

Echo Pronouns in Pembrokeshire Welsh

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Introduction

A well known feature of Welsh syntax is the existence of a set of suffixed clitic pronouns, which echo information already presented earlier in the phrase. They may echo an inflection, as in the case of a finite verb or a preposition:

1. Gwelais i y ddamwain.
I saw the accident.
2. Rhoddodd y plant y blodau iddi hi.
The children gave her the flowers.

The inflection on the verb expresses the person and number of the subject, and the following subject pronoun echoes this information. The inflection on the preposition expresses the person and number, and in the 3sg the gender, of the prepositional object, and the following object pronoun again echoes this information. These suffixed pronouns may also echo a preceding prefixed pronoun. In possessive NPs, for instance, the prefixed pronoun expresses the possessor of the noun, and the suffixed pronoun echoes it.

3. Darllenodd y myfyrwyr ei lyfr ef.
The students read his book.

And a very similar pattern is found with uninflected verbs, where a prefixed pronoun expresses the subject or direct object of the verb, and the suffixed pronoun again echoes this information.

4. Mae John wedi ei weld ef.
John has seen him.

It is often claimed that these pronouns are predictable and may be freely omitted, to give the following alternative realisations:

5. Gwelais y ddamwain
6. Rhoddodd y plant y blodau iddi.
7. Darllenodd y myfyrwyr ei lyfr.
8. Mae John wedi ei weld.

It is also claimed that there is a clear correlation with register, in that these pronouns are on the whole present in the informal spoken language, but dropped in the formal literary language.

Both of these claims are broadly speaking true. But the situation is in fact rather more complicated than this, with a number of restrictions affecting the possibilities in both the informal and the formal registers. There has been some discussion of the restrictions affecting the literary language and the informal speech of south-east Wales¹ but very little is known of the way these suffixed pronouns behave in the informal speech of other regions. In this paper I shall explore their behaviour in the informal spoken Welsh of north Pembrokeshire, in what is intended as a pilot study for a comparative account of this issue in the speech of several different areas.

This description is based on taperecorded material held in the Welsh Folk Museum archive. Three speakers from north Pembrokeshire were chosen, two women and one man, all born within the decade from 1890 to 1900, and all with only minimal education. All had worked in farming for the whole of their working lives.² For each of these three an hour of taped conversation was analysed, looking in turn at the four syntactic types referred to above - prepositional phrases, inflected verbs, possessive NPs and uninflected verbs.

1. Prepositional Phrases

In very few contexts is there free choice over keeping or dropping the pronoun object. Free choice is in fact limited to the 3sg of inflected prepositions, with all other contexts requiring an overt pronoun.

1.1 Uninflected Prepositions

Some prepositions, such as *gyda* (with), are not in fact inflected to agree with the pronoun object. If the pronoun were dropped in these cases then there would be no indication remaining of its identity, and information would be irretrievably lost. The pronoun is therefore always retained in these cases.

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| 9. | Wê 'wch 'dag e, a wech o berchill.
<i>He had a sow and six piglets.</i> | 4927 ³ |
| 10. | On i'n 'ebrwn jwst pob roces a cal chat fach 'da 'i.
<i>I used to walk home just about every girl, and have a little chat with her.</i> | 4927 |
| 11. | achos wê ddim arian gida ni
<i>because we had no money</i> | 5334 |
| 12. | os bise amser 'da chi ...
<i>if you had time ...</i> | 5335 |

The preposition *i* (for/to) is also uninflected when it takes a 1st or 2nd person pronoun object, and here too the pronoun is retained.⁴

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| 13. | On nw'n dod â te <u>i fi</u> wedyn.
<i>They used to bring tea to me then.</i> | 5335 |
| 14. | Rwy am <u>i ti</u> ddod 'da fi 'eno.
<i>I want you to come with me tonight.</i> | 4928 |

15. Os na bisen nw'n roi tamed o godiad i ni. 5432
If they didn't give us a bit of a raise.
16. Alla i ddangos i chi wrth fyn' lan trw'r câ 'ma. 4927
I can show you as we go up through this field.

1.2. Inflected Prepositions with Obligatory Pronoun

If a preposition is inflected to agree with the object pronoun, there seems no good reason in principle why the pronoun should not be optionally dropped. In fact, however, this never happens with 1st or 2nd person pronouns, which are always retained.

17. ... medde Mr. Williams wrtho i. 5432
... said Mr. Williams to me.
18. Ma peil o'r bois yn barod amdanat ti. 4928
A gang of the lads are ready for you.
19. a ddâth e'm aton ni 'to. 4927
and he didn't come towards us again.
20. Os na ddele rywun i wbod amdanoch chi. 5334
Unless someone came to know about you.

Similarly, in those cases where the pronoun is 3rd person plural, it is always retained.

21. We rhai teie gâl, cofiwch chi, a pen slâts arnyn nw. 5335
There were some houses to be had, remember, with a slate roof on them.

The preposition i too is inflected in the 3rd person plural, and here too the pronoun is retained.

22. Ma digon o le iddyn nwy. 4928
There is enough space for them.

1.3 Inflected Prepositions with Optional Pronoun

It is only in the 3sg that we find any room for choice. The pronoun may be retained, as in the following examples.

23. Och chi'n isgwid yr halen arno fe. 5432
You would shake the salt on it.
24. ... meddwn i wrtho fe chweld. 4928
... said I to him you see.
25. A wê mam ishe roi tamed o fara iddo fe. 4927
And Mother wanted to give him a bit o bread.

Or alternatively the pronoun may be dropped, leaving the inflection on the preposition to convey its identity. First 3sgm examples:

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| 26. | Gadel hwnnw i oeri digon at i naws, a roi'r berem <u>indo</u> ...
<i>Let that cool down enough to the temperature, and put the yeast in it ...</i> | 5433 |
| 27. | a gan bo capel Methodist, a ngŵr yn myn' <u>iddo</u> ...
<i>and because there was a Methodist chapel, and my husband going to it ...</i> | 5334 |
| 28. | On i'n gweud ' <u>tho</u> ma'r unig ystyr ...
<i>I was saying to him that the only meaning ...</i> | 4927 |

And now the 3sgf examples:

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| 29. | Dych chi ddim am <u>iddi</u> gal llo.
<i>You don't want her to have a calf.</i> | 4928 |
| 30. | Shimle fowr yn agored wedyn. Wêch chi'n galle' gweld y sêr mâs <u>trwyddi</u> .
<i>The big chimney open then. You could see the stars out through it.</i> | 5334 |
| 31. | A wêdd 'i'n dod i ofyn i mam wedyn a gellen i ddŵad <u>ati</u> .
<i>And she would come to mother then to ask if I could go to her.</i> | 5432 |

There are no obvious syntactic differences between the forms which retain the pronoun and those which drop it. The only suggestion of patterning is that where the 3sgf pronoun is a semantically 'impersonal' form, there is never an overt pronoun.

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| 32. | On i trŵ'r nos <u>wrthi</u> .
<i>I was all night at it.</i> | 4928 |
| 33. | ... bod tywy' sych <u>yndi</u> .
<i>... that there was dry weather in it.</i> | 4927 |

There appears also to be some variation between individuals, as two of the speakers opt almost every time for dropping the pronoun, while the third uses both forms side by side. It would be useful to explore the usage of these 3sg forms with a greater number of speakers, in order to establish if there are genuine syntactic or semantic reasons for retaining or dropping the pronoun in certain forms, and to what extent this is actually a matter of free choice.

2.1 Inflected Verbs

Here again the scope for free choice is limited. In some contexts keeping the pronoun is obligatory, while in others it must be dropped. In only a very few contexts is the pronoun genuinely optional.

2.1 Answers

The answer to a yes/no question consists of an inflected verb, whose pronoun subject is obligatorily dropped.⁵ All tenses are affected, as are all person and number combinations.

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| 34. | "Wyt ti 'na, ...?" " <u>Wdw.</u> "
<i>"Are you there,....?" "I am."</i> | 4927 |
| 35. | Odych chi'n dweud iâr glwc? <u>Odyn</u> , iâr glwc.
<i>Do you say broody hen? We do, broody hen.</i> | 4928 |
| 36. | Odd e'n waith brwnt? <u>Wê.</u>
<i>Was it dirty work? It was.</i> | 5335 |
| 37. | Och chi'n gorffod troi e? <u>Oich.</u>
<i>Did you have to turn it? You did.</i> | 5433 |

The examples above are all positive responses, but the same restriction holds of negative responses too. The pronoun subject is dropped from the inflected verb which forms the answer.

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| 38. | Odych chi'n cofio'ch hen dadcu? O, <u>nadw.</u>
<i>Do you remember your great grandfather?
O, I don't.</i> | 4927 |
| 39. | Och chi'n mynd i ffair i gyflogi? <u>Nag ôn.</u>
<i>Did you go to a fair to find work? We did not.</i> | 5432 |

2.2 Echo Statements

A similar pattern appears with echo statements, where the speaker is confirming the truth of something he or she has just said. The echo consists of a bare inflected verb, with no subject pronoun.⁶ As before, this may be found in all tenses, and in all person and number combinations.

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| 40. | Mae e digon cyfrwys, cofiwch. (Ie, ie.) O, <u>odi.</u>
<i>He is cunning enough, remember. (Yes, yes) O, he is.</i> | 4928 |
| 41. | A rhei'n gweud caledi nw. <u>Odyn.</u>
<i>And some say airing them. They do.</i> | 5432 |
| 42. | Os bisen nw wedi sichu Dy' Llun, oin ni'n stilo Dy'
Mowrth. (O ie.) <u>Oin.</u>
<i>If they had dried on Monday, we ironed them on
Tuesday. (O yes.) We did.</i> | 5432 |

43. On nw 'ffo' myn' mâs i'r parc i gâl i dŵr. Oin. 5432
They had to go out to the field to get the water.
They did.

Again the same pattern holds of negative forms. The subject pronoun of the inflected verb is dropped.

44. Sai 'di neud dim ag 'riôd. Nadw. 5433
I haven't had anything to do with it ever. I have not.
45. Anan ni'n twtsh ag e. Nag wên. 5433
We didn't touch it. We did not.

Most of the examples found in this material involve the verb bod (be), but there are occasional examples with other verbs.

46. Dale am wthnos yn 'i gocyn heb lwchu trwyddo. 5335
Nethe.
It would last a week in the cocks without getting wet through. It would.
47. 'Llech chi ddim iwso tân cwlwm 'eb grat. Na allech, 5334
na allech.
You couldn't use a culm fire without a grate. You couldn't, you couldn't.

In both answers and echo statements, the subject pronoun which is dropped is not only predictable from the verbal inflection, but is also very closely linked to the preceding context. The subject of the answer is semantically identical to the subject of the preceding question, though not always grammatically identical owing to the inevitable switching back and forth between 1st and 2nd person in such cases as (34)-(35) and (38)-(39) above. The subject of an echo statement is identical to the subject of the previous sentence.

2.3 Main Clauses with Bod

Here we find the reverse situation, with the subject pronoun retained in almost all forms. This is true of all the tenses.

48. Dw i'n cofio'n dda amdano fe. 4927
I remember him well.
49. On i mâs in gweithio'n ddoudeg. 5432
I was out working at twelve.
50. A bues i fan'na wêch mish wedyn. 5432
And I was there six months afterwards.

And it is also true of the various person and number combinations. The examples above were all 1sg, but other forms are equally possible.

51. Wyt ti fel cryfishgin starfo. 4927
You are like skin and bones.
52. Wêdd e 'di gweld pethe ryfedd iawn ychwel. 4927
He had seen very odd things you see,
53. Wêdd 'i'n magu moch bach 'i 'unan. 5433
She raised little pigs herself.
54. Buon ni'n bwrw nw mewn i ryw dŷ segur. 5334
We used to throw them into some empty shed.
55. Onte byddwch chi'n ffaelu codi bore fory. 5432
Or you will not be able to get up tomorrow morning.
56. Ma nw'n hou barlish cyn diwedd mish Ebrill. 5335
They sow barley before the end of April.

Nor is this pattern confined to straightforward sentences of the kind shown above. The pronoun subject is retained in questions too,

57. Pam ych chi'n meddwl 'ny? 4928
Why do you think that?

And also in cleft sentences, where the body of the sentence follows the clefted constituent,

58. Llaw dde wdw i ar bopeth. 5335
Right handed I am on everything.
59. Dwy ginog yr un wên nw chwel. 4928
Two pence each they were you see.

There is one set of exceptions to this generalisation, so far as positive statements are concerned. In the present tense, the 3sgf pronoun is normally dropped.

60. Mae'n anner siŵr pan geith 'i' geni, o ran 'ynny. 4928
She's a heifer sure when she's born, for that matter.
61. O, mae'n nosweth braf. 5334
O, it's a fine night.

It seems most likely that this is primarily a low level phonetic matter. The normal realisation of the 3sgf pronoun hi is in this area 'i, without the initial h, and it seems very plausible that this is merely elided following the final glide of the verbal form, especially where there is no particular stress on the pronoun:

maj + i => maj

There seems no need to look for a syntactic rationale for this set of exceptions, when there is such a simple phonetic explanation available.⁷

2.4 Negative Forms with Bod

Turning to negative forms, we find that here again the subject pronoun is retained. There are in fact two kinds of negative forms in this dialect. In the one type the subject pronoun immediately follows the verb, and is in turn followed by the negative particle ddim.

62. A dw i ddim yn cofio pwy. 4927
And I don't remember who.
63. Bues i ddim yn pitsho in 'r iglan. 5335
I didn't used to pitch in the rickyard.

The second type are more complex and at first sight it is difficult to separate out the constituents.

64. Syna i'n gwbod. 4927
I don't know.
65. Synon ni'n godro mâs in i ceie. 5335
We don't do the milking out in the fields.
66. Anach chi'n bita cwmint ychwel. 5433
You didn't eat so much, you see.

I have argued elsewhere that these negatives may be derived from an underlying sequence consisting of the verb bod, the negative particle ddim, the inflected preposition o, and the pronoun:⁸

bod + ddim + o + pronoun

On this view the apparent subject pronoun is in fact in purely grammatical terms the object of the preposition o, rather than directly related to the verb of the sentence. This view is rendered the more plausible in that we find that in the 3sg of such negatives the inflection agrees with the following pronoun, not only in number and person but also in gender, following in this the normal pattern for prepositions rather than that of verbs.

67. Weno fe'n mofyn y wî ychwel. 4927
He didn't want the egg, you see.
68. Ond heni hi bod wrthi hunan. 5335
But she hadn't been at it herself.

In the light of this, it is interesting that the only negatives to allow the pronoun subject to be optionally dropped are these 3sg forms. The pronoun may be retained as in (67)-(68) above, or it may be dropped as in the following examples.

69. Weno'n ifanc. 4927
He wasn't young.
70. We-eni'n drodfedd o led. 5334
It wasn't a foot wide.

It seems at least plausible that what we have in this case is an echo of the pattern found earlier with prepositional phrases. There too the pronoun was optional in the 3sg, and obligatory elsewhere.⁹ There are already good reasons to treat this pronoun as a prepositional object rather than a normal subject pronoun, and this parallelism allows this second set of exceptions to be reasonably accounted for without any need to resort to ad hoc restrictions on subject pronouns.

It appears then that the pronoun subject of bod in a main clause is retained obligatorily in all cases. There are two apparent sets of exceptions, but both can be satisfactorily accounted for without serious difficulty. Loss of the 3sgf subject pronoun in the present tense is a purely phonetic matter. Loss of the 3sg pronoun in negatives can be related to the independently motivated analysis of such subject pronouns as the object of the preposition o.

2.5 Main Clauses with Full Verbs

In these forms, unlike those discussed so far, there is an element of choice. Examples occur both with and without the subject pronoun.

First those cases where the pronoun is retained. They occur in all tenses.

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| 71. | <u>Alla i</u> ddangos i chi wrth fyn' lan trw'r câ 'ma.
<i>I can show it to you as we go up through this field.</i> | 4927 |
| 72. | Falle <u>gweithen i</u> gwpwl o ryna wedyn.
<i>Perhaps I would make a few of them then.</i> | 5433 |
| 73. | Fe <u>newides i'n</u> farm wedyn.
<i>I changed my farm then.</i> | 5432 |

And they occur with all pronoun types, not just the 1sg as above.

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| 74. | <u>Gei di</u> fynd am gatre.
<i>You can go home.</i> | 4928 |
| 75. | <u>Ath 'i</u> damed bach yn "homesick".
<i>She became a little homesick.</i> | 5334 |
| 76. | <u>Bitshon ni</u> lot a wair 'da'i gili.
<i>We pitched a lot of hay together.</i> | 5335 |
| 77. | <u>Allech chi</u> doi â gwelld wedyn ychweld.
<i>You could roof with straw then, you see.</i> | 4928 |
| 78. | <u>Ffilon nw</u> fentro miwn.
<i>They failed to dare to go in.</i> | 4927 |

In the same way examples where the pronoun has been dropped occur in different tenses.

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| 79. | <u>Allwch</u> fynd mâs o'r tŷ yn bore ...
<i>You can go out of the house in the morning ...</i> | 4928 |
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80. Os byddech chi wedi dyrnu, fe gesech wellt. 4928
If you had threshed, you would have straw.

And they occur with a variety of different subject pronouns.

81. ... a esim nôl i Trellys. 5432
... and I went back to Trellys.
82. ... a fe wedodd wrth y rocyn bach ... 4928
... and he said to the little boy ...
83. Fe welon ddyn yn do' lawr. 4927
We saw a man coming down.
84. ... a fe dinnon miwn. 4927
... and they pulled aside.

One clear constraint is that the pronoun subject is always retained in negative forms.

85. Cesim i ddim gair o Gwmrâg yn 'r isgol. 5334
I didn't get a word of Welsh in school.
86. Chofiwch chi ddim llawer yn ifancach na 'inna chwel. 4927
You won't remember much younger than that, you see.
87. Dethon nw'm yn agos i'r bont. 4927
They didn't come near the bridge.

And the pronoun also appears to be retained in Cleft sentences, where the verb and its subject follow the clefted constituent.

88. "Na beth od", meddwn i. 4928
"That's odd", said I.
89. Nid cario'r wî nâth e, fachan. 4928
Not carry the egg he did, lad.
90. Falle bobo dished o lâth menyn gesen ni. 5432
Perhaps a cup of buttermilk each we would have.

Questions too appear to require that the pronoun be retained though examples are few in this material.

91. A weloch chi 'u ffoto nw? 4928
Did you see their photo?

It is not so easy to decide whether any specific factors influence the retaining or dropping of the pronoun in straightforward positive statements, such as (71)-(78) and (79)-(84) above. One possibility is that it may tie up with the presence or absence of the sentence-initial assertive particle fe. In this material there are 59 examples of positive, non-cleft statements where the pronoun is retained, of which only 10, that is 17%, have the particle fe, as for instance in (73). There are 19 examples of such statements without the subject pronoun, of which 8, or 42%, have the particle fe, as in (82)-(84). It will be necessary to explore similar forms from a greater number of speakers to establish if this is a genuine correlation, or merely an accidental feature of this limited data set. Apart from this, there do not appear to be any specific factors which can be seen to influence the choice between retaining and dropping the subject pronoun.

2.6 Imperatives

Here too there is an element of choice. The pronoun may be dropped, both in the 2sg and the 2pl.

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| 92. | <u>Cer</u> i ôl da.
<i>Go to fetch the cows.</i> | 4928 |
| 93. | <u>Gweithwch</u> ddiferyn o ddiod.
<i>Make a drop of drink.</i> | 5433 |

Or it may be retained, again both in the 2sg and the 2pl.

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| 94. | <u>Paid ti</u> siarad dwli, 'achan.
<i>Don't talk rubbish, lad.</i> | 4928 |
| 95. | Wêdd e mwy gleiw in grat na ar llawr, <u>cofiwch chi</u> .
<i>It was cleaner in a grate than on the floor; remember.</i> | 5334 |

By far the majority of imperatives appear without the subject pronoun, but it is not clear why the minority of forms do not follow this pattern. It may be that the pronoun is retained where it is particularly stressed, or there may be a lexical dimension involved. There are a very large number of examples with gwedwch (say, 2pl), and in every one the subject pronoun is dropped.

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| 96. | <u>Gwedwch</u> bod 'i'n ddiwyrnod twym nowr.
<i>Say that it was a hot day now.</i> | 5432 |
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The form cofiwch (remember, 2pl) however, which is also common, appears both with and without the pronoun. Compare (95) above with the following example.

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| 97. | On' enan ni'n galle' neud e in bob ffarm, <u>cofiwch</u> .
<i>But we couldn't do it in every farm, remember.</i> | 5432 |
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Here too it would be useful to explore similar forms from a greater number of speakers in order to establish if there is indeed an overall pattern, or merely free choice.

2.7 Subordinate Clauses

In all types of subordinate clause the pronoun subject must be retained. This is true of clauses containing an inflected form of the verb bod (be), regardless of the tense of the verb or the identity of the pronoun subject.¹⁰

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| 98. | cyd <u>bydda i</u> byw
<i>as long as I live</i> | 4927 |
| 99. | le <u>wêdd e'n</u> gweitho
<i>where he was working</i> | 4928 |
| 100. | os <u>bise 'i'n</u> sych
<i>if it were dry</i> | 5433 |
| 101. | pan <u>ôn ni'n</u> blant
<i>when we were children</i> | 5335 |
| 102. | os <u>byddech chi</u> wedi dyrnu
<i>if you had threshed</i> | 4928 |
| 103. | 'r un peth â <u>ma nw</u> nawr
<i>the same as they are now</i> | 5335 |

In negative forms too the pronoun is retained.

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| 104. | os na <u>fydd e</u>
<i>if he won't be</i> | 4927 |
| 105. | pan <u>wê enon ni'n</u> câl cwmint
<i>when we didn't get so much</i> | 5334 |

Subordinate clauses with full verbs behave in an identical fashion, always retaining the pronoun subject.

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| 106. | rag ofon <u>gwelen i</u> e
<i>in case I should see him</i> | 4927 |
| 107. | os na <u>ddei di</u>
<i>if you don't come</i> | 4928 |
| 108. | 'yd at <u>priododd e'r</u> ailwaith
<i>until he got married the second time</i> | 5335 |
| 109. | os <u>cesen ni</u> gifle wedyn
<i>if we should have a chance then</i> | 5432 |
| 110. | mor ginted â <u>gellech chi</u>
<i>as soon as you could</i> | 5433 |
| 111. | ys <u>gwedon nw</u>
<i>as they say</i> | 5335 |

3. Possessive Noun Phrases

Here too there is very little free choice. In some contexts the suffixed possessive pronoun must be kept, while in others it must be dropped, with both syntactic and semantic factors contributing to the overall picture.

3.1. Possessive Pronoun Identical to Subject of Sentence

If the possessive pronoun is identical to the subject of the sentence, then we find only the form:

Poss Pron + Noun

The suffixed pronoun is never present.

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| 112. | Bues i mâs ddwrnode a dwrnode in parc o bum, wêch erw,
in cerdded in <u>ing nglocs</u> .
<i>I have been out for days and days, in a field of five, six acres,
walking in my clogs.</i> | 5335 |
| 113. | Fe gei di <u>dy garde</u> .
<i>You may have your cards.</i> | 4928 |
| 114. | Mae e 'di torri ' <u>i glun</u> .
<i>He has broken his leg.</i> | 4928 |
| 115. | On ni'n gwitho'r cwlwm 'da' <u>i dwylo</u> . ¹¹
<i>We were working the culm with our hands.</i> | 5432 |
| 116. | Och chi'n newid <u>ych ffarm</u> .
<i>You would change your farm.</i> | 5432 |

This is true, not only in main clauses as in the examples just given, but also within subordinate clauses.

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| 117. | wedi fi bennu ' <u>ng isgol</u>
<i>after I finished my schooling</i> | 5432 |
| 118. | ... bo chi'n wasto' <u>ch amser</u>
<i>... that you were wasting your time</i> | 5432 |

And it is also true in those cases where the subject of the sentence is understood but not overt, as for instance, in an imperative where the subject pronoun has been dropped but is still clearly understood.

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| 119. | Cau <u>dy ben</u> .
<i>Shut your mouth.</i> | 4927 |
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Similarly, in oral narrative style it is common to omit certain predictable elements of a sentence, for instance the inflected form of bod (be) and its pronoun subject, once these have been established, as in the following example.

120. Wêch chi'n gweitho rheffyn wedyn a'i droi e, droi e. 5335
 Roi'ch penglin arno.
You would make a rope then, and turn it, turn it. Put your knee on it.

The subject of the verb roi (put) is missing here, though clearly understood from the preceding context, and the form of the possessive reflects this.

There are no examples in this material where the possessive pronoun is identical to some noun other than the subject of the sentence. Hints may be gleaned, however, as to how such forms might appear in the dialect from the behaviour of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns.

3.2. Reflexives and Reciprocals

Reflexive pronouns consist in Welsh of a complex NP, where a possessive pronoun modifies the noun hunan. The reflexive pronoun is often identical to the subject of the sentence, and in such cases always appears with a prefixed pronoun only, never with a suffixed echo pronoun.

121. Wêdd i'n magu mochyn bach 'i 'unan. 5433
She used to rear a little pig herself.
122. Oin ni'n neud i llun 'i 'unen. 5432
We used to make the picture ourselves.

Similarly the reciprocal pronoun consists of a complex NP, where a possessive pronoun modifies the noun gilydd. The reciprocal pronoun too is often identical to the subject of the sentence, and here too is found with the prefixed pronoun only, never with the suffixed echo pronoun.

123. Bitshon ni lot o wair 'da'i gily. 5335
We pitched a lot of hay with each other.
124. Ma rei'n mwy strict na'i gily ychwel. 5432
Some people are more strict than each other, you see.

So far then these forms resemble the possessive NPs discussed in the previous section. Here, however, it is possible to go one step further, as reciprocal pronouns are at least in some cases identical to a noun other than the subject of the sentence. And here too it is only the prefixed possessive pronoun that appears, never the suffixed echo pronoun.

125. Dim ond rhoi dou bishyn fel'na 'da'i gily. 5335
Just to put two bits like that with each other.
126. Fe welech bo'r myny' lot yn agosach 'ma weithe
 na'i gily ychwel. 4927
You would see that the mountain is a lot nearer here sometimes than each other, you see.

It appears then that the suffixed echo pronoun is dropped whenever the possessive is identical to another preceding noun in the sentence, though it will be necessary to check out this claim against further data in the case of 'normal' possessive NPs such as those discussed in section 3.1.

3.3. Possessive Pronoun not Identical to Another Noun in the Sentence

Where the possessive is not identical to the subject of the sentence, we find the fuller form of the phrase:¹²

Poss Pron + Noun + Poss Pron

The noun phrase containing a possessive may itself be the subject, either in a main clause or a subordinate clause.

127. On' tŷ tô odd y ngatre i. 5335
But my home was a thatched cottage.
128. On i'n gweld, gwbod bod 'i nyth e 'na'n iawn. 4928
I saw, knew that his den was there.

Or it may be some other constituent, bearing no particular relationship to the subject.

129. Ond anan ni'n neud lot â hwnnw'n yng amser i. 5433
But we didn't do a lot of that in my time.
130. On i'n gweld sbotyn gwyn mowr o fâs 'i nyth e. 4928
I could see a big white spot outside his den.
131. Wen nw'n codi tamed bach o'ch amod chi. 5334
They would raise your wages a bit.

3.4. Relations

One semantically distinct set does not follow this pattern. Where the noun possessed is the name of a close relation, the alternation of forms described above is not found. Instead, regardless of whether it is identical to some other noun in the sentence or not, the NP always appears without the suffixed echo pronoun, as:

Poss Pron + Noun

The possessive pronoun may be identical to the subject of the sentence.

132. A wên i'n gweud wrth y nad ... 4927
And I was saying to my father ...
133. Gida'i merch odd 'i. 5334
She was with her daughter.

In this context the lack of a suffixed echo pronoun is consistent with the behaviour of other possessive NPs. What is unexpected is that this same short form, without the echo pronoun, should also appear in other positions, where the possessive is not identical to any other noun in the sentence. It may, for instance, be itself part of the subject of the sentence.

134. Odd i nad in cisgu ar i lofft. 5334
My father used to sleep in the loft.
135. Briodo' 'n hwâr. 5334
My sister got married.

Compare these examples with (127)-(128) above, where the echo pronoun is obligatory for the normal run of possessive NPs in subject position. The semantic feature of 'close relationship' appears to over-ride the syntactic criteria which determine the patterning for other possessive NPs.

These 'relational' forms display one further oddity which sets them apart from the normal run of possessives. They permit the dropping of the prefixed pronoun, as well as the suffixed echo pronoun.

- | | | |
|------|--|------|
| 136. | Amser ôn i 'da <u>nad</u> lan ffor'na chweld.
<i>When I was with my father up that way, you see.</i> | 4927 |
| 137. | Wê <u>nhad</u> yn toi rhywfaint o'r tŷ bob blwyddyn.
<i>My father used to re-roof some of the house every year.</i> | 5335 |
| 138. | ... a bod e'n cal tosturi 'da <u>nad</u> a mam.
<i>... and that he got sympathy from my father and mother.</i> | 4927 |

In these forms the nasal mutation survives as a marker of the lost 1sg prefixed pronoun. But the pronoun may also be dropped before such items as mam and mamgu, where there is no mutation to mark its loss.

- | | | |
|------|--|------|
| 140. | Odd ddim ishe ni'll dwy gatre ar <u>mam</u> .
<i>My mother didn't need us both at home.</i> | 5334 |
|------|--|------|

Here again there seems to be no difference in the behaviour of those cases where the prefixed possessive is identical to the subject of the sentence, as in (136), and those where it is not. Such syntactic considerations appear to be irrelevant to the choice between keeping or dropping the prefixed pronoun in this set of possessive.¹³

4. Uninflected Verbs

Here again in some syntactic positions there is free choice between more than one possible realisation, while in others there is no choice. Uninflected verbs, however, differ from the structures discussed so far, in that in some cases it is prefixed pronoun which may be either kept or lost, rather than the suffixed echo pronoun.

4.1. Uninflected Verb and Direct Object Pronoun

The pronominal direct object of an uninflected verb may appear in full, with both prefixed and suffixed pronoun forms, as:

- | | | |
|------|---|------|
| | Poss Pron + Uninfl. Verb + Poss Pron | |
| 141. | Wech chi'n <u>i bwrw 'i</u> bant fel 'na.
<i>You used to throw it aside like that.</i> | 5335 |
| 142. | a'ch <u>gadel chi</u>
<i>and to leave you</i> | 5335 |

Where the prefixed pronoun might be expected to trigger a mutation in the uninflected verb, this is found, as for instance the Soft Mutation following the 3sgm pronoun.

- | | | |
|------|--|------|
| 143. | A we'r bwtshwr yn <u>'i waedu fe</u> .
<i>And the butcher used to bleed it.</i> | 5433 |
| 144. | a <u>'i bwyso fe</u> wedyn
<i>and to weigh it afterwards</i> | 5432 |

The pronominal object may also appear, however, in a shorter form. The prefixed pronoun is omitted, and only the suffixed echo pronoun is retained:

Uninfl. Verb + Poss Pron

- | | | |
|------|--|------|
| 145. | Wech chi'n <u>torri nw</u> .
<i>You used to cut them.</i> | 5334 |
| 146. | a <u>bwrw nw</u> lan
<i>and throw them up</i> | 5334 |

Although there is no overt prefixed pronoun in these forms, we do in many cases find the mutation which would be triggered by this missing pronoun. For instance, we find a Soft Mutation where the missing prefixed pronoun is 3sgm.

- | | | |
|------|--|------|
| 147. | Och chi'n <u>dinnu fe</u> fel'na.
<i>You used to pull it like that.</i> | 5432 |
| 148. | a <u>droi fe</u> lŵeth
<i>and turn it again</i> | 5433 |

The mutation does not show up in all cases, however, and it is quite common to find the unmutated form of the uninflected verb.

- | | | |
|------|--|------|
| 149. | A wedyn och chi'n <u>troi fe</u> wedyn.
<i>And then you used to turn it then.</i> | 5432 |
| 150. | a <u>clwmu fe</u> lan
<i>and tie it up</i> | 5335 |

It appears then that the prefixed pronoun is present at some underlying level, and is able to trigger the appropriate mutation on the uninflected verb. It may be optionally deleted however at a later stage in the derivation, leaving only the suffixed echo pronoun to mark the direct object.

4.2. Uninflected Verbs Following 'i' (to)

Similar conclusions may be drawn from what happens in those cases where the uninflected verb appears following the preposition *i* (to). The prefixed pronoun may be dropped.

- | | | |
|------|---|------|
| 151. | a cropyn i <u>stopo fe</u> ddo' mâs
<i>and a branch of gorse to stop it coming out</i> | 5433 |
|------|---|------|

Here the Soft Mutation found with 3sgm forms is ambiguous. It could be triggered by the missing prefixed pronoun, or it could equally plausibly be triggered by the preposition *i*.

152. a shiglo fe nôl a mlân i olchi fe 5432
and shake it back and forth to wash it

It is possible to chose between the two analyses on the basis of comparable forms where the missing prefixed pronoun is 3sgf or 3pl. If the Soft Mutation in (152) is triggered by the preposition *i*, then it should appear regardless of the identity of the missing prefixed pronoun.

153. Wên i'n 'ala dwyrnod cifan braidd i golchi ddi. 5334
I used to spend a whole day just to wash it.
154. a mynd â cart i cwên nw 5334
and take a cart to fetch them

Clearly this is not what happens: we find rather the unmutated form of the uninflected verb. This is, however, perfectly consistent with the view that it is the prefixed pronoun that triggered the Soft Mutation in (152). The 3sgf and 3pl pronouns do not trigger mutation of the following item, and so the uninflected verb in (153)-(154) retains its original form.

These forms too then suggest that the profixed pronoun is present at some stage in the derivation, and is able to trigger or block mutation of the uninflected verb. At some later point in the derivation the pronoun is lost, and only the suffixed echo pronoun remains.

4.3. Uninflected Verb and Subject Pronoun

In certain kinds of embedded clauses the verb bod (be) appears with a pronominal subject. In the standard language this subject takes the full form, with both prefixed and suffixed echo pronoun, but in this dialect the prefixed pronoun is never present. The suffixed echo pronoun appears alone:

Uninfl. Verb + Poss Pron

155. A wêdd 'i'n gweud bod 'i'n cofio amdano. 5335
And she was saying that she remembered it.
156. Wê fenyw'n gwbod bo' ni'n pennu isgol. 5432
A woman knew that we were finishing school.
157. wrth bo' chi'n myn' o 'ma 4927
as you go from here

There are, furthermore, in such cases no traces of the mutation that might be triggered by the missing prefixed pronoun, the Nasal Mutation in the case of the 1sg or the Soft mutation in the case of the 3sgm. The uninflected verb consistently retains its unmutated form regardless of the identity of the subject pronoun.

158. Ond sai'n gweud bo fi'n ryw rwmreg wyllt iawn. 5335
But I'm not saying that I am a particularly fast binder.

159. Gwedwch bod e 'di câl niwed chwel, 4928
Say that he had had an injury, you see.

In the case of direct object pronouns there was clear evidence in favour of the view that the prefixed pronoun was indeed present at some stage in the derivation, though lost later on. Here, in the case of subject pronouns, there is no such direct evidence. The prefixed pronoun is never present overtly, and it triggers no mutation on the uninflected verb bod.

4.4. 'Cael' Passives

In the case of cael passives we return to the normal situation, where it is the suffixed pronoun that is lost, and the prefixed pronoun that is retained.

The cael passive form consists of a subject, corresponding to the object of the active, the verb cael (get), and an uninflected verb corresponding to the verb of the active. The subject of the passive is copied as the pronominal direct object of this uninflected verb:

NP(a) + Cael + Poss Pron(a) + Uninfl. Verb

The possessive pronoun appears only as a prefixed form. The suffixed echo pronoun is never present.

The mutation which the prefixed pronoun would be expected to trigger is always present. In the case of a 1sg pronoun, the Nasal Mutation.

160. Wên i'n câl i ngalw wrth in enw, Maggie. 5335
I used to be called by my name, Maggie.

In the case of 3sgm pronouns, the Soft Mutation.

161. Wêdd e'n câl 'i losgi wedyn. 5335
It used to be burnt then.
162. y dydd y geith e'i eni 4928
the day that he is born

Those pronouns which do not trigger mutation of the following item, such as 3pl, appear with the basic form of the uninflected verb.

163. Weles i ddim rheina'n câl 'i llosgi. 5334
I didn't see those ones being burnt.

The prefixed pronoun too may be dropped in certain circumstances. This is possible, for instance, if the mutation on the uninflected verb reveals the identity of the missing pronoun unambiguously. the 1sg prefixed pronoun is occasionally dropped, but leaves the Nasal Mutation behind as a marker.

164. Ges i ngeni yn y flwyddyn ... 4927
I was born in the year ...

This happens too in those cases where cael is itself dropped following the prefactive aspect marker wedi (after).

165. cyn bo fi wedi ngeni 4927
before I was born

In the case of the 3sgm the Soft Mutation marks the identity of the lost pronoun, and in the case of the 3sgf the Aspirate Mutation.

166. Wêdd e wedi gladdu. 4927
He had been buried.

167. ... a bod gwydd hour wdi chladdu 'na ryw bryd 4927
... and that a golden goose had been buried there at some time

It seems likely that there is in these forms an element of phonetic conditioning. The final vowel of wedi is identical to the vowel of the pronoun, which takes the form *i* in both 1sg, 3sgm, and 3sgf. In the case of such forms as (164) the 1sg subject pronoun is again identical in form to the possessive pronoun. It is quite plausible that the second of sequence of two identical vowels should be elided in natural speech. Further data is needed to establish whether the pronoun is also deleted in those cases where there is no such phonetic conditioning involved.

4.5. Relative Clauses and Related Constructions

In a relative clause it is sometimes the case that the pronoun object of an uninflected verb is identical to the head noun. In such cases the uninflected verb appears alone; neither the prefixed pronoun nor the suffixed echo pronoun is present.¹⁴

168. O godro wê'r peth gore ôn ni'n neud. 5432
O milking was the best thing we used to do.

A similar pattern is found in Cleft sentences, and Wh-questions, the uninflected verb appearing alone without an overt pronoun.

169. Cario dŵr wêr oin ni'n neud. 5432
It's carrying cold water that we used to do.

170. Dwy'n cofio'n dda beth wêdd e wedi neud o ran 'ynny. 4927
I remember well what he had done for that matter.

There is, however, some evidence to support the view that the prefixed pronoun is actually present at an early stage in the derivation, though lost later on. In many cases the mutation which such a prefixed pronoun would trigger in the uninflected verb is present, even though the pronoun itself is not. In the case of 3sgm pronouns, for instance, we often find the Soft Mutation of the uninflected verb. It seems plausible that this mutation is triggered before the pronoun is dropped, and thus survives as a marker of this lost pronoun.

171. Stofi yn ni'n weud. 5433
It's casting on that we say.

172. Pwy ddenfydd ych chi'n feddwl? 5432
What material do you think?

In these cases then, the pronoun appears to be missing only at a comparatively late stage in the derivation. In another, apparently similar, set of forms the position is rather different. The preposition *i* may introduce an embedding which contains an uninflected verb, whose pronoun object is identical to a noun in the main clause. In such cases too the uninflected verb appears alone, with no overt pronoun, prefixed or suffixed.

173. On nw'n ffindio rwbeth i ni neud trw'r amser. 5432
They used to find something for us to do all the time.

174. Wê dim i neud on' ... 5432
There was nothing to do but ...

Here, however, the evidence from mutation of the uninflected verb does not unambiguously support the view that the prefixed pronoun is present at some early stage of the derivation. Where the pronoun is 3sgm we find the Soft Mutation of the verb.

175. Odd e'n ffit i gwên wedyn. 5335
It was fit to harvest then.

It is possible that this mutation might have been triggered by a prefixed 3sgm pronoun, but it is also possible that it was triggered by the preposition *i* itself. Forms where the pronoun is 3pl allow us to choose between these two accounts.

176. We ddim raceie mowron i gâl. 5335
There were no big rakes to have.

The uninflected verb here has undergone Soft Mutation. The 3pl prefixed pronoun would not normally trigger the mutation in the following uninflected verb, while the preposition *i* regularly triggers this mutation in any following item. It appears then that either the prefixed pronoun is not present at all in the course of the derivation of these forms, or that it is dropped before the mutations are triggered. Why these forms should differ in this way from the apparently similar relatives, clefts and wh-questions is unclear, and further analysis is clearly needed.

Conclusions

It is clear that even relatively informal speech within a single dialect is characterised by a complicated pattern of constraints on the retention or loss of the suffixed echo pronouns. In all four syntactic types - prepositional phrases, inflected verbs, possessive NPs and uninflected verbs - certain contexts require an overt pronoun, others require that the pronoun be dropped, and only a very few allow free choice in this matter.

Further progress may take a number of different forms. Firstly, a more detailed syntactic analysis of this material, searching for general principles which may give rise to the patterns described here. Secondly, so far as those contexts which appear to allow free choice are concerned, the analysis of comparable material from other speakers of the dialect in the search for further factors which may influence this choice. Thirdly, the collection and analysis of similar material from other dialects for comparison.

Finally, it is clear from the discussion of possessive NPs and uninflected verbs above that it is not the suffixed pronouns alone which may be dropped. In certain contexts the prefixed pronoun may be lost, either alone or along with the suffixed echo pronoun. Further exploration of these forms is also needed if we are to have a clear overall picture of the behaviour of these pronoun forms.

Footnotes

1. See, for instance, Watkins (1977-78) and Thomas (1980). Relevant, though partial, information can also be found in studies of other syntactic and morphological issues, such as Thomas (1973-74).
2. One of these speakers was from the village of St. Nicholas on Strumble Head, one from near Newport, and the other from Puncteston. They were all three recorded by the same fieldworker, and all the recordings were made within two years of each other.
3. The number following each example is the archive number of the tape from which it is taken, all tapes in the Welsh Folk Museum collection being assigned a number which reflects the order in which they were recorded.
4. There are also occasional examples where the prepositions ar (on) and o (of /from) are not inflected when followed by a 3pl pronoun.

a) a grondo ar nw 4928
and listen to them

b) llawer iawn o nw 4927
very many of them

5. In these examples, apart from (34) which is a quote from a story told by the speaker, the question is spoken by the fieldworker and the answer by the informant. There were a very few exceptional forms where the pronoun subject was retained, all from one of the informants.

c) Chi ddim yn hoffi'r gwaith? O, na wên i. 4928
You didn't like the work? O, no I didn't.

Past tense forms have not been taken into account as the response - Do in positive forms, Naddo in negatives - does not vary for person and number. Here too the pronoun is omitted.

6. The material within brackets, as in (40), is spoken by the fieldworker. Here again there are a very few exceptional forms with an overt pronoun, and these from the same informant who produced the few exceptional forms in the case of answers. It may be that stress is a factor here, but in order to follow up this possibility it will be necessary to go back to the original tapes.

d) Sai'n credu at all. Nadw i. 4927
I don't believe at all. No, I don't.

7. In a very few forms the 3sgf pronoun is retained. If the explanation suggested here in terms of phonetic elision is accepted, all this means is that in certain forms there is enough stress on the 3sgf subject pronoun to resist this process.

e) In Kensington mae 'i nawr. 5335
She is in Kensington now.

8. See Awbery (1988) and Awbery (to appear).
9. I argued in the papers referred to in fn. 8 above that there are examples where the preposition o is not inflected.

f) So fe'n folon ... 4928
He is not willing ...

In such forms the pronoun subject is retained.

10. In this discussion I do not consider relative clauses, which raise a number of other issues.
11. In this dialect we find an unusual realisation of the 1pl prefixed pronoun in possessive NPs. Instead of ein/yn, we find rather i, which is homophonic with the 3sg and 3pl prefixed pronouns. Compare (115) with the following examples.

g) 'Na'i brecwast ni. 5432
That was our breakfast.

h) Oin ni'n 'ffod troi i dwylo at i cifan. 5433
We had to turn our hands to everything.

And also related examples with reflexive and reciprocal pronouns as in (122) and (123).

12. Complex prepositions with contain a NP, such as o flaen (before), behave like this.

i) Os penne rywun o'ch blân chi ... 5335
If someone finished before you ...

13. In a few examples we find the prefixed pronoun dropped before a noun which does not refer to a relation.

j) Ma ngwallt yn codi ngapan i lan yn grwn. 4927
My hair lifts my cap right up.

k) Os na ddei di, machgen i ... 4928
If you don't come, my boy ...

In these cases the identity of the missing pronoun is always clear from the mutation on the noun, and in fact - as with relation nouns - it is always the 1sg pronoun which is dropped. It is not clear if this is a systematic restriction or merely an accidental feature of this set of data.

14. In the standard language the prefixed pronoun is found in such forms, and also in the other constructions discussed in this section.

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