ECHO PRONOUNS IN A WELSH DIALECT:

A SYSTEM IN CRISIS?

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1.   Introduction

There has, over the years, been very little contact between two groups of linguists, both of them interested in Welsh, but approaching the language from rather different perspectives. On one side of the divide we have theoretical linguistis wishing to test out the predictions of a wide range of syntactic models on a readily available VSO language. They have, on the whole, stuck to standard literary Welsh, with occasional forays into a loosely defined "colloquial Welsh" in acknowledgement of the gulf between the formal written language and the informal, spoken register.

They have, it appears, found plenty of problems to grapple with, and have not been tempted to go and look for trouble in the murky waters of regional dialect. This is perhaps just as well, because on the other side of the divide we find the dialectologists, with a wealth of knowledge about regional variation in Welsh but little or no interest in syntax. Knowledge about ways in which the traditional dialects differ from each other and from the standard language remains anecdotal so far as syntax is concerned, and much basic information is simply not available in any readily accessible source.

This paper is intended as a contribution to the process of filling the gap, and making available for general discussion syntactic information relating to traditional regional dialect.

The dialect I draw on is that of Pembrokeshire, in south west Wales [1], and the syntactic issue I shall focus on is the behaviour of "echo pronouns".

2.   Echo Pronouns

First a little background, using examples from the standard literary language to set the scene. By "echo pronouns" I mean those suffixed clitic pronouns which repeat information already given earlier in the phrase. They may echo the inflection on a finite verb or a preposition.

> 1.   Gwelais i y ddamwain,
>   saw-1SNG I the accident
>   'I saw the accident.'

2.   Rhoddodd y plant y blodau <u>iddi hi</u>.
             gave-3SNG the children the flowers to-3SNGF her
             'The children gave the flowers to her.'

The inflection on the verb indicates the person and number of the subject, and the following subject pronoun echoes this information. The inflection on the prepositon indicates 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, a prefixed pronoun indicates the person, number, and in the 3sg the gender of the possessor, and the suffixed pronoun echoes this information.

3.   Darllenodd y mfyrywyr <u>ei lyfr ef</u>.
             read-3SNG the students his book him
             'The students read his book.'

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

4.   Dywedodd y bachgen <u>ein bod ni</u> wedi cyrraedd.
             said-3SNG the boy our being us after arrive
             'The boy said that we had arrived.'

5.   Mae'r plant wedi <u>ei weld ef</u>.
             are-3SNG the children after his see him
             'The children have seen him.'

It has been traditionally assumed that these echo pronouns may be freely omitted, so that (1)-(5) may equally well be realised as (6)-(10). There is no difference in meaning between the form with an overt echo pronoun and the form where it has been dropped.

6.   <u>Gwelais</u> y ddamwain.

7.   Rhoddodd y plant y blodau <u>iddi</u>.

8.   Darllenodd y myfyrwyr <u>ei lyfr</u>.

9.   Dywedodd y bachgen <u>ein bod</u> wedi cyrraedd.

10.   Mae'r plant wedi <u>ei weld</u>.

As usual, however, life turns out to be rather more complicated than this rather simplistic account would suggest. It has already been established, in work on the standard literary language, that an echo pronoun is not acceptable in certain constructions. [2] Its loss, then, in these cases is obligatory rather than optional. One such construction is the <u>cael</u> passive, where the echo pronoun following the uninflected verb must be dropped. Thus (11) is fine, but not (12).

11.   Cafodd y ferch <u>ei rhybuddio</u>.
       got-3SNG the girl her warn
       'The girl was warned.'

12.   *Cafodd y ferch <u>ei rhybuddio hi</u>.

A similar restriction shows up in relative clauses, clefts and wh-questions.

Attention has so far focussed on these highly specfic constructions, and the considerations determining why they do not permit overt echo pronouns. The assumption that elsewhere in the language echo pronouns are for all practical purposes optional has remained largely untested. The discussion which follows examines their behaviour in the informal speech of north Pembrokeshire, and suggests that they are rarely optional in any straightforward sense. It appears rather that in this dialect a wide range of factors determine whether an echo pronoun is indeed optional in a particular construction, or whether it is rather obligatorily retained or deleted. [3]

3.   Pembrokeshire Welsh

The discussion which follows falls naturally into two parts. Section 4 explores the restrictions on echo pronouns in this dialect, listing the factors which determine their behaviour in a wide variety of constructions. These include syntactic and semantic features of the immediate phrase in which the echo pronoun appears, aspects of the overall clause or sentence, and even interactive patterns of discourse.

The factors which appear to be relevant are very varied, and in combination they produce an extremely complicated picture. It is, however, still recognisable as related to the comparatively simple picture outlined in Section 2 above. The optional deletion of echo pronouns is found, in this dialect at least, to be hedged around with a number of different restrictions, some of them puzzling and unexpected, but the basic structures remain the same.

Section 5, however, presents evidence which suggests that a major syntactic shift has begun in this dialect, and that echo pronoun structures are being dropped in favour of semantically equivalent, but in some ways simpler, forms. In thse a single pronoun stands alone, and the inflection or prefixed pronoun which would normally precede it in the phrase is lost. This shift is most noticeable where the head of the phrase is an uninflected verb, but there are also hints that its influence has begun to appear elsewhere, possibly heralding the eventual loss of echo pronoun structures throughout the dialect.

4.   Restrictions on Echo Pronouns in Pembrokeshire Welsh

A number of different factors appear to affect the behaviour of echo pronouns in this dialect. In the sections below prepositional phrases, possessive noun phrases, and inflected verbs are considered in turn, and the factors relevant in each case are outlined.

4.1.   The Identity of the Pronoun

In prepositional phrases the crucial factor is the actual identity of the echo pronoun itself, in terms of person and number. If it is 1st or 2nd person, singular or plural. then it does not drop. It is always present and overt.

13.   Wê ddim 'wnna'n dipendo arna i.   5335 [4]
       was-2SNG not that-one in depend on-1SNG me
       'That didn't depend on me.'

14.   Ma peil o'r bois yn barod amdanat ti.   4928
       is-3SNG lots of the boys in ready for-2SNG thee
       'A gang of the lads are ready for you.'

15.   Ond wedd e'n gweiddi arnon ni chwel.   5432
       but was-3SNG he in shout on-1PL us you-see
       'But he was shouting at us, you see.'

16.   Os na ddele rywun i wbod amdanoch chi.   5334
       if not came-3SNG someone to know about-2PL you
       'Unless someone came to know about you.'

Similarly if the pronoun is 3pl, then it is always retained.

17.   'Llech chi ddim torri bara menyn iddyn nw gyd   5433
       ychwel
       could-2PL you not cut bread butter for-3PL them all
       you-see
       'You couldn't cut bread and butter for them all you
       see.'

When the pronoun is 3sg, however, an element of choice does appear. A 3sg masculine pronoun may be retained or dropped, as in the following examples.

18.   Och chi'n isgwid yr halen arno fe.   5432
       were-2PL you in shake the salt on-3SNGM him
       'You would shake the salt on it.'

19.   A wedyn ôn nw'n roi dŵr gleiw indo wedyn lweth 5432
       and then were-3PL they in put water clean
       in-3SNGM then again
       'And then they would put clean water into it then a
       second time.'

There is no obvious syntactic difference between the examples which retain the pronoun and those which drop it. The decsion as to whether the pronoun should be retained or dropped in these forms does indeed appear to be a matter of free choice.

The position over 3sg feminine forms is different again. In all such cases the echo pronoun is consistently dropped.

    20.   Dych chi ddim am iddi gâl llo.   4928
           are-2PL you not about for-3SNGF have calf
           'You don't want her to have a calf.'

It is not clear why there appears to be a choice with masculine pronouns but not with feminine ones, Is this indeed a systematic restriction on echo pronouns in the dialect, or just a chance limitation on the data set examined here? [5]

It is perhaps wrth adding that the 3sg feminine pronoun is in some cases semantically "impersonal", and here too the echo pronoun is always dropped.

    21.   On i trw'r nos wrthi.   4928
           was-1SNG I through the night at-2SNGF
           'I was all night at it.'

    22.   ... bod tywy' sych yndi.   4927
           ... be weather dry in-3SNGF
           '... that there was dry weather in it.'

4.2.   Coreference Within the Clause

Turning to possessive noun phrases, we find that the behaviour of the echo pronoun is determined by patterns of coreference within the clause. Here again there is, in practice, no free choice.

If the possessive is coreferential with the subject, then the echo pronoun is always dropped.

    23.   Fe gei di dy garde.   4928
           AssPrt. will-get-2SNG thee thy cards
           'You will have your cards.'

    24.   Mae e 'di torri 'i glun.   4928
           is-3SNG he after break his leg
           'He has broken his leg.'

    25.   Och chi'n newid ych ffarm.   5432
           were-2PL you in change your farm
           'You would change your farm.'

This is true both in main clauses, as above, and in subordinate clauses.

    26.   ... wedi fi bennu 'ng isgol ...   5432
           ... after I finish my school ...
           '... after I finished my schooling ...'

27.   ... bo chi'n wasto<u>'ch amser</u> ...   5432
        ... be you in waste your time ...
        '... that you were wasting your time ...'

It is true also of cases where the subject of the sentence is understood but not overt, as for instance in an imperative form where the subject pronoun has been dropped.

28.   Cau <u>dy ben</u>.   4927
        shut-2SNG thy mouth
        'Shut your mouth.'

Where the possessive is identical to some noun other than the subject of the clause, the situation is unclear. There are no straightforward examples of this type in the taped material, but the behaviour of reflexive and reciprocal forms may cast some light on the problem.

Reflexives consist in Welsh of a complex NP, where a possessive pronoun modifies the noun <u>hunan</u>, as <u>fy hunan</u> (myself). The reflexive is often identical with the subject of a sentence, and in such cases appears with a prefixed possessive only. The echo pronoun is always dropped.

29.   Wedd 'i'n magu mochyn bach <u>'i 'unan</u>.   5433
        was-3SNG she in rear pig little her self
        'She used to rear a little pig herself.'

Similarly reciprocals consist of a complex NP, where a possessive pronoun modifies the noun <u>gilydd,</u> as in <u>ein gilydd</u> (ourselves). The reciprocal too is often coreferential with the subject of the clause, and here again the echo pronoun is always dropped.

30.   Bitshon ni lot o wair 'da'<u>i gily'</u>.   5335
        pitched-1PL we lot of hay with our other
        'We pitched a lot of hay with each other.'

So far, then, reflexives and reciprocals resemble normal possessive NPs. We can now, however, go one step further, since reciprocals are in some of the examples recorded here coreferential with a noun other than the subject. Here too the echo pronoun is always dropped.

31.   Dim ond rhoi dou bishyn fel 'na 'da'<u>i gily'</u>.   5335
        nothing but put two pieces like that with their other
        'Just to put two bits like that with each other.'

It appears then that the echo pronoun is dropped if the possessive is coreferential with any other noun in the clause, though it will be necessary to confirm against further data that 'normal' possessives behave in the same way as reciprocals.

There is equally no choice where the possessive is not coreferential with some previous noun in the sentence. Here the echo pronoun is always retained. The NP containing the possessive may itself be the subject of a main or subordinate clause.

32.   On' tŷ to odd <u>y ngatre i</u>.   5335
          but house roof was-3SNG my home me
          'But my home was a thatched cottage.'

33.   On i'n gweld, gwbod bod <u>'i nyth e</u> 'na'n iawn.   4928
          was-1SNG I see, know his den him there alright
          'I could see, know that this den was there alright.'

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

34.   On i'n gweld sbotyn gwyn mowr o fas <u>'i nyth e</u>.   4928
          was-1SNG I in see spot white big outside his
          den him
          'I could see a big white spot outside his den.'

35.   Wên nw'n codi tamed bach o'<u>ch amod chi</u>.   5334
          were-3PL they in raise bit little of your wage you
          'They would raise your wages a bit.'

4.3   Semantic Features of the Head Noun

One set of NPs containing possessive pronouns do not display the pattern of alternation described above. The crucial factor here appears to be the semantic identity of the head noun itself. If this refers to a close family relation, then the echo pronoun is dropped, regardless of any other considerations.

The possessive may of course be coreferential with the subject of the clause, and here loss of the echo pronoun would be expected anyway.

36.   A wên i'n gweud wrth <u>y nad</u> ...   4927
          and was-1SNG I in say to my father ...
          'And I was saying to my father ...'

But where the head noun is a close relation, the echo pronoun is dropped wholsale even in contexts where this would not normally be possible.

37.   Briodo' <u>'n hwâr</u>.   5334
          married-3SNG my sister
          'My sister got married.'

38.   ... a bod e'n câl tosturi 'da <u>nad a mam</u>. [6]   4927
          ... and be he in get sympathy with (my)
          father and mother
          '... and that he got sympathy from my father
          and mother'

In (37) and (38) the possessive is not coreferential with another noun in the clause, and the echo pronoun would normally be retained. Where the head noun is a close relation, however, this semantic factor appears to over-ride the normal patterns of alternation. [7]

4.4.   Main or Subordinate Clause

Where the echo pronoun is the subject of an inflected verb, an important factor is whether it appears in a main or a subordinate clause. In a main clause there is an element of choice, and the echo pronoun may be retained or dropped.

39.	Aroses i beder blyne' yn y lle in Maenclochog.	5334
	stayed-1SNG I four years in the place in Maenclochog	
	'I stayed four years in the place in Maenclochog.'	

40.	A esim nôl i Trellys,	5432
	and went-1SNG back to Trellys	
	'And i went back to Trellys.'	

It is far more common for the echo pronoun subject to be retained than for it to be dropped, but both possibilities exist. And this is true both where there is no overt assertion particle, as in the examples above, and also where there is an overt assertion particle in sentence-initial position.

41.	Fe newides i'n ffarm wedyn.	5432
	AssPrt. changed-1SNG I my farm then	
	'I changed my farm then.'	

42.	Fe welon ddyn yn do' lawr.	4927
	AssPrt. saw-3PL man in come down	
	'They saw a man coming down.'	

In a subordinate clause, on the other hand, the echo pronoun is always retained.

43.	... 'yd at priododd e'r ailwaith ...	5335
	... until to married-3SNG he the second time ...	
	'... until he got married the second time ...'	

44.	... mor ginted gellech chi ...	5433
	... as soon as could-2PL you ...	
	'... as soon as you could ...'	

This distinction between main and subordinate clauses holds only, however, for "full" verbs. Where the verb is bod (be), the distinction is lost. The echo pronoun is always retained in a main clause, both where bod is used as a copula and where it functions as an auxiliary. [8]

45.   W<u>êdd e</u>'n waith bowlyd.   5432
        was-3SNG he in work dirty
        'It was dirty work.'

46.   W<u>êdd e</u>'di gweld pethe ryfedd iawn ychwel.   4927
        was-3SNG he after see things odd very you-see
        'He'd seen very odd things, you see.'

Again in subordinate clauses the pronoun is retained with <u>bod</u>, here in parallel to the behaviour of "full" verbs.

47.   ... os <u>bise'i</u>'n sych ...   5433
        ... if were-3SNG she in dry ...
        '... if it were dry ...'

48.   ... le <u>wêdd e</u>'n gweitho ...   4928
        ... where was-3SNG he in work ...
        '... where he was working ...'

4.5.   <u>Sentence Type</u>

The examples discussed in the previous section were all straightforward statements. In other sentence types - imperatives, questions and cleft forms the patterns differ.

Imperatives, like statements, allow an element of choice, and the echo pronoun subject may be retained or dropped. Of the two the pattern without an echo pronoun is by far the most common, and it is not clear why a minority of forms behave differently.

49.   On' <u>drychwch</u> fel ma nw heddi.   5432
        but look-2Pl like are-3PL they today
        'But look how they are today.'

50.   Wêdd e mwy gleiw in grat na ar llawr, <u>cofiwch chi</u>.   5334
        was-3SNG he more clean in grate than on floor
        remember-2PL you
        'It was cleaner in the grate than on the floor, remember.'

There are no imperatives with <u>bod</u> in this material and so the question of how such forms behave in the dialect must be left open for the present.

In questions, both yes/no and wh, the echo pronoun is retained. But as there are very few examples of questions in this material, owing to the nature of the interview situation, it is not clear if this is a real generalisation or if further data would change the picture.

51.   A <u>weloch chi</u> 'u ffoto nw?   4928
        QPrt. saw-2Pl you their photo them
        'Did you see their photo?'

52. Ble <u>gesoch chi</u>'r enw 'na te?   4928
     where got-2PL you the name that then
     'Where did you get that name?'

Questions with <u>bod</u> appear to follow the same pattern, the echo pronoun subject being retained here too.

53. <u>Wyt ti</u> 'na, ...?   4927
     are-2SNG thou there, ...
     'Are you there, ...?'

54. Pam <u>ych chi</u>'n meddwl 'ny?   4928
     why are-2Pl you in think that
     'Why do you think that?'

In cleft sentences, which are relatively common in this material, the echo pronoun is consistently retained.

55. Cario'r ŵydd <u>nath e</u>.   4928
     carry the goose did-3SNG he
     'It's carry the goose that he did.'

56. Tân tanwent <u>wedwn ni</u>.   5433
     fire wood say-1PL we
     'It's a wood fire that we say.'

Sentences reporting direct speech appear to fall into this same pattern and here too the echo pronoun is retained.

57. "Dere mâs te", <u>mynte nw</u>.   4927
     "come-2SNG out then!" said-3PL they
     "Come out then", they said.

Clefts with <u>bod</u> behave in the same way, retaining the echo pronoun.

58. Gweitho ar ffarm <u>wêdd e</u>.   5432
     work on farm was-3SNG he
     'It's working on a farm that he was.'

59. Ar i mini <u>ôn ni</u>'n câl mate.   5334
     on the mountain were-1PL we in get turfs
     'It's on the mountain that we used to get turfs.'

And this is true both where bod is used as an auxiliary, as in the examples above, and where it is used rather as a copula.

60. A llaw dde <u>wên i</u>.   5335
     and hand right was-1SNG I
     'And it's right handed that I was.'

61.   Tŷ to <u>odd e</u>.   5335
       house roof was-3SNG he
       'It's a thatched house that it was.'

4.6.   <u>Negatives</u>

Turning to negative forms we find once again that there is very little free choice in the treatment of the echo pronoun subject. So far as "full" verbs are concerned the pronoun is always retained in negative forms, differing in this from the positive statements discussed earlier, where the pronoun could be freely dropped.

62.   <u>Cesim i</u> ddim gair o Gwmrâg in 'r isgol.   5334
       got-1SNG I not word of Welsh in the school
       'I didn't get a word of Welsh in school.'

63.   <u>Dethon nw</u>'m yn agos i'r bont.   4927
       came-3PL they not in near to the bridge
       'They didn't come near the bridge.'

The position over <u>bod</u> is a little more complicated as there are in the dialect two distinct types of negation for <u>bod</u>, each having different implications for the behaviour of echo pronouns. The first type resembles the pattern found with "full" verbs above. The subject pronoun immediately follows the verb and is in turn followed by the negative particle <u>ddim</u>. Negatives like this always retain the echo pronoun subject.

64.   A <u>dw i</u> ddim yn cofio pwy.   4927
       and am-1SNG I not in remember who
       'And I don't remember who.'

65.   <u>Bues i</u> ddim yn pitsho in 'r iglan.   5335
       was-1SNG I not in pitch in the rickyard
       'I didn't used to pitch in the rickyard.'

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

66.   <u>Syna i</u>'n gwbod.   4927
       am-not-1SNG I in know
       'I don't know.'

67.   <u>Anach chi</u>'n bita cwmint ychwel.   5433
       were-not-2PL you in eat so much you-see
       'You didn't eat so much, you see.'

68.   <u>Enan nwy</u>'n folon roi cwmint.   5432
       were-not-3PL they in willing give so much
       'They weren't willing to give so much.'

I have argued elsewhere [9] that these negatives may be derived from an underlying sequence consisting of the verb <u>bod</u>, the negative particle <u>ddim</u>, the inflected preposition <u>o</u>, and the pronoun. On this view although the pronoun is semantically the subject of the verb, it is in purely grammatical terms the object of the preposition <u>o</u>. Interestingly we find that where the pronoun is 3sg, the inflection agrees with it not only in number and person but also in gender, following the pattern normally found only with prepositional objects.

69.   <u>Weno fe</u>'n mofyn y wi ychwel.   4927
    was-not-3SNGM he in want the egg you-see
    'He didn't want the egg, you see.'

70.   Ond <u>heni hi</u> bod wrthi hunan.   5335
    but was-not-3SNGF she be at-3SNGF herself
    'But she hadn't been at it herself.'

In the light of this, it is interesting that only these 3sg forms allow the echo pronoun to be dropped. The pronoun may be retained as in (69) and (70), or it may be dropped as in the examples below.

71.   <u>Weno</u>'n ifanc.   4927
    was-not-3SNGM in young
    'He wasn't young.'

72.   <u>We-eni</u>'n drodfedd o led.   5334
    was-not-3SNGF in foot of width
    'It wasn't a foot wide.'

This is very reminiscent of the pattern found with prepositional objects, and the parallelism provides an explanation for why this set of negatives behaves in a quite different way from the normal run of negative forms so far as the loss of the echo pronoun is concerned.

4.7.   <u>Discourse Structure</u>

There are even features of conversational interaction which determine how echo pronouns behave. In such cases it is not the structure of the individual sentence which is important, but rather the relationship between successive sentences in an ongoing conversation.

The sentences concerned may form part of a longer utterance on the part of a single speaker, as where a statement is followed by a brief comment confirming the truth of what has just been said.

73.   Dale am wthnos yn 'i gocyn heb lwchu trwyddo. <u>Nethe</u>.   5335
    would-last-3SNG for week in its haycock without
    getting-wet through. would-do-3SNG
    'It would last a week in the haycocks without getting
    wet through. It would do.'

74.   On nw 'ffo' myn' mas i'r parc i gal i dŵr. Oin.   5432
        were-3PL they have-to go out to the field to get the
        water. were-3PL
        'They had to go out to the field to get the water. They
        did.'

In such forms the echo pronoun is always dropped in the second confirmatory comment. And this is true both of positive comments as above, and negatives.

75.   'Llech chi ddim iwso tân cwlwm 'eb grat. Na allech,   5334
        na allech.
        could-2PL you not use fire culm without grate. not
        could-2PL, not could-2PL
        'You couldn't use a culm fire without a grate. You
        couldn't, you couldn't.

76.   Anan ni'n twtsh ag e. Nag wên.   5433
        were-not-1PL we in touch with it. not were-1PL
        'We didn't touch it. We did not.'

The subject of the second sentence is coreferential to that of the first, more expansive comment. In most cases, as in the examples above, the two are also grammatically identical, being pronoun sof the same type. Occasionally there are examples where the two subjects are coreferential but not grammatically identical, as in (77) below.

77.   A rhei'n gweud caledi nw. Odyn.   5432
        and some in say air them. are-3PL
        'And some say airing them. They do.'

The subject of the first sentence is a lexical pronoun rhei (some people), which would normally take a 3sg inflected verb, omitted here as predictable from the rest of the narrative. The subject of the second sentence, while clearly referring to the same individuals, is a 3pl pronoun which requires a 3pl inflection of the verb. In spite of this the same pattern holds, and the echo pronoun is dropped in the second sentence. Discourse structure and coreference appear to be more important than strict grammatical identity. [10]

A very similar pattern is found with sequences consisting of a yes/no question and its answer, though here of course the two sentences are spoken by different people.

78.   Odd e'n waith brwnt? Wê.   5335
        was-3SNG he in work dirty? was-3SNG
        'Was it dirty work? It was.'

79.   On nw'n neud helm a ric? Wên.   5335
        were-3PL they in make stack and rick? were-3PL
        'Did they make a stack and a rick? They did.'

Once again the echo pronoun subject of the second sentence, here the answer, is dropped, and this in both positive and negative forms.

> 80.　Odd y brag yn dal yn y stond? <u>Nag wê, nag wê</u>.　　5433
> 　　was-3SNG the malt in stay in the barrel? not
> 　　was-3SNG, not was-3SNG
> 　　'Was the malt still in the barrel? It was not,
> 　　it was not.'

> 81.　On nw'n iwso mate pan och chi'n gwasnaethu? <u>Na wên</u>.　　5334
> 　　were-3PL they in use turfs when were-2PL you in serve?
> 　　not were-3PL
> 　　'Did they use turfs when you were in service? They did not.

In the examples given above the subject of the question is both coreferential and grammatical identical to that of the answer. In many question and answer sequences, however, there is a further complication owing to the inevitable switching back and forth between 1st and 2nd person pronouns.

> 82.　Odych chi'n cofio'ch hen dadcu? O, <u>nadw</u>.　　4927
> 　　are-2PL you in remember your great
> 　　grandfather? o, not-am-1SNG
> 　　'Do you remember your great grandfather?
> 　　O, I do not.'

> 83.　Och chi'n prynu'r cwrdeb? <u>Oin</u>.　　5433
> 　　were-2PL you in buy the rennet? was-1SNG
> 　　'Did you buy the rennet? I did.'

The 2nd person subject of the question is coreferential with the 1st person subject of the answer, but the two are not, of course, grammatically identical. Once again the echo pronoun is dropped, and coreference rather than strict grammatical identity appears to be the crucial consideration. [11]

5.　A Major Shift in Progress

So far the pattern of choices has been similar in all cases. The echo pronoun is retained or dropped according to circumstances, while the inflection or prefixed pronoun which it echoes is always present. When we turn to phrases containing uninflected verbs, however, the picture is very different, and there are indications that the echo pronoun system may be breaking down in this dialect. Here it is not the echo pronoun which is lost but rather the prefixed pronoun, giving rise to a very distinct set of alternations.

5.1.　<u>The Object of an Uninflected Verb</u>

Take first those forms where the uninflected verb is transitive and the pronoun functions as its direct object. In some cases we find the expected pattern, with both prefixed and echo pronouns present.

84.   Wên nw yn 'i beilo nw yn deidi iawn.   5334
        were-3PL they in their baling them in tidy very
        'They would bale them very tidily.'

Where the prefixed pronoun might be expected to trigger a mutation in the following verb, this is what happens. In (85) below, for instance, the pronoun is 3sg masculine, and the expected soft mutation shows up, changing gwaedu (to bleed) to waedu.

85.   A wê'r bwtshwr yn 'i waedu fe.   5433
        and was-3SNG the butcher in his bleed him
        'And the butcher would bleed it.'

It is, however, very much more common to find a rather different pattern, where the prefixed pronoun is omitted and only the echo pronoun is retained. Loss of the prefixed pronoun is found with the full range of pronoun types.

86.   Wê'r bos in 'elpu fi weithe.   5335
        was-3SNG the boss in help me sometimes
        'The boss would help me sometimes.'

87.   Och chi'n sgimo fe.   5432
        were-2PL you in sgim him
        'You would skim it.'

88.   Och chi'n gweu ddi go dde wedyn.   5433
        were-2PL you in knit her by right then
        'You would knit it plain then.'

89.   On nw'n gweitho ni'n galed iawn.   4321
        were-3PL they in work us in hard very
        'They would work us very hard.'

90.   ... ffarm yn ffeso chi man'co ...   4927
        ... farm in face you over-there ...
        '... a farm facing you over there ...'

91.   Wen ni'n codi nw wedyn.   5334
        were-1PL we in lift them then
        'We would lift them then.'

Although there is no overt prefixed pronoun in these forms, we do in many cases find the verb displaying the mutation which would normally be triggered by this missing pronoun. In (92) below for instance, the verb troi (to turn) shows up in its soft mutation form as droi, under the influence of the missing 3sg masculine prefixed pronoun.

92.   Wêch chi'n droi e fel'na wedyn.   5335
        were-2PL you in turn him like that then
        'You would turn it like that then.'

Often, though, the expected mutation does not show up, and the verb retains its basic form.

93.　　A wedyn och chi'n <u>troi fe</u> wedyn.　　　　　5433
　　　　and then were-2PL you in turn him then
　　　　'And then you would turn it then.'

Here the verb <u>troi</u> does not display soft mutation, although the missing prefixed pronoun is here too 3sg masculine. These last two examples, (92) and (93), are very similar in structure, differeing only in that the mutation shows up in the one but not in the other.

It is tempting to assume, in the case of examples such as (92), that the prefixed pronoun is present at some early stage in the derivation, and is lost only later on, after the mutations have been triggered.

A similar account can be developed for (93), differing only in that here the prefixed pronoun is dropped before the mutations are triggered. On this view (92) and (93) have similar underlying forms, but differ in the ordering of rules. It is, however, quite as plausible in the case of (93) to argue that there is no prefixed pronoun present at any stage. On this view, the lack of mutation marking on the uninflected verb is quite natural, since at no point in the derivation has there been a triggering pronoun present in the phrase. The semantic similarity between the two forms (92) and (93) is, of course on this view, not paralleled by a syntactic parallelism. The one has an echo pronoun structure, at least in the early stages of the derivation, but the other clearly does not. The choice between these two analyses is posed in a particularly acute form where a mutation could be triggered by the missing prefixed pronoun. But in many forms there is no question of the verb undergling mutation, and it is not possible to distinguish between a derivation where an underlying pronoun has been dropped and one where it was never present in the first place. The uninflected verb may not begin with a mutatable consonant, for instance, so that it is immune to the mutations which the prefixed pronoun might otherwise trigger. In (94) <u>hala</u> (to send) cannot undergo soft mutation even when preceded by a 3sg masculine pronoun.

94.　　Och chi'n <u>hala fe</u> lawr in wag.　　　　　5432
　　　　were-2PL you in send him down in empty
　　　　'You would send it down empty.'

Equyally immune are those cases where the prefixed pronoun has no capacity to trigger a mutation of any kind, as for instance the 3pl pronoun in (95) below, where <u>toi</u> (to roof) retains its basic form.

95.　　Wên nw'n <u>toi nw</u> wedyn.　　　　　5335
　　　　were-3PL they in roof them afterwards
　　　　'They would roof them afterwards.'

We may indeed have here the beginnings of a shift away from echo pronoun structures, and the adoption instead of a pattern where the uninflected verb is simply

followed by a single pronoun. A development of this kind does, very interestingly, bring these form with uninflected verbs closer to other forms in the language which are semantically similar to them. The old alignment with other echo pronoun forms is lost, but a new set of parallelisms emerges, and one with a stronger semantic base.

Where, for instance, the uninflected verb takes a noun as its direct object, this immediately follows the verb, as in (96) below.

96.   Wên ni'n <u>pobi torth o fara</u> neu ... bit shwrne'r wthnos.   5334
        were-1PL we in bake loaf of bread or ... about once
        the week
        'We would bake a loaf of bread or ... about once a week.'

On the analysis suggested above, the pronoun object also now simply follows the uninflected verb, so that the noun and pronoun objects are now completely parallel.

    uninflected verb - (noun object
                      (
                      (pronoun object

Furthermore, where an inflected verb takes a noun or pronoun direct object then these too follow the verb, though of course there may well be in such cases an intervening subject noun or pronoun,.

97.   Ond fe <u>welon </u>ni <u>y gŵr boneddig</u> 'na.   4927
        but AssPrt. saw-1PL we the man noble that
        'But we saw that gentleman.'

98.   Wel, <u>clwes</u> i <u>ddi</u> 'da nad.   4927
        well, heard-1SNG I her with (my) father
        'Well, I heard it from my father.'

We find now then that inflected and uninflected verbs display the same ordering of consitituents, and that in both cases the noun object and pronoun object follow the verb.

    inflected verb - (noun object
                     (
                     (pronoun object

Such a simplification would be a very interesting, and not implausible development.

5.   <u>The Subject of Uninflected Bod</u>

This move away from echo pronoun structures shows up too in embedded clauses where the verb is uninflected <u>bod</u> and the pronoun functions as its subject. In this structure the shift appearrs to be complete, with no echo pronoun structures surviving in the dialect material. The prefixed pronoun is lost, and the subject is expressed by a single pronoun which follows <u>bod</u>.

99.	Wên nw'n meddwl <u>bo fi</u>'n grifach.	5335
	were-3PL they in think be I in stronger	
	'They thought that I was stronger.'	

100.	... achos <u>bod ti</u> 'di gweud ...	4928
	... because be thee after say ...	
	'... because you had said ...'	

101.	... ys <u>bod e</u> wedi mynd yn eitha tywyll ...	5433
	... till be he after go in very dark ...	
	'... until it had gone very dark ...'	

102.	A wêdd 'i'n gweud <u>bod 'i</u>'n cofio amdano.	5335
	and was-3SNG she in say be she in remember about-3SNGM	
	'And she was saying that she remembered it.'	

103.	Wê fenyw'n gwbod <u>bo ni</u>'n pennu isgol.	5432
	was-3SNG woman in know be we in finish school	
	'A woman knew that we were finishing school.'	

104.	... wrth <u>bo chi</u>'n myn' o 'ma ...	4927
	... as be you in go from here ...	
	'... as you go from here ...'	

105.	... cyn <u>bo nw</u>'n hou barlish yn enwedig ...	5335
	... before be they in sow barley in especial ...	
	'... before they sow barley especially ...'	

There is furthermore no sign of a mutation triggered by the missing prefixed pronoun. We might, for instance, expect nasal mutation of <u>bod</u> in an example such as (99) where the missing prefixed pronoun is 1sg. Or equally we might expect soft mutation in (101) where the missing pronoun is 3sg masculine. No such mutations appear; <u>bod</u> remains in its basic unmutated form at all times.

Here too, then, there is no reason to set up a derivation where a prefixed pronoun is present at some early stage, but deleted before it triggers a mutation. It might just as well not be present at any stage in the derivation. The uninflected verb is merely followed by a single pronoun which functions as its subject throughout the derivation. Here too then similarities emerge between this structure and other semantically related forms. Where uninflected <u>bod</u> takes a noun subject, for instance, this immediately follows the verb.

106.	... bsech chi'n clwed <u>bo sŵn i menyn</u> in dwad ...	5432
	... would-be-2PL you in hear be sound the butter in come ...	
	'... you heard that the sound of the butter was coming ...'	

Noun and pronoun subjects now both follow <u>bod</u> and are completely parallel.

     uninflected verb - (noun subject
                         (
                         (pronoun subject

Furthermore, where an inflected verb takes a subject, be it a noun or a pronoun, then this too always follows the verb.

    107.   <u>Dw i</u>'n cofio 'inny.   5334
             am-1SNG I in remember that
             'I remember that.'

    108.   <u>Wê bachyn</u> yn dala'r pail.   5432
             was-3SNG hook in hold the bucket
             'There was a hook holding the bucket.'

We therefore have a situation where all verbs, inflected and uninflected, display the same ordering of constituents. The subject, be it noun or pronoun, follows the verb in all cases.

     inflected verb - (noun subject
                        (
                        (pronoun subject

Such a simplification in constituent ordering would be an interesting development, and would go some way to providing a motivation for the erosion of echo pronoun structures with uninflected verbs. A similar process of simplification has emerged with both object and subject pronouns. Dropping the echo pronoun structure has, in both cases, enabled the dialect to adopt a new set of rules for the ordering of constituents. Nouns and pronouns now operate in parallel, and so do inflected and uninflected verbs, giving a much simpler picture overall.

5.3.   <u>A General Tendency</u>?

In this dialect, then, it appears that echo pronoun structures are in marked retreat, so far as uninflected verbs are concerned. Is this in fact an isolated tendency, affecting uninflected verbs only, or is there any evidence that a similar shift is under way in other constructions? Looking at possessive noun phrases, we find that the prefixed pronoun may indeed be dropped in certain circumstances, to give such forms as (109) and (110) below. But there are quite stringent restrictions on this. Only the 1sg prefixed pronoun may be dropped and this only where it has triggered nasal mutation of the following noun, so that its identity is clearly marked. In (109), for instance, <u>tad</u> (father) shows up as <u>nhad,</u> and in (110) <u>bachgen</u> (boy) shows up as <u>machgen</u>. [12]

    109.   Wê <u>nhad</u> yn toi rhywfaint o'r tŷ bob blwyddyn.   5335
             was-3SNG (my) father in roof some of the house
             every year
             'My father used to thatch some part of the house every year.'

110.   Os na ddei di, <u>machgen i</u> ...   4928
        if not come-2SNG the (my) boy me ...
        'If you don't come, my boy ...'

Where the echo pronoun follows an inflection, as with inflected verbs and prepositions, a comparable development would be the loss of the inflection. There is no evidence of this so far as inflected verbs are concerned. We do not find the inflection being dropped and only a subject pronoun remaining, possibly because the verbal inflection is not merely an agreement marker, but also a marker of tense and aspect. Loss of the inflection would lead to the loss of information as to the tense and aspect of the verb.

It appears, however, that prepositional inflections may be more readily dropped. Alongside the expected forms with an inflection and a following echo pronoun, we do find equivalent forms where the preposition has lost its inflection and the pronoun follows the bare form.

111.   ... ond Ifan wê enw un beth bynnag <u>enyn nw</u>.   4927
        ... but Ifan was-3SNG name one what ever
        of-3PL them
        '... but Ifan was the name of one of them anyway.'

112.   Och chi'n gweitho lon' padell <u>o nw</u>.   5433
        were-2PL you in work full basin of them
        'You would make a basinful of them.'

Loss of the inflection is found in this material only with <u>i</u> (from) and <u>ar</u> (on), and is limited to the 3pl inflection. But it does of course build on a pattern already available, in that there are a number of prepositions in Welsh which never display an inflection. <u>Gyda</u> (with) and <u>â</u> (with), for instance, always appear in the bare basic form with a single following pronoun, not only in the dialect but also in the standard language.

113.   Wê peder gwall <u>'da chi</u>.   5433
        was-3SNG four knitting-needle with you
        'You had four knitting needles.'

114.   Oin ni'n myn' mâs <u>â nw</u> i'r parc wedyn.   5432
        were-1PL we in go out with them to the field then
        'We would take them out to the field then.'

And <u>i</u> (to/for) does not display an inflection with first and second person pronouns, in the dialect as in the standard language.

115.   Fe hola i un <u>i chi</u>.   5432
        AssPrt. fetch-1SNG I one for you
        'I'll fetch one for you.'

As the prepositional inflection expresses only agreement, there is no loss of information if it is dropped, and we find here a slight tendency to extend a pattern already present in the dialect, and indeed in the language generally. [13]

There is some evidence, then, that traditional echo pronoun structures are being undermined in three out of the four constructions where they have traditionally appeared. They have been very seriously eroded in the case of uninflected verbs. Possessive noun phrases and prepositional phrases are affected in a limited fashion, though there are signs that the process has begun there too. Only inflected verbs are so far immune. It does not sem likely that there is a single concerted development at work here, but it is perhaps worth keeping an eye open for the advance of some kind of syntactic "conspiracy", where apparently separate and distinct processes contribute to a single overall change.

5.4.   Problems with Passives

It may appear from the discussion so far that dropping the prefixed pronoun is a comparatively straightforward matter in structures which contain uninflected verbs. Restrictions and problems seem only to arise when we look at how this tendency may be spreading to other types of constructions. In fact, the position is rather more complicated, and certain structures containing uninflected verbs are also quite narrowly restricted.

Cael passives, for instance, are anomalous, and do not fit the pattern established above for uninflected verbs. In this dialect, as in the standard language, the echo pronoun is obligatorily dropped in the cael passive, and the prefixed pronoun is normally retained.

116.   Wên i'n câl i ngalw wrth in enw, Maggie.   5335
        was-1SNG I in get my call by my name, Maggie
        'I used to be called by my name, Maggie.'

117.   ... y dydd y geith e'i eni ...   4928
        ... the day that gets-3SNG he his born ...
        '... the day that he is born ...'

118.   Weles i ddim rheina'n câl 'i llosgi.   5334
        saw-1SNG I not those-ones in get their burn
        'I didn't see those ones being burnt.'

The prefixed pronoun triggers the appropriate mutation of the following uninflected verb. In (116), for instance, the 1sg pronoun triggers nasal mutation of galw (to call) to ngalw, and in (117) the 3sg masculine pronoun triggers soft mutation of geni (to be born) to eni. Where no mutation is required, as with the 3pl pronoun in (118), the uninflected verb retains its basic form.

There is no sign here of the tendency found in other constructions containing uninflected verbs, to drop the prefixed pronoun wholesale and rely on a single

pronoun following the uninflected verb. The cael passive seems immune to this development.

The instances where the prefixed pronoun may be dropped are very limited. Only the 1sg prefixed pronoun may be dropped, and then only when the nasal mutation of the following uninflected verb provides a clear indication of the identity of the missing pronoun.

119.   Ges i ngeni yn y flwyddyn ...   4927
         got-1SNG I born in the year ...
         'I was born in the year ...'

This 1sg pronoun may be dropped, not only where the verb cael is present, as in (119), but also where cael is itself dropped following the perfective aspect marker wedi (after).

120.   ... cyn bo fi wedi ngeni ...   4927
         ... before be I after born ...
         '... before I was born ...'

Compare this pattern with that described in Section 5.3. above for posessive noun phrases where the restrictions are very similar.

The possibilities are in fact extended somewhat in the case of cael passives, since where cael has been dropped following wedi, 3sg pronouns, both masculine and feminine, may drop too.

121.   Wêdd e wedi gladdu.   4927
         was-3SNG he after bury
         'He had been buried.'

122.   ... a bod gwydd hour wedi chladdu 'na rywbryd ...   4927
         ... and be goose golden after bury there sometime ...
         '... and that a golden goose had been buried there
         at some time ...'

In these casese too mutations on the uninflected verb make clear the identity of the missing pronoun. In (121) soft mutation of claddu (to bury) to gladdu reveals that the missing pronoun is 3sg masculine. in (122) the aspirate mutation form chladdu reveals that the missing pronoun is 3sg feminine.

This apparent extension of the process to 3sg masculine and feminine pronouns may well be a low level phonetic process. The final vowel of wedi is identical to that of the two pronouns affected, which both take the form i in this dialect. It is quite plausible that a sequence of two identical vowels should be simplified to one in natural speech. This would then be not so much a case of dropping the pronoun as of assimilating it into the final vowel of wedi. It might well be present in a grammatical sense, though not phonetically distinct. [14]

There are no clear examples of this assimilation with a 3pl prefixed pronoun, which also takes the form i in the dialect, and should in theory be subject to the same kind of assimilation into wedi. This may be an accidental gap, or it may be related to the fact that the 3pl pronoun does not trigger a mutation in the following uninflected verb. There would therefore be nothing to mark its identity if it were dropped.

The cael passive differs then from the normal run of constructions containing uninflected verbs in that the prefixed pronouns may only be dropped in very restricted circumstances, where mutations reveal the identity of what has been lost. This is not surprising when one considers that the other half of the pair, the echo pronoun, is always dropped in cael passives. The prefixed pronoun is the only available marker of which pronoun is involved, and if it too is dropped then there is the risk of a serious loss of information, mitigated only where a mutation can reveal the identity of the missing pronoun. Practical considerations, arising from the need to ensure that information is not lost appear to play a major role in determining what happens here.

Cael passives, then are anomalous, but their behaviour does make some sense when practical considerations are taken into account. There is, howver, one other set of forms which do not appear to fit into this kind of explanation at all. The three constructions involved are relative clauses, clefts and wh-questions.

In relative clauses the pronoun object of an uninflected verb may be coreferential to the head noun, and in such forms, in the dialect as in the standard language, the echo pronoun is consistently dropped.

> 123. O godro wê'r peth gore ôn ni'n neud. 5432
> O milk was-3SNG the thing best were-1PL we in do
> 'O milking was the best thing we used to do.'

A similar pattern is found with cleft sentences and wh-questions, and here too the echo pronoun is always dropped, in the dialect as in the standard language.

> 124. Cario dŵr wer oin ni'n neud. 5432
> carry water cold were-1PL we in do
> 'It's carrying cold water that we used to do.'

> 125. Dw i'n cofio'n dda beth wêdd e wedi neud o ran 'ynny. 4927
> am-1SNG I in remember in well what was-3SNG he
> after do of part that
> 'I remember well what he had done for that matter.'

What is interesting and perhaps surprising here, is that such forms also drop the prefixed pronoun. In some cases there is a mutation to indicate the identity of the missing pronoun, as in (126) and (127) below.

> 126. Stofi yn ni'n weud. 5433
> cast-on are-1PL we in say
> 'It's casting on that we say.'

> 127. Chmo beth dw i'n feddwl? 5432

you-know what am-1SNG in think
'You now what I think?'

In both examples the missing pronoun is 3sg masculine, and has triggered soft mutation of the following verb, gweud to weud in (126) and meddwl to feddwl in (127).

But loss of the prefixed pronoun is not limited here to cases where there is a mutation to save the day. In (123)-(125) above the uninflected verb is neud (to do), which cannot undergo any form of mutation. When the prefixed pronoun is dropped, there is no marker of its identity anywhere. It is not clear why relatives, clefts and wh-questions are able to cope with this loss of information, when passives cannot do so. But there is clearly no difficulty here in accepting loss of the prefixed pronoun even when there is nothing to reveal its identity.

Not only is the prefixed pronoun dropped where there can be no mutation, but we even find numerous examples where an expected mutation is missing. In (126) above gweud (to say) has undergone the expected soft mutation to weud. The structure of (128) below is identical, and yet here gweud retains its basic form and does not undergo the mutation.

128.   Stwmo fe wên ni'n gweud.   5334
        damp-down him were-1PL we in say
        'It's damping it down that we used to say.'

Here again there is nothing to mark the identity of the missing pronoun, and the mutation marker that could have been used is rejected as unnecessary.

This is a very unexpected pattern. Presumably the fact that the "lost" pronoun is coreferential with the head noun contributes in some way to ensuring that this development is acceptable. Different interpretative strategies may need to be invoked, but the missing pronoun is recoverable from the overall structure of the clause or sentence, even if not from the immediate phrase. Following through this line of argument, however, and applying it to the cael passive forms, we again hit a brick wall. The "lost" pronoun in the cael passives would here again be recoverable from the overall clause, since it is always coreferential with the subject of the passive. If a strategy of this kind can be devised for relative clauses, clefts and and wh-questions, why is this apparently not possible for cael passives too?

6.   Conclusions

This account leaves us, inevitably with a number of unanswered questions.

Some of these relate directly to the material discussed here. Why should such a disparate set of factors prove relevant to the behaviour of echo pronouns in this dialect? Why are these pronouns obligatorily retained in some structures, obligatorily lost in others, and optional elsewhere? Describing what happens is not the same as explaining the patterns which are found. Is it indeed the case that the echo pronoun

system is beginning to break down, and if so why has this process gone further in some constructions than others?

Other questions reflect the need to place this material in a wider context. Are the patterns found in this dialect typical of informal spoken Welsh generally, or do other dialects differ in their treatment of echo pronouns? Does the speech of younger generations differ significantly from that of the individuals described here? Have the changes which appear to have begun in the speech of informants born at the turn of the century progressed any further, and if so in what direction?

This paper is only the first stage in grappling with variegated and often recalcitrant material. The need now is for more analysis, more discussion,and - of course- more data.

Notes

1.   The raw material on which this discussion is based derives from taperecordings held in the sound archive of the Welsh Folk Museum. Three speakers from north Pembrokeshire were chosen, two women and one man. All three were born in the decade 1890-1900, had little formal education, and worked in farming throughout their lives. For each of them an hour of taped conversation was analysed. These relatively informal interviews covered reminiscences of work on the farm and in the home, weather lore, and ghost stories. The informants were not being directly questioned about their speech, and the focus of attention was on the topics discussed rather than on the dialect. They were all interviewed by the same fieldworker, and so if there is an interviewer effect, then it will at least be consistent across all three informants.

2.   See for instance Awbery (1976: pp.76-85).

3.   There is some discussion of echo pronouns in the informal speech of south-east Wales in Watkins (1977-78) and B. Thomas (1980). Other relevant, though partial information can be found in studies of other syntactic and morphological issues, such as C. H. Thomas (1973-74). A preliminary account of the echo pronoun material presented in this paper may be found in Awbery (1989).

4.   The number following each example of Pembrokeshire dialect quoted in this paper is the archive number of the tape from which it is taken. All tapes in the Welsh Folk Museum collection are assigned a number which reflect the order in which they were recorded.

5.   In all the examples quoted in section 4.1. the object of the preposition is not coreferential to another NP in the clause. Examples where the PO is identical to some other NP display exactly the same patterning. 3sgm pronouns are optionally dropped; 3sgf pronouns are obligatorily dropped; all others are obligatorily retained.

6.   For a discussion of the loss of the prefixed possessive pronoun before <u>nad</u> in this example and before <u>ngwallt</u> and <u>ngapan i</u> in the example quoted in fn. 7 below, see section 5.3.

7.   This same pattern is occasionally found with nouns which are not close relations, but are inalienable, eg. body parts. It may be that the precise semantic feature involved needs to be rethought and extended somewhat.

        Ma <u>ngwallt</u> yn codi <u>ngapan i</u> lan yn grwn.   4927
        is-3SNG (my) hair in lift (my) hat me up in complete
        'My hair lifts my hat right up.'

8.   One exception to this generalisation is that the 3sgf pronoun subject is very often deleted in the present tense.

        O, <u>mae</u>'n nosweth braf.   5334
        O is-3SNG in night fine
        'O, it's a fine night.'

This may well be a low level phonetic matter. The 3sgf pronoun <u>hi</u> is normally realised in this dialect as <u>i</u>, without an initial <u>h</u>, and it seems likely that this is elided following the high front glide of the diphthong in the verb, especially when there is no particular stress on the pronoun, as <u>maj+i</u> = <u>maj</u>.

9.   For a discussion of negatives in this dialect see Awbery (1988) and Awbery (1990a).

10.   There are very few forms with an overt pronoun, all from one of the three informants. It is not clear why these differ from the general run of forms.

        Sai'n credu at all. <u>Nadw i</u>.   4927
        am-no-1SNG in believe at all. not-am-1SNG I
        'I don't believe at all. I don't.'

11.   Again a very few examples do have an overt pronoun, all of them from the same informant who produced the exceptional forms noted above in fn. 10.

        Chi ddim yn hoffi'r gwaith? O, <u>na wen i</u>.   4928
        you not in like the work? O, not was-1SNG I
        'You didn't like the work? O, I didn't.'

12.   In child language in many parts of Wales the process has been extended to allow such forms as <u>llyfr fi</u> (my book), where the prefixed pronoun is dropped and there is no mutation to mark its identity. This too is a natural development, bringing the forms affected into close alignment with the semantically related set where the possessor is a noun, as in <u>llyfr y bachgen</u> (the boy's book).

        possessed noun - (noun possessor
                          (
                          (pronoun possessor

This development does not show up at all in the dialect material which forms the basis for this paper. It would be interesting to establish whether children in Pembrokeshire today use this structure, which was clearly not familiar to the generation recorded on these tapes.

13.   In section 4.6. above it was noted that certain types of negatives involve a structure where the apparent subject of the clause is actually the object of the preposition <u>o</u>, which inflects to agree with it. There is a very similar set of negatives which differ only in that the preposition <u>o</u> is not inflected an is followed by a single pronoun.

       <u>So fe</u>'n folon.   4928
       is-not he in willing
       'He is not willing.'

Such negatives appear to display the same loss of inflection on the preposition as is found in other more straightforward examples. For a description of the geographical distribution of the negatives, with and without inflection of <u>o</u>, see Awbery (1990b).

14.   Compare the elision of the 3sg pronoun subject following <u>maj</u> referred to in fn. 8 above.

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