CHAPTER 10

BRETON

Ian Press

PREAMBLE

The following sketch of Breton is highly constrained, and abridged; it may, however, provide a useful point of departure and reasonably reflect a once relatively very strong Celtic language. Imperative are firm measures creating a public and official presence for the language, the revival of widespread Breton-speaking among the young, and the strengthening of intergenerational continuity. Constraint implies the presentation of a 'unified' Breton, which is not necessarily impoverished and characterless. Breton is 'felt' to be one. Much variation will be come across, but the language is there.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Breton is an 'Insular Celtic' language, i.e. a Celtic language of the British Isles transplanted to the European Continent. It is also a P-Celtic language. There may have been a small, and residual, population of Gauls, Continental Celts, when the Briton (later 'Breton') immigration occurred, say, between the fourth and the eighth centuries AD. Such a residual population may partly explain the divergent *Gwenedeg/Vannetais* Breton of the south-east. Figure 10.1 shows the traditional administrative divisions of Brittany.

Drawing particularly on Hemon 1975: 1–2, it may be noted that this early period up to the eighth century affords no documents, merely a few latinized names. The period roughly from the ninth century to the eleventh century is referred to as that of Old Breton (Fleuriot 1964a and 1980) and presents isolated words, notably person and place names, in glosses, cartularies, and Latin lives of saints. The eastern boundary of Breton-speaking Brittany settles, after some expansion and recession, to roughly the area from Sant Brieg/St-Brieuc in the north to the Gwilen/Vilaine estuary in the south. Linguistic movement west since then has been slight, the essential change being the fragmentation of the language within its core area, beginning quite early but accelerating since the early nineteenth century (see Figure 10.2).

Middle Breton might be said to cover the eleventh century to the first half of the seventeenth century. Notable is the *Catholicon*, a Breton–French–Latin dictionary of 1499 by Jehan Lagadeuc. This is a period of intense Romance influence, particularly lexical influence, e.g. *brav – brave* 'beautiful, handsome', *asamblez – ensemble* 'together', *eurus – heureux* 'happy, fortunate', *stagañ – attacher* 'to attach'.
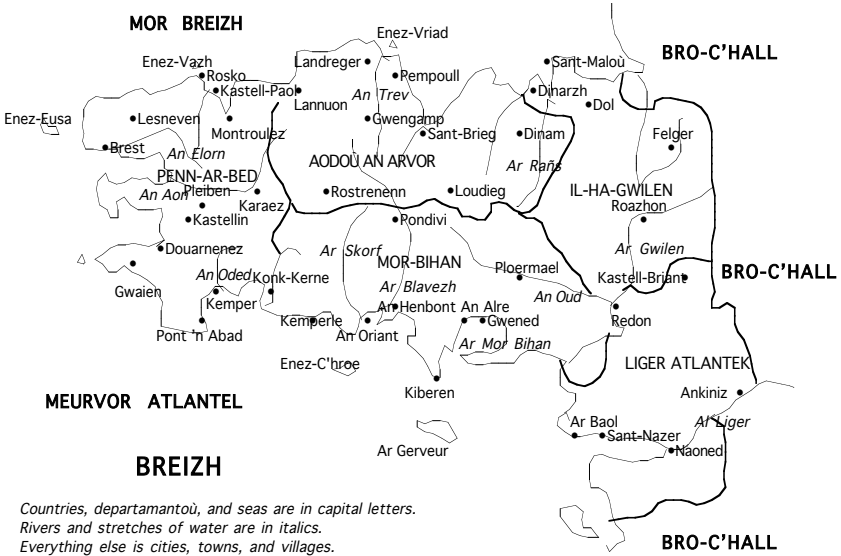
MOR BREIZH

Enez-Vriad

Enez-Vazh   Landreger
Rosko   Sant-Maloù   BRO-C'HALL
Kastell-Paol   Pempoull
Lannuon   An Trev   Diharzh
Lesneven   Montroulez   Dol
Enez-Eusa   Gwengamp   Felger
Brest   An Elorn   Sant-Brieg   Dinam
PENN-AR-BED   AODOÙ AN ARVOR   Ar Rañs   IL-HA-GWILEN
An Aon   Pleiben   Roazhon
Karaez   Rostrenenn   Loudieg   BRO-C'HALL
Kastellin   Pondivi   Ar Gwilen
Douarnenez   Ar Skorf   Ar Gwilen
An Oded   Konk-Kerne   MOR-BIHAN   Ploermael   Kastell-Briant   BRO-C'HALL
Gwaien   Kemper   Ar Blavezh   Redon
Kemperle   Ar Henbont An Alre   An Oud
Pont 'n Abad   An Oriant   Gwened   LIGER ATLANTEK
Enez-C'hroe   Ar Mor Bihan   Ankiniz
MEURVOR ATLANTEL   Kiberen   Ar Liger
Ar Baol   Sant-Nazer
BREIZH   Ar Gerveur   Naoned

Countries, departamantoù, and seas are in capital letters.
Rivers and stretches of water are in italics.
Everything else is cities, towns, and villages.

BRO-C'HALL

Figure 10.1 Administrative divisions of Brittany

Plouha
Gwengamp   Sant-Brieg   LIMIT OF
LINGUISTIC
APPROXIMATE   EXPANSION
PRESENT-DAY   LIMIT OF
LINGUISTIC   CORE
AREA   LINGUISTIC
AREA   Roazhon

DUCHY OF

Gwened   BRITTANY
Muzilhag

The expansion and retreat of Breton

Each area extends from the extreme west to the
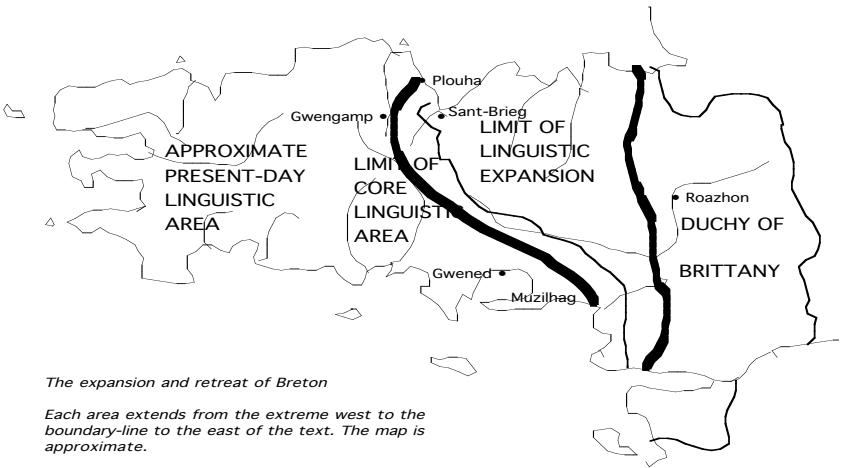*boundary-line to the east of the text. The map is*
approximate.

Figure 10.2 The expansion and retreat of Breton

From the mid-seventeenth century Modern Breton may be seen to be in place, though a
sub-division or divisions may be appropriate for this period. Important is Julien Maunoir's
Le Sacré Collège de Jésus (1659), accompanied by a grammar and a 'French–Breton' dic-
tionary. This builds on orthographic reforms, e.g. the removal of some unnecessary letters,
the reflection of mutations, and the introduction of *c'h* as distinct from *ch*. There might be
arguments in favour of a sub-division in the early nineteenth century with the works of
J. F. Le Gonidec: *Grammaire celto-bretonne* (1807) and *Dictionnaire celto-breton* (1827).

Here the spelling system, based on Breton as spoken in the Leon (north-west) area, is firmed up, e.g. *k* for *c* and *qu*, *z* for [z], and a beginning is made on reducing the number of superfluous French borrowings, authentic components of popular Breton though many may have been. Since then there is essentially a refinement of the language.

Breton nonetheless remains largely deprived of a public presence, is massively fragmented, has a predominantly ageing population, and thus is highly at risk. Numbers of speakers vary enormously, depending on how a speaker is defined. Le Boëtté 2003 offers a very useful study, suggesting 257,000 speakers.

DIALECTS

There are traditionally seen to be four dialects: *Kerneveg*, *Leoneg*, *Tregerieg*, and *Gwenedeg*, with the first three reckoned to be relatively much closer to each other (see Figure 10.3). Hemon 1975: 2 notes that 'some linguistic features have little to do with the boundaries of the dioceses', but feels that the division is generally acceptable (one might also mention the *Goelo*(*ù*) dialect, in the extreme north-east – see Le Coadic n.d.). Their names are abbreviated as *K*, *L*, *T*, *Gw*. The presentation here essentially focuses on the first three, though the standard pretends to cover the whole language (*Gwenedeg*, focusing on Rostrenenn–Pondi–Gwened–Kemperle, retains a strong identity, but note the extension of the standard on the new web-site for Vannes/Gwened: http://br.mairie-vannes.fr/). *Leoneg* provided the modern base in the early nineteenth century; there is currently some rise in public use and teaching of the *Kerneveg* 'dialect', as centred on Karaez/Carhaix, and it is sometimes reckoned *Tregerieg* is particularly vibrant. One talks of the Montroulez/Morlaix, Gwengamp/Guingamp, Karaez triangle as a core area.

Humphreys 1990: 131 very aptly writes:

> I have deliberately broken with the traditional diocesan labels of Breton dialects with their overall efficiency little exceeding 50 per cent and their undue suggestion of discreteness. They seem particularly inappropriate as viewed from Carhaix, at the centre of the broad Median Zone which crosses the country from sea to sea on the northeast–southwest Tréguier–Quimper axis and whose diversities are overshadowed by a unity readily noted by naive native-speakers (Falc'hun 1963).

Hewitt 2002: 31 also refers to this and to 'standard literary usage, which is based on the highly divergent "peripheral" dialects of Leon (NW) and Gwened (SE)'. One might also cite Humphreys 1978:

> D'abord il [the Fañch dialect described here] révèle, mieux peut-être que tout autre dialecte, les distorsions de la classification diocésaine traditionnelle qui, malgré les travaux du Chanoine Falc'hun, est encore souvent prise au pied de la lettre. Il appartient à la vaste zone de transition qui sépare le Léon du Haut-Vannetais, mais si on le compare à l'ensemble de cette aire centrale on ne peut qu'approuver l'observation d'un paysan de Maël-Pestivien 'muioh gwenedour zo 'barzh' – il contient plus de vannetismes.

So we might see transitional zones between Leon and the centre and between the centre and Gwened, doubtless more pronounced in the case of the latter. There are many excellent descriptions of Breton dialects, and they should be consulted, e.g. Bothorel 1982,
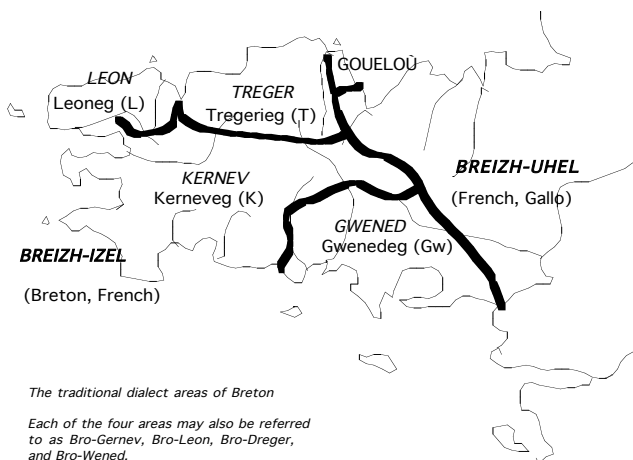
Figure 10.3 The traditional dialect areas of Breton

Hammer 1969, Humphreys 1978 and 1985, Jackson 1960–1, McKenna 1976–81, Plourin 1982, Sinou 1999 and 2000, Sommerfelt 1920, Ternes 1970, and Wmffre 1998 – note too the excellent grammars by Guillevic and Le Goff 1902 (*Gwenedeg*) and Le Clerc 1986 (*Tregerieg*), Gros' works (1970, 1976, 1977), the invaluable atlases by Le Roux 1927 and Le Dû 1972, Plourin 2003 and 2005, and the very numerous and valuable other studies, e.g. by Hewitt, Stephens, and Timm.

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONOLOGY

Orthography

See Denez 1975: 1 for a heartfelt statement about recent arguments over Breton orthography. It seems as if the *peurunvan* 'unified' orthography is prevailing, with the use of *skolveurieg* (the 'orthographe universitaire') and the *etrerannyezhel* (the 'interdialectale') somewhat reduced. The *peurunvan*, which arose during the Second World War, is also known as *zedacheg*, because of its acceptance of the digraph *zh*, and as *KLTGw*, because it reflects an attempt to bring all 'four dialects' together. It is a derivative of *KLT*, created in the early twentieth century by the *Entente des écrivains bretons* (1908). This orthography brought the three 'closer dialects' together, *Gwenedeg* retaining its orthography. Whatever the non-linguistic details, the creation of the *peurunvan* was a significant step. It was, however, not politically in favour and in the 1950s the *skolveurieg* was devised. The *etrerannyezhel* orthography was devised in the early 1970s to bring the *peurunvan* and *skolveurieg* together and was used by Fañch Morvannou in the original Assimil course. However, the *peurunvan* seems to have taken root.

The *peurunvan* orthography is used here. Its set of symbols, in the order as found in a dictionary, is as follows (with very approximate transcriptions):

a, b, ch, c'h, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, z
[a, b, ʃ,   x,   d, e, f, g, h, i, ʒ, k, l, m, n, o, p, ʀ, s, t, y, v, w, j, z]

To these may be added *eu* [ø], *ou* (and *où*) [u], *gn* [ɲ], (*i*)*lh* [ʎ] (or [j]), and *zh* [z] or [h]. Now and then *c*, *q*, and *x* occur. To be added is *ñ*, which is not pronounced and most often indicates that the immediately preceding vowel is nasalized.

The consonants may all be named by adding *e* (pronounced close), or *e* (pronounced rather open) may be placed before *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *lh*, *gn*, *f*, *s*, *c'h*, with *h* as *hach* and *z* as *zed* (Kervella 1947/1976: 10). The digraph *zh* is generally [z], though in *Gwenedeg* [h] is more frequent – the digraph indicates a choice between *z* and *h*.

The alphabet is very similar to English, but note that there are *ch* and *c'h*, which come between *b* and *d* (there is arguably no *c*, which is replaced by *k*). *H* is usually pronounced, much as in English, but, as in English, it may be dropped, sometimes obligatorily (e.g. *ha* 'and', *he* 'her', *ho* 'your, you (object pronoun, possessive)'), and generally in certain dialects. It might be noted that *c'h* will tend to be [h] except when absolute word-final (i.e. before a pause or silence), when it will tend to be [x]. What is written *z* is very often silent word-internally and finally. Much of what one sees written might be pronounced 'as if French', but one should be careful, i.e. however 'inauthentic' the pronunciation of many *néo-bretonnants*, it may be seen as better than no Breton at all (this very point is made by Davalan I 2000: 30). Wmffre 2007, an absolutely invaluable work, came to the author's attention too late to be taken into account.

Phonology

A great deal of useful information on the pronunciation of Breton may be obtained from Kervella 1947/1976 and Davalan 2000-2001-2002 (the latter is in addition the source of much information on the mutations).

Vowels occur long and short: unstressed vowels are always short (one may also come across unstressed long vowels, see Humphreys 1978: E); stressed vowels may be either long or short: a following voiceless sound (*k*, *s*, etc.), or what are written as geminate consonants, e.g. *nn*, *ll*, *rr*, *mm* (and *m*), plus some other groups, are preceded by short vowels – otherwise the vowel is long. A 'problem' point is the case of stress-bearing monosyllabics ending in a consonant (for example *kazh* ['kɑːs]) – in most cases the vowel is long, suggesting a voiced following consonant; the vast majority of descriptions consider the following consonant voiceless, but in what does *kazh* 'cat' end? It may depend on dialect, but one may see it as voiceless lenis, i.e. certainly with a 'hint' of voice – the present writer was corrected, in a meeting with Frañsez Kervella, when he pronounced *bras* 'big' with a voiceless [s].

In *KLT* the stress is overall on the last-but-one syllable (except in stressable monosyllabics) and is very salient (in *Gwenedeg* notably the stress is overall final). There are a few words where the stress is final – these are usually compounds. Here are a few examples adapted from Press 1986: 26–7 (for a fuller list see Kervella 1947/1976: 50 or Hemon 1972: 94–9):

a   Nouns: *abardaez* 'evening', *itron* 'lady, Madame', *gwinegr* 'vinegar', *Pantekost* 'Pentecost';
b   Adjective: *fallakr* 'rascally, evil';
c   Present-tense situative forms of *bezañ* 'to be': *emaon* 'I am', etc.;
d   The first and second persons of the *i* 'conjugation' of prepositions: *ganin* 'with me', *diouzhoc'h* 'from you';
e   Adverbs, pronouns, prepositions: *abred* 'soon' (most often), *antronoz* 'the following day', *avat* 'but, however', *dalc'hmat* 'constantly', *disul* 'next/last Sunday', *e(n)*

ta 'so', *evel* 'like', *evit* 'for', *fenoz* 'tonight', *ouzhpenn* 'in addition', *pelec'h* 'where', *warc'hoazh* 'tomorrow', *zoken* 'even';

f   Place-names: mostly consisting of an unstressed first component, e.g. *Plou/Plo/ Pleu-*, *Lan-*, *Kastell-*, *Ker-*, *Meilh-*; if the second and last component is monosyllabic, then the place-name is end-stressed, e.g. *Plogoñv* 'Plogoff', *Lanveur* 'Lanmeur', *Kastellin* 'Chateaulin', *Kerlaz* 'Kerlaz'.

The close vowels *i*, *u*, and *ou* tend to be pronounced similarly whether stressed or unstressed; they vary only in being long or short; thus basically [i], [y], and [u]: *inizi* [i'niːzi] 'islands', *bruzun* ['bryːzyn] 'crumbs', and *louzoù* ['luːzu] 'herbs, weeds'. All three may be nasalized: *fiñval* 'to move', *puñs* 'well' (both these may be opened somewhat, or denasalized); *ou* is only positionally nasalized, e.g. *koun* ['kũːn] 'memory'.

The open vowel *a* may seem less open and retracted when in a monosyllable (and thus normally long), e.g. *kazh* ['kɑːs]. In monosyllables where it is short, it is open, e.g. *fall* ['fall] 'bad', *tach* ['taʃ] 'nail' (here the final consonants are fortis). Its articulation comes in-between when penultimate stressed and long, e.g. ['kaːlɛt] 'hard'. Nasalized it tends to be [ɑ̃], e.g. *tañva* ['tɑ̃va] '(to) taste'. Nasal vowels proper tend not to be long, though [ɑ̃ː] may occur (Ternes 1992: 431 sees their quantity as predictable except in the case of [ɑ̃]).

The mid vowels, namely those written *e*, *o*, *eu*, occur long and short and may in addition vary in degree of openness and closedness. Trépos 1968: 10–11 summarizes the variation well. Basically, they may be closed, thus [e], [o], and [ø], only if they are long (and, almost always, stressed), e.g. *bed* 'world', *dor* 'door', and *neud* 'thread'. Both *e* and *o* may close so far as becoming [i] and [u] respectively. In a few words *e* may be closed and short: *pesk* 'fish', *Brest* 'Brest', and *bet* 'been, had'. They will be less closed when unstressed (in some dialects, see Wmffre 1998: 8–11, there may be vowel neutralization in the post-tonic position, with emergence of a schwa, a weak schwa, or even elision). They may also be less closed when stressed in some words, whether long or short: *ler* 'leather', *tost* 'near', *treust* 'rafter' – it is difficult to define this positionally, but it seems to happen before *r* on its own, *sk*, *st*, and absolute word-finally, e.g. *ro!* 'give!' They are open (there may be variation) before *c'h*, the semi-consonants *y*, *w*, or before *l* and *r* reinforced by another consonant: *sec'h* 'dry', *merk* 'mark', *eien* 'sources', *kelc'h* 'circle', *n'oc'h ket* 'you aren't', *golvan* 'sparrow', *teuc'h* 'worn-out', *seurt* 'sort, type', *Meurzh* 'March'.

Regarding sequences of vowels, *ae* often tends to become a long mid *e*, except in Leon and slightly east and south, where it may invert to the two-vowel sequence *ea* (thus [aj, ɛː, ɛa, ɛ]); *ao* often tends to become *o*, sometimes very closed (thus [aw, o], but also [ɔ]); *aou* tends to be [aw] or, perhaps preferably, [ɔw], and *eo* tends to be [ew] (sometimes [ɛw]) (if it is the 3PS of *bezañ* 'to be', it may be [ew, e, ɛ, ə]). Overall, *o* and *ou* before a vowel will be pronounced [w] (almost always when after *k* and *c'h*), e.g. *gloan* 'wool', *koad* 'wood', *klouar* 'tepid'; *eu* before a vowel will tend to be [ɥ], e.g. *leue* (but [w] is possible here too, as indeed is [ø]) – particularly in Leon vowel sequences starting in *o*, *ou*, *eu* will tend to remain bisyllabic, and this can be the general rule in certain words). One might note here the sounds spelt *v* (always [v] absolute word-initially). Much depends on the dialect. Rarely we have consistent [v]; in the south-east we may tend to have [ɥ]; it may be pronounced [w] except before front vowels. Overall, after *l*, *r*, *n*, and *z* it will tend to be pronounced [o], e.g. *mezv* 'drunk' (as will be ending *av*, e.g. *divalav* 'ugly'), and in the north and north-west, perhaps reflecting the standard, there is hesitation between [v] and [w], with a tendency to disappear after a nasal, e.g. *skañv* 'light' [ã(õ/w)]. After vowels it will as a rule be pronounced [w], e.g. *piv* 'who', *brav* 'beautiful', *tev* 'stout'. Absolute

word-finally in verbal forms *v* will tend to be pronounced [v] or [f], depending on how one interprets the absolute word-final consonant (see elsewhere in this section).

A vowel + *n* is not a nasal vowel – the vowel acquires a nasal twang, but the nasal consonant remains; *ñ* indicates nasality of the preceding vowel (depending, e.g. on dialect, there may be no nasalization).

A vocalic system for the literary language may be as follows (Ternes 1992: 431):

	oral vowels			**nasal vowels**		
	front	**central**	**back**	**front**	**central**	**back**
HIGH	i	y	u	ĩ	ỹ	ũ
MID	e	ø	o	ẽ		õ
LOW		a			ã–ãː	

Summarizing, with a little more detail, long vowels are stressed and followed by silence or by voiced or voiceless lenis, short vowels are unstressed, or stressed and followed by fortis. Marginal elements are given in parentheses. Orthographic symbols are italicized. Thus:

	oral vowels			**nasal vowels**		
	front	**central**	**back**	**front**	**central**	**back**
HIGH	i *i*	y *u*	u *ou*	(ĩ) *iñ*	(ỹ) *uñ*	(ũ) *ouñ*
MID-CLOSE	e *e*	ø *eu*	o *o*	ẽ *eñ*		õ *oñ*
MID-OPEN	ɛ *e*	œ *eu*	ɔ *o*	ɛ̃ *eñ*	œ̃ *euñ*	
LOW		a *a*			ã *añ*	

The Breton diphthongs can be seen as vowel + [j], [w], [ɥ], e.g., *kaer* ['kajr] 'fine, beautiful', *paotr* ['pawt(r)] 'lad', *eeun* ['ɛwn] 'simple, direct'. In the first two cases there is often contraction. The 'weaker' vowel of the third case could also be [ɥ], a fronted, palatal variant of [w] (i.e. a labial palatal approximant), typically occurring before or after front vowels. The sequences *oa*, *oue* overall tend to [wa], [we]; in such instances the vowel, if stressed, will then be long or short as normal. The group *oua* may be disyllabic; such cases are rather infrequent, e.g. *gouarn* '(to) steer, govern', *douar* 'land, earth'. The group *oe* is very rare, e.g. the native root *loen* [oe] or [weː] 'animal'.

A consonantal system for the literary language may be as follows (Ternes 1992: 431):

	labial	**dental**	**palatal**	**velar**	**pharyngeal**
ORAL STOPS	b, p	d, t		g, k	
FRICATIVES	v, f	z, s	ʒ, ʃ	x	h
RESONANTS	m	n	ɲ		
		l	ʎ (or [j])		
		r (or [ʀ], or [ʁ])			
	w, ɥ		j		

The voiced and voiceless palatal fricatives are written *j* and *ch*; the velar fricative is written *c'h*. The palatal nasal and velar are written *gn* and *lh* (*ilh* unless a syllabic *i* precedes), and as *ni* and *li* before a vowel other than *i*, e.g. *bleniañ* 'to drive', radical *blegn*, 1PS preterite *blegnis*, 3PS preterite *blenias*; *heuliañ* 'to follow', radical *heuilh*, 1PS preterite *heulhis*, 3PS preterite *heulias*. The labial semi-consonant is written *w* or *ou* (occasionally *v*); the palatal semi-consonant is written *y*, *i* inter-vocalically, and *i*

following a consonant and before a vowel, e.g. *gwelet* 'to see', *gouel* 'feast', *ya* 'yes', *ray* 'will do', *eien* 'sources', *skolioù* 'schools'. The group *où* tends these days to be pronounced [u], but there is dialectal variation. The other consonants are written as in the transcription.

Consider below a fuller, more problematic, exposition. Here the hyphen designates absolute word-initial position (fortis), geminates designate fortis, 'S' denotes a syllabic, and [vh] is an optional denotation of the voiced result of the *spirantization* mutation (also to be found in some roots and to be found particularly in Leon). 'Pharyngeal' may also cover 'Laryngeal', and 'Labial' covers 'Bilabial and 'Labio-dental'. A question mark denotes uncertainty (the two consonants concerned are often seen as [h]).

	labial	**dental**	**palatal**	**velar**	**pharyngeal**
ORAL STOPS	b, bb-	d, dd-		g, gg-	
	pp, ḅ, p	tt, ḍ, t		kk, g, k	
	b, p	*d, t*		*g, k*	
FRICATIVES	v, vv-	z, zz-	ʒ, ʒʒ-	ɣɣ-?,	h, hh-
	ff, vh/v̥, f	ss, z̥, s	ʃʃ, ʒ, ʃ	xx, ɣ̥?, x	
	v, f	*z, s*	*j, ch*	*c'h*	*h*
RESONANTS	mm	nn, n	ɲ		
	mm, m	*nn, n*	*gn, ni* + S		
		ll, l	ʎ		
		ll, l	*lh, li* + S		
		rr, r (or uvular ʀ)			
		rr, r			
	w, ɥ		j		
	ou/w		S + i + S, *y*		

The front rounded semi-consonant [ɥ] occurs often when a following or preceding vowel is front. There tends to be palatalization of velar stops before front vowels and after *i* (leading to affrication). Thus *k* in *keno* 'good-bye', and both consonants in *kig* 'meat'.

The principal problems in proposing a system of sounds for Breton seem to concern the place of the correlations of strength (fortis:lenis), voice (voiceless:voiced), and quantity (note that the *long* fortis vowel may be seen as followed by a *short* lenis consonant, and vice versa; where the vowel is unstressed, there is vocalic blurring plus a weak voiceless consonant).

The assumption is that all absolute word-initial consonants, and consonants mutated by *provection* (see the following section), are fortis. Note that fortis includes both voiceless and voiced consonants, the latter tending towards the former. A nice example, if somewhat emphatic, might be *Va Doue!* 'My goodness!', where we may hear a fortis *t* beginning *Doue* 'God'. Now, absolute word-final consonants after an unstressed vowel are weak (= lenis) and voiceless. After a stressed (and usually long) vowel, i.e. notably in monosyllabic words, they are lenis; the prevailing view sees them as *voiceless*, but what there may really be is something between voiced and voiceless (note the present author's 'mistake' regarding *bras*, reported earlier in this section). The vowel, itself, will be long, thus *kazh* 'cat' ['kɑːẓ] or *bras* 'big' ['brɑːẓ]. However, there are monosyllabic words with a fortis consonant after a stressed short vowel, e.g. *kas* 'to send' ['kass] (other examples include *tap* 'catch', radical of *tapout* 'to catch' and *pak* 'pack', radical of *pakañ* 'to pack'). So it may, at this point, be simpler overall to accept distinctive vocalic quantity and set aside consonantal strength, replacing it with voice, neutralized absolute word-finally and realized

there as voiceless. That individual dialects, and some views of the standard, present more complex pictures is a separate issue.

Now note that the sounds [ʎ], [ɲ], and [m] (the last whether spelt *mm* or *m*), the semi-consonants [w] and [ɥ], and *n* and *l* when absolute word-initial and when written as *nn*, *ll* (and *r* for the standard language) are themselves fortis. Word-internally this only manifests itself when preceded by a stressed short vowel. Stressed vowels will also be short before the sequences *nt*: *hent* 'road', *nk*: *trenk* 'bitter', before consonantal groups beginning with a fortis, e.g *kastell* 'castle', and before *r* and *l* followed by a stop, a fricative, or [j] (=[ʎ]), e.g. *park* 'field', *marc'h* 'horse', *skolioù* 'schools', *sturiañ* 'to steer' (long in singular *skol* and in *stur* 'rudder') (Trépos 1968: 12).

Kervella 1947/1976: 12 gives a series of examples of long and short vowels: *tal* 'forehead' – *dall* 'blind', *mel* 'honey' – *mell* 'big, . . .', *gwir* 'true' – *grik!* 'shhh!', *rod* 'wheel' – *koll* 'to lose', *ruz* 'red' – *rust* 'abrupt', *meud* 'thumb' – *treust* 'rafter', *trouz* 'noise' – *dous* 'sweet'.

Kervella 1947/1976: 23 also cites the following to indicate the importance of the fortis:lenis distinction:

> *Emañ e g̱arr e gar Landerne* 'His car(t) is at Landerne station';
> *Gwisket e oa e ḏu eus e ḏu* 'For his part he was dressed in black';
> *An heol a ḇar e barr an neñv* 'The sun shines in the zenith'.

In the first example the first *g* is lenis (lenited, from *karr*), the second is fortis; in the second example the first *d* is fortis, the second lenis (lenited, from *tu*); in the third example the first *b* is lenis (lenited, from *par*), the second is fortis. The words concerned are minimal pairs. Falc'hun 1951: 44, 66 cites similar examples, e.g. *an hini ṉaetañ*, *an hini ḻousañ*, *an hini ṟuz* 'the cleanest, dirtiest, reddest one', with lenis if the reference is feminine, fortis if masculine. Particularly noteworthy is Falc'hun 1951: 67:

> *Ro e lod dezhañ, hag he lod dezhi* 'Give his share to him, and her share to her';
> *Ro he lod dezhañ, hag e lod dezhi* 'Give her share to him, and his share to her'.

Both *e* 'his' and *he* 'her' are pronounced the same; after the former we have lenition, while after the latter the absolute word-initial fortis remains (and in some dialects there may be aspiration).

The situation remains complicated. What of other consonants? Thus *an hini mat* 'the good one (masculine)' – *an hini vat* 'the good one (feminine)'; *an hini paour* 'the poor one (masculine)' – *an hini baour* 'the poor one (feminine)'. The fortis:lenis distinction is *m*:*v* for the first and *p*:*b* for the second. The second we might be happy seeing as a voice distinction (and it will work for several pairs). The first, however, is complicated by the fact that *m* is always fortis, *v* reflecting original lenis *m*, so here, perhaps, we do have a fortis:lenis pair. Thus lenis *b*, *d*, *g* are mutations of fortis *p*, *t*, *k*; lenited *b*, *d*, *g*, however, are *v* [v], *z* [ʒ], *c'h* [h].

Falc'hun 1951: 19 remains extremely persuasive:

> C'est que cette opposition de durée est rigoureusement réglée sur l'opposition entre consonne forte et consonne faible après la voyelle. Cette dernière opposition paraît être la seule sentie du sujet parlant: l'opposition de durée dans les voyelles n'en est pour ainsi dire qu'un aspect, une consonne forte ne pouvant être precedée que de voyelle brève sous l'accent, et une consonne faible de voyelle longue. Ainsi n'étudiera-t-on la durée des voyelles qu'avec le système consonantique.

However, Ternes's consonantal system, with its six pairs correlated for voice, also has much to recommend it. It may be argued that [n], [l], and [r] remain correlated for strength and that the other consonants are fortis ([m, ʎ, ɲ, w, ɥ, j]) – one of the six pairs, [f, v], may be marginal, [v] usually being lenis, and more might be said about the status of [f] (and [v]), [s, z], [ʃ, ʒ], and [x, h] (as regards the first three of those pairs, they may be voiced even if spelt *f*, *s*, *ch* absolute word-initially; this overrules lenition (see the following section), and there will be words with the voiceless pronunciation exclusively (not least groups involving *st*, *sp*, *sk* – and there are words where *s*- is pronounced as if *ch*-). The vowels then become distinctively long or short under stress.

Needless to say, words only occasionally occur in isolation and word boundaries can be difficult to identify in Breton. A final consonant after stress will be pronounced voiced if immediately followed by a word beginning in a vowel: *mat eo* 'that's fine' (if the following word begins in *h*, *h* will drop and a final stop or fricative will be pronounced voiceless, e.g. *pod-houarn* 'iron pot'). Kervella 1947/1976: 35 notes that if the first word ends in voiceless *k*, *t*, *p*, *f*, *s*, *ch*, or *c'h*, then a consonant beginning the following word will be strengthened, e.g. *bep gwech* [bɛp ˈkwɛʃ] 'every time' (the consonant will be voiced if the first ends in voiced *g*, *d*, *b*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, or semi-consonantal *y*, *v*), though two identical consonants will tend to yield a fortis geminate, e.g *ed du* [eˈt͡ty] 'buckwheat'; *d* tends to strengthen, even after *z*, e.g. *kreisteiz* 'south' (in the spelling) from *kreiz + deiz* (reflected in the mixed mutation). However, Ternes 1992: 437 considers that '[T]wo adjacent stops or fricatives, one word-final, the other word-initial, both become voiceless', and this is usually accepted. The situation is quite complex.

It makes sense to note Morvannou 1978–80 I: 187 who, for all the variation within the whole of Breton, states:

> [. . .] il est un point sur lequel tous les dialectes et tous les parlers sont d'accord, c'est celui de la prononciation, et notamment sur la quantité longue ou brève des voyelles, et sur la sonorisation des sourdes en finale de mot suivi de voyelle [(. . .)]. Sur ces caractéristiques fondamentales de la phonétique du breton, il n'y a pas de variante dialectale [. . .].

MUTATIONS

Breton is typical of Celtic languages in having initial consonantal mutations. These are originally phonetic changes. Breton officially has four of them: *lenition* ('soft'; note the term as a nominal derivation of lenis, i.e. fortis consonants becoming lenis), the *spirant* mutation (or *spirantization* or 'fricative'), *provection* ('strong' or 'reinforcing' or fortis), and the *mixed* mutation (part of *lenition* + part of *provection* – *léniprovection*, as termed by various writers). The passing of time has meant that they are now more morphological and syntactic, and even distinctive, than phonetic.

In many cases the mutations may reflect a pause or the subordination of one sub-group (i.e. some measure of emphasis) to another. For example, the preposition *war* 'on' causes a contact (i.e. automatic or non-distinctive) lenition. That is, the very fact of its governing a nominal element causes lenition in the initial consonant of the nominal element. So, in *war toenn/doenn an ti* 'on the roof of the house' there is either *war toenn an ti* (emphasis of *toenn an ti* 'the roof of the house') or *war doenn an ti* (a single unit, with greater prominence of *war*). The possessive construction in this phrase creates the potential for inhibition of the contact mutation. All the same, note that Kervella 1947/1976:

102 compares *war vor* 'at sea' with *war morioù ar C'hreisteiz* 'on the southern seas', the first almost adverbial, much more bound, and the second with a 'heavier', potentially autonomous, phrase after *war*. There is something comparable in *tud Breizh* or *tud Vreizh* '(the) people of Brittany', the name of the country standing out more in the former (and there is a discernible pause) (also from Kervella 1947/1976: 102). It is useful also noting phrases such as the following, given by Kervella 1947/1976: 102: *ur gazeg vihan c'hlas* 'a small, grey mare' (regular lenition of *bihan* 'small' and *glas* 'grey (here)') as against *ur gazeg bihan ha glas* 'a small and grey mare', where the adjectives are detached, almost appositive.

Lenition	Written								Not written						
FORTIS	*p*	*t*	*k*	*b*	*d*	*g*	*gw*	*m*	*f*	*s*	*ch*	*c'h*	*n*	*l*	*r*
											[ʃ]	[x]			
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
LENIS	*b*	*d*	*g*	*v*	*z*	*c'h*	*w*	*v*	*f*	*s*	*ch*	*c'h*	*n*	*l*	*r*
						[h]			[v]	[z]	[ʒ]	[h]			

Those which are not written are sometimes seen as optional. *Lenition* is by far the most common mutation, and may even be extending its range.

Dinstinctive lenition is caused by:

(a) The definite and indefinite articles. The definite article is *an, al, ar*; the indefinite article is *un, ul, ur*. Lenition occurs where the noun is feminine singular or masculine human plural. Non-feminine-singular and non-masculine-human-plural nouns in *k-* change the *k-* to *c'h-* after the article. Note that *d > z* does not occur after the articles.

Among the exceptions are masculine plural human nouns in *-où*, e.g. *tadoù* 'fathers', *priedoù* 'spouses/husbands', *testoù* 'witnesses', and feminine singular *plac'h* 'girl'.

There are situations where an adjective precedes a noun (superlative, numeral, pejorative adjective, emphatic adjective, augmentative adjective). Here there is as a rule no mutation, but *k-* becomes *c'h-*.

In the case of the days of the month the mutation does occur: *ar gentañ* 'the first' (also (*d'*)*ar c'hentañ* '(on) the first'), *ar bemp* 'the fifth'.

Some examples:

kelaouenn 'magazine' – *ar gelaouenn* 'the magazine' (feminine singular) *kelaouennoù* 'magazines' – *ar c'helaouennoù* 'the magazines' (feminine plural);
keloù 'news' – *ar c'heloù* 'the (piece of) news' (masculine singular);
toenn 'roof' – *an doenn* 'the roof' (feminine singular);
tad 'father' – *an tad* 'the father' (masculine singular);
tadoù 'fathers' – *an tadoù* 'the fathers' (masculine human plural – those in *-où* = exceptions);
pig 'magpie' – *ur big* 'a magpie' (feminine singular);
pig 'pick' – *ur pig* 'a pick' (masculine singular);
kelennerez 'teacher (female)' – *ar gelennerez* 'the teacher (female)' (feminine singular);
kelennerezed 'teachers (female)' – *ar c'helennerezed* 'the teachers (female)' (feminine plural);
kelenner 'teacher' – *ar c'helenner* 'the teacher' (masculine singular);
kelennerien 'teachers' – *ar gelennerien* 'the teachers' (masculine human plural);
karr 'cart' – *ar c'harr* 'the cart' *kirri* 'carts' – *ar c'hirri* 'the carts' (masculine);

(b) The unmarked position of the adjective in Breton is after the modified noun. After feminine singular (including *plac'h*) and masculine human plural nouns (except those in *-où*) lenition may occur. If the noun ends in *l, r, m, n*, non-consonantal *v*, or a vowel, then the whole range of lenitable consonants is affected (i.e. including, optionally, *d > z*; *d* tends not to change after dentals, and never after the article, as stated above, and its lenition is completely absent from *Tregerieg*); otherwise, only *b, m, d, g, gw* beginning the adjective are lenited. Here are some examples, from Press 2004: 30–1:

fem. *-r b-*	kador vras	ar gador vras	kadorioù bras	ar c'hadorioù bras
fem. *-l d-*	taol zu/du	an daol zu/du	taolioù du	an taolioù du
masc.	ti bihan	an ti bihan	tiez bihan	an tiez bihan
fem. *-m k-*	mamm-gaer	ar vamm-gaer	mammoù-kaer	ar mammoù-kaer
fem. *-c'h k-*	merc'h-kaer	ar verc'h-kaer	merc'hed-kaer	ar merc'hed-kaer
fem.irreg. *m-*	plac'h vat	ar plac'h vat	plac'hed mat	ar plac'hed mat
masc. *hum.*	paotr mat	ar paotr mat	paotred vat	ar baotred vat
masc.hum.irreg.	tad-kaer	an tad-kaer	tadoù-kaer	an tadoù-kaer
masc. *k-*	ki bihan	ar c'hi bihan	chas bihan	ar chas bihan
fem. *-z b-*	nizez vihan	ar nizez vihan	nizezed bihan	ar nizezed bihan
fem. *-z t-*	nizez tev	ar nizez tev	nizezed tev	ar nizezed tev

(Meanings: 'big chair, blackboard, small house, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, good girl, good boy, father-in-law, small dog, little niece, fat niece'.)

(c) Lenition occurs also after the pronominal determiner *unan* (if feminine) + adjective and *(an) hini* (if feminine) + adjective: *unan kozh/unan gozh* 'an old (person)'; *an hini kozh/an hini gozh* 'the old person', masculine and feminine respectively. The plural of *(an) hini* is *(ar) re*, which will always be followed by lenition. This also applies to the demonstrative pronouns (Kervella 1947/1976: 277 notes it even after the masculine singulars, though this seems at most optional): *hemañ, ho(u)mañ, ar re-mañ* 'this (masculine, feminine, plural)'; *hennezh, ho(u)nnezh, ar re-se* 'that (masculine, feminine, plural)'; *henhont/hennont, ho(u)nhont/honnont, ar re-hont* 'that (yonder) (masculine, feminine, plural)'. In the plural *-mañ/-se/-hont* are separable and may be attached to the adjective. If there is more than one adjective, in a mutatable situation, then they may all be mutated; but mutation here is obligatory or likely (depending on emphasis and pause) only in the first adjective. If there is more than one modified noun, the noun closer/closest to the adjective determines the mutation. Some examples:

hemañ bras/vras – houmañ vras 'this big person'; *hennezh paour – hounnezh paour* 'that poor person'; *ar re-mañ baour* 'these poor people'; *ma merc'h vihan kaer/gaer* 'my beautiful little daughter';

(d) First components in compound words tend to cause mutations under the same conditions as with adjectives. There are, however, exceptions. And here it is even more a case of giving a word list. See, for example, Kervella 1947/1976: 92–4; Desbordes 1983: 105–6; Trépos 1968: 40–2 and in the *Morphosyntax* section.

Contact lenition is caused by (there are dialectal variations here and there):

i the possessive adjectives *da* 'your' (second person (singular)), *e* 'his' (both are also object pronouns): *belo* 'bicycle' – *da velo* 'your bicycle';

ii several prepositions, notably *a* 'from', *da* 'to', *dindan* 'under', *diwar* 'from', *dre* 'through', *war* 'on';

iii the plural pronominal determiner/specifier (*ar*) *re* + adjective 'the . . . (ones)', e.g. *brav* 'beautiful' – *ar re vrav* 'the beautiful ones'; *bihan* 'little' – *ar re vihan* 'the little ones';

iv the quantifier (*an*) *holl* + noun 'all the [. . .]' (this may be overruled if *holl* is preceded by a word requiring another mutation, e.g. *he holl flijadur* 'all her pleasure' (*plijadur*); but 'regular' *tud* 'people' – *an holl dud* 'all the people';

v certain so-called verbal particles: *a*, *na*, *ne*, e.g. *me a vo* 'I will be' (*bo*); *goulenn* 'to ask' – *me a c'houlenn* 'I ask'; *dont* '(to) come' – *eñ a deuy/zeuy warc'hoazh* 'he'll come tomorrow';

vi the reflexive particle *en em*, e.g. *en em zibab* 'to sort things out' (*dibab* 'to choose');

vii the gerundial particle *en ur* + verbal noun, e.g. *en ur ziskuizhañ* 'while resting' (*diskuizhañ*); *bale* 'to walk' – *en ur vale* 'while taking a walk'; not to be confused with the verbal particle and progressive aspect marker *o* (see under the mixed mutation);

viii the optative particles *da*, *ra* + future (*da* is preceded by the 'subject'; it never comes first), e.g. *pardoniñ* 'to forgive' – *Doue d'e bardono* (noun + optative particle + object pronoun + future) 'May God forgive him'; *meuliñ* 'to praise' – *ra veulimp Doue* (optative particle + 1PP future + noun) 'May we praise God';

ix certain conjunctions: *aba* 'since', *endra* 'while', *pa* 'when, if', *pe* 'or' (the first three are followed by a verb, the fourth by a nominal element, in this context), e.g. *dont* 'to come' – *aba zeuas* 'since he came' (*deuas*); *pa zeuy* (conjunction + 3PS future) 'when/if s/he comes' (literally 'will come'); *pe velen* 'or yellow/blonde' (*melen*);

x certain adverbs, e.g. *gwall* 'very', *hanter* 'half', *re* 'too', *seul . . .*, *seul . . .* 'the more . . ., the more . . .' (the first two are followed by a nominal element (*hanter* usually only plurals); the third by an adjective, and the fourth by a comparative adjective), e.g. *gwall vras* 'very big' (*bras*), *hanter voutailhadoù* 'half bottles', *re goant* 'too pretty' (*koant*), and *seul vihanoc'h, seul welloc'h* 'the smaller the better' (*bihanoc'h, gwelloc'h*);

xi the numeral *daou/div* (masculine/feminine) 'two'. In the literary language *tri/teir* (masculine/feminine) 'three', *pevar/peder* (masculine/feminine) 'four', *nav* 'nine' are followed by the spirant mutation, but generally they are followed by lenition, but within the spirant context, i.e. of *p, t, k*, only. An example: *den* 'person' – *daou zen* 'two people';

xii the 'verbal preposition' or defective verb *eme*: *eme* 'says/say/said', e.g. *eme Vona* 'said Mona'; *eme Ber* 'said Peter';

xiii the interrogative *pe* 'what, which', e.g. *pe velo?* 'which bicycle?'; *deiz* 'day' – *pe zeiz eo hiziv?* 'What day is it today?';

xiv adverbial particle: *ez-/en-/er-* (mutations here are incomplete), e.g. *ervat* 'well' (*mat* 'good').

It may be noted here that the mutation tends to be minimal if the contact word ends in *n, l, r* and the mutated word begins in *n, l, r*. There is some avoidance too of *d* becoming *z* [z], particularly in *dont* 'to come', *dleout* 'to owe, have to'. As already noted, lenition of *d* is altogether absent from *Tregerieg*.

    Among exceptional cases of lenition may be noted the following:

i the phrasal verbs: *ober vad* 'to benefit' (*mad*; literally 'to do good') and *ober van* 'to feign' (*man*; when negative may convey a lack of concern or awareness);

ii   *tra* 'thing' is masculine but mutates and causes mutations as if feminine, e.g., *daou dra vat* 'two good things' (lenition of *mat*, but not *div*). Several other nouns behave similarly;

iii   *pet?* 'how much/many?' (+ singular) and all numbers except *un* 'a(n), one', *tri* 'three', *pevar* 'four', *pemp* 'five', *nav* 'nine', *mil* 'thousand' mutate *bloaz* 'year' (masculine) to *vloaz*;

iv   *re* 'pair' (masculine) lenites the following noun, e.g. *ur re votoù* 'a pair of shoes' (*botoù*);

v   The masculine dual causes mutation, while the feminine dual does not. This has received an ingenious explanation in Denez and Urien 1980: 3–26: note masculine *daou lagad glas* 'two blue eyes' or *daoulagad c'hlas* 'blue eyes (dual)' and feminine *div skouarn vras* 'two big ears' or *divskouarn bras* 'big ears (dual)'. The dual can therefore be differentiated by a reversal of the mutations. However, this reversal does not always happen;

vi   In possessive constructions the words *ti* 'house' and *ki* 'dog', both masculine, may lenite the following noun;

vii   *pep* 'each, every', used in adverbial expressions, becomes *bep*, e.g. *bep ar mare* 'every now and then', *bep miz* 'every month';

viii The second parts of men's names, whether they are adjectives, second components in a compound, or surnames, may be lenited. This may happen too after *Sant* 'saint', with regard to *m-/g-/gw-*. Note *Erwan ger* 'Dear Erwan' (*ker*) in correspondence;

ix   Ones difficult to explain, e.g. *Yaoubask* 'Maundy Thursday'.

Kervella 1947/1976: 84–94 and 97–102 has been drawn on here and the reader with Breton is recommended to refer to it for a comprehensive set of data.

Spirantization

F	p	t	k		
	↓	↓	↓		
L	f	z	c'h		
	[v]	[h]			

Provection

F	p	t	k	kw
	↑	↑	↑	↑
F	b	d	g	gw

The Mixed Mutation

F		t			
		↑			
F	b	d	g	gw	m
		↓	↓	↓	↓
L	v		c'h	w	v
			[h]		

Spirantization is caused exclusively by the pronouns (possessive and direct object) *va* or *ma* 'my, me', *he* 'her', and *o* 'their, them', by the forms *am* and *em* 'me', *d'am* 'to my; to me (where "me" is an object pronoun)', and *em* 'in my', and by the numerals *tri/ teir* 'three (masc./fem.)', *pevar/peder* 'four (masc./fem.)', and *nav* 'nine'. In the spoken language there is an archaic variant (Davalan I 2000: 113) with voiceless reflexes (note therefore that in the standard language we actually have spirantization plus lenition). (In the case of the numerals there is a strong tendency to have lenition instead – but only of *p*, *t*, and *k*.) As for the pronouns, there is some distinctiveness here, since *o* sounds the same as *ho* 'your, you (2PP)', which causes provection, and, though not immediately apparent as distinctive (they do not overlap), *he* sounds the same as *e* 'his, him', which causes lenition. This may, however, be distinctive, since *va/ma* and *o* behave differently from *he* in the spoken language: the former tend to voice *s-*, *ch-*, *f-*, and *c'h-* ([s, ʃ, f, x] > [z, ʒ, v, h] – note that [x] tends to become [h]), while the latter never voices them and as a rule devoices [z, ʒ, v] > [s, ʃ, f] (and [m, n, l] may become [hm, hn, l̥] – in a way, this is also reflected in *he* becoming *hec'h* before a vowel). So we may have distinctiveness here, i.e.

e sac'h 'his bag' with [z] as against *he sac'h* 'her bag' with [s]. Note that *k* may become [x] or, more often, [h] after *hor* 'our, us' (in the spoken language *hor* very often voices [s, ʃ, f] to [z, ʒ, v], and some dialects have *hom* alone, which behaves like *ma*). Some examples:

penn 'head': *va fenn* 'my head', *he fenn* 'her head', *o fenn* 'their head(s)';
tad 'father': *va zad* 'my father', *he zad* 'her father' *o zad* 'their father';
kalon 'heart': *va c'halon* 'my heart', *he c'halon* 'her heart', *o c'halon* 'their heart';

Compare *e benn* 'his head', *e dad* 'his father', *e galon* 'his heart'.

ti 'house': *em zi* 'in my house', *park* 'field': *d'am fark* 'to my field' (the *p > f* mutation
       may not occur), *kavout* 'to find, meet': *d'am c'havout* 'to find/meet me';
tri fenn, pevar zad, peder c'halon, nav fenn, etc.

Provection is caused by *ho* 'your, you (2PP)' and *az, d'az, ez* 'your, you (2PP – equiv-
alents of *am*, etc. above)' (*ez* sometimes becomes *en da*). Note that *ho* becomes *hoc'h* before a vowel. Davalan I 2000: 114 notes that in the spoken language [s, ʃ, f, x] are never affected here (one doesn't expect them to be, but they often seem unstable), [z, ʒ, v] are normally [s, ʃ, f], and [m, n, l] may become [hm, hn, l]. We thus see some bridging between *Spirantization* and *Provection*. Some examples:

bro 'country': *ho pro* 'your country' – *ez pro* 'in your country';
dent 'teeth': *ho tent* 'your teeth' – *ez tent* 'in your teeth';
goulenn 'question': *ho koulenn* 'your question' – *ez koulenn* 'in your question';
gwelet 'to see': *deut eo d'ho kwelout* 'he's come to see you' – *deut eo d'az kwelout* 'he's
       come to see you'.

Remember the distinctive character of this mutation as in such pairs as *o gwaz* 'their man/
husband' – *ho kwaz* 'your man/husband', *o bro* 'their country' – *ho pro* 'your country', *o
dent* 'their teeth' – *ho tent* 'your teeth'. *Ho* and *o* are homophonous.
     The *Mixed Mutation* is caused by the verbal particle *e* (placed after the first element of the phrase and before the verb, when the first element is neither the subject nor the direct object (if appropriate) of the main verb, nor the verbal noun in the periphrastic conju-
gation), the present participle particle *o* (sometimes written *é*) (placed before the verbal noun), and the conjunction *ma* 'if, that'. Note that *e* may become *ez, ec'h* or possibly *e y-*
before a vowel: *ez eus* 'there is/are', *ez an* and *ec'h an* 'I go', and possibly *e yan* 'I go'.
There is no voicing of [s, ʃ, f]. Some examples:

goulenn 'to ask': *ma c'houlenn* 'if/that [. . .] ask(s)';
gwelet 'to see': *o welet* 'seeing';
dont 'to come': *o tont* 'coming';
bevañ 'to live/be alive': *e vev* 'live(s)';
meuliñ 'to praise': *e veul* 'praises'.

Compare *ouzh o gwelet* 'seeing them', *ouzh ho kwelet* 'seeing you', demonstrating dis-
tinctiveness (the particle *o* becomes *ouzh* before an object pronoun; it becomes *oc'h* before a verbal noun beginning with a vowel).
     Last of all, an oddity, most likely a case of assimilation: *dor* 'door' (fem.): *an/un nor*.

In *Tregerieg* we also have *an nen*, a 'nasal' mutation of *den* 'man, person', here used in the sense of a generalized person.

A superscript 'L', 'S', 'P', or 'M' will often be inserted to indicate an element causing a mutation.

MORPHOSYNTAX

Articles

Breton has indefinite (singular only) and definite articles. Nouns also occur without articles. The articles change according to the consonant or vowel which follows; thus, for the definite and the indefinite: *al* and *ul* before *l*; *an* and *un* before vowels, *n, d, t, h*; *ar* and *ur* otherwise. They do not change for gender or for number. They cause lenition in immediately following feminine singular and masculine human plural nouns (with some exceptions) – all other nouns beginning in *k-* will change the *k* to *c'h* (on the whole pronounced [h]). The preposition *e* 'in' and the definite article coalesce as *el, en*, and *er* (very often *e* is replaced by *e-barzh*, which becomes *'ba'* (written variously, and combinable with the definite article, viz. *ban neizh* 'in the nest'), but this is, alas, 'not recommended to be over-used' and in any case does not always replace *e*. Some examples:

al loar 'the moon', *al liorzh* 'the garden'; *an oabl* 'the sky', *an noz* 'the night', *an den* 'the person', *an ti* 'the house', *an hañv* 'summer'; *ar gwaz* 'the man', *ar c'hi* 'the dog' (*ki*), *ar penn* 'the head'.

Regarding the use of the definite article, a number of nouns used in a general sense do not attract the article (rather like English), e.g. *kêr* 'town': *e kêr* 'in/to town' (compare the more specific *er gêr* 'at home, "in the homeplace"', *d'ar gêr* '(to) home'), and the names of meals, e.g. *debriñ koan* 'to eat supper', *da dijuni* 'at/for breakfast'. Regarding *kêr* (this may extend to related location terms, e.g. *bourk* 'village', *lann* 'heath' – Favereau 1997b: 21–2) in the meaning 'town' there are certainly exceptions, and one may note the use of the definite article in place-names, e.g. *ar Gêr Veur* (to some extent this is when *kêr* is qualified – and one may have the indefinite article, e.g. *ur gêr gozh* 'an old town'; this also applies to names of meals). Names of countries are used without the article unless their 'French' form is used, e.g. *Afrika* but *an Afrik* 'Africa', and plurals of names of inhabitants in *-iz* as a rule are not used with the article, e.g. *Breizhiz* '(the) Bretons', but in certain constructions it may be obligatory, e.g. *an holl Vreizhiz* 'all the Bretons' (i.e. with *holl*). It may also be left out before a comparative or superlative preceding a noun (historically less common in the latter case), e.g. *bihanañ bag . . .* 'the smallest boat . . .'. Hemon 1975: 120 notes a tendency towards omission where a concrete noun is used in a partitive sense, e.g. *Roet en deus din mel* 'He gave me (some) honey', and where two nouns are linked by *ha* 'and', e.g. *peoc'h ha brezel* 'peace and war'. We also have omission in proverbs and fixed expressions, e.g. *Gwelloc'h skiant evit arc'hant* 'Better wisdom than money', *labourat douar* 'to work the soil' (Hemon 1975: 120 and Favereau 1997b: 24). Note too *an aotrou Kemener* 'Mr Kemener', but without the article when addressing the person: *Aotrou Kemener!* 'Mr Kemener!' More details follow below on the obligatory omission in a definite possession, e.g. *dour ar mor* '<u>the</u> water of the sea', cf. *an dour-mor* 'the sea water' (Favereau 1997b: 28) (also names of months, e.g. *miz C'hwevrer* 'February', doubtless a possessive construction, viz. 'the month of February'). Overall, except where omission is obligatory, some variation will be noted (and the description here is very partial).

The indefinite article is left out in expressions of time involving *bloaz* 'year' and *miz* 'month', e.g. *bloaz yaouankoc'h* 'a year younger', as well as in a good number of fixed expressions. It is also absent in the plural/collective, which in itself conveys a sense of partitiveness, though after a negative the noun may be preceded by the preposition *a*L 'of': *Debriñ a ran krampouezh* 'I eat crêpes' – *Ne zebran ket a grampouezh* 'I don't eat crêpes' (this may even occur with negative existential 'to be' and a few presentative verbs: *n'eus ket a dud o tebriñ krampouezh* 'there aren't any people eating crêpes', *ne deu ket a dour-isted da welet an iliz* 'no tourists come to see the church' (Hewitt 2002: 23)).

The articles may be used before nouns felt to be plurals and denoting pairs (this is very common) or indefinite quantities (this is rather rare): *ul lunedoù* 'a pair of spectacles', *ur stalaf(i)où* 'a pair of shutters', *An dud a oa eno!* 'There were tons of people there!' (lit. 'The people there were there!').

Nouns

General

There are two genders (masculine and feminine) and, basically, two numbers (singular and plural), reflecting singular and plural forms in the verb. However, there are singulatives, to emphasize one item of something which is more often mass/collective, e.g. *logod* 'mice' – *ul logodenn* 'a mouse', *pour* 'leeks' – *ur bourenn* 'a leek'. Note that the singulatives are feminine and that the nouns from which they derive normally count as plural for agreement, e.g. *al logod ne gavont ket ar fourmaj* 'the mice, they don't find the cheese' (*gavont/kavont* = 3PP present of *kavout* 'to find'). And there are also non-count nouns, e.g. *bara* 'bread', i.e. things you don't normally count, which count as singular for verbal agreement. On top of this, there are plurals proper, generalizing plurals, and duals, which count as plurals for verbal agreement when it arises.

The plural is formed by endings, e.g. *penn* 'head' – *pennoù* 'heads', internal change + endings, e.g. *yalc'h* 'purse' – *yilc'hier* 'purses', internal change only, e.g. *dañvad* 'sheep' – *deñved* 'sheep (plural)' (the internal change reflects a lost ending), and suppletives, e.g. *den* 'person' – *tud* 'people, family, parents'. Sometimes there are multiple plurals, thus *park* 'field', with *parkoù* and *parkeier* – the latter may be seen as a 'generalizing plural', but the situation may be more complex. The dual is somewhat transparent, namely the numeral for 'two' prefixed to (and sometimes blended with) the noun, thus masculine *daouarn* 'hands' from *dorn* 'hand' and feminine *divskoaz* 'shoulders' from *skoaz* 'shoulder'. Here are some examples:

a   with an ending: *an tra/où*, *ar poan/ioù*, *ar gwazh/ioù* ('things, pains, streams');
b   ending plus internal vowel change: *ar yilc'hier* (*ar yalc'h*), *ar filzier* (*ar falz*), *ar gerent* (*kerent*) (*ar c'har* (*kar*)), *ar vibien* (*mibien*) (*ar mab*), *ar reier* (*ar roc'h*), *ar gwenneien* (*ar gwenneg*), *an inizi* (*an enez*; the plural of *enezenn* 'island' is *enezennoù*) ('purses, sickles, relations, sons, rocks, sous/"coppers", islands');
c   internal only: *an elerc'h* (*an alarc'h*), *ar venec'h* (*ar manac'h*), *an eskern* (*an askorn*), *an dent* (*an dant*), *an deñved* (*an dañvad*), *ar c'hezeg* (*kezeg*) (*ar gazeg* (*kazeg*)) ('swans, monks, bones, teeth, sheep, mares' – *kezeg* is probably more properly a generic plural, 'horses', of *marc'h* 'horse'; in the meaning 'mares' there are several other forms);
d   'oddities': *an aotro(u)nez* (*an aotrou*), *an tiez* (north) or *an tier* (south) (*an ti*), *al laeron* (*al laer*), *ar gwragez* (*gwreg* = *ar wreg*), and the suppletives *ar chas* (*ki* = *ar c'hi*), *tud* = *an dud* (*an den*) ('gentlemen, houses, thieves, women, dogs, people').

Note that the internal-only, parisyllabic, plurals involve the change of an *a* or *o* to *e*. There is something similar where the ending, -*ien*, -*ier*, -*e(z)*, -*i*, -*ent*, is maintained (the -*i*- [j] of the first two is required, though the real ending is -*en* (sometimes -(*i*)*on*), -*er*). The non-suppletive 'oddities' themselves might well come under nouns with an ending and an internal vowel change. Note that -*c'h* and -*g* are likely to drop. As for nouns with an ending only, there are a good number of endings and it may be best to learn them as they are encountered, but the most common ones are -(*i*)*où*, -*ien*, -*ed*. The endings -*ien* and -*ed* are typical of animates, the former of masculines and the latter of both masculines and feminines, e.g. *kelenner* 'teacher' – *kelennerien* 'teachers', *paotr* 'boy' – *paotred* 'boys', *kelennerez* 'teacher (feminine)' – *kelennerezed* 'teachers (feminine)' – note that the 'ending' -*ezed* is so common that it has become a feminine animate plural ending itself, e.g. *itron* 'lady, madame' – *itronezed*, and by back formation a singular may come to end in -*ez*, e.g. *maeron* 'godmother' with plural *maeronezed*, which has given new or optional singular *maeronez*.

The ending -(*i*)*où* is extremely common; it is not used for animates, except for a very few masculines, e.g. *tad* 'father' – *tadoù*, which escape the usual *lenition* of masculine animate plurals. The question which then arises is: when is -*i*- inserted? The simplest response is that this is likely to occur when the final sound of the singular is a vowel, *l*, *r*, *n*, or *z* – this is identical with -*ien* and -*ier*, though the -*i*- here is absorbed when the singular ends in -*i*, e.g. *an ti* 'house', *an tier*. But there are exceptions, e.g. *ur mail* – *mailoù* 'email(s)', and there may be variation. The ending -*ioù* is also common when the noun ends in -*nt* or -*d*; this is not obligatory, but if it does apply it causes palatalization, which may be reflected in the spelling: *hent* 'road' – *hentoù* or *henchoù* (or *heñchoù*), *rod* 'wheel' – *rodoù* or *rojoù*. This may be observed also in nouns in -*z*, e.g. *kroaz* 'cross' – *kroazioù* or *kroajoù*. The ending -*où* is attached to the diminutive suffix -*ig*, thus -*igoù*, irrespective of the plural of the source noun, thus *paotr* 'boy, lad' – *paotred*: *paotrig* – *paotredigoù*. The ending -*ed* is also found in a few inanimates, e.g. *real* 'a *real*' (unit of currency) – *realed*, *dornerez* 'threshing machine' – *dornerezed* (characteristic of the many machine names in -*ez*), and a few individual nouns, e.g. *biz* 'finger' – *bizïed*. The ending -*ien* (also found in the form -(*i*)*on*, -(*i*)*an*) is typical of agentive nouns in -*er* and -*our*, e.g. *kemener* 'tailor' – *kemenerien*, *marc'hadour* 'merchant' – *marc'hadourien*, but note also *kalvez* 'carpenter' – *kilvizien* (note too the vowel alternation), *mevel* 'servant' – *mevelien*, *mab* 'son' – *mibien*, and the unusual but standard *laer* 'thief' – *laeron*, *Saoz* 'Englishman' – *Saozon*, and, leaving animates, *kraf* 'stitch' – *krefen*, among a few others. Some adjectives used as nouns also attract this ending: *paour* 'poor' – *ar beorien* 'the poor'. The ending -*i* (remember that it is often accompanied by alternation of the immediately preceding vowel) affects nouns ending in -(*i*)*ad* and -*ed*, e.g. *houad* 'duck' – *houidi*, nouns in -*el*(*l*), e.g. *kastell* 'castle' – *kastilli* (also at least the plural forms *kestell* and *kastelloù*), *ezel* 'member' – *izili*. The form -*idi* very often becomes -*iz*, expecially in names of groups of inhabitants, e.g. *Tregeriad* 'Treger person' – *Tregeriz*, *Breizhad* 'Breton' – *Breizhiz*.

The partitive in Breton is conveyed by the noun on its own, thus *bara* 'some bread', *kelennerien* '(some) teachers' (it may be preceded by *a*^L 'of' after a negative verb).

For a detailed treatment of the Breton plural there is no better source than Trépos 1957 (or a more concise but very useful presentation in Trépos 1968: 68–70).

Singulatives and collectives
Collectives abound in Breton and are applied to anything which we cannot count at first sight, e.g. clouds, stars, trees, . . . and mice. So we have: *koumoul*, *stered*, *gwez*, *logod* 'clouds, stars, trees, mice'; with the definite article *ar c'houmoul*, *ar stered*, *ar gwez*, *al*

logod (note that they behave as if masculine). To indicate 'one' we add -*enn*, thus obtaining the *singulative*: *ur goumoulenn*, *ur steredenn*, *ur wezenn*, *ul logodenn*. These are feminine singulars. The collectives count as plurals: *Al logod n'emaint ket en ti* 'The mice aren't in the house' (revealed by the 3PP form of the verb, *ema<u>int</u>*).

It is possible even to pluralize the singulatives, by adding -*où* to them, thus: *deil* 'leaves' (collective) – *delienn* 'leaf' – *deliennoù* 'leaves' (individualized) – *deil* also has a plural *delioù*. To some extent this is confined to particular words, and may be subject to dialectal variation, but it is the sort of potential within the language which may be exploited. Similar are *ster* 'stars' (collective) – *stered* 'stars' – *steredenn* 'star' – *steredennoù* 'stars' (individualized) and *bleuñv* 'flowers' (collective) – *bleunioù* 'flowers' – *bleunienn* or *bleuñvenn* 'flower' – *bleuniennoù* 'flowers' (individualized). Slightly different, note, for instance, *enez* 'island', used in place-names, e.g. *Enez-Vriad* 'Bréhat', but *enezenn* 'island', plural *enezennoù*, and *pesk* 'fish', plural *pesked*, but another singular, *peskedenn*, derived from *pesked*.

Mass nouns

Breton has mass, non-count nouns: *Dour zo* 'There's some water.' In this use the word *dour* is a mass noun and singular. In *un dour zo amañ*, with the indefinite article, the sense may be 'there's a stream here'. Other examples are *bara* 'bread', *mel* 'honey', and *te* 'tea'. It can be possible to derive forms in -*enn* from these, e.g. *dourenn* 'liquid', *plouzenn* '(piece of) straw' (from *plouz* 'straw'), *geotenn* 'blade of grass' (from *geot* 'grass') – these too are singulatives and feminine, and may have plurals, e.g. *geotennoù* 'blades of grass'. Note also the effect of stress displacement on -*où* (the graphy *où* with a grave accent may indicate that it may break under stress to *aou*): *louzoù* 'herbs (medicinal, "weeds")' – *louzaouenn* 'herb, weed' (but there is no change if this latter word is given its own plural and the stress moves: *louzaouennoù*). Such networks can become quite complex, e.g. *ke(he)l* 'information', with a collective or plural *keloù* 'news, "piece of news"', and its own plural *keleier* 'items of news', and the singulative *kelaouenn* 'item of news' or, more often now, 'magazine'!

A few rather short nouns may acquire the singulative suffix, the form derived being somehow more concrete, e.g. *dir* 'steel' (masculine) – *direnn* 'dagger' (feminine), *lod* 'part, share' (masculine) – *lodenn* 'part, share' (feminine), and *enez* 'island' (see the preceding section) – *enezenn* 'island' (both feminine). The source form may become specialized, thus *lod* may acquire the indefinite sense 'some', 'others'. The singulative suffix may also be added to plurals, with the result that the original singular may fade: *pesk* 'fish', plural *pesked*, new 'singular' *peskedenn*. This applies particularly to things or beings associated with groups; another example is *logod* 'mice', 'singular' *logodenn*, with the original singular lost.

The dual

This category is largely peculiar to certain parts of the body and refers to 'pairs'. It has masculine (*daou-*) and feminine (*div-*) forms (thus it is a compound form, using the numeral 'two') – there may be some contraction. Here are some examples (based on Favereau 1997b: 54–7): first masculines, uncontracted and contracted, then feminines, uncontracted and contracted (there is some variation in the spelling of certain forms):

lagad – daoulagad 'eyes'	–	*ilin – daouilin* 'elbows'
dorn – daouarn 'hands'	–	*glin – daoulin* 'knees'
askell – divaskell 'wings'	–	*brec'h – di(v)vrec'h* 'arms'
bronn – di(v)vronn 'breasts'	–	*jod/boc'h – divjod/divoc'h* 'cheeks'

froen – divfroen 'nostrils'	–	*kazel – divgazel* 'armpits'
morzhed – divorzhed 'thighs'	–	*pognez – divbognez* 'wrists'
skoaz – divskoaz 'shoulders'	–	*skouarn – di(v)skouarn* 'ears'
gar – divhar/divesker 'legs'[1]		

Note that *daou zorn* is possible, but then these two hands no longer have to belong to the same body (of course, they may do, with, for example, an expressive or emphatic nuance) – the same goes for *div c'har* 'two legs' (these are often with possessives – think of English 'Just look at your two poor hands!'). From this it follows that all these nouns also have plurals, e.g. *lagadoù* '(some) eyes', *dornioù* '(some) hands', etc. (and the duals may have their own plurals: *daoulinoù* – referring, e.g. to people each on his/her knees). 'Feet' is among the more frequently encountered 'duals' which seem to offer options: *troad* 'foot', dual or plural *treid* (rather more common) and *daoudraod*. As noted, masculine duals (but not feminines) as a rule lenite appropriate adjectives, e.g. *daoulagad c'hlas* 'blue eyes', cf. *diskoaz bras* 'big shoulders'. Although this last feature might be seen as 'standard', exceptions are often encountered.

It might be added that forms like *botoù* '(a pair of) shoes', *loeroù* '(a pair of) stockings/socks' might also be seen as duals. To talk of several pairs, there are *boteier*, *loereier*, in form generalizing plurals. To refer to a single shoe or stocking there are *botez* and *loer*. This ending interacts with singulatives, e.g. *gwalenn* 'ring' – *gwalennoù* 'rings' or, generalizing, *gwalinier*. And if there is an *r* already in the base noun, the ending may (though it does not have to) take the form *-iel*, e.g. *korn* 'horn' – *kerniel* (or *kernier*) – this ending is not restricted to duals: *forn* 'oven' – *ferniel* (*fernier*).

Word-formation in nouns

Breton word-formation may first be illustrated by reference to a couple of suffixes: *-(i)ad* marks content (sometimes duration): *dorn* 'hand' → *dornad* 'handful', pl. *-où*. It is rather like French suffix *-ée*. Also like *-ée* is the suffix *-vezh*, which indicates duration (very often it comes after the indefinite article or a numeral): *deiz* 'day' → *devezh* 'day', *sul* 'Sunday' → *sulvezh* 'Sunday', and *bloaz* 'year' → *bloavezh* 'year' – 'Happy New Year!' = *Bloavezh mat!* Thus *Noz vat!* is often 'goodbye' in the evening, while *Nozvezh vat!* may convey the hope you have a good night.[2] The first suffix may be added to the second, in which case the noun tends to be followed with what the 'day' is full of, e.g. *un devezhiad labour* 'a day of work', *un nozvezhiad karantez* 'a night of love'! A nice greeting for the festive season is: *Bloavezh mat ha ti dilogod!* 'A Happy New Year and a house without mice!'

First, here are a few other suffixes (fully understanding these requires use of a dictionary to identify the root) (some data from Favereau 1997b: 73–82, including prefixes):

-adeg (feminine; collective/lasting action): *c'hoarzhadeg* 'bouts of laughter', *lazhadeg* 'massacre';

-adenn (feminine; individual/punctual action): *ober un neuñviadenn* 'to go for a swim on one's own';

-adur (masculine; concrete result): *gwalc'hadur* 'washing'; *plijadur* 'pleasure' is the sole feminine;

-aj (borrowing): *beaj* 'journey (feminine)', *bugaleaj* 'childhood (masculine)';

-amant (borrowing): *gwiskamant* 'article of clothing', *batimant* 'building; ship';

-an (animates): *amprevan* 'insect', *korrigan* 'elf' (often with diminutive *-ig* incorporated);

-añs (feminine; abstract borrowings): *demeurañs* 'abode';
-ant (mainly adjectives): *badeziant* 'baptism';
-ded (feminine; deadjectival): *eürusted* 'happiness';
-der (masculine; deadjectival, more common than *-ded*): *uhelder* 'height';
-eg (feminine; place planted with X): *balaneg* 'expanse of broom'; also *brezhoneg*
        'Breton', *enezeg* 'archipelago', inter alia;
-egezh (feminine; abstraction): *anaoudegezh* 'acquaintance', *gouiziegezh* 'knowledge';
-elezh (feminine; abstractions from adjectives in *-el*): *santelezh* 'holiness';
-ell (mainly masculine; borrowings; objects): *kontell* 'knife', *kastell* 'castle';
-enn (feminine; singulative): *pizenn* 'pea'; exceptions include *plankenn* 'plank', *tevenn*
        'dune';
-entez (mainly deadjectival): *karantez* 'love', *furentez* 'wisdom';
-er (masculine; agent): *labourer* 'worker';
-erell (feminine; from *-ell*; instrument): *gwinterell* 'spring';
-erezh (masculine; from *-er*; activity): *labourerezh-douar* 'agriculture';
-ez (feminine – female): *kemenerez* 'seamstress, couturière';
-ez(h) (feminine; deadjectival; quality): *dondez* 'depth', *furnezh* 'wisdom';
-idigezh (feminine; mainly abstract and literary): *laouenidigezh* 'gaiety', *pinvidigezh*
        'wealth';
-igell (feminine; denominal/deverbal objects): *karrigell* 'wheelbarrow';
-ijenn (feminine; deadjectival): *teñvalijenn* 'darkness'
-iri (feminine; abstract): *koantiri* 'prettiness';
-iz (feminine; close to *-iri*): *koantiz* 'prettiness', *yaouankiz* 'youth';
-nezh: (feminine): *furnezh* 'wisdom';
-ni (feminine): *kozhni* 'old age';
-od (feminine; also *-id*; planted area): *onnod* 'grove of ash-trees';
-oni (feminine; abstract): *kasoni* 'hatred';
-oniezh (feminine; abstract; from *-oni*): *steredoniezh* 'astronomy';
-or (feminine; state): *sec'hor* 'drought';
-our (masculine; agent, like *-er*): *micherour* 'worker', *marc'hadour* 'merchant';
-ourezh: (feminine – may be masculine; from *-our*): *marc'hadourezh* 'merchandise';
-ouriezh (feminine; intellectual activity): *prederouriezh* 'philosophy';
-va (masculine; related to *ma*; also *-van*): *c'hoariva* 'theatre'.

Secondly, prefixes include (note lenition in the first four sets of examples):

ar- (nearby): *argoad* 'area close to woodland', *arvor* 'coastal area';
em- (reflexive/reciprocal): *emgann* 'battle', *emvod* 'reunion, meeting';
gour- ('super') *gourmarc'had* or *gourvarc'had* 'supermarket' (sometimes mixed up with
        gou- 'sub-' *gougomz* 'to murmur');
ken- (co-, various spellings): *kenvreuriezh* 'fraternity', *kendalc'h* 'congress';
peur- (complete): *peurrest* 'remains';
peus- ('-ish'): *peusfollentez* 'semi-insanity';
rag- ('pre-'): *ragistor* 'prehistory'.

Compound nouns
Useful to bear in mind here is how the plural is formed. In *pod-houarn* 'iron pot' (note that
houarn 'iron' is adjective-like) the plural is *podoù-houarn*; in *tour-tan* 'lighthouse (lit.
"tower-fire")' the composition seems to have faded and the plural most often *tour-tanioù*

– the same may go for *pod-houarn* as the position is flexible. In *rod-karr* 'cartwheel' there may be *rodoù-karr* or *rodoù-kirri* (double plural), the latter focusing equally on the idea of 'carts'. One also notes *rodoù-karr bihan* 'little cartwheels' and *rodoù karr bihan* 'wheels on a little cart' (Trépos 1957: 78–81).

The diminutive

The most common, and only productive, diminutive suffix is *-ig*: *paotr* 'boy' – *paotrig* 'little boy'. Most interesting is that for the plural both the base noun and the suffix pluralize: *ar baotredigoù* 'the little boys' (*ar baotred* 'the boys'). Occasionally this doesn't happen, and is standard in a few words, e.g. *ur madig* 'a sweet' – *madigoù* 'sweets'. The plural form of the suffix is always *-où*.

Possession

Focus here is first on two constructions: (1) *the girl's hat*, i.e. <u>the hat of the girl</u>; (2) <u>a</u> *girl's hat* (i.e. either <u>a</u> or <u>the hat of a girl</u>).

For the first, switch *the girl's hat* round into *the hat of the girl* and remove the first *the* and the preposition *of*. This construction is characterized by both possessed and possessor being definite, so it covers *Nolwenn's hat* too. If 'hat' is *tog* and 'the girl' is *ar verc'h*, 'the girl's hat' will be *tog ar verc'h*. Note too: *togoù pep merc'h* 'each girl's hats', *bagoù kalz tud* 'many people's boats', *levr ma mamm* 'my mother's book', *kazetenn houmañ* 'this woman's newspaper', *sal-debriñ o hini* 'their [e.g. house's] dining room' (roughly 'the dining room of theirs/their one's', the reference of 'theirs' presumably clarified from the context), thus using possessors defined by various quantifiers, possessives, and pronouns. And *Nolwenn's hat* will be *tog Nolwenn*. Trépos 1957: 78 gives a nice example of multiple possession (orthography adapted): *dorioù bras kastell kaer merc'h henañ roue kozh Bro-Spagn* 'The great doors of the beautiful castle of the eldest daughter of the old king of Spain (lit. "doors big castle beautiful daughter eldest king old Spain")'.

As for the second (*a girl's hat*), it may be as if *a girl's* (note how the indefinite article goes with the 'possessor') is an adjective (it is used in an indefinite or generic sense), as in *a houseboat*; Breton will tend to tack the noun on, e.g. *un tog merc'h*; in the second reading, if there is something definite about 'hat', i.e. it's a specific one, then *tog ur merc'h* is to be used. There is no reason why this cannot be *an tog merc'h* 'the girl's hat' (= 'the hat of a girl', as in *un tog merc'h*) either – quite clear in Breton, but in English care is needed with the intonation.[3] Using nouns as adjectives is very widespread in Breton. Note how English creates a compound noun; Breton may do this too, e.g. *ur rod-karr* 'a cartwheel' (or 'a car wheel') – the use of the hyphen here may reflect a need to link the two components and avoid ambiguity, e.g. *rod-karr Yann* 'Yann's cartwheel' – *rod karr Yann* 'The wheel of Yann's cart' – a slight pause in the appropriate place removes the ambiguity in the spoken language. Note too various other types of indefinite: *an ti-laezh* 'the dairy' (lit. 'the house-milk'), *ur vag-pesketa* 'a fishing boat' (lit. 'a boat-fishing' – *pesketa* is a verbal noun, identical to the 'infinitive'), *un tour-tan* 'a lighthouse' (lit. 'a tower-fire'). The first component is the one which will reflect number, e.g. *ar rodoù-karr* 'the cartwheels'; but occasionally 'incorrect' (but encountered, even if not approved) forms occur, e.g. *an tour-tanioù* instead of *an tourioù-tan* 'the lighthouses'. The second component may even be pluralized as well as the first; in such a case attention is balanced over both components, e.g. *ar rodoù-kirri*. Trépos 1957: 79 suggests that *rodoù-karr* has the singular *ur rod-karr*, while *rodoù-kirri* has the singular *rod ur c'harr*. Attributive adjectives follow the group, e.g. *un tour-tan uhel* 'a high lighthouse'.

Moving on, possessive constructions also very often use a preposition before the

possessor. Drawing on Trépos 1957: 81–3, note that in *ur rod karr*, the component *karr* is subordinate and indefinite; it simply qualifies slightly the meaning of *rod*. If the possessor is definite, then a preposition may be appropriate: *ur rod eus e garr* 'a wheel of his cart' (lit. 'a wheel from his cart'). There are also quite a few expressions using *a* 'of': *tud a vor* 'seafolk', *ur plac'h a spered* 'an intelligent girl' ('a girl of intelligence'), *ur marc'h a zen* 'a person as strong as a horse' ('a horse of [a] man'). In a group such as *ur werennad vat a win* 'a good glass of wine' rather than the equally correct *ur werennad-win vat*, the separating-out of the noun *gwin* and use of a preposition simplifies or analyses what is otherwise quite a compact and complex sequence. And there would be also, with a quite different meaning, conveyed by order and mutation, *ur werennad a win mat* 'a glass of good wine'! When something has several identical or similar items, the preposition *eus* 'from, out of' may convey selection: *dorioù eus an ti* 'doors of the house', *un nor eus an ti* 'a door of the house', but not *an nor eus an ti* 'the door of the house' (note how indefiniteness here stretches also to numerals other than 'one': *div zor eus an ti* 'two doors of the house' – 'the door' suggests only one, or perhaps a special, particular door; *an nor eus an ti* might be seen as reflecting *Gwenedeg*, which would have *an nor ag an ti* (*ag* = *a* + vowel (*a* instead of *eus*) in *Gwenedeg*)). Note similarly: *an hanter eus an tud* 'the half of the people', *an hini yaouankañ eus ar vevelien* 'the youngest of the servants' – thus in the cases of parts or fractions and pronouns. Normally it is possible to use *eus*, but with certain nouns another preposition may be necessary; thus *ar maez, ar maezioù* 'countryside' requires *diwar*: *un den diwar ar maez* 'a person from the countryside'. The preceding examples concern inanimates; with animates it is usually the preposition *da* which is used, e.g. *ur verc'h da Yann* 'a daughter of Yann's', *un askell d'al labous* 'one of the bird's wings', *mab da Fañch eo* 'He's Fañch's son' (note the absence of an article before *mab*, here a predicate associated with the copula *eo*).

Breton has other very common and fascinating ways of conveying possession, e.g. *Mari zo yen he zreid* 'Mari's feet are cold', lit. 'Mari is cold her feet' – the alternatives *Treid Mari zo yen* and *Yen eo treid Mari* are both grammatically fine. In the first example *Mari* may be seen as the focus or as slightly brought into relief.

Adjectives

General

Adjectives have no endings reflecting gender or number, though one often notes *kaezh* – plural *keizh* 'poor', e.g *tud keizh* 'poor folk' (it is actually a noun, meaning 'humble, unfortunate person'). Adjectives almost always follow the noun – the few which may precede may be pejorative or augmentative, e.g. *ur c'hozh ti* 'a wretched house' (*kozh* otherwise = 'old'; note *ur gozh dor gozh* 'a dilapidated old door'); note too *ur gwir darv-mor* 'a real sea-wolf' (*gwir* 'true' preposed = 'veritable'; when it causes lenition, or lenites itself, is a complex issue). There are some nouns which may be prefixed and have an augmentative sense, e.g. *pezh, pikol, mell*: *pezhioù traoù* 'big things', *ur mell ti* 'a large house', *ur pezh pikol tour* 'a great big tower' – note they will take a plural ending if appropriate and may be combined, e.g. *ur mell pezh gwerennad sistr fresk* 'a great big glass of cool cider'. One may create feminine nouns from adjectives, e.g. *foll* 'mad' – *ur follez* 'a mad woman', but only *dougerez*, feminine form of the noun *douger*, may be used as an attributive adjective: *ur vaouez dougerez* 'a pregnant woman' (*dougen* 'to carry, bear') (Favereau 1997b: 83). We also find set expressions, sometimes with lenition, e.g. *e berr gomzoù* 'in a few words' (*komz* 'word').

However, adjectives undergo lenition, within certain constraints, after singular

feminine nouns and plural masculine human nouns. See above, under *Mutations*. First, here are some examples of forms:

simple	diminutive	'as X as' ken . . . ha(g)	comparative	superlative	'how/what a!'
bras	*brazik*	*bras* (*kement ha*)	*brasoc'h*	(*ar*) *brasañ*	*brasat*
pizh	*pizhik*	*pizh*	*pishoc'h*	(*ar*) *pishañ*	*pishat*
gleb	*glebik*	*gleb*	*glepoc'h*	(*ar*) *glepañ*	*glepat*
mat	*madik*	(*ken*)*koulz ha*	*gwell*(*oc'h*)	(*ar*) *gwellañ*	*gwellat*
drouk/fall	*drougik/fallik*	*ken gwazh ha*	*gwashoc'h/gwazh*	(*ar*) *gwashañ*	*gwashat*
hir/pell	*hirik/ pellik*	*keit ha* (*ken hir/pell ha*)	*hiroc'h/pelloc'h*	(*an*) *hirañ/* (*ar*) *pellañ*	*hirat/ pellat*
meur a kalz (*a*)	*kalzik*	*kement ha*	*muioc'h* (*a*)	(*ar*) *muiañ*	—
kent	—	*kerkent*	*kentoc'h*	(*ar*) *c'hentañ*	—
diwezh	—	—	—	(*an*) *diwezhañ*	*diwezhat*

The first three adjectives are regular; the meanings are 'big, precise, wet, good, bad/evil, long/far'. The last four are *meur a* + singular 'several', *kalz* 'much, many', *kent* 'before, as soon as, rather/sooner, (the) first', and *diwezh* 'end, (the) last'. *Mat*, *hir*, and *fall* may have regular forms. The 'diminutives' tend to become adverbs.

Gradation: comparative, superlative, exclamative, equative
Comparatives and superlatives are formed via the suffixes *-oc'h* and *-añ*, which cause provection (extended by analogy to the comparative from the superlative, and perhaps from the exclamative), e.g. *gleb* 'wet' – *glepoc'h* 'wetter' – *glepañ* 'wettest', *skuizh* 'tired' – *skuishoc'h* 'more tired' – *skuishañ* 'most tired' – this is not always reflected in the orthography, e.g. with *l*, *n*, *r*: *don* 'deep' – *donoc'h* 'deeper' instead of *donnoc'h*; also *hiroc'h* above, alongside *berr* short' – *berroc'h* (*e* usually remains long here). Note how in monosyllabic adjectives, a long vowel in the positive will shorten before the provected consonant, something not always noted in spelling, e.g. *bras* 'big' – *brasoc'h* 'bigger' – *brasañ* 'biggest'. Note the diminutive suffix, e.g. on the comparative: *pelloc'hig* 'a little bit further'. With the past participle and recent borrowings one may form the comparative similarly, e.g. *karetoc'h* 'more beloved', *difisiloc'h* 'more difficult', but it is more common to find the positive here, preceded by *muioc'h* 'more': *muioc'h karet*, *muioc'h difisil*. To convey 'less X than' see the equative below; possible is *nebeutoc'h* 'less' + positive, but this is considered incorrect.

The comparative will normally follow the qualified noun, and lenite as appropriate; but it may also precede, in which case the article will be omitted and there is no lenition: *gwennoc'h bara* 'whiter bread'; and note the quantitative/adverbial: *muioc'h a vara* or *muioc'h bara* 'more bread'. Here are a few examples of various constructions involving the comparative: *klañvoc'h-klañv* or *klañvoc'h-klañvañ* 'more and more ill' (perhaps the latter, with the superlative as second component, is becoming more common); *seul vuanoc'h, seul well* 'the quicker the better', *seul vui e labour, seul vui e c'hounez* 'the more he works, the more he earns' (note lenition); *kalz/pell keroc'h* 'much/far more expensive'.

Comparatives are followed by *eget* 'than' (mainly Leon) or, more often these days,

evit 'for, than'. These two words, prepositions, will be followed by a noun phrase or, if a clause follows, by *ma* (or *a*) + verb, e.g. *koshoc'h eget/evit ma c'hoar* 'older than my sister', *abretoc'h evit/evit ma krede* 'sooner than (s)he believed'.

The superlative may precede the qualified noun, in which case the definite article is absent; these are often set expressions: *brasañ plijadur am eus-me bet* 'The greatest pleasure I've had'; *gwashañ tud* 'the worst people', but *ar c'hentañ gwech* 'the first time' – note that there is no reflection of the 'expected' lenition here, only automatic changes occasioned by elements preceding the superlative, e.g. *k* must become *c'h* after an article (as if *gwech* were not feminine singular). If the definite article is there, then the superlative most often follows the qualified noun and lenition will occur as expected, e.g. *ar vag vihanañ* 'the smallest boat' (*bag* is feminine, modified by *bihanañ*). If a superlative precedes a feminine singular or a masculine plural human noun, then lenition as a rule does not take place, but may, and indeed will if a noun is understood, e.g. *ar gentañ* (*hini*) 'the first (one)', with feminine singular reference; and note where a numeral is present: *an div gaerañ plac'h* 'the two most beautiful girls' (after a numeral the noun remains in the singular; but no lenition of the noun) (Favereau 1997b: 91). Past participles may form the superlative, as they form the comparative, and diminutives are possible, e.g. *gwellikañ* 'roughly the best'. Constructions to note include: *an abretañ* ('*r*) *gwellañ* 'the sooner the better; as soon as possible'; *gwashañ ma c'hall* 'the worst possible'; *gwellikañ ma c'hallen* 'the best I could manage'; *en o c'haerañ* 'in their finest clothes ("at their most beautiful")'; *diouzh e wellañ* 'as best he could ("from his best")'; *ar peurvuiañ* 'the majority, most part'; *peurliesañ* 'most often, as a rule' – note how these shade over into adverbs (an adjective in itself may function as an adverb). And the superlative may convey an exclamation, e.g. *Gwellañ amzer!* 'What fine weather!' (Favereau 1997b: 92–3).

But adjectives may also form an exclamative, in *-at*, e.g. *Kaerat deiz!* 'What a beautiful day', which also causes provection. More often (the synthetic form lingers in Goueloù and Treger) this is done analytically, e.g. *Nag un deiz kaer!* or, literally 'How beautiful is the day!', *Pegen kaer eo an deiz!*; *Na bras eo an nor!* 'How big the door is!' (even *Na pegen bras eo an nor!*). If the exclamation is based on a noun, then *pebezh* or *peseurt* is used, e.g. *Pebezh belo!* What a bike!', *Peseurt trouz!* 'What a din!'

Briefly returning to the superlative, the absolute superlative may be conveyed by the attachment of various elements to the positive, e.g. *-meurbet*, *-tre*, *-kenañ*, *-kaer*, *-bras* (*ec'hon-meurbet* 'extremely vast', *mat-tre* 'very good', *yen-kenañ* 'very cold', *bihan-kaer* 'really small', *brav-bras* 'very pleasant'), plus many set expressions involving different parts of speech affixed, e.g. *tomm-berv* 'boiling hot', *fall-du* 'very bad' (*du* 'black'), *mezv-dall* 'blind drunk', *gwenn-erc'h* 'snow-white'; and an adjective may be repeated, e.g. *berr-berr* 'very short' (Favereau 1997b: 93–4).

There are relics of an equative, e.g. *kement* 'as much', *keit* 'as long/far', *koulz/kenk-oulz* 'as good/well' (*ha* = 'as'), but most often this is now done analytically, with *ken* + adjective + *ha*(*g*) 'as X as . . .' – this, with a negative verb, also normally covers the comparative of inferiority, viz. 'not as X as . . .' = 'less X than . . .'. If a clause follows, then *ha* becomes *ha ma* + verb. Thus: *ken sot hag e vreur* 'as silly as his brother', *ken oadet ha ma soñjemp* 'as elderly as we thought'. *Ken* may have forms *ker* and *kel*, varying like the definite and indefinite articles. Note: *ken bras-se* 'as big as that', *ken abred-mañ* 'as soon as this' (see the section on the demonstratives), *ken bras all* 'as big', *ken bihan ha ken bihan* 'as small as each other'. *Ken* also means 'so' as in *ken bras* 'so big'.

Word-formation in adjectives

A general point to be borne in mind is that Breton will very often use a noun as an adjective, e.g. *tud Vreizh* rather than *tud vreizhek* 'Breton people', or one may have prepositional phrases, e.g. *a-bouez* rather than *pouezus* 'powerful (lit. "of-weight")'.

(i)   Selected prefixes:

Note that the prefixes may cause lenition and may also be used to form other parts of speech – the adjectives themselves may come from those other parts of speech.

am-: *amwir* 'apocryphal' (*gwir* 'true');

ar-/er-: *argilus* 'recalcitrant' (from the noun *argil*, which is from *kilañ* 'to recoil, move back');

berr-: *berrbadus* 'ephemeral' (*padout* 'to last');

dam-/dem-: *damdost* 'quite close/near' (*tost* 'near'), *damvelen* 'yellowish' (*melen* 'yellow, blond');

daou-/div-: *daougornek* 'with two horns' (*daou/div* 'two'; *korn* 'horn', with the suffix *-ek*);

de-: *dedennus* 'attractive' (from *tennañ* 'to pull, draw', with the suffix *-us*);

di-, dis-: *didruez* 'pitiless' (*truez* 'pity'), *disheñvel* 'dissimilar' (*heñvel* 'similar');

em-: *empennadet* 'stubborn' (related to *penn* 'head');

ez- (*-er-*, *en-*): *ez-vev* 'alive' (*bev* 'alive');

fall-: *fallgontant* 'unhappy, dissatisfied' (*fall* 'bad'; *kontant* 'content');

gou-: *gouraouet* 'slightly hoarse' (*raouañ* 'to become/make hoarse'); *goudomm* 'tepid' (*tomm* 'hot');

gour-: *gourhen* 'very old' (*hen* 'old, ancient', mainly restricted to *henañ* 'elder, eldest');

gwir-: *gwirvoudek* 'real' (*bout* 'to be' (a form of the infinitive, usually *bezañ*));

hanter-: *hanter-gousket* 'half-asleep' (*hanter* 'half'; *kousket* 'to sleep');

he-: *hegarat* 'kind' (*karout* 'to like, love'); *helavar* 'eloquent' (*lavaret* 'to say')';

hir-: *hirbadus* 'long-lasting' (*hir* 'long'; *padout* 'to last');

holl-: *hollc'halloudek* 'omnipotent' (*galloud* 'power');

kef-/kev-: *kefleue* or *kevleue* 'pregnant (of a cow)' (lit. 'with calf', *leue* 'calf');

kel-, kem-, ken-: *kelvezek* 'with lots of walnut-trees' (*kelvez* 'walnut-trees'); *kempredel* 'contemporary' (*pred* 'moment; meal'); *kendalc'hus* 'who perseveres' (*derc'hel* 'to hold', *kenderc'hel* 'to continue');

mar-/mor-: *marlouet* 'greyish' (*louet* 'grey'); *morgousket* 'dozy, sleepy' (*kousket* 'to sleep');

peur-: *peurvloaz* 'annual, which lasts a year' (sense of completion; *bloaz* 'year');

peus-/peuz-: *peuskozh* 'quite old' (*kozh* 'old'); *peuzheñvel* 'quite similar' (*heñvel* 'similar');

(ii)   Selected suffixes (sometimes the whole word is borrowed):

-abl/-apl: *kredapl* 'credible' (*krediñ* 'to believe');

-ant: *bervidant* 'boiling' (*birviñ* 'to boil');

-ek: *genaouek* 'open-mouthed; someone with a big mouth' (*genou* 'mouth');

-el: *santel* 'holy, saintly';

-et: *siet* 'defective' (*si* 'defect' – also *siek*);

-iat: *gaouiat* 'mendacious' (*gaou* 'lie');

-ik: *aonik* 'timorous' (*aon* 'fear') (in other words, here not a diminutive suffix);
-ous: *tagnous* 'nasty, scabby' (*tagn* 'moth, ringworm; stingy');
-ubl/-upl: *posubl* 'possible';
-us: *talvoudus* 'useful' (*talvoud* 'value').

Adverbs

Adjectives may be used as adverbs without any formal change being made (in reality, of course, only a few actually do regularly function as adverbs), and may be joined to each other, semantics permitting: *Brav-spontus em eus kavet anezhañ* 'I found him really well', *brav-brav* 'really fine', *prestik-prest* 'very soon'. Favereau 1997b: 100 cites examples where there is a semantic shading, e.g. *Deus disoursi* 'Make sure you come!' – *disoursi* 'carefree, heedless'. Perhaps the majority of adverbs are composite, mainly made up of a preposition (very often elided in speech) plus a noun, adjective or verb (Favereau 1997b: 101). Thus we have: *a-bezh* 'entirely', *a-du* 'in favour (of something), for', *a-enep* 'opposed (to something), against', *a-bell* 'from afar', *a-dost* 'from nearby', *a-greiz-holl* 'all of a sudden', *a-hend-all* 'otherwise', *alies* 'often', *a-nebeudoù* 'imperceptibly, bit by bit'; *e-barzh* 'inside', *e-berr* and *emberr* 'soon' (e.g. *ken emberr!* 'see you soon!'), *e-krec'h* 'above', *e-kichen* 'nearby', *e-maez* and *er-maez* 'out(side)', *e-sav* 'standing'. Rather like the composite adverbs in *e*(*n*)- we have ancient ones in *end*-, e.g. *end-eeun* 'actually', cf. *en-eeun* 'straight on', even (though adapted) *eta* – *enta* 'then, "donc"'. And *en* may change: *er*(-)*vat* or *'vat* 'well', *ez-c'hlas* 'still/yet green'. Favereau 1997b: 102–3 also gives adverbs in *war*- and *di*-: *war-c'horre* 'on the surface', *war-dro* 'around', *war-blaen* 'horizontally', to which one might add *warc'hoazh* – *arc'hoazh* 'tomorrow'; *dibistig* 'without difficulty, mishap', *diseblant* 'without noticing, realizing'.

Here are a few other adverbs (many others will be found elsewhere in the chapter) (unless marked otherwise, by underlining, the stress is final): *ad<u>a</u>rre* 'again', *c'hoazh* 'still, yet', *dija* 'already', *abred* 'early, soon', *atav* 'always', *dalc'hmat* 'constantly', *diouzhtu* 'immediately', *evelkent* 'all the same', *fenoz* 'this coming evening', *heno*(*a*)*zh* 'now, this evening', *gwechall* 'formerly, in the past', *moarvat* 'very probably', *emichañs* 'probably', *raktal* 'immediately', *zoken* 'even'. Favereau 1997b: 103 notes adverbs including an enclitic; here the stress is regular, e.g. *amañ* 'here', *aze* 'there', *bremañ* 'now' (and 'diminutive' *bremaik* 'soon'), *biken* 'never (future)', *hiziv* – *hirio* 'today', *kentoc'h* 'rather, sooner, preferably', *marteze* 'perhaps', *neuze* 'then', *goude* 'after(wards)', and usually final in *bepred* 'always' and *biskoazh* 'never'. Some of these, and other, adverbs, will be found as prepositions.

As for the ordering of adverbs, place comes before time, e.g. *N'on ket bet <u>eno</u> <u>gwech ebet</u>* 'I've never been there'; they will also come outside the core of the verb phrase, notably where we have a compound tense form, e.g. *Ne ra mann ebet, gwech ebet* 'He never does nothing', *N'on ket bet morse* 'I've never been [there]'. And: *E gwirionez, 'm eus labouret adarre, alies, atav, a-wechoù, c'hoazh, dreist-holl, ivez . . . dija* 'In truth I have again, often, always, sometimes, still, especially, also . . . already worked . . .' (all, slightly adapted, from Favereau 1997b: 104). Note that *dija* always comes last.

Pronouns

Personal pronouns

There are three singular and three plural persons. The 'strong' or independent forms tend to be used for emphasis: *me*, *te*, *eñ* and *hi*, *ni*, *c'hwi*, *int*: *din-me* 'to me' (*din* 'to me'), *Er gêr*

e oan(*-me*) *dec'h* 'I was at home yesterday', (*Me*) *n'ouzon ket* 'I don't know', *Hi eo* 'It's she', *Setu me* 'Here I am', *Er skol e oa, hag eñ klañv* 'He was at school, in spite of being ill', *C'hwi a lenn ar gazetenn* 'You read the newspaper'. The object pronouns take the form of possessives or more often these days of 'conjugated' forms (the 'new' forms below) of the preposition *a* 'of': *Ma digarezit – Digarezit ac'hanon* 'Forgive/Excuse me'. The new forms may derive from a partitive sense. One may come across the independent pronouns as object pronouns: *C'hwi am boa gwelet e kêr* 'I saw you in town = "It's you I saw in town"'. The possessive pronouns cause lenition, the spirant mutation, and provection. Here is a table:

	strong	proclitic	enclitic	new form	inflections
1PS	*me*	*am-em-'m/va-ma*^{S}	*-me*	*ac'hanon*	*-n*
2PS	*te*	*az-ez-'z*^{P}*/da*^{L}	*-te*	*ac'hanout*	*-t (-z, -s)*
3PSf	*hi*	*he*^{S}*/hec'h*	*-hi*	*anezhi*	*zero*
3PSm	*eñ*	*e*^{L}*-en*	*-eñ*	*anezhañ*	*zero*
1PP	*ni*	*hon/hor/hol*	*-ni*	*ac'hanomp*	*-mp*
2PP	*c'hwi*	*ho*^{P}*/hoc'h*	*c'hwi/-hu*	*ac'hanoc'h*	*-c'h (-t)*
3PP	*i, int*	*o*^{S}	*-i(nt)*	*anezho*	*-nt*
NON-PERS.	*an nen*	—	—	—	—

We must note in particular the sequence *C'hwi a lenn ar gazetenn* 'You read the paper'; here there is a certain insistence on the personal pronoun – it is in principle not as neutral as in French. We shall learn more about this construction when we study the verb.

There is variation in Breton regarding the usage of the second person pronouns – in an extensive area in the south only *c'hwi* is used. See, for example, Morvannou 1978–80 I: 252–3 for a useful sketch.

Regarding the object pronouns, usage is as follows:

	+ np	+ verbal noun/infinitive	+ past participle	+ finite verb form
ma, *va*	+	+	+	−
da	+	+	+	−
e	+	+	+	−
he(*c'h*)	+	+	+	−
hon, *hor*, *hol*	+	+	+	+
ho	+	+	+	+
o	+	+	+	+

The forms *am*, *em*, *'m*, *az*, *ez*, *'z*, *en* are used before finite verb forms. Moreover, the use of *ma*, *va*, and *da* is overruled before NPs and verbal nouns if the pronouns are preceded by *da* 'to' and (NPs only) *e* 'in', when we have *da'm* (or *d'am*), *em*, *da'z* (or *d'az*), and *ez*. In the spoken language we do tend these days to get such forms as *da ma* 'to my . . .' (and sometimes before finite verb forms). Some examples:

ma zad 'my father', *va gwelet a ra* 'he sees me', *ma gwelet o deus* 'they saw me', *eñ am gwel* 'he sees me', *a-benn arc'hoazh em gwelo* 'he'll see me tomorrow', *da'm c'havout* 'to find me', *em zi* 'in my house';

da dad 'your father', *da welet a ra* 'he sees you', *da welet o deus* 'they saw you', *eñ az kwel* 'he sees you', *a-benn arc'hoazh ez kwelo* 'he'll see you tomorrow', *da'z kavout* 'to find you', *ez ti* 'in your house';

e dad 'his father', *e welet a ra* 'he sees him', *e welet o deus* 'they saw him', *eñ en gwel*

'he sees him', *a-benn arc'hoazh en gwelo* 'he'll see him tomorrow', *d'e gavout* 'to find him', *en e di* 'in his house';

he zad 'her father', *he gwelet a ra* 'he sees her', *he gwelet o deus* 'they saw her', *eñ he gwel* 'he sees her', *a-benn arc'hoazh he gwelo* 'he'll see her tomorrow', *d'he c'havout* 'to find her', *en he zi* 'in her house';

hon tad 'our father', *hor gwelet a ra* 'he sees us', *hor gwelet o deus* 'they saw us', *eñ hor gwel* 'he sees me', *a-benn arc'hoazh hor gwelo* 'he'll see me tomorrow', *d'hor c'havout* 'to find us', *en hon ti* 'in our house' (*hon* changes like the article, but *hon* may be used as sole form; the only change it causes is of *k* to *c'h* after *hor*);

ho tad 'your father', *ho kwelet a ra* 'he sees you', *ho kwelet o deus* 'they saw you', *eñ ho kwel* 'he sees you', *a-benn arc'hoazh ho kwelo* 'he'll see you tomorrow', *d'ho kavout* 'to find you', *en ho ti* 'in your house';

o zad 'their father', *o gwelet a ra* 'he sees them', *o gwelet o deus* 'they saw them', *eñ o gwel* 'he sees them', *a-benn arc'hoazh o gwelo* 'he'll see them tomorrow', *d'o c'havout* 'to find them', *en o zi* 'in their house'.

All these may be replaced by the new, 'conjugated' forms, the only notable constraint being that such forms may not occur clause-initially.

To create possessive pronouns we place the object-pronoun forms before *hini* (singular) and *re* (plural): *ma hini* 'mine', *ho re* 'yours', with enclitic or prepositional re-inforcement: *ma hini-me – ma hini din*(*-me*) 'mine'. Note also *ma-unan, da-unan* 'myself, yourself' (there are other shapes of this form), etc., *e-unan-penn* 'on his own', *hon-daou* 'the two of us'.

Demonstratives

Demonstrative adjectives are conveyed by the attachment of enclitics which, as expected, do not affect stress, e.g. *an ti-mañ – an ti-se – an ti-hont* 'this (by me), that (by you), that (by him) house' (as a rule, the demonstrative particle will be affixed to an attributive adjective: *ar c'hazh bihan-se* 'that little cat'). Demonstrative pronouns may be conveyed by *se* 'that' and *an dra-mañ – an dra-se – an dra-hont* 'this, that (by you), that (by him)' for inanimates and *hemañ, hennezh, henhont* 'this, that (by you), that (by him) (masc.)', *ho(u)mañ, ho(u)nnezh, ho(u)nhont* 'id. (fem.)', *ar re-mañ – ar re-se – ar re-hont* (pl.) for animates and inanimates. It may be that the masculines cause lenition of following adjectives, e.g. *hemañ gozh* 'this old man', though Favereau 1997b: 118 does not confirm this; with the plurals, an attributive adjective may come last, on its own, or have the demonstrative particle suffixed to it – if the latter it will be subject to lenition: *ar re-mañ bras* and *ar re vras-mañ* 'these big ones' (Favereau 1997b: 118 considers the former of these two more frequent).

We can relate these to various adverbs, e.g. *amañ* 'here', *aze* 'there', *ahont* 'there' (plus *di* 'there (motion)' and *eno* 'there (no motion)', where the place is not visible), and *bremañ* 'now', *neuze* 'then, "alors"'. Note too *du-mañ* 'around here, among us, at our place', alongside *du-se* and *du-hont*. Also *alemañ* 'from here' and the related *alese* and *aleshont* (and other forms, for visible and not visible).

The determinatives *hini* and *re* may be quite close to demonstratives, e.g. *an hini gozh* 'the old person (fem.)', *an hini gozh-mañ* 'this old person (fem.)', *ar re vras* 'the big ones' (*re* as determinative is not stressed, except by default before the demonstrative enclitics; in Treger *re* most often takes a plural form *reoù*) – this attachment of the enclitic is possible only if there is an adjective. *Hini* may be used indefinitely, in which case it is always masculine: *hini melen* 'some lager (light beer)'.

Interrogatives

Included here are interrogative adjectives and adverbs as well as pronouns. Note too that interrogatives will tend to come first in sentences, given that information being sought, and that information once it has been given, tend to occupy that place in the Breton sentence.

First, the pronouns:

piv? 'who, whom', *petra?* 'what?' (end-stressed), and *pehini?*, plural *pere?* 'which
    one(s)?' (stressed on *re*).

Given that these may stand as subjects or direct objects, they will then with verbs other than *bezañ* 'to be' and *kaout* 'to have' as such be followed by the verbal particle a^L before the verb (except when negated). If indirect, i.e. preceded by a preposition, they will be followed by the particle e^M (various other forms before a vowel) before the verb (again, except when negated). The situation with *bezañ* and *kaout* can be slightly different. Some examples:

Piv a zibabo al levr? 'Who will choose the book?'
Piv a gavint er gêr? 'Whom will they find at home?'
Gant piv ez aimp da Gemper? 'With whom will we go to Kemper?'
Da biv ho peus kaset al lizher? 'To whom did you send the letter?'
(Negative: *Piv ne zibabo ket al levr?, Piv ne gavint ket er gêr?, Gant piv n'aimp ket da
    Gemper?, Da biv n'ho peus ket kaset al lizher?)*
Petra a lavaront? 'What do they say?' (Negative: *Petra ne lavaront ket?)*
Pehini a brenot? 'Which one will you buy?' (Negative: *Pehini ne brenot ket?)*

Compare *Piv eo?* 'Who is it?' and *Piv (a) zo o vont d'ar gêr?* 'Who is going home?' (Negative: *Piv n'eo ket?, Piv n'emañ ket o vont d'ar gêr?*), and *Piv emaoc'h o klask?* 'Who're you looking for?'

Secondly, the adjectives (*pe* is not stressed):

pe . . .? or *peseurt . . .?, petore . . .?* 'what . . .?'
Pe liv eo X? 'What colour is . . .?'; *Pe oad 'peus?* 'How old are you? (lit. "What age do
    you have?"; also *Pe oad oc'h?*, using *bezañ*)'; *Peseurt ti?* 'What (sort of) house?'
    (*peseurt* is particularly common).
pet (*a*) . . .*?* and *pegement a . . .?* 'how much/many . . .?'

pet is constructed with a singular count noun: *pet den?* 'how many people?', *pet eur eo?* 'what time is it?' (stress on *pet* given *den* and *eur* are monosyllabic); *pet a dud?* 'how many people?' with a^L 'of' focuses on a mass, a whole, while *pet den* focuses more on individuals. *Pegement a* is followed by a plural: *pegement a dud?* – equivalent to *pet a dud?* On its own it means 'how much?', and with that meaning it may also be followed directly by a noun in the singular, or mass noun: *Pegement bara o deus gwerzhet hiziv?* 'How much bread have they sold today?' *Pet* may be followed by a plural verb (this depends on the construction): *Pet bugel o deus skrivet ul lizher d'o zud?* 'How many children have written a letter to their parents?'

pegeit? 'how far, how long?': *Pegeit amzer?* 'How much time?'; *Pegeit zo da Lannuon?*
  'How far is it to Lannuon?' (lit. 'How far is there to Lannuon?').
pegen . . .? 'how . . .': *Pegen yaouank?* 'How young?' (related to its exclamative sense).

Thirdly, the adverbs (*pe* is not stressed; given that the first four of the following are clearly
adverbs, a verb following them will, in the positive, be preceded by *e*^M):

pelec'h? 'where?' – we may be more specific, viz. *e-pelec'h* or *ba pelec'h*? 'in which
  place?', *da belec'h?* 'where to?', and *eus pelec'h?* 'where from?', e.g. *Pelec'h e vo
  ar c'hendalc'h?* "Where will the congress be?" (In *Gwenedeg* forms are based on
  e-menn.)
penaos? 'how?': *Penaos e vo graet al labour-mañ?* 'How will this work be done?' Very
  common is the expression *peseurt mod?*: *Peseurt mod e teuimp a-benn da echuiñ
  al labour?* 'How will we manage to finish the work?'
perak? 'why? ("lit. what for?")' (often *d'ober petra?* 'for what purpose ("lit. to do
  what?")'): *Perak ne fell ket deoc'h dont ganin d'ar fest-noz?* 'Why don't you want
  to come to the *fest-noz* with me?'
pegoulz?, pevar?, peur? (also *pe da goulz?, pe da vare?*) when?': *Pegoulz e vo echu ho
  romant?* 'When will your novel be finished?'

ha(*g*) *. . .?* and *daoust* (*ha*(*g*) (*-eñ*)) *. . .?* (optional interrogative particles): the first, which
has no effect on the structure of the underlying sentence, may be seen as somewhat archaic
nowadays: *Ha deuet int dija?* 'Have they already come?' More common is the model
Daoust ha graet en deus e venoz sikour ac'hanomp? 'Has he decided to help us?' (still no
effect on the structure of the underlying sentence). *Daoust hag-eñ e*^M, however, requires
that a finite verb form immediately follow the particle (the particle may be replaced by
ne if the verb is negative; this fixed structure perhaps generalizes the question): *Daoust
hag-eñ e vint e Rospez a-benn arc'hoazh?* 'Will they be in Rospez tomorrow?' And note
Daoust piv a fell dezhañ ober un droiadig war an enezenn? 'Is there anyone wants to have
a walk on the island?' In other words, *daoust* may simply signal a question, even if there
is an interrogative there – essentially, *piv* or whatever replaces *ha* here.
  One may precede these questions with statements of the sort *N'ouzon ket* 'I don't
know', *Goulennet em eus* 'I asked', and they do not change; *ha* and *hag-eñ* (without
daoust) provide the model for indirect questions ('if' = 'whether' structures) – the latter
requires *e*^M + finite verb form after it.
  Regarding answering yes-no questions: *ya* and *nann* are used only to confirm a posi-
tive or a negative question respectively. To negate a positive question, the finite verb of
the question is echoed negatively: *O chom ba Kemper emaoc'h?* – *N'emaon ket* 'Do you
live in Kemper? – No, I don't' (the verb *ober* 'to do' may be used). To contradict a nega-
tive question, the usual answer is *eo* or *geo*, but echoing is possible here too, and the use
of *ober*: *Ne lennont ket?* – (*G*)*eo/Greont* 'Don't they read? – 'Yes, they do'.

Indefinites
Favereau 1997b: 135–45 has been drawn on here.

'other': *all* is stressed and follows the noun, pronoun, or numeral which it qualifies: *ar
vag all* 'the other boat', *ur paotr all* 'another boy', *hounnezh all* 'that other woman', *ar
re-hont all* 'those others', *tri all* 'three others'; note the expression *Biskoazh kemend-all!*
'Never heard/seen the like!', thus its use also in equative expressions, e.g. *bara ken se'ch*

all 'bread as stale as all that'. We must also note *an eil . . . egile* 'one another' (masculine and mixed), *an eil . . . eben* (feminine): *an eil a gaoze gant egile* 'they chat to each other'.

'little, few, a little, a few': *nebeud* (adjective *nebeut*) means 'little, few' and with the indefinite article 'a little, a few', thus *nebeud 'oa a dud* 'there weren't many folk', *nebeut amzer* 'little time', *un nebeud 'm eus naon* 'I'm a little hungry', *un nebeut tud* 'a few people' – there is some hesitation here, e.g. *un nebeud a dud* 'a few people' too; note too *nebeutoc'h* 'less' and *an nebeutañ* 'the least, minimum', *d'an nebeutañ – da nebeutañ – da vihanañ* 'at least'. For 'a little' one might also use *un tammig*, e.g. if one speaks a little Breton.

'half': *hanter* is an adjective, a noun, and an adverb, e.g. *un hanter bloavezh* 'half a year', *un hanter eus ar miz* 'half the month', *hanter-vezv* 'half drunk' (lenition of *mezv* 'drunk' in this compound), *un hanter koshoc'h* 'twice as old'.

'several': *meur a^L* + singular, e.g. *meur a vaouez* 'several women', *meur a hini* 'several people' (note *meur a zen ne oa ket* or *ne oant ket*, i.e. either a singular or a plural verb, thus interpretable as plural); note the related *ne* + verb (*ket*) *nemeur* 'scarcely': *me n'ouzon ket nemeur* 'I scarcely know'.

'each, all': *pep* 'each, every', as in *pep unan* 'each one', *e pep lec'h* 'everywhere', lenited in adverbs, e.g. *bep bloaz* 'every year', *bep an amzer* 'every now and then', *bemdez* 'every day', *bepred* 'constantly, always', *bep a briz* 'with a prize each' (distributive construction'); *kement* starts off as an equative 'as big', but develops a sense of 'all, every' especially, and preferably, when introducing a subordinate clause, e.g. *kement tra a oa el liorzh* 'everything that was in the garden'; *kement-se* 'all that', *kement-mañ* 'all this', *kement ha lâret* 'so as to say, just to say', *dek kemend-all* 'ten times more' (note a certain variation in the spelling); *holl^L* 'all', e.g. *an holl* or *an holl dud* 'everyone', *an holl spont* 'all the terror', *ma holl flijadur* 'all my pleasure' (note the discontinuous spirantization caused by *ma*), *prenet em eus anezho holl* 'I bought them all', and also *holl an dud* 'everyone'; *tout* or *toud* is very widespread: *tout an traoù* 'everything'; and we have *a-bezh* or *en* + possessive + *pezh*, e.g. *ar vourc'h a-bezh* or *ar vourc'h en he fezh* 'the whole village' ('of a piece'), *n'int ket prest a-bezh* 'they aren't entirely ready'.

'much, many, more, a lot': *kalz* 'much, many' is placed before what is quantified, e.g. *kalz bara* 'much bread', *kalz chas* 'lots of dogs' – *a^L* may come after it, especially where an accompanying verb is negative, thus *ne oar ket kalz a dra* 'he doesn't know much'; very common is *ur bern* 'a pile of', e.g. *ur bern levrioù* 'lots of books'; we also find the diminutive of *kalz*, *kalzig* in the sense 'quite a few', and similarly *forzhig*, e.g. *evañ a reont forzhig* 'they drink quite a bit'. Semantically related we have (*e*)-*leizh a^L* 'lots of', e.g. *leizh a gizhier* 'lots of cats', and *leizh an ranndi* 'the flat full', and *lies* in *lies gwech*, *a-lies a wech* 'many a time'. Note too *ouzhpenn* 'more than, as well as', e.g. *ouzhpenn houidi* 'not just ducks, more than ducks', *ouzhpenn ma oa skuizh* 'as well as being tired (lit. "more than that he was tired")'. Somewhat related might be *gwall*, preposed and causing lenition and with a sense, here, of 'lots, very, extremely', e.g. *gwall gousket* 'fast asleep'.

'no more': here we cannot e yet another use of *ken*: *n'eus* (*ket*) *ken* 'there's no more'. See the next section, on 'none'.

'none': *ebet* (from *er bed* 'in the world'), is postposed to a singular (non-mass, count) and has created a whole range of negatives: *ki ebet* 'no dog', *den ebet* 'no one' (also *den*, *nikun*), *gwech ebet* 'never' (also *james*, *morse*, *biskoazh* (past only), *biken* (future only)), *tra ebet* 'nothing' (also *netra*, *mann*; even *netra ebet*, something found with other negatives); note too *neblec'h* 'nowhere', *ken* 'no more, no longer'. Where a verb accompanies, the verb will have the particle *ne* or *na*, but *ket* may not be necessary: *ne welan den* or *ne welan ket den*. Whether or not to include *ket* can be quite difficult; in a sense, if an element needs to be close to the verb, then *ket* may be omitted, e.g. *N'in ket da Gemper ken* and not *N'in ken da Gemper* 'I shan't go to Kemper any more', *N'eo ket bet morse e Pariz* and not *N'eo morse bet e Pariz* 'He's never been to Paris'. To be borne in mind too is *neb*, adjective *nep* 'no one, anyone', but also with the sense 'anyone', e.g. *neb a oar* 'anyone knows'; note *neptu*, *neblec'h* 'nowhere'.

'one, some, any': *an nen*, e.g. *ne blij ket d'an nen* 'that is not liked'; thus it may be slightly pompous, like English 'one'. It stands apart from the non-personal (Hewitt 2002: 1, 15 refers to them as 'impersonal') verb forms in *-er*, *-ed*, etc. and the passive, of which the latter is spreading at the expense of the former. 'Some, any' (not the partitive) is conveyed particularly by the post-position to a noun or pronoun of *bennak*, end-stressed and never lenited: *un dra bennak* 'something', *unan bennak* 'someone'; it may convey approximation, e.g. *(e-pad) miz bennak* '(during) about a month'. Note its use with interrogatives: *piv bennak* 'whoever', *petra bennak* 'whatever' (it may, especially as *petra bennak ma*^{M}, mean 'although', but there is also the perhaps more common *daoust ma*, *evit ma*, among other possibilities, e.g. *petra bennak ma'z eo gwir* 'although it is true'. In the case of *evit ma* (which may also mean 'in order that'), note the very useful alternatives, using the personal forms of prepositions, *evidon da vezañ klañv* and *evit din bezañ klañv* 'in spite of me being ill' for *evit ma'z on klañv*. These two constructions with the verbal noun (here *bezañ*) can be used to replace many subordinating conjunctions involving *ma*.

'enough': *awalc'h* follows adjectives and nouns, e.g. *koant a-walc'h* 'quite pretty', *tiez a-walc'h* 'enough houses'. With verbal nouns it begins to acquire a sense of 'quite well, quite readily, indeed': *Gouzout a-walc'h a ran* 'I indeed know'; and note the nuance in *n'oc'h ket a-walc'h evit kompren* 'you can't really understand' (the negative of *bezañ* 'to be' plus *evit* + verbal noun is a common way of conveying 'can't'; note too *n'eus ket moian* 'impossible', and *moian/tu zo din* + verbal noun 'I can, have the opportunity to')). If the sense approximates to a direct object, then *trawalc'h* may be used more: *trawalc'h 'feus labouret* 'you've done enough work', not to mention *Trawalc'h!* 'Enough!'

'too': *re*^{L} – note that this word will be stressed (unlike the pronominal *re*) when preceding a monosyllabic non-clitic: *re vras* 'too big'; note pre-posing of an adjective after it: *re vras koll* 'too great a loss' (*bras* 'big'). This word is also an old neuter, leniting as if feminine, meaning 'pair, series': *tri re votoù* 'three pairs of shoes'.

'such, same': *hevelep* is common here: *an hevelep tra* 'the (self-)same thing', *un hevelep tra* 'such a thing' (note the pre-position), *hevelep tad hevelep mab* 'like father like son'. But perhaps more general is *memes*: *ar memes tud* 'the same people', and note *ar wirionez memes* 'truth itself'. A common alternative meaning 'such' is *seurt* (pre-posed) or *seurt-se* (post-posed), e.g. *ur seurt gwaz* or *ur gwaz seurt-se* 'such a man'.

Numerals

Cardinals

Numerals are followed by nouns in the singular, the noun coming after the unit in compounds, though there are prepositional constructions available in *a* plus the plural (after the whole numeral) with a stronger mass nuance (we can even have this construction after *unan* 'one', though it is more likely to be used with higher numerals). The system, for 1–100, is mainly vigesimal; it may remain so up to 200 and even 240. Certain numerals cause lenition and the spirant mutation (the latter tends to be replaced by lenition, but only of *t*, *k*, and *p*). Here is a table, with examples using the nouns *ti – tiez* 'house(s)', *kazh – kizhier* 'cat(s)', *penn – pennoù* 'head(s)', *paotr – paotred* 'boy(s)', *levr – levrioù* 'book(s)', *plac'h – merc'hed* 'girl' (note the general pattern of the last in the sense 'girl'; *merc'h* (singular) may most often be 'daughter'):

0	*mann*, *zero*; with a singular count noun, postpose *ebet*: *ti ebet* 'no house'.
1	*unan* (also *un*) – replaced by *un/ur/ul* when occurring with a noun, though it will remain quite prominent, and stressed if the noun is a monosyllable and the emphasis is on 'one' (the stress position also overall goes for other monosyllabic numerals): *ur paotr* or *unan a baotred*.
2	*daou*^{L} (masc.), *div*^{L} (fem.): *daou di*, *daou gazh*, *daou benn* or *daou a diez*, *daou a gizhier*, *daou a bennoù* (and so on, for other numerals, with this construction).
3	*tri*$^{S/L}$ (masc.), *teir*$^{S/L}$ (fem.): *tri zi*, *tri c'hazh*, *tri fenn*.
4	*pevar*$^{S/L}$ (masc.), *peder*$^{S/L}$ (fem.): *pevar zi*, *pevar c'hazh*, *pevar fenn*.
5, 6, 7, 8	*pemp*, *c'hwec'h*, *seizh*, *eizh*: *pemp ti*, *c'hwec'h kazh*, *seizh penn*.
9	*nav*$^{S/L}$: *nav zi*, *nav c'hazh*, *nav fenn*.
10–19	*dek*, *unnek*, *daouzek*, *trizek*, *pevarzek*, *pemzek*, *c'hwezek*, *seitek*, *triwec'h*, *naontek*: *dek ti*, *unnek kazh*, *daouzek penn*; *dek levr* or *dek a levrioù*.
20, 21 . . .	*ugent*, *unan warn-ugent*, . . .: *ugent ti*, *un ti warn-ugent* or *unan warn-ugent a diez* (note the position of the prepositional phrase).
30, 31 . . .	*tregont*, *unan ha tregont*, . . .
40, 41 . . .	*daou-ugent*, *unan ha daou-ugent*, . . .
50, 51 . . .	*hanter-kant*, *unan ha(g) hanter-kant*, . . .
60, 61 . . . 70, . . . 79	*tri-ugent*, *unan ha tri-ugent*, . . . *dek ha tri-ugent*, . . . *naontek ha tri-ugent*: *unnek plac'h ha tri-ugent* or *unnek ha tri-ugent a merc'hed*.
80, 81, . . . 99	*pevar-ugent*, *unan ha pevar-ugent*, . . . *naontek ha pevar-ugent*.
100, 101, . . . 110	*kant*, *kant unan*, *unan ha kant* . . . *kant dek* or *dek ha kant*, . . .: *kant ti*, *kant dek ti* or *dek ti ha kant*; *ur paotr ha kant* or *kant ur paotr* or *kant unan a baotred*.
120, 121 . . .	*kant ugent* or *c'hwec'h-ugent*, *kant unan-warn-ugent* or *unan ha c'hwec'h-ugent*.

130	*kant tregont* or *dek ha c'hwec'h-ugent,* . . .
190	. . . *kant dek ha pevar-ugent* or *dek ha nav-ugent,* . . .
199	. . .*kant naontek ha pevar-ugent* or *naontek ha nav-ugent*
200–900	*daou c'hant* (*daou gant* in Gw.), *tri c'hant, pevar c'hant, pemp kant, c'hwec'h kant, seizh kant, eizh kant, nav c'hant.*
1000	*mil.*
1200	*mil daou c'hant* or *daouzek kant* (the latter, using the hundreds, is normal between 1001 and 1999)
(in the year) 1984	(*er bloaz*) *mil nav c'hant pevar ha pevar-ugent* or *naontek-kant pevar ha pevar-ugent.*
2000, 3000, . . .	*daou vil, tri mil,* . . .
1,000,000	*ur milion* (also *ur milïon*) – constructed with *a* + plural and seen as a noun; this also goes for higher units.

The cardinals may also be used as if nouns, e.g. *ar pevar-se* 'those four', *pemp kozh* 'five old ones', *div goant* 'two pretty women', *unan* or *un' dalvoudus* 'a useful one (referring to a feminine noun; *talvoudus* "useful")', even *unan goañv* 'a winter one' (referring to something masculine, say, *tog* 'hat') – there is, however, a tendency to lenite after numerals from 'three' and above. Lenition is found when referring to the date: *Ar bed emaomp?* 'What date is it?' – *Ar bevarzek eo* 'It's the 14th' (possibly *ar bevarzeg*, seeing the numeral as a noun); the exception is the 1st, with *ar c'hentañ*. This lenition may be a reflection of the earlier case system.

Note also *bep a dri* 'three of each', *a-drioù* 'by threes', *pemp-ha-pemp* 'five by five'.

Approximation may be conveyed by using the indefinite article, e.g. *un eizh mizvezh* 'around eight months'; alternatively one may use *bennak*, thus *eizh mizvezh bennak*; or even *un eizh mizvezh bennak*. This may be done analytically, e.g. using *war-dro* 'about, around'.

Ordinals

The ordinals are varied in their behaviour in relation to gender and mutation: *kentañ – unanvet, eil – daouvet/divvet, trede – trivet/teirvet* (alternatives), *pevare – pevarvet/pedervet* (alternatives), *pempet* or *pempvet* (these two are simply alternatives), *c'hwec'hvet,* . . . – from *c'hwec'hvet* simply add *-vet*.

Most ordinals when attributive will come before the noun – in the standard, written, language they do not mutate (except for *k-*, which must change to *c'h-* after an article), though in the spoken language they tend always to lenite (if appropriate), whatever the gender of the noun. If used pronominally, they lenite according to gender: *an trivet – an deirvet* 'the third (one)'. As for *kentañ*, it may be attributive before or after the noun; Davalan I 2000: 129 gives *ar wezh kentañ – ar c'hentañ gwezh* (note the absence of mutation in the latter, which may also mean 'the next time'; *gwezh* is an alternative to *gwech*, which is feminine); it tends not to be used pronominally (*ar c'hentañ – ar gentañ*), but only with the pronominal determiner: *ar c'hentañ hini* (for both genders) or *an hini kentañ – an hini gentañ*. The definite article may also be left out with ordinals: *kentañ tra* 'the next/ first thing', *kentañ a gasin dezhañ a vo* . . . 'the first thing I send him will be . . .' *Unanvet* will tend to be used in compounds. *Eil* comes on its own or pre-posed; there is no lenition after it: *an eil eo* 'it's the second', *an eil kendalc'h* 'the second congress', *un eil emvod* 'a second meeting'. It may appear as *eilvet*; and *daouvet/divvet* may be more common in

compounds. *Trede* and *pevare* may reflect gender by leniting as normal: *ar pevare gwech* or *ar bevare gwech* 'the fourth time', but they may be replaced by *trivet*, etc. The remaining ordinals behave as indicated at the beginning of this paragraph.

One may mention the fractions: *hanter* 'half', *kard* 'quarter', *trederenn* 'third'. Another form found for 'quarter' is *palefarzh* (related *daoufarzh* 'two-thirds', *trifarzh* 'three-quarters'). The word *lodenn* 'part' is also used with ordinals for fractions, e.g. *un dekvet lodenn*, as well as *un dekvedenn* 'a tenth'. Note *eizh kemend-all* and *eizh gwech kemend-all* 'eight times more'.

Prepositions

Prepositions on the whole come before the noun they govern and have special personal forms. Some prepositions are themselves followed by prepositions when they govern personal pronouns, and others, compounds, insert a possessive between their components. If they cause mutations, prepositions (mainly several of the simple and most frequent ones) cause lenition. Some examples follow (note signs of provection in the third-person forms) – note that the first and second persons reflect the present tense (first group) and future tense (second group; formerly present subjunctive) forms of *bezañ* 'to be', and that the third person forms reflect affixed third-person pronouns.

evit 'for, than': *evidon, evidout, evitañ – eviti, evidomp, evidoc'h, evito/evite*;
e(n) 'in': *ennon, ennout, ennañ – enni, ennomp, ennoc'h, enno/enne*;
a 'of': *ac'hanon, ac'hanout, anezhañ – anezhi, ac'hanomp, ac'hanoc'h, anezho/anezhe.*

da 'to': *din, dit, dezhañ – dezhi, dimp, deoc'h, dezho/dezhe*;
gant 'with': *ganin, ganit, gantañ, ganti, ganeomp/ganimp, ganeoc'h, ganto/gante*;
ouzh 'against, . . .': *ouzhin, ouzhit, outañ – outi, ouzhimp (ouzhomp), ouzhoc'h, outo/oute*;

For 'in' Davalan III 2002: 238 also suggests *'ba' 'non, 'ba' 'nout, 'ba' 'n'añ, 'ba' 'ne'i, 'ba' 'nomp, 'ba' 'noc'h, 'ba' 'ne'o/'ba' 'ne* (he does not recommend over-use of this, and his spellings must be provisional!)

Personal pronouns are often attached to the first and second persons: *ouzhimp-ni*, etc.; to the third persons are added *e-unan* 'himself', *hec'h-unan* 'herself', *o-unan* 'themselves', e.g. *dezhañ e-unan* 'to him'.

Note that the third person plural form very commonly occurs as *-e* instead of *-o*.

Here are some of the most important prepositions, arranged according to type – it is to be borne in mind that there is much variation:

(i) the *evit* type (the *-d-/-t-* provection is mentioned where it occurs):

a (*eus*) > *ac'hanon* (third person: *anezhañ, anezhi, anezho/anezhe* – this preposition is *very* important);
a-raok > *araokon* (and *araozon*) 'before me';
dindan > *dindanon* 'under me';
dirak > *dirakon* (and *dirazon*) 'in front of me';
diwar > *diwarnon* 'from me' (note the inserted *-n-*);
dre > *drezon* 'through me' (note the inserted *-z-*);
e, *en* > *ennon* 'in me';

eget > *egedon* 'than me' (note provection/contraction in the third person: *egetañ*, *egeti*, and *egeto*);

etre > *etrezomp* 'between (us)' (note the inserted *-z-*);

evel > *eveldon* 'as, like me' (note inserted *-d-*, and provection in the third person: *eveltañ*, *evelti*, *evelto*);

hep > *hepdon* 'without me' (note provection in the third person: *heptañ*, *hepti*, and *hepto*);

hervez > *hervezon* 'according to me';

nemet > *nemedon* 'except me'(note provection/contraction in the third person: *nemetañ*, *nemeti*, and *nemeto*; very useful, e.g. *ma breur nemetañ* 'my very brother');

war > *warnon* 'on me' (note the inserted *-n-*; the third person forms may insert *ezh-*, i.e. *warnezhañ*, *warnezhi*, *warnezho*).

(ii) the *gant* type:

da > *din* 'to, towards, for me' (third person: *dezhañ*, *dezhi*, and *dezho*);

digant > *diganin* 'from me';

diouzh > *diouzhin* 'from me' (third person: *dioutañ*, *diouti*, and *diouto*; first person plural normally *diouzhimp*);

ouzh > *ouzhin* 'against, towards, at/to me' (third person: *outañ*, *outi*, and *outo*; first person plural normally *ouzhimp*).

Note end stress here in the first and second persons.

(iii) Examples of prepositions conjugated with the help of other prepositions:

a-dreñv 'behind' + *da* > *a-dreñv din* 'behind me';

betek > *betek* + *e(n)* > *betek ennon* 'until, as far as (me)';

e-barzh > *e-barzh* + *e(n)* > *e-barzh ennon* 'inside me, within me' (this may also be found with noun phrases, e.g. *e-barzh en ti* 'in the house').

(iv) Incorporation of a possessive to give the personal forms, e.g.

e-lec'h > *en he lec'h* 'instead of her'; *e-kichen* > *en hor c'hichen* 'near us';

diwar-benn > *diwar ma fenn* 'about me'; *a-zivout* > *war ho tivout* 'concerning you';

war-lerc'h > *war da lerc'h* 'after you'.

Some prepositions have no personal forms, e.g. *aba* 'since', *adalek* 'since', *e-pad* 'during', *eus* 'from', which is replaced here by *a*, and *goude*, where there were forms with possessives, e.g. *em goude* 'after me', *en e c'houde* 'after him', but where now one might use *war-lerc'h* instead.

   Many prepositions are used with the third-person singular feminine ending to convey a neuter, or neutral form. Such expressions are very common; here are a few examples (note that some have a temporal or meteorological sense):

Miz Even 'oa anezhi 'We were in June';

Glav 'oa anezhi 'It was raining/rain was in the air';

Deomp de'i! 'Let's get down (lit. "go") to it!';

Hiziv emañ an deiz kentañ a viz Eost anezhi 'Today's the first of August'.

Similar and useful here are structures like *en e goazez* 'sitting, seated' (*Kit en ho koazez!* 'Sit down!', *Mont a ran em c'hoazez* 'I sit down'), *en e sav* 'standing, stood up', *en e aes* 'at one's ease', *war/en e led* 'stretched out', *en en c'hourvezh* 'lying down', *en e gluch* 'squatting', *en e blom* 'upright', *war e du* (*mat*) 'in a good mood', *en e bezh* 'all, alto-gether', *war e giz* 'back'. One simply varies the possessive (and the mutation).

Eus 'from' (it often replaces *a* in *KLT*), as mentioned above does not have 'conjugated' forms (other than those of *a*) – it tends to enjoy a complex relationship with *ouzh*, which may give also *diouzhin*, *deusouzhin*, . . .; and there is the form *deus* or *deuzh*, with *deuzou-don*, *deuzoudout*, *deuzoutañ* – *deuzouti*, *deuzoudomp*, *deuzoudoc'h*, *deuzouto/deuzoute* (Davalan II 2001: 132 – even Davalan warns against over-confusion here and recom-mends trying to stick to the standard).

And here are a few useful expressions with common prepositions (this is an enor-mously rich topic and only the briefest taster can be given here):

(i) *ouzh* 'at, against' (attachment, conformity): *stagañ ouzh* 'to attach to', *heñvel ouzh* 'similar to'; *sentiñ ouzh* 'to obey', *fachet ouzh* 'angry with', *kaout kas ouzh* 'to feel aver-sion for', *miret ouzh unan bennak da/a ober un dra bennak* 'to prevent (someone) from doing something'.

(ii) *gant* 'with'. Note its meaning 'by' in passives:

Kemeret eo bet ar gontell gant al laer 'The knife has been taken by the thief';
Hennezh zo bet sikouret gant e amezeg da adlivañ ar vogerenn 'He's been helped by his
      neighbour to repaint the little wall';
Ar babig-se zo moumounet gant e vamm-gozh 'That baby is spoilt by its grandmother'.

Breton favours the passive: *Kollet he deus Mari he filoù* 'Mari has lost her batteries' is fine, but *Kollet eo he filoù gant Mari* lit. 'Lost is her batteries by Mari' seems more authentic. Note too: *diskenn gant an derezioù* 'to go down the steps'; *pignat gant ar skeul* 'to climb up the ladder'; *gant an tren* 'by train'.

'Bring' and 'take' may involve *gant: deut eo e draoù gantañ* 'he's brought his things (lit. "come is his things (subject) with him")' – *aet eo e draoù gantañ* 'he's taken his things (lit. "gone is his things (subject) with him")' (the latter can even convey 'steal' or 'eat/drink': *Mont a ra kalz bara ha gwin ganin* 'I eat a lot of bread and drink a lot of wine'). It is used for possession, even alongside *kaout* 'to have': *N'em eus ket a arc'hant ganin* 'I don't have any money on me'. It is very important in conveying possession or control (not ownership). Note also the expressions:

Petra a yelo ganit? 'What'll you have? (lit. "What will go with you?")'; *Kaset eo he
      faner ganti* 'She's taken her basket (lit. "Taken/Sent is her basket with her")'.

We find *gant* too after verbs conveying the notions of asking and receiving: *goulenn gant* 'to ask (someone a question)' (also *digant* (request)); it may also express manner or reason:

mervel gant an naon 'to die of hunger', *krenañ gant an aon* 'to tremble with fear'.

Like *da*, *gant* is used in several impersonal expressions. They may in fact be synonymous, with the nuance that with *gant* there is a greater sense of control. Thus:

dav e vo ganin 'I shall have to'; *kerse e vo gantañ* 'he will regret'; *mar plij ganeoc'h* 'if you please'; *kenkoulz eo ganto mont diouzhtu* 'it's as well if they went – they'd better go immediately'; *gwelloc'h eo din ober an dra-se* 'it's better for me to do that' (*ganin* here gives a sense of 'prefer').

And there are many set phrases:

glav a zo ganti! 'it's raining'; *mont a reas gant e hent* 'he went on his way'; *Petra a zo ganit?* 'What's up with you?' (or 'What're you doing?', 'What have you got?'); *E-pelec'h emaomp ganti?* 'Where are we up to?'; *Chañs vat ganeoc'h!* 'Good luck to you!'; (*hag*) *echu ganti!* '(and) that's an end to it!'

(iii) *da*^{L} basically means 'to', but has lots of idiomatic uses. One thing to be borne in mind is that it cannot be used when going *to a person*; in such a situation *davet* is used.

Note *da bemp eur* 'at five o'clock', *d'an ampoent* 'at the moment', *d'ar Sul* 'on Sundays' (also found without the article: *da Sul*), *da nebeutañ*, *da vihanañ* 'at least', *da skouer* 'for example', and *d'ar red* 'at a run'.

It is used, as expected, with verbs of communication or a sense of 'giving': *reiñ* 'to give', *skrivañ* 'to write', *lavaret* (often contracted to *lâret*) 'to say', *diskouez* 'to show', *displegañ* 'to explain'. Particularly useful is its use with verbs such as *kavout*, *fellout/faotañ*, e.g., *me a gav din* 'I think, it seems to me', *me a fell/faot din* 'I want [to]'.

It indicates personal ownership: *Ar c'harr a zo dezhi – Da Nolwenn eo ar c'harr* 'The car is hers/Nolwenn's'. And it is constructed with a few adjectives, e.g., *ingal eo din* 'I don't mind (lit. "it's equal to me")'.

It is very common before a verbal noun: for instance after *derc'hel*, *dalc'h* 'to keep on X-ing', e.g *Derc'hel a rin da geginañ, . . .* 'I'll carry on cooking, . . .'. Other examples:

Emañ-hi o hastañ d'an ti-gar, diouzhtu-kaer he deus un treñ da dapout 'She's rushing to the station, she has a train to catch immediately'
N'eo ket chomet da labourat? 'Didn't he stay to work?'

Note constructions such as *daoust da Soaz da vezañ klañv* 'in spite of Soaz's being ill' (or *evit* rather than *daoust da*). And, to avoid all the personal forms of the verb: *ha hi da serriñ he daoulagad* 'and she closed her eyes'.

Finally, *dav/ret eo da Bêr* 'Pêr must', *mall eo dezho* 'they are in a hurry' (also *war*: *warn(ezh)o*), *tomm eo dezhi* 'she's hot' (but *anoued/riv am eus* 'I'm cold'), *fall e oa da Soaz* 'Soaz didn't feel well', *mat e vefe deoc'h* 'it would be good for you to . . .'. And much more. Note too: *Arabat* (*eo*) *deoc'h butunat!* 'Don't smoke!' (lit. 'It is prohibited to you to smoke').

(iv) *e*, *en* (*en* occuring before *n*, *t*, *d*, *h* or vowels) conveys 'at, in, within, to' before the place where one is, which one is entering – even with verbs of movement: *e Landreger* 'in Landreger', *mont en ti* 'to enter the house', *mont e kêr* 'to go to town' (but *mont da greiz-kêr* 'to go to the town centre'). Some feel that *e* is used only in stationary situations. *E/en* and *e-barzh* (*ba*) (very common for 'in') may be differentiated, *e*, *en* as 'in/at' and *e-barzh* as 'in the interior of': *en ti* 'in the house, at home', *e-barzh an ti* (also *e-barzh en ti*) 'inside the house'.

(v) *war*^L has a general meaning 'on' and is paired with *diwar* 'from'. Useful expressions include *mont war droad* 'to be on foot', *war yun* 'without having had any breakfast', *tizh/ mall/pres a zo warnon* 'I'm in a hurry'. Before a verbal noun it can have an augmentative sense: *mont war goshaat* 'to be getting older' (*koshaat* 'to get older'). As *war a* followed by a personal form of a verb, it has the sense 'so far as . . .': *war a glevan* 'so far as I've heard/know', *war a lavarer* 'so far as people say'.

Favereau 1997b: 407–49 gives lots more information.

Verbs

Verbal and other particles
Traditionally there are two verbal particles:

a^L: after the subject, the direct object, the infinitive in the periphrastic construction, and the antecedent of 'who, which';
e^M: after the indirect object, adverbs, the complement of 'to be', and to introduce noun clauses.

Both may be elided; the mutation remains, and in some dialects the two particles may even merge and cause lenition; in the NE-SW Central dialects *e* seems moribund and replaced by *a* (Hewitt 2002: 31).

The following should be mentioned:

'ni^L: intensive or emphatic, following any emphasized word or phrase (negated by placing *n'eo ket* before the emphasized word or phrase);
na^L: after the antecedent of 'who, which' and in the imperative;
ne^L: after the subject, the direct object, the indirect object, adverbs, and introducing noun clauses (negator);
o^M: before the verbal noun (= progressive with *bezañ* 'to be', i.e. = the present participle); it becomes *oc'h* before a vowel or *h* beginning the verbal noun and *ouzh* if the verbal noun is preceded by an object pronoun; in part of Treger and elsewhere, notably the south-east and spreading, it is replaced by *é*;
en ur^L: before the verbal noun (= the gerund – conveying an accompanying action, with the same subject as the main verb);
ha + sentence: interrogative (no effects on word order) (also *daoust ha*);
ma^M: introducing adverbial clauses (may be preceded by prepositions, e.g. *evit ma* 'in order that, in spite of') (in some dialects it lenites);
ra^L: the optative (plus the future tense; or *da*, if the subject comes first).

An overview of the verb
Leaving aside for the moment *bezañ* (also *bout*) 'to be' and *kaout/endevout* 'to have', verbs have different manifestations depending on the emphasis, insistence, focus, or topicalization within the utterance. There is a periphrastic, a synthetic, a radical/apersonal/ analytic, and a progressive form. There are three singular forms, three plural forms, and a neutral, general, or non-personal form (for this last see Hewitt 2002: 1, 38; he sees it as implying an indeterminate human subject; they are not passives, since they may not be constructed with an agentive phrase). There is a present tense, an imperfect tense, a preterite (least rarely in the third person and largely restricted to the written language), a future tense (formerly the present subjunctive), various compound past tenses, various

progressive and habitual forms (involving *bezañ*), and two conditionals (a potential and a hypothetical (*irrealis*), formerly the imperfect subjunctive and pluperfect indicative respectively).

Present participles and gerunds are formed by preceding the verbal noun by particles (*o*M and *en ur*L respectively: *En ti e oan o labourat* 'I was working in the house' – *Emaon o tont eus Kemper – Me zo o tont eus Kemper* 'I'm coming from Kemper' – *O sellet e oan ouzh an tele en ur skrivañ ul lizher* 'I was watching TV writing a letter'). Compare *Gwelet em eus anezhañ o vont kuit* 'I saw him leaving [= him leaving]' – *Gwelet em eus anezhañ en ur vont kuit* 'I saw him while I was leaving'. Perhaps *Yann a oa diaes e galon o kuitaat e vro* 'Yann felt ill at ease leaving his "country"' (Morvannou 1978–80 I: 287) nicely indicates that *Yann* is not the subject. Note too *Oc'h azezañ e teui a-benn* 'By sitting down (= "If you sit down"), you'll manage it'.

The verbal noun may be identical with the radical or base, which is the core form of the verb, or (setting aside prefixes) may have a suffix, which has to be removed to find the radical. Occasionally, there are differences between the radical on its own and its form in the verbal noun, e.g. *gounit* 'to win', radical *gounez*, *derc'hel* 'to hold', radical *dal'ch* (an alternative verbal noun is *del'cher*, where there is less of a difference); *reiñ* 'to give', radical *ro*; *tevel* 'to be silent', radical *tav*; and there are orthographic questions with verbs with the verbal noun in *-iañ*, when the *i* is *jot* and palatalizes the preceding consonant. The various forms will be looked at below.

Prefixes do not have an effect here; examples of prefixes include *de-* 'towards the speaker', e.g. *kas* 'to take, send', *degas* 'to bring', *ad-* 'repetition', e.g. *moulañ* 'to print', *advoulañ* 'to reprint', *di-* 'un-', e.g. *kreskiñ* 'to grow', *digreskiñ* 'to diminish', *gwiskañ* 'to dress', *diwiskañ* 'to undress'; *dis-* 'negates', e.g. *prizañ* 'to evaluate, esteem', *disprizañ* 'to scorn'; *ken-/kem-* 'co(n/m)- (and equivalents)', e.g. *derc'hel* 'to hold, "-tain"', *kenderc'hel* 'to continue', *pouezañ* 'to weigh', *kempouezañ* 'to balance, settle'; *en-/em-* 'in', e.g. *gervel* 'to call', *engervel* 'to summon, invoke'. Note that lenition is often caused.

The verbs for 'to go', 'to do', and 'to know' (and to some extent 'to come') have certain irregularities. The verbs 'to go' and 'to do', respectively *mont* and *ober*, are extremely similar; the radical of *mont* is *a*, and that of *ober* is *gra*. As for *gouzout* 'to know', the irregularity (or variation) is greater: *goar*, *gouez*, *goui*. As for *dont* 'to come', the standard radical is *deu*, but further east we have *da*.

The verb *bezañ* 'to be' has numerous forms in the present, less in the other tenses, conveying identification (*Yann on* 'I'm Yann'), process/location/situation (*Emaon o vont da Gemper* 'I'm going to Kemper'), frequency/habit (*Komzet e vez brezhoneg amañ* 'Breton is spoken here'), indefinite ('there is/are': *Tud zo el liorzh – El liorzh ez eus/zo tud* 'There are people in the garden') – the 'rule' here is that *zo* is used if what there is/are comes first, but *zo* is often used as in the second example, and *Bez' zo* is common, thus *Bez' zo tud el liorzh*), and subject-first (= analytic, apersonal): *Me zo o vont da Gemper* 'I'm going to Kemper'). Useful is it to compare *Tud zo deuet – Deuet ez eus/zo tud* 'There are people in the garden' with *An dud zo deuet – Deuet eo an dud* '<u>The</u> people have come'.

The verb *kaout* 'to have' may alternatively be conveyed by *bezañ* 'to be' with prepositional constructions with *gant* ('having something "on" one') and *da* (indicating ownership), but a special verb has been created out of forms of the verb 'to be' with pronominal forms. This is the only verb in Breton which displays full agreement between itself and the subject: *Me am eus* 'I have', but *Me a lenn* (not *Me a lennan*) 'I read'. This verb (if it is a verb), and *bezañ* 'to be', is used in the formation of compound tenses and of the passive voice. The alternative verbal noun or infinitive *endevout* is strictly speaking a third person singular masculine form, as will be seen later.

All verbs other than *kaout* display no agreement if the subject is independently expressed, unless the verb is negative and at the same time a form referring to the subject precedes the verb: *Me zo* 'I am', *Me a lenno* 'I'll read (*lenno* is the third person singular future)', but *Me ne vin ket er gêr* 'Me, I shan't be at home'.

Reflexives are rendered by the particle *en em* placed in front of the lexical verb ('dress, wash', etc.; it is not an auxiliary) and causing lenition: *En em gavout a rin gant Soazig* 'I'll meet Soazig' (lit. 'I'll find myself with Soazig'). *En em* replaces the particle *a* or *e*.

More detail
(a) Forms of verbs other than *bezañ* and *kaout*
There are very few irregular verbs (*ober* 'to do', *mont* 'to go', *gouzout* 'to know'), and one may feel that even they are barely irregular. The basic pattern is a verbal noun (sometimes referred to as the infinitive), e.g. *redek* 'to run' – from this we find the base or radical (it may be identical with the verbal noun). Here it is *red*. That form gives us the basic form of the imperative (i.e. base + zero); add *-it* for the plural or formal form, and *-omp* for 'let's'. It is also the base on which everything else is formed. Let us look at a variety of verbal-noun forms, bearing in mind that there will be variation over the Breton-language area and will be other suffixes. Look for regularities (and irregularities) in behaviour in what follows.

verbal noun	radical	meaning	notes
komz	*komz*	to speak	suffix-less
kemer	*kemer*	to take	suffix-less
gortoz	*gortoz*	to wait	suffix-less
lenn	*lenn*	to read	suffix-less
selaou	*selaou*	to listen (to)	suffix-less
hadañ	*had*	to sow	the most common suffix
kanañ	*kan*	to sing	the most common suffix
skrivañ	*skriv*	to write	the most common suffix
studiañ	*studi*	to study	the *i* is vocalic (stressed if penultimate)
heuliañ	*heuilh*	to follow	radical spelling where ending in *i-* (= *l* and *n*)
bleniañ	*blegn*	to drive	radical spelling where ending in *i-* (= *l* and *n*)
glebiañ	*gleb(i)*	to wet	*glebi* where ending starts in *a*, *e*, *o*
debriñ	*debr*	to eat	note the *e* does not change
terriñ	*torr*	to break	note the change
serriñ	*serr*	to close	no change
deskiñ	*desk*	to teach/learn	no change
kregiñ	*krog*	to begin	change
echuiñ	*echu*	to end	no change
birviñ	*berv*	to boil	change
treiñ	*tro*	to turn	note the change
goleiñ	*golo*	to cover	the change in *-eiñ* is regular
teiñ	*to*	to roof	as above
sellet	*sell*	to look	straightforward (many verbs in *-et* have been given in the standard in *-out*, but this is disappearing)
gwelet	*gwel*	to see	straightforward
klevet	*klev*	to hear	straightforward
lavaret/*lâret*	*lavar*/*lâr*	to say	as above

gwellaat	*gwell(a)*	to get better	the *-a* may drop, particularly with certain endings; this ending indicates something augmentative or iterative and fortifies a preceding consonant: *gwashaat* 'to get worse'
lakaat	*lak(a)*	to put	as above
labourat	*labour*	to work	this ending indicates an action
avalaoua	*avalaoua*	to collect apples	this suffix indicates collecting and fortifies
merc'heta	*merc'heta*	to womanize	as above, cf. *merc'hed* 'girls'
huchal	*huch*	to shout	this ending often indicates a sound
kaozeal	*kaoze*	to chat, speak	as above
teurel	*taol*	to throw	note the change where a verbal noun is in *-el* or *-er*
sevel	*sav*	to r(a)ise	as above
gervel/gelver	*galv*	to call	as above
genel	*gan*	to give birth to	as above
lezel/lezer	*lez*	to let	an exception
dougen	*doug*	to carry	a rare ending
goulenn	*goul*	to demand	very often 'to ask' in its radical form
c'hoarvezout	*c'hoarvez*	to happen	such verbs are usually based on *bout* 'to be'
gallout	*gall/gell*	to be able	irregular lenition to *h-* after *ne*: *n'hellan ket* 'I can't'
erruout	*erru*	to arrive	as above
c'hoarz'hin	*c'hoarzh*	to laugh	a rare ending
redek	*red*	to run	a rare ending
laerezh	*laer*	to steal	a rare ending
gounit	*gounez*	to win	unique
mont	*a*	to go	'irregular'
ober	*gra*	to do	'irregular'
dont	*deu*, *da*	to come	anomalous
gouzout	*goar,* *gouez,* *goui*	to know	anomalous

In the Central area many verbs in *-añ* and *-iñ* are in *-o* instead, but this is not currently a feature of the standard.

Setting aside the last four verbs (in part, since overall they behave like other verbs), the only problems which arise are the additions of endings to radicals ending in vowels other than e; here we may drop the final vowel or have contractions. An illustrative table is in order, first of endings (the last two are the two conditionals), namely the three singular persons, the three plural persons, and the neutral, general, or non-personal form, all added to the radical:

present:	*-an, -ez, -ø (-a), -omp, -it, -ont, -er*
future:	*-in, -i, -o, -imp (-fomp), -ot (-fec'h), -ont (-font), -or*
imperfect:	*-en, -es, -e, -emp, -ec'h, -ent, -ed*
preterite:	*-is, -jout, -as, -jomp, -joc'h, -jont, -jod*
potential:	*-fen, -fes, -fe, -femp, -fec'h, -fent, -fed*

hypothetical: *-jen*, *-jes*, *-je*, *-jemp*, *-jec'h*, *-jent*, *-jed*
imperative: 2PS *-ø* (radical), 3PS *-et*, 1PP *-omp*, 2PP *-it*, 3PP *-ent* (the negative
                 imperative is *na*[L] + verb +*ket*, etc. or use is made of *arabat* plus the
                 verbal noun)
past participle: *-et* (the only exception, apart from *bezañ* and *kaout*, with *bet* (regular,
                 from *bout*), is *deut* alongside regular *deuet* from *dont*)

Now for actual examples (various tenses are given, to illustrate what may happen):

lenn   *lennan*, *lennez*, *lenn*, *lennomp*, *lennit*, *lennont*, *lenner* (present)
kanañ   *kanin*, *kani*, *kano*, *kanimp* (*kanfomp*), *kanot* (*kanfec'h*), *kanint* (*kanfont*),
              kanor (future)
debriñ   *debren*, *debres*, *debre*, *debremp*, *debrec'h*, *debrent*, *debred* (imperfect)
heuliañ   *heuilhis*, *heuilhjout*, *heulias*, *heuilhjomp*, *heuilhjoc'h*, *heuilhjont*, *heuilhjod*
              (preterite)
glebiañ   *glebis*, *glebjout*, *glebias*, *glebjomp*, *glebjoc'h*, *glebjont*, *glebjod* (preterite)
studiañ   *studian*, *studiez*, *studi*, *studiomp*, *studiit*, *studiont*, *studier* (radical *i* =
              syllabic) (present)
lakaat   *lakafen*, *lakafes*, *lakafe*, *lakafemp*, *lakafec'h*, *lakafec'h*, *lakafent* (potential
              – replace *-f-* with *-j-* for the hypothetical; thus the radical is as a rule *laka*, in
              which case *i* is inserted before *o*, e.g. 3PS future *lakaio*; this often happens
              with verbs whose radical ends in a vowel; in speech the *-a* of the radical is
              often pronounced *e*)
merc'heta   *merc'hetan*, *merc'hetez*, *merc'heta*, *merc'hetomp*, *merc'hetit*, *merc'hetont*,
              mercheter (present; in such verbs we may have a regular conjugation on the
              radical *merc'heta* or a conjugation on the radical *merc'het* except for 3PS
              present and 2PS imperative *merc'heta*)
mont: *an*, *ez*, *a*, *eomp*, *it*, *eont*, *eer*; *in*, *i*, *aio/ay/yelo*, *aimp*, *eot*, *aint*, *eor*; *aen*, *aes*,
              ae, *aemp*, *aec'h*, *aent*, *aed*; *is*, *ejout*, *eas*, *ejomp*, *ejoc'h*, *ejont*, *ejod*; *afen*,
              etc.; imperative = *kae* (or *kerzh* from *kerzhout* 'to walk'), *deomp* or *eomp*,
              kit (or *kerzhit*), negative *n'a ket*, *n'eomp ket*, *n'it ket* (2PS, 1PP, 2PP; 3PS
              and 3PP = *aet*, *aent*); past participle *aet* (after the particle *a* we often have
              preposed *y-*; *e* becomes *ez* or *ec'h*; *ne* may become *n'* or other forms before a
              vowel).
ober   *gran*, *grez*, *gra*, *greomp*, *grit*, *greont*, *greer*; *grin*, *gri*, *graio/gray*, *graimp*,
              greot, *graint*, *greor*; *graen*, *graes*, *grae*, *graemp*, *graec'h*, *graent*, *graed*;
              gris, *grejout*, *greas*, *grejomp*, *grejoc'h*, *grejont*, *grejod*; *grafen*, etc. (the *g*
              is most often absent through lenition – original the forms were *gwr-*, so *g*
              dropped through lenition and *w* was deleted; regular lenition occurs, e.g.
              adc'hraet 'redone'; note how close this verb is to *mont*).
gouzout   *gouzon*, *gouzout*, *goar*, *gouzomp*, *gouzoc'h*, *gouzont*, *gouzer*; *gouezin*,
              gouezi, *gouezo*, *gouezimp*, *gouezot*, *gouezint*, *gouezor*; *gouezen*, etc. or
              gouien, etc.; *gouezis*, *gouezjout*, *gouezas*, *gouezjomp*, *gouezjoc'h*, *gouezjont*,
              gouezjod; *goufen*, etc.; *gouijen*, etc.; past participle *gouezet* (there is more
              variation here, including forms based on the radical *goar*; the *g-* is usually
              absent in finite forms; otherwise regular lenition may occur; note there is
              'contamination' with *bezañ* 'to be' in the present).

dont	*deuan*, *deues*, *deu*, *deuomp*, *deuit*, *deuont*, *deuer*; *deuin*, *deui*, *deuio/deuy*, *deuimp*, *deuiot*, *deuint*, *deuior*; *deuen*, etc.; *deuis*, *deujout*, *deuias*, *deujomp*, etc.; *deufen*, etc.; imperative *deus* (regular when negative: *na zeu/deu ket*, or *na zeuez/deuez ket* using the present instead), *deuomp*, *deu*(*i*)*t*.	

(b) The verbs *bezañ/bout* 'to be' and *kaout/endevout* 'to have'

The first verbal noun in each pair is more commonly encountered; the latter of each is more frequent in the east, with *bout* quite common in the centre; the habitual or frequentative forms are a regular conjugation of *bezañ*, and the past participle, *bet*, shared by both verbs, is derived from *bout* (in the compound tenses *bezañ* uses itself as auxiliary and *kaout* uses itself, e.g. *bet on* 'I have been' – *bet em eus* 'I have had'). *Kaout* is a reduction of *kavout* 'to find'. The two verbs are exceptionally complex, *kaout* being a derivative of *bezañ*, essentially 'to be to someone'.

First, a paradigm of *bezañ*:

	radical	**analytic**	**habitual**	**situative**	**synthetic**	**indefinite**
bezañ/bout	*bez*	*(a) zo*	*vezan*	*emaon*	*on (oun)*	–
		(a) zo	*vezez*	*emaout*	*out*	–
		(a) zo	*vez*	*emañ*	*eo eus*	
		(a) zo	*vezomp*	*emaomp*	*omp*	–
		(a) zo	*vezit*	*emaoc'h*	*oc'h*	–
		(a) zo	*vezont*	*emaint*	*int (eus)*	–
		((a) zo)	*vezer*	*emeur*	*oar/eur*	–

Future:	*vin, vi, vo, vimp, viot/vioc'h, vint, vior* (also *vezin*, etc., which looks habitual but is not necessarily so);
Imperfect:	*oan, oas, oa, oamp, oac'h, oant, oad*;
Imperfect situative:	*edon, edos, edo, edomp, edoc'h, edont, edod*;
Imperfect habitual:	*vezen, vezes, veze, vezemp, vezec'h, vezent, vezed*;
Preterite:	*voen, voes, voe, voemp, voec'h, voed*;
Subjunctive:	*ven, ves, ve, vemp, vec'h, vent, ver* (rare, often optative; see Favereau 1997b: 250–2);
Conditionals:	potential *vefen*, etc. and hypothetical *vijen*, etc. (the other endings as in the regular imperfect);
Imperative:	*Bez!, Bezet!, Bezomp!, Bezit!, Bezent!*;
Past participle:	*bet*.

The habitual conveys a very general frequency or repetition, not a specific one; one even finds it in the 'progressive', e.g. *Me a vez o lenn* 'I'm often/repeatedly reading'. There is an understandable floating between it and the non-personal form (strictly speaking, the non-personal is not habitual), and between the non-personal form *oar/eur* and the non-personal form of the habitual, *vezer*, which will often prevail.

The situative emphasizes specific time and place, thus covers progressive. In much of the Breton-speaking area only the third-person forms of the present exist. The only constraint on their usage is that the subject may not precede the affirmative forms, thus +*me emaon* and +*Nolwenn emañ* must be *me* (*a*) *zo* 'I am' and *Nolwenn a zo* 'Nolwenn is' (or *Emaon* and *Emañ Nolwenn* respectively). The imperfect situative is restricted to the Leon area and to the standard.

The indefinite serves to convey 'there is' and in the present we mainly have *zo*, both

after what there is and after, say, an adverb, e.g. *Bara zo en ti* and *En ti zo bara* 'there's bread in the house', though the standard prefers *En ti ez eus bara* for the second. The negative has *N'eus ket a vara en ti* or *N'eus ket bara en ti* 'there's no bread in the house', or *N'eus kontell ebet en ti* 'there isn't a knife in the house' (for count nouns) – typically the negated verb comes first. One may discern the roots of 'to have' here – see below. For all the other tenses, and for the habitual present, one uses the analytic form, identical with the third person singular, preceded by *a* or *e*: *Bara a vo en ti*, *En ti e vo bara*, *Ne vo ket a vara en ti*, *Ne vo kontell ebet en ti*.

The 'synthetic' is just as synthetic as the habitual and the situative, so might perhaps better be seen as the 'identifying', and copular, form; it can be seen that the situative is in most persons the identifying form preceded by *ema-* (in the third persons we have *ema-* plus a pronoun – *emañ* is strictly speaking masculine, and one comes across *emei* for the feminine). With the exception of the situative forms, the synthetic forms must come second in the sentence, although one may come across them introduced, sentence-initially, by *e*, and they may occur sentence-initially in responses to yes/no-questions (most often negative): *Vioc'h ket? – Bin* 'Won't you be?' – 'Yes, I will'. This also happens with *ober* 'to do', *mont* 'to go', *dont* 'to come', *gouzout* 'to know', and *kaout* 'to have'.

The analytic/apersonal forms are used where the subject is independently expressed – the one apparent exception is where the subject precedes a negative form, thus *Me ne oan ket* 'Me, I wasn't'; one may argue that the 'subject' here is not actually the subject.

Secondly, a paradigm of *kaout* (this is very incomplete and a little uncertain in some of the spoken spellings – I vary '**other**' and '**spoken**' to broaden the examples given; see the notes after the paradigm for an expansion and explanation):

s/do+	present neutral other	spoken	present habitual s/do+	other	future s/do+	other
am eus	em eus	'm eus	am bez	em bez	am bo	em bo
ac'h eus	ec'h eus	'peus/'feus	az pez	ez pez	az po	ez po
	en deus	'neus	en dez	en dez	en do	en do
	he deus	'deus/'neus	he dez	he dez	he do	he do
	hon eus	neusomp	hor bez	hor bez	hor bo	hor bo
	hoc'h eus	'peus	ho pez	ho pez	ho po	ho po
	o deus	neusont	o dez	o dez	o do	o do

s/do+	imperfect neutral other	spoken	imperfect habitual s/do+	spoken	conditional i (potential) s/do+	other
am boa	em boa	'moa	am beze	'meze	am befe	em befe
az poa	ez poa	'poa/'foa	az peze	'peze/'eze	az pefe	ez pefe
	en doa	'noa	en deze	'neze	en defe	en defe
	he doa	'doa/'noa	he deze	'deze/'neze	he defe	he defe
	hor boa	moamp	hor bez	mezemp	hor befe	hor befe
	ho poa	'poa	ho pez	'peze	ho pefe	ho pefe
	o doa	noant	o dez	nezent	o defe	o defe

Imperative: *'Z pez!*, *Hor bezet!*, *Ho pe(ze)t!* (2PS, 1PP, 2PP respectively)
Past participle: *bet*.

For the Conditional II (hypothetical) replace *-efe* with *-ije*. The 2PS also has forms in *f-*, and *az*, *ez* may precede.

The above is a set of indefinite forms of *bezañ* with traces of the particles *a* and *e*, infixed object pronouns, and various assimilations/mutations and insertions operating between the pronouns and the indefinite forms – underlying *eus* may be *beus* (which is found). There may too be *dev-* added in the third persons – clearly there in the present, viz. *en deus*, *he deus*, *o deus*, e.g. *en devez*, thus *devo*, *devoa*, *deveze*, *devefe*, *devije*. The second person singular is particularly variable, with forms in at least *'c'h*, *'z*, *'f*, and *'t*. Note in particular that there is a certain tendency to assimilate *kaout* to other Breton verbs by taking the third person singular masculine as 'analytic' form; note too that there may be synthetic forms in the first person plural and third person plural, usable unless the 'subject' precedes (there are more manifestations of those synthetic forms than given). This assimilation is important as it indicates a verbalization of *kaout*, which otherwise one might wish to see as a set of expressions coming under the verb *bezañ*.

No non-personal forms have been given; on the whole *ez eus* and other indefinites of *bezañ* are used for this.

Emphasis of possession may be conveyed by placing *bez'* in front of the verb, e.g. *Bez' em boa amzer* 'I really had time' (Favereau 1997b: 217; slightly adapted). We will come across this again when we look at word order.

Extremely useful is a little summary table given by Favereau 1997b: 218 (slightly adapted):

	littéraire	**populaire**
1PS	*'m (b-)*	*'m-*
2PS	*'c'h +/'z p-*	*'f-/'t-*
3PSM	*en d(ev)-*	*'n-*
3PSF	*he d(ev)-*	*'n-*
1PP	*hon/hor b-*	*m . . . Vmp*
2PP	*ho(c'h) +/ho p-*	*'p-*
3PP	*o d(ev)-*	*n . . . int*

Bearing in mind that the 2PS and 2PP forms in *c'h* apply only to the present neutral, one affixes to the hyphen or inserts where we have '+' or '. . .' *eus*, *o*, *oa*, *e*, *ez*, *eze*, *efe*, *ije*. The 'V' indicates insertion of an appropriate tense/mood element.

Recall that 'to have' is very often conveyed by *bezañ da unan bennak* 'lit. "to be to someone" (ownership)' and *bezañ gant unan bennak* 'lit. "to be with someone" (on one's person)'.

(c) Using Breton verbs

The analytic or apersonal is used where the subject is independently expressed. We may first exemplify this with instances where the subject precedes an affirmative verb; one might argue as to whether this is indeed the subject or not, since it may convey a certain insistance on the 'subject'; however, since the subject is not otherwise, i.e. in the verb, expressed, it seems acceptable. Thus, taking the verb *redek* 'to run', with radical *red*, we have:

me, te, eñ, hi, ni, c'hwi, int a red 'I, you, . . . read(s)'

Given the particle *a* and its role in relatives, one might see this as 'I am the one who runs'. Note a few instances where we have this in what seem like impersonal expressions: *Me a fell din chom hep kousket* 'I want not to sleep', *Me a gave din e . . .* 'I thought that . . ./It

seemed to me that . . .' (from *fellout* and *kavout*; the subject is conveyed by *da* + X; note the negative infinitive: *chom hep* 'to remain without', also *tremen hep* 'to pass without', as well as *nompas*, all followed by the verbal noun).

For the future we add *-o*, for the imperfect *-e*, for the preterite *-as*, and for the conditionals *-fe* and *-je*. These are all third person singular forms.

Note too, with the subject expressed elsewhere (this is almost exclusively with third-person subjects):

El liorzh e c'hoarie ar vugale 'The children played in the garden';
Al levr a lenno Yannig ha Mona 'Yannig and Mona will read the book'.

In the negative, if a third-person plural subject precedes, we use the synthetic form (see below):

Al laboused ne nijont ket 'The birds, they don't fly', but *Ne nij ket al laboused* 'The birds don't fly'.

The argument that the preposed subject is not in fact the subject is more telling here; the subject is actually in the verb ending. As an aside on the direct object of a negated verb, note the following: *N'emaon ket o lenn al levr* 'I'm not reading the book' – *N'emaon o lenn levr ebet* 'I'm not reading a book' (count noun) – *N'emaon ket o lenn ul levr* 'I'm not reading one book' (i.e. probably 'several') – *N'emaon ket o tebriñ bara* or *a vara* 'I'm not eating (any) bread' (mass, non-count).

So far the verb has not come first – as a rule it must come in second place in Breton; cases where it comes first are rare – clear such instances are where we have the imperative: *Deomp d'ar gêr!* 'Let's go home!' and in positive responses to negative questions: *Ne vo ket er skol?* – *Bo* 'Won't he be at school?' – 'Yes, he will'. One might argue for verb-first when the situative is used: *Emaomp o chom e Landreger* 'We live in Landreger/ Tréguier'; related are expressions with, for example, *bezañ* 'to be', *gallout* 'to be able', *mont* 'to go', and *rankout* 'to have to': *E vin er gêr* 'I'll be at home', *E c'hall bezañ* 'Maybe', *E rankan chom amañ* 'I have to remain here', *Ec'h a da Gemper* 'He's going to Kemper/Quimper'. Note that we still need a particle.

The verb may seem to come first in the periphrastic; here we use *ober* 'to do' as auxiliary, and the subject is in the auxiliary unless independently expressed):

redek a ran, a rez, a ra, a reomp, a rit, a reont, a reer (plus the various tenses and moods of *ober*).

But note *C'hoari a ra ar vugale* 'The children play', with the apersonal because the subject is independently expressed.

In the periphrastic there is a slight insistence on the lexical meaning of the verb. We notice something similar, more insistent, in the construction *bez' e* + verb, e.g. *Bez' e raint o menoz mont da Vro-Saoz* 'They'll decide to go to go to England' (lit. 'They'll make their idea to go to England').

Note a transitive verb: *Lenn a ran al levr* 'I read the book' – in other words, the direct object (this can be extended to any other verbal complement) comes after the whole periphrastic. One may certainly have *Lenn al levr a ran*, doubtless closer to the construction's origin, but it may tend to be somewhat insistent on or emphatic of the constituent *lenn al levr*.

If the subject isn't expressed, we put endings on the verb (this is the synthetic) – this may have a certain 'habitual' or 'timeless' sense, like English 'I read' rather than 'I'm reading' (see below). Thus:

Present: *redan, redez, red, redomp, redit, redont*;
Future: *redin*, *redi*, *redo*, *redimp*, *redot*, *redint*;
Imperfect: *reden*, *redes*, *rede*, *redemp*, *redec'h*, *redent*;
Preterite: *redis*, *redjout*, *redas*, *redjomp*, *redjoc'h*, *redjont*;
Conditionals I and II: the imperfect *-e-* preceded by *f* or *j*.

Of considerable importance is the progressive, in which any finite tense or mood form of *bezañ* may be used alongside the present participle. This is most notable, perhaps, with the situative, e.g. *Emañ Soazig o naetaat he dilhad* 'Soazig is cleaning her clothes'; subject-first we have *Soazig (a) zo o naetaat he dilhad*; negative simply have *n'emañ ket* in both sentences. Notable are instances where semantic differences of meaning have crept in, e.g. *Emaon o chom amañ* 'I live here' – *Amañ e choman* 'I'm staying here, not moving' (*chom*); *Eno e oa o teskiñ* 'He was on a course there' – *Deskiñ mat a ra* 'He's learning/learns well' (*deskiñ*); *Un davarn eo emañ o terc'hel* 'He runs a bar' – *En e zorn e talc'he ur gontell* 'He was holding/held a knife in his hand' (*derc'hel*); *O labourat emañ e ti Leclerc* 'She works at Leclerc' – *Yannig a labour mat* 'Yannig's working/works well' (*labourat*) (Favereau 1997b: 237–8). Hewitt 2002: 3 notes the Breton progressive as appearing 'to lay stress on "control by the subject"'.

Breton has a series of compound or perfect tenses, e.g. 'I have/had/will have done', constructed with the past participle and an appropriate form of the verb *kaout* or *bezañ* as auxiliary; even the habitual forms may be used, e.g. *Pa'm bez evet ur banne sistr* 'Whenever I've drunk some cider; Usually when I've drunk some cider'. The past participle is formed by adding *-et* to the radical, e.g. *redet* from *red*, radical of *redek* to run'. The auxiliary is selected rather as in French. The actual meaning may be closer to English usage, namely that a use of the present tense of the auxiliary will refer to something done today or habitually; the pluperfect auxiliary will refer to something set in the more remote past (see Favereau 1997b: 254 and his references to Humphreys 1995). Thus:

Gwelet em eus Yann hiziv 'I've seen/saw Yann today' – *Gwelet em boa Morwenna dec'h*
    'I saw Morwenna yesterday'

The present may be used: *Aet e oan da Gastell-Paol dec'h* or *Aet on da Gastell-Paol dec'h* 'I went to St Pol de Léon yesterday' (lit. 'Went I-was/I-am to Kastell-Paol yesterday', with *bezañ*)).

In the case of intransitives, as just given, one may have the choice, with some sense of *kaout* when an act or action is emphasized and *bezañ* when a state (or a change thereof) or result is emphasized – it is very fine, a question of what one wishes to emphasize. Thus Favereau 1997b: 267 gives several examples, among them *Kouezhet on en e gichen* 'I fell near him (and doubtless was lying there)' – *Kouezhet em eus en ur zont* 'I fell on coming (a part of the action)'.

Different from French, we have this in reflexives too. Favereau 1997b: 265–6 gives *En em glevet hon eus* 'We have had a good discussion' – *En em glevet omp* 'We have agreed, are agreed'. Overall he notes that *kaout* is far more frequent, except for certain verbs, e.g. *en em gavout gant unan bennak* 'to find oneself (with), meet someone', with *bezañ*. This may come down to dialect (Hewitt 2002: 3).

Note the very common 'super-compound', which may emphasize something being finished (Favereau 1997b: 256): *Lennet em eus bet al levr-se* 'I've long since read that book' – *Bet on bet e Montroulez* 'I've been to Montroulez'. Note too the use of *ober* in an insistent sense: *Evañ ar gwin en deus graet* 'He's done drink the wine' and the useful construction *Me zo bet hag e neuien bemdez* 'There was a time I swam every day'.

Regarding the order of the past participle and the auxiliary, the latter will almost always come second, i.e. *Komzet he deus gant he c'hoar* or *Hi he deus komzet gant he c'hoar* or *Gant he c'hoar he deus komzet* 'She spoke to her sister'; *N'he deus ket komzet gant he c'hoar* 'She didn't speak to her sister' (the negative particle comes first, even if elided).

The conditionals can be quite difficult; overall the potential is more frequent, given it refers to something present, possible, while the hypothetical reflects something which didn't happen and remains mentally remote (to some extent the latter is more alive in set expressions). Apart from this, note that in a conditional sentence the conditional is used in both halves (except when the indicative is used; note that *e* must precede the apodosis):

Ma teufe da welet ac'hanomp, e vefen laouen 'If he came to see us, I'd be pleased';
Ma'm bije gellet prenañ an ti-se, e vijen aet da chom ennañ 'If I'd managed to buy that house, I'd have gone to lived in it';
Ma teu a-benn arc'hoazh, e roin dezhañ ma holl levrioù 'If he comes tomorrow, I'll give him all my books'.

Note that the examples manifest a tendency for the potential to be used to convey simple tenses and the hypothetical to convey compound or perfect tenses (also noted by Hewitt 2002: 2–3).

Note a phrase such as *e c'hallfe bezañ* 'could be', and note how a non-past (this includes the 'present perfect') in a main clause will favour a potential, while a past in a main clause will favour a hypothetical:

Me a gred e teufe 'I think he'd come', cf. *Me a grede e teuje* 'I thought he'd've come' (Hemon 1972: 59)

If there is a sense of desire or of an order, then the future will normally be used, e.g. *Fellout a ra din ma teuio* 'I want him to come' (Hemon 1972: 59);

Goulenn a ran ma vo musik 'I demand there be music' (Favereau 1997b: 274; corrected).

and compare:

Aon en deus na zeufent ket 'He's afraid they won't come' (Hemon 1972: 59) (*na* tends to replace, or be an alternative for, *ma ne*).

Favereau 1997b: 247 usefully compares *ma vije brezel* 'if there were war (but there won't be)' with *ma vefe brezel* 'if there were war (and there may well be)'.

There is also the conditional conjunction *mar*; it does not cause any mutation and is not followed by the conditional: *mar plij* (*deoc'h*) 'please' (Favereau 1997b: 275 notes that it is very common with the verbs of wishing *karout* and *goul* (lenites to (*h*)*oul* and to be kept separate from *goulenn*, radical *goulenn* 'to ask, demand'), ability (*gallout*), and knowing (*gouzout*), plus *ober* and *bezañ*: *mar karit* 'if you wish', *mar goul . . .* 'if he wants to . . .',

mar gallont 'if they can', *mar gouezen* 'if I knew', *mar bez glav* 'if there's any rain', *mar bez tu* 'if the opportunity arises'.

Conjunctions

Breton has co-ordinating, contrasting, and separating conjunctions. When they link verbs, special rules may apply regarding the order of words after the conjunction; for example, after *ha* 'and' and *pe* 'or' the word order is as in a main clause (this also goes for several others, e.g. *met* and *hogen* 'but'), i.e. they do not force a particular order on what follows: *Deut on hag aet on d'am gwele* or *Deut on hag ez on aet d'am gwele* or *Deut on ha d'am gwele on aet* 'I came and went to bed'. *Ha* also means 'if, whether' and is followed by a free order; if replaced in an indirect question by *hag-eñ*, then the particle *e* must follow, itself immediately followed by the verb: *N'ouzon ket ha dont a ri – N'ouzon ket hag-eñ e teui* 'I don't know if you'll come'.

   Subordinating conjunctions ('why, because, until, without', etc.) are mainly but by no means exclusively compound, as in French *pour que*, etc. When linking finite forms of verbs (i.e. not followed by the verbal noun), they involve the verbal particles *ma* and *e* (before a vowel they may become *ma'z* or *ma'h* and *ez* or *ec'h* (the spelling with *h* and *c'h* may vary)) and these particles must be followed immediately by the verb (unless there is a pause, when the order becomes free). An example with *e* is *perak e* 'why'. Here are a very few of those which end in the particle *ma*^{M}. A few have *na*^{L} instead of *ma* (without negating the verb unless *ket* or another appropriate word is there too). And there may be other possibilities regarding the following particles.

e-lec'h ma	where
pa	when(ever)
dre ma	while
e-keit ma	while, as long as
abaoe ma	since
bep gwech ma	every time, whenever
goude ma	after, once
a-raok ma	before
kerkent ha ma	as soon as
ken ma/na, *betek ma*	until
a-boan ma	scarcely, hardly
dre ma, *abalamour ma*	because
o vezañ ma, *peogwir e*	because
evit ma	in order that, so that
gant aon na	for fear that, lest
e doare ma	so that
hep ma/na	without
daoust ma, *petra bennak ma*	although
ha pa, *zoken ma*	even if
ma, *mar*, *pa*	if
gant ma	provided
e ken kaz ma	in case

The negative is straightforward, i.e. *ma ne* + verb + *ket* (or appropriate element).
   An alternative, where the conjunction begins with a preposition, is to replace *ma* with

da. This gives two possibilities: *a-raok ma teuas* 'before he came' may become *a-raok dezhañ dont* or *araozon da zont*, and *evit ma'z eas* 'in order for him to go' may become *evit dezhañ mont* or *evitañ da vont*. A noun may replace the pronoun in this construction, e.g. *a-raok da'm zad mont* and *a-raok ma zad da zont* 'before my father came'.

Relative, or adjective, clauses ('who, which') are rendered by the use of the verbal particle *a*^{L} (or *hag a*, usually with an indefinite antecedent, i.e. normally non-restrictive (Favereau 1997b: 347)) or the verbal particle *ma*^{M}, usually where the relative is inanimate and indirect or prepositional ('to which, under which'). The particle *a* may disappear, though the lenition it causes does not. For the negative *a* is replaced by *na*^{L} . . ., and *hag a* by *ha ne*^{L} . . . Some examples:

An dud a glaskomp 'The people (whom) we're looking for' – *Un den hag a labour amañ* 'A man who works here' – *Ar paotr a oan o kaozeal gantañ* 'The boy (whom) I was chatting with' – *An ti ma'z emaon o chom ennañ* 'The house (which) I live in' (note the optional prepositional phrase *ennañ*, third person masculine singular because it refers to the masculine noun *ti*, picking up on *ma*); *O kaozeal e oan gant ur paotr hag a anavezan mat* (*anezhañ*) 'I was chatting to a boy (whom) I know well' (a resumptive prepositional phrase as in the preceding example – more common in that example and where the verb of the subordinate clause is negative). Note: *Setu ar gwaz ho kwelas* 'Here's the man who saw you', *Ma mamm eo en em zibabo* 'It's my mother who will sort things out', i.e. *a* disappears before a pre-posed object pronoun and the reflexive particle. (Note that sometimes personal forms of *a* may seem to mean 'as for . . .', e.g. *Tud ar vro-mañ zo tud hegarat anezho* 'The folk of this region are kind folk', *Hemañ n'eo ket medisin anezhañ* 'This fellow isn't a doctor').

Negated*: An dud na glaskomp ket; Un den ha ne labour ket amañ; Ar paotr na oan ket o kaozeal gantañ; An ti ma n'emaon ket o chom ennañ; O kaozeal e oan gant ur paotr ha n'anavezan ket mat (anezhañ); Setu ar gwaz n'ho kwelas ket; Ma mamm eo n'en em zibabo ket.*

Note *N'eo ket me a werzho al levrioù* 'It's not I who'll sell the books' – *Me eo na werzhin ket al levrioù* 'It's I who will not sell the books' (positive relative clause with analytic verb; negative relative clause with synthetic verb, in both cases with antecedent preceding).

Noun clauses are introduced by *e*^{M} + the finite verb (*ne*^{L} . . . if negative). Both, particularly *e*, may be lost in speech, but the mutation will remain. Examples:

Lâret em eus e oan e kêr dec'h 'I said I was in town yesterday' (negated: *Lâret em eus ne oan ket e kêr dec'h*); *Sur eo hon eus kavet al lizher* 'It's certain we've found the letter' – *Sur eo ez peus kavet al lizher* 'It's certain you've found the letter';

There is no particle with 'to have', though the pronominal form in the first and second person singular may reflect *a* and *e*. Note that a sense of doubt (often with a negative main verb) may mean we find the potential conditional in the subordinate clause – if the main verb is in the past, the hypothetical (*irrealis*) conditional will be used. We may also have the verbal noun:

Goulennet en deus diganin mont d'ar skol-veur 'He asked me to go to the university'.

And we may have simple juxtaposition: *A gav din . . . Fañch a vo en ti-kêr* 'I think . . . Fañch will be in the town hall'.

Word order

The basic or neutral word order of Breton is often seen as VSO, i.e. *verb* + *subject* + *object* (by 'verb' is meant finite verb) – that is actually probably rather rare, but it is essentially the word order found in the more structurally dependent contexts, e.g. subordinate clauses. It is also said that the word order is 'free', something which means that there is relative freedom over the choice of initial constituent, the order of the remaining constituents depending largely on that choice (Hewitt 2002: 5). Of the samples below, the 'neutral' simple sentences have a slight emphasis on the action (and may be seen as VSO):

Subordinate: *A gav din <u>e kavo Yannig e levr el liorzh</u>* 'I think Yannig'll find his book in the garden';

'Neutral': *Lenn a ra Yannig ul levr er gegin* (also, with perhaps slightly more emphasis on the verb action: *Bez' e lenn Yannig ul levr er gegin*; in both these one is tempted to see the whole of both *lenn a ra* and *bez' e lenn* as the verb);

'Who?': *<u>Yannig</u> a lenn ul levr er gegin*;

'What?': *<u>Ul levr</u> a lenn Yannig er gegin* (such sentences, with a focused nominal object and an expressed nominal subject, are felt by Hewitt 2002: 6–7 to be rare, there being some dialectal variation);

'Where?': *<u>Er gegin</u> e lenn Yannig ul levr* (last four = 'Yannig reads a book in the kitchen').

In the first example, *a gav din* is an expression meaning 'it seems to me'. The negative here is provided by simply negating the verb, here *A gav din ne gavo ket Yannig e levr er gegin*.

It is possible to say *Yannig a ra lenn ul levr . . .*, but here the meaning will be 'Yannig gets a book read . . .', namely a sort of causative.

The *bez' e* construction is very common: *bez' ez eus kalz loened war ar maez* 'there are lots of animals in the countryside' (*bez' zo* is possible here too), *bez' e oa bugale e ti* 'there were children in the house', *bez' em bo teir boutailhad win ruz* 'I'll have three bottles of red wine'; but note that it comes first, does not occur in the negative, and that the particle is lost before forms of *kaout* 'to have' (unless one sees it incorporated in *em*, *ez*, etc.). Translation of all these forms can be difficult – the *bez' e* construction may be reflected by *bien* in French. One may also hear *Lenn al levr a ra Yannig* 'Yannig reads the book', but there may be some insistence on the whole action there.

In synthetic forms, the subject may be brought into relief by suffixation of the personal pronoun: *-me*, *-te*, *-ni*, and *-c'hwi* or *-hu*: *Al levr a lennan-me* 'I read the book'; in the third-person singular the pronoun may be written separately. Such relief, in third-person singular and third-person plural negated verbs in particular, may also be conveyed by adding *anezhañ*, *anezhi*, and *anezho/anezhe*: *Ne welint netra anezho* 'They see nothing, them'. Note the similar *An tasmantoù n'eus ket anezho* 'Ghosts don't exist' (Morvannou 1978–80 II: 331; adapted to *peurunvan*).

Particularly interesting is the intensive or emphatic particle *an hini* or *'ni*. Trépos 1968: 195 sees this as replacing the verbal particle, but it is probably more a consequence of elision: *'ni* or *an hini* corresponds to *an hini a* 'the one which' (the emphasis may be strengthened by *eo*, namely *'ni eo a* 'it's the one which'), and is followed by lenition because of the particle *a*. It may be used even when what is being emphasized is

not a subject or direct object (and thus the relative sense is not crucial – see the examples below). At the same time, it does correspond to a relative-clause structure in that an emphasized plural or first or second person still gives a third-person singular verbal form, i.e. we have a reflection of the original meaning 'the one' and in any case we have the apersonal (analytic) conjugation, thus *al levrioù a oa war an daol a welan bremañ er gegin* 'the books which were (lit. "was") on the table I now see in the kitchen' (if negative it would be *na oant ket*, given the antecedent precedes). Some examples (note the negatives):

E c'hoar 'ni 'oa 'It was his sister';
E c'hoar 'ni 'gano warc'hoazh 'His sister will sing tomorrow' (lenition of *kano*);
E c'hoarezed 'ni 'gano warc'hoazh 'His sisters will sing tomorrow';
Warc'hoazh 'ni 'gano e c'hoar 'His sister will sing tomorrow' (note the emphasized
     adverb);
N'eo ket e c'hoar 'ni 'gano warc'hoazh 'His sister won't sing tomorrow';
N'eo ket c'hoarzhin 'ni eo 'It isn't a case of laughing';
Riv 'ni 'm eus, n'eo ket aon 'It's cold I am, not afraid' (lit. 'cold I have, it isn't fear').

Emphasis may also be achieved by placing the emphasized element first, after *evit* 'for' (here 'as for'): *Evit war varc'h, n'eo ket deuet, 'vat* 'He's certainly not come on horseback'. Note too the final *avat* or *'vat*, a sort of final 'but': *E dad eo 'vat* 'It's definitely his father'.

   Summarizing, on the basis of Trépos 1968: 272–5 (used by Favereau 1997b: 330–1), note the sentence *Perig zo o klask e vreur er c'hoad* 'Perig is looking for his brother in the wood', a sentence with a mass of information. Here there is no real insistence on *Perig*, the subject, coming first, it is more a question of distributing the information around the sentence. If we wanted to emphasize *Perig*, we would have *Perig 'ni (eo) zo o klask e vreur er c'hoad*. If we wish somewhat to insist on the fact of what is going on, we may have *Emañ Perig o klask e vreur er c'hoad* or, even more so, *Bez' emañ Perig o klask e vreur er c'hoad*. Or, if it is the action that interests us, we have *O klask e vreur er c'hoad emañ Perig* or *O klask e vreur emañ Perig er c'hoad* (reflecting a slight ambiguity in the sentence); if it's the brother, then *E vreur emañ Perig o klask (anezhañ) er c'hoad*, or if it's the place, then *Er c'hoad emañ Perig o klask e vreur*. And note the different reading of *Perig emañ e vreur o klask anezhañ er c'hoad*, where *Perig* cannot be the subject (not permitted before *emañ*) and is echoed in *anezhañ*. Emphasis and insistence may come out in sentences which are less laden with information. Favereau gives a less heavy sentence (though he does not draw attention to this), for 'I'm reading a novel' (slightly adapted – Favereau notes some elisions):

*Emaon o lenn ur romant – O lenn ur romant emaon – Bez' emaon o lenn ur romant – Ur
     romant emaon o lenn – Me zo o lenn ur romant – Ur romant a lennan (bemdez*
     'every day'*) – Lennet e vez ur romant ganin (bemdez) – Ur romant 'ni emaon o
     lenn – Me 'ni zo o lenn ur romant – O lenn 'ni emaon ur romant –* to which one
     may add *emaon-me, . . .!*

Favereau is rather suspicious of playing with such patterns, something very close to the 'spirit of Breton' and overdone in some textbooks. He sees *insistence* in the subject placed first as a reflection of grammar and textbook tradition, noting that most often the subject comes immediately before or after the verb: *Dont a rae ar paotr d'ar gêr – Ar paotr*

a zeue d'ar gêr 'The boy came/was coming home' (second example added). Elsewhere Favereau *does* say that the subject is placed first only when 'on veut alors le mettre en exergue ou en relief' (Favereau 1997b: 289)!

We might refer too to Favereau's corpus, where over half the examples are of simple sentences, the smaller part divided between the various types of subordinate clauses (Favereau 1997b: 289) – he refers to Le Clerc and Trépos, the former writing of the 'staccato' character of Breton, with independent clauses piling up, and the latter writing of the morphological wealth and the flexibility of Breton syntax, used subtly by native speakers. He cites Kervella 1947/1976's three golden rules of the Breton sentence: (i) first, the element or elements on which one wishes particularly to insist; (ii) second, the conjugated verb; (iii) avoid starting a sentence with a conjugated verb (after the particles *a* and *e*). For Favereau 1997b: 290–2 the structure *Adjective/Adverb + e + Verb (+ Subject) (+ Object)* (*Adjective/Adverb* really means anything but the direct object) is extremely common and 'neutral', 'non-emphatic' (55 per cent of the examples analysed by him)): *Pres eo Yann* 'Yann is ready', *Bremañ e oar skrivañ* 'Now he knows how to read', *O lenn emaint* 'They're reading'. Favereau 1997b: 297 cites Kervella's *Me a wel sklaer* as, for Kervella (and entirely reliable), the equivalent of *Me, gwelout a ran sklaer* 'Me, I see clearly'. For Favereau 1997b: 297 the subject coming first can reflect a 'construction logique' in the sense that such an order helps to distribute the information (especially when there is a good deal of it, as in the earlier examples) around the sentence (and there may be an inclination to place a subject first in many languages) – French influence may have a part in this, but it is nonetheless a construction potential within Breton.

To close, reference may be made again to important constructions very often used in Breton.

First, reflecting possessive constructions, note Denez 1971: 44, who gives: *Me zo morzet va izili ouzhin* 'My limbs have gone numb' (lit. 'I "am" benumbed my limbs against-me'), *Me zo klañv va fri* 'There's something wrong with my nose' (lit. 'I "am" ill my nose'), *Me zo savet ar gwad d'am fenn* 'The blood has gone to my head' (lit. 'I "am" raised the blood to my head'), and *Me zo ponner va c'halon ganin* 'My heart is heavy' (lit. 'I "am" heavy my heart with-me') (compare the relatively neutral *Morzet eo va izili*, *Klañv eo va fri*, *Savet eo ar gwad d'am fenn*, and *Ponner eo va c'halon*). Davalan III 2002: 145–50 explores these too – he gives *Te zo du da vlev* and *Te eo du da vlev* 'Your hair is black' (lit. 'You "is" black your hair'), both correct but the former 'plus ancienne' and *a* being normally used in other tenses: *Te a oa du da vlev pa oas yaouankoc'h* 'Your hair was black when you were younger'. More examples (from Davalan): *Yann ac'h eus dispignet e arc'hant* 'You've spent Yann's money' (lit. 'Yann you've spent his money'), and *Ho moereb hoc'h eus tennet ho teod warni?* 'Did you pull out your tongue at your aunt?' (lit. 'Your aunt you've pulled-out your tongue onto-her?'). And note *Unanig bennak a oa aesoc'hik an traoù ganto eget ar re all* 'Some found it easier than others' (lit. 'Some one was easier the things with-them than the other ones', Morvannou 1978–80 I: 206–7).

Slightly different, note an 'impersonal expression' like *Fellout a ra din mont d'ar gêr* 'I want to go home' (lit. 'Want I-do to-go home'), very common as *Me a fell din mont d'ar gêr*. Similar is the use of *soñjal* 'to think': *Soñjal a ran e V* 'I think that . . .', but *Me a soñj din e V* is more idiomatic. Note other impersonals, all indicating 'involuntary phenomena, no control by patient' (Hewitt 2002: 25), e.g. *kavout a ra din* 'I think, it seems to me', *degouezhout a ra din* 'I happen to', *tomm eo din* 'I'm hot', *ret eo din* 'I must', *mat eo din* 'I am happy to', *gwelloc'h eo din* 'it's better for me', *gwelloc'h eo ganin* 'I prefer' (from Davalan III 2002 (see below)) we have *Gwelloc'h dit bezañ deuet* 'It'd've been better if you'd come'; *Gwelloc'h eo ganin debriñ galetez* 'I prefer to eat galettes' – *Gwelloc'h eo*

ganin an istorioù karantez 'I prefer love stories'), *tapout a ra ganin* 'I'm in luck', and the vulgar (and arguably not impersonal) *sevel a ra din/ganin* 'I get a hard-on'.

Note also a selection of passives: *Gant piv eo bet prenet ar velo-se deoc'h?* 'Who bought you that bike?' (lit. 'By whom has been bought that bike for-you?'), *Diwisket eo e roched gant Ronan* 'Ronan took off his shirt' (lit. 'Taken-off is his shirt by Ronan'; Morvannou 1978–80 I: 155), *Echu eo ma devezh ganin, n'eus ken nemet un nebeud diotachoù d'ober* 'I've finished my day's work, just have a few bits and pieces to do' (lit. 'Finished is my day by-me, . . .', Morvannou 1978–80 I: 165; *echu* is one of several 'past participles' conveying a state; to emphasize the action the expected form is used, thus *echuet*, from *echuiñ*), *Ha setu graet ho soñj ganeoc'h?* 'Have you decided?' (lit. 'And behold done your idea by-you?' – the auxiliary is often left out, Morvannou 1978–80 I: 220), *Petra 'vez graet eus an dra-se?* 'What's that called?' (lit. 'What is made of that thing?'),

Worth noting too is how Breton will very often place phrases of the type 'I think', 'I bet', 'I hope' at the end, e.g. *Diwezhat eo, 'm eus aon* 'I think it's late' (lit. 'Late it-is, I fear' – note how Breton uses *kaout aon* in a weak semantic sense, as often in English; Morvannou 1978–80 I: 95), *Prest int, 'gav din* 'I think they're ready' (lit. 'Ready they-are, seems to-me').

From the final lessons of Davalan III 2002 note the invaluable: *Dleet e vefe* + verbal noun 'One ought to . . .', *Dleet e vefe dit* + infinitive 'You ought to . . .', *Ne vefe ket dleet dit* + verbal noun 'You oughtn't to . . .', and examples such as, and easily built on, *Distagañ evel m'eo dleet* 'To pronounce as you ought to', *Ne oa ket dleet dit ober an dra-se* 'You oughtn't to have done that', and *Dleet e vije dit bezañ asantet* 'You ought to have accepted' (using *dleout* 'to have to, to owe'). Note *Ret eo din* 'I am obliged to . . .' – *Dav eo din . . .* 'It's preferable if I . . ., I ought to . . .' It's possible to use *dleout* in a personal, less 'idiomatic', way: *Ne dlefen ket bezañ nac'het* 'I oughtn't to have been refused' (note *dleout* resists lenition). And: *Darbet e oa din bezañ kouezhet* 'I almost fell' (lit. '*failli* it-was to-me to-have fallen' – the perfect infinitive uses *bezañ* as auxiliary).

So much more remains to be said.

NOTES

1   *Divesker* might perhaps be set aside; the feminine word *esker*, pl. *-ioù* is no longer used except as a name for one of the parts of a boat: 'prop, stay, strut'.
2   *Noz vat!* may more often be a greeting after 5 pm and *Nozvezh vat!* a farewell later!
3   In this particular expression *merc'h* may more correctly be a simple indicator of category, namely *a lady's hat* – quite a complex issue, since *a lady's hat* is ambiguous, whereas *ladies fashions*, with *fashions* as a 'collective' (against *hat* as more definite and inviting less a category than a precise, in this case sexual, definition), is clearer – it is worth trying various nouns and combining them with *lady's* and *ladies* (or *ladies'*!).

BIBLIOGRAPHY, REFERENCES, AND WEBSITE ADDRESSES

Abalain, H. (1989) *Destin des langues celtiques*, Gap – Paris: Ophrys.
—— (1995) *Histoire de la langue bretonne*, Luçon: Gisserot.
ar Gow, Y. (2000) *Geriaoueg ha notennoù-yezh*, Lannuon: Hor Yezh.
Ball, M. J. with Fife, J. (eds) (1993) *The Celtic Languages*, London and New York: Routledge (reprinted 1996, 2000, thereafter transferred to digital printing).

Ball, M. J., Fife, J., Poppe, E. and Rowland, J. (eds) (1990) (henceforth Ball et al. (1990)) *Celtic Linguistics*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia; John Benjamins.

Bothorel, A. (1982) *Étude phonétique et phonologique du breton parlé à Argol (Finistère-Sud)*, Strasbourg, thèse d'État.

Brittany's Borders. Online: www.breizh.net/identity/saozneg/brittany_borders.htm (accessed 10 March 2006).

Davalan, N. (2000-2001-2002) *Brezhoneg – Méthode de breton: hentenn oulpann I–III*, Rennes: Skol An Emsav (each with a CD) (the fourth volume is in progress).

Denez, P. (1971) *Kentelioù brezhonek: eil derez*, Brest: Al Liamm.

—— (1972) *Brezhoneg buan hag aes – le breton vite et facilement*, Paris: Omnivox (with cassettes and additional materials; English edition by Raymond Delaporte (1977), Cork: Cork University Press).

—— (1975) 'Hag adarre . . . an doare-skrivañ!', supplement to *Hor Yezh*, 99, pp. 1–30.

—— (1978) 'Un notenn diwar-benn an doare da aroueziañ an distagadur', *Hor Yezh*, 119, p. 30.

—— (1980) 'Notennoù fonologie[r]zh', *Hor Yezh*, 130, pp. 3–28.

—— (1983a) 'An dibersonel', *Hor Yezh*, 151, pp. 5–29.

Denez, P. and Urien, J.-Y. (1980) 'Studiadenn war an niver-daou', *Hor Yezh*. 126, pp. 3–26.

Desbordes, Y. (1976), 'Notennoù yezhadur', *Hor Yezh*, 111, pp. 1–61 (the whole issue is taken up by this article; see also Kervella (1978), Desbordes (1978), and Urien (1978)).

—— (1978) 'Respont da Frañsez Kervella', *Hor Yezh*, 119, pp. 31–5.

—— (1983) *Petite grammaire du breton moderne*, Lesneven: Mouladurioù Hor Yezh (1st edition).

—— (1990) *Petite grammaire du breton moderne*, Lesneven: Mouladurioù Hor Yezh (2nd edition).

E brezhoneg pa gari! Le Breton, version multimedia (2000) Stumdi (2 volumes on DVD – the user may work in English or in French).

Ernault, É. (1895–6) *Glossaire moyen-breton, I–II* (2nd edition), Paris: Bouillon (reprinted Geneva: Slatkine, 1976).

Evans, C. and Fleuriot, L. (1985) *A Dictionary of Old Breton. Dictionnaire du vieux breton. Historical and Comparative, I–II*, Toronto: Prepcorp.

Falc'hun, F. (1951) *Le systeme consonantique du breton, avec une étude comparative de phonétique expérimentale*, Rennes: Plihon.

—— (1962) 'Le Breton, forme moderne du gaulois', *Annales de Bretagne*, 69, pp. 413–28.

—— (1963) *Histoire de la langue bretonne d'après la géographie linguistique, I–II* (2nd edition), Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (a revision and expansion of his 1951 doctoral thesis; also as *Perspectives noouvelles sur l'histoire de la langue bretonne*, Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1981).

Favereau, F. (1993) *Bretagne contemporaine: langue, culture, identité*, Morlaix: Skol Vreizh.

—— (1997a) *Geriadur ar brezhoneg a-vremañ* (latest edition consulted), Morlaix: Skol Vreizh.

—— (1997b) *Grammaire du breton contemporain* (latest edition consulted), Morlaix: Skol Vreizh.

Fleuriot, L. (1964a) *Le vieux-breton: éléments d'une grammaire*, Paris: Klincksieck.

—— (1964b) *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux-breton*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1964.

—— (1980) *Les origines de la Bretagne*, Paris: Payot (reprinted 1999).

—— (1983) 'Les Réformes du breton', in Fodor and Hagège (1983), pp. 27–47.

Fodor, I. and Hagège, C. (eds) (1983) *Language Reform – La Réforme des langues – Sprachreform. Vol. II*, Hamburg: Buske.

Gaucher, J. (1998) *La Bretagne de A à Z. L'essentiel pour comprendre ce qui nourrit l'âme, la culture et l'unité de ce pays*, Spézet: COOP Breizh.

Gros, J. (1977) *Le Trésor du breton parlé (Éléments de stylistique trégorroise), Deuxième partie*, Lannion: Giraudon (the other parts, viz. *Le langage figuré, I*, St-Brieuc: Les Presses bretonnes, 1970, and *Le style populaire, III*, Brest: Mesidou or Lannion: Barr Heol, 1976 were not available to me).

Guillevic, A. and Le Goff, P. (1902) *Grammaire bretonne du dialecte de Vannes*, Vannes: Lafolye.

—— (1904) *Vocabulaire breton–français du dialecte de Vannes*, Vannes: Lafolye.

Hammer, F. (1969) 'Der bretonische Dialekt von Plouharnel', dissertation, Kiel University.

Hardie, D. W. F. (1948) *A Handbook of Modern Breton (Armorican)*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Hemon, R. (1972) *Grammaire bretonne*, Brest: Al Liamm, 7th edition.

—— (1975) *A Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton*, Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (translated into Breton as *Yezhadur istorel ar brezhoneg* by Alan Dipode, Plañvour: Hor Yezh, 2000).

—— (1979) *Yezhadur berr ar brezhoneg*, Ar Baol: Al Liamm (numerous versions, including in English).

Hemon, R. and Huon, R. (1997) *Dictionnaire Breton–Français – Français–Breton*, Brest: Al Liamm (latest edition consulted).

Henessey, Jr., J. S. (1990) 'Spirantization to lenition in Breton: interpretation of morphological variability', in Ball et al. (1990), pp. 209–24.

Hewitt, S. (1986) 'Le progressif en Breton à la lumière du progressif anglais', *La Bretagne Linguistique*, 2, pp. 132–48.

—— (1987) 'Réflexions et propositions sur l'orthographe du breton', *La Bretagne Linguistique*, 3, pp. 41–54.

—— (1988) 'Un cadre pour la description de la syntaxe verbale du breton', *La Bretagne Linguistique*, 4, pp. 203–11.

—— (1990) 'The progressive in Breton in the light of the English progressive', in Ball et al. (1990), pp. 167–88.

—— (2002) 'The impersonal in Breton', *Journal of Celtic Linguistics*, 7, pp. 1–39.

Humphreys, H.Ll. (1972) 'Les sonantes fortes dans le parler haut-cornouaillais de Bothoa (Saint-Nicolas-du-Pélem, Côtes-du-Nord)', *Études Celtiques*, 13, pp. 259–74.

—— (1978) 'Le breton de Bothoa (Saint-Nicolas-du-Pélem, Côtes-du-Nord)', *Dastum Nn. 5, Sonskridaoueg vroadel Breizh. Bro vFañch*, Plougastel-Daoulas: Coopérative BREIZH, pp. A–R.

—— (1985) *Phonologie, morphologie et lexique du parler breton de Bothoa en Saint-Nicolas-du-Pélem (Côtes-du-Nord)*, Brest, thèse d'État.

—— (1990) 'Traditional morphological processes and their vitality in Modern Breton and Welsh', in Ball et al. (1990), pp. 129–50.

—— (1993) 'The Breton language: its present position and historical background', in Ball with Fife (1993), pp. 606–43.

—— (1995) *Phonologie et morphosyntaxe du parler breton de Bothoa*, Brest: Emgelo Breiz.

Jackson, K. H. (1960–1) 'The phonology of the Breton dialect of Plougrescant', *Études Celtiques*, 9, pp. 327–404.

—— (1961) 'Linguistic geography and the history of the Breton language', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 28, pp. 272–93.

—— (1967) *A Historical Phonology of Breton*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Jones, M. C. (1998) *Language Obsolescence and Revitalization. Linguistic Change in Two Sociolinguistically Contrasting Welsh Communities*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (pp. 296–333 are on Breton).

Kemener, Y.-B. (2002) *Brezhoneg prim ha dillo*, Montroulez: Skol Vreizh (with one CD).

Kergoat, L. (n.d.) *Problèmes modernes des pays celtiques*, Service d'enseignement à distance – Université Rennes 2 Haute Bretagne.

Kerrain, M. (1997) *Ni a gomz brezhoneg!*, Sant-Brieg: TES.

Kervella, D. (2001) *Le breton de poche*, Chennevières-sur-Marne: Assimil.

—— (2005) *Le Breton – La méthode Assimil*, Chennevières-sur-Marne: Assimil (with four CDs).

Kervella, F. (1970) 'Ur gudenn gasaus: implij *a zo* hag *ez eus*, *a zo* hag *eo*, *eo* hag *eus*', *Hor Yezh*, 63, pp. 53–60.

—— (1971) 'Méthode nouvelle de Breton. Hent nevez d'ar brezhoneg', *Hor Yezh*, 69–70, pp. 1–92 (the whole issue is given over to the first part of the original version of this course).

—— (1972) 'Méthode nouvelle de Breton. Hent nevez d'ar brezhoneg', *Hor Yezh*, 73–4, pp. 93–197 (the whole issue is given over to the second part of the original version of this course).

—— (1976) *Yezhadur Bras Ar Brezhoneg*, Brest: Al Liamm (reprint of 1947 edition).

—— (1978), 'Digoradur', *Hor Yezh*, 119, pp. 3–29.

La Bretagne Linguistique: Travaux du Groupe de recherché sur l'économie linguistique de la Bretagne (GRELB), Centre de recherché bretonne et celtique (CRBC), Université de Bretagne Occidentale.

Le Besco, P. (1997) *Parlons breton. Langue et culture*, Paris and Montréal: L'Harmattan.

Le Boëtté, I. (2003) 'Langue bretonne et autres langues: pratique et transmission', *Octant*, 92, pp. 18–92 (I am grateful to Catherine Bouroulleg of the *Ofis ar brezhoneg* for bringing this article to my attention).

Le Clerc, L. (1986) *Grammaire bretonne du Dialecte de Tréguier*, Brest: Ar Skol Vrezoneg-Emgleo Breiz (1st edition 1908, 2nd edition 1911).

Le Coadic, R. (n.d.) *Brezhoneg Goelo. Éléments sur la langue bretonne telle qu'elle est parlée dans la region du Goëlo*, n.p.

Le Dû, J. (1972) 'Le Nouvel Atlas Linguistique de Basse-Bretagne', *Études Celtiques*, 13, pp. 332–45.

—— (2001) *Nouvel Atlas Linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne. I–II*, Brest: CRBC (600 maps).

Le Gléau, R. (1973) *Syntaxe du breton moderne: 1710–1972*, La Baule: n.p.

—— (1999) *Études syntaxiques bretonnes. Tome 1* (2nd edition), La Baule: n.p.

Le Roux, P. (1927, 1924–63 – six fascicules of 100 maps each) *Atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne*, Paris: Droz and Rennes: Plihon (reprinted Brest: Éditions Armoricaines, 1977; also invaluably Online: http://sbahuaud.free.fr/ALBB (accessed from 28 March 2007)).

—— (1957) *Le Verbe Breton (Morphologie, Syntaxe)*, Rennes: Plihon and Paris: Champion.

Loth, J. (1983) *L'émigration bretonne en Armorique du Ve au VIIe siecle de notre ère*, Rennes: Baraise.

—— (1907) 'Les Langues romane et bretonne en Armorique', *Revue Celtique*, 28, pp. 374–403.

McKenna, M. (1976–81) 'The Breton of Guéméné-sur-Scorff (bas-vannetais)', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 35, pp. 1–101, 36, pp. 199–247, 37, pp. 249–77, and 38, pp. 29–112.

—— (1988) *A Handbook of Modern Spoken Breton*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Macaulay, D. (ed.) (1992) *The Celtic Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ménard, M. (1999) *Petit guide d'initiation au breton*, Le Relecq-Kerhuon: An Here.

—— (2002) *Petit dictionnaire des plus belles injures bretonnes*, Plougastell-Daoulaz: An Here.

Merser, A. (1979) *Précis de grammaire bretonne*, Brest: Ar Helenner, 10.

—— (1980) *Les graphies du breton (Étude succincte)*, Brest: Ar Helenner, 15.

Morvannou, F. (1978–80) *Le breton sans peine*, Chennevières-sur-Marne: Assimil (*Initiation* plus two volumes) (absolutely invaluable; see Kervella 2005 for the new version).

—— (1988) *Le breton – la jeunesse d'une vieille langue*, Lannion: Presses Populaires de Bretagne (other editions 1994, 1999).

Ofis ar brezhoneg, *Réappropriation linguistique en Bretagne. Le cas du Breton* (2006), Arsellva ar brezhoneg (Observatoire de la langue bretonne), Rennes (I am grateful to Catherine Bouroulleg for having brought this article to my attention; much else is available from the web-site, including many compact word-lists: *TermBret*).

Orthographe du breton. Online: http://fr.wikipedia.org.uk/wiki/Orthographe_du_breton (accessed 11 February 2006).

Plourin, J.-Y. (1982) *Phonologie et morphologie comparées des parlers de Langonnet (56) et de Saint-Servais (22)*, thèse d'Etat, Université de Bretagne Occidentale (Brest).

—— (1998) 'La phrase bretonne comprenant le verbe ETRE au présent de l'indicatif. Conflits de topicalisation', *La Bretagne Linguistique*, 11.

—— (2003) *Initiation au breton familier et argotique*, Crozon: Armeline (revised and expanded 2nd edition of 2000).

—— (2005) *Tammou Gwaskin. Collecte lexicale et ethnographique en Centre-Bretagne*, Crozon: Armeline.

Press, I. (1983) 'Towards a phonology of Modern Breton', paper delivered at the *Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies*, University of Oxford, 10–15 July (given 11 July) 1983 (unpublished).

—— (1986) *A Grammar of Modern Breton*, Berlin, New York and Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.

—— (1995) 'Barriers to the standardization of the Breton language', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 93–1, pp. 51–93.

—— (2004) *Standard Breton. Background, Context, and Grammar*. Munich: LINCOM Europa.

Press, I. and ar Bihan, H. (2004) *Colloquial Breton*, London and New York: Routledge (available with or without 2 cassettes and 2 CDs).

Sinou, A. (1999) *Le breton de Léchiagat – Phonologie*, Lannuon: Hor Yezh.

—— (2000) *Brezhoneg Lechiagad – Geriaoueg*, Lannuon: Hor Yezh.

Sommerfelt, A. (1920) *Le breton parlé à Saint-Pol-de-Léon*, Rennes: Imprimeries Réunies (or 1921; new edition by F. Falc'hun and M. Oftedal: Oslo, Bergen and Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1978).

Stephens, J. (1990) 'Non-finite clauses in Breton', in Ball et al. (1990), pp. 151–65.

—— (1993) 'Breton', in Ball with Fife (1993), pp. 349–409.

Ternes, E. (1970), *Grammaire structurale du breton de l'Ile de Groix*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

—— (1992) 'The Breton language', in Macaulay (1992), pp. 371–452.

Timm, Lenora A. (1980) 'Bilingualism, diglossia and language shift in Brittany', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 25, pp. 29–41.

—— (1984) 'The segmental phonology of Carhaisien Breton', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 40, pp. 118–92.

—— (1987a) 'The verb morphology of Carhaisen Breton', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 42, pp. 242–92.

—— (1987b) 'Cleft structures in Breton', *Word*, 38, pp. 127–41.

—— (1988) 'Relative clause formation in Breton', *Word*, 39/2, pp. 79–107.

—— (1989a) 'Word order in twentieth-century Breton', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 7, pp. 361–78.

—— (1989b) 'The problem of VP in a VSO language', *General Linguistics*, 29/4, pp. 247–71.

—— (1990) 'Some observations on the syntax of the Breton verbal noun', in Ball et al. (1990), pp. 189–208.

—— (1991) 'The discourse pragmatics of NO-initial sentences in Breton', in Fife and Poppe (1991), pp. 275–310.

—— (1992) 'Bretons', *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*, New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files.

—— (1994) 'The limits of code-switching constraints, with some evidence from Breton/French switching', *Journal of Celtic Linguistics*, 3: 95–134.

—— (1995) 'Pronominal *A*-forms in Breton: a discourse-based analysis', *Journal of Celtic Linguistics*, 4: 1–33.

Trépos, P. (1957) *Le pluriel breton*, Brest: Emgleo Breiz.

—— (1968) *Grammaire bretonne*, Rennes: Simon (unfinished, posthumous; reprinted 1980 Rennes: Ouest-France and Brest: Brud Nevez, 1994).

Tricoire, J. (1963, 1974), *Komzom, lennom ha skrivom brezoneg. Parlons, lisons et écrivons le breton. Le breton par le disque, I–II*, Brest: Emgleo Breiz (Part 1 originally Rennes: Imprimeries Réunies, 1955; two volumes and two vinyl discs).

Troude, A. (1886) *Nouveau dictionnaire pratique français et Breton du dialecte de Léon*, Brest: Lefournier (3rd edition. Online: < http://dico.troude.free.fr/>).

Urien, J.-Y. (1978), 'Sav-poent ar yezhoniezh. Ar meizad a dalvoud strukturel: Skouer ar rann[où] igoù-verb', *Hor Yezh*, 119: 37–54.

—— (1987) *La trame d'une langue. Le Breton*, Lesneven: Mouladurioù Hor Yezh.

Waquet, H. and de Saint-Jouan, R. (1975) *Histoire de la Bretagne*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Wmffre, Iwan (1998) *Central Breton*, Munich: Lincom.

—— (2007) *Breton Orthographies and Dialects. Volumes 1 and 2. The Twentieth-Century Orthography War in Brittany*, Oxford: Peter Lang.

The Internet addresses of the Université de Haute Bretagne/Rennes 2 and the Université de Bretagne Occidentale are, respectively: www.uhb.fr> and <www.univ-brest.fr>. Particularly useful is that of the *Ofis ar brezoneg*: <www.ofis-bzh.org>. Well worth looking at are Gwagenn TV: <gwagenn.tv>, <blog.gwagenn.tv> and *Setu Breizh*, the *Tele Kreiz Breizh*: <setubzh.blogspot.com>.

There are many more; input 'kervarker', 'bremaik', 'Breton language', 'state of Breton', etc. into a search engine.

To learn Breton by correspondence, contact Skol OBER: <www.skolober.com/index.php?yezh=0>