CHAPTER 9

WELSH

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The focus of this chapter is on the structure of modern Welsh, looking in turn at the phonology, grammar and lexicon of the language as it is used today. As might be expected, a language spoken by over 500,000 people displays considerable variation in usage, with both simple geography and more complex issues of register and social background contributing to the mix. The picture which emerges here will, it is hoped, outline the structure of the language in general terms, but also indicate where differences exist between the Welsh of different areas or different social contexts.

PHONOLOGY

There is in Welsh no single high status accent, and it is accepted that one will be able to tell where a native speaker comes from by listening to the way he or she speaks. In the discussion of the phonological structure of the language which follows, it will therefore be necessary to make frequent reference to regional variation. In addition, there are some features of pronunciation which derive from the difference between careful and casual speech, and which are found in the usage of speakers from all parts of Wales.

Simple vowels

The most complex system of simple vowels is found in north Wales, and is shown in Figure 9.1. Contrastive long and short vowels are found in six articulatory positions: high front unrounded, /iː, ɪ/ high central unrounded /ɨː, ɨ/, high back rounded /uː, ʊ/, mid front unrounded /eː, ɛ/, mid back rounded /oː, ɔ/, and low /aː, a/. There is additionally a short mid central vowel /ə/, with no equivalent long vowel. In south Wales the vowel system is less complex, with no high central vowels, as shown in Figure 9.2. Northern high central vowels are realized in the south as high front vowels, so that northern /'dɨː/ 'black' and /'bɨr/ 'short' correspond to southern /'diː/ and /'bɪr/. Words which in the north form contrastive pairs, such as /'tiː/ 'thee' and /'tɨː/ 'house', are homophones in the south, both being realized as /'tiː/. A further simplification of the vowel system is found in south-west Wales, in parts of Pembrokeshire, as shown in Figure 9.3. Here the short central vowel is dropped, and is replaced by one of the high vowels, the choice of a front or back vowel
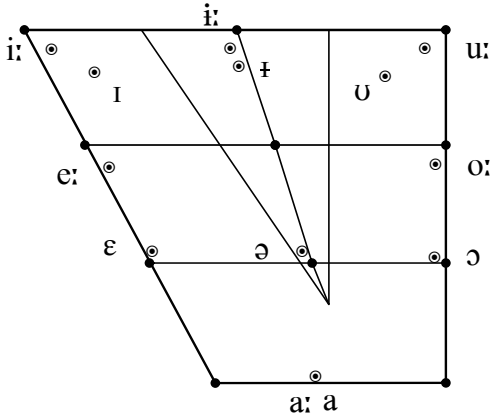
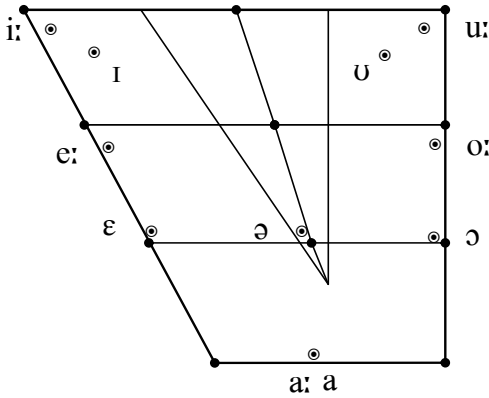*Figure 9.1* The simple vowels of Welsh in north Wales

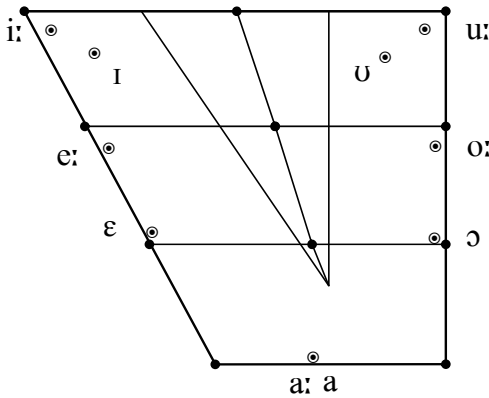*Figure 9.2* The simple vowels of Welsh in south Wales

Figure 9.3 The simple vowels of Welsh in south-west Wales

depending on a complex set of phonological and morphological factors. For instance /'kənar/ 'early' becomes /'kɪnar/, /'bəgʊθ/ 'to threaten' becomes /'bu:gʊθ/, and /'kəski/ 'to sleep' is found as both /'kɪski/ and /'kʊski/. There is one additional vowel, found only in occasional loans from English, a long half-open back rounded vowel /ɔ:/, as in /'lɔ:n/ 'lawn'. It is marginal to the vowel system of Welsh, and plays no part in the patterns of alternation and contrast outlined below.

All vowels, except the mid central vowel /ə/, are found as contrastive long and short pairs. This length contrast, however, appears only in certain contexts; elsewhere it is neutralized and vowel length is predictably long or predictably short. Length is contrastive in stressed syllables, but the details vary as between monosyllables and stressed penultimates, and there are geographical variations to take into account as well. In monosyllables a vowel followed by a single liquid or /n/, may be either long or short.

/'mo:r/ 'sea' ~ /'tʊr/ 'group', /'ta:n/ 'fire' ~ /'ran/ 'part'

The vowel is predictably long in an open syllable, or where it is followed by a voiced stop, or a voiced or voiceless fricative other than /ɬ/. Followed by a voiceless stop, /m/ or /ŋ/, it is predictably short.

/'da:/ 'good', /'he:b/ 'without', /'ha:v/ 'summer', /'no:s/ 'night',
/'tʊp/ 'silly', /'kʊm/ 'valley', /'ɬɔŋ/ 'ship'

The patterns described so far hold for all parts of Wales, but there are two contexts in which north and south differ. A vowel followed by the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/ is predictably short in the north but predictably long in the south.

/'gwɛɬ/(N) ~ /'gwe:ɬ/(S) 'better'

A vowel is long in the north, but short in the south, before a cluster consisting of a fricative and a stop. Before any other cluster the vowel is short in all areas.

/'ku:sk/(N) ~ /'kʊsk/ (S) 'sleep', /'gwa:ɬt/ (N) ~ /'gwaɬt/ (S) 'hair',
/'pɔnt/ 'bridge', /'tɔrθ/ 'loaf', /'barn/ 'judgement'

In south Wales the stressed penultimate syllable displays similar, though not identical, patterning. Both long and short vowels are again found before a single liquid or /n/.

/'a:raɬ/ 'other' ~ /'karɛg/ 'stone', /'ka:nɔl/ 'middle' ~ /'ɛnɪɬ/ 'to win'

Long vowels are found in an open syllable, and before a voiced stop, a voiced fricative and most voiceless fricatives. Vowels before /s/ and /ɬ/, which are long in monosyllables, are consistently short in the penultimate. Short vowels are found before a voiceless stop, /m/ and /ŋ/ and before a consonant cluster.

/'ɬi:ɛn/ 'cloth', /'ka:dɛr/ 'chair', /'mɛ:ðʊl/ 'to think', /'sa:χɛ/ 'sacks',
/'hɔsan/ 'sock', /'aɬan/ 'out'
/'atɛb/ 'to answer', /'kʊmʊl/ 'cloud', /'aŋɔr/ 'anchor', /'gɔrmɔd/ 'too much'

In north Wales this pattern breaks down. In the north-west all vowels in penultimate syllables are realized as short, regardless of what follows. In the north-east and mid-Wales, there appears to be free variation of length in penultimate syllables, again regardless of what follows.

Vowels in unstressed syllables are consistently short in all parts of Wales, with no trace of the patterning described above. It is important, however, to note that since word stress is on the penultimate syllable of a multisyllabic word, regardless of its morphological structure, the 'same' vowel will frequently be found in both stressed and unstressed syllables in related forms. If it shows up in a stressed syllable then it will display contrastive or predictable length as described above; if it shows up in an unstressed syllable then it will be predictably short. Compare for instance the related forms below, as pronounced in a southern accent.

/ˈaːrav/ 'slow', /aˈraːvi/ 'to slow down'

In /ˈaːrav/ the first vowel is in the stressed penultimate and contrastively long, the second is in the final unstressed syllable and predictably short. In the related form /aˈraːvi/ the previously unstressed final vowel is now in the stressed penultimate, and predictably long, while the other two vowels are in unstressed syllables and predictably short. Length is not a consistent feature of a particular vowel, merely a potential which is realized in appropriate circumstances.

Turning to the detail of phonetic realization, it is clear from Figures 9.1–9.3 that for the most part the paired long and short vowels differ not only in length but also in articulation, with the open vowel being generally a little more open and centralized than the long vowel. The low vowels, however, do not follow this pattern. The short vowel /a/ is usually low central, and the long vowel varies as between a central and a rather more back articulation, as [aː] or [ɑː]. Exceptionally, in an extensive area of mid Wales and in the south-east the long vowel is realized as a heavily fronted and slightly raised [æː] in monosyllabic forms, giving for instance [ˈtæːd] rather than [ˈtaːd] 'father'. This realization is not found in the stressed penultimate, giving rise to alternations such as [ˈtæːd] 'father' and [ˈtaːdɔl] 'fatherly'.

Long vowels are fully long only in monosyllables, and are a little shorter in the stressed penultimate, though still distinct from short vowels. In the case of mid vowels there are further, geographically based differences as to how they are realized in penultimate syllables. In the south-west, we find a half open allophone in words where the final syllable contains a high vowel; in the south-east such words have a half close allophone.

[ˈmɛːðʊl] (SW) ~ [ˈmeːðʊl] (SE) 'to think'
[ˈgɔːvɪn] (SW) ~ [ˈgoːvɪn] (SE) 'to ask'

If the final syllable contains a mid or low vowel, on the other hand, the half close allophone is found in all parts of south Wales.

[ˈseːrɛn] 'star', [ˈoːgɛd] 'harrow', [ˈseːbɔn] 'soap', [ˈheːnaχ] 'older'

In unstressed syllables short vowels vary in articulation. Closer realizations such as [i], [ɨ], [e], [o], and [u] and more open realizations such as [ɪ], [ɨ], [ɛ], [ɔ] and [ʊ] are both found in closed syllables, though high vowels appear to favour the closer realization in open syllables. The low vowel is consistently [a].

Not all constraints are related to vowel length. There are other restrictions which seem essentially arbitrary. One relates to the contexts in which the mid central vowel /ə/ may appear. In all those parts of Wales where the /ə/ vowel is found it may only appear in non-final syllables, and even then only if it is followed by a consonant. It is acceptable in the stressed penultimate, and also in an unstressed nonfinal syllable.

/'kəvan/ 'whole', /'əskavn/ 'light'
/kə'neia/ 'harvest', /kə'mɛrjad/ 'character'

It may not appear in a monosyllable or in the final syllable of a longer word. The only exceptions are a number of unstressed monosyllables, which effectively function as clitics attached to the following word.

/ə 'ga:θ/ 'the cat', /əŋ 'ka:ni/ 'singing'

Exceptionally, in parts of the south-west, the /ə/ vowel is found in monosyllables, but even here it is ruled out from the final syllables of longer forms.

/'bəθ/ 'never', /'bər/ 'short'

A second restriction also relates to final syllables, but is geographically limited. In most of Wales both the mid front vowel and the low vowel can appear freely in an unstressed final syllable and are contrastive in this position. In two areas, the north-west and the south-east, this is not possible; the mid front vowel /ɛ/ is ruled out, and is regularly replaced in this context by the low vowel.

/'amsɛr/ 'time' ~ /'kənar/ 'early' (general)
/'amsar/ 'time' = /'kənar/ 'early' (NW, SE)

This restriction holds only of the overt final syllable; if a suffix is added, moving the affected vowel into penultimate position, there is no problem and the mid front vowel resurfaces.

/'amsar/ 'time' > /am'sɛrɨ/ (NW) ~ /am'se:ri/ 'to time' (SE)

Diphthongs

As with simple vowels, so with diphthongs, and it is in north Wales once again that the system is at its most complex. There are three distinct sets, as shown in Figure 9.4a–c (overleaf). In the first set, the diphthong closes towards a high front position, and the first element is always short. In the second set, the diphthong closes towards a high back position, and again for the most part the first element is short; two of these diphthongs however, /ɛu/ and /au/, have a long first element if they appear in a monosyllable with no following consonant:- ['te:u] 'fat', ['ɬa:u] 'hand'. In the third set, the diphthong closes towards a high central position and in two, /eɨ/ and /aɨ/, the first element is always short. The remaining three diphthongs /a:ɨ/, /u:ɨ/ and /o:ɨ/ have a long first element in monosyllables, as in ['ha:ɨl] 'generous', ['ɬu:ɨr] 'complete' and ['o:ɨr] 'cold'. In stressed penultimates and unstressed syllables the first element of a diphthong is predictably short, following the pattern already described for simple vowels.
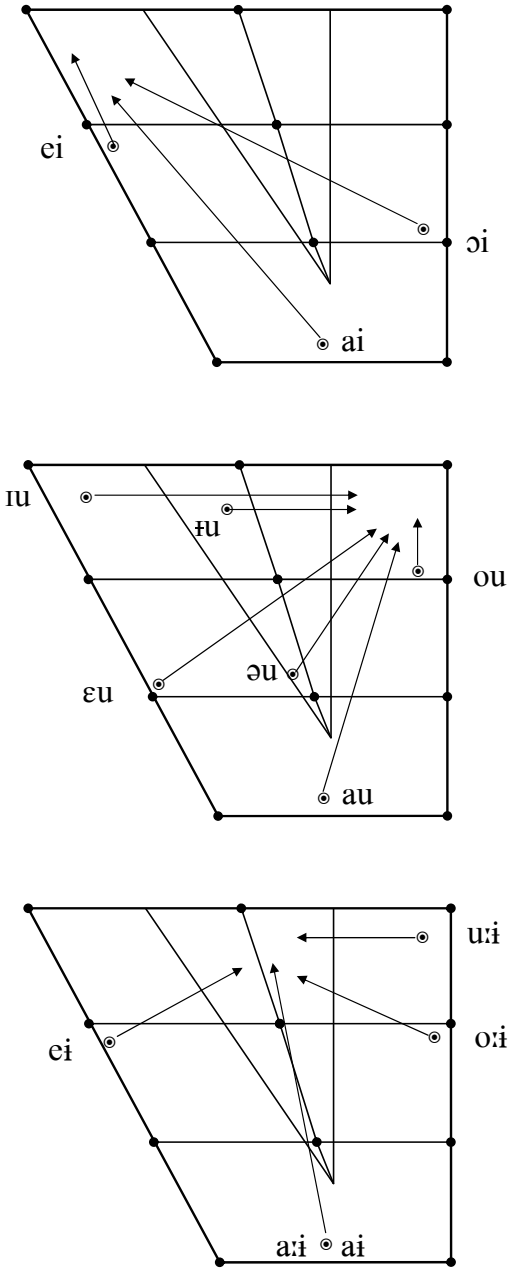
Figure 9.4a–c The diphthongs of Welsh in north Wales

In south Wales the system is simpler, as shown in Figure 9.5a–b (overleaf). Just as there are no simple high central vowels in the south, so too there are no diphthongs closing towards a high central position, and the only northern diphthong starting in a high central position /iu/ is missing as well. Diphthongs in the south close either towards a high front or a high back position, and the first element is always short. The correspondances between the northern and southern systems are on the whole straightforward. Where a northern diphthong has a high central first or second element, this in the south normally has the corresponding high front element; northern /ˈkreɨ/ 'to create' for instance corresponds to southern /ˈkrei/, and northern /ˈbɨu/ 'to live' to southern /ˈbɪu/. Equally, where there is a long first element in the north this is short in the south; /ˈɬuːɨd/ 'grey' and /ˈɬaːu/ 'hand' in the north correspond to /ˈɬʊid/ and /ˈɬau/ in the south.

The position of the diphthong in the word is relevant in both north and south Wales. Three diphthongs – /ai/, /aɨ/ and /aːɨ/ – do not appear in nonfinal syllables. If one of these appears in a monosyllable and is then shifted into a nonfinal syllable through the addition of a suffix, the situation is resolved very simply; in each case the low first element is raised to mid front.

> /ˈsain/ 'sound' ~ /ˈseinjɔ/ 'to sound'
> /ˈhaɨl/(N), /ˈhail/(S) 'sun' ~ /ˈheɨlɔg/ (N), /ˈheilɔg/ (S)

The opposite situation holds for the diphthong /əu/ which has a mid central first element. Like the simple vowel /ə/, the diphthong /əu/ is found only in nonfinal syllables. In southwest Wales, where there is no /ə/, the diphthong /əu/ is not found either, and is replaced by a range of different diphthongs.

> /ˈkləuɛd/ (general) ~ /ˈklɪuɛd/ 'to hear' (SW)
> /ˈtəuɪð/ (general) ~ /ˈtɛuɪð/ 'weather' (SW)

There are in fact further geographical variations in the diphthong system. Northern /aːɨ/ and /oːɨ/ are realized predictably as /ai/ and /ɔi/ in formal, careful speech in the south; in natural, informal speech, however, they become monosyllables.

> /ˈgwaːɨθ/ (N) ~ /ˈgwaiθ/ (S formal) ~ /ˈgwaːθ/ (S informal) 'worse'
> /ˈoːɨr/ (N) ~ /ˈɔir/ (S formal) ~ /ˈoːr/ (S informal) 'cold'

In mid Wales and the south-east the long low vowel in /ˈgwaːθ/ is realized dialectally as [æː] to give [ˈgwæːθ]. In the south-west the long vowel in /ˈoːr/ is replaced by a range of different forms, giving /ˈoːer/ in Cardiganshire, /ˈuːɛr/ and /ˈweːr/ in Pembrokeshire.

One final feature of the diphthong system relates to the difference between careful and casual speech, rather than to geographical variation. There is a tendency for diphthongs found in the unstressed final syllable in careful speech to be replaced by simple vowels in casual speech, so that for instance /oːɨ/ and /ɔi/ become /ɔ/.

> /bləˈnəðɔɨð/(N) ~ /bləˈnəðɔicð/ (S) 'years' > /bləˈnəðɔð/

The most widespread instance of this alternation is that found with /ai/ and /aɨ/, as in the case of the plural inflection, and here the process is further complicated by geographical dialect variation. In most of Wales these final unstressed diphthongs are simplified to /ɛ/;
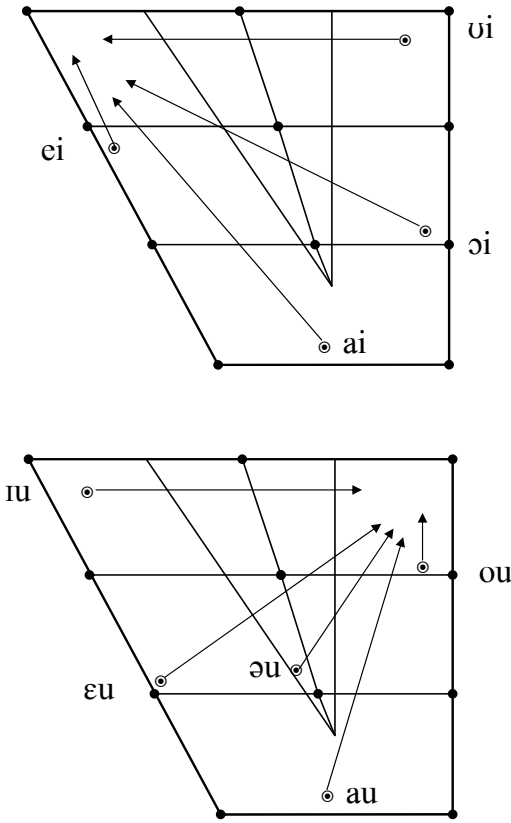
Figure 9.5a–b The diphthongs of Welsh in south Wales

in the north-west and the south-east, where /ɛ/ is not possible in an unstressed final sylla-ble, they become /a/.

/ˈɬevraɨ/ (N) ~ /ˈɬevrai/ (S) 'books' > /ˈɬevrɛ/ (general) ~ /ˈɬevra/ (NW, SE)

Consonants

The consonants of Welsh are shown in Table 9.1. The core consonant system of Welsh has paired voiced and voiceless stops in bilabial /p, b/, alveolar /t, d/ and velar /k, g/ positions, and paired voiced and voiceless fricatives in labiodental /f, v/ and dental /θ, ð/ positions. A number of further voiceless fricatives have no corresponding voiced equiv-alents /s, ɬ, χ, h/. One of these, the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/ is unusual for western European languages and forms something of a stereotype for Welsh, appearing in many place names, such as 'Llangollen' /ɬaŋˈgoɬɛn/. There are additionally three voiced nasals /m, n, ŋ/, two liquids /l, r/ and two glides /j, w/. The choice of a northern or southern

vowel system has no influence on the patterning of consonants in Welsh, and to avoid confusion, the examples quoted in the discussion which follows will all be given in a form characteristic of a southern accent.

Table 9.1 The consonants of Welsh

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Voiceless stop	p			t			k		
Voiced stop	b			d			g		
Voiceless fricative		f	θ	s, ɬ	ʃ			χ	h
Voiced fricative		v	ð	z					
Voiceless affricate					tʃ				
Voiced affricate					ʤ				
Nasal	m			n			ŋ		
Liquid				l, r					
Glide	w					j			

There are constraints on where in the word individual consonants may appear. In initial position a rather odd selection of consonants is ruled out, namely /x/, /ð/ and /ŋ/. It is difficult to explain this particular set of restrictions, and otherwise individual consonants from each class may appear freely alone in initial position.

/'to:/ 'roof', /'du:r/ 'water', /'su:n/ 'noise', /'vɛl/ 'like', /'mɛrχ/ 'girl', /'ra:d/ 'cheap', /'ja:r/ 'hen'.

In the south, and particularly the south-east, there is a tendency to drop initial /h/.

/'he:n/ (general) ~ /'e:n/ (S) 'old'

The examples above are all monosyllables, but longer words behave identically, and this is true also of the constraints on final position discussed next.

In final position in the word, /h/ is ruled out completely. Otherwise all consonant types appear freely.

/'tʊp/ 'silly', /'ma:b/ 'son', /'pe:θ/ 'thing', /'ko:v/ 'memory', /'ɬɔŋ/ 'ship', /'me:l/ 'honey'

There is a tendency in many areas to drop a word-final /v/, and in the south-west a tendency to drop word-final /ð/.

/'treːv/ ~ /'treː/ 'town'
/'klauð/ ~ /'klau/ (SW) 'hedge'

On the account given here, the two glides /j/ and /w/ do not appear in final position either, but this is in fact a construct of the way diphthongs are normally handled. The high off glide of a diphthong could easily be reanalysed as a consonantal glide, and on this view forms such as /'bai/ 'fault' and /'ɬau/ 'hand' would be rather /'baj/ and /'ɬaw/ with a glide in final position.

Medially, there are two constraints on what may appear, both of which relate to the position of stress in the word. The first of these again concerns /h/, which may only appear in medial position if it immediately precedes a stressed vowel; here again there is a tendency to drop /h/ in the south, and particularly in the south-east.

/o'hɛrwɪð/ ~ /o'ɛrwɪð/ (S) 'because'

The second constraint is found only in the south-east. In most parts of Wales a voiced stop may appear freely in medial position, following a stressed vowel, but in the south-east this voiced stop shifts to the corresponding voiceless equivalent. However, if a further syllable is added, moving the stress, the voiced stop reappears.

/'aːgɔr/ ~ /'aːkɔr/ (SE) 'to open' > /a'goːrux/ 'you (pl.) open'

Otherwise, the full range of consonant types may appear in medial position, between vowels. The position of word stress is irrelevant. It may precede the medial consonant, as in the examples below, but the same choices are available if it follows. Also irrelevant is the morpheme structure of the word, which may consist of a single morpheme or contain morpheme boundaries.

/'atɛb/ 'to answer', /'kaːdu/ 'to keep', /'kəfʊrð/ 'to touch', /'aːval/ 'apple', /'kaːnɔl/ 'middle', /'kaːlɔn/ 'heart'

The reservations noted above over glides are valid here too. A form such as /'ɬauɛr/ 'lots' may be analysed as containing a diphthong with an offglide, as has been done here, or alternatively as a sequence of a vowel and consonantal glide /'ɬawɛr/.

Some details of phonetic realization vary geographically. In parts of mid Wales and the south-east, the velar stops /k/ and /g/ may be palatalized in word-initial position, when they appear before /a/, giving for instance ['kʲaus] 'cheese' and ['gʲalu] 'to call'. The lateral /l/ is generally realized as a dark [ɫ] in the north, but as a clear [l] in the south. Those stops shown in Table 9.1 as having an alveolar articulation, together with /l/ and /n/, are in fact alveolar only in the south, and are in the north all dental, so that northern [t̪, d̪, n̪, l̪] correspond to southern [t, d, n, l]. More generally voiceless stops are heavily aspirated, particularly before a stressed vowel, and 'voiced' stops are only weakly voiced. In medial position, following a stressed short vowel, a single consonant is slightly lengthened.

Only the roll /r/ has markedly distinct allophones, being voiceless in word-initial position, as in [' r̥an] 'part', but voiced in medial or final position, as in ['aːraɬ] 'other' or ['moːr] 'sea'. There is a complication here, however, arising from the borrowing of words from English which have an initial voiced [r] such as ['reis] 'rice'. In many of these forms the initial [r] remains voiced, and is thus in contrast with the voiceless [r̥] normal in initial

position in Welsh. This then gives rise to an additional contrast, which is not part of the original consonant system of Welsh. Dialectally in south Wales, and particularly in the south-east, in the area where initial /h/ is dropped, so too is the voiceless allophone [r̥] replaced by the voiced form [r]. As a result the allophonic alternation [r̥]~[r] is lost and the roll is realized as a voiced form in all contexts.

The remaining consonants derive in part from the behaviour of loans from English, and in part from the distinction between careful and casual speech. The voiceless fricative /s/ forms part of the core consonant system, but the voiced equivalent /z/ is found only in loans from English such as /ˈzuː/ 'zoo', and even then only in south Wales. In the north these words have the native /s/. The affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are found in loans from English such as /ˈtʃɪps/ 'chips' and /ˈdʒam/ 'jam'; the fricative /ʃ/ also appears corresponding to English /tʃ/, /dʒ/ and /ʃ/ in loans, as in /ˈʃauns/ 'chance', /ˈʃaːn/ 'Jane' and /ˈʃuːr/ 'sure'. These last three consonants are not, however, confined to loans from English and appear in native Welsh words in casual speech. Where careful speech has a /d/ or /t/ followed by an unstressed high front vowel or a front glide, casual speech often converts this sequence to an affricate. The fricative /ʃ/ is also found in native Welsh words in casual speech, where it replaces a sequence /sj/ in careful speech.

/diˈoːgɛl/ > /ˈdʒoːgɛl/ (casual) 'safe'
/ˈkɔtjai/ > /ˈkɔtʃɛ/ (casual) 'coats'
/ˈkeisjɔ/ > /ˈkeiʃɔ/ (casual) 'to try'

An extension of this tendency is the replacement of /s/ by /ʃ/ in casual speech in south Wales if it appears before or after a high front vowel.

/ˈsiːr/ ~ /ˈʃiːr/ (S casual) 'shire'
/ˈmiːs/ ~ /ˈmiːʃ/ (S casual) 'month'

Consonant clusters

A wide range of consonantal clusters is found in Welsh. In word-initial position a stop or a fricative may be followed by a liquid, though not every potential combination is found. There are, for instance, no clusters of this kind with the fricatives /ɬ/, /θ/, /ð/, /χ/ or /h/ as the first element

/ˈplant/ 'children', /ˈbraud/ 'brother', /ˈflaχ/ 'flash', /ˈvriː/ 'up above'

A stop may also be followed by a nasal, though the only combination found here is /kn/.

/ˈknai/ 'nuts'

A stop may follow /s/, and a liquid may be further added to give a three-consonant cluster. Note that the voicing contrast in stops is neutralized following /s/ to give an unvoiced, unaspirated form.

/ˈskuːd/ 'waterfall', /ˈskreːx/ 'scream'

There are also two rather different types of cluster, both involving the glide /w/. In the first of these, it follows /χ/ to give /χw/. This cluster is found throughout Wales in careful speech, but dialectally in the south it is replaced by /hw/, and in the south-east the /h/ is often dropped, to give /w/ alone.

/'χweːχ/ 'six' (general) ~ /'hweːχ/ (S) ~ /'weːχ/ (SE)

The second cluster type consists of /g/ followed by the /w/ glide, and then optionally by /n/ or a liquid, though there is a tendency in the more complex clusters to drop the glide.

/'gwɛld/	'to see'
/'gwneid/ ~ /'gneid/ ~ /'neid/	'to do'
/'gwrandɔ/ ~ /'grandɔ/	'to listen'

In careful speech there is one exceptional form with intial /dw/, but this is usually modified in casual speech, presumably because the cluster is felt to be odd. In the south it becomes /gw/, falling together with the other clusters of this kind, and in the north it becomes /d/ with a single consonant.

/'dweid/ ~ /'gweid/ (S) ~ /'deɨd/ (N) 'to say'

Medially a wide range of clusters consisting of two consonants is possible. Stops and fricatives may form clusters, which usually agree in voicing.

/'kaptɛn/ 'captain', /'ragvɪr/ 'December', /'askʊrn/ 'bone'

Either may be preceded or followed by a nasal or liquid; in most cases a nasal will be homorganic to a following stop, but not necessarily to a following fricative, and where the nasal follows the stop or fricative there are no such constraints.

/'daŋgos/ 'to show', /'hamðɛn/ 'leisure', /'ɛgni/ 'energy', /'dəvnaχ/ 'deeper', /'ardal/ 'district', /'mʊrθʊl/ 'hammer', /'ɛbrɨɬ/ 'April', /'kəvlɔg/ 'salary'

Nasals and liquids too may form clusters, in any order.

/'kʊmni/ 'company', /'gɔrmɔd/ 'too much', /'kanran/ 'percentage', /'kɔrlan/ 'sheepfold'

A glide too may follow any other consonant type, and if the second element of a diphthong were counted as a glide, then this too would be found before all consonant types.

/'gwatwar/ 'to mock', /'ɬɪχjɔ/ 'to throw', /'pɛnjɔg/ 'intelligent', /'arwain/ 'to lead'

Once again /h/ is exceptional, and may only appear before a stressed vowel, with a preceding nasal consonant.

kən'heiav/ 'harvest', /əŋ'hiːd/ 'together'

Clusters of three consonants are rather more tightly constrained.The fricative /s/ may be followed by a stop and then a liquid; a nasal consonant may be followed by a stop, and a liquid or a glide.

/'əsprɪd/ 'ghost', /'kaskli/ 'to collect'
/'mɛntrə/ 'to dare', /'kampwaiθ/ 'masterpiece'

In final position the situation is rather more complicated. First there are clusters which may appear with no difficulty. A stop may follow a fricative, a nasal or a liquid; a fricative or a nasal may follow a liquid.

/'pask/ 'Easter', /'pɪmp/ 'five', /'gwɛld/ 'to see'
/'kʊrð/ 'to meet', /'darn/ 'piece'

Other types behave differently. A cluster which may not appear in final position in a monosyllable, is nevertheless acceptable medially if an inflection is added to the original form. The problem is solved by modifying the unacceptable cluster in final position, breaking it up with an epenthetic vowel identical to the original vowel of the word. Where there is a diphthong rather than a simple vowel, it is the offglide which is copied to break up the cluster.

/*'pʊdr/ > /'pu:dur/ 'rotten' ~ /'pədri/ 'to rot'
/*'soudl/ > /'soudul/ 'heel' ~ /'sɔdlɛ/ 'heels'

Clusters which are dealt with in this way include a stop followed by a liquid, as in the examples shown above, and also a stop followed by a nasal.

/*'gwadn/ > /'gwa:dan/ 'sole of shoe' ~ /'gwadnɛ/ 'soles of shoes'

In the north these are the main cluster types affected, but in the south the constraint is more extensive, holding also a fricative followed by a liquid or a nasal.

/*'kɛvn/ > /'ke:vɛn/ 'back' ~ /'kɛvnɛ/ 'backs'
/*'ɬɪvr/ > /'ɬəvɪr/ 'book' ~ /'ɬəvrɛ/ 'books'

The use of epenthetic vowels to break up clusters which would otherwise appear in final position extends in some cases, idiosyncratically and with regional variation, to other cluster types.

/'hɛlm/ > /'he:lɛm/ 'corn stack' ~ /'hɛlmi/ 'corn stacks'
/'aml/ > /'amal/ 'frequent' ~ /'amlaχ/ 'more frequent'

Regionally, there are other strategies which serve the same purpose. In north-east Wales occasional examples switch the order of consonants to avoid the problem.

/*'sɔvl/ > /'sɔlv/ (NE) 'stubble'

In the south-west, on the other hand, there is a tendency to replace /v/ in unacceptable clusters with /u/; the diphthong thus created survives in some cases even when an inflection is added, and it is no longer in final position.

/*'kɛvn/ > /'kɛun/ 'back' ~ /'kɛunɛ/ 'backs'

Where the problem arises in longer words, the strategy adopted is the deletion of one of the offending consonants. The choice of which consonant to delete is idiosyncratic, and varies from word to word. If an inflection is added, the cluster resurfaces.

/*'fɛnɛstr/ > /'fɛnɛst/ 'window' ~ /fɛ'nɛstri/ 'windows'.
/*'anadl/ > /'anal/ 'breath' ~ /a'nadli/ 'to breathe'

Stress and intonation

Word stress in polysyllabic forms is normally on the penultimate syllable, and if an additional syllable is added to the word the stress shifts to the penultimate of the resulting form. This process is recursive, and regardless of how many additional syllables are added, word stress still ends up on the penultimate syllable of the final word form. As a result, words which are closely related in meaning will often have word stress in a different place, and stress will often appear on a syllable which is not part of the original word at all, but rather an inflectional morpheme.

/əs¹kriːvɛn/ ~ /əskri¹vɛnɪð/ ~ /əskrivɛ¹nəðjɔn/
'writing'   'secretary'   'secretaries'

A stressed penultimate syllable which moves into a pre-stress position and loses its stress in this way may even be dropped. This does not occur in every case and is a feature of casual rather than formal speech.

/¹aːdar/ ~ /¹dɛːrɪn/   /¹hɔsan/ ~ /¹saːnɛ/
'birds'   'bird'   'sock'   'socks'

Monosyllables normally have word stress, but when additional syllables are added, giving a polysyllabic form, stress appears on the penultimate syllable of this new form.

/¹diːn/ ~ /¹dənɔl/ ~ /də¹nɔlrɪu/
'man'   'human' 'humanity'

Certain monosyllabic grammatical items, such as the definite article, are never stressed and are always attached to the following word as a clitic.

/ə ¹diːn/   /ər əskrivɛ¹nəðjɔn/
'the man'   'the secretaries'

In a minority of forms word stress is found on the final syllable. This occurs in some types of compounding, where the phrasal structure of the compound appears to influence the final position of word stress.

/maŋ¹giː/   /pɛm¹blʊið/
'grandmother'   'birthday'

It also occurs where a vowel-final stem is followed by a vowel-initial inflection, and the two vowels combine, to form a long vowel or a diphthong, which is then stressed.

/¹buːa/ > /bu¹aːi/
'bow'   'bows'

Some loans from English retain the stress pattern which they have in English, and in such cases stress may also be found either on the final syllable or on the pre-penultimate.

/kara¹van/   /¹pɔlɪsi/
'caravan'   'police'

Secondary stress occurs where two or more syllables precede the main word stress. Counting back from the main stress towards the beginning of the word, the second syllable takes secondary stress.

/²bɛndi¹gɛdɪg/   /²agɔ¹sai/
'wonderful'   /to approach/

Secondary stress is also found in certain compounds, and distinguishes them from related phrasal forms which lack the semantic specialization of the compound. In the phrase both words have full stress; in the compound, the first has secondary stress. There is no clear agreement on whether Welsh also displays tertiary stress.

/¹tiː ¹baːχ/   /²tiː¹baːχ/
house small   house+small
'a small house'   'a toilet'

Comparatively little work has been carried out on intontation in Welsh, and this on a limited range of material, so that it is difficult to generalize on the patterns found. It has been suggested that nuclear tones, which appear on the most salient syllable of an utterance and the unstressed syllables which follow it, include the following: low fall, high fall, low rise, high rise, full rise, rise-fall, low level, high level. There is, however, disagreement over the detail of this analysis, some accounts suggesting that fewer distinct nuclear tones are needed. The most distinctive feature of intonation in Welsh relates to the part of the utterance preceding the nuclear tone, where the 'saw-toothed' pattern is common. Each of the salient syllables in the sequence is followed by a set of rising unstressed syllables; the next salient syllable is on a slightly lower pitch than the previous one, though again followed by rising unstressed syllables; and so on with each salient syllable slightly lower, with a tail of unstressed rising syllables. It appears that this tendency for unstressed syllables to rise in pitch is very common in Welsh, in contrast to English where the unmarked case is a slight fall in pitch.

ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthographic system of Welsh is summarized in Table 9.2. It is often claimed that the orthography of Welsh is 'phonetic', by which is meant that there is a clear and simple relationship between the spoken language and its written form. While this relationship is indeed more straightforward than is the case for instance in English, there are nevertheless a number of complications and inconsistencies, which will be outlined below. In addition there is the issue of regional variation in phonology. Where the orthography reflects phonological distinctions made in the north but not in the south, southerners must learn the correct written conventions by rote; where the orthography reflects distinctions made in the south but not in the north, the same holds for northerners. Most native speakers will admit to uncertainties with respect to at least some aspects of the orthography, and this may well contribute to a widespread lack of confidence in using the language in contexts where mastery of formal written Welsh is needed.

Table 9.2 The orthography of Welsh

Consonants	/p/ p	/ð/ dd	/m/ m
	/b/ b	/s/ s	/n/ n
	/t/ t	/ɬ/ ll	/ŋ/ ng
	/d/ d	/z/ s	/l/ l
	/k/ c	/ʃ/ si, sh	[r̥], [r] rh, r
	/g/ g	/χ/ ch	/w/ w
	/f/ ff, ph	/h/ h	/j/ i
	/v/ f	/tʃ/ tsh	
	/θ/ th	/dʒ/ j	
Vowels	/iː/, /ɪ/ i	/oː/, /ɔ/ o	/ə/ y
	/eː/, /ɛ/ e	/uː/, /ʊ/ w	
	/aː/, /a/ a	/ɨː/, /ɨ̈ː/ u, y	
Diphthongs	/eɨ/ ei	/au/ aw	/aɨ/ au
	/ai/ ai	/ou/ ow	/aːɨ/ ae
	/ɔi/ oi	/ɨu/ uw, yw	/oːɨ/ oe
	/ɪu/ iw	/əu/ yw	/uːɨ/ wy
	/ɛu/ ew	/eɨ/ eu	

So far as the consonants of Welsh are concerned, there is for the most part a clear one-to-one correspondence between contrastive phonological units and orthographic forms. Perhaps the most striking feature of this system is the widespread use of digraphs, including the doubling of consonantal symbols as in *dd*, *ff* and *ll*, and the addition of *h* as in *ch*, *ph*, *rh*, and *th*. In only a few cases does the system deviate from a straightforward correspondence between phonology and written form. The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ is normally represented by *ff*, as in *ffordd* 'road', *hoffi* 'to like' and *rhaff* 'rope'. If the /f/ appears in word-initial position as a result of the Aspirate Mutation, however, then it is written with a *ph*, as in *ei phlant* 'her children'. In no other case does the orthography take account of whether a consonant appears in the citation form of a word or as the result of a consonantal mutation. Again, in only one case is allophonic variation taken into account,

where the voiced [r] and voiceless [r̥] are written respectively *r* and *rh*. This is not a clear case, however, as the introduction of loans from English has meant that there is now a contrast between voiced and voiceless rolls in initial position, as in *rhan* 'part' and *reis* 'rice'. Only one phonological distinction is not marked in the orthography, with /ŋ/ and /ŋg/ both being written as *ng*; it is not possible to tell from the written form that *angen* 'need' represents /'aŋɛn/ while *dangos* 'to show' represents /'daŋgɔs/.

The marginal consonants, found in loans from English and informal or dialectal usage, are represented by a mixture of symbols borrowed from English and adaptations of existing Welsh orthographic conventions. The English symbol *j* is used for /ʤ/, both in loans such as *jam* 'jam' and in informal or regional Welsh usage such as *jogel* (standard *diogel*) 'safe'. The voiceless equivalent /ʧ/ is written as *tsh* as in *cwtsh* 'cuddle'. The English symbol *z* is not used for /z/, which is written consistently with *s* as in *sŵ* 'zoo', reflecting the assimilated northern pronunciation of this form. The fricative /ʃ/ in loan words is usually written *si* where it precedes a vowel, as in *Siân* 'Jane' or *pasio* 'to pass'. This sequence is, however, ambiguous and may be read as either /ʃ/ or /si/, and so to avoid confusion, in final position the orthographic form *sh* is used, as in *ffresh* 'fresh'. In southern dialect usage the consonant /s/ shifts to /ʃ/ when preceding or following a high front vowel, and in such cases too the symbol *sh* is used to represent it, as in *shir* (standard *sir*) 'county' or *mish* (standard *mis*) 'month' when intending to reflect natural spoken usage.

Turning to the core vowel system, the orthography takes no notice of vowel length and uses the same symbol for the long and short vowel of each pair, with *a* for instance respresenting both /a:/ and /a/. Here too there are a few complications. Two different orthographic symbols are used to represent /ɨ:/ and /ɨ/, namely *y* and *u*. Originally these appear to have represented slightly different vowels, but the phonetic distinction has long been lost and they differ only with respect to certain morphophonemic alternations, which will be discussed later. Words where /ɨ:/ and / ɨ/ are represented by *y* undergo these rules, and words where they are represented by *u* do not. In south Wales, of course, there are no /ɨ:/ or / ɨ/ vowels and the symbols *y*, *u* and *i* all represent /i:/ and /ɪ/. The symbol *y* in fact also represents the mid central vowel /ə/, though here confusion is lessened by the distribution of the symbol in the word. In a word final syllable *y* represents /ɨ:/ and /ɨ/, or /i: / and/ɪ/ in the south; in a nonfinal syllable it represents the mid central vowel /ə/. Compare the use of *y* in a form such as *ynys* 'island', where there is no confusion at all as to the meaning of the symbol in each syllable. Unstressed monosyllabic clitics, which behave essentially as nonfinal syllables attached to the following word, also have *y* representing the mid central /ə/, as in *y bachgen* 'the boy'. The symbol *o* is used for the loan English vowel /ɔ:/ and it is not distinguished in writing from Welsh /o:/ and /ɔ/.

Where vowel length is predictable, there is no problem and it is not marked. Where it is contrastive two different strategies emerge. In monosyllables a long vowel is marked by a circumflex accent and a short vowel is left unmarked, giving a contrast for instance between *tŵr* 'tower' and *twr* 'crowd'. This is, however, not done systematically and there are numerous exceptions; these may either involve a contrastively long vowel which is not marked by a circumflex accent, such as *hen* 'old', or a vowel which does have an accent although its length is predictable, as in the case of *tŷ* 'house'. There is also a length contrast in the stressed penultimate, in the south if not in the north. Here it is marked by doubling of the consonant following a short vowel, as in *ennill* 'to win' and *carreg* 'stone'; the long vowel is left unmarked, as in *canu* 'to sing' and *arall* 'other'. Contrast is also possible before /l/, but this is never doubled in the orthography, since doing so would lead to confusion with the symbol *ll* used to represent /ɬ/. In marking length contrasts in

penultimate syllables the orthography follows the south, rather than the north. This is the only point at which the south preserves a distinction now lost in the north, and it is the only point where the orthography diverges from northern usage.

Diphthongs are represented by a sequence of two vowel symbols, one for the starting point and one for the offglide, and it is the full northern system of diphthongs which is reflected in the orthographic system, though there is no systematic marking of length differences in the initial segment. On the whole the symbols used for simple vowels are found here too, and the same complications are found over the high central element, be it in initial position or as an offglide. The initial element / ɨ/ in the diphthong / ɨu/, or /ɪu/ in the south, may be represented by either *y* or *u*, as in *cyw* 'chick' or *Duw* 'God', while in nonfinal syllables such as *tywallt* 'to pour' *yw* represents /əu/. The offglide /ɨ/ is variously spelled *u*, *y* and *e*. The offglides /i/ and /u/ are consistently represented by *i* and *w*, and these same symbols are also used for the consonantal glides /j/ and /w/, as in *iâr* 'hen' and *wedi* 'after'.

Normal word stress on the penultimate syllable is not marked. Where word stress is exceptionally on a final syllable this may be shown by means of an accent, either a circumflex accent as in *cytûn* 'in agreement', or an acute accent as in *coffáu* 'to commemorate'. This does not happen in every case, however, as can be seen from examples such as *ynghyd* 'together' and *paratoi* 'to prepare'. One further accent used is the diaresis, as in *amgaeëdig* 'enclosed' or *glöwr* 'collier', in order to clarify that this is a sequence of distinct simple vowels rather than a diphthong. The diaresis always appears on the vowel of the stressed penultimate syllable.

MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL VARIATION

The most striking type of morphophonological variation in Welsh, as in all the Celtic languages, is the highly developed system of initial consonant mutation, whereby the beginning of a word changes according to the lexical or grammatical context in which it appears. There are also, however, morphophonological rules which give rise to vowel alternations, and a set of complex alternations affecting a range of monosyllabic grammatical items.

Initial mutations

There are three sets of initial consonant mutations, known as the Soft Mutation (SM), the Nasal Mutation (NM) and the Aspirate Mutation (AM). They emerged naturally, as a result of normal speech processes, as early as the fifth and sixth centuries, but have become fossilized over the years and are now essentially arbitrary. They are shown in Table 9.3, both in terms of the phonological units involved and orthographically. The Soft Mutation subsumes a number of varied phonological changes. Voiceless stops shift to the corresponding voiced stop, with the exception of /g/, which is simply dropped; voiced stops shift to the most closely related voiced fricatives; /m/ shifts to the most closely related voiced fricative /v/; /ɬ/ and [r̥] are voiced to /l/ and [r]. The Nasal Mutation affects only stops. Voiced stops shift to the corresponding nasal; voiceless stops too shift to the corresponding nasal, though here with an aspirate offglide as in /mh, nh, ŋh/. These initial clusters are found only as the result of Nasal Mutation, and appear nowhere else. The Aspirate Mutation affects only voiceless stops, which shift to the most closely related voiceless fricatives. There is, in addition, a related rule which involves the addition of /h/

before a word initial vowel or glide. The Soft Mutation is used in a wide variety of different contexts, while the other mutations are more restricted in scope. In the discussion which follows, the focus of attention is not on the detail of these phonological changes but rather on the contexts which trigger initial mutation, and the examples given will be in orthographic form.

Table 9.3 The initial mutations of Welsh

Phonological changes

Soft			Nasal			Aspirate		
/p/	>	/b/	/p/	>	/mh/	/p/	>	/f/
/t/	>	/d/	/t/	>	/nh/	/t/	>	/θ/
/k/	>	/g/	/k/	>	/ŋh/	/k/	>	/χ/
/b/	>	/v/	/b/	>	/m/			
/d/	>	/ð/	/d/	>	/n/			
/g/	>	zero	/g/	>	/ŋ/			
/m/	>	/v/						
/ɬ/	>	/l/						
[r̥]	>	[r]						

Orthographical changes

Soft			Nasal			Aspirate		
p	>	b	p	>	mh	p	>	ph
t	>	d	t	>	nh	t	>	th
c	>	g	c	>	ngh	c	>	ch
b	>	f	b	>	m			
d	>	dd	d	>	n			
g	>	zero	g	>	ng			
m	>	f						
ll	>	l						
rh	>	r						

Lexical contexts are the most straightforward. Specific lexical items require the immediately following word to undergo one of the initial consonant mutations. The isolation form *plant* 'children', for instance, will undergo the SM following *dy* 'your' (sg.), the NM following *fy* 'my', and the AM following *ei* 'her'.

> *dy blant* ~ *fy mhlant* ~ *ei phlant*
> 'your (sg.) children' 'my children' 'her children'

The mutation is in each case an arbitrary and unpredictable feature of the triggering lexical item. Homophonic items may trigger different mutations, as when *ei* 'her' triggers the AM, as shown already, but *ei* 'his' triggers the SM.

> *ei phlant* ~ *ei blant*
> 'her children' 'his children'

Equally, where a single lexical item varies in form according to the context, it will still trigger the same mutation; *ei* 'her' changes its form and is realized as *w* following the preposition *i* 'to/for', but nevertheless still triggers the AM.

> *ei phlant* ~ *i'w phlant*
> 'her children' 'to/for her children'

In almost every case a lexical item may trigger only one mutation. Exceptionally, the negative particles *ni* and *na* trigger both the SM and the AM; if the following verb has an initial voiceless stop, then we find the AM, while any other mutatable consonant undergoes the SM.

> *Na chei.*   *Na fydd.*
> not may.2 sg.   not will-be.3 sg.
> 'You may not.'   'He/she will not.'

The lexical items which trigger mutations include personal pronouns, prepositions, numerals, conjunctions, preverbal particles, predication markers and adverbs modifying adjectives. One striking feature of lexical contexts of this kind is that the mutation may be found in cases where the actual lexical trigger has been dropped and is not realized overtly in the sentence. The interrogative preverbal particle *a*, for instance, triggers SM of the following verb. It may be freely dropped in informal speech, but the mutation triggered by it remains.

> *A fydd amser?*   *Fydd amser?*
> Q will-be.3 sg. time? will-be.3 sg. time?
> 'Will there be time?' 'Will there be time?'

Grammatical contexts are more varied, but all trigger the SM. In several cases, for instance, the mutation is sensitive not only to the presence of a specific lexical item but also to features such as gender and number. Following the definite article, a m.sg. noun such as *bachgen* 'boy', remains in citation form while a f.sg. noun such as *merch* 'girl' undergoes SM. Plural nouns retain the citation form, regardless of gender.

> *y bachgen* ~ *y ferch*   ~   *y bechgyn* ~ *y merched*
> 'the boy'   'the girl'   'the boys'   'the girls'

This sensitivity to features such as gender and number extends to contexts where there is no specific lexical item involved, but rather a more general grammatical pattern. An adjective following a f.sg. noun, for instance, undergoes SM, regardless of the identity of the noun or the adjective concerned. An adjective such as *bach* 'little' accordingly appears in SM form following a f.sg. noun such as *merch* 'girl'. If the noun is pluralized, there is no mutation. Nor is there if the noun is masculine, either singular or plural.

> *merch fach*   ~ *merched bach* ~ *bachgen bach*   ~ *bechgyn bach*
> girl little   girls little   boy   little   boys little
> 'a little girl' 'little girls' 'a little boy'   'little boys'

Other contexts triggering mutations refer more generally to aspects of sentence structure, and often involve relatively complex considerations. The direct object of an inflected verb undergoes SM, and this regardless of whether the subject of the sentence is overt or dropped.

> *Gwelais*   *(i)*   *fachgen.*
> saw.1 sg.   (I)   boy
> 'I saw a boy.'

Only the first word in the direct object can undergo SM, and where another, nonmutatable item comes first, the definite article for instance, then the mutation is blocked. It is blocked too if the direct object appears in sentence-initial position in a stressed sentence.

> *Gwelais (i) y bachgen.*   *Bachgen a welais (i).*
> saw.1 sg. (I) the boy   boy that saw.1 sg. (I)
> 'I saw the boy.'   'It was a boy that I saw.'

In semantically related forms with a verb noun rather than an inflected verb, the object is not mutated, and neither is the object of an impersonal verb.

> *Dw i wedi gweld bachgen.*   *Gwelwyd bachgen.*
> am.1 sg. I perf. see boy   saw.impers. boy
> 'I have seen a boy.'   'A boy was seen.'

The relevant context may also involve the word order of the sentence, where a change from unmarked to marked word order may trigger SM. Unmarked word order for instance requires an initial verb, followed by the subject, and then any other items such as a PP. If the PP is moved to the left, so that it immediately follows the verb and precedes the subject, then the displaced subject undergoes SM.

> *Mae llyfr gen i.*   *Mae gen i lyfr.*
> is book with me   is with me book
> 'I have a book.'   'I have a book.'

It has been assumed so far that all words are equally vulnerable to mutation, but this is not in fact the case. Personal names usually withstand mutation, even in contexts where this might be expected, and although Welsh-language place names are freely mutated, there is considerable reluctance to mutate place names which are perceived as 'foreign' such as *Birmingham* or *Tokyo*. Such mutations are considered odd, and are possible only in jokes which are playing with language conventions. Genuine Welsh names for places outside Wales, such as *Llundain* 'London' or *Rhufain* 'Rome' are freely mutated, and there is a grey area where place names such as *Paris* and *Patagonia* are acceptable in mutated form even though they are not actually native Welsh forms. Some lexical items, such as *braf* 'fine', never undergo mutation, and this in an apparently arbitrary way. Loans from English on the whole undergo mutation freely, and an item such as *car* 'car' appears in all mutation forms. This happens less readily in the case of loans with initial *g*, such as *garej* 'garage' where SM would require loss of the *g*, and forms such as **ei arej* 'his garage' appear on the whole only in jokes. In informal speech the affricate *tsh* in loans from English is sometimes incorporated into the SM, with an item such as *tships* 'chips' realized

with *j* in some contexts, such as *siop jips* 'chip shop'. The voiced equivalent *j* does not display SM, even in informal speech.

The pattern of mutations described above is that found in the standard written language. In regional dialect, there are differences. Informal south Wales usage appears to be gradually abandoning the use of the NM and the AM, though this trend is by no means complete. A place name such as *Caerdydd* 'Cardiff' will undergo the NM after the preposition *yn* 'in' in the standard language, but the SM in southern dialect.

> *yng Nghaerdydd* (standard)   ~   *yn Gaerdydd* (S)
> 'in Cardiff'   ~   'in Cardiff'

The conjunction *a* 'and' triggers the AM in the standard language, but in the south the citation form is often retained.

> *a Chaerdydd* (standard)   ~   *a Caerdydd* (S)
> 'and Cardiff'   ~   'and Cardiff'

These are typical of a series of apparently unrelated individual changes, all of which are gradually moving southern dialect away from the traditional, standard system towards something rather simpler consisting only of the citation form and the SM. Note that the overall phonology of southern dialect has implications for the mutations, over and above the systematic simplification described above. In those areas where initial /h/ is regularly dropped, the aspirated nasals of the NM are ruled out too, and /p, t, k/ shift not to /mh, nh, ŋh/ but to /m, n, ŋ/. As a result there is no distinction between the NM forms of the voiced and voiceless stops, and the mutated forms of *Bangor* and *Pontypridd* fall together. The rule adding /h/ to an initial vowel or glide is not found dialectally in this part of Wales, for the same reason. And in this same area, since there is no voiceless initial [ɹ̥], this part of the SM is no longer relevant.

In the north the situation is different. Here the mutation system is expanding rather than being simplified. Specifically, there is evidence of the AM being extended to initial nasals and liquids, in words such as *mam* 'mother' and *lamp* 'lamp'. These are shifting to the aspirated equivalents, in contexts where the AM is already found, such following *ei* 'her'.

> *ei mham*   *ei lhamp*
> 'her mother' 'her lamp'

The aspirated nasals resemble those found as NM of voiceless stops, but the aspirated liquids are new clusters, not found elsewhere in the language. The tendency to draw English loan forms into the mutation system is also more widespread in parts of the north, where words with initial *tsh* such as *tships* 'chips' and those with initial *j* such as *job* 'job' sometimes undergo the NM.

> *fy nships*   *fy njob*
> 'my chips'   'my job'.

Where the standard language preserves irregularities, these are often tidied up in regional dialect. In the standard language, for instance, a number of SM rules do not apply to words with an initial *ll* or *rh*. A f.sg. noun such as *llaw* 'hand' would be expected to undergo SM following the definite article, but in fact fails to do so, and appears as *y llaw* 'the hand'.

In regional dialect exceptions of this kind are often rationalized, giving the more regular form *y law.* Occasionally too examples of what appear to be 'double mutation' are found in regional usage. A form such as *pobl* 'people' is found not only in the expected SM form following the definite article as *y bobl* 'the people', but also as *y fobl*. It appears that the initial *p* has been subject to SM to give *b* and that this too has been mutated to give *f.* Since these examples are comparatively rare, it seems likely that the original SM form has been reanalysed as a citation form, and the SM then reapplied in due course.

The centralization rule

This rule is essentially arbitrary, and though it can be described in phonological terms, it is not in the modern language the result of purely phonological processes. In many words a high back vowel changes to a central vowel when an additional syllable is added to the word.

    twˆr 'tower'   > *tyrau* 'towers'
    twr 'crowd'   > *tyrru* 'to crowd'

This does not occur in every case, and other words retain the original vowel unchanged.

    cwd 'bag'   > *cwdyn* 'bag'
    twp 'silly'   > *twpsyn* 'silly person'

A similar change affects many words which contain a high central vowel in north Wales, realized as a high front vowel in the south. This too changes to a central vowel when an additional syllable is added, though the actual phonological change is not so obvious here, since the orthographic symbol *y* represents a high vowel in the final syllable but a central vowel in nonfinal syllables.

    dyn 'man'   > *dynion* 'men'
    tyn 'tight'   > *tynnu* 'to pull'

Again the rule applies in some cases but not in others, and where it fails to apply, the orthographic symbol *u* is used.

    cul 'narrow'   > *culach* 'narrower'
    punt 'pound'   > *punnoedd* 'pounds'

Words which have the high front vowel in both north and south Wales, and which contain the orthographic symbol *i*, do not undergo this rule.

    tir 'land'   > *tiroedd* 'lands'
    gwisg 'dress' > *gwisgo* 'to dress'

Both long and short vowels undergo this rule, though the resulting central vowel is always short. It applies only where the original vowel is followed by a consonant or a cluster, and never affects forms such as *tŷ* 'house' or *llw* 'oath' where there is no consonant following the vowel. It is not confined to monosyllabic forms, but also affects words where the high central or high back vowel is in the final syllable.

> *gwenyn* 'bees' > *gwenynen* 'bee'
> *pentwr* 'pile' > *pentyrau* 'piles'

For the most part the rule behaves identically with respect to high central and high back vowels. There is one interesting difference, however, between them which shows up in polysyllabic forms with identical vowels in both the final and the penultimate syllable. Where a high back vowel appears in both positions, the two become central vowels at the same time, as an additional syllable is added.

> *cwmwl* 'cloud' > *cymylu* 'to cloud over'

With high central vowels, however, the rule operates recursively, affecting the penultimate vowel first, and then the final vowel only when an additional syllable is added. The use of *y* for both vowels is confusing, but the normal conventions hold here; in *ynys* the first is to be interpreted as a central vowel, the second as a high vowel, while in *ynysu* both are central vowels.

> *ynys* 'island'   > *ynysu* 'to isolate'

Monosyllabic grammatical items

The form of certain 'grammatical' items changes predictably according to the context in which they appear. The definite article, and certain conjunctions, particles and pronouns are affected by a range of phonological, syntactic and lexical factors which determine the exact form of the item in each case. The resulting patterns are often complicated and unpredictable, and are found in the formal, standard language as well as in informal registers.

In some cases the crucial consideration is what follows. The conjunction 'and', for instance, appears as *ac* before a vowel but as *a* before a consonant.

> *afal   ac   oren*   ~   *ci   a   chath*
> apple and orange   ~   dog and cat
> 'an apple and an orange' ~   'a dog and a cat'

Clearly the phonological environment is important here, but it is not in fact the only relevant factor, since *ac* is found before a consonant in the case of certain lexical items.

> *ac   felly   bydd   angen   mynd   yno   heno*
> and so   will-be need   go   there   tonight
> '. . . and so it will be necessary to go there tonight'

The negative sentence-initial particle displays a similar pattern of alternation, appearing as *nid* before a vowel but as *ni* before a consonant.

> *Nid oes angen mynd.*   *Ni   fydd   angen mynd.*
> not is   need go   not will-be need   go
> 'There is no need to go.'   'There will be no need to go.'

Here again, however, there are complications. Exceptionally, the particle appears as *ni* before a vowel if the vowel is in word-initial position through the effect of the SM; *gall*

'can' (3 sg. pres.) undergoes SM to give *all*, but the particle behaves as if the consonant were still there and appears as *ni*.

> *Ni   all   neb   fynd.*
> not can no-one go
> 'No-one can go.'

Conversely, where a stressed element is moved to the beginning of the sentence, the particle appears as *nid* even before a consonant.

> *Nid merch   Siân sydd yn y   côr.*
> not daughter Siân is   in the choir
> 'It's not Siân's daughter who's in the choir.'

In other cases the pattern of variation relates to the preceding context. The three homophonous *yn* forms – the continuous aspect marker, the complementizer and the preposition *yn* 'in' – are all sensitive to the preceding context. They appear as *yn* following a consonant, but as *'n* where they follow a vowel.

> *Bydd   yn   canu'n y   cyngerdd.*
> will-be (he/she) contin. sing in the concert
> 'He/she will be singing in the concert.'

> *Mae'n   canu'n y   cyngerdd.*
> is (he/she) contin. sing in the concert
> 'He/she is singing in the concert.'

A number of possessive pronouns behave similarly, and in some cases there are further complications. The possessives *ei* 'his' and *ei* 'her', for instance, both appear as *ei* following a consonant, but as *'i* following a vowel. However, if they appear following the preposition *i* 'for/to' they take the form *'w*. Once again both phonological and lexical factors are involved.

> *am   ei blant   ~ gyda 'i blant   ~ i   'w blant*
> about his children ~ with his children ~ to/for his children
> 'about his children' ~ 'with his children' ~ 'to/for his children'

Dialect variation may also be relevant, with forms such as *i'w blant* being replaced in southern dialect by the nonstandard equivalent *iddi blant*. The definite article is the only item which takes account of both the preceding and the following context. If there is a preceding vowel then it appears as *'r*. If not, then it appears as *yr* before a vowel and as *y* before a consonant.

> *gyda 'r plant   ~ am   y   plant   ~ am   yr ysgol*
> with the children ~ about the children ~ about the school
> 'with the children' ~ 'about the children' ~ 'about the school'

One further complication is worth noting. Where two 'grammatical' items follow each other, the rules described above sometimes apply in an unexpected way. It might be

expected, for instance, that the sequence *ac eich* 'and your' would be accepted as it stands. The conjunction *ac* here is followed by a vowel, and the possessive *eich* 'your' follows a consonant. No change appears necessary. In fact, however, both items change, to give the wholly unexpected form *a'ch* 'and your'. The form *a* 'and' now appears before a consonant, and the form *'ch* follows a vowel. Somehow the rules have gone into overdrive, and each has applied on the assumption that the other has already done so. It is not clear why this should be the case, but it is a regular feature of such sequences of grammatical items in Welsh.

> *eich mam   a   'ch   tad*
> your mother and your father
> 'your mother and father'

MORPHOLOGY

There is a rich pattern of inflectional morphology in Welsh, affecting verbs, prepositions, nouns, adjectives, numerals and determiners. Person, number, gender and tense/aspect are all relevant. Derivational morphology is also productive, generating a wide range of related forms.

Inflectional morphology

The inflections found in the spoken language are different in some details from those of the standard written language, and in recent years it has become acceptable to use these variants in writing, where the situation calls for an informal style. In the discussion which follows, the forms of the standard, literary language are given, and where informal usage differs this is noted.

Verbs
The inflections on verbs vary according to the nature of the subject NP. The system is at its richest when the subject NP is a pronoun, as the verbal inflection displays agreement for both person and number. There are distinct forms for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, in both the singular and the plural, as can be seen from the past tense forms of *rhedeg* 'to run'.

> *rhedais* 'I ran', *rhedaist* 'you (sg.) ran', *rhedodd* 'he/she ran', *rhedasom* 'we ran', *rhedasoch* 'you (pl.) ran', *rhedasant* 'they ran'

The pronoun subject may appear in the normal subject position, immediately following the verb but it may equally well be dropped, leaving a gap in this position.

> *Rhedais   (i)   drwy'r ardd.*
> ran.1 sg. (I)   through the garden
> 'I ran through the garden.'

The Welsh pronoun system distinguishes between masculine and feminine in the 3 sg, but verbal inflections do not. As a result dropping a 3 sg. pronoun subject results in a certain ambiguity, which can only be resolved from the wider context.

> *Rhedodd   drwy   'r ardd.*
> ran.3 sg. (he/she) through the garden
> 'He/she ran through the garden.'

Agreement with a following noun subject is limited, in that the verb always appears with a 3 sg. inflection, and this regardless of whether the subject is singular or plural.

> *Rhedodd y   bachgen/y bechgyn   drwy'r   ardd.*
> ran.3 sg.   the boy/the boys   through the   garden
> 'The boy(s) ran through the garden.'

There is in addition a further inflectional form, known traditionally as the impersonal, which acknowledges the existence of an unspecified subject, but provides no further information about it: *rhedwyd* 'X ran'. A verb displaying an impersonal inflection always appears alone, and is never followed by an overt subject.

> *Rhedwyd   drwy'r   ardd.*
> ran.impers. through the garden
> 'X ran through the garden.'

Verbal inflections also specify the tense and aspect of the sentence. Most lexical verbs have a choice of three different forms – the present, which is semantically often more of a future, the imperfect, and the past. These are illustrated here by the relevant 1 sg. forms of *rhedeg* 'to run'.

> *rhedaf* 'I run/will run', *rhedwn* 'I was running/used to run', *rhedais* 'I ran'

There is a fourth inflection, the pluperfect, but this is found only in very formal, literary registers of Welsh.

> *rhedaswn* 'I had run'

A wider range of tense and aspect distinctions is found in the case of *bod* 'to be' – a straightforward present, a future which is also a habitual present, a straightforward imperfect, a habitual imperfect, and a past.

> *wyf* 'I am', *byddaf* 'I will be/I habitually am', *oeddwn* 'I was', *byddwn* 'I used to be', *bûm* 'I was'

Here again there is additionally a pluperfect form which is used only in formal, literary registers of Welsh.

> *buaswn* 'I had been'

Compound verbs which contain *bod*, such as *adnabod* 'to know a person/place' and *gwybod* 'to know a fact' share some, though not all, of these tense and aspect possibilities. A small number of verbs are defective, and do not appear in all the expected tense and aspect forms.

Occasionally verbal inflections may take account of factors not usually relevant. The 3 sg. present form of *bod* 'to be' is exceptional in this way. The normal, unmarked case is *mae*, but in a range of sentence types which include copulas with a preposed complement, negatives and questions, it is realized rather as *yw.* Where the sentence negates or questions the existence of an indefinite subject, the verb form is *oes*. And finally in a relative clause we find *sydd*. Similar patterning holds of the corresponding plural forms. Such a complex set of inflections is rare, however.

Subjunctive inflections are found only in the Present/Future and the Imperfect, and are not widely used, being confined in modern usage to a small number of productive constructions, such as unreal conditional clauses following *pe* 'if'.

> *pe bai   mwy o   amser gennym ni . . .*
> if   were   more of time   with.1 pl. us . . .
> 'If we had more time . . .'

They also appear in fixed expressions, such as wishes.

> *Duw faddeuo i   ti!*
> God   forgive   to you
> 'May God forgive you!'

For the most part Imperative forms are identical to those found in the Present/Future Indicative, with *cenwch* being used to express both the statement 'you.pl. sing', and the command 'sing.2 pl'. In the 2 sg. the forms used differ; in a statement we find *ceni* 'you. sg. sing' but in the imperative *cân* 'sing.2 sg'. There is additionally an Impersonal Imperative form, conveying the view that something should happen, but not specifying who is to carry out this action, as in *caner* 'sing.impers'.

The verb is not always inflected, and in many contexts one finds rather the uninflected verb noun (VN). This conveys only the lexical meaning of the verb, and conveys no features of tense or aspect, and no information as to the person or number of the subject. The form of a verb-noun is unpredictable and irregular. It may correspond to the stem of the inflected verb, or minor phonological alternations may occur.

> *dangos*   'to show'   ~ *dangosais*   'I showed'
> *cyffwrdd* 'to touch'   ~ *cyffyrddais* 'I touched'

There are also some very irregular forms, where the verb-noun has no obvious link to the inflected forms.

> *mynd* 'to go'   ~ *aethum*   'I went'
> *dod*   'to come' ~ *daethum*   'I came'

Prepositions

Prepositions are inflected when followed by a pronoun object, and the inflections reflect the person, number and gender of this pronoun. There are distinct forms for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person in the singular and plural, and in the 3 sg. there are distinct forms for masculine and feminine. The range of possibilities is illustrated here by the forms of *at* 'to'.

ataf 'to me', *atat* 'to you.sg.', *ato* 'to him', *ati* 'to her', *atom* 'to us', *atoch* 'to you. pl.', *atynt* 'to them'

The pronoun object may appear in the normal position following the preposition, or it may be dropped, leaving a gap in this position.

Ysgrifennodd   y   ferch   ato   (fe).
wrote   the girl   to.3 sg. m. (him)
'The girl wrote to him.'

There is no equivalent of the impersonal inflection found with verbs, and it is not possible to indicate that there is an unspecified prepositional object, about which no further information can be given. If the object of the preposition is a noun, then there is no inflection and the preposition appears in citation form.

Ysgrifennodd   y   ferch   at   y   brifysgol.
wrote   the girl   to the university
'The girl wrote to the university.'

A few prepositions such as *gyda* 'with' do not inflect, and remain in citation form regardless of what follows.

gyda fi 'with me', *gyda ni* 'with us', *gyda chi* 'with you.pl.', *gyda'r plant* 'with the children'

A very few prepositions are sensitive to the definiteness of the following noun. The form *yn* 'in' appears only before a definite NP, and conversely *mewn* 'in' is found only before an indefinite NP.

yn yr ystafell arall ~ *mewn ystafell arall*
in the room other   ~   in room other
'in the other room' ~ 'in another room'

Dialectally in parts of south Wales, another pair of forms displays a similar alternation, with *ar* 'on' appearing only before definite NPs and *acha* 'on' before indefinites. In the standard language *ar* is found in all contexts.

Nouns
Nouns are marked for number, and for the most part have distinct forms for singular and plural. The basic form of the noun is usually the singular, and it may be pluralized by the addition of a suffix, or by a suffix and a changed vowel.

afal 'apple'   ~ *afalau*   'apples'
iaith 'language' ~ *ieithoedd* 'languages'

A substantial minority of nouns display the reverse pattern, whereby the plural form is basic, and the singular is formed through the addition of a suffix, or a suffix and a changed vowel.

> *moch* 'pigs'   ~ *mochyn* 'pig'
> *dail*   'leaves' ~ *deilen*   'leaf'

In some cases there is no obvious basic form, as singular and plural are each marked with a suffix.

> *cwningen* 'rabbit' ~ *cwningod* 'rabbits'

Or the distinction between singular and plural is marked by a changed vowel, with the singular traditionally regarded as the basic form.

> *ffordd* 'road' ~ *ffyrdd* 'roads'

Most nouns have only one plural form, but there are exceptions. In some cases one form is typical of the formal, standard language while the other is found in informal usage or regional dialect. The noun *blwyddyn* 'year', for instance, has the standard plural form *blynyddoedd* 'years', but the informal/regional plural *blynyddau* is also in common use. In other cases the situation is more complicated as the singular form in fact represents two homophonic nouns, each of which has a different plural. The singular form *cyngor* 'council/advice' is thus pluralized as *cynghorau* 'councils' and *cynghorion* 'words of advice'.

Not all nouns, however, have both a singular and a plural form. Many abstract nouns such as *tywydd* 'weather' have no plural, and neither do many mass nouns such as *bara* 'bread'. In other cases the lack appears to be an idiosyncratic feature of the individual lexical item. The northern forms *nain* 'grandmother' and *taid* 'grandfather' pluralize readily, to give *neiniau* 'grandmothers' and *teidiau* 'grandfathers', but the equivalent southern items *mamgu* 'grandmother' and *tadcu* 'grandfather' have no plural form. There is clearly no semantic basis for this gap, and it appears that the internal compound N + Adj structure of these nouns interferes in some way with pluralization. The reverse situation holds with respect to the plural form *gwartheg* 'cattle', which has no natural singular equivalent, so that referring to a single beast requires the use of a more specific singular form, such as *buwch* 'cow', *tarw* 'bull' or *llo* 'calf'. Gaps of this kind are not a permanent, unchanging feature of the language, however. Traditionally it was assumed, for instance, that the plural form *rhieni* 'parents' had no singular equivalent, but today the singular *rhiant* 'parent' is used freely in contexts such as *rhiant sengl* 'single parent'.

For the most part the choice of plural marker is arbitrary, but occasionally one appears to have a semantic link. The affix *-od*, for instance, is usually found with nouns referring to animals, as in *llewod* 'lions', *cathod* 'cats', *buchod* 'cows'. The link is not found in all cases, however, and is by no means uniform. Some animals such as *ceffylau* 'horses' are pluralized with other suffixes, and some items such as *babanod* 'babies', which are not animals, take the suffix *-od*.

All nouns in Welsh are either masculine or feminine, and this classification affects their behaviour with respect to a range of grammatical rules. It is not, however, marked overtly in most cases. There is nothing in the form of the word which will reveal that *mynydd* 'mountain' is masculine, while *afon* 'river' is feminine. A few affixes are gender-specific, as for instance the singular suffixes *-yn* (m.) and *-en* (f.). Thus *aderyn* 'bird' is masculine, while *deilen* 'leaf' is feminine. A small number of words such as *cyngerdd* 'concert' have variable gender, being accepted as both masculine and feminine in standard usage. Normally words referring to a male living being, whether human or not, are masculine and words referring to a female are feminine. Grammatical gender, however, does not always

correspond to real-life sex. The masculine noun *eryr* 'eagle' may refer to a bird of either sex, as may the feminine noun *mwyalchen* 'blackbird'. In the case of human beings most examples of this kind involve a masculine noun which can refer not only to men or boys but also to women or girls, as with *plentyn* 'child', *meddyg* 'doctor' or *swyddog* 'officer'.

Adjectives
The number and gender features of nouns, described above, have important implications for adjectives, which still display residual patterns of agreement with nouns, in both number and gender. The basic form of the adjective is normally the singular, and the plural may be formed either by the addition of a suffix, or the addition of a suffix and a changed vowel.

> *du* (sg.) ~ *duon* (pl.) 'black'
> *trwm* (sg.) ~ *trymion* (pl.) 'heavy'

In other cases only a changed vowel distinguishes the singular and plural forms.

> *arall* (sg.) ~ *eraill* (pl.) 'other'

Where gender is marked in adjectives, it always involves a changed vowel.

> *tlws* (m.) ~ *tlos* (f.) 'pretty'

An adjective may then agree in number with a plural noun, but this is rare in the modern language, and only *arall* 'other' regularly pluralizes in a fully natural way. For the most part plural adjectives are confined to fixed idiomatic phrases.

> *mwyar   duon*
> berries   black (pl.)
> 'blackberries'

They do appear still in specialized registers such as the Welsh of the Bible, but are felt to be stiff and old-fashioned. In modern usage a plural noun may appear freely with a singular adjective.

> *llygaid   glas*
> eyes   blue (sg.)
> 'blue eyes'

Equally, in predicative position, a plural noun subject will normally take a singular adjective. If the adjective is pluralized, the effect is old-fashioned and literary in the extreme.

> *Mae 'r cymylau yn   ddu/*dduon*
> is   the clouds   comp black (sg.)/*black (pl.)
> 'The clouds are black.'

Gender agreement too is increasingly rare in modern Welsh, though a small number of adjectives appear naturally in both forms.

> *pellter   byr   ~ taith   fer*
> distance short (m.)   journey short (f.)
> 'a short distance'   'a short journey'

Here again, for the most part the feminine forms are confined to fixed idiomatic phrases, or old-fashioned, Biblical style.

> *buwch goch   gota*
> cow   red   short (f.)
> 'ladybird'

In predicative position, too, the masculine form is normal even when referring to a feminine noun subject, and a feminine adjective is odd and old-fashioned.

> *Mae 'r   ferch yn   gryf   / *yn gref*
> is   the girl comp strong (m.) / *strong (f.)
> 'The girl is strong.'

Adjectives are marked in Welsh for four degrees of comparison – basic, equative, comparative and superlative. In some cases this is done by means of suffixes, which are attached to the basic form, and in others by the use of independent adverbial forms.

> *Mae 'r   bachgen cyn gryfed   /mor ddiog â   fi*
> is   the boy   as   strong.eq. /as   lazy   as me
> 'The boy is as strong/as lazy as me.'

> *Mae 'r   bachgen yn   gryfach /fwy   diog na   fi*
> is   the boy   comp. stronger /more lazy than me
> 'The boy is stronger/lazier than me.'

> *Hwn yw 'r   bachgen cryfaf   /mwyaf diog*
> this is   the boy   strongest /most   lazy
> 'This one is the strongest/laziest boy.'

In some varieties of informal Welsh there is mixing of the two types, with forms such as *mor gryfed* 'as strong' where both the equative suffix and the equative adverbial appear together. There are in addition a number of irregular adjectives where the equative, comparative and superlative cannot be predicted from the basic form.

> *da* 'good', *cystal* 'as good', *gwell* 'better', *gorau* 'best'

These irregular forms are often replaced in regional dialect and informal speech by regularized equivalents. The adjective *hen* 'old', for example, has traditional irregular forms such as *hŷn* 'older' and *hynaf* 'oldest', but in informal speech these are often replaced by *henach* and *henaf*. Adjectives denoting degrees of comparison have no distinct forms marking number or gender.

Numbers
Gender agreement with a following noun is found only in three numerals, *dau* (m.) / *dwy* (f.) 'two', *tri* (m.) / *tair* (f.) 'three', *pedwar* (m.) / *pedair* (f.) 'four'.

> *tri   bachgen   ~   tair   merch*
> three (m.) boy   ~   three (f.) girl
> 'three boys' ~ 'three girls'

All other numerals have one form only and take no account of gender.

> *ugain   bachgen ~   ugain   merch*
> twenty boy   ~   twenty   girl
> 'twenty boys'   ~   'twenty girls'

Note that the noun following a numeral is itself always singular, although clearly referring to more than one entity. The number system in Welsh is complex and will be explored in more detail later (see pp. 419–22).

Demonstratives
Demonstratives display agreement with nouns in number, and in the singular in gender too. The difference is expressed in all cases by a change in the vowel.

> *y   bachgen hwn*   ~ *y   ferch hon*   ~ *y   plant   hyn*
> the boy   this (m.sg.) ~ the girl   this (f.sg.) ~ the children these (pl.)
> 'this boy'   ~ 'this girl'   ~ 'these children'

The usual loss of agreement in the modern language is found here too, however, in the tendency in less formal usage to replace *hwn ~ hon ~ hyn* with *yma* 'here', which shows no agreement at all.

Pronouns
Distinct pronouns are found for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person in both singular and plural. In the 3 sg. they also distinguish masculine and feminine; there is no gender distinction in the 1st and 2nd person, nor in the 3rd person plural.

> *fi* (1 sg.), *ti* (2 sg.), *ef* (3 sg. m.), *hi* (3 sg. f.), *ni* (1 pl.), *chi* (2 pl.), *hwy* (3 pl.)

The pronoun forms shown here are known traditionally as Independent Pronouns, and are used in contexts where they stand alone in the sentence. They appear, for instance, in the object position in a simple VSO sentence.

> *Gwyliodd y   ferch ef   yn ofalus.*
> watched   the girl   him carefully
> 'The girl watched him carefully'

They also appear in sentence-initial position when fronted under contrastive stress, as the answer to a question, and after a noninflecting preposition.

Chi   ddarllenodd y   llythyr.
you.pl. read.past   the letter
'It's you that read the letter.'

Pwy ddarllenodd y   llythyr? Fi.
Who read.past   the letter?   Me
'Who read the letter? Me.'

. . . gyda ni
. . . with   us
'. . . with us'

There are, alongside these simple independent pronouns, two other forms which are used similarly but have additional semantic features. The first set, known as conjunctive pronouns, imply an element of contrast, as *minnau* (1 sg.) 'I on the other hand/I also'. The second set, the reduplicative pronouns, are used to convey stress, as *myfi* (1 sg.) 'me, and not anyone else'.

Where the pronoun follows an inflected form, repeating the information already provided, its form is slightly different. The 1 sg. pronoun, for instance, appears not as *fi* but rather as *i* when following a verbal inflection.

Darllenais i lyfr   diddorol
read.1 sg.   I book   interesting
'I read an interesting book.'

Similarly this is the form found following a prepositional inflection.

Ysgrifennodd y   ferch ata   i.
wrote   the girl   to.1 sg. me
'The girl wrote to me.'

Pronouns in this position can, as noted above, be optionally dropped, as the information they convey is, for the most part, already provided in the preceding inflection.

Two other sets of pronouns are rather more distinctive. A possessive pronoun must precede the head noun, and these have a very different form.

fy 'my', *dy* 'your (sg.)', *ei* 'his', *ei* 'her', *ein* 'our', *eich* 'your (pl.)', *eu* 'their'

This possessive may appear alone, or there may be a further pronoun form, semantically identical to the possessive, which follows the head noun, and takes the same form as those pronouns which follow an inflection.

fy   llyfr   (i)
my   book   (me)
'my book'

Interestingly the object of a VN takes the form of a possessive, and so too does the pronoun subject of the VN *bod* 'to be' in nominal clauses where the VN replaces the inflected verb.

Mae 'r ferch wedi fy   ngweld (i).
is   the girl   perf. my see (me)
'The girl has seen me'.

Dywedodd Ifan ei   bod (hi) wedi mynd.
said   Ifan her be (she) perf. go
'Ifan said that she had gone.'

These possessive pronouns are replaced in certain kinds of nonstandard usage by the independent pronouns. The independent pronoun appears following the head noun in the position normal to a full NP.

llyfr   fi
book   me
'my book'

Similarly the independent pronoun appears following the VN, in the same position as a full NP object would appear, and following the VN *bod* where a full subject NP would normally appear.

Mae 'r   ferch wedi gweld fi.
is   the girl   perf. see   me
'The girl has seen me.'

Dywedodd Ifan fod hi wedi mynd.
said   Ifan be she perf. go
'Ifan said that she had gone.'

This usage with VNs is common in informal speech, and long established in dialect. With nouns is appears to be a more recent development, characteristic of children's speech, and is widely condemned as unacceptable.

One further variant occurs where a possessive pronoun preceding a Noun or VN cliticizes to a preceding word, and the form taken is again distinctive.

'm (1 sg.), *'th* (2 sg.), *'i* (3 sg. m.), *'i* (3 sg. f.), *'n* (1 pl.*)*, *'ch* (2 pl.), *'u* (3 pl.).

This may happen, for instance, following a conjuction such as *a* 'and'.

fy   llyfr a   'm nodiadau
my book and my notes
'my book and notes'

Similar forms are found where the pronoun object of a VSO sentence is moved into clitic position following a sentence-initial particle.

Fe 'm gwelodd y   ferch.
pos. me saw   the girl
'The girl saw me.'

Here too there may be a semantically identical pronoun copy following the noun or VN, or in the original object position.

Regardless of the precise form of the pronoun and where it appears in the sentence, certain patterns of usage hold throughout the language. The 2nd person forms *ti* and *chi* can both be used when speaking to a single individual, and have the effect of marking the relationship either as close and friendly, or as more formal and respectful. The 2 sg. form *ti* is used when speaking to a friend or colleague, a close relation or a child; the 2 pl. form *chi* is used when speaking to a comparative stranger, or someone whose status requires respect, such as a manager in the workplace. In regional dialect additional levels of closeness or formality can be expressed. In north Wales the pronoun form *chdi* expresses closeness and informality, alongside *ti*. In parts of south and west Wales the 3 sg. pronouns, *fe* and *hi*, are used when addressing another person, though the effect of this usage appears to vary. In some areas *fe* and *hi* are felt to mark a closer and more informal relationship than *ti*, while in others *ti* is the more familiar form.

Usage of gender-marked 3 sg. pronouns is straightforward. The masculine pronoun *ef* 'he' may refer back to a semantically masculine noun such as *bachgen* 'boy' or to an arbitrarily masculine noun such as *tŷ* 'house'; equally the form *hi* 'she' may refer back to a semantically feminine noun such as *merch* 'girl', or to an arbitrarily feminine noun such as *ystafell* 'room'. Where the grammatical gender of the noun does not match the real-life sex of the person referred to, pronoun usage will be in terms of real-life sex, as here where the masculine noun *meddyg* 'doctor' is used of a woman.

> *Mae'r meddyg yn   dweud y   bydd   hi'n barod mewn munud.*
> is the doctor   contin. say   that will-be she comp. ready in minute
> 'The doctor says that she will be ready in a minute.'

There is no neutral pronoun in Welsh, corresponding to 'it' in English. Where the 3 sg. pronoun is semantically empty, as in sentences commenting on the time or the weather, Welsh consistently uses *hi* 'she'.

> *Mae (hi)   'n   heulog.*
> is   (she) comp. sunny
> 'It's sunny.'

This too is the form used if a nominal clause has been moved to the right leaving a gap in subject position.

> *Mae (hi)   'n   amlwg y   bydd   angen mwy o   amser.*
> is   (she) comp. clear   that will-be need   more of time
> 'It's clear that more time will be needed.'

The forms shown above are characteristic of formal, standard Welsh. In the spoken language and informal writing *ef* (3 sg. m.) is replaced by regionally marked forms, *fo/o* in north Wales and *fe/e* in the south. The forms *fo/fe* are used if the preceding word ends in a vowel, while *o/e* are used if the preceding word ends in a consonant. The form *hwy* (3 pl.) is also characteristic of formal, written Welsh, and is replaced in most informal usage by *nhw*. Informal speech in south Wales replaces the 1 sg. possessive pronoun *fy* by *yn*.

Cymraeg Byw

In the 1960s a view developed that some aspects of the inflectional morphology of formal, written Welsh were far removed from the natural spoken language and were causing difficulties for children learning to read in school and for adults learning Welsh as a second language. It was decided to recommend a slightly simplified set of forms, closer to natural spoken Welsh, to be used in materials aimed at children and adult learners, to bridge the gulf between informal speech and formal literary conventions. This move aroused considerable controversy at the time, but since then the forms recommended have gradually been accepted into normal use, especially where the written material is relatively informal.

The changes involved relate in part to the use of informal pronoun forms such as *fe/e* in the south and *fo/o* in the north, and *nhw* rather than *hwy*. They also involve the use of non-literary inflections, as for instance the 1 pl. and 3 pl. inflections on verbs. The traditional literary forms have different inflections for these two forms; when the pronoun subject is dropped they are still different, and there is no confusion.

> *cawsom (ni)*   *cawsant (hwy)*
> got.1 pl. (we)   got.3 pl. (they)
> 'we got'   'they got'

The Cymraeg Byw forms have identical inflections for these two forms, as is natural in the spoken language, and as a result it is no longer possible to drop the pronoun subject. This is not an artificial development, but reflects the usage of the spoken language, where subject pronouns are generally retained.

> *cawson ni*   *cawson nhw*
> got.1 pl. we   got.3 pl. they
> 'we got'   'they got'

Other verbal inflections are affected, and so too are the inflections on prepositions. Some forms which were felt to be overly literary, such as the impersonal form of the verb, were simply dropped.

These conventions are still evolving, but it is worth bearing in mind that different levels of formality are now found in written Welsh, and that it is no longer felt that only the literary, traditional standard is acceptable.

Derivational morphology

Derivational morphology is very productive in Welsh, with widespread use of both prefixes and suffixes. Prefixes modify the meaning of the basic word, but generally preserve the original part of speech; a noun remains a noun, an adjective is still an adjective and a verb still a verb, though a small number of prefixes do change the part of speech of the basic word, for the most part changing a noun into an adjective.

> *marchnad* 'market'   >   *archfarchnad* 'supermarket'
> *llawn* 'full'   >   *gorlawn* 'overfull'
> *digwydd* 'to happen'   >   *cyd-ddigwydd* 'to coincide'

angen	'need'	>	*diangen* 'unnecessary'
môr	'sea'	>	*tanfor* 'submarine'
oed	'age'	>	*cyfoed* 'of the same age'

Many suffixes also preserve the part of speech of the basic word, while modifying its meaning.

gair	'word'	>	*geirfa* 'vocabulary'
oer	'cold'	>	*oerllyd* 'chilly'
gorwedd	'to lie'	>	*gorweddian* 'to laze about'

It is common, however, for suffixes to change the part of speech of the basic word. A noun may become an adjective or a verb; an adjective may become a noun or a verb; a verb may become a noun or an adjective.

eglwys	'church'	>	*eglwysig* 'ecclesiastical'
pysgod	'fish'	>	*pysgota* 'to fish'
tawel	'quiet'	>	*tawelwch* 'quietness'
byr	'short'	>	*byrhau* 'to shorten'
trin	'to treat'	>	*triniaeth* 'treatment'
derbyn	'to receive'	>	*derbyniol* 'acceptable'

Nor is this process limited to one affix only. Several suffixes may be added in turn, gradually extending the basic word.

môr	'sea'	>	*morwr* 'sailor'	>	*morwriaeth* 'seamanship'
gwlad	'country'	>	*gwleidydd* 'politician'	>	*gwleidyddiaeth* 'politics'
gwas	'servant'	>	*gwasanaeth* 'service'	>	*gwasanaethu* 'to serve'

It does not appear possible for more than one prefix to be added to the same basic word, but it is common to find both a prefix and a suffix in the same form. Usually it appears that the suffix has been added first, and then the prefix.

canol	'middle	>	*canoli* 'to centralize'	>	*datganoli* 'to decentralize'
llwyth	'load'	>	*llwytho* 'to load'	>	*gorlwytho* 'to overload'
môr	'sea'	>	*morio* 'to sail'	>	*mewnforio* 'to import'

In other cases it is not so clear which of the affixes is added first, as alternative derivations can be constructed.

cof	'memory'	>	*cofio* 'to remember'	>	*anghofio* 'to forget'
cof	'memory'	>	*angof* 'forgetfulness'	>	*anghofio* 'to forget'

Affixation is not the only way in which new words are created in Welsh; there is also extensive use of compounding. In the case of nouns there are two distinct types of compound. In the first type, two elements combine into a single word, which has the normal penultimate word stress, and the meaning of the compound is often not predictable from the meaning of the individual elements.

bron	'breast'	+	*braith*	'speckled'	>	*bronfraith*	'thrush'
tafod	'tongue'	+	*iaith*	'language'	>	*tafodiaith*	'dialect'
cefn	'back'	+	*tir*	'land'	>	*cefndir*	'background'

In the second type of compounding the elements which are combined remain as separate words, each with its own word stress, but here again the overall meaning is not necessarily predictable from the meaning of the elements which appear.

tŷ	'house'	+	*bach*	'little'	>	*tŷ bach*	'toilet'
tân	'fire'	+	*gwyllt*	'wild'	>	*tân gwyllt*	'fireworks'
bad	'boat'	+	*achub*	'save'	>	*bad achub*	'lifeboat'

There are indeed cases where the same elements may be combined in either way, to convey the same meaning.

tro	'turn'	+	*pwll*	'pool'	>	*trobwll*	'whirlpool'
pwll	'pool'	+	*tro*	'turn'	>	*pwll tro*	'whirlpool'

Compound verbs too may appear either as a single word or as a phrase, and where the phrasal type occurs it is usually a sequence of two verbs, one after the other.

llon	'happy'	+	*cyfarch*	'to greet'	>	*llongyfarch*	'to congratulate'
hap	'chance'	+	*chwarae*	'to play'	>	*hapchwarae*	'to gamble'
llafar	'spoken'	+	*canu*	'to sing'	>	*llafarganu*	'to chant'
crafu	'to scratch'	+	*byw*	'to live'	>	*crafu byw*	'to live in poverty'
pisio	'to piss'	+	*bwrw*	'to rain'	>	*pisio bwrw*	'to rain heavily'
beichio	'to cry'	+	*crio*	'to cry'	>	*beichio crio*	'to sob'

Compound adjectives usually consist of a single word, with a single word stress.

boch	'cheek'	+	*coch*	'red'	>	*bochgoch*	'rosy cheeked'
byr	'short'	+	*pwyll*	'sense'	>	*byrbwyll*	'hasty'
llaw	'hand'	+	*trwm*	'heavy'	>	*llawdrwm*	'heavy handed'

One result of the readiness with which Welsh creates new words through affixation and compounding is that words which are sematically related are also similar in form. The vocabulary as a whole is therefore much more transparent than is the case in English, which relies heavily on the use of loan elements of Greek and Latin origin. As an example of this, take the following items, all of which in Welsh are derived from the basic word *gwaith* 'work', alongside their English equivalents, which are much less obviously related.

gweithio	'to work'
diwaith	'unemployed'
gweithgarwch	'activity'
cydweithio	'to co-operate'
prif weithredwr	'chief executive'

SYNTAX

There is a long-established standard form of Welsh syntax, based in the main on the Welsh of the Bible. Regional variation in the spoken language does exist, and forms are accepted in casual registers which differ from this literary standard. In the discussion which follows, the traditional, literary standard is taken as the norm, but where there are clear differences in regional dialect or casual usage this is noted.

Word order

Word order in Welsh is relatively rigid, and basic simple sentences display VSO word order. An inflected verb appears in initial position, followed in turn by the subject and the object, with PPs or adverbs following these core elements.

> *Rhedodd   y   bachgen   drwy'r   ardd.*
> ran   the boy   through the garden
> 'The boy ran through the garden.'

> *Darllenodd   y   ferch   y   llythyr   yn ofalus.*
> read   the girl   the letter   carefully
> 'The girl read the letter carefully.'

The verb may optionally be preceded by a particle overtly marking the sentence as a positive statement, though this makes no difference to the meaning. There is a tendency for the particle to take the form *mi* in north Wales, and *fe* in the south, though there is some variation.

> *Mi   redodd   y   bachgen   drwy'r   ardd.*
> pos. ran   the boy   through the garden
> 'The boy ran through the garden.'

> *Fe   ddarllenodd   y   ferch   y   llythyr   yn ofalus.*
> pos. read   the girl   the letter   carefully
> 'The girl read the letter carefully.'

Not all simple sentences, however, display this straightforward VSO pattern. The range of tense and aspect combinations which can be expressed by inflected verbs is limited, and others are expressed through the medium of a different sentence type – the periphrastic sentence. In these an inflected form of *bod* 'to be' appears in initial position, followed by the subject. This in turn is followed by an aspect particle, either *yn* (continuous) or *wedi* (perfective), an uninflected verb form which is known traditionally as the verb noun (VN), and then the object. PPs or adverbs again follow these core elements.

> *Bydd   y   bachgen   yn   rhedeg   drwy'r   ardd*
> will-be the boy   contin.   run   through the garden
> 'The boy will be running through the garden.'

Mae'r   ferch wedi darllen   y   llythyr yn ofalus.
is   the girl   perf. read   the letter   carefully
'The girl has read the letter carefully.'

Here too a particle may appear in sentence-initial position, making no difference to the meaning of the sentence, though the detail of which particle is found varies according to the specific form of *bod* used.

Fe   fydd   y   bachgen yn   rhedeg drwy 'r   ardd.
pos. will-be the boy   contin. run   through the garden
'The boy will be running through the garden.'

Y   mae'r ferch wedi darllen y   llythyr yn ofalus.
pos. is the girl   perf. read   the letter   carefully
'The girl has read the letter carefully.'

An adjectival or nominal complement appears following the subject or object, and is introduced by the complementizer *yn*, which is homophonous with, but distinct from, the continuous aspect marker *yn* already mentioned. Note that only indefinite NPs may appear in this position. The position over definite complements will be discussed later, in the section on Stress and Fronting.

Mae 'r llyfr yn   ddiddorol.
is   the book comp. interesting
'The book is interesting.'

Penododd   y   pwyllgor Aled yn   brifathro.
appointed   the committee Aled comp. headmaster
'The committee appointed Aled headmaster.'

Word order in NPs is also rigid. The definite determiner appears in initial position, and may be followed in turn by a numeral and one of a small number of adjectives which precede the noun. There is no indefinite determiner in Welsh.

y   ddau hen lyfr   *dau hen lyfr*
the two   old   book   two old   book
'the two old books'   'two old books'

Most adjectives follow the noun, and there may be a sequence of more than one. They may co-occur freely with those elements which precede the noun.

y   ddau hen lyfr   mawr trwm
the two   old   book big   heavy
'the two big heavy old books'

A demonstrative must co-occur with a definite determiner, but itself appears in final position, after all other elements.

    yr hen lyfr   mawr hwn
    the old book big   this
    'this big old book'

Other modifying elements, such as Ns, VNs and PPs follow the noun, in the same position as adjectives.

    y   llyfr   lluniau
    the book   pictures
    'the picture book'

    y   papur ysgrifennu
    the paper write
    'the writing paper'

    y   ddrama gan Islwyn Davies
    the play   by Islwyn Davies
    'the play by Islwyn Davies'

Possessives also follow the head noun, but in this case there is no overt determiner in initial position in the NP. If the possessor is indefinite, the whole NP is indefinite; if the possessor is definite, the whole NP is definite.

    llyfr   plentyn   *llyfr   y   plentyn*
    book   child   book   the child
    'a child's book'   'the child's book'

If an adjective is modified, the position of the modifier is lexically determined. Some items such as *iawn* 'very' follow the adjective, while others such as *rhy* 'too' precede, and this is true both for adjectives in complement position, and those within a NP.

    Mae 'r llyfr yn   ddiddorol iawn.
    is   the book comp. interesting very
    'The book is very interesting.'

    llyfr diddorol   iawn
    book   interesting very
    'a very interesting book'

    Mae 'r llyfr yn   rhy ddrud.
    is   the book comp. too expensive
    'The book is too expensive.'

    llyfr rhy ddrud
    book too expensive
    'too expensive a book'

Verb nouns

The uninflected verb, or VN, is widely used in a variety of different contexts. As already noted in the previous section, certain tense and aspect features cannot be expressed by an inflected verb; they are instead realized by an inflected form of the verb *bod* 'to be' and an aspect marker, with the lexical verb realized as a VN.

> *Mae Ifan yn   darllen y   llythyr.*
> is   Ifan contin. read   the letter
> 'Ifan is reading the letter.'

> *Mae Ifan wedi darllen y   llythyr.*
> is   Ifan perf. read   the letter
> 'Ifan has read the letter.'

Inflected forms of *gwneud* 'to do' may also be combined with the lexical VN to convey a range of tense and aspect meanings, particularly in relatively informal registers.

> *Fe   wnaf   i ddarllen y   llythyr.*
> pos. will-do I read   the letter.
> 'I will read the letter.'

> *Fe   wnaeth e ddarllen y   llythyr.*
> pos. did   he read   the letter
> 'He read the letter.'

In north Wales usage the past tense may be expressed by the form *ddaru* with a following VN. *Ddaru* derives from the past tense of *darfod* 'to happen', which has become fossilized as a past tense marker in the north, and does not change to reflect person or number.

> *Ddaru   mi ddarllen y   llythyr.*
> happened   me read   the   letter
> 'I read the letter.'

> *Ddaru   hi   ddarllen y   llythyr.*
> happened   she read   the   letter
> 'She read the letter.'

VNs are used freely as the subject or object of the sentence, or the object of a preposition.

> *Mae 'n   rhaid   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.*
> is   comp. necessary use   computer
> 'It's necesary to use a computer.'

> *Bwriada Ifan   ddefnyddio   cyfrifiadur.*
> intends   Ifan use   computer
> 'Ifan intends to use a computer.'

Mae Ifan   am   ddefnyddio   cyfrifiadur.
is   Ifan   for   use   computer
'Ifan would like to use a computer.'

In none of these examples is there an overt subject attached to the VN, either because it is unspecified, or because it is identical to that of the sentence as a whole. Where it is necessary to specify the subject, this is found in a PP as the object of the preposition *i* 'for', and the VN is then subject to initial mutation.

Mae 'n   rhaid   i   chi ddefnyddio cyfrifiadur.
is   comp. necessary for   you use   computer
'It's necessary for you to use a computer.'

Bwriada Ifan i   chi ddefnyddio   cyfrifiadur.
intends   Ifan for you use   computer
'Ifan intends you to use a computer.'

Mae Ifan   am i   chi ddefnyddio cyfrifiadur.
is   Ifan   for for you use   computer
'Ifan would like you to use a computer.'

The VN is also used optionally in conjoined sentences where the second clause has the same subject as the first, and the two clauses have the same tense and aspect features. The verb of the second clause may be retained in full or reduced to a VN, with neither the subject nor the tense and aspect of the second conjunct marked overtly, as they are entirely predictable from the first clause.

Agorais   y   drws ac   edrychais   allan.
opened.1 sg. (I) the   door and looked.1 sg. (I) out
'I opened the door and looked out.'

Agorais   y   drws   ac   edrych allan.
opened.1 sg. (I) the   door   and   look   out
'I opened the door and looked out.'

In longer, more complex conjoined sentences where the same subject and the same tense and aspect features are found in every clause, all but the first inflected verb may be reduced in this way to a VN, with no overt marking of the subject or tense and aspect.

Agorais   y   drws, edrychais   allan, a   gwelais   yr eira.
opened.1 sg. (I) the   door, looked.1 sg. (I) out,   and saw.1 sg. (I) the snow.
'I opened the door, looked out and saw the snow.'

Agorais   y   drws, edrych allan, a   gweld yr   eira.
opened.1 sg. (I) the   door, look   out, and see   the snow.
'I opened the door, looked out and saw the snow.'

VNs are also used in nominal and adverbial clauses of certain types, and in passive sentences. These constructions will be discussed in later sections.

Negation

Negation may be expressed by a negative particle *ni/nid* in sentence-initial position, which triggers initial mutation of the verb.

> *Ni   allaf fynd   yno.*
> not   can (I) go   there
> 'I can't go there.'

This pattern is typical of the formal, written language, but is not the only way in which negation may be expressed in Welsh. In informal usage the particle is dropped, though the mutation it triggered remains, and an alternative negative particle *ddim* 'not' follows the subject.

> *Alla i   ddim mynd yno.*
> can   I   not   go   there
> 'I can't go there.'

Where the verb is transitive, a sentence-initial negative particle has no effect on the direct object, which appears in the normal position and undergoes the expected SM.

> *Ni   chafodd y   bachgen frechdan.*
> not   got   the boy   sandwich
> 'The boy didn't get a sandwich.'

Where *ddim* appears following the subject and preceding the object, in the informal equivalent, there are complications. An indefinite object merely follows *ddim*, and is no longer subject to SM.

> *Chafodd y   bachgen ddim brechdan.*
> got   the boy   not   sandwich
> 'The boy didn't get a sandwich.'

A definite object may also simply follow *ddim*, but is more often found in a PP, following the preposition *o* 'of', and the sequence *ddim o* is frequently abbreviated to the rather opaque form *mo*.

> *Chafodd y   bachgen ddim o   'r   brechdan.*
> got   the boy   not   of   the sandwich
> 'The boy didn't get the sandwich.'

> *Chafodd y   bachgen mo   'r   brechdan.*
> got   the boy   not-of the sandwich
> 'The boy didn't get the sandwich.'

Where an element is stressed and moved to the beginning of the sentence, the initial particle *nid* is always used. In informal, substandard usage it may be replaced by *ddim*, but here *ddim* must appear in initial position, not medially.

> *Nid y   bachgen oedd yn   bwyta brechdan.*
> not the boy   was   contin. eat   sandwich
> 'It wasn't the boy who was eating a sandwich.'

> *Ddim   y bachgen oedd   yn   bwyta brechdan.*
> not   the boy   was   contin. eat   sandwich
> 'It wasn't the boy who was eating a sandwich.'

A completely different type of negation, using the verb *peidio* 'to stop' as a negative marker, is found in the imperative. In old-fashioned, Biblical registers it is possible to negate an imperative by using a sentence-initial particle, but this is not a natural form in the contemporary language.

> *Na   ladd!*
> neg   kill 2 sg.
> 'Thou shalt not kill!'

In the modern language an inflected form of *peidio* appears as the main verb of the sentence, and the lexical verb is an uninflected VN. In the standard language the VN appears as the object of the preposition *â*; informal usage drops the *â*, but otherwise the sentence is identical.

> *Ewch   i   'r gwely!*
> go.2 pl. to   the bed.
> 'Go to bed!'

> *Peidiwch   (â)   mynd i   'r   gwely!*
> stop.2 pl. (with)   go   to   the bed
> 'Don't go to bed!'

On occasion the inflected form of *peidio* may appear alone, where the lexical verb is clearly understood from the context, as for instance when a child is doing something dangerous or socially unacceptable.

> *Paid!*
> stop (2 sg.)
> 'Don't!'

This pattern of negation using *peidio* is also found with uninflected VNs; and here again it may be used alone where the context makes clear the identity of the missing VN which should follow it.

> *Mae 'n   rhaid   i   chi fynd i   'r   gwely.*
> is   comp. necessary for you go   to   the bed
> 'It's necessary for you to go to bed.'

Mae 'n   rhaid   i   chi   beidio â   mynd i   'r   gwely.
is   comp. necessary for you   stop   with go   to   the bed
'It's necessary for you not to go to bed.'

Hoffwn   i   fynd i   'r   gwely, ond gwell i   fi   beidio.
would-like I   go   to the bed,   but better for me   stop
'I'd like to go to bed, but I'd better not.'

Regional dialect in south Wales displays a wide variety of different negative forms. In parts of west Glamorgan and eastern Carmarthenshire the form of the negative particle is *nage* rather than *ni/ni*.

Nag w   i   'n   gwybod.
not   am I   contin. know
'I don't know.'

In much of the south, however, a very different pattern is found, with *sa/so* in sentence-initial position, and this regardless of the person and number of the subject.

So   i   'n   gwybod.
be.pres-not I   contin. know
'I don't know.'

So   ni   'n   gwybod.
be.pres-not we   contin. know
'We don't know.'

So   chi   'n   gwybod.
be.pres-not you   contin. know.
'You don't know.'

In the south-west, in Pembrokeshire, this initial element is inflected to agree with the pronoun subject in person and number, and in the 3 sg. in gender too, not only in the present tense as here, but also in other tense and aspect forms.

Sana   i   'n   gwybod.
be.pres.1 sg.-not   I   contin. know
'I don't know.'

Sanon   ni   'n   gwybod.
be.pres.1 pl.-not we   contin. know
'We don't know.'

Sano   fe   'n   gwybod.
be.pres.3 sg. m.-not   he   contin. know
He doesn't know.'

Seni   hi   'n   gwybod.
be.pres.3 sg. f.-not   she contin. know
'She doesn't know.'

The forms illustrated above all have a pronoun subject, but there is also a regionally distinct form in the south-west where the subject is a noun. The particle *ddim* here appears before the subject rather than after it, as is normal in the standard language.

> *Welodd ddim   y   plant   y   ci.*
> saw   not   the children the dog
> 'The children didn't see the dog.'

Questions and answers

Word order does not differ as between a statement and the corresponding Yes/No question. Such questions are marked rather by a particle which appears in sentence-initial position, immediately before the inflected verb. This may remain overt, or be dropped, and in either case the verb is subject to initial mutation.

> *Gwelodd y   bachgen y   ddamwain.*
> saw   the boy   the accident
> 'The boy saw the accident.'

> *A   welodd   y   bachgen y   ddamwain?*
> Q   saw   the boy   the accident?
> 'Did the boy see the accident?'

> *Welodd   y   bachgen y   ddamwain?*
> (Q) saw   the   boy   the accident?
> 'Did the boy see the accident?'

If the particle is dropped and the verb does not have a mutatable initial segment, there is no overt marker of the question, beyond the appropriate intonation pattern.

> *Aeth   y   bachgen i   'r ysgol?*
> (Q) went   the boy   to the school
> 'Did the boy go to school?'

Welsh has no straightforward set of responses, corresponding to Yes and No in English, and in order to formulate the correct answer one must know what the question was. If the question contains an inflected verb in the past tense, the response will be a single word *Do* 'yes' or *Naddo* 'no', and this regardless of the person and number of the verbal inflection.

> *Welodd   hi   'r   ddamwain? Do/Naddo.*
> (Q) saw   she the   accident?   did/not-did
> 'Did she see the accident? Yes/No.'

> *Welsoch   chi 'r   ddamwain? Do/Naddo.*
> (Q) saw   you the   accident?   did/not-did
> 'Did you see the accident? Yes/No.'

Other tense and aspect combinations require the answer to echo the form of the verb used in the question, but the answer does not usually contain an overt pronoun subject. The negative particle here takes the form *na/nac*, not *ni/nid*.

> *Ydy   Siân yn   barod? Ydy/Nac ydy.*
> (Q) is Siân comp. ready? is/not   is
> 'Is Siân ready? Yes/No.'

> *Oedd   Siân yn   barod?   Oedd/Nac oedd.*
> (Q)   was   Siân comp. ready?   was/not   was
> 'Was Siân ready? Yes/No.'

In the case of some lexical verbs the answer may be formed with *gwneud* 'to do' rather than the lexical verb itself.

> *Ddaw   'r   prifathro   i   'r cyfarfod? Gwneith/Na   wneith.*
> (Q) will-come the headmaster to the meeting? will-do/not   will-do
> 'Will the headmaster come to the meeting? Yes/No.'

Where the question is in the 2nd person, the answer is – for pragmatic reasons – in the 1st person, while preserving the appropriate tense and aspect features, and vice versa.

> *Fyddi   di   'n   barod? Byddaf /   Na fyddaf.*
> (Q) will-be you comp. ready? will-be.1 sg./ not will-be.1 sg.
> 'Will you be ready? Yes/No.'

> *Ydw   i   'n   daclus? Wyt   / Nac wyt.*
> (Q) am I comp. tidy?   are.2 sg. / not are.2 sg.
> 'Am I tidy? Yes/No.'

Note that where the response is negative, there is always a sentence-initial particle, and when *ddim* appears it strengthens the particle rather than replaces it.

> *A   gaf i frechdan? Na chei.*
> (Q) get I sandwich? not get.2 sg.
> 'Can I have a sandwich? No.'

> *A   gaf i frechdan? Na chei   ddim.*
> (Q) get I sandwich? not get.2sg. not
> 'Can I have a sandwich? No indeed.'

Where a specific element is questioned, this appears in sentence-initial position, and the rest of the sentence takes the form of a relative clause with this item as its antecedent. The initial particle takes a different form, and the answer is *Ie* 'Yes' or *Nage* 'No'. Here again the particle may be omitted, and intonation is the only indication that this is a question.

> *Ai Siân   gafodd y   wobr? Ie/Nage.*
> (Q) Siân (rel.) got   the prize? yes/no
> 'Was it Siân got the prize? Yes/No.'

> *Siân   gafodd   y   wobr? Ie/Nage.*
> (Q) Siân (rel.) got   the prize? yes/no
> 'Was it Siân got the prize? Yes/No.'

Similarly Wh-questions have a wh-pronoun in sentence-initial position and the rest of the question appears as a relative clause with this as its antecedent. The answer consists of a lexical item, supplying the information requested.

> *Pwy   fydd   yn   dod   i   'r cyfarfod? Pawb.*
> who (rel.) will-be contin. come to   the meeting? Everyone.
> 'Who will be coming to the meeting? Everyone.'

> *Beth   ddwedaist ti? Dim.*
> what (rel.) said   you? Nothing
> 'What did you say? Nothing.'

> *Pryd y   bydd   y   cyfarfod yn   dechrau? Am   saith.*
> when that will-be the meeting contin. start?   At   seven.
> 'When will the meeting start? At seven.'

Passives

There are two distinct ways in which an active sentence may be passivized in Welsh. The first of these is normally referred to as the Impersonal form. The verb appears with an impersonal inflection, and the object follows it. The subject of the active form may appear in a PP, as the object of the preposition *gan* 'by', or it may simply be missing.

> *Gwelwyd   y   ddamwain gan y   bachgen.*
> saw.impers. the accident   by   the boy
> 'The accident was seen by the boy.'

> *Gwelwyd   y   ddamwain.*
> saw.impers. the accident
> 'The accident was seen.'

Where the object of an active verb undergoes initial mutation, the object of the impersonal verb does not; in the example below the mutated form *ddamwain* appears in the active, while the citation form *damwain* appears in the impersonal.

> *Gwelodd y   bachgen ddamwain.*
> saw.3 sg. the boy   accident
> 'The boy saw an accident.'

> *Gwelwyd   damwain.*
> saw.impers. accident
> 'An accident was seen.'

Impersonal forms can appear freely in a wide range of different sentence-types, with a prepositional object, a VN as object, and even an intransitive construction.

Soniwyd   am   y   ddamwain
spoke.impers. about   the accident
'The accident was spoken about.'

Bwriedid   mynd.
intend.impers. go
'It was intended to go.'

Rhedwyd   at   y   môr.
ran.impers. to   the   sea
'X (unspecified) ran to the sea.'

It is not always clear in fact that it is appropriate to refer to them as 'passives' rather than merely a verbal inflection which allows one to omit reference to the subject of the verb. The PP which spells out the subject of the active, following *gan* 'by', is natural in transitive forms with a NP object, but less so in other sentence types.

The second type of passive involves the use of an auxiliary verb *cael* 'get', which functions as the inflected verb of the passive sentence, and takes as its subject the NP which was the object of the active form. The lexical verb of the active appears as an uninflected VN, and is preceded by a possessive pronoun referring back to the new subject NP. There is no further pronoun following the VN.

Gwelodd   y   bachgen   y   ddamwain.
saw   the   boy   the   accident
'The boy saw the accident.'

*Cafodd   y   ddamwain   ei   gweld (*hi) gan   y   bachgen.*
got   the   accident   its see (*it)   by   the   boy
'The accident was seen by the boy.'

The original subject of the active appears in a PP, as the object of the preposition *gan* 'by', but this may be omitted so that the focus is only on the verb and the original object.

Cafodd   y   ddamwain   ei   gweld.
got   the   accident   its see
'The accident was seen.'

The *cael* passive is almost totally confined to transitive verbs, and is only marginally acceptable where there is a prepositional object. In such forms the preposition is inflected to agree with the subject NP and the possessive pronoun preceding the VN.

Soniodd   y   bachgen am   y   ddamwain.
spoke   the   boy   about the   accident
'The boy spoke about the accident.'

Cafodd   y   ddamwain   ei   sôn   amdani.
got   the   accident   its speak about.3 sg. f.
'The accident was spoken about.'

Other forms do not permit a *cael* passive. Intransitive verbs cannot be passivized in this way, and even transitive verbs are ruled out if the object of the verb is a VN.

Nominal clauses

Where a clause appears as the subject or object of the main verb, it will normally be introduced by the particle *y* 'that', followed by the inflected verb of the nominal clause. An object clause appears in the normal position for an object NP, following the subject of the main clause.

> *Clywodd   Ifan   y   byddai   Siân   yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.*
> heard   Ifan   that   would-be Siân   contin. use   computer
> 'Ifan heard that Siân would be using a computer.'

A subject clause appears at the end of the sentence, not in normal subject position, and there may be a semantically empty pronoun *hi* 'she/it' in the normal subject position of the main clause.

> *Mae (hi) 'n   amlwg   y   bydd   Siân   yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.*
> is (it)   comp. clear   that   will-be Siân   contin. use   computer
> 'It's clear that Siân will be using a computer.'

Where the verb of the nominal clause is *bod* 'be' and is in the present or imperfect tense, however, a different construction is found. The inflected form is replaced by the uninflected VN *bod*, and as a result the distinction between present and imperfect is lost. The particle *y* 'that' is not used.

> *Mae 'n   amlwg bod Siân   yn   defnyddio   cyfrifiadur.*
> is   comp. clear   be   Siân   contin. use   computer
> 'It's clear that Siân is using a computer.'

> *Clywodd   Ifan fod   Siân   yn   defnyddio   cyfrifiadur.*
> heard   Ifan be   Siân   contin. use   computer
> 'Ifan heard that Siân was using a computer.'

In a further construction, found only where the past tense is understood, the subject is the object of the preposition *i* 'for', the verb appears as an uninflected VN, and the VN is subject to initial mutation.

> *Clywodd   Ifan   i   Siân ddefnyddio cyfrifiadur.*
> heard   Ifan   for   Siân use   computer
> 'Ifan heard that Siân used a computer.'

Where the clause is negative, a negative particle appears in clause-initial position. This is similar to the negative particle found in simple sentences, but not identical, *na/nad* rather than *ni/nid*.

Clywodd   Ifan   na   fyddai   Siân   yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.
heard   Ifan   that-not would-be Siân contin. use   computer
'Ifan heard that Siân would not be using a computer.'

Mae (hi) 'n   amlwg na   fydd   Siân   yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.
is   (it) comp. clear that-not will-be Siân contin. use   computer
'It's clear that Siân will not be using a computer.'

In such negative clauses the shift from an inflected present or imperfect form of *bod* 'to be' to the uninflected VN does not occur. The inflected form is retained, and is preceded by a negative particle.

Mae 'n   amlwg   nad   yw   Siân   yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.
is   comp. clear   that-not is   Siân contin. use   computer
'It's clear that Siân is not using a computer.'

Clywodd Ifan nad   oedd Siân yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.
heard   Ifan that-not was Siân contin. use   computer
'Ifan heard that Siân was not using a computer.'

The use of *ddim* to express negation in informal registers is found in nominal clauses as well as in simple sentences, but is considered substandard. Where *ddim* is used, the shift to the uninflected VN *bod* is retained.

Mae 'n   amlwg bod Siân ddim yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.
is   comp. clear be Siân not   contin. use   computer
'It's clear that Siân is not using a computer.'

Clywodd Ifan fod Siân ddim yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.
heard   Ifan be Siân not   contin. use   computer
'Ifan heard that Siân was not using a computer.'

The clause type with an uninflected VN, used in the past tense, cannot as such be negated and this choice is not available if the clause is negative.

If the nominal clause is a question, then the same particle as in simple sentences appears in clause-initial position.

Mae 'n   ansicr   a   fydd   Siân yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.
is   comp. unclear Q   will-be Siân contin. use   computer
'It is unclear whether Siân will be using a computer.'

Gofynnais   a   fyddai   Siân yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.
asked.1 sg. (I) Q   would-be Siân contin. use   computer
'I asked whether Siân would be using a computer.'

The verb is always inflected, and and the present and imperfect forms of *bod* 'to be' are not changed to the uninflected VN.

Mae 'n   ansicr   a   yw Siân   yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.
is   comp. unclear Q is Siân contin. use   computer
'It is unclear whether Siân is using a computer.'

Gofynnais   a   oedd Siân   yn   defnyddio cyfrifiadur.
asked.1 sg. (I) Q was   Siân contin. use   computer
'I asked whether Siân was using a computer.'

Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are introduced by a subordinating conjunction which is followed by the inflected verb. Some conjunctions, such as *pan* 'when', trigger mutation of the verb; others such as *os* 'if' do not.

. . . *pan   fydd   y   plant   yn   canu* . . .
. . . when   will-be the children contin. sing . . .
'. . . when the children sing'

. . . *os bydd   y   plant   yn   canu* . . .
. . . if   will-be the children contin. sing . . .
'. . . if the children sing' . . .

In other cases the particle *y/yr* 'that' follows the conjunction and appears before the inflected verb.

. . . *pryd y   bydd   y   plant   yn   canu* . . .
. . . when that will-be the children contin. sing . . .
'. . . when the children sing' . . .

If a clause is negative, a negative particle appears in clause-initial position, immediately following the conjunction, and replacing *y/yr* where this appears in the positive form.

. . . *pan   na fydd   y   plant   yn   canu* . . .
. . . when   not will-be the children contin. sing . . .
'. . . when the children will not be singing' . . .

. . . *pryd   na fydd   y   plant   yn   canu* . . .
. . . when   not will-be the children contin. sing . . .
'. . . when the children will not be singing' . . .

In many cases, however, forms which would in other languages be adverbial clauses, consist in Welsh of a preposition and an uninflected VN. The subject is omitted if it is identical to a NP in the main clause; otherwise it follows the preposition *i* 'for' and the VN is subject to initial mutation.

Caeodd Ifan y   drws cyn   defnyddio 'r   cyfrifiadur.
shut   Ifan the door before use   the computer
'Ifan shut the door before he used the computer.'

> *Daeth Ifan   yma   cyn   i   Siân   ddefnyddio 'r   cyfrifiadur.*
> came Ifan   here   before   for Siân   use   the computer
> 'Ifan came here before Siân used the computer.'

Negation of such clauses is through the use of *peidio* 'to stop'.

> *. . . er   iddo   ddarllen y   llythyr . . .*
> . . . although for-him read   the letter
> '. . . although he read the letter' . . .

> *. . . er   iddo   beidio â   darllen y   llythyr . . .*
> . . . although for-him stop   with read   the letter
> '. . . although he did not read the letter' . . .

Relative clauses

There are two types of relative clauses. Where the relative clause itself is a simple VS(O) sequence, and the antecedent noun corresponds to the subject or object of the clause, the relative pronoun *a* 'who/which/whom/that' replaces this subject or object. It appears in clause-initial position, and the following verb is subject to SM.

> *. . . y bachgen/y bechgyn   a   ddaeth   i   'r   cyfarfod*
> . . . the boy/the boys   who came.3 sg. to the   meeting
> '. . . the boy(s) who came to the meeting'

> *. . . y bachgen/y bechgyn   a   welais i ddoe*
> . . . the boy/the boys   who saw   I yesterday
> '. . . the boy(s) whom I saw yesterday'

The relative pronoun *a* remains identical in form regardless of whether the antecedent noun is singular or plural. Where it is the subject of the relative clause, the verb is consistently 3 sg., again regardless of whether it refers to a singular or plural antecedent noun. It is in fact possible to have ambiguous forms where it is not clear whether the relative pronoun *a* is referring to the subject or object of the clause. In reality, of course, the wider context makes it clear which reading is correct and there is no problem.

> *. . . y   bachgen a   welodd   y   ferch*
> . . . the boy   who saw.3 sg. the   girl
> '. . . the boy who saw the girl' [*a* = subject]
> '. . . the boy whom the girl saw' [*a* = object]

The *a* pronoun is frequently dropped with no effect on the meaning of the clause, particularly in informal registers, though the mutation on the following verb remains.

> *. . . y   bachgen   welais i ddoe*
> . . . the boy (who)   saw   I yesterday
> '. . . the boy whom I saw yesterday'

The second type of relative clause is found in all other contexts. The antecedent noun may, for instance, correspond to the object of a preposition, a possessive within a NP, or the object of a VN. In such forms the clause is introduced by the particle *y/yr* 'that', and a pronoun replaces the noun in its original position.

> . . . *y*   *bachgen* *y*   *soniais* *i* *amdano (*fe)*
> . . . the boy   that spoke   I   about.3 sg. m.
> '. . . the boy I spoke about'

> . . . *y*   *bachgen* *y*   *gwelais* *i* *ei*   *waith (*e)*
> . . . the boy   that saw   I   his   work
> '. . . the boy whose work I saw'

> . . . *y*   *bachgen* *yr*   *hoffwn*   *i* *ei*   *weld (*e)*
> . . . the boy   that   would-like I   his   see
> '. . . the boy I would like to see'

In such forms the preposition is inflected to agree with the pronoun but there is no pronoun following the preposition; the possessive precedes the head noun or VN, but there is no overt pronoun following this.

The same two types of relative clause are found in periphrastic relative clauses. Where the antecedent corresponds to the subject of such a clause, the relative pronoun *a* is found, and may as usual be dropped.

> . . . *y*   *bachgen (a)* *fydd*   *yn*   *dod*   *i* *'r* *cyfarfod*
> . . . the   boy (who)   will-be   contin. come to   the meeting
> '. . . the boy who will be coming to the meeting'

One irregular form, *sydd* 'who is', is used when the verb *bod* 'be' is in the present tense, and this with both singular and plural nouns. The pronoun *a* is not found with this inflection of *bod*, which is as it were already marked as a relative form.

> . . . *y bachgen/y bechgyn sydd*   *yn*   *dod*   *i* *'r* *cyfarfod*
> . . . the boy/the boys   who-is   contin. come to   the meeting
> '. . . the boy(s) who is/are coming to the meeting'

Where the antecedent corresponds to the object of the clause, however, this is now the object of a VN, and the second type of relative clause is found. The relative clause must be introduced by *y/yr* 'that', and a pronoun replaces the noun.

> . . . *y*   *bachgen* *yr*   *oeddwn* *i* *wedi* *ei*   *weld (*e)*
> . . . the boy   that   was   I   perf. his   see
> '. . . the boy that I had seen'

Other forms, where the antecedent corresponds to the object of a preposition or a possessive in a NP, also require this type of relative clause.

> *. . . y   bachgen yr oeddwn i wedi sôn   amdano (*fe)*
> . . . the boy   that was   I perf. speak about.3 sg.
> '. . . the boy I had spoken about'

> *. . . y   bachgen yr oeddwn i wedi gweld ei waith (*e)*
> . . . the boy   that was   I perf. see   his work
> '. . . the boy whose work I had seen'

Where a relative clause is negated, it is introduced by a negative particle *na/nad*. This replaces the relative pronoun *a* 'who' in the first type, and replaces *y/yr* in the second.

> *. . . y   bachgen na ddaeth i 'r cyfarfod . . .*
> . . .the boy   not came   to the meeting . . .
> 'the boy who did not come to the meeting'

> *. . . y   bachgen nad oeddwn i wedi gweld ei waith . . .*
> . . .the boy   not was   I perf. see   his work . . .
> . . . 'the boy whose work I hadn't seen' . . .

Relative clauses with the negation system, using *ddim*, are also found, but are considered substandard.

> *. . . y   bachgen oeddwn i ddim wedi gweld ei waith . . .*
> . . . the boy   was   I not perf. see   his work . . .
> . . .'the boy whose work I hadn't seen' . . .

Stress and fronting

Where an element in a sentence is contrastively stressed, it is moved to the beginning of the sentence, and the rest of the sentence takes the form of a relative clause with this element as its antecedent. The patterns found in the case of ordinary relative clauses hold here too, so that where the subject or object of a simple VSO sentence is fronted, the relative pronoun *a* 'who/which/whom' is used, and may be optionally deleted.

> *Y bachgen (a)   ddaeth i 'r cyfarfod.*
> the boy   (who) came   to the meeting
> 'It was the boy who came to the meeting.'

> *Y bachgen (a)   welais i ddoe.*
> the boy   (who) saw   I yesterday
> 'It was the boy whom I saw yesterday.'

Where another constituent is fronted, the relative clause begins with *y /yr* 'that', and there is a pronominal marker in the original position. The preposition is inflected, and a possessive pronoun precedes the head noun, but in neither case is a pronoun found following the preposition or noun.

Y   bachgen y   soniais   i   amdano (*fe)
the   boy   that spoke I   about.3 sg. m.
'It was the boy I spoke about.'

Y   bachgen y   gwelais i   ei   waith (*e)
the   boy   that saw   I   his work
'It was the boy whose work I saw.'

These fronted constructions differ from the normal run of relative clauses, however, in that a wider range of items may appear in stressed position at the beginning of a sentence than would normally be possible as the antecedent of a relative clause. A pronoun may be stressed and fronted, and in such cases the relative pronoun *a* continues to take the usual 3 sg. inflection of the verb, ignoring the person and number features of the fronted item.

Fi   (a)   welodd   y   bachgen.
me   (who) saw.3 sg. the boy
'It was I who saw the boy.'

A whole PP or Adverb may be fronted, and where this happens the clause begins with *y/yr* and nothing remains behind in the original position.

Am   y   bachgen y   soniais   i.
about the boy   that spoke   I
'It was about the boy that I spoke.'

Ddoe   y   gwelais i   'r   bachgen.
yesterday that saw   I   the boy
'It was yesterday that I saw the boy.'

In order to stress the verb contrastively, it is fronted as an uninflected VN and behaves as the object of the auxiliary verb *gwneud* 'to do/to make', which carries the verbal inflection of the sentence. If the verb to be fronted is transitive, then the direct object will be moved with it and cannot be left behind.

Gwrando (a)   wnes   i.
listen   (that) did   I
'What I did was listen.'

Gweld y   bachgen (a)   wnes   i.
see   the boy   (that) did   I
'What I did was see the boy.'

Periphrastic sentences behave as expected, the relative clause patterns being those normal for such forms. If the subject is fronted, then the relative pronoun *a* is used, though it may be omitted, and the irregular form *sydd* is used if the verb *bod* is 3 sg. present.

Y   bachgen (a)   fydd   yn   dod   i   'r   cyfarfod.
the   boy   (who)   will-be contin. come   to the meeting
'It's the boy who will be coming to the meeting.'

Y   bachgen sydd   yn   dod   i   'r   cyfarfod.
the boy   who-is contin. come to the meeting
'It's the boy who is coming to the meeting.'

Other constituents, such as the object of the VN, are found with a relative introduced by *y/ yr* and a pronoun marker in the original position.

Y   bachgen yr   oeddwn i   wedi ei   weld (*e).
the boy   that was   I   perf. his see
'It was the boy that I had seen.'

The phrase which includes the aspect marker and the following VN, together with its direct object if there is one, may be fronted as a whole. In such forms, the perfective marker *wedi* remains overt, but the continuous marker *yn* is dropped.

Wedi gweld y   bachgen yr   oeddwn i.
perf. see   the   boy   that was   I
'What I had done was see the boy.'

              Gwylio 'r   bachgen yr   oeddwn   i.
(contin.)   watch the boy   that was   I
'What I was doing was watching the boy.'

Sentences which contain a complement phrase raise another set of issues. The subject may be contrastively stressed and fronted, and it is followed by the usual relative clause pattern.

Ifan (a)   fydd   yn   flinedig.
Ifan (who) will-be comp. tired
'It's Ifan who will be tired.'

If the complement is fronted, complications arise. A complement which consists of a noun or a noun phrase may be fronted, dropping the complementizer *yn*.

Athro   fydd   Ifan.
teacher will-be Ifan
'It's a teacher that Ifan will be.'

Athro   da   fydd   Ifan.
teacher good will-be Ifan
'It's a good teacher that Ifan will be.'

If the complement consists of an adjective only, then it may be fronted in north Wales, but not in the south.

Blinedig fydd   Ifan.
tired   will-be Ifan
'It's tired that Ifan will be.'

In south Wales usage it is only possible to front an adjective if it appears qualifying an empty noun such as *un* 'one', but here the adjective is understood as referring to a permanent characteristic of the person concerned rather than a temporary state. If the verb *bod* 'to be' is in the present tense then the form *yw* is found with a fronted complement.

> *Athro   da   yw   Ifan*
> teacher good is   Ifan
> 'It's a good teacher that Ifan is.'

Only indefinite NPs may follow the complementizer *yn* and take part in the processes outlined above. Where the complement is a definite NP, it may only appear in a fronted construction, though either order is acceptable.

> **Mae Ifan yn   bennaeth yr   adran.*
> is   Ifan comp. head   the department
> 'Ifan is the head of department.'

> *Pennaeth yr   adran   yw   Ifan.*
> head   the department is   Ifan
> 'It's the head of department that Ifan is.'

> *Ifan yw pennaeth yr   adran.*
> Ifan is   head   the department
> 'It's Ifan who is the head of department.'

Where an element is fronted in this way in a subordinate clause, the particle *mai* 'that' appears in clause-initial position before the fronted element. In south Wales *mai* is replaced by *taw*, but the sentence structure is identical. If the fronted element is negative, *mai* is replaced by *nad*.

> *Clywodd Ifan   mai   Siân fydd   yn   defnyddio 'r   cyfrifiadur.*
> heard   Ifan   that Siân will-be   contin. use   the   computer
> 'Ifan heard that it is Siân who will use the computer.'

> *Clywodd Ifan   nad   Siân fydd   yn   defnyddio 'r   cyfrifiadur.*
> heard   Ifan   not   Siân will-be   contin. use   the   computer
> 'Ifan heard that it is not Siân who will use the computer.'

Forms where *nid* or *ddim* follows *mai* are found, but are considered substandard.

> *Clywodd Ifan   mai nid/ddim Siân fydd   yn   defnyddio 'r cyfrifiadur.*
> heard   Ifan   that not   Siân will-be   contin. use   the computer
> 'Ifan heard that it is not Siân who will use the computer.'

Where a fronted element in a subordinate clause is questioned, the particle *ai* appears in clause initial position.

Gofynnodd	*Ifan ai*		*Siân*	*fydd*	*yn*	*defnyddio'r*	*cyfrifiadur.*
asked	Ifan whether		Siân	will-be	contin. use	the	computer

'Ifan asked whether it is Siân who will use the computer.

Numbers

The traditional numbering system of Welsh is complex and has been replaced for many purposes in current usage by a simpler, decimal system. These are shown, side by side, in Table 9.4. The numbers 1–10 are common to both systems. The number may immediately precede the noun, which is always singular in this context. Alternatively the number may be followed by a PP, where the noun appears as the object of the preposition *o* 'of', and in this position takes the plural form.

Table 9.4 The numerals of Welsh

	Traditional numbers	**Decimal numbers**
1	*un*	
2	*dau/dwy*	
3	*tri/tair*	
4	*pedwar/pedair*	
5	*pump*	
6	*chwech*	
7	*saith*	
8	*wyth*	
9	*naw*	
10	*deg*	
11	*un ar ddeg*	*un deg un*
12	*deuddeg*	*un deg dau*
13	*tri ar ddeg*	*un deg tri*
14	*pedwar ar ddeg*	*un deg pedwar*
15	*pymtheg*	*un deg pump*
16	*un ar bymtheg*	*un deg chwech*
17	*dau/dwy ar bymtheg*	*un deg saith*
18	*deunaw*	*un deg wyth*
19	*pedwar/pedair ar bymtheg*	*un deg naw*
20	*ugain*	*dau ddeg*
21	*un ar hugain*	*dau ddeg un*
22	*dau/dwy ar hugain*	*dau ddeg dau*
23	*tri/tair ar hugain*	*dau ddeg tri*
24	*pedwar/pedair ar hugain*	*dau ddeg pedwar*
25	*pump ar hugain*	*dau ddeg pump*
26	*chwech ar hugain*	*dau ddeg chwech*
27	*saith ar hugain*	*dau ddeg saith*
28	*wyth ar hugain*	*dau ddeg wyth*
29	*naw ar hugain*	*dau ddeg naw*
30	*deg ar hugain*	*tri deg*
31	*un ar ddeg ar hugain*	*tri deg un*
32	*deuddeg ar hugain*	*tri deg dau*

33	*tri/tair ar ddeg ar hugain*	*tri deg tri*
34	*pedwar/pedair ar ddeg ar hugain*	*tri deg pedwar*
35	*pymtheg ar hugain*	*tri deg pump*
36	*un ar bymtheg ar hugain*	*tri deg chwech*
37	*dau/dwy ar bymtheg ar hugain*	*tri deg saith*
38	*deunaw ar hugain*	*tri deg wyth*
39	*pedwar/pedair ar bymtheg ar hugain*	*tri deg naw*
40	*deugain*	*pedwar deg*
60	*trigain*	*chwe deg*
80	*pedwar ugain*	*wyth deg*
100	*cant*	

saith bachgen	~	*saith o fechgyn*
seven boy	~	seven of boys
'seven boys'	~	'seven boys'

The numbers 2, 3, and 4 have distinct masc. and fem. forms, while the rest are gender-neutral. A number may trigger mutation of a following noun, and may itself vary in form depending on whether the noun is consonant- or vowel-initial.

From 10 onwards the traditional system is complex. Numbers are formed on 10 as a base until 15, and on 15 as a base until 19, with 20 a distinct new lexical item; 18 is exceptional, being formed as a multiple of 9. From 20 onwards the system operates in units of 20, repeating the forms used from 1 to 20 as appropriate, until it reaches 100. The core units 40, 60 and 80 are multiples of 20. Some of these numbers are single words, and display the same patterns as above.

ugain bachgen	~	*ugain o fechgyn*
twenty boy	~	twenty of boys
'twenty boys'	~	'twenty boys'

Many of these numbers, however, are phrases formed of more than one word, and here the singular noun must appear inside the number phrase, following the first element. The pattern where a plural noun appears in a PP following the number is unaffected.

saith bachgen ar hugain	~	*saith ar hugain o fechgyn*
seven boy on twenty	~	seven on twenty of boys
'twenty-seven boys'	~	'twenty-seven boys'

The decimal system which is now used in many contexts is simpler. Numbers are formed on 10 as a base until 20 is reached, then on 20, then on 30 and so on until 100 is reached. All are phrases consisting of more than one word. It is possible for a single noun to immediately follow one of these numbers, but the most natural pattern is for a plural noun to appear in a PP following the number.

dau ddeg saith bachgen	~	*dau ddeg saith o fechgyn*
two ten seven boy	~	two ten seven of boys
'twenty-seven boys'	~	'twenty-seven boys'

There are a small number of exceptional forms. The number 50 is often *hanner cant* 'half a hundred', and 150 is similarly *cant a hanner* 'a hundred and a half'. An alternative system, relying on subtraction rather than addition or multiplication, is old-fashioned and Biblical but still marginally available.

> *cant   namyn   un*
> hundred less   one
> 'ninety-nine'

The traditional number system is still in normal use in certain contexts. When telling the time *un ar ddeg* 'eleven' and *deuddeg* 'twelve' are used for the hours, *ugain* 'twenty' and *pump ar hugain* 'twenty-five' are used for minutes.

> *Mae 'n   bum munud   ar   hugain   wedi un ar ddeg.*
> is (it)comp. five minutes on   twenty   after eleven
> 'It's twenty-five past eleven.'

It is normal too for traditional numbers to be used in referring to a person's age, and it is worth noting that where a number has a fem. form this must be used, as the noun counted is *blwydd* 'year', which is a f.sg. noun. This noun may be present or dropped, but the feminine form of the number stays.

> *Mae'n   dair   (blwydd oed).*
> is (he/she) comp.   three (f.)   (year old)
> 'He/she is three (years old).'

Similarly traditional numbers may be used in contexts such as referring to prices and writing cheques.

> *tair punt ar hugain*
> three pound on   twenty
> 'twenty-three pounds'

The use of traditional numbers in these last two contexts is restricted, however, by the pragmatic consideration that the more complex the number, the harder it is to use and to understand. There comes a point, different for each individual, where traditional numbers are dropped and the modern decimal system is used instead.

> *Mae'n   saith deg   saith.*
> is (he/she) comp. seven   ten   seven
> 'He/she is seventy-seven.'

> *saith   deg saith o bunnoedd*
> seven   ten   seven of pounds
> 'seventy-seven pounds'

The modern decimal numbers are used consistently in the context of school mathematics, and it seems likely that they were first developed in this context as the difficulty of teaching mathematics through the medium of Welsh using the traditional system became

apparent. Indeed older Welsh speakers, who were not educated through the medium of Welsh, often use English numbers to avoid having to deal with the more complicated forms of the traditional Welsh system. The decimal numbers are also used in several other contexts, ranging from reading out the number of a hymn in a religious service to announcing the score after a rugby match, and referring to historical decades such as *y dauddegau* 'the twenties'. It seems likely that their use will spread further, for instance into the context of telling the time, as the use of digital clocks makes concepts such as 'twenty past' and 'twenty-five past' obsolete, and the use of 24 hour clocks increases the need to refer to numbers beyond 11 and 12.

Ordinals are formed from the traditional numbers by the addition of a suffix. The ordinal *cyntaf* 'first' follows the noun, but all others precede it.

> *y   tro   cyntaf*   ~   *y   seithfed   tro*
> the time first   ~   the   seventh   time
> 'the first time'   ~   'the seventh time'

Where the number is a phrase, the suffix appears on the first element of the phrase and the noun follows this.

> *y   seithfed tro   ar   hugain*
> the seventh time   on   twenty
> 'the twenty-seventh time'

These ordinals are used in a number of contexts, including dates and historical centuries. The number in a date is always masculine as the noun counted is *dydd* 'day', a m.sg. noun; as *canrif* 'century' is a feminine noun, the number in this context is always feminine.

> *Ionawr   y   trydydd*
> January the   third
> 'January the third'

> *y   bedwaredd ganrif   ar bymtheg*
> the fourth   century on fifteen
> 'the nineteenth century'

Years are referred to by using either decimal numbers or a sequence of simple numbers between 1 and 9.

> *mil   naw cant   dau ddeg a   thri*
> thousand nine hundred two ten   and three
> '1923'

> *un   naw dau tri*
> one nine two three
> '1923'

LEXIS

The vocabulary of Welsh is for the most part Celtic in origin, but over the years a large number of items have been borrowed from other languages. Native Celtic forms are found in a wide range of contexts, in core areas of the vocabulary. These include many colour terms, food items, names for farm animals, and kinship terms, of which only brief examples can be given here.

> *du* 'black', *gwyn* 'white', *llwyd* 'grey', *glas* 'blue', *melyn* 'yellow'
> *bara* 'bread', *llaeth* 'milk', *cig* 'meat', *afal* 'apple', *halen* 'salt'
> *buwch* 'cow', *dafad* 'sheep', *ci* 'dog', *moch* 'pigs', *iâr* 'hen'
> *tad* 'father', *mab* 'son', *merch* 'daughter', *cefnder* 'cousin', *modryb* 'aunt'

Loans from Latin are found already in the Welsh of very early manuscripts, and it seems likely that some of them may go back as far as the Roman occupation. Latin would then have been the high status language in a diglossic situation, and it is normal for extensive borrowing to occur in such cases. The words taken in from Latin are varied. Some may reflect new ways of living and building techniques, while others are less easily explained.

> *pont* 'bridge', *ystafell* 'room', *ffenestr* 'window', *braich* 'arm', *coch* 'red'

However, most loans from Latin reflect the place of Latin as the language of learning and religion through until the Reformation, and Welsh vocabulary in these fields is overwhelmingly of Latin origin.

> *llyfr* 'book', *ysgol* 'school', *ysgrifennu* 'to write', *dysgu* 'to teach/learn', *llythyren* 'letter of the alphabet'
> *eglwys* 'church', *plwyf* 'parish', *pregethu* 'to preach', *pechod* 'sin', *Nadolig* 'Christmas'

Loans from English also begin to appear in Welsh at a comparatively early stage. In some cases, such as *fferm* 'farm', Welsh speakers are aware of such items as loans, but others have become so well integrated into the language that their English origin has been forgotten.

> *hosan* 'sock' (< 'hose'), *bwrdd* 'table' (< 'board'), *ffordd* 'road' (< 'ford'), *tarian* 'shield' (< 'targe')

The diglossic situation which resulted from the Act of Union, with English as the language of law, administration and business in turn led to the borrowing of a large number of words into Welsh. New ideas and goods tended to come into Wales from England, along with the associated words. In many cases the word derives ultimately from some other language, but has been borrowed into Welsh at second hand through English.

> *trên* 'train', *tractor* 'tractor', *beic* 'bicycle', *bws* 'bus', *ffôn* 'telephone'
> *te* 'tea', *coffi* 'coffee', *tatws* 'potato', *banana* 'banana', *cangarŵ* 'kangaroo'

A tendency to borrow English words, even when there is a Welsh word available with the same meaning, is felt to be a problem which may ultimately threaten the lexical identity of

the language, and is widely condemned. In many cases the English loan word is characteristic of informal registers, with the Welsh equivalent felt to be more 'correct' and suitable for formal usage.

oergell (formal)	~	*ffrij* (informal)	'fridge'
mwynhau (formal)	~	*joio* (informal, southern)	'to enjoy'

In other cases, however, the English loan has become the normal form, and the equivalent Welsh word has an old-fashioned feel to it.

brwsh (normal)	~	*ysgubell* (old-fashioned)	'brush'
banc (normal)	~	*ariandy* (old-fashioned)	'bank'

Borrowing words is only one way of expressing new meanings. There has always been an alternative approach within Welsh, whereby new words were created to meet new needs from native elements. As discussed earlier in the context of derivational morphology, compounds may be formed from two distinct words, which occur independently in the language, or an inflection may be added to an existing word.

prifysgol	'university'	<	*prif*	'main'	+	*ysgol*	'school'
pleidlais	'vote'	<	*plaid*	'political party'	+	*llais*	'voice'
geiriadur	'dictionary'	<	*gair*	'word'	+	affix	
cymdeithaseg	'sociology'	<	*cymdeithas*	'society'	+	affix	

There is currently a need to expand the vocabulary in a systematic way to deal with continuing innovation in the fields of science and technology. Borrowing still occurs, particularly from international vocabulary of Latin or Greek origin.

digidol 'digital', *mathemateg* 'mathematics', *cemeg* 'chemistry'

But the creative use of compounding and affixation figures largely in this process.

rhyngrwyd	'internet'	<	*rhwng*	'between'	+	*rhwyd*	'net'
cyfrifiadur	'computer'	<	*cyfrif*	'to count'	+	affix	

In order to ensure that usage is consistent, particularly in the context of school teaching and examinations, committees suggest and approve new forms. There are often, however, different words in existence at any one time, where public interest in a topic is keen. One cannot wait for a committee to decide what the word should be, and so competing forms appear, a sign of the linguistic creativity of those wishing to discuss the new field in Welsh.

gwefan	'website'	<	*gwe*	'web'	+	*man*	'place'
safwe	'website'	<	*safle*	'site'	+	*gwe*	'web'

The vocabulary of Welsh is subject to considerable dialect variation. In many cases there is a clear difference in usage between north and south Wales, though the exact position of the boundary varies from one item to another.

allan (N)   ~   *mâs* (S)   'out'
rŵan (N)   ~   *nawr* (S)   'now'
gwario (N)   ~   *hala* (S)   'to spend'

Other items present a more complex picture and there are a number of different words, each characteristic of specific parts of the country.

gwrych (N)   ~   *shetin* (MidW)   ~ *clawdd* (SW)   ~ *perth* (SE) 'hedge'
hogan (NW) ~   *geneth* (NE)   ~ *lodes* (MidW) ~ *merch* (S)   ~ *croten* (S) ~
    roces (SW)   'girl'

Sometimes it is the meaning of a word which varies, so that it is understood differently in different parts of Wales.

llaeth   =   'buttermilk' (N)   ~   =   'milk' (S)
brwnt   =   'rough' (N)   ~   =   'dirty' (S)
tywyll   =   'dark' (general)   ~   =   'blind' (SW)

The Welsh Bible was originally translated by a clergyman from north Wales, Bishop William Morgan, who naturally tended to use those words which were familiar to him in northern usage. The Bible then became for many years the basis for the standard language, and a tendency developed to consider northern words as in some way 'better' than their southern equivalents, and more appropriate to the formal, written registers. As a result, for instance, to this day a southerner will say *mâs* 'out' but feel constrained to write *allan*. This is not true in every case, and no one will concede that the northern forms *nain* 'grandmother' and *taid* 'grandfather' are in any way better and more acceptable than their southern equivalents *mamgu* and *tadcu*. It does, however, contribute to a certain lack of confidence among many southern speakers, who may explain their reluctance to use Welsh in a formal situation with the comment *Dyw'n Gwmrâg i ddim yn ddigon da.* 'My Welsh isn't good enough'.

FURTHER READING

The outline given in this chapter of the structure of Welsh is necessarily brief, and a more detailed introduction to various aspects of the language may be found in the works listed below.

General introduction

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