754	galátez	galátez	ga'latez	galataz, galatrez	attic	
	galéou	galiu	ga'liu	galeoù	galley, slave labour	Malgorn: The singular is not used in the Ushant dialect.
755						
756	galienn	galienn	ga'lienn:	aguilhenn	lace, aiguillette	
	gálo	galo	'galo	galv	call	
757						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	Amblið (Iaou)	amblið	'amblið	(Yaou) Kamblið	Maundy Thursday	Favereau: OB <i>caplit</i> , cep-. Often mutated to <i>Gamblið</i> ( <i>C'hamblið</i> in Vannes, and apparently on Ushant).
758	gat	gat	'gat	gant	with	Malgorn actually wrote <i>gant</i> , but crossed out <i>-n-</i> to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
759						
760	gaóunac'h	gawnac'h	'gawnax	gaonac'h	barren, sterile	
761	gaou	gaw	'gaw	gaou	false	
762	gáor	gaor	'gaor	gavr	goat	I am not sure whether this word is supposed to be disyllabic or not.
763	geóren	šorenn	'foren:	chevrenn	shrimp	
764	gaouzan	gawzān	'gawzān	gaouzan	moth, mite	
	garlot	garlot	'garlot	garlot	stray sheep	Favereau has this as a word that is apparently typical of the Ushant dialect. Malgorn: singulative <i>garloden</i> .
765						
	garnaounet	gamawnet	gar'nawnet	garnaonet	rather famished	Favereau has this as a word that is apparently typical of the Ushant dialect.
766						
767	garan	garān	'garan	garan	bent hook	
	garrándé	garrānde	'ga rānde	garrande	coarse fabric	Favereau has this as a word that is apparently typical of the Ushant dialect.
768						
	gároun	garrūn	'garun	garro(u)n	ragwort	Favereau has this as a word that is apparently typical of the Ushant dialect.
769						
	garéden	garēdenn	'ga rēden:	garvedenn	hediste deversicolor	Malgorn actually wrote <i>garvéden</i> , but crossed out <i>-v-</i> , probably to indicate its loss in the dialect of Ushant.
770						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
771	gársiou	garšʷ	garfu	girsi	trash	P 'trivialities'.
772	gástlé	gastlɛ	'gastlɛ	gastle	coalfish	Favereau has this as a word that is apparently typical of the Ushant dialect.
773	gastroúnen	gastroʷnenn	gas'tru:nɛn:	?	small conger	I cannot find the Peurunvan counterpart.
774	ged	gɛd	'gɛd	ged	guard	
775	gédéur	gɛdɛʷ	'gɛdɛʷ	geder/-ur	guard (person)	
776	gíláouen	gilawɛnn	gi'lawɛn:	gelaouenn	leech	
777	genn	gɛnn	'gɛn:	genn	fixes	Favereau: 'comer'
778	génna	gɛnna	'gɛnna	gennañ/-iñ	to fix	
779	gínou	ginuʷ	'ginu	genoù	mouth	
780	geóliek	geojek	'gewɔk	geol(i)ek	dazed (person)	Favereau: 'having a broken edge'
781	guelt	guɛlt	'guɛlt	gwelt	herb	Favereau: Old Breton: <i>guelt</i> -. I have chosen to transcribe this word monosyllabic, as this is the Ushant pronunciation also found in the Favereau.
782	gélver	gelver	'gelver	galven/-iñ/-o, gelvel/-er, gervel	to call	
783	kéfel	kefɛl	'kefɛl	gevel	smith's pincers, tongs	
784	gwibèr	gwiber	'gwiber	gwiber	pin of an axle	Favereau: 's-shaped hook'
785	glao	glao	'glaw	glaw	rain	
786	téuler	toɛlɛʷ	'toɛlɛʷ	taoler, teuler, teurel	to rain	Favereau: 'to throw'.
787	glouad	gluad	'gluad	glaoued	cow dung	
788	glaourennek	glawrɛnnɛk	glaw'rɛnɛk	glaou(enn)eg	driveller	I have supplied the stress on the penultimate syllable, as seems the norm in the Ushant dialect.
789	glaourenna	glawrɛnna	glaw'rɛnna	glaou(enn)añ/-iñ	to drivel	I have supplied the stress on the penultimate syllable, as seems the norm in the Ushant dialect.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	gleboruz	glēboruz	glɛ'boryz	g(w)leborus	rainy	I have supplied the stress on the penultimate syllable, as seems the norm in the Ushant dialect.
790						
791	gliz	gliz	'gliz	g(w)lizh	drizzle	Favereau: 'dew'
792	glia	glia	'glia	g(w)lec'hiañ/-iñ	to soften, thin	Favereau: 'to infuse, soak'
793	gliza	gliza	'gliza	g(w)lizhenniñ	to drizzle	
794	gleur	glœr	'glœr	gleur	gleam	
795	glin	glin	'glin	glin	knee	
796	glan	glān	'glān	g(w)lan, glaon	wool	
797	gouell	gwēll	'gwēll	goell	leaven	
798	gógez	gogez	'gogez	kog(ez)	old flirt	
799	gólo	golo	'golo	goleiñ, golo(iñ)	to cover	
800	golic'hédén	golc'hedenn	gol'xedén:	golc'hedenn	cushion	
801	golóet	goloet	'goloet	goloet	covered	
802	kólfen	kolfenn	'kolfen:	golvan	sparrow	
	gólaz	golaz	'golaz	golvazh	beater	Malgom actually wrote <i>gólvez</i> with <i>v-</i> crossed out, probably to indicate its loss in the dialect of Ushant.
803						
	góren	gorenn	'goren:	gorenn	string of rope yarn / soft nougat	Malgom translates <i>gorem</i> as Fr. <i>touron</i> 'soft nougat', whereas Favereau translates it as Fr. <i>toron</i> 'string of rope yarn'.
804						
805	tórrad	torrad	'torrad	torrad	sitting, brood	Favereau: 'hatching'
806	góurlan	gurlān	'gurlān	gourlanv	high tide	
	gódro	godro	'godro	goro	to milk	Malgom: This is one of the words that has retained <i>-d-</i> .
807						
	godróad	godroad	'godroad	goroad	quantity of milk provided in one milking	Malgom: This is one of the words that has retained <i>-d-</i> .
808						
809	górrén	gorrēn	'gorrēn	gorren	to contain	
810	góúrek	gurek	'gurek	gorreg	good-for-nothing	



	A	B	C	D	E	F
811	górtoz	gortoz	'gortoz	gortoz	to wait	
812	gortózen	gortozenn	gor'tozen:	gortozenn	(afternoon) tea	
813	goufer	gʷfer	'gʷfer	go(u)ver	brook	
814	gouére	gwērē	'gwērē	gou(h)ere(ñv)	July	
815	góhin	goc'hin	'goc'hin	gouin	sheath	
816	goular	gular	'gular	goular	insipid	
817	gouic'har	gylc'har	'gylc'har	gouic'her	lid	
818	goufam	guliam	'guliam	gouliamm	string, cord	
819	goullou	gully	'gully	go(u)llo	emptiness	
820	goullaoui	gullawi	'gullawi	go(u)lloñ	to empty	
821	goufou	gully	'gully	go(u)loù	light	
822	goumid	gunid	'gunid	go(u)nit	to win	Middle Breton form found in the Favereau.
823	gour	gur	'gur	gour	none	Favereau: 'no one'.
824	tud-kóz	tud-köz	tyd'koz	tud-kozh	ancestors	Favereau: 'grandparents'
	gouír-dreust	gur-drœst	'gurdrœst	?	?	I am not able to find the Peurunvan counterpart, and Malgorn does not provide us with a translation.
825						
826	gour-zigor	gur-zigor	'gur-zigor	gour-zigor	half-open	Malgorn translates <i>gouídran</i> as Fr. <i>piqueron</i> , a word whose meaning remains obscure to me. In the Favereau I found <i>godron</i> , which looks quite similar and is according to the Favereau pronounced as though it were <i>gouídran</i> in Léon. The similarity between <i>piq-</i> of <i>piqueron</i> and Dutch <i>pek</i> and English <i>pitch</i> might not be a coincidence.
	gouídran	gudrān	'gudrān	godron	tar, pitch	
827						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
828	góred	gorəð	gored	gourhed	fathom	
829	gorédad	gorədad	go'ředad	gourhedad	armful	
830	gouřiz	guriž	guriz	gouriz	belt	
831	gouřez	gurež	gurež	go(u)rvez/-añ/-iñ	to stretch	
832	gouřez	gorzež	gorzež	go(u)rsez	slowness	Favereau: related to W. <i>gorsedd</i> .
833	goužera	guzera	gu'zera	gouzelañ, gouzeriañ	to bear something in mind	
834	gouziza	guziza	gu'ziza	gousizañ/-iñ	to subside	Malgorn: <i>gouzida</i> is also said. It is only used to refer to the wind.
835	goužout	guzut	guzut	gouzout	to know	
	gra	grā	gra:	gra	make	Malgorn notes that the Ushant dialect has the VN <i>gober</i> instead of <i>ober</i> . The lenited inflected forms of this verb have <i>g-</i> not leniting to zero, but rather to <i>c'h-</i> , so: <i>e c'hrañ</i> 'I do, make', <i>e c'hrean</i> 'I did, made', <i>e c'hris</i> 'I did, made', <i>e c'hriñ</i> 'I will do, make', <i>e c'hrañem</i> 'I would do, make', etc.
836						
837	gragállat	gragałat	gragałat	gragailhat	screech, crow	
	grafougnat	grafuņ	grauņ	kravignat, krañgnat	to scratch	Favereau: <i>grafougnat</i> is the Ushant variant of the verb <i>kravignat/krañgnat</i>
838						
839	grac'h	grac'h	grax	gwrac'h	wrasse, seawife	Peurunvan 'hag, old woman', but also 'wrasse, seawife'
840	grachéta	grac'heta	graxeta	gwracheta	to catch wrasses, seawives	
841	gras	gras	gras	gras	grace	
842	gres	grès	grès		grease	Peurunvan has lard for 'grease'.
843	greun	groen	grøen	greun	grain	
844	griat	griat	griat	gwriat/-iñ/-o	to sew	
845	grill	grijl	gría	grilh	sea lobster	Peurunvan 'cricket, lobster'
846	grígnol	grínol	grijnol	grignol	attic	Malgorn: <i>ar c'hriñgol</i> 'the attic'.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
847	grignólád	gripolad	grɪˈjɔlad	grignoliad	content of an attic	
848	grisiénna	grışenna	grɪˈʃɛna	grwiziennañ/-iñ	to take root	
849	gróa	groa	ˈgroa	gro(a)	shore	
850	gronch	grōš	ˈgrɔʃ	gronch	chin	
851	grouñs	grūs	ˈgrūs	grōns	absolute, urgently	
852	gros	gros	ˈgros	gros	coarse	
	gróunna	grūsna	ˈgrusna	gronnañ/-iñ	to pile up	It is peculiar that Malgorns first transcription has -nn- where the second one has -sn-. He does not mention the peculiarity of this -sn-, and Favereau does not show any variant that has this -sn- as well. So might it be a mistake? Peurunvan: 'to envelop, assemble'
853						
854	bouk	būk	ˈbuk	bouk	soft(ness)	
855	Gualarn-Stiern	Gualarn-Stiern	ˈɣʷalarnˈstern	Gwalarn-Sterenn	north-northwest	
856	gwálen	gualenn	ˈɣʷalɛnː	gwalenn	rod, stick	
857	gwelc'h	gwelc'h	ˈɣʷɛlc'h	gwalc'h	satisfaction	
858	poull	pūll	ˈpuːl	poull	washhouse	
859	gwall	guall	ˈɣʷalː	gwall	bad, evil	
860	gwall-amzer	guall-amzer	ˈɣʷalːamzɛr	gwall amzer	bad weather	
861	gwáll-bez	guall-bez	ˈɣʷalːbɛz	gwall bezh	bad person	
862	máleur	malœr	ˈmalœr	maleur	trouble	
863	gwan	guan	ˈɣʷan	gwan	weak, feeble	
864	gwána	guana	ˈɣʷana	gwanañ/-iñ	to weaken	
865	rouden-gí	rudenn-gi	ˈruːdɛnːgi	rouden-gi	rainbow	Peurunvan gwareg-ar-glav
866	gwasáat	gwasaat	ˈɣʷasaat	gwashaat	to corrupt	Peurunvan 'to worsen'
867	gwarníssa	gwarnissa	ˈɣʷarˈnɪsa	gwarnissañ/-iñ	to provide, furnish	
868	gwaskáden	guaskadenn	ˈɣʷaskadɛnː	gwaskadenn	crisis	Peurunvan 'pressing, grip'
869	gwásked	guasked	ˈɣʷaskɛd	gwasked	shelter	
870	gwaskéden	guaskedenn	ˈɣʷasˈkɛdɛnː	gwaskedenn	shelter (for a fire)	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
871	gwázi	guazi	'gʷazi	gwaz(i)	goose	Malgorn: pl. gwizi
	gwéach	gʷeaʃ	'gʷeaʃ	gwezh, gwech	time	Malgorn: one often hears: <i>gwech, eur vech, diou vech; and sometimes a vechou.</i>
872						
873	guich-ál	guışall	gʷi'ʃal:	gwezhall, gwechall	formerly	
874	boudal	bʷdal	'bʷdal	boudal	to moo, bleat	Peurunvan 'to hum'
875	gouél	gʷel	'gʷel	gouel	veil	
876	gouélen	gʷelɛn	'gʷelɛn	gouelan	seagull	
877	gwéle	gʷelɛ	'gʷelɛ	gwelɛ	bed	
878	gwelédén	gʷelɛdɛn	'gʷelɛdɛn:	gouledenn	petticoat	
879	gwellaén	gʷellaɛn	'gʷelɛ:n:	gwella(d)enn	improvement	
880	guélla	gʷella	'gʷella	gwellañ	best	
881	gwengólo	gʷengolo	'gʷɛngolo	gwengolo	September	
882	gouenn	gʷɛnn	'gʷɛn:	gouenn	race, germ, bud	
	gwennólik	gʷɛnnolik	'gʷɛn:ɔlik	gwennel, gwennidell, gwennol	swallow (bird)	In the Ushant dialect we see that the diminutive suffix has been added.
883						
	gwenójen	gʷɛnoʝɛn	'gʷɛnoʝɛn:	gwenodenn	path	Favereau: the <i>-jenn</i> variant is found in Haute-Cornouaille, which is quite far from Ushant.
884						
	gwédren	gʷɛdrɛn	'gʷɛdrɛn:	gwerenn	a glass	Malgorn: This is one of the words that has retained <i>-d-</i> .
885						
	gwérzid	gʷɛrzid	'gʷɛrzid	gwerzhid	spindle	
	gwerzidigez	gʷɛrzidigez	'gʷɛrzi'digez	gwerzhidigezh		Malgorn does not indicate stress, so I have used the Favereau for reference. The latter has it on the penultimate syllable, as it is normal in the KLT dialects.
887						
888	gwéskle	gʷɛsklɛ	'gʷɛsklɛ	gwlesker, gweskleñv	frog	
889	gwéspez	gʷɛspez	'gʷɛspez	gwispid	biscuit, cookie	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	gwestlámant	gwestlamānt	gwest'lamānt	gouestl	vow, wish	Favereau: OB <i>gouistl</i> . It seems that the French <i>-(e)ment</i> suffix was borrowed in order to make a noun out of a verb. The verb being <i>gouestlari</i> 'to vow'. Cf. <i>gwiskámant</i>
890	gwiadérez	gwiadœrœz	gwiadœrœz	gwiaderezh	woman	Malgorn has written the meaning 'woman, etc.'. In the Favereau we find the meaning 'weaving'. It seems that women on Ushant were always identified with weaving, and therefore weaving could be used to refer to a woman.
891	gwiad-kinid	gwiad-kinid	gwiadkinid	gwiad-kevid	cobweb	Malgorn actually wrote <i>gwiad-kinid</i> , but crossed out <i>-v-</i> to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
892	gwiblen	gwiblenn	gwi'blen:	gwiblenn	wind vane	
893	gwídorç'h	gwídorç'h	gwidorç	gwidor(oc'h)	last born, youngest	
	bigour	bigur	'bigur	gwigour	squeaking	Malgorn does not indicate the stress, but as the Peurunvan gwigour always has stress on the first syllable, I have indicated it thus as well.
895	bic'h	bic'h	'bix	gwiç'h	cry, wail	
896	skei	skei	'skei	skoñ, skeñ	kick out, lash out	Peurunvan 'to strike'
	gwinta	gwinta	guinta	gwintañ/-iñ/-o	to raise, hoist	Malgorn does not indicate stress, so I have used the Favereau for reference. The latter has it on the penultimate syllable, as it is normal in the KLT dialects.
898						
899	gwir	gwir	gwi:r	gwi:r	true	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
900	góri	gori	'gori	goriñ, gwiriñ	to heat	
901	gwiridik	gwiridik	gqi'ridik	gwiridik	sensitive	
902	gwiskamant	gwiskamant	gwis'kamant	gwiskamant	clothing	
903	gwiskad	gwiskad	'gwiskad	gwiskad	coating, layer	
904	báno	báno	'bano	banv	sow	
905	ha, hag	a, ag	a(g)	ha(g)	and	
906	had	ad	'ad	had	seed, grain	
907	krañch	kräis	'krañj	krañch	saliva	Even though Malgorn's transcription shows final -s, I have chosen to transcribe -j myself, as final -s is not found in any of the transcriptions supplied by Favereau.
908	c'hoalen	c'hoalen	'xwalen	holen	salt	
909	hañ-gouañ	ã-gwã	ãgwã	hañv-go(u)añv	each season	Malgorn has not indicated the loss of -v- in either hañv 'summer' or goañv 'winter'.
910	hano	áno	'áno	anv	name	
911	áno badisiant	áno-badišiant	'anoba dijãnt	anv-badeziant	baptismal name	Peurunvan for 'baptismal name' is actually anv-badez.
912	brud-vád	brud-vád	bryd'vad	brud-vad	good reputation, name	
913	hantér-zro	ãnté-zro	ãn'tézro	hanter-dro	half-furrow	
914	hantérek	ãntérek	ãn'terek	hanterek	half-furrow	Peurunvan: 'intermediary (adj.)'
915	háñquez	ãwéz	'ãwéz	hañvouez	liquid manure	
916	hárdiz	ardiz	'ardiz	hardi(zh)	bold, daring	
917	hépa	erpa	'erpa	harpañ/-iñ	to support	
918	harz	arz	'arz	harz	limit	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	hébesk	əbək	‘əbək	hebesk	full of fish	Favereau has hebesk as a typical Ushant form, in Peurunvan it would rather be peskedus or pesketabli. The Ushant form is a compound of the prefix he- ‘easy to, good to’ (Fr. -able, -ible), and pesk ‘fish’.
919						
920	hed	əd	‘əd	hed	length	
921	hegázi	egazi	‘egazi	hegasĩn	to tease	Peurunvan ‘to aggravate, contract’.
922	hegázuz	egazuz	‘egazyz	hegasus	aggravating, contracting	Peurunvan ‘aggravating, contracting’.
923	hígin	igin	‘igin	egin	seed, bud	
924	an hén ma anh	an nə ma nenn	a‘n:əmanən:	hen-ha-hen, hen-mañ-hen	that or that	Favereau has standardised the Ushant variant as <i>an hen maĩn hen</i>
925	hén-hont	ənnont	‘ənnont	henhont	him/that (yonder)	
926	hén-nez	ənnəz	‘ənnəz	hennəzh	him/that (near you)	
927	hénnañ	ənā	‘ənā	henañ	the eldest	
928	hénnoz	ənoz	‘ənoz	henoz	tonight	
	sóra	sora	‘sora	sorañ	to warm oneself in the sun	Peurunvan ‘to numb oneself, drowse’.
929	héeur	əœr	‘œr	eor	anchor	
930	hep	əb, ep	‘əb	hep	without	I have transcribed the final bilabial plosive as voiced, as Malgorn himself does so for every other word. Whether the final consonant is voiced or devoiced depends on the position of the word, i.e. whether it is in liaison or not.
931						
932	hédre	ədre	‘ədre	here(ñv)	October	
933	héuskeud	œskoed	‘œskoed	hesked	abscess	Peurunvan ‘boil’
934	hiskina	iskina	‘iskina	heskinat/-añ	to tease	Peurunvan ‘to persecute’.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
935	hégen	ɛgɛnn	ˈɛgɛn:	heugenn	loathing	It might also be related to P hek 'hateful'.
936	heul	œl	ø	heul(i)/-iañ	to follow	
937	huz	uz	ʒz	heuz	bundle, boot	P 'leather gaiter'.
938	hi	i	i	hi	she	
	mik	mik	mik	(h)jik	hiccup	The initial <i>n-</i> has probably developed under influence of the definite article before a vowel <i>an</i> (as <i>h-</i> is not pronounced in the Ushant dialect).
939						
940	mik	mik	mik	hillik	tickling	
941	hfnkin	fnkin	fnkin	(h)jnkln	spindle	P 'point of the spindle'
942	hfnl	fnl	fnl	hnl, hnl, hnl	the one (who)	
943	hir	ir	ir	hir	long	
944	hfsio	fsio	fsio	hiziv	today	
945	heu	œ	ø	o	their	
	oajet	oajet	o'ajɛt	oadet, oajet	old, aged	The <i>-j-</i> instead of <i>-d-</i> might be due to influence of Fr. <i>âgé</i> 'old, aged'.
946						
	kouskoude	kuskudɛ	kus'kudɛ	koulskoude	but	Malgorn: for 'but' they use <i>més, avad, kouskoude</i> , etc. P <i>koulskoude</i> 'though, however'.
947						
948	holl	oll	'ol:	holl	all, everyone	
949	hont	ont	ont	-hont	that (yonder)	
950	horloch	orloš	'orloʃ	horolaj/-oj	clock	
951	hostaluri	ostaluri	osta lyri	ostaleri	inn, café	
952	hostiza	ostiza	os'tiza	ostizañ/-iñ	to be lodged	
953	houmañ	umã	'umã	houmañ	this (f.)	



	A	B	C	D	E	F
	sía	sia	'sia	siañ/-iñ	to go back, reverse	Favereau shows that this is a borrowing from Fr. si 'if, yes it is' (although I cannot see how it is semantically connected). The P meaning is 'to invalidate'.
954						
955	c'hwi	c'hwi	xwi	c'hwi	you (pl.)	
956	uc'hal	uc'hal	'yxal	uhel	high	
957	lennatur	lennatur	lɛ'natur	?	absinthe	I cannot find the P counterpart, only lennadur 'reading (matter)'
	tamm	tamm	'tam:	tamm	uvula	P hogodenn. I am not sure whether this is really the word for the uvula. Malgorn gives the following example of its use: 'Of an arrogant and pretentious man one says: "Hennezh a zo uc'hal an tamm anezha." ("That one is high of the piece/uvula of him?").
958						
959	Húrcher	urœer	'yrjœr	hucher	usher	
960	húlien	uʎen	'yʎen	ulwenn, uilhenn	spark	
961	húré	urɛ	'yrɛ	hunvre, huñvre	dream	
962	húzuill	uzuʎ	'zyʎ	huzel, huzil	soot	
963	chécha	šɛša	'ʃɛʃa	sachañ/-iñ/-o	to pull	
964	cháfod	šafod	'ʃafod	chafot	scaffold	
965	chantèle	šantɛʎ	'ʃan'tɛʎ	chantele(w)	choir screen	P 'church choir'
966	chaok	šaok	'ʃaok	chaok	chewing	
967	cháok	šaok	'ʃaok	chaok	to chew	
968	chapelad	šapɛlad	'ʃap'ɛlad	chapeled	rosary	
969	chár'louñs	šarlüs	'ʃarlüs	char(r)ouñs	vetch	
970	karriat	karriat	'ka'riat	karreat	to cart	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	chéina	šeina	ʃeina	jenañ/-iñ	to languish	P 'to hinder, embarrass'. I cannot see the semantic connection between P and the Ushant dialect, but Favereau states that the two are connected.
971						
972	chibou̇dik	šibou̇dik	ʃi'bou̇dik	chiboudik	upright!	
973	chik	šik	ʃik	chink	chin	Malgom: cf. E <i>cheek</i> .
974	chik-ruz	šigruz	ʃigrыз	chink-ruz	robin	P boc'hruz, and many other local variants.
	chikad	sikad	ʃikad	chikad	chew of tobacco	Malgom appears to have forgotten to put a haček on the s here. Cf. <i>chilgam</i> and <i>chilgámma</i> .
975						
976	chikad	sikad	ʃikad	chikañ/-iñ	to chew tobacco	Malgom appears to have forgotten to put a haček on the s here. Cf. <i>chilgam</i> and <i>chilgámma</i> .
977	chilgam	silgam	ʃilgam	jilgamm, ch-, sk-	cripple (person)	P 'crooked-legged, swaying'. chil-, jil- and skil- are variants of the same diminutive prefix. Malgom appears to have forgotten to put a haček on the s here. Cf. <i>chilgam</i> and <i>chilgámma</i> .
978	chilgámma	šilgamma	ʃilgama	jilgamañ, ch-, sk-	to limp	P 'to stagger, sway'. chil-, jil- and skil- are variants of the same diminutive prefix.
979	ch'alpat	c'halpat	'xalpat	chilpat	to bark	
980	pístroll	pístroll	'pístroll:	pístroll	knight	
981	chouk	šuk	ʃuk	choug	nape of the neck	
982	choukad	šukad	ʃukad	choukad	burdens on the nape of the neck	
983	forc'h-prénn	forc'hpreñn	forx'preñ:	forc'h-preñn	standing on ones head	
984	chom	šom	ʃom	chom/-er/-el	to stay, live	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
985	c'hoar	c'hoar	'xoar	c'hoar	sister	
986	c'hoarz	c'hoarz	'xwarz	c'hoarzh	laughing	
987	chwéac'h	c'hwéac'h	'xq̄eac	c'hwec'h	six	
988	c'hwénnat	c'hwénnat	'xq̄enat	c'hwennat	to weed	
989	c'hero	c'héro	'xero	c'h(w)erv	bitter	
990	c'hwéz	c'hwéz	'xwéz	c'hwéz	odour	P 'sweat'
991	c'hwévrer	c'hwévrer	'xq̄evrer	c'hwevrer	February	Malgorn: normally one says <i>miz bihan</i> . Why has -v- been retained?
992	c'huizigel	c'hwizigell	'xwi'zigel:	c'hwizigell	bladder	
993	c'húizi	c'húizi	'xq̄izi	c'hweziñ, -o	to sweat	
994	c'hwizigen	c'hwizigenn	'xq̄i'zigen:	c'hwizigenn	blister	
995	c'húiban	c'húiban	'xq̄iban	c'hwiban	whistling	
996	c'huibánel	c'hwibanell	'xq̄i'banel:	c'hwibanell	whistle	
997	c'húibu	c'húibu	'xq̄iby	c'hwibu	midge	
998	c'huil	c'húil	'xq̄il	c'hwil	sheath-wing	
999	c'húitel	c'hwitell	'xq̄itel:	c'hwitell	whistle, penis	
1000	ia	ya	'ja	ya	yes	
1001	iffáma	iffama	'i'fama	ifamañ/-iñ	to dirty	P 'to disfigure, harm'
	uliénen	u'lenen	u'lenen	ulwenn-, uilhenn-	spark?	Malgorn does not give a meaning. Also, I can only find the word that it is derived from.
1002						
1003	implija	ĩmplija	ĩm'plija	impli(j)/-añ/-iñ/-o/-out	to use	
1004	ĩngal	ĩgal	'ĩgal	ĩngal	equal, plain	
1005	ingála	ĩgala	'ĩgala	ingalañ/-iñ	to equalise	
1006	ioc'h	yo'ch	'jox	yoc'h	heap	
1007	iud	yud	'jud	yud	howl(ing)	
1008	ez	ez	'ez	ivez	too, also	
1009	jakéden	jakédenn	'ja'keden:	jakedenn	jerkin	Modern P 'jacket'
1010	jao	jao, sao	'jao, 'jao	chao	frame	
	jaódel	jaodet	'jao'del	chaodell	bread soup	P 'vegetable soup'. Malgorn: OFr. <i>chaudeau</i> .
1011						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1012	chubílfínen	šubílinenn	ʃybi'linen:	jobelinenn	cap	
1013	chotórel	šotorell	ʃo'torel:	chotorell	ear-piece	
1014	justínen	justinenn	ʒys'tinen:	justenn, justinenn	blouse	
1015	lábous	labús	'labus	labous	bird	
1016	lakáat	lakát	la'ka:t	lakaat	to put, place	
	laer	laer	'laer	laer	thief	Malgorn: This word has lost -d-, but it is retained in derivations: <i>laedrat</i> 'to steal', <i>laedrez</i> 'thief (f.)', <i>laedroun</i> 'thieves', <i>laedrouñsi</i> 'robbery'.
1017						
1018	lágad	lagad	'lagad	lagad	eye	
1019	luch	luš	'lyʃ	luch	shady (person)	
	laóugen	lawgenn	'lawgen:	laogenn	gilthead	Favereau has this as a word that is apparently typical of the Ushant dialect.
1020						
1021	lagáden	lagadenn	la'gaden:	lagadenn	ring, eyepiece	
1022	lamm	lamm	'lam:	lamm	jump	
1023	linkr	líkr	'líkr	lenkr	slippery	
	landrúnsen	lāndrúsen	lān'drýsen:	landruseenn, landruilhenn	beggar	
1024						
	lángis	lāgis	'lāgis	langis	langor, lethargy	It is not clear whether there is a tilde or a macron on the <i>a</i> . I have chosen to transcribe a tilde, as the <i>n</i> would otherwise have disappeared completely.
1025						
	lans	lās	'lās	lans	balanced	In P there are also the meanings 'dash, lead, (head) start'.
1026						
1027	laoskáat	laoskāt	law'ska:t	laoskaat	to loosen	
1028	troc'hánik	troc'hanik	tro'xanik	troc'hanik	goldcrest	P 'wren'

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	lap	lap	'lap	?	handing-over	I do not know whether this Ushant word is connected to <i>lab</i> 'hovel', or <i>lap</i> 'licking up, lapping up'.
1029						
1030	brókuz	brokuz	'brokuz	brokuz	generous	
1031	lard	lard	'lard	lard	lard	
	soubl	subl	'subl	soupl	damp, moist	Favereau: The meaning 'damp, moist' is limited to Léon; in the rest of Brittany it means 'inclined, flexible'.
1032						Malgom writes <i>η</i> instead of <i>η</i> for /p/. I believe this to be a mistake.
	lavágnoun	laovagnun	'la vagnun	lavagnon	sloshing	
1033						
1034	laváret	loaret	'loaret	lavaret/-out	to say	
1035	laórek	laorek	'laorek	lavreg	shorts	
1036	laorégad	laoregad	'laoregad	lavregad	cheeky, baking (clay)	
1037	lazérez	lazerez	'lazerez	lazherezh	slaughter, bloodbath	
1038	lazéta	lazeta	'lazeta	lazheta	to fish with hook and line	
1039	léac'h	leach	'leach	lech	place	
1040	léal	leal	'leal	leal	loyal	
	koúent	kuent	'kuent	kou(v)ent	monastery	Malgom actually wrote <i>koúvent</i> , but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1041						
1042	léda	leda	'leda	ledañ/-iñ	to spread (out)	
1043	légestr	legestr	'legestr	legestr	lobster	Malgom: pl. <i>legistri</i> .
1044	spóuen	spue	'spue	spoue	cork	P 'sponge'.
1045	léien	leyen	'leyen	lien, leien	course linnen	
1046	nein	nein	'nein	ne(i)n	top, ridge	
1047	lein	lein	'lein	lein	diner	
1048	leinia	leina	'leina	leinañ/-iñ	to dine	
1049	leilik	leilik	'leilik	leilik, lalilik	effeminate	
1050	lèo	leo	'leo	lev	mile	
1051	lèogenn	leogenn	'leogenn:	leogenn, laogenn	lug(worm)	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1052	c'húintik	c'hwintik	'xúintik	c'hwítig	pollack	P 'failure'
	lèren	lèrenn	'lèren:	lerenn	thong	Favereau: W <i>lledryn</i> , so here - <i>d</i> - has not been retained.
1053						
1054	lesháno	lēsáno	lēsáno	leshav	surname	
1055	lóska	loska	'loska	loskañ/-iñ, leskiñ	to burn	
1056	lestr	lest	'lest	lestr	vessel	
1057	leun	leun	'leun	leun	full	
1058	leúsked	leúsked	'leúsked	laosket	let go, released	
1059	leúsker	leúsker	'leúsker	laoskel/-er/-en	to let go, to release	
	léiat	léyat	'léyat	leviat/-iñ	to control, govern	Malgorn actually wrote <i>léviat</i> , but crossed out - <i>v</i> - to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1060						
1061	lézer	leúzer	'leúzer	lezel/-er/-iñ	to let	
	liác'hlan	liac'hlan	'li'axlân	liac'hlan	coarse fabric	According to the Favereau this word is exclusively found in the Ushant dialect.
1062						
1063	liamm	liamm	'liam:	liamm	link, connection	
1064	strob-lóar	strobloar	'strob'loar	strob'loer	garter	P ere-loer.
1065	libistr	libist	'libist	libistr	thin mist, mud	
1066	libouñtr	libüñt	'libüñt	libontr	bib	P 'haddock'
	mouchóuer-fri	müš'uer-fri	mu'fuerfri	mouchouer	handkerchief	The Ushant dialect has <i>fri</i> 'nose' added.
1067						
1068	liouñ	liü	'liü	livn	file	
1069	liouña	liüa	'li'üa	livnañ/-iñ	to file, rasp	
1070	limoun	limün	'limün	limon	shafts	
1071	lin-brein	linbréin	'lin'brein	lin (brein)	pus	
1072	lénard	lenard	'lenard	lin(h)ad	(stinging-)nettle	
1073	liorz	liorz	'liorz	liorz	enclosure	P 'garden'.
	lipouzez	lipúzez	'li'puzez	lipouz	delicacy, someone fond of	
1074					delicacies	
1075	liou	liü	'liu	liv	colour	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1076	líjou	lijú	'liʒu	liziv, lichou, lijò	detergent	
1077	lijáúi	lijawí	'li'ʒawí	lizivañ/-iñ, lijauñ	to wash	
1078	lur	lur	'lyr	livr	pound (weight)	
1079	lúria	lurya	'lyrja	livrañ/-iñ	to deliver	
1080	lízer	lízer	'lizer	lizher	letter	
1081	loa-grénn	loagrènn	'lwa grèn:	loa-grenn	servicing spoon	
1082	nok	nok	'nok	lok	lodge, barn	According to Malgorn the initial <i>n-</i> replaced <i>l-</i> under influence of the definite article. I doubt this, however, as the article would have final <i>-l</i> before <i>l-</i> .
1083	lod	lod	'lod	lod	some	P 'share, lot, portion; some'.
1084	lódenn	lodènn	'lodèn:	lodenn	part, fragment	
1085	lóan	loan	'loan	loen	beast, animal	
1086	lóar	loar	'loar	loer	stocking	Malgorn transcribes te plural as <i>lery</i> .
1087	loc'ha	loc'ha	'loxa	loc'h/-añ/-iñ	to raise, start	
1088	trugácha	trugaša	try'gaša	treugacha	to catch fish by moving stones	
1089	lojádén	lojadènn	'lo'ʒadèn:	lojadenn	stay	
1090	loumm	lum	'lum	lomm	drop	
1091	loúnka	lūka	'lūka	lonkañ/-iñ/-o	to swallow, gulp	
1092	lounkáden	lūkadènn	'li'kadèn:	lonkadenn	bite, mouthful	P 'swallow, gulp'
1093	lounker	lūkoer	'lūkør	lonker, -our	glutton	P 'drinker'. Malgorn transcribes -er as -oer. Normally, he transcribes it as -øer [øer], so I have taken his divergence as an error.
1094	loanéž	loanéž	'lo anéž	lo(t)nezh, loenezh	kidney	The <i>loenezh</i> variant is found in Trégor, and on Ushant.
1095	lópa	lopa	'lopa	lopat	to hit	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	lórfez	lorfɛz	'lorvez	lore-çhwez	bay-tree	P lore. The form in the Peurunvan column is the standardized Ushant form, which is a compound of lore 'bay-tree' and gwez 'tree', with c'hw- having become /v/.
1096						
1097	lósten	lostenn	'losten:	lostenn	stick	P 'queue, stick'.
1098	louarn	luarn	'luarn	louarn	fox	
1099	louzou	luzu	'luzu	louzou	medicine, plant	
1100	lovat	lofat	'lofat	love(ad)al	to tack, compromise	
1101	lourd	lurd	'lurd	lourt	coarse	P 'heavy, clumsy'.
1102	lor	lor	'lor	lo(v)r	moneygrubber, leper	
1103	lornez	lornez	'lornez	lorgnezh	dirtyness	P 'leprosy'.
	lozon	lozon	'lozon	lozon	regurgitation	The Favereau only notes the Ushant dialect as having this word.
1104						
1105	ligúder	ligudœr	li'gydœr	luguder/-our	slowpoke	
1106	lúc'hach	luc'haš	'lyxaš	luc'haj	indecent words	
	muskéllat	neškoëllat	neš'koëllat	luskellat	to rock, sway	Another case of U n- instead of P l-. Cf. nok.
1107						
1108	reustra	roestra	'rœstra	rouestlañ/-iñ, reustl-	to confuse	
	ma	ma	ma	ma	if, that	Malgom: A narrative particle, e.g. <i>ma z'is da Vrest</i> 'So I went to Brest', <i>ma liviris dezha</i> 'So I said to him'. But why is there still the z of the verbal particle e(z)?
1109						
1110	mañ	mã	mã	-mañ	this, these	
1111	mab	mab	'mab	mab	son	
1112	mad	mad	'mad	mat	good	
1113	maedroñez	maedruñez	mae'druñez	mæron(ez)	godmother	
1114	mága	maga	'maga	magañ/-iñ	to nourish	
1115	mağádur	magadur	ma'gadyr	magadur	nourishment	



	A	B	C	D	E	F
	máol	maol	'maol	maol	stitch	Favereau has this as a word typical of the Ushant dialect. Also, the transcription there reads ['maw]].
1116						
1117	maláña	malána	ma'lána	manalañ/-iñ	to pile up	
	maletúruz	maleturuz	malet'yryz	malheturuz	unhappy	Malgorn: Often it is <i>maltaeræz</i> , like in French.
1118						P 'to feed malice'.
1119	malíssa	malisa	ma'lisa	malisañ/-iñ	to fester	
1120	malízen	malizenn	ma'lizen:	malizenn	suitcase	
1121	mall	mall	'mal:	mall	haste, hurry	
	kaol-málo	kaol-malo	kaol'malo	kaol, malv	mauve, mallow	The Ushant dialect expresses this word with a compound of <i>kaol</i> 'foliage' and <i>malv</i> 'mallow'.
1122						
1123	málven	malvenn	'malven:	malvenn	eyelid, eyelash	
1124	pell	pell	'pel:	pell	flake	
1125	man	man	'man	man	appearance	
1126	mánac'h	manac'h	'manax	manac'h	monk	Malgorn: pl. <i>meñac'h</i> .
1127	magn	mañ	'mañ	magn	simpleton	
1128	máñkout	máñkut	'máñkut	mankañ/-iñ/-out	to miss, lack	
1129	manífik	manifik	ma'nibik	manifik	magnificent, great	
	mauez	mawez	'mawez	maouez	woman	Malgorn: pl. <i>merc'hed</i> . P pl. <i>maouezed</i> .
1130						
1131	maout	maut	'maut	maout	sheep	
1132	mórbleo	morbleo	'morbleo	marvlev	down (feathers)	
1133	maréach	mareaş	ma'reaş	mareaj	tide	
	marc'h-ántier	marc'h-antyer	marx'antjer	marc'h antier	stallion	P <i>marc'h</i> (kalloch). Both the P and the Ushant form seem to be exact counterparts of Fr. <i>cheval entier</i> 'complete horse (i.e. a stallion)'. P <i>marc'h</i> (kalloch). Both the P and the Ushant form seem to be exact counterparts of Fr. <i>cheval entier</i> 'complete horse (i.e. a stallion)'.
1134						
1135	márlounk	marlujk	'marlujk	marlonk	glutton	
1136	marc'háden	marc'hadenn	mar'xadén:	morc'hadenn	cuttlefish	
1137	máro	maro	'maro	marv	dead	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1138	málver	malœr	'malœr	marvel	mortal	Malgorn actually wrote <i>malvœr</i> for the phonetic transcription, but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1139	márvor	marvor	'marvor	marvor	neap tide	Malgorn actually wrote <i>marvor</i> for the phonetic transcription, but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1140	marvoret	maroret	ma'rorœt	marvoret	stuck during neap tide	Malgorn actually wrote <i>marvoret</i> for the phonetic transcription, but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1141	mánchoun	māšūn	'māšūn	mānchon	masonry	
1142	márzas	marzas	'marzas	mardoz	soot	P 'road network', but also 'rubbish, waste'.
1143	mástok	mastok	'mastok	mastok	coarse	
1144	méan-milin	mēan-milin	'mēan 'milin	maen-melin/milin	millstone	
1145	mézag	mēzag	'mēzag	mæzag	field	
1146	metálen	mētálenn	mē'talēn:	medalenn	medal	
1147	meiz	mēiz	'mēiz	meiz	feeling	P 'conscience, intellect, attention'.
1148	mēl-méan	mēl-mēan	mē'l'mēan	meilh-maen	grey mullet	
1149	melének	mēlēnek	mē'leñek	meleneg	greenfinch	
1150	mélkern	mēlkern	'mēlkern	melkern	brown algae/seaweeds	
1151	melfédén	mēlfédenn	mē'l'fēdēn:	mēl'houedenn	slug	
1152	mellezur	mēllezur	mē'l'ezyr	melezour	mirror	
1153	minic'hi	minic'hi	mi'nixi	minic'hi	exemption, freedom	P 'monastic asylum'.
1154	méngloz	mēgloz	'mēgloz	mengleuz	stone quarry	
1155	ménglōsia	mēgloša	mē'glofa	mengleuziañ/-iñ	to dig a quarry	
1156	ménna	mēnna	'mēna	menniñ/-out	to think	P 'to want'
1157	méno	mēno	'mēno	meno	opinion	
1158	múzur	muzur	'myzyr	muzul, -ur	measure	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1159	méza	méza	'méza	mizat/-iñ	to knead	
1160	merk	merk	'merk	merk	track, trace	P 'sign, print, trace'
1161	melgr	melgr	'melgr	merenn	rust	
1162	mern	mern	'mern	merenn	lunch	
	marc'hóden	marc'hodenn	mar'xodenn:	merc'hodenn	doll	Malgorn writes <i>-enn</i> instead of <i>-enn</i> . I think that this is simply a scribal error.
1163						
1164	mérlus	merlus	'merlus	merluz	hake	
1165	mélver	melver	'mélver	mervel	to die	
1166	meskl	meskl	'meskl	meskl	mould	
1167	mástaol	mastaol	'mastaol	mastaol	brutal blow	
1168	méstra	mestra	'méstra	mestrañ/-iñ/-o	to guide, govern	
1169	meúdad	mødad	'mødad	meudad	pinch	
1170	meúdad	mødad	'mødad	meudad	inch	
1171	meur	møer	'møer	meur	big, large	
	mezáoun	mezawn	me'zawn	a'm eus aon	I think	Malgorn: It does not mean that one fears something. It is truly 'I think'.
1172						
1173	medisín	medisín	me'disín	medisín	doctor	
	mezéis	mezéis	me'zéis	eme	one says	P preposition 'says'. The Ushant form seems to be inflected, but I do not understand how. Malgorn translates it as an impersonal, but conjugated prepositions do not have an impersonal form.
1174						
	bizodélla	bizodella	bizo'della	bizodellañ	to be afraid of heights	According to the Favereau this word is exclusively found in the Ushant dialect.
1175						
1176	miz éven	mizeven	miz'even	mezheven, mizheven	June	
1177	mézo	mèzo	'mèzo	mezv	drunk	
1178	mil	mil	'mil	mil	thousand	
1179	tíntin	tíntin	'tíntin	tintin	aunt	P 'auntie'. P for 'aunt' is moereb.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1180	mínor	minor	'mínor	minor	orphan	P 'minor, pupil'.
1181	mín̄tin	m̄in̄t̄in	'm̄in̄t̄in	mi(n)tin	morning	
1182	munútez	munutez	my'nytez	munut	minute	
	mún̄uik	munuik	'mun̄uik	minvig	breadcrumb	Malgorn actually wrote <i>m̄in̄uik</i> , but crossed out -v- in order to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1183						
1184	míret	miret	'miret	miret/-out	to keep, preserve	
1185	mouédreb	m̄wedreb	'm̄wedreb	moereb	aunt	
1186	houc'h	uc'h	'ux	hoc'h	pig	
1187	moléñez	molenez	mo'leñez	molenez	mullein	
1188	motúniz	muniz	'muniz	moneiz	money	
1189	mont	mōnt	'mōnt	monet, mont	to go	
	mōnt-dōnt	mōntfont	'mōnt'ōnt	monet-donet, mont-ha-dont	to go and return	
1190						
1191	mórbik	orbik	'orbik	orbik	oystercatcher	
1192	mórb̄leün	orb̄le	'orb̄le	orb̄leu(fv)	down (feathers)	
1193	morlárj̄ez	morlarj̄ez	'morlarj̄ez	meurlarj̄ez	carnival	
1194	mór-gaol	morgaol	'morgawl	morgaoul	jellyfish	
1195	mór-gaz	morgaz	'morgaz	morgazh	octopus	P 'squid, octopus'
	móraout	morawt	'morawt	morvaout	cormorant	Malgorn actually wrote <i>mórvaout</i> , but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1196						
1197	mor-izal	mor-izal	mo'rizal	izelvor, mor-izel	low tide	
1198	mous	m̄us	'm̄us	mous	cabin boy, foam	
	món̄iz	morniz	'morniz	mornizh	drizzle from the breaking waves	
1199						
1200	mort	mort	'mort	mort	stiff	
1201	mórzad	morzad	'morzad	morzhad, -ed	thigh	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	lórãns	lorãs	'lorãs	?	thrush	P drask. Malgorn and myself cannot find a P counterpart or any origin of this Ushant word.
1202						
1203	mail	maj	'maʎ	mailh	a kind of oyster	P morzhol.
1204	moudeʒ	mudɛʒ	'mudɛʒ	moudenn	sea rush, lump of grass	
1205	moueñ	mwɛ	'mwɛ	moue(ñ)	mane	
1206	móga	moga	'moga	mougañ/-iñ/-o	to extinguish	P 'to choke'
1207	boúgeo	bugeo	'bugew	mougev	cave	
1208	mouch	mʊʃ	'mʊʃ	mouch	breath	
1209	mouligeur	mʊligœr	'mʊ'ligœr	mouliger	Someone from Molène	Malgorn: pl. <i>mʊlig.</i>
	c'huilmeʒtr	c'hwilmeʒtr	'xʊilmɛʒtr	c'hwilmeʒtr	plover	According to the Favereau, this word is typical of the Ushant dialect. P morlivid.
1210						
1211	mouřgna	mʊrɲa	'mʊrɲa	mognañ/-iñ	to nibble	
1212	mouřgnou	mʊrɲu	'mʊrɲu	mognou	gums	P 'disabled'
1213	mouřren	mʊrɲenn	'mʊr:ɛn:	mouřrenn	pout, whiskers, antennae	
1214	mouřta	mʊʂta	'mʊʂta	moustrañ/-iñ	to press	
1215	mouřzik	mʊʒik	'mʊʒik	mouzhig	moper	
1216	mi	mi	'mi	mui	more	
1217	mínud	munud	'mynud	munut	small	P 'detail, minute, moment'
1218	mutúka	mutuka	'my'tyka	mentukañ	to touch	
1219	mus	mus	'mys	muz	fishpond	P 'cage, pen'
1220	múzur	muzur	'myzyr	muzul, -ur	measure	
1221	brechin	brešin	'brɛʃin	brechenn	knitting needle	Plural of P brocheñn 'stitch'.
1222	gallenn	galienn	'ga'liɛn:	aguilhenn	garfish	
1223	non	nó	'nó	nann	no	
1224	naoun	nañn	'nãwn	naon	hunger	
1225	náatur	natur	'natyr	natur	sperm	P 'nature'

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	náved	naəd	'naəd	navet	ninth, novena	Malgom's transcription actually reads <i>nəvəd</i> , but he crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1226						
1227	neat	nəat	'nəat	naet	completely	P 'clearly, properly'
1228	neúbeut	noəbøt	'nøbøt	nebeut	few, a little	
1229	néiur	nəyur	'nəyur	neizhour	yesterday evening	
1230	némēt	nəmət	'nəmət	nemet	except	
1231	neo	nəo	'nəo	nev	trough	P <i>nev-doaz</i>
1232	an nep	an nɛp	an 'nɛp	an nep	whoever	
1233	érvēn	ɛrvɛnn	'ɛrvɛn:	nervenn	nerve	
1234	nēs	nɛs	'nɛs	nez	near	
1235	nətrá	nɛtra	'nɛ'tra	netra	nothing	
1236	neud-kār	nød-kār	'noedkar	neud-kar	hemp thread	
1237	neuñ	nø	'nø	neuñ/-jal/-iñ	to swim	
	neuñen	nøñenn	'noñen:	neuñenn	swimming bladder	According to the Favereau, this word is typical of the Ushant dialect.
1238						
1239	neúze	nəzø	'noezø	neuze	then, moreover, so	
1240	névez	nəvez	'nəvez	nevez	new	
1241	gour	gʊr	'gʊr	gour	nothing	
1242	nijal	nijal	'niʒal	nijal	to fly	
1243	nigroúmāns	nigrumās	'ni'grumās	(n)jgromañs	necromancy	
1244	ni	ni	'ni	ni(z)	nephew	
1245	nizérez	nizørez	'nizørez	nizherezh	winnow	
1246	nóaz	noaz	'noaz	noazh	naked	
1247	nódi	nodi	'nodi	nodin	to prepare oneself	P 'to hatch, to appear'
1248	norz	norz	'norz	nort	north	
1249	nouanz	nʊāz	'nʊāz	noueañs	riffraff	
1250	noúen	nʊenn	'nʊen:	nouenn	anointing of the sick	
1251	potónen	potonenn	po'tonɛn:	bo(t)ton, bo(n)ton, -enn	bud	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1252	nozvez	nozɛz	'nozɛz	nozvezh	a night long	
1253	oñ	oñ	'oñ	oan	lamb	Pl. <i>ñn</i> , f. sg. <i>oñez</i> .
1254	ober	ober	'ober	ober	to do, make	
1255	ado	ado	'ado	ode, oade	breach	Favereau: <i>oade</i> is the Léon variant.
1256	oferñ	oferñ	'oferñ	oferenn	Mass	
1257	oñglou	oñglu	'oñglu	ograou	organ	
	oleo	oleo	'oleo	olev		I am not sure about the stress, as Malgorn does not provide it here. Normally I would simply pick the penultimate syllable and take a look at the transcriptions in the Favereau, but I am not sure how much <i>-o</i> should be viewed as a syllable on its own.
1258						
1259	orñjuz	orñjuz	'orñjuz	orañj(ez)	orange	
1260	neud orñhel	neud orñhel	'neud'orñhel	neud-orñjal	brass wire	P ('iron) wire'
1261	aoser	aoser	'aoser	oser	hawser	
	-od	-od	'od	-out	you (sg.)	The ending of a conjugated proposition.
1262						The ending of a conjugated proposition.
1263	onn	onn	'on:	onn	ash	It is peculiar that the Ushant dialect does not have <i>onn</i> here, like other Léon dialects (cf. Favereau: 558).
1264						
1265	oñner	oñner	'oñner	o(u)ñner	vaarskalf	
1266	ozac'h	ozac'h	'ozac'h	ozhac'h	head of the household	
1267	pa	pa	'pa	pa	if	
1268	pad	pad	'pad	pad	whole	
1269	pedál	pedál	'pe'da:l	padal	while	P 'well then, now'
1270	pad	pad	'pad	pad/-out	to last, take	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1271	páedroun	paedru:n	'paedru:n	pàeron	godfather	
1272	paian	paian	'paian	pagan	heathen	
1273	pal	pal	'pal	pal	shovel	
1274	páled	paléd	'paléd	paled	clog	P 'disc'
1275	paládenn	paladenn	pa'laden:	paladenn	shovefull	P palad
1276	paléfars	paléfars	pa'levars	palefarzh	quarter	i.e. a fourth
1277	pal	pal	'pal	palv	palm (of the hand)	
	palíkez	palikez	pa'likez	palikez, -ikell, -ikenn, -iked	coal-shovel	
1278						
1279	pailoun	païun	'païun	pavilhon	little house	
1280	pálud	palud	'palyd	palud	marshland, swamp	
1281	pánell	panell	'panel:	pan(n)ell	panel, pane	
1282	pánen	panenn	'panen:	panenn	unleavened bread	
1283	panéfe	paneñe	pa'neñe	paneve(t)	if not	
	págnoun	pañum	'pañun	pagnon	gabel (end), pinton	Malgom's phonetic transcription reads <i>pañum</i> , but I believe this to be an error as the Favereau shows the Ushant dialect to have [-un].
1284						
1285	baol	baol	'bawl	paol	bar, tiller	
1286	poulévat	pulevat	pu'levat	paollevad/-iañ	to scull	
1287	paotr	paotr	'paotr	paotr	boy	
1288	merc'h	merc'h	'merc'h	merc'h	girl	
1289	sourdáden	surdadenn	sur'daden:	sourdadenn	break, pause	P 'stopping'
1290	sourda	surda	'surda	surdal	to stop	
1291	repózvan	repozvan	re'pozvan	repozvan	rest (of death)	SrB <i>paouezvan</i>
1292	pára	para	'para	parañ/-iñ	to glide, look, focus one's view	
1293	barádoz	baradoz	ba'radoz	barado(e)z	paradise	
1294	greiámant	greyamant	gre'jamant	greiamant	rigging	
1295	páre	pare	'pare	pare	cure	
1296	parichil	pariñil	par'iñil	perissilh	parsley	
1297	parláfan	parlañan	par'laban	parlafan	salamander	P 'four legs'



	A	B	C	D	E	F
1298	párlant	párlánt	'párlánt	parlant	speaking	
1299	parresión(is)	parresion(is)	'parresi'on(is)	parresioniz	parishioner	
1300	part	part	'part	part	apart, special	
1301	tourlounka	turlúka	tur'lúka	tourlonkañ/-iñ	to cough, choke	
1302	pask	pask	'pask	pask	easter	
1303	páska	paska	'paska	paskañ/-iñ/-o	to nourish	P 'to receive Communion, nourish'
1304	pastélla	pastélla	pas'télla	pastellañ/-iñ	to cut up	
1305	pasión	pasion	'pasí'on	pasion	anguish, agony	
1306	pásse	pasé	'pasé	pasé	more than	P 'passed, more than'
1307	karótez	karrotez	ka'rrotez	karotez	carrots	
1308	patéled	pateled	pa'teled	pateled	plastron	
1309	patéren	patereñn	pa'tereñ:	paterenn	rosary bead	rosary bead, prayer, numbling
1310	pátrom	patrom	'patrom	patrom	model, pattern	
1311	paz-iúd	paz-yud	'paz'jyd	paz-yud	whooping cough, pertussis	
1312	bázen	bazenn	'bazen:	pazenn	stair, rung	
1313	pe	pé	pé	pe	or	
1314	pe	pé	pé	pe	what	
1315	peadrá	peadra	'pe'dra	peadra	enough to	
1316	pébez	pébez	'pébez	pebez	what a	
1317	píni	pini	'pini	pehini	which	
1318	péc'hi	pe'chi	'pexi	pe'hiñ	to sin	
1319	pech	pésh	'pesh	pech	hoe, shovel	
1320	pel	pél	'pél	pell	far, long	
1321	péllen	pellenn	'pèl:en:	pellenn	ball	
	pell erc'h	pell erc'h	'pèl:erx	pell erc'h	snowflake	According to the Favereau, this combination is typical of the Ushant dialect.
1322						
1323	penn-móc'h	pennmoc'h	'pen'mox	pemoch, penn-moc'h	pig	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	pennóc'ha	pennoc'ha	pen'moxa	pemochañ	to soil, dirty	The P form is not in the Favereau. It is a verb made out of the word for 'pig' and seems to be typical of the Ushant dialect.
1324						
1325	penáoz	penaoz	pe'naoz	penaos	how	
1326	pendógi	pendogi	pen'dogi	penndogiñ	to beat ears (corn)	P 'to top, clip'
1327	pendúen	penduen	pen'dyen	pennduenn	great tit(mouse)	
1328	penn-adrēn	penn-adrē	pen'a drē	pen a-dreñv	rump	
1329	penfólla	penfolla	pen'folla	pennfollañ/-iñ	to drive to distraction	
1330	penn-skáñ	penn-skā	pen'skā	pen skañv	absent-minded person	
1331	pénnad	pennad	'penad	pennad	while, moment	
1332	redáden	redadenn	re'daden:	redadenn	race	
1333	pennáda	pennada	pe'niada	pennadañ/-iñ	to join up	
1334	péinta	peinta	'pějnta	pendañ/-iñ	to paint	
1335	pantekóst	pantekost	pan'tekost	pantekost	Whitsun	
1336	peuneust	peonest	'pønøst	pennfestr	halter	
1337	peb	peb	'peb	pep	every	
1338	pep-híni	pep-hini	pep'hini	pep hini	every one	
1339	perák	perak	pe'rak	perak	why	
1340	pérmil	permil	'pérmil	sot-permil	mad as a hatter	
1341	pesk	pesk	'pesk	pesk	fish	
	hébèsk	hebesk	'hebesk	hebesk	rich in fish	P peskeduz, according to the Favereau hebesk is a word typical of the Ushant dialect.
1342						
1343	petrá	petra	pe'tra	petra	what	
1344	peúri	puri	'pyri	peur	pasture	
1345	peurvía	purfa	py'ria	peurvuiñ	majority	
1346	peóar	peoar	pe'war	pevar	four	
1347	pez	pez	'pez	pezh	piece	
1348	pézañs	pezās	'pezās	pizaj, pesass	kind of seaweed	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	pesuilláden	pesujladenn	pesy'laden:	pesuillhadenn	grilled seaweed?	According to the Favereau, this word is typical of the Ushant dialect.
1349						
1350	pík-rae	pik-rae	'pikrae	pikrae	sting-ray	
1351	píkol	pikol	'pikol	pikol	big	P 'enormous'
1352	pígosat	pigosat	'pi'gosat	pigosat	to sting	
1353	píchel	pišel	'pišel	picher	pitcher	
1354	píll	pił	'pił	piłh	waste, trash	P 'rag'
1355	pílat	pilat	'pilat	pilat	to hit	
	píler	piler	'piler	piler	pillar	According to the Favereau, this word is typical of the Ushant dialect.
1356						
1357	píffik	piłfik	'piłfik	piłfig	quail	
	píoun-grac'h	piłun-grac'h	'piłungrax	pilon	corkwing wrasse (fish)	According to the Favereau, this word is typical of the Ushant dialect. P pilon 'grebe'
1358						
1359	kānfart	kānfart	'kānfart	kānfart	rascal	
1360	díspill	dispił	'dispił	dispiłhañ/-iñ	to fray, unravel	
1361	pílbrenn	piłbrenn	'piłbren:	piłbrenn	roundel	
	pinídik	pinidik	'py'nidik	pinividik	rich	Malgorn actually wrote pinividik, but crossed out -y- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1362						
1363	peo	peo	peo	pijv	who	
1364	pístiga	pistiga	'pis'tiga	pistigañ/-iñ	to prick	
1365	pístroll	pistroll	'pistroll:	pistroll	knight	
1366	pez	pez	'pez	pez, pez	pea	
1367	plac'h	plac'h	'plax	plac'h	daughter	
1368	plāfa	plāfa	'plāfa	plavañ/-iñ	to float, glide	
	plāntóunen	plāntnenn	'plāntmen:	plansonenn	plait, braid (of hair)	Malgorn actually wrote plāntūnenn, but crossed out -i- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1369						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1370	plānta	plānta	plānta	plantañ/-iñ/-o	to plant	
1371	pléan	pléan	pléan	plæan	even, plain	
1372	pleg	pleg	pleg	pleg	crease, fold	
1373	ploum	plum	plum	plom	perpendicular	
1374	ploutma	pluma	pluma	plomañ/-iñ/-o	to make something perpendicular	
1375	plouméis	pluméis	pluméis	plomeis	enamel	
1376	ploumeiša	plumeiša	plumeiša	plomeiša	to enamel	
1377	kólo	kolo	kolo	kolo	straw	
1378	pleuñ	plœ	plœ	plu(ñv)	feather	
1379	plōñjat	plōjat	plōgat	plōjañ/-iñ	to plunge	
1380	plōñjaden	plōjadenn	plō'zaden:	plonjadenn	plunge	
1381	bouch	bujš	bujš	bouch, pok	kiss	
1382	pódek	poděk	poděk	podek	cabbage	
1383	poënt	puënt	pwënt	poent	time, moment	
1384	dibouéza	dibweza	di'bwéza	dibouezañ/-iñ	to lift, raise	
1385	pwez	pwez	pwez	pouez	weight	
1386	poézel	pwezell	pwezél:	poezell	bushel (old measure of capacity)	
1387	puñli	puli	puli	pole	reel, pulley	
1388	polótez	polotěz	polotěz	polos, polotres	small prunes	
1389	poúnnar	punnar	punnar	po(t)nnar	something heavy	
1390	pored	porəd	porəd	pored	cliff	
1391	por'hélla	por'hella	por'xela	por'hellat	to dirty	P 'to wreck, ruin'
1392	porz	porz	porz	porzh	small gate	
1393	draf-rastell	draf-rastell	draf-rastel:	draf-rastell	hurdle	This compound seems to be unique the Ushant dialect.
1394	douára	dɥara	du'ara	douarañ/-iñ	to land, enter port	
1395	portéza	portéza	por'teza	portezal	to carry a burden	
1396	postágeur	postagœr	pos'tagœr	postageur	rope making tools	
1397	potíc'henn	pulc'henn	pulx'en:	pourc'henn	fuse	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1398	poull	pʉll	'pui:	poull	canal, moat	
1399	poullad	pʉllad	'pʉlad	poullad	pool, puddle	
1400	pouloudek	pʉlʉdek	'pu'lʉdek	pouloudek	lumpy	
1401	poulounez	pʉlʉnez	'pu'lʉnez	poulounez	steering wheels	
1402	poulounéza	pʉlʉnéza	'pʉlʉ'néza	poulounezañ/-iñ	to wrinkle, crease	
1403	pólza	pʉlza	'pʉlza	poulzañ/-iñ	to push	
1404	poulzáden	pʉlzadenn	'pʉl'zadɛni:	poulzadenn	push	
1405	pour-aot	pʉr-aot	'pʉr'awt	pour-aod	roots of sea grass	
1406	pourmen	pʉrmen	'pʉrmen	pourmen	to walk	
	pourision	pʉrision	'pʉr'ision	pourvizion	stock, supplies	Malgom actually wrote <i>pourvision</i> , but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1407						
1408	pred	prɛd	'prɛd	pred	moment, meal	
1409	lein	lɛin	'lɛin	lein	lunch	
1410	prediri	prɛdiri	'prɛ'diri	prederi	concern, trouble; to think	
1411	prélat	prɛlat	'prɛ:lat	prelad	colossal	
1412	prénest	prɛnest	'prɛ:nest	prenestr	window	
1413	prenn	prɛnn	'prɛ:ni:	prenn	wood, closing	
1414	prospital	prospital	'pro'spital	presbital	presbytery	
1415	preon	prɛon	'prɛw	prew	worm, caterpillar	
1416	prézek	prɛzek	'prɛ:zek	prezegañ/-iñ	to speak in public	
1417	pri	prɪ	'pri	pri	clay	
1418	priadélez	priadɛlez	'pria'dɛlez	priedelezh	marriage	
1419	prim	prim	'prim	prim	too little, prompt	
1420	prîs	prɪs	'prɪs	prîs	prince	
1421	prîvez	prɪvez	'prɪvez	privez	toilet	
1422	profita	profita	'pro'fita	profitañ/-iñ	to profit, use, consume	
1423	prision	prision	'prɪ'sion	prossesion	procession	
1424	puna	puna	'pyna	punañ/-iñ	to roll up	
1425	pūser	pūser	'pʉsɔr	pūser	well-digger	
1426	purkator	purkator	'pyr'kator	purgator	purgatory	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1427	rábat	rabat	'rabat	rabad	reduction	
	rabardellérez	r.....érez	rabarde'l:érez	ribardellerezh	drivel	Malgom has indeed transcribed the first part of the word with dots. P 'flippant remark'
1428	rag	rag	'rag	rak	for	1sg ra-z-ō, 2sg ra-z-od, 3sg ra-z-ha (hi), 1pl ra-z-omp, 2pl ra-z-oc'h, 3pl ra-z-hæ.
1429						
1430	rag-éon	rag-éon	rag'éon	rag-eeun	straight, directly	
1431	ragel	ragell	'ragel:	ragell	talkative	
1432	ragellat	ragellat	ra'gel:at	ragellat	to chatter	
1433	rac'h	rac'h	'rac	rac'h	equal, ex aequo	
1434	raill	raļ	'raļ	reilh	good-for-nothing	
1435	raill-c'hlas	raļ-c'hlas	'raļklas	reilh-las	blue hide (fish)?	
1436	remóki	remoki	re'moki	remerkañ/-iñ	to notice	
1437	rámpla	rámpla	'rámpla	ramp(ł)añ/-iñ	to stretch	
1438	rāndon	rāndon	'rāndon	randon	dream-like	P 'feverish'
1439	rañdounen	randounenn	ran'dunenn:	randonenn	windbag, chatterbox	
1440	rānen	rānenn	'rānen:	rannenn	crack, crevice	
1441	rann	rann	'ran:	rann	part	
1442	rañwal	rāwal	'rāwal	rañvat	to gossip	
1443	rañwer	rāwer	'rāwer	rañver	waxwing	
1444	stalf	stalf	'stalf	stalaf	lintel	P 'wind-brace'
1445	raspaotr	raspaotr	'raspawtr	raspaotr	tomboy	
1446	réaz	reaz	'reaz	rez, raez	full, close-cropped	
1447	réal	real	'real	real	real (coin)	
1448	rébech	rebeş	'rebeş	rebech	reproach	
	rébres	rebrës	'rebrës	rebrës	discount	According to the Favereau a typical Ushan dialect word.
1449						
1450	red	red	'red	red	pretty	P 'lively'
	rékas	rekas	'rekas	rekas, rakkas	surf	According to the Favereau rekas is typical for the Ushant dialect.
1451						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1452	redéle	redelê	re'delê	redere	ground swell	
1453	regâlis	regâlis	re'galis	regalis	liquorice	
1454	relîgou	relîgu	re'ligu	relegoù	relics	
1455	remm	remm	'rem:	remm	rheumatism	
1456	repyblik	repyblik	re'pyblik	republik	republic	
1457	rânkout	râkùt	'râkùt	rankout	to be obliged to, to have to	
1458	rênta	rênta	'rênta	rentañ/-iñ	to fester	
1459	reolenn	reolenn	re'olenn:	realenn	rule	
1460	reour	reour	'reour	revr, reor	back	
1461	reuriad	reouryad	re'ourjad	revrod, reoriad	cheeky	
1462	repózvan	repozvan	re'pozvan	repozvan	rest, break	
	réter-c'héret	reter-c'heret	re'ter'xeret	reter-gevred	east-southeast	Malgom actually wrote <i>réter-c'hévet</i> , but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1463						
1464	reustr	roestr	'roestr	rouestl, reustl	estrangement	P 'embarrassment'
1465	reustrâdel	roestrâdel	ro'strâdel:	rouestladell	hoo-ha, fuss	
1466	rêstad	restad	'restad	restad	rest, remainder	
1467	revérzi	re'verzi	re'verzi	reverzhi	spring tide	
1468	roûin	ruin	'ruin	rewin, rivin	ruins	
1469	a réaz	a reaz	a'reaz	rez	level	
1470	rézon	rezon	'rezon	rezon	reason	
1471	rezoûni	rezuni	re'zuni	rezoniñ	to reason	
1472	rîbus	ribus	'ribus	ribuz	exact	P 'sudden, virulent'
1473	riklérez	riklærez	ri'klærez	ri(s)klærezh	sliding	
1474	rînsinat	rîsinat	ri'sinat	risignal	to grin	
1475	rimiérez	rimyærez	ri'mjærez	riivier(ez), rimier(ez)	cotton gin	
1476	rîkla	rikla	'rikla	ri(s)klañ/-iñ	to glide	
1477	linkr	linkr	'linkr	lenkr	slippery	
1478	rînchat	rîſat	ri'fat	riziat	to peel with a knife	
1479	rîzen	rîzenn	'rîzen:	rizenn	flurry, gust	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1480	rochéden	rošedənn	ro'ʃedən:	rochedenn	cardigan	
1481	ródel	rodell	'rodél:	rodell	roll, caster	
1482	rodélla	rodella	ro'dɛla	rodellañ/-iñ	to loop, roll up	
1483	roñv	rō	'rō	roñv, reuñv, rañv	oar	
1484	rónat	rōat	'rōat	roevvat	to row	
1485	roc'háden	roc'hadenn	ro'xaden:	roc'hadenn	snoring	
1486	roll	roll	'roll:	roll	roll, roller	
	roll-viri	roll-viri	rol:'viri	rollvirviñ	to boil while stirring	Malgorn actually wrote <i>roll-virviñ</i> , but crossed out the second -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1487						
1488	rólled	rolled	'rol:ed	rollet	roller, cylinder	
1489	rouñkel	rū̀kell	'rū̀kel:	ronk, ronkon	(death-)rattle	
1490	rouden	ruđenn	'ruden:	roudenn	line, stripe	
1491	roud	ruđ	'rud	roud	vestige	P 'trace, route'
1492	rouél	rujell	'ruel:	rouell	round part	
1493	roufen	ruřenn	'ruven:	roufenn	wrinkle, crease	
1494	roz-kí	roz-ki	roz'ki	roz-ki	common hollyhock	
1495	rúal	rual	'ryal	rual	to kick, lash out	
1496	rud	rud	'ryd	rut	pissed off	P 'ruttish'
1497	ruil	ruř	'ryʎ	ruilhal	to roll	
1498	ruiliáden	ruřádenn	ry'ʎaden:	ruilhadenn	rolled meat	
1499	rúllen	ruřenn	'riʎen:	ruilhenn	ring	
1500	reun	roen	'roen	run	hillock	
1501	rust	rust	'rust	rust	violent	P 'rude, vigorous'
1502	rúzel	ruzel	'ryzel:	ruzell	measles	
1503	sábat	sabat	'sabat	sabat	noise, tumult	P 'sabbath, harangue, noise'
1504	sakrámañt	sakramānt	sa'kramānt	sakramant	sacrament	
1505	sae	sae	'sae	sae	dress, frock	
1506	dařar	dařar	'dařar	safar	noise	P 'shouting, yelling'
1507	saead	saead	'saead	saead	ration	



	A	B	C	D	E	F
1508	chech'ha	šeša	'ʃeʃa	sac'hañ/-iñ	bring in, call in	I am not sure whether the P word corresponds to the Ushant word
1509	sac'h	sac'h	'sax	sac'h	bag	
1510	sac'h-braz	sac'h-braz	'saxbraz	sac'h-braz	stomach	P 'paunch, belly'
1511	sálo	saló	'salo	salv	except	
1512	sámma	samma	'sama	sammañ/-iñ	to load	
1513	sa	sa	'sa	sav	opright posture	
1514	saotúrabl	sawrabl	'sawrabl	saourabl	tasty	
1515	saouri	sawri	'sawri	saourin	to taste	
1516	saouízan	sawzán	'sawzán	saouzan	diversion	P 'disorientation, confusion'
1517	saedroúnen	saedrunenn	saē'drunen:	sardonenn	bumblebee	
1518	sármoun	sarmūn	'sarmūn	sarmon	sermon	
1519	skaf	skaf	'skaf	skaf	hulk (ship)	
	skantenna	skāntenna	'skānt'ɛnɛ:	skantañ/-iñ, skantenniñ	to cut in small pieces, to become scaly	
1520						
1521	kaoc'h-hoúarn	kaoc'h-huarn	'kawx'huarn	kaoc'h-houarn	blast-furnace slags	
1522	pénndu	pindu	'pindy	penndu	corn smut	
1523	skaóta	skaota	'skawta	skaotañ/-iñ	to burn, scald	
1524	skára	skara	'skara	skarvañ/-iñ	to adjust, connect	
1525	skarníla	skarnila	'skar'níla	skarnilañ/-ian/-iñ	to dry out	
1526	skort	skort	'skort	skort	too small	P 'insufficient'
1527	skelp	skēlp	'skēlp	skerp	bevelled	
1528	émach	ēmaš	'ɛmaj	imaj	image	
1529	skiber	skiber	'skiber	skiber	shed	
1530	sklábez	sklabēz	'sklabēz	stlabez	dirtyness	P 'disorder, scattering'
1531	sklas	sklass	'sklas:	sklas	ice	
1532	sklása	sklasa	'sklasa	sklasañ/-iñ	to freeze	
1533	skléjer	sklējēr	'sklējēr	stlejer	trawler, dawdler	
1534	skeltr	skēltr	'skēltr	skeltr	slate	P 'glitter, splinter, noise'
1535	skleráen	sklērænn	'sklēræ:n:	sklaeradenn	bright spells	
1536	sklos	sklos	'sklos	klos	peel, pod, hull	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1537	sko	sko	'sko	sko	striking	
1538	skoáziad	skašad	'skwaʒad	skaziad	shoulder (of a pig)	
1539	skaórgen	skaórgenn	'skwargen:	skaórgenn	shoulder pad	
1540	laóugenn	lawgenn	'lawgen:	laugenn	gilt-head	
1541	skólpas	skolpas	'skolpas	skolp, skolpez	chip, splinter	
1542	skórcha	skorša	'skorʃa	skorchañ/-iñ	to open with a sharp instrument	
1543	skóuarn	skuarn	'skuarn	skuarn	ear	
1544	skuér	skuér	'skuér	skouer	square	
1545	skour	skur	'skur	skourr	branch	
1546	skoúrrad	skurrad	'skur:ad	skourrad	content of a branche, branching off	
1547	skreo	skreó	'skreó	skrav, skrew	sea-gull	P 'tern'
1548	skrijaden	skrijadenn	'skri:ʒaden:	skrijadenn	shiver	
1549	skrijuz	skrijus	'skriʒys	skrijus	horrible	
1550	skriʃa	skriʃa	'skriʃa	skriv(añ)/-iñ/-o	to write	
1551	skub-deñou	skub-deñu	'skyb'de.ɲu	skub-deñioù	autumn	
1552	balaen	balaenn	'balaen:	balaenn	broom	
1553	skull	skull	'skyl:	skudell	bowl	
1554	sékred	sékred	'sekred	sekred	secret	
1555	silaou	silaw	'silaw	selaou	to listen	
1556	sell	sell	'sel:	sell	look!	
1557	sempladen	sempladenn	'sem'pladen:	sempladenn	fainting	P 'weakness'
1558	cheñch	ščš	'ʃɛʃ	chanch, cheñch	to change	
1559	soun	sūn	'sun	son,-añ/-iñ	to sound	
1560	sinti	sinti	'sinti	sentiñ	to obey	
1561	cherich	šeriš	'feriʃ	servij	service	
1562	serz	serz	'serz	serzh	abrupt, steep	
1563	sérza	serza	'serza	serzhiñ	to go up again	
1564	sével	sevel	'sevel	sevel	to rise, get up	
1565	sía	sia	'sia	siañ	go back(wards)	P 'to decay'

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1566	sibouílla	sibúla	si'buá	soubouilhat	to completely immerse in water	P 'to soak for prewashing'
1567	sifémi	sifémi	si'berni	sifernañ/-iañ/-iñ	to catch a cold	
1568	sifóc'hel	sifóc'hell	si'foxel:	sifoc'hellat	to blow, make spout	
1569	sil	sil	'sil	sil	sieve, filter	
1570	sili	sili	'sili	sili	eel	
1571	silzigen	silzigenñ	sil'zigen:	silzigenñ	sausage	
1572	chemélan	šemelān	še'melān	siminal	chimney	
1573	sinátur	sinatur	si'natur	sinatur	signature	
1574	signac'h	siñac'h	'siñax	sinac'h	without appetite	
1575	siñkla	siñkla	'siñkla	siñklañ/-iñ	to spout out	
1576	súzun	suzun	'suzyn	sizhun	week	
1577	savāñ	savāñ	'savāñ	soavon	soap	
	sobónat	sobónat	so'bónat	sobonat	to hum	According to the Favereau a typical Ushant dialect word.
1578						
1579	sol	sol	'sol	sol	ground, base	
1580	sólier	sojyer	'sojyer	solier	ceiling	P 'attic, ceiling'
1581	soúñjal	súñjal	'súñjal	soñjal	to think	
1582	sóra	sora	'sora	sorañ/-iñ	to warm oneself in the sun	
1583	sot	sot	'sot	sod	madman	
1584	sóda	soda	'soda	sodañ/-iñ	to become insane, mad	
1585	soubénna	súbenna	su'benna	soubennañ/-iñ	to eat soup	
	soubikez	súbikez	su'bikez	soubika	sauce	P 'to soak, baste; bouillabaisse, saupiquet'
1586						
1587	soubl	súbl	'subl	soubl	wet	
1588	sounnérez	súnnerez	su'n:ørez	sonner	electric ray	
1589	soúnta	súnta	'sunta	sontañ/-iñ	to fathom	
1590	soúrda	súrda	'surda	sourdal	to stop, stand still	
1591	sourgána	súrgana	sur'gana	sourganañ/-iñ	to hum	
1592	soúrrel	súrrrel	'surrel:	sourrell	humming top	
1593	chóuda	šúda	'šuda	soudañ/-iñ	to solder	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1594	soudánen	suđanenn	su'danèn:	soutanenn, soudanenn	soutane	
1595	sourpilis	surpilis	sur'pilis	sourpilis, sourpilis	surplice	
1596	spanáen	spanañenn	spa'naen:	spana(d)enn	(temporary) interruption	
1597	spánel	spanell	'spanel:	spanell	spatula	
1598	spark	spark	'spark	spark	aspergillum	P 'sparf, sparm, spalm
1599	spárjen	sparjenn	spar'žen:	sparjenn	lace	
1600	sparl	sparl	'sparl	sparl	beam, balk	
1601	speúren	spoerenn	'spoeren:	speurenn	partition, partitioning wall	
1602	spézard	spézard	spézard	spézard	currant	
1603	spínek	spinek	'spinek	spinek	dog-fishlike fish	
1604	spísa	spisa	'spisa	spisañ/-iñ	to splice	
1605	spoueñ	spwē	'spwē	spoue	cork	P 'spunge'
1606	stad	stād	'stad	stad	state	
1607	stařáda	stařada	sta'vada	stařadañ	to slap	According to the Favereau a typical Ushant dialect word.
1608	stag	stāg	'stag	stag	belt	
1609	stāgel	stagell	'stagel:	stagell	thread	P 'binding, conjunction, thread'
1610	stāga	staga	'staga	stagañ/-iñ	to fasten, stick	
1611	stagérez	stagérez	sta'gerez	stagerezh	clinch	P 'connection, clinch'
1612	stal	stal	'stal	stal	row, department	P 'stall, stand'
1613	stalf	stalf	'stalf	stalf	hatch, shutter	
1614	pígnoun	piñun	'piñun	pignon	pinion	
1615	stalíkez	stalikez	sta'likez	stalikez	bric-à-brac shop	P also 'shelf'
1616	staoun	stawn	'stawn	staon, stañv	palace	
1617	stéki	steki	'steki	stokañ/-iñ/-o	to knock	
1618	sterédén	steređen:	stē'ređenn	steređenn	star	
1619	starn	starn	'starn	stern, starn	loom	P 'frame, loom'
1620	stárna	starna	'starna	sternañ/-iañ/-iñ, starn-	to frame, harness	
	stéren	stereñn	stē'reñn:	stereñn	snot	Malgom actually wrote <i>stérven</i> , but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1621						

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1622	steuden	støðenn	'støden:	steudenn	knife blade	P 'file, sharp of a knife'
1623	steúni	stúi	'styi	steuñviñ	to warp, weave	
1624	stínkel	stíkel	'stíkel:	stinkell	laughing gull	According to the Favereau a typical Ushant dialect word.
1625	stlaõñ	stlaõ	'stlāw	stlañv	bait	P 'green algae, foam'
1626	stlej	stlej	'stlej3	stlej	crawling, dragging	
1627	stleja	stleja	'stleja	stlejal	to crawl, drag	
1628	stleuk	stleuk	'stleuk	stleug	clamp	
1629	stleúni	stleüi	'stleüi	tleuñviñ	to prepare the distaff	
1630	stok	stok	'stok	stok	adjoining, contact	
1631	stokáden	stokádenn	'stokádenn:	stokadenn	shock	P 'thrust'
1632	stoliken	stolikenn	'stolíkenn:	stolikenn	thin strap, tie	
1633	stólok	stolok	'stolok	stolok	noise	P 'knocking'
1634	stóúfa	stúfa	'stúva	stouañ/-iñ/-o	to bend down	
1635	stouíben	stúbenn	'stuben:	stoubenn	down (feather)	P 'fluff, cotton waste'
1636	strákouill	strakuj	'strakua	strakouilh	diarrhoea of sheep	
1637	strántel	strántell	'strántel:	strantal	frivolous person	
1638	strapen	strapenn	'strapenn:	strapenn	pole to attaching animals to	
1639	stránsad	strásad	'strásad	strásad	change	
1640	straed	straed	'straed	straed	alley, lane	
1641	striñk	striñk	'striñk	strink	crystal	
1642	striñkad	striñkad	'striñkad	strinkad	splash, stain	
1643	striñkel	striñkell	'striñkel:	strinkell	person with loose morals	
1644	stroán	stroán	'stroán	stroen	dirtyness	
1645	strob	strob	'strob	strob	trick	P 'connection'
1646	strobád	strobád	'strobád	strobád	row, series	P 'bundle, group'
1647	strobéller	strobelloer	'strob'el:ør	strobeller	best man	According to the Favereau a typical Ushant dialect word.
1648	strobellérez	strobelloerøz	'strobe'l:øerøz	strobellerez	bridesmaid	Not in the Favereau, but it is a simple feminine derivation of <i>strobéller</i> .

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1649	stózel	stožell	'stozel:	stozell	egg with a soft shell	According to the Favereau a typical Ushant dialect word.
1650	stróllen	strollenn	'strol:en:	stroll	string, band	P 'group, string, band'
1651	strollénna	strollenna	stro'lɛn:a	strollañ/-iñ, strollennañ	to fix	P 'to group'
1652	strouñk	stùk	'stùk	stronk	wood that is thrown out into the sea	P 'junk'
1653	strouñka	strùka	'strùka	stronkañ/-iñ	to throw <i>strouñk</i> into the sea	P 'to feed, dirty'
1654	strouñs	strùs	'strùs	stroñs	trembling	P 'shock'
1655	strouillénna	strujenna	stru'ɛn:a	strouilhañ/-iñ, strouilhenniñ	to misbehave, dirty	
1656	súlten	sultenn	'sɛl:ten:	stultenn	bizarre idea	P 'phantasm'
1657	stumm	stumm	'stym:	stumm	crooked, sloped	P 'form'
1658	stúmma	stumma	'stym:a	stummañ/-iñ/-o	to slope	P 'to develop'
1659	stur	stur	'stur	stur	rudder	
	léiat	lejat	'lejat	leviad	to steer	Malgom actually wrote <i>léviat</i> , but crossed out the second -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1660						
1661	sug	sug	'syg	sug	cord	P 'twist, skein'
1662	sugéllou	sugullu	'sy'gylu	sugelloù	cords	
1663	sul	sul	'syl	sul	Sunday	
1664	chúnat	šunat	'šynat	sunañ/-iñ/-o	to suck	
1665	sur	sur	'sur	sur	certain	
1666	sútal	sutal	'sɛtal	sutal	to whistle	
1667	da	da	da	da	your (sg.)	
1668	táken	takenn	'takɛn:	takenn	fragment	P 'drop'
1669	tákoun	takūn	'takūn	takon	young salmon	
1670	tad	tād	'tad	tad	father	
1671	tága	taga	'taga	tagañ/-iñ/-o	to choke	
1672	táchen	tašɛn:	'taʃɛn:	tachenn	parcel	P 'terrain'
1673	táchad	tašad	'taʃad	tachad	moment (of)	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1674	talar	talar	'talar	talar	tap borer	
1675	taladreúgen	taladroegenn	tala d'roegenn:	talarek	sand eel	The Ushant dialect uses a singulative here.
1676	talbenn	talbenn	'talbenn:	talbenn	façade	
1677	talínka	talínka	ta línkæ	intalínkañ/-iñ	to fasten to the anchor	
1678	báltrom	báltrom	'báltrom	bazh-talm	catapult, sling	
1679	taillóuer	tañjer	ta'xuer	tailhouer	closed butter dish	P 'chopping-board'
1680	talézout	talezut	ta'lezut	talvezout	to be worth	Malgorn actually wrote <i>talvézout</i> , but crossed out -v- to indicate its loss in the Ushant dialect.
1681	tamm	tamm	'tam:	tamm	piece	
1682	támouz	tamuz	'tamuz	tamouez	sieve	
1683	áoza	aoza	'awza	aozañ/-iñ/-o	to sieve	P 'to organize, prepare'
1684	tána	tána	'tána	tanañ/-iñ	to burn	P 'to light'
1685	táno	táno	'táno	tanav	thin, liquid	
1686	tántez	tántez	'tántez	tantad, tantez	bonfire	
1687	tañva	távã	'távã	tañva	to taste	
1688	taol	taol	'tawl	taol	knock, blow	
1689	Téuler	toelœr	'tølœr	taoler, teuler, teurel	to throw, cast	
1690	táouarc'h	tawarc'h	'tawarc'h	taouarc'h	peat, lump	
1691	táran	taran	'taran	taran	thundering	
1692	tárgaz	targaz	'targaz	targazh	tomcat	
1693	tarchélad	tarşelad	tar'şelad	tarchelad	thick pulp, mustard plaster	
1694	tárlask	tarlask	'tarlask	tarlask	small fish	P 'itch, tick'
1695	tártouz	tartuz	'tartuz	tartouz	flat-nosed	P 'moth, flat-nosed'
1696	táro	taro	'taro	tarv	bull	
1697	kodléa	kodlëa	'kod'lëa	kolea/-at	to be cow in heat	
1698	tarz	tarz	'tarz	tarzh	glow, highly explosive	
1699	rann-gáloun	rann-galun	ran:'galun	rann-galon	sorrow	P 'tearing, heavy pain/sorrow'
1700	tárza	tarza	'tarza	tarzhañ/-iñ	to burst	
1701	foañcher	foañşer	'twañşer	tavañşer	apron	



	A	B	C	D	E	F
1702	toañchérad	toāñšérad	twāñ'jérad	tavanjérad	full apron (i.e. pregnant)	
1703	tāfarn	tāfarn	'tabarn	tavam	inn, tavern	
1704	tē	tē	tē	te	you (sg.)	
1705	tēar	tēar	'tēar	tèr	alive	P 'violent'
1706	tēka	tēka	'tēka	tekañ	to reach	
1707	tējlek	tējlek	'tējlek	tejlek	containing manure	
1708	tēmpr	tēmpr	'tēmpr	trempr	hardening	
1709	tēna	tēna	'tēna	tennañ/-iñ/-o	to pull, draw	
	tēmen	tēmen	'tēmen	temmen	bait	According to the Favereau a typical Ushant dialect word. According to the same source the word is derived from <i>tamm</i> 'piece'.
1710						
1711	tēoden	tēoden	'tēwden:	teodenn	clapper, tongue	
1712	tēmen	tēmen	'tēmen	termen	term, period, end	
1713	tēri	terri	'terri	torriñ, terrin	to break	
1714	pennāoui	pennawi	pe'nawi	pennaoua	to glean ears, gather wood	
1715	teuz	tœz	'tør	teuz	worm	P 'molten'
1716	teoát	teoat	'tew'at	tevaat	to fatten	
1717	tēval	tēval	'tēval	teñval	dark, obscure	
	teté	tēte	tē'te	tete	dog (infant's speech)	According to the Favereau a typical Ushant dialect word.
1718						
1719	teiz	tēiz	'teiz	tezh	udder	
1720	tīntin	tīntin	'tīntin	tantin, tintin	auntie (infant's speech)	
1721	diréten	dirētenn	di'rēten:	tiret(enn)	drawer	
1722	bále	bale	'bale	bale	walk, gait	
1723	tóaz	toaz	'toaz	toaz	dough	
1724	tok-toúsak	tok-tūsak	tok'tusak	tok-touseg	mushroom	
1725	tógad	togad	'togad	tokad	cap	
1726	tokénna	tokenna	to'kēna:	tokennañ/-iñ	to get a skin on the milk	
1727	tomm	tomm	'tom:	tomm	hot	
1728	tonn	tonn	'ton:	tonn, tont	amadou	



	A	B	C	D	E	F
1729	tóntón	tóntón	tóntón	tonton	uncle (infant's speech)	
1730	toréa	toréa	to'rea	toreal	to moan, groan	P 'to roll over the floor'
1731	tórchen	toršenn	torʃen:	torchenn	hassock, pillow	
1732	torgos	torgos	'torgos	targos	midget	P 'adpole, pollard willow, shorty'
1733	torr an aot	torr an aot	tor:an'awt	tornaod	cliff	
1734	gloúad	gluad	gluad	glaoued	special fuel	P 'dry dung'
1735	torr-penn	torr-penn	tor:pen:	torr-penn	cosh, blackjack	
1736	tort	tort	'tort	tort	hunchback	P 'hunchback, bump'
1737	tórtá	torta	'torta	tortañ/-iñ	to bend, vault	
1738	tortílla	tortija	tor'tiáa	tortilhat	to crumple, twist	
1739	torz	torz	'torz	torzh	cake, pastry	
1740	tórzal	torzell	'torzel:	torzhell	spotch	P 'tuber, lump'
1741	tost	tost	'tost	tost	close	
1742	tosta	tosta	'tosta	tostañ/-iñ	to tighten	
1743	totó'h	totoc'h	to'tox	totoc'h	pig (infant's speech)	
1744	touélla	tuélla	tu'èla	touellañ/-iñ	to captivate, fascinate	P 'to lure'
1745	tuúchen	tušenn	'tuʃen:	touchenn	end of a whip	
1746	tourbápa	turbapa	tur'bapa	toulbapat	to feel, handle	P 'to make a mess, feel, handle'
1747	forc'h-prénn	forc'h-prénn	forx'pren:	forc'h-prénn	pear tree	
1748	toull-gaou	tuł-gaw	tuł'gaw	toull-gaou	trachea	
1749	tuúllad	tullad	'tuład	toullad	gathering	
1750	tuúrgen	turgenn	'turgen:	dorngen	handle	
1751	tourléiva	tur'leiva	tur'leiva	tourleñvañ/-iñ	to whine, moan	
1752	tuúrmant	turmât	'turmât	tourmant	torment	
1753	tuúrmánti	turmâti	tur'mâti	tourmantañ/-iñ	to vex, annoy	P 'to torment'
1754	tuúsak	tusak	'tusak	touseg	toad	
1755	touz	tuž	'tuž	touz	baldy	
1756	tuúzerez	tužerøz	tu'zerøz	touzerezh	shearing	
1757	trábas	trabas	'trabas	trabas	figdging, embarrassment	
1758	trabásuz	trabasuz	tra'basuz	trabasuz	somebody who embarrasses	
1759	trabáser	trabaser	tra'basøser	trabaser	somebody who rants, figdgets	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1760	chárfgel	šarigell	ʃa'ri:gel:	charigell	tottering, staggering	
1761	charigella	šarigella	ʃa'ri:ʒe:la	charigellañ/-iñ	to totter, stagger	
1762	traézou	trae:zu	trae'zu	traoù	things	
1763	tréitour	trej:tu:r	'trejtu:r	treitour	traitor	
1764	trejtoúrez	trejtu:rez	trej'tu:rez	treitourezh	abcess under the fingernail	P 'treachery'
1765	traoun	traun	'traun	traoù	lowness	
1766	trañch	trañš	'trañš	trañch	narrow inlet	P 'bill(hook)'
1767	trancha	trañša	'trañša	trañchat	to mine, extract	
1768	tréveil	treveļ	'treve:ʎ	trevel(l)	work	
1769	tré	tre	'tre	tre, trech	ebb	
1770	trébarz	trebarz	'trebarz	trebarzh	thoroughly	
1771	trebársia	trebarša	tre'barša	trebarzhiañ/-iñ	to bore, pierce	
1772	trégériet	tregerjet	tre'gerjet	tregeriat	from Tréguier	
1773	trégérni	tregerni	tre'gerni	tregerniñ	to echo, reverberate	
1774	trégérnuz	tregermuz	tre'germuz	tregermus	loud	
1775	trei	trej	'trej	troiñ, treiñ	to turn	
1776	etrámañ	etramä	e'tramä	trema	towards	Favereau: old <i>e(n)tre-m'-ha(g)</i> , <i>e(n)tre'-am'-</i> .
1777	trémen	tremen	'tremen	tremen	to pass away	P 'to pass'
1778	treménvan	tremenvan	tre'menvan	tremenvan	passing, demise	
1779	témpra	tempra	'tempra	trempañ/-iñ	to soak	
1780	tempr	tempr	'tempr	trempr	soaked	
1781	pouez	pwez	'pwez	pouez	slowness	P 'weight, stress'
1782	trünsen	trüsenn	'trysen:	treujenn, troj-, truj-, truñs-	tree-trunk	Favereau: Léon has <i>truj-</i> , Trégor has <i>truñs-</i> (together with Ushant).
1783	treust	troest	'troest	treust	beam, balk	
1784	treut	troet	'troet	treut	meagreness	
1785	treuz-velt	troezvelt	'troezvelt	treusgeot, treuswelt	couch grass	
1786	tribézek	tribezek	tri'bezek	tribizek	three-digit	
1787	trichement	trich'ehent	tri'xem'ent	trichement	triple	
1788	tríc'heit	trich'heit	'trixejt	trich'heit	thrice as far	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1789	trúcha	truša	'truʃa	trichañ/-iñ, truchañ	to cheat	
1790	tríñchin	tríšin	'trifʃin	tríñchon, tri(ñ)chin	sorrel	
1791	trívach	trioach	'trivax	triwec'h	eighteen	
1792	tro-gamm	tro-gamm	tro'gam:	tro-gamm	satire	This compound does not exist in P, but the two parts individually do (tro 'turn' and kamm 'crooked').
1793	tro'nheol	tro'nheol	tron'heol	boked tro an heol	daisy	
1794	troél	troell	tro'el:	troell	crank	
1795	troc'hánik	troc'hanik	tro'xanik	troc'han	wren	
1796	troien	troyen	'trojen	troien/-ion	residue after winnowing	
1797	trouñs	trüş	'trüş	troñs	pleat, cuff	
1798	tropiket	tropiket	tro'piket	tropiket	dropsical person	
1799	tróuc'ha	truc'ha	'truxa	trochañ/-iñ/-o	to cut	
1800	lemm	lemm	'lem:	lemm	edge	P 'pointy'
1801	troúsial	trušal	'truʃal	trouzal	to rustle	
1802	trugácha	trugaša	'try'gaʃa	treugacha	to catch fish by stirring stones	
1803	trugárez	trugarez	'try'garez	trugarez	mercy	
1804	truíllen	truļenn	'try'ʎen:	truilh/-enn	piece of trash	
1805	truíllenna	truļenna	'try'ʎen:a	truilhañ/-iñ, truilhennañ	to fall apart in pieces	
1806	tū-pé-dū	tu-pe-du	ty'peɖy	tu pe du	all stakes	
1807	tuf	tuf	'tyf	tuf	spit	
1808	tud	tud	'tyd	tud	people	
1809	tűfen	tuřenn	'tyʃen:	tuvann	stave	P 'staving'
1810	túillè	tuļe	'tyʎe	tule(w)	coltsfoot	P 'beaker shaped'
1811	túria	turya	'tyrja	turiañ	to root, snout	
1812	túrigna	tuřna	'tyrɲa	turgnañ/-iñ	to turn	
1813	kulátor	kulator	ky'lator	kulater/-or	curator	
1814	tútu	tutu	'tyty	tutu	cow (infant's speech)	
1815	uc'hal	u'chal	'yxal	uhel	high	
1816	ul	ul	yl	ul	a	
1817	túlien	uļen	'yʎen	ulvann	fine fabric	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1818	úrcher	uršer	'yrʃor	hucher	doorkeeper, bailiff	
1819	urcha	urša	'yrʃa	urzhiañ/-iñ	to persuade	P 'to order'
1820	urz	urz	'yrz	urzh	order	
1821	Eússa	œsa	'øsa	Eusa	Ushant	
1822	Eussañis	œsais	ø'sais	Eusaiz	Ushanter	
1823	küre	kurę	'kyre	kure	curate	
1824	vilitaős	vilitaős	'vilitaős	vilitaős	goblin	P 'infamy, monster'
1825	umbl	umbl	'ymbł	humpl	poor, humble	
1826	or	or	or	war	on	
1827	ze	zę	zę	-se	that	
1828	zokén	zokén	zo'ken	zoken	same	
1829	aloupi	alupi	a'lupi	aloubiñ	to swallow quickly	
1830	kaout	kawt	'kawt	kaout	to appear, seem	P 'to have, get'
1831	krakou	kraky	'kraku	krakoù	the distinguished, rich	P 'short and fat person, clean, clear'
1832		digoufi	di'guvi	digouvi	parting, discharge	
1833	dindaouñ	dindaü	din'daü	dindaon	clock, church (infant's speech)	
1834	gord	gord	'gord	gorz	rave, side of a cart	
1835	gouzi	gyzi	'guzi	gouzañv/-iñ	descent, to descend	P 'suffering, to suffer'
1836		guisparku	guis'parku	gwisparkou	roundel made of stone	
	béspenn		'bespen:	?	until	MC <i>bys</i> 'until' < <i>py</i> <i>hys</i> 'what length', MB <i>bet</i> 'until' < OB <i>beheit</i> 'what length'. (George, Ken, <i>An Gerlyver Meur</i> (Bodmin 2009) 114.) So, as the Breton counterpart of C <i>bys</i> would have -t, this does not seem to be the solution.
1837						
1838	jámez		'jamez	jamez	never	
1839	pomeñenn		po meñen:	pommellenn	hand guard	
1840	santüri		san'tyri	santurig	(summer) savory	
1841		setu amã	se'tya'mã	setu amañ	behold, here is	
1842	karrégad		ka'regad	karregad	load of rocks	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1843	mé'ánat meínáta		mé'anat mei'nata	maenad maenatañ	load of rocks to stone, follow, chase	Form not found in the Favereau, but from 1843 we can deduce that it would probably be written as maenatañ (with the ending -añ causing the provection of -d-, cf. W- (h)α.)
1844						

# **Appendix 2**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
	<u>Ushant dialect</u>	<u>Peurunvan</u>	<u>Translation</u>	<u>Notes</u>	<u>Variants</u>	<u>Peurunvan</u>	<u>Translation</u>	<u>Notes</u>
1								
2								
3								
4	øsa	Eusa	Ushant					
5	øsaïs	Eusaiz	Ushanter					
6	øsa	Eusa	Ushant	The Breton name of the	tyd ø'sa	tud Eusa	people from Ushant	
7	pares	parrez	parish		ar 'bares	ar barrez	the parish	
8	'karter	karter, -ier	quarter, district		ar 'xarter	ar c'harter	the quarter, district	
9	-							
10	ar ger	ar gêr	the village		ar ggerjaden	ar gerjaden	a village	
11	kerjaden	kerjadennoù	villages					
12	tos'tat	tostaat	to approach		to'sat	tostaat	to approach	
13	pe'lat	pellaat	to elongate					
14	e'plex	(e-)pelec'h	where					
15	amā	amañ	here					
16	'azę	aze	there					
17	'y'xal	uhel	high		'y'el	uhel	high	
18	'lees	uhel, krec'h, nec'h, trech, laez	height		'laes	uhel, krec'h, nec'h, trech, laez	height	
19	or 'laes	war-lein, war-laez	on the top		er 'lees	er-laez	on the top	This form is not found in the Favereau, but is quite clearly a compounding of er 'in the' and laez 'height'.
20	en 'oap	en oabl, en neiv	in the sky		en oap	en oabl, en neiv	in the sky	
21	'izal	izel	low		'izel	izel	low	
22	'träun	traoñ	bottom		'traun	traoñ	bottom	
23	dän träun	d'an traoñ	down		en 'träun	en traoñ	down	
24	'umā	homañ	this one (f.)					
25	'tunes	honnezh	that one (f.)					
26	'emā	hemañ	this one (m.)					
27	'enes	henneth	that one (m.)					
28	bez ez øs	bezañ ez eus	there is					
29	ø's ke	n'eus ket	there is not					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
30	l'øske mi	n'eus ket mui, n'eus ket ken	there is not anymore		z øske mi	n'eus ket mui, n'eus ket ken	there is not anymore	The z is the verbal particle ez that can only be found here in the negative because the Ushant dialect seems to have lost the double negative construction <i>ne + neg.</i>
31	an dra be'naak	un dra bemak	something					
32	pe'naoß	penaos	how					
33	pe'tra	petra	what					
34	pe'nak	perak	why					
35	mør'teže	mar'teže	perhaps, maybe					
36	pe'gemøn	pegement	how much					
37	pe'den	pet den	how many (people)					
38	pet kwej	pet gwech	how often					
39	a leiz a	kalz a, e-leizh a, e-kaer a	much		e-leiz a mera	e-leizh ha meur a	much	This construction is not found in the Favereau. It seems to be a double expression composed of <i>e-</i> <i>leizh a</i> and <i>meur a</i> , both meaning 'much'.
40	nø:bøt	nebeut	little, not much					
41	a'walx	a-walc'h	enough		alax	a-walc'h	enough	
42	bras	bras	big, large, tall					
43	'biän	bihan	small, little					
44	ir	hir	long					
45	ber	berr	short					
46	'punar	punner	heavy					
47	skäe:	skañv	light					
48	'skäox	skañvoc'h	lighter		'skäwax	skañvoc'h	lighter	
49	-	-	-		'sxäa	skañvañ	lightest	
50	'kunta	kontañ/-iñ/-o	to count					
51	'ynän	unan	one					
52	dou	daou	two (m.)		dbu	daou	two (m.)	
53	dliu	div	two (f.)					
54	tri	tri	three (m.)					
55	teir	teir	three (f.)					



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
56	'pewar	'pevar	four (m.)					
57	'peder	'peder	four (f.)		'pe:der	'peder	four (f.)	
58	'pem	'pemp	five		'pemp	'pemp	five	
59	xwɛ:x	c'hwec'h	six		xwɛ'x	c'hwec'h	six	
60	seis	seizh	seven					
61	eis	eizh	eight					
62	nao	nav	nine					
63	de:k	dek	ten					
64	'ynnek	unnek	eleven					
65	'douzek	daouzek	twelve		'doudek	daouzek	twelve	
66	'trizek	trizek	thirteen		'tri:dek	trizek	thirteen	
67	'pevarzek	pevarzek	fourteen		pe'warzek	pevarzek	fourteen	
68	'pemzek	pemzek	fifteen		'pemdek	pemzek	fifteen	
69	x'wezek	c'hwezek	sixteen		xwɛ:dek	c'hwezek	sixteen	
70	'settek	settek	seventeen					
71	'tribax	triwec'h	eighteen		'tri:wax	triwec'h	eighteen	
72	'naitek	naontek	nineteen		'naotek	naontek	nineteen	
73	'ygent	ugent	twenty		'ygent	ugent	twenty	
74	ynān or 'nygen	unan warn-ugent	twenty-one		ynān var 'nygent	unan warn-ugent	twenty-one	
75	'kumās	komañs/-iñ	to begin					
76	e'ji	achuñ, echuñ	to finish					
77	'bremā	bremañ	now					
78	dos ty	diouzhtu	immediately		do'xy	diouzhtu	immediately	
79	a'vifu	a-wechoù	sometimes					
80	mæd a dro	meur a dro	often	P allies. A more literal translation of meur a dro is 'many a time'.	meur a 'bea]	meur a wech	often	P allies. A more literal translation of meur a wech is 'many a time'.
81	éb 'dale	hepdale, dizale, prest	soon		prest	hepdale, dizale, prest	soon	
82	xwas	c'hoazh	again					
83	es	ivez	too, also					
84	war ke mi	ne oar ket mui	he does not know anymore		ne 'warke mi	ne oar ket mui	he does not know anymore	
85	bis'kwass	biskoazh, james	never (in the past)		'gāmas	biskoazh, james	never (in the past)	
86	'gāmes	biken, james	never (in the future)		'biken	biken, james	never (in the future)	
87	'gāmes	morse, james	never (habitually)	On Ushant morse is only known from songs.				
88	'ato	atav	always		a'to	atav	always	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
89	di'bezat	diwezhat	late		dyi'bat	diwezhat	late	
90	dyi'zatax	diwezhatoc'h	later		dive'zatox	diwezhatoc'h	later	
91	-							
92	'mintin	abred	early	P mintin 'morning'	a 'brët	abred	early	
93	'betek	betek	until					
94	pør	peur	when, at what time					
95	dëax	dec'h	yesterday					
96	ifo	hiziv	today					
97	or'xoas	(w)arc'hoazh	tomorrow		var'xoas	(w)arc'hoazh	tomorrow	
98	'mintin	mintin	morning					
99	kes'tejs	kreizteiz	noon, midday					
100	gudë kes'teis	goude kreizteiz	afternoon (before the four o' clock meal)	P abardaez. This Ushant form literally means 'after noon'.	gudë mern	goude merenn	afternoon (before the four o' clock meal)	P abardaez. This Ushant form literally means 'after lunch'.
101	ãn abar'deis	an abardaez	the afternoon (after the four o' clock meal)		er par'daes	an abardaez, ar pardaez	the afternoon (after the four o' clock meal)	
102	dëz er par'daes	diouzh ar abardaez, diouzh ar pardaez	evening (end of the afternoon)	Literally 'in the afternoon'.	en noz	en noz	evening (end of the afternoon)	Literally 'in the evening, night'.
103	ar xyz'èol	ar c'huz-heol	the sunset					
104	nòs	noz	night					
105	anter nos	hanternoz	midnight					
106	deis	deiz	day					
107	'deifu	deizioù	days					
108	b'empes	bemdez	everyday					
109	dëves	devezh	length of a day		'dezves	devezh	length of a day	
110	dë'be'ju	devezhioù	length of days		dë'v'ju	devezhioù	length of days	
111	al lyn	al Lun	Monday					
112	dë'lyn	dilun	on Monday		di'lyn	dilun	on Monday	
113	er 'moer's	ar Meurzh	Tuesday					
114	diz'moers	dimeurzh	on Tuesday					
115	'merxer	Mer'her	Wednesday					
116	diz'merxer	dimer'her	on Wednesday		diz'merxer	dimer'her	on Wednesday	
117	jou	Yaou	Thursday					
118	di'riu	diriaou	on Thursday					
119	g'ener	Gwener	Friday					
120	dir'gwemër	digwener	on Friday		dir'gonor	digwener	on Friday	
121	er 'zadorn	ar Sadorn	Saturday	P Sadorn				

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
122	di'sadorn	disadorn	on Saturday					
123	ar zyl	ar Sul	Sunday	P Sul				
124	di'syl	disul	on Sunday					
125	di'lyn	dilun	next Monday					
126	er'zizyn	ur sizhun	a week		er'zizyn	ur sizhun	a week	
127	si'zypu	sizhuniot	weeks		si'zypu	sizhuniot	weeks	
128	er'zizynes	ur sizhunvezh	a length of a week		er'zizynat	ur sizhuniad	length of a week	
129	-							
130	ar mis	ar miz	month					
131	miju	mizioù	months					
132	'bloas	'bloaz	year					
133	'blwaju	'bloazioù	years		'blaju	'bloazioù	years	
134	'blaves	'bloavezh	length of a year		'blaes	'bloavezh	length of a year	
135	'bla'vaju	'bloavezhioù	length of years		'bla'vaju	'bloavezhioù	length of years	
136	er'blaes pa'set	ar bloavezh paseet	the past year	P arlene	er'blaes 'pase	ar bloavezh paseet	past year	
137	ar bwēdeo	ar poent eo	the point, time, moment	Literally 'it is (the) time'.				
138	kena'erzo	kenavo, kenavezo	goodbye		kena bo	kenavo, kenavezo	goodbye	
139	'amzer	'amzer	time, weather		'amzer	'amzer	time, weather	
140	pe'bez 'amzar	pebezh amzer	what a weather!					
141	'ael	avel	wind					
142	'kwa'br̄en	koumoulenn, koabrenn	cloud					
143	kwa'brinu	koumoulennoù, koabrennoù	clouds	P would rather use the collective koumoul or	koab dy / kwa'br̄iner	koab du / koabrennoù	clouds	P koab du literally means 'dark clouds'.
144	'glaq	glav	rain					
145	ru:den gi	roudenn-gi	rainbow	P gwareg-ar-glav, barrenn- ar-glav, kordenn-ar-glav, troadig-ar-glav				
146	erx	er'h	snow					
147	'arnø	arnef̄v	thunderstorm					
148	ar'neok	ernef̄vek	thunder		ar'nøet	ernef̄vet	thunder	Literally 'thundered'
149	kydry:nu	kurunoù	lightning		kydryn	kurun	lightning	
150	ly'yeden	luc'hedenn	lightning flash					
151	ly:yet	luc'hed	lightning flashes		ly:øet	luc'hed	lightning flashes	
152	'tarān	taran, toron	summer lightning	P 'thunder'				
153	ta'ra:net	taraned	summer lightnings		ta'ra:net	taraned	summer lightnings	
154	'sɛ:"x	se'h	dry					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
155	sexax	sechoc'h	dryer					
156	sexa	sechan	dryest					
157	seya	sechan/-in/-o	to dry		se:xa	se'han/-in/-o	to dry	
158	seyar	sehor, sehour	drought					
159	an 'y'p	an oabl	the sky					
160	glas	glas	blue (when referring to the sky)					
161	an nē:	an nēv	the skies		ā 'nēvu	an nēvoù	the skies	
162	ba'kadod	baradod(e)z	heaven, paradise					
163	an 'eol	an/ar heol	the sun		'eol	heol	sun	
164	skle'ri:gen	skle'rijenn	daylight					
165	'duar	douar	earth, ground					
166	dur	dour	water					
167	tān	tan	fire					
168	'ly:dy	ludu	ash					
169	'koat	koad	wood					
170	'uarn	houarn	iron		'uarn	houarn	iron	
171	er 'wezenn	ur wezenn	tree					
172	gwe:s	gwez	trees		gwi'zinu	gwezennoù	trees	These are multiple individual trees.
173	-							
174	'balān	balan, banal	broom					
175	er 'velten	ur c'heotenn	blade of grass					
176	gwelt	geot	grass					
177	luzejer 'duar	louzou duar	weed	P louzou	'luzu	louzou	weed	
178	tok 'tusak	(s)kabel-touseg, tok-touseg	mushroom					
179	tu:gu tu'seji	tokou-touseg	mushrooms		tu:gu tu'se:gi	to:gu-touseg	mushrooms	
180	buki:du ku'ku:k	bokedou-koukoug	poppies	P 'cuckoo flower'				
181	'frue:s	frouezh	fruit					
182	'aok	aog	overripe					
183	'moeyr	meür	ripe					
184	a:'len	avalenn	apple	P aval	ava'len	avalenn	apple	
185	ava'lu	avalou	apples		a:alu	avalou	apples	
186	gis'tinen	kistinenn, kestenenn	chestnut tree					
187	'kistin	kistin, kesten	chestnut trees					
188	-							
189	søc'zarden	spezadenn	gooseberry		sf'e:arden	spezadenn	gooseberry	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
190	sʔe:zart	spezad	gooseberries		sʔe:zart	spezad	gooseberries	
191	kas'ti:es	kast(r)ilhez	red currants					
192	zi'bi:en	sivienn	strawberry					
193	'si:bi	sivi	strawberries					
194	sit:oi 'sa:vaʃ	sivi sovaj, sivi koudask	wild strawberries					
195	mu'airen	mouarenn	blackberry					
196	'mu:ar	mouar	blackberries					
197	'gues	gouez	wild		'sa:vaʃ	sovaj	wild	
198	'bleis	bleiz	wolf					
199	'bleizi	bleizi	wolves					
200	'lu:arn	louarn	fox					
201	loa'rnnet	louarned, lern	foxes					
202	'la:er	laer	thief					
203	'la:edrun	laeron	thieves		'la:edrun	laeron	thieves	
204	-							
205	-							
206	-							
207	-							
208	ræs	razh	rat		'ra:den	razhenn	rat	
209	'razet	razhed	rats		'ra:zet	razhed	rats	
210	lo'go:den	logodenn	mouse					
211	'lo:got	logod	mice					
212	gwi'ar:dar	gwiader	bat					
213	gwi'a:derjen	gwiaderien	bats					
214	'la:bus	labous	bird					
215	la'buset	laboused	birds					
216	bɛ:k	beg	beak					
217	'begu	begu	mouths, beaks		'bi:gu	begu	beaks	
218	er'blyen	ur bluivenn	a feather		er'bleen	ur bluivenn	a feather	
219	plœ	pluiv	feathers					
220	'er walx	ur voualc'h	a blackbird			ur voualc'h du	a blackbird	The form [mɛr] seems to be a loanword from French ( <i>merle</i> 'blackbird').
221	'bwilxi	moulic'hi	blackbirds					
222	-							
223	'er rān	ur vran	a crow					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
224	'brini	brini	crows					
225	dyr'zy:nel	turzhunell	turtledove					
226	dyrzy'nellet	turzhunelled	turtledoves					
227	er xāni 'gues	ur c'hamig/houad gouez	a wild duck					
228	kanige 'gues	kaniged/houtidi gouez	wild ducks					
229	'tusak	to(u)seg	toad					
230	tu'seji	to(u)seged/-i	toads		tu'se:gi	to(u)seged/-i	toads	
231	-							
232	grə'nuʔet	g(w)leskered	frogs	The Ushant word seems to be a loanword from French, <i>grenouille</i> 'frog'.				
233	ən tu'se:gi	an to(u)seged/-i	the (croaking) frogs	P 'toads'.				
234	zə ɛ 'krial	zo o krial	are croaking	P 'are shouting'.				
235	par'lavān	pariafan	tadpole	P 'salamander, on hands and knees'.				
236	pariā'bānet	pariafanoù	tadpoles	P 'salamanders'.				
237	mɛl've:den	mɛl'houedenn	slug					
238	'mɛlvɛt	mɛl'houed	slugs					
239	'birru	birou	snail	P mɛl'houedenn				
240	be'rawet	biroued	snails	P mɛl'houed (krogennek).				
241	ge'ʔe:nen	kelienn, keliennenn	fly					
242	'keʔen	kellen, kellon	flies					
243	-							
244	-							
245	zei'dru:nen	gwenanenn, gwenedenn, gwerennenn	bee	P sardonenn 'bumblebee'				
246	seidru:n	gwenan, gwened, gweren	bees	P sardon 'bumblebee'				
247	-							
248	er yi	ur c'hi	a dog		'ir xi	ur c'hi	a dog	
249	ʃas	chas	dogs					
250	er 'gies	ur giez	a bitch					
251	ki'erzet	kiezed	bitches					
252	er has	ur c'hazh	a cat		øR 'xas	ur c'hazh	a cat	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
253	'kij'ær	kizhier	cats		'kij'ær	kizhier	cats	
254	'targas	targazh	tomcat					
255	'tar'gij'ær	targizhier	tomcats					
256	'gazes	kazhez	puss					
257	'ka'zè:zet	kazhezèd	pusses					
258	'krial	krial	to mew	P 'to cry, shout'.				
259	'tjèges	tiegezh	farm	P 'household, family'	ferm	feurm, ferm	farm	
260	tiè'gesu	tiegezhoù	farms	P 'households, families'				
261	pÿ's	puisoù	well					
262	pÿ'su	puisoù	wells					
263	a 'xau	ar c'hraou	stable		'kraou		stable	
264	'gardin	jard(r)in	garden					
265	'ljors	liorz	garden, yard					
266	'teil	teil	manure					
267	'äwes	hañvouez	liquid manure		'äwes			
268	'xuer	peizant, kouer	peasant		'huer	peizant, kouer	farmer	
269	ku'erjan	peizanted, kouerion	peasants		peizanted	peizanted, kouerion	farmers	
270	laboureur 'duar	laboureur douar	agriculturalist					
271	laburegjen 'duar	labourion douar	agriculturalists					
272	mest	mestr	master, boss					
273	'mistri	mestrou, mistri	masters, bosses					
274	'fermur	ferm(i)er, fermour	farmer					
275	-							
276	'mevel	mevel	farm-hand					
277	meve'ken	mevelion	farm-hands					
278	plax	plac'h	maid	P 'daughter, maid'	'vates	matezh	maid	
279	'playet	plac'hed	maids	P 'daughters, maids'	mi'tij'en	mitizhion, matezhed	maids	
280	-							
281	den djuz ä'n deis	den diouzh an deizh	day labourer (m.)	Literally 'a man from the day'. P pemdeziek,				
282	tyd uar ä ves	tud war un wezh	day labourers (m.)	Literally 'people for a day'. P pemdeziegion,				
283	mawez ä ra 'deij'u	maouez ä ra deizhioù	day labourer (f.)	Literally 'a woman that works days'. P pemdeziegez, devezhinez.				
284	-							
285	'pa:lat	palat, abegin/-out	to act spoilt					
286	'pa:let	palet, abegèt	spoilt					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
287	ʔada	hadan̄/-in̄/-o	to sow, seed					
288	xʷenat	cʰwennat	to weed, grub	xʷenat	cʰwennat		to weed, grub	
289	falxat	falcʰat	to mow	tʰexi	tʰexʰin		to mow	P 'to conquer, triumph'
290	karga	kargan̄/-in̄	to load (a gun), to charge					
291	durnā	dornañ/-in̄/-o	to thresh					
292	durnā	dornañ/-in̄/-o	threshing					
293	godro	goro, goera(t)	to milk					
294	go'droet	goroet, goeraet	milked					
295	œr ba:l	ur ba:l	a shovel					
296	pa:lu	paliou̯	shovels					
297	e bal	ur bal	a spade					
298	pa:lu	paliou̯	spades					
299	bal dol	pal dol	roadmender's shovel					Literally 'sheet iron shovel'
300	vals	falz	sickle					
301	valx	falcʰ	scythe					
302	mēka:nik	mekanik	mowing machine	val'hōrōs	falc'herez		mowing machine	
303	falhō'rē:zu	falc'herez	mowing machines					
304	dur'nōrōs	dornerez	threshing-machine					
305	durne'ryzu	dornerez	threshing-machines					
306	ʔadɛn	chadenn	chain					
307	ʔa denou	chadennoù	chains	ʔa dinu	chadennoù		chains	
308	nyrkes	turkez	pincers	'dyrkes	turkez		pincers	
309	-	-	-					
310	er za:l	sailh	a bucket					
311	sa:lu	sailhoù	buckets					
312	er xar	ur c'harr	cart					
313	'kiri	kirri	carts					
314	hravās	kravazh	wheelbarrow	hrawas	kravazh, karrigell		wheelbarrow	P 'stretcher'
315	kra 'ba:ʃu	kravazhioù, krivizhi(er)	wheelbarrows	'kri'bijer	kravazhioù, krivizhi(er)		wheelbarrows	P 'stretchers'
316	-	-	-					
317	xwe'nōrōs	cʰwennerez	hoe, weeder					
318	-	-	-					
319	ɛ:t	ed	wheat, grain crop					
320	-	-	-					
321	'kolo	kolo	straw					
322	grō:n	greun, gran	grain					



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
323	at	had	seed					
324	øn 'äden	un hadenn	a seed					
325	'mɛ ən	melchon	clover		'mɛ ən	melchon	clover	
326	lwan 'ke:zek	loen(-kezeg)	horse		lwan 'ke:dek	loen(-kezeg)	horse	
327	'ke:zek	kezeg	horses		'ke:dek	kezeg	horses	
328	marx	marc'h	horse (m.)					
329	'marxet	marc'hed, marc'hoù	horses (m.)					
330	marx 'antjer	marc'h antier, marc'h						
331	'gæ:zek	kalloch	stallion					
332	kæ:zegenet	kæzeg	mare					
		kæzegenned	mares					
333	løn 'biän	loen bihan	foal (of unknown sex)					
334	kezeg 'biän	kezeg bihan	foals (of unknown sex)					
335	'øbøl	ebeul	colt		'øbøel	ebeul	foal	
336	'øbø:æn	ebeulion	colts					
337	'øbø:les	ebeulez	filly					
338	-							
339	uarn 'ke:zek	houarn (marc'h, kezeg)	horseshoe		uarn 'ke:zek	houarn (marc'h, kezeg)	horseshoe	
340	u'ornu	houarn(i)où, hern	horseshoes					
341	'æzen	azen	donkey					
342	a'zenet	azened, ezen	donkeys					
343	ux	ho(u)c'h	pig					
344	mox	moc'h	pigs					
345	'jatal	chatal	cattle					
346	'ta:ro	tarv	bull					
								According to the Favereau a typical Ushant word.
347	ko'jinu	kochoù	bulls					
								According to the Favereau a typical Ushant word. It is peculiar though that the Favereau does not supply the right plural then. The Ushant form here seems to reflect <i>koch</i> + sgt. + pl. -

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
348	er xof	ur c'hoch	a breeding bull	According to the Favereau a typical Ushant word.				
349	-							
350	er'gen	ejen, ejon	ox					
351	-							
352	er eox	ur vuoc'h	cow (f.)					
353	saut	buoc'henned, bioù, saout ar buoc'henned, ar bioù, ar saout	cows (f.) the cows (f.)					
354	ar 'zaut							
355	lue	leue, lue, loue	calf					
356	'lueq	leueoù, lueoù, loueoù	calves	'lyu	leueoù, lueoù, loueoù	calves		
357	'oneer	annoar, annoer, anner annoared, annoered, annered	heifer heifers	'uner	annoar, annoer, anner	heifer		
358	u'nerret							
359	ler	ler	leather					
360	py:ri	peuriñ	to graze					
361	mout	maout	ram	maut	maout	ram		
362	mouttet	maouted, maoutoù	rams					
363	'dā:vat	danvad	sheep (sg.)	lon 'dē:vat	loan-derived	sheep (sg.)		
364	'dē:vet	deved	sheep (pl.)	'dē:vet	derived (pl.)	sheep (pl.)		
365	dā'vā:des	danvadez	ewe	wā:nes	oanez	ewe	P 'lamb (f.)	
366	dā:uā'dē:zet	danvadezed	ewes	wā'ne:zet	oanezed	ewes	P 'lamb (f.)	
367	oan	oan	lamb					
368	ein	ein	lambs	ein	ein	lambs		
369	er 'haor	ur c'havr	a goat	er 'gaor	ur c'havr	a goat		
370	gao'riket	gavrig(ed), givrig(i)	goats	gao'riet	gavrig(ed), givrig(i)	goats		
371	bux	bo(u)c'h	billy goat					
372	'buxet	bo(u)c'hed	billy goats					
373	er 'yilok	ur c'hilhog	a cock, rooster	er 'xilok	ur c'hilhog	a cock, rooster		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
374	ki'æ:gi	kilheien, kilhegi	cocks, roosters		ki'æ:gi	kilheien, kilhegi	cocks, roosters	
375	er'jar	ur yar	a chicken		r'jær	ur yar	a chicken	
376	je:r	yér	chickens					
377	-							
378	labus'piän	labous bihan	chick	P 'little chick'				
379	labuse'piän	laboused bihan	chicks	P 'little chicks'	on do'raiden	evn doradenn	chicks	P 'chick of a nest'
380	er'yanik	houad, kanig	a duck					
381	ka'niget	houidi, kaniged	ducks					
382	-							
383	u'i:di	houidi	geese	P 'ducks'				
384	pi:jun	pichon	pigeon		er'pi:jun	ur pishon	a pigeon	
385	pi'junet	pichoned	pigeons		pi'junet	pichoned	pigeons	
386	de:zi	dozvin, dezvin	to lay (eggs)		'de:zi			
387	do:zet	dozvet	laid					
388	klo:jal	klochat	to brood	P 'to cluck'				
389	klo:fet	klochot	brooded	P 'clucked'				
390	'bleo	blev	hair		'bleo	blev	hair	
391	bleo'ryz	blev ruz	redhead	P 'red hair'	bleo'rys	blev ruz	redhead	
392	'baro	barv	beard					
393	'lagat	lagad	eye					
394	dou'lagat	daoulagad	pair of eyes					
395	dou'lagat	daoulagad	pairs of eyes		du'lagat	daoulagad	pairs of eyes	
396	sku:am	skouam	ear		sku:am	skouam	ear	
397	dou'skuam	divskouarn	pair of ears		di'skuarn	divskouarn	pair of ears	
398	sku'arnju	skouarnioù	pairs of ears	P 'ears'	sku:arnju	skouarnioù	pairs of ears	P 'ears'
399	'myzel	muzel	lip					
400	my'ze:lu	muzelloù	lips					
401	'jik	chik	chin		'jik	chik	chin	
402	'jiku	chikoù	chins					
403	'stomok	stomog	chest	P 'stomach'				
404	d:an	dorn	hand					
405	'dwaarn	daouarn	pair of hands		'dwaarn	daouarn	pair of hands	
406	'troat	troad	foot					
407	'treidu	treid, troadoù, treidi	feet		treit	treid, troadoù, treidi	feet	
408	be:s	biz, bez	finger					
409	be'ziet	bizied, bezied	fingers					
410	'i:vin	ivin	mail		'i:vin	ivin	mail	
411	i'bi:nu	ivinoù	nails		i'bi:nu	ivinoù	nails	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
412	tām eskorn	tamm askorn	bone	literally 'bit of bone'	tām 'eskern	tamm eskern	bone	literally 'bone-bit'
413	eskorn	eskern	bones		tāmu 'eskern	tammou eskern	bones	literally 'bone-bits'
414	teot	teod	tongue		'teot	teod	tongue	
415	'teodtu	teodou	tongues		'teodtu	teodou	tongues	
416	'stāun	staon	palate					
417	ey	avu	liver		'ey	avu	liver	
418	-							
419	'maro	marv	dead					
420	'jawānk	yaouank	young					
421	kos	koz	old					
422	krē:	kreñv	strong		krē:	kreñv	strong	
423	'krēvax	kreñvoc'h	stronger		'krēfax	kreñvoc'h	stronger	
424	'krēva	kreñvañ	strongest		'krēfa	kreñvañ	strongest	
425	mē mōz oun	me am eus aon	I am afraid		oun e mōs	aon am eus	I am afraid	
426	pwān	poan	pain					
427	ređom ə mōs	re domm am eus	I am too hot					
428	'xwizi	'chweziñ	to sweat					
429	xwēzet	'chwezet	(have, has) sweat					
430	huęs	'chwezt	sweat		xwē:	'chwezt	sweat	
431	riu mōs	riw am eus	I am cold		riu ə mōs	riw am eus	I am cold	
432	jeñ 'eo	yen eo	it is cold					
433	'ezōm	ezhomm	need		'afer	'afer	need	P 'business'
434	sufla	-	to blow	French loan-word (Fr. <i>souffler</i> ). Not found in the				
435	be:'x war va a:ian	bec'h war va alan	difficulty on my breath,				short of breath, out of	
436	tur'lokat	tourlonkañ/-iñ	out of breath		ber 'a:lan	berr alan	breath	
437	turiōket	tourlonket	to cough					
438	'turluñk	tourlonk	coughed		pas	paz	cough	
439	si'vermi	sifermañ/-iañ/-iñ	to sneeze	P 'freshwater sleeper'	si'vermi	sifermañ/-iañ/-iñ	to sneeze	P 'to catch a cold, to infect with a cold'

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
440	dis'xei i 'ginu	... e c'henoù/c'hinoù	to yawn	I am not sure how to interpret [dis'xei]. It seems to be either <i>dishetvel</i> with another verbal ending, where <i>h</i> is pronounced as [x] instead of zero, and <i>-v-</i> is not pronounced, as is apparently normal in the Ushant dialect; or a variant of <i>digeriñ</i> , with <i>dis-</i> instead of <i>di-</i> , that is not found in the Favereau. Also, the latter would have needed to lose its <i>-r-</i> , which seems only to happen in consonant clusters, e.g. 570: <i>paotr bihan</i> [po 'piã] (- <i>r</i> seems	di'gerri i 'ginu	digeriñ/digorin e c'henoù/c'hinoù	to yawn	
441	'kreñjat	krañchat, tufal	to spit					
442	'santut	sante/-out	to smell	P 'to sense, smell, feel'				
443	-							
444	xwès	c'hwezh	smell, odour		hwe:s	c'hwezh	smell, odour	
445	skuj:s	skuizh	tired					
446	mõn da 'gusket	mont da gousket	to go to sleep					
447	kusked guḏ kes teis	kusked goude kreiste(i)z	siesta	Literally 'sleep after midday'	kus'kaden	kouskadenn	siesta	P 'nap'
448	şev:val	sevel	to get up, rise					
449	'balē	bale	to walk					
450	're:dek	redek	to run					
451	nõ:	neuñv/-ial/-iñ	to swim	nõ:		neuñv/ial/-iñ	to swim	
452	juñʒal	sonjal	to think					
453	ko'zæl	kozeal	to talk					
454	bṛe'zune:k	brezhonek	Breton (language)					
455	te	te	you (sg.)					
456	xwi	c'hwì	you (pl.)					
457	la ba:ret	lavaret/-out	to say, speak					
458	teot fal	teod fall	scandal/monger					
459	'si:lu	selaou	listen! (2sg. ipv.)	'silow	selaou		listen! (2sg. ipv.)	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
460	ˈpɔkɑt	pokat	to hug, kiss		ˈbuʒɑ	bouchañ	to hug, kiss	
461	buʒ	bouch	kiss					
462	ˈbuʒu	bouchoù	kisses					
463	ˈliːzɛr	lizher	letter		ˈliːzɛr	lizher	letter	
464	ˈdiːɑt	dilhad	clothes					
465	ˈgweɪxi	gwalc'hiñ	to wash					
466	oːber ɛr ˈxues	ober ar c'houtez	to do the laundry					
			dirty water, washing					
467	dur luis	dour luis	water					
468	ˈbɔtɛz lɛr	botez-ler	shoe		ˈbɔtɛz lɛr	botez-ler	shoe	
469	ˈbɔtɔ lɛr	botoù-ler	shoes		ˈbutu lɛr	botoù-ler	shoes	
470	-							
471	ˈɦlum	skoul(ou)m, skolom, ko(u)lo(u)m	knot		xlum	skoul(ou)m, skolom, ko(u)lo(u)m	knot	
472	ˈkɪlumu	skoul(ou)mou, skolomou, ko(u)lo(u)mou	knots					
473	diˈbyːna	dibunañ/-iñ	to unwind		diˈbyːnɑ	dibunañ/-iñ	to unwind	
474	boˈloten	polot(enn)	ball, clew					
475	ˈglɑːn	g(w)lan, gloan	wool					
476	ˈdɛiːbi	debrñ	to eat		ˈdiːbi	debrñ	to eat	
477	ˈɛːva	evañ/-et/-o	to drink					
478	ˈrepas	repas	meal					
479	rɛˈpaʒu	repasioù	meals					
480	ˈleɪn	lein	breakfast					
481	gɔrˈtoːzɛn ˈbiɑ̃n	gortozenn bihan	light meal					
482	mɛːm	merenn	lunch					
483	kɔrˈtoːzɛn	gortozenn	(afternoon) tea		koˈtoːzɛn	gortozenn	(afternoon) tea	P 'light meal'
484	ˈkoɑ̃n	koan	dinner		ˈkoɑ̃n	koan	dinner	
485	bɑ̃nɛ ˈkafɛ	banne kafe	evening meal					
			Literally 'drop of coffee'					
486	gastɔˈlɔrɛn	kastelodenn, kastolorenn	saucepan					
487	kastabˈrɛnu	kastelodennou, kastolorennou	saucepans					
488	ˈgulhɛr	goulc'her	lid		ˈgulxɛr	goulc'her	lid	
489	gulˈɦiri	goulc'herioù, goulc'hiri	lids		gulˈɦiri	goulc'herioù, goulc'hiri	lids	
490	ˈtrɛːbɛs	trebez	triod					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
491	'bedren	gwerenn	drinking glass					
492	gwe drijer	gwerennoù	drinking glasses		gwe drinu	gwerennoù	drinking glasses	
493	leñ	leun	full					
494	'guku	go(u)llo, goulle	empty					
495	'torja	torchañ/-iñ	to dry					
496	'bãñe	bannac'h, bannec'h, banne	drop, drink					
497	bañeu	bannac'hoù, bannec'hoù, banneoù	drops, drinks					
498	a memes tra	ar memes tra	the same thing					
499	po dour	pod dour	jug of water		er vass	pod dour	jug of water	
500	pudu dur	podoù dour	jugs of water		po:du dur	podoù dour	jugs of water	
501	be'radur	berad dour	drop of water					
502	be'radu	beraoù	drops					
503	'leas	laezh	milk					
504	gwîn	gwin	wine					
505	'taol	taol	table					
506	'taolju	taolioù	tables					
507	'bara	bara	bread					
508	dorz 'bara	torzh vara	round loaf of bread					
509	-							
510	vijen 'bara	michenn vara	thick round loaf of bread					
511	a'mañ	amanenn, amann	butter					
512	er bi	ur ui, vi, wi	an egg					
513	'viu	uioù, vioù, wioù	eggs					
514	koh 'viu	koc'h-vioù	eggshells					
515	jot	yod	porridge		jot	yod	porridge	
516	-							
517	'farnel	chamel	ossuary		'xirin	kirin	ossuary	P 'pot
518	kik mox	kig moc'h	pork		kik ux	kig ho(u)c'h	pork	
519	pøs 'køta	pesketa	to fish					
520	pos 'køtøt	pesketet	fished					
521	pes 'køtøer	pesket(a)er, pesketour	fisher					
522	pøs'køtøerjan	pesket(a)erion, pesketourion	fishers					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
523	bos'kø:den	peskedenn	fish					
524	poskøt	pesked	fish (pl.)					
525	-							
526	-							
527	ti	ti	house					
528	'ties	tiez, tier	houses					
529	e peseurt ti	e peseurt ti?	in which house?					
530	ti zurl	ti soul, ti saoul	thatched cottage		ti su:l	ti soul, ti saoul	thatched cottage	
531	dig'e'meret	degemer/-ed/-out	to receive					
532	dig'e'meret	degemeret	received					
533	'reşeu	resev	to receive					
534	re'şebet	resevet	received					
535	an no:en	an doenn	the roof					
536	je'me'lan	siminal, chiminal	chimney		j'i'mi:nal	siminal, chiminal	chimney	
537	simi'lanu	siminal(i)ou, chiminal(i)ou	chimneys		je'me'lanu	siminal(i)ou, chiminal(i)ou	chimneys	
538	ar xa'latres	galataz, galatrez	attic					
539	ska'ljeru	skalieroù	stairs		ske'ljeru	skalieroù	stairs	
540	'disken	diskenn	to descend					
541	dis'kenet	diskennet	descended					
542	'en nor	un nor	a door					
				There are many more possible plurals in P. I have chosen to omit these for the sake of brevity.				
543	'duru	dor(i)ou	doors		'nuru	dor(i)ou	doors	
544	di'geri	digorin, digerin	to open		di'geri	digorin, digerin	to open	
545	'digor	digor	open					
546	'sra	serrañ/-ezh/-in	to close					
547	'seret	serret	closed					
548	'prenes	prenestr	window		'prenest	prenestr	window	
549	pre'nefer	prenestroù/-er	windows					
550	'te'wal	teñval, teñwel	gloomy					
551	skle'r	sklaer	clear					
552	'gu:lu	go(u)ou	light					
553	gu'lau	go(u)louou, go(u)leier	lights		go'lau	go(u)louou, go(u)leier	lights	
554	a'lymi	alumiñ, elumiñ	to light					
555	a'lymet	alumet	lit					



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
556	'moxga	mougan/-in/-o	to extinguish		'laða	lazhan/-in/-o	extinguish	
557	'moxget	mouget	extinguished		'laðed	lazhet	extinguished	
558	o'let	oaled, aoled	stove, hearth		'aplet	oaled, aoled	stove, hearth	
559	pa'likes	paliked, palikez	coal shovel		bal'tân	paliked, palikez	coal shovel	
560	-							
561	'orlof	(h)orolaj/-oj	clock		or'lo:f	(h)orolaj/-oj	clock	
562	or'lurzu	(h)orolojou	clocks		or'lo'zennu	(h)orolojennou	clocks	
563	va'laen	balaenn	broom					
564	bala'ennu	balaennou, balinier	brooms					
565	alaen 'ba:lan	balaenn balan	surface brush		va'laen	balaenn	broom	
566	'sky:ba	skuban/-in/-o	to sweep					
567	'sky:bet	skubet	swept					
568	er gwas	ur gwaz	a man					
569	er 'bawes	maouez	a woman					
570	po 'piän	paotr bihan	lad					
571	-							
572	o za:t	ma/va zad	my father		o ðat	ma/va zad	my father	
573	o mäm	ma/va mamm	my mother					
574	o zyt	ma/va zud	my parents					
575	o 'yerent	ma/va c'herent	my (blood) relatives		o 'herent	ma/va c'herent	my (blood) relatives	
576	ta kops	tad-kozh	grandfather					
577	mem gops	mamm-gozh	grandmother					
578	-							
579	o bror	ma/va breur	my brother					
580	'brø:der	breudeur	brothers		'brø:der	breudeur	brothers	
581	o 'xø:ar	ma/va c'hoar	my sister		o 'hoar	ma/va c'hoar	my sister	
								The superscript o is actually [ø]. I am not able to get the dot below into the superscript as well, however.
582	o xwa'rezet	ma/va c'hoarezed	my sisters		o h'a'rezet	ma/va c'hoarezed	my sisters	
583	o 'mawes	ma/va maouez	my wife					
584	-							
				Literally 'one little one'. The use of <i>unan</i> for the indefinite article seems				
585	y:nän biän	unan bihan	a baby		ø'r by:gel 'biän	ur bugel bihan	a baby	Literally 'a little child'
586	'by:gel	bugel	child					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
587	bu'gales	bugale	children	According to the Favereau the plural <i>-ez</i> actually reflects an earlier stage. Ushant dialect have something to do with this same dialect also being the only that retained final	by'gale	bugale	children	
588	o 'zuntun	ma/va zonton	my uncle		o 'zōntōn	ma/va zonton	my uncle	
589	o zōn'tōnet	ma/va zontoned	my uncles		o zun'tunet	ma/va zontoned	my uncles	
590	o 'zintin	ma/va zintin	my aunt		va 'zintin	ma/va zintin	my aunt	
591	tin'tinet	tintined	aunts		imwē're;beṭ	moerebed	aunts	
592	o 'xuzin	ma/va kouzin	my cousin (m.)		va 'huzin	ma/va kouzin	my cousin (m.)	
593	o xu'zined	ma/va c'houzined	my cousins (m.)					
594	o hu'zines	ma/va c'houzinez	my cousin (f.)					
595	o 'huzi'nezet	ma/va c'houzinezet	my cousins (f.)					
596	o ni:	ma/va ni(z)	my nephew					
597	'nizet	ni(z)ed, ni(z)er, ni(z)ion	nephews					
598	'nizez	nizez	niece					
599	ni'zēzet	niz(h)ezed	nieces					
600	o ba'rein	ma/va pæron mæronez, mæron, mæren	my godfather godmother	Catholicon <i>pazron</i> . Catholicon <i>mazron</i> .	pa rē	pæron	godfather	
601	ma're:n							

# Appendix 3

## List of Ushant dialect words with MB *-zl-, -zn-, -zr*

Appendix 1 (Malgorn)	Appendix 2 (NALBB)	ALBB	P	MB	English
	435: [ɑ:län], [ 'a:länt]	2: [ 'alan]	anal, alan	alazn	breath
		10: [ 'aer]	(n)àer	azr (C)	adder
807: [ 'godro]	293: [ 'go:dro]	577: [ 'go:dro]	goro	gozro (C)	to milk
	294: [go 'droet]		goroet		milked
808: [god 'road]			goroad		a milking
885: [ 'gʷədɾɛn]	491: [ 'vɛdɾɛn]		gwerenn	guezrenn (C)	a drinking glass
	492: [gʷəd 'riɲɛr], [gʷəd 'riɲu]		gwerennoù		drinking glasses
932: [ 'ɛdɾɛ]		468: [ 'ɛdɾɛ]	here(ñv)	hezreff (C)	October
1113: [maɛd 'runɛz]	601: [ma 'rɛ:n]	454: [mad 'runɛs]	màeron(ez)	mazron (C)	godmother
1185: [ 'mwɛdɾɛb]		473: [mo 'ɛdɾɛb]	moereb	mozreb (C)	aunt
	591: [mwɛ 'rɛ:bet]	473: [moɛd 'rɛbet]	moerebed		aunts
1271: [ 'paɛdrun]	600: [o ba 'rein] 'my godfather', [pa 'rɛ]	508: [pa 'rɛ], [pa 'ɛdrun]	pàeron	pazron (C)	godfather

Appendix 1 (Malgorn)	Appendix 2 (NALBB)	ALBB	P	MB	English
1675: [talad' røegen:]			talarek	talazr (C) 'auger'	sand eel
101: [ 'gʷədret]		29: [gœ' ɛdret]¹	bered, gwered	bezret (C)	graveyard
1017: [ 'laɛr]	202: [ 'laɛr]	420: [ 'laɛr]	làer	lazr (C)	thief
1017: /laedrun/ᵐ	203: [ 'leidrun], [ 'læɸdruŋ]	420: [la' edrun]	làeron	lazron (HPB: 121)	thieves
1017: /laedrat/ᵐ			làerezh	lazrez (C)	to steal
1017: /laedrez/ᵐ			làerez		thievette
1017: /laedrûsi/ᵐ			làeronsi	lazroncy (C)	robbery
373: [ 'kluɛr]			krouer	coezr (C)ᵐᵐ	
	359: [ 'le:r]		ler	lezzr (C)	leather
1053: [ 'lerɛn:]			lerenn		thong
1086: [ 'loar]		433: [ 'loar]	loer	louzr (C)	stocking
1086: [ 'leru]			loeroù		stocking
292: [ 'kodlɛ]		577: [kodlɛ]	kole	MB <i>coz</i> 'old' (C) + <i>lue</i> (C) 'calf'	bull (StB 'young bull')
1697: [kod' læa]			koleat		to be on heat (cows only)
231: [ 'kɛlu]			keloù	quehezlou (C)	news
652: [ 'enez]			enez	ezn (C) + fem. suffix -ez	pullet

Appendix 1 (Malgorn)	Appendix 2 (NALBB)	ALBB	P	MB	English
1085: ['loan]		432: [lo'ã̃n]	loen	loezn, lozn (C)	animal
		432: [lo'ɛ̃net]	loened		animals

Notes:

<sup>1</sup>: I am not sure what exact sound Le Roux intends to transcribe with œ with a superscript *u*. Since he explains that he uses œ for the French *eu*, which is pronounced [ø] here, I take œ<sup>u</sup> to mean [œ].

<sup>2</sup>: Malgorn only supplies these words as *laedroun*, *laedrat*, *laedrez* and *laedrouñsi*. The phonemic transcriptions are my own.

<sup>3</sup>: Favereau has the MB form without *-r-* after *c-*.