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### Coherence markers: conjunctive personal pronouns in Middle Welsh.

Welsh has a complicated personal pronoun system, classified by scholars in different ways. We find it 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 among them a class of pronouns, called in Welsh tradition *cysylltiol* (from *cysylltu* ‘to bind’), in English – *conjunctive* (H.Pedersen uses in his *Vergleichender Grammatik* quite an unhappy term *zusammengesetzte*, which does not say anything about their function).

The most important syntactic positions of these pronouns in the standard Middle Welsh prose text *Pedair Keinc y Mabinogi* are listed below.

#### 1. topicalised subject:

- (1) *Ynteu a<sup>L</sup> lunywys yr esgidyeu<sup>L</sup>* [PKM 80.03]  
C:3SGMP fashion:PRT3SG A shoe:PL  
‘He fashioned the shoes’

#### 2. subject following a finite verb

- (2) *Yna y doethant wynteu attaw ef.* [PKM 74.22]  
Then P come:PRT3PL C:3PL to:3SGM 3SGM  
‘Then they came to him’

#### 2' subject of an imperative

- (3) *A manac ditheu y mi pa 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 conjuncted preposition

- (4) *Ac yna ymellwng idaw ynteu* [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 ninheu 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<sup>L</sup> allaf dy rydhau ditheu o'r geireu* [PKM 69.25]  
C:1SG P can:PRS1SG POSS:2SG free:VN C:2SG from=A word:PL  
‘I can free thee from those words’

##### 4.3. agent (of a verbal noun)

- (7) *A<sup>S</sup> phan wybuwynt eu medwi wynteu* [PKM 36.13]  
and when know:PRT.IMPERS POSS:3PL be.drunk:VN C:3PL  
‘And when it was known that they were drunk’

<sup>1</sup> The PKM text is given after Williams, Ifor: *Pedair Keinc y Mabinogi*. Caerdydd, 1930, now electronically available at <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/celt/mcymr/pkm/pkm.htm>

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 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 that way too, but rather exceptional – 1 example in PKM as opposed to 19 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 <sup>L</sup>gyrchwys Penllyn* [PKM 91.15]  
C:3SGM G. P. P make.for:PRT3SG P.  
'Gronw Pebyr made for Penllyn'

Many scholars described these pronouns in their works. There is a big issue of their origin, to which John Morris-Jones, Holger Pedersen, Pierre-Yves Lambert, Paul Russel and P. Schrijver contributed (Russell 1982; Morris-Jones 1913: 274; Pedersen 1909-13: 184-5; Lambert 1984; Schrijver 1997: 83-90). We leave this discussion aside in this paper, having analysed it elsewhere (Parina 2004).

Sir J. Morris-Jones describes them with the help of English equivalents *even, but, too, for my part* with a reservation, that they are not always to be found (Morris-Jones 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 as 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'".

Professor Pr. MacCana distinguishes in his 1990 article 16 types of use 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" (MacCana 1990: 414).

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

1. One he calls 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, this rule he illustrates with the following passage from *Culhwch ac Olwen*, which we give in our glossing

(11) *A gwedy disgynnu Arthur y'r tir,*  
 andafter descend:VN A. to=A land  
*Dyuoet 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 o him to ask his protection. And he gave them his protection, and they gave him their blessing’  
 To this rule we find several contrary instances in the PKM text.

On one hand, a conjunctive pronoun can be used also, when it has the same syntactic position as its antecedent:

(12) *Yna yrodes Arawn<sub>i</sub> y<sub>j</sub> furuf. a’y<sub>j</sub> <sup>L</sup>drych e<sub>j</sub> hun*  
 then Pgive:PRT3SG A. POSS:3SGM form and =POSS:3SGM semblance POSS:3SGM INT  
*y Pwyll<sub>i</sub>, Pendeuic Dyuoet, ac y kymerth ynteu<sub>i</sub> y<sub>i</sub> furuf e<sub>i</sub> hun*  
 to P. chief D. and P take:PRT3SG C:3SGM POSS:3SGM form POSS:3SGM INT  
*a’y<sub>i</sub> 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, we might witness a topic promoted to a high-topicality role but still 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. The second type is called by Graham Isaac *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. We can illustrate it on the example 14.

(14) *Ac y nessawys y gwyr attunt, ual yd Ymglywynt ymdidan.*  
 and P approach:PRT3SG Aman:PL to:3PL as P hear:PRS3PL conversation  
*Bwrw badeu allan a <sup>L</sup>wnaethont wynteu, a Nessau parth a'r tir,*  
 throw:VN boat:PL out P do:PRT3PL C:3PL and approach:VN towards=A land  
*a chyuarth 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 we can explain the second occurrence of a conjunctive pronoun by the second rule suggested by Gr. Isaac, whereas the first occurrence is imposed by the possible ambiguity of the sentence. The use of a conjunctive pronoun makes us

assume that the referent it codes is unambiguously non-coreferent to the subject of the first clause (this is related to the rule 1).

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

In course of our research we have tried several parameters which would help us to predict occurrences of conjunctive vs. simple pronouns in MW texts. One of our theories was that the difference might be in the number of clauses separating the referent and its anaphor (this is a parameter which seems to work on many languages in their referential choice, as shown in T. Givón's *Topic Continuity in Discourse* (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 2 clauses. Thus a further study of the parameters determining pronoun choice remains to be continued.

Meanwhile we could add something to the point of equivalents in other languages. First, we decided to look at what was done not by scholars, but by translators. We chose two most authoritative translations of PKM, the English being *The Mabinogion*, translated by Gwyn Jones, Thomas Jones. London, 1949; and the German *Das Sagenbuch der walisischen Kelten. Die Vier Zweige des Mabinogi. Übersetzt von Bernhard Maier. München, 1999*, and looked at all the occurrences of conjunctive pronouns in the first branch (which makes about a hundred of examples). One particular difficult task for the translators was the quotation formula *heb ynteu*, which in interchange with *heb ef* is so widely used in this text. Whereas Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones translate it with *said he*, but also very often, when possible, with *he replied* or *he answered*, thus rendering this dialogue structure by means of a verb, Bernhard Meier is deliberate to translate the verb throughout the text by *sagen* only, so that his variants are *sagte er* or *sagte der*. As for the narrative parts of the text, the conjunctive pronouns are most often translated by mere personal pronouns, that is true particularly for those pronouns that are used after possessive clitics), but there are also several additional means that the translators use to render their additional meanings.

1. The most common semantics is contrast, rendered in English by *but, for his 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  
*y<sup>L</sup> Gaswallawn <sup>L</sup>uab Beli"* [PKM 51.1]  
 to C. son B.

Ich aber will nach England gehen, um Caswallawn, Belis Sohn, meinen Gehorsam zu bezeigen.  
 and I will go to tender my homage to Caswallawn son of Beli, to Lloegyr.

2. Another variant of additional 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 }

*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.

And they too joined in council.

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

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

*Ynteu a <sup>L</sup>gymerth rygng y gan y <sup>L</sup>uarch* [PKM 10.29]  
 C:3SGM P took:PRT3SG amble from POSS:3SGM horse

Then he took his horse into an amble...

Da liess er sein Pferd in den Passgang fallen

A particular instance of this contrast can be seen in examples where we could interpret a 3 singular masculine conjunctive pronoun either as a pronoun with contrast semantics or 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 of=A 2 things or wound or blows  
*neu ynteu a welei rywedawt* [PKM 9.5-7]  
 or C:3SGM P see:IMF3SG wonder

geht von dort hinweg, ohne daß eines von zwei Dingen passiert. Entweder es gibt Schlaege und Wunder, oder er schaut ein Wunder.

will not go thence without one of two things: wounds or blows or else his seeing a wonder

This is an important example, as in some cases we find already in PKM conjunctive pronouns of the 3Sgm loose their anaphoric function and are used as particles. This is probably the way to analyse the cases of appositional use with proper nouns:

(19) <K: Gwawl set of to his domain>

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

But Pwyll came to Dyfed

Pwyll aber ging nach Dyfed

The same process is probably seen in examples, where there is no agreement between the CP and the noun to which it is used in apposition:

(20) *Y neuad ynteu a<sup>L</sup>gyweirwyt y Pwyll a'e niuer* [PKM 18.16]  
 A hall:F C:3SGM P prepare:PRT.IMPERS to P. and= POSS:3SGM host  
 Then the hall was made for Pwyll and his retinue  
 Dann wurde für Pwyll , sein Gefolge...die Halle hergerichtet

These examples show the way towards forming of different lexemes in Modern Welsh, one : 3Sgm pronoun - *yntau* and the second – conjunction and adverb *ynteu*, *yntau* (analysed thus e.g. in Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: 3818). In Russian these examples are best translated by means of particle *и*, which being extremely polysemantic can have both contrastive and additional meanings (for a very detailed description see (Bonno, Kodzasov 1998)).

Thus we have witnessed a picture of various meanings the conjunctive pronouns in PKM have. The works of Russian typologists can help us to place this polysemy into the context of world languages. Their attention was recently attracted by markers of discourse coherence with a wide range of usage. Such elements were described in North Caucasian Tsakhur (Kibrik 1999), Uralic Mari (Khitrov 2002), Turkic Chuvash and Tatar (Pazelskaja 2002) languages. In the table we present a rough outline of various meanings of these coherence markers:

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

If we look at the translations of the elements analysed in the above mentioned papers we shall see that the vast majority of them corresponds to the additional meanings of the Welsh conjunctive pronouns. It lets us assume, that the conjunctive personal pronouns in Middle Welsh are means of discourse cohesion and it is possible to say that their different uses are manifestations of meanings of one filed 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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