Coherence Markers:
Conjunctive Personal Pronouns in Middle Welsh

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Welsh has a complicated personal pronoun system, which has been classified by scholars in a number of different ways. For example, D. Simon Evans in his *Middle Welsh Grammar* (1964, 49-58) makes the following classification, which is presented here in a slightly more formalized way:

1. Independent pronouns
   - 1.1.   simple: *mi, ti, ef…*
   - 1.2.   reduplicated: *miui, tidi, efo…*
   - 1.3.   conjunctive: *minheu, titheu, ynteu…*
2. Dependent pronouns
   - 2.1.   possessive pronouns
       - 2.1.1. unstressed possessive pronouns (with further subdivisions)
       - 2.1.2. stressed possessive pronouns: *meu, teu, eidaw…*
   - 2.2.   infixed pronoun object: *'m, 'th, 'y…*
   - 2.3.   affixed pronouns
       - 2.3.1. simple: *ui, di, ef…*
       - 2.3.2. conjunctive: *inneu, ditheu, ynteu…*

(For a different classification see, for example, Watkins 1977, 146-165).

A number of theoretical arguments leads us to suggest that it is most reasonable to distinguish between clitics and independent pronouns, the first class being divided into three sub-classes, i.e. possessive and object proclitics and auxiliary postclitics. Both the auxiliary and independent forms have within them a morphologically distinctive class of pronouns, termed in Welsh *cysylltiol* (from *cysylltu* 'to bind'), and in English 'conjunctive'.[3]

The most important syntactic positions in which these pronouns are found in the classic Middle Welsh prose text *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (PKM) are listed below.[4]

1. topicalised subject:

(1)	Ynteu	a^L	lunywys	yr	esgidyeu	[PKM 80.03]
	C:3SGM	P	fashion:PRT3SG	A	shoe:PL	

'He fashioned the shoes'

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3   H. Pedersen uses the unsatisfactory term *zusammengesetzte* in his *Vergleichender Grammatik* (1909-13), which does not say anything about their function.

4   The PKM text is taken from Williams 1930, now available electronically at http://titus. uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/celt/mcymr/pkm/pkm.htm

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2. subject following a finite verb

(2) | *Yna* | *y* | *doethant* | <u>*wynteu*</u> | *attaw* | *ef.* | [PKM 74.22] |
     |------|-----|-----------|---------------|--------|------|
     | Then | P | come:PRT3PL | C:3PL | to:3SGM | 3SGM |

'Then they came to him'

2.1 subject of an imperative

(3) | *A* | *manac* | <u>*ditheu*</u> | *y* | *mi* | *þa* | *furyf* | *y* | *gallwyf* | *hynny.* [PKM 3.5-6] |
     |----|---------|-----------------|-----|------|------|---------|-----|-----------|
     | And | tell:IMP2SG | C:2SG | to | 1SG | what | form | P | can: PRSSJ1SG | that:PL |

'But show me how I may do it'

3. complement of a conjugated preposition

(4) | *Ac* | *yna* | *ymellwng* | *idaw* | <u>*ynteu*</u> | [PKM 90.08] |
     |------|-------|------------|--------|----------------|
     | and | then | let down:VN | to:3SG | C:3SGM |

'And he let himself down'

4. after a possessive pronoun denoting
4.1. possessor

(5) | *mae* | *yniuer* | *y* | *llys,* | *ac* | *yn* | *anniuer* | <u>*ninheu*</u> | *namyn* | *hynn?* [PKM 52.4] |
    |-------|----------|-----|--------|-----|-----|-----------|------------------|---------|
    | be:PRS3SG | host | A | court | and | POSS:1PL | host | C:1PL | save | this |

'Where is the host of the court and our host save this?'

4.2. patient (of a verbal noun)

(6) | *minheu* | *a* | ^L*allaf* | *dy* | ^L*rydhau* | <u>*ditheu*</u> | *o'r* | *geireu* [PKM 69.25] |
    |----------|-----|---------------------|-----|----------------------|-----------------|------|
    | C:1SG | P | can:PRS1SG | POSS:2SG | free:VN | C:2SG | to=A word:PL |

'I can free thee from those words'

4.3. agent (of a verbal noun)

(7)	A	^Sphan	wybuwyt		eu	medwi	_wynteu_ [PKM 36.13]
	and	when	know:PRTIMPERS		POSS:3PL	be.drunk:VN	C:3PL

'And when it was known that they were drunk'

5. after an object clitic

(8)	E	brenhin	a'e	clywei	_wynteu_. [PKM 30.10]
	A	king	P+O:3PL	hear:IMF3SG	C:3PL

'The king could hear them '

One of the distinctive features of conjunctive pronouns is their frequent use in apposition to nouns, especially proper nouns, in preposition as well as in postposition. (Simple pronouns can be used in this way too, but only exceptionally: one example in PKM as opposed to nineteen examples of conjunctive pronouns).

6. in apposition to a noun

(9)	Ac	y	gwledychwys	_ynteu_	Pryderi	seith	cantref	Dyuet [PKM 27.18]
	And	P	rule:PRT3SG	C:3SGM	P.	7	cantref	D.

'And Pryderi ruled the seven cantrefs of Dyfed'.

(10)	Ynteu	Gronwy	Pebyr	a	^Lgyrchwys	Penllyn [PKM 91.15]
	C:3SGM	G.	P.	P	make.for:PRT3SG	P.

'Gronw Pebyr made for Penllyn'

Many scholars have discussed these pronouns. There is the major issue of their origin, to which John Morris-Jones, Holger Pedersen, Pierre-Yves Lambert, Paul Russell and Peter Schrijver have contributed (Morris-Jones 1913, 274; Pedersen 1909-13, 184-5; Lambert 1984, 186; Russell 1982, 30-38; Schrijver 1997, 83-90). This discussion is not considered further in this paper, as I have analysed it elsewhere (Parina 2004, 200-209).

Sir John Morris-Jones describes them with the help of English equivalents _even, but, too, for my part_, but with the following reservation (1913, 273): 'A pronoun of this series is always set against a noun or pronoun that goes before (or is implied). This series is in common use in Mn.W.; sometimes the added meaning is so subtle as to be untranslatable: _chwi a minnau_ "you and I", but as a rule _minnau_ signifies "I too", "even I", "I for my part", "but I", "while I"'. Proinsias Mac Cana (1990, 414) distinguishes sixteen different uses of conjunctive pronouns in Middle Welsh

prose, according to syntactic and semantic parameters and emphasizes that their use is 'very much a matter of stylistic choice'.

Graham Isaac (1996, 53) suggests in his book *The Verb in the Book of Aneirin* that the main function of the conjunctive pronouns in Middle Welsh is coding a switch in the salience or topicality of an argument. He distinguishes between two types of use:

1. Syntagmatic: a topic is promoted from a previous low-topicality role to a high-topicality role (e.g. syntactic subject). Reference of the pronoun to a previous low-salience topic is established. He illustrates this rule with the following passage from *Culhwch ac Olwen*, given here with my glossing:

(11) *A   gwedy   disgynnu   Arthur   y'r   tir,*
        and after   descend:VN   A.   to=A   land

dyuot   seint   Iwerddon   attaw   y   erchi   nawd   idaw.
come:VN   saint:PL   Ireland   to:3SGM   to   ask:VN   protection to:3SGM

Ac   y   rodes   ynteu   nawd   udunt   hwy,
and   P   give:PRT3SG   C:3SGM   protection   to:3PL   3PL

ac   y   rodassant   wynteu   eu   bendith   idaw   ef. [CO 1061-64]
and   P   give:PRT3PL   C:3PL   POSS:3PL   blessing   to:3SGM   3SGM

'And after Arthur had landed, the saints of Ireland came to him to ask his protection. And he gave them his protection, and they gave him their blessing'

However, several instances contradicting this rule can be found in PKM. On the one hand, a conjunctive pronoun is used when it has the same syntactic position as its antecedent:

(12)   *Yna   y rodes   Arawn$_i$ y$_j$ furuf, a'y$_j$ ^{L}drych   e$_j$ hun*
          then   P give:PRT3SG   A.   POSS:3SGM   form   and =POSS:3SGM semblence POSS: INT
                                                                                                                                      3SGM

y   Pwyll$_j$,   Pendeuic   Dyuet,   ac   y   kymerth   ynteu$_i$ y$_i$ furuf   e$_i$ hun
to   P.   chief   D.   and   P   take:PRT3SG   C:3SGM   POSS:3SGM form   POSS:INT
                                                                                                                                    3SGM

a'y$_i$ drych.   [PKM 6.23-25]
and=POSS:3SGM   semblance

'Then Arawn gave to Pwyll prince of Dyfed his proper form and semblance, and he himself took his proper form and semblance'.

On the other hand, a topic can be promoted to a high-topicality role but still be coded with a simple pronoun:

(13) *Ac   un   dyrnaut   a   rodych   di   idaw   ef;*
     and   one   blow   P   give:PRSSJ2SG   2SG   to:3SGM 3SGM

ny   byd   byw   ef   o   hwnnw.   [PKM 3.18-19]
NEG   be:FUT3SG   alive   3SGM   from   that

'And one blow only thou art to give him, that he will not survive'

2. Paradigmatic: a topic is promoted to high topicality in a prototypically low-topicality role (e.g. syntactic object, genitive or complement of preposition). Reference of the pronoun to a previous high-salience topic is established. This is illustrated in example 14:

(14) *Ac   y   nessawys   y   gwyr   attunt,   ual   yd   ymglywynt   ymdidan.*
     and P   approach:PRT3SG   A   man:PL   to:3PL   as   P   hear:PRS3PL   conversation

Bwrw   badeu   allan   a   ˡwnaethont   wynteu,   a   nessau   parth a'r   tir,
throw:VN   boat:PL   out   P   do:PRT3PL   C:3PL   and   approach:VN   towards=A   land

a   chyuarch   guell   y'r   brenhin.
and   wish:VN   better   to=A   king

E   brenhin   a'e   clywei   wynteu   o'r   lle   yd   oed…[PKM 30.7-10]
A   king   P=O:3PL   hear:IMF3SG   C:3PL   from=A   place   RP   be:IMF3SG

'And the men drew near them that they might hear each other's discourse. They put out boats and came towards the land, and they greeted the king. For the king could hear them from the place where he was…'

    Here the second occurrence of a conjunctive pronoun fits the second rule suggested by Graham Isaac, whereas the first occurrence is necessary because of the possible ambiguity of the sentence. The use of a conjunctive pronoun assumes that the referent it codes is unambiguously non-coreferent to the subject of the first clause (this is related to rule 1).

    As shown, the rules formulated by Isaac do not have a predictory force, but the whole corpus of PKM reveals that conjunctive pronouns are really most often used in cases when two clauses have the same participant set and the syntactic role of a particular participant changes from one clause to another.

    In the course of my research I have tried several parameters to help predict occurrences of conjunctive rather than simple pronouns in Middle Welsh texts. One theory was that the difference might be due to the number of clauses separating the referent and its anaphor (this is a parameter which seems to apply to many languages in their referential choice, as shown in Givón 1983), but a rough analysis showed that the average distance between the full noun phrase and both the simple and the conjunctive pronoun is about two clauses. Thus further study of the parameters determining pronoun choice is required.

Meanwhile, there is further information to be drawn from equivalents in other languages. First, the work of translators rather than scholars was considered. Two authoritative translations of PKM were chosen, into English by Jones and Jones (1949), and into German by Maier (1999), and all the occurrences of conjunctive pronouns in the First Branch were collected (approximately one hundred examples). One task which proved particularly difficult for the translators was the quotation formula *heb ynteu*, which is so widely used in this text, in interchange with *heb ef*. Jones and Jones translate it 'said he', but also very often 'he replied' or 'he answered', thus rendering this dialogue structure by means of a verb. In contrast, Bernard Meier deliberately translates the verb throughout the text by *sagen* only, so that his variants are *sagte er* or *sagte der*. In the narrative parts of the text, the conjunctive pronouns are most often translated by mere personal pronouns. This is true particularly for those pronouns that are used after possessive clitics, but there are also several other methods that the translators use to render additional meanings.

1. The most common semantic function is contrast, rendered in English by *but, for his part, yet* and in German by *aber, seinerseits, für sein Teil, doch*:

(15) {What is left of the feast, said Pryderi, do you continue with it}

a	*minheu*	A	*af*		*y*	*hebrwng*	*uy*	*gwrogaeth*
and	C:1SG	P	go:PRS1SG		to	bring:VN	POSS:1SG	homage

yᴸ	*Gaswallawn*		ᴸ*uab*	*Beli" [PKM 51.1]*
to	C.		son	B.

Ich aber will nach England gehen, um Caswallawn, Belis Sohn, meinen Gehorsam zu bezeigen. [Maier 57]
And I will go to tender my homage to Caswallawn son of Beli, to Lloegyr [Jones&Jones 42] [5].

2. Another sense conjunctive pronouns can convey is addition.
This is most often translated by English *too*, German *auch*. Several examples of it are found in PKM:

(16) {When the brothers came, these brothers took council on where to wait for Pryderi and his men }

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5   As we have mentioned above, the most common way to translate a conjunctive pronoun is to substitute it with a personal pronoun, so it was quite difficult to find an example where both translations choose to convey the additional meaning by means of a lexical item, therefore sometimes we give examples where only one of translators makes an attempt to convey this extra semantics the pronouns discussed.

Ac	*ar*	*y*	*kynghor*	*y*	*doethant*	*wynteu.* [PKM 72.8-9]
and	to	A	council	P	come:PRT3PL	C:3PL

Und auch sie nahmen an der Beratung teil. [Maier 77]
And they too joined in council. [Jones&Jones 59]

A temporal addition, that is the addition of a subsequent event, can be rendered by conjunctive pronouns too (rendered by English *then*, German *dann*):

(17) {The young man mounted his horse, but before he had settled himself in his saddle the lady passed him by }

Ynteu	*a*	*ᴸgymerth*	*rygyng*	*y gan*	*y*	*ᴸuarch* [PKM 10.29]
C:3SGM	P	took:PRT3SG	amble	from	POSS:3SGM	horse

Da liess er sein Pferd in den Passgang fallen [Maier 18]
Then he took his horse into an amble…[Jones&Jones 11]

A particular instance of this contrast can be seen in examples where a third singular masculine conjunctive pronoun could be interpreted either as a pronoun with contrast semantic function or as a conjunction:

(18) {it is a peculiarity of the mound that whatever high-born man sits upon it}

Nat	*a*	*odyno*	*heb*	*un*	*o'r*	*deupeth,*	*ay*	*kymriw*	*neu*	*archolleu,*
NEG	go:PRS3SG	from there	without	one	ofA	2 things	or	wound	or	blows

neu	*ynteu*	*a*	*welei*	*rywedawt* [PKM 9.5-7]
or	C:3SGM	P	see:IMF3SG	wonder

geht nicht von dort hinweg, ohne daß eines von zwei Dingen passiert. Entweder es gibt Schlaege und Wunder, oder er schaut ein Wunder.[Maier 16-17]
will not go thence without one of two things: wounds or blows or else his seeing a wonder. [Jones&Jones 9]

This is an important example, as some cases can be found in PKM of conjunctive pronouns 3SGM already losing their anaphoric function and being used as particles. This is probably the way to analyse the cases of appositional use with proper nouns:

(19) {Context: Gwawl set off to his domain}

Pwyll	ynteu	a	doeth	y	Dyuet. [15.26]
P.	C:3SGM	P	come:PRT3SG	to	D.

Pwyll aber ging nach Dyfed [Maier 23]
But Pwyll came to Dyfed [Jones&Jones 14]

The same process is probably reflected in examples where there is no agreement between the conjunctive pronoun and the noun with which it is used in apposition:

(20)	Y	neuad	ynteu	a	ᴸgyweirwyt	y	Pwyll	a'e	niuer [PKM 18.16]
	A	hall:F	C:3SGM	P	prepare:PRT.IMPERS	to	P.	and=POSS:3SGM	host

Dann wurde für Pwyll , sein Gefolge…die Halle hergerichtet [Maier 25]
Then the hall was made for Pwyll and his retinue [Jones&Jones 16]

These examples show how different lexemes came to be formed in Modern Welsh, one : the 3SGM pronoun *yntau* and the conjunction and adverb *ynteu, yntau* (analysed thus in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*: 3818). In Russian these examples are best translated by the particle *же*, which is extremely polysemantic and can have both contrastive and additional meanings (for a very detailed description see Bonno & Kodzasov 1998).

It has thus been demonstrated the various meanings the conjunctive pronouns in PKM can have. The works of Russian typologists can help to place this polysemy into the context of world languages. Their attention has recently been focused on markers of discourse coherence with a wide range of usage. Such elements were described for North Caucasian Tsakhur (Kibrik 1999), Uralic Mari (Khitrov 2002), Turkic Chuvash and Tatar (Pazelskaja 2002) languages. The table gives a rough outline of various meanings of these coherence markers:

Tsakhur (Kibrik 1999)	Tatar (Pazelskaja 2002)	Chuvash (Pazelskaja 2002)	Middle Welsh
and or – or but because so also even	also so and even	even also so and	and (me, you, he…) but (me, you, he…) also (me, you, he…) even (me, you, he…) then (me, you, he…)

The translations of the elements analysed in these papers shows that the vast majority of them correspond to the additional meanings of the Welsh conjunctive pronouns. It can therefore be assumed that the conjunctive personal pronouns in Middle Welsh are there to ensure discourse cohesion, so that it is possible to say that their different uses are manifestations of meanings in one single field of contrast and addition.

Abbreviations

A	article
C	conjunctive pronoun
F	feminine
IMF	imperfect
IMP	imperative
IMPERS	impersonal
INT	intensifier
M	masculine
NEG	negation
O	object pronoun
P	particle
PLPF	pluperfect
POSS	possessive pronoun
PRS	present
PRT	preterite
R	reduplicated pronoun
RP	relative particle
SJ	subjunctive
VN	verbal noun

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