

Mouton Grammar Library 2

*Press*  
A Grammar  
of Modern Breton

# Mouton Grammar Library 2

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Mouton de Gruyter  
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Ian Press

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## Preface

Without the guidance of Vefa de Bellaing, Per Denez, Yann Desbordes, Ivetig an Dred, Frañsez Kervella, Jakez Konan, Janig Stephens, and Jean-Yves Urien, this grammar could not have been written. They have together saved me from numerous infelicities and helped me, I trust, achieve a balanced presentation of the grammar of present-day standard Breton. Such a standard language does exist, though its existence has been and still is occasionally questioned. I must, too, register my thanks to **Skol "OBER"**, whose teachers not so long ago taught me Breton, and to Maureen Ransom, Head of Languages at the City Literary Institute in London, who in 1979 encouraged me to found the course **Breton Language and Culture**, taken over until 1986 by Janig Stephens. The students were unwitting guinea pigs in that they worked with early versions of the **Appendices** and parts of the **Morphology**. Many thanks also to Ronan Huon, indefatigable *rener* of *Al Liamm*, for his permission to use extracts from his publications in **Appendix C**; and to the other publishers. Thanks to Humphrey Lloyd Humphreys for his help with the **Phonology**, and to the organizers of the *Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies* at the University of Oxford, July 1983, at which I read a preliminary version of the **Phonology**. For invaluable advice on style my thanks to C. L. Drage, Professor of Russian in the University of London.

Somewhat apart I must thank Mr. J. P. Brandon, Mr. N. Hawkes, "Reception" and, above all, Dr. Hemant Deshmukh of the Queen Mary College Computer Centre for immense assistance in the initial and final preparation of the grammar. The Department of Physics wanted to help arrange the print-out; but it proved technically impossible. So, for my print-out, and for the excellent **Vuwriter Scientific** word-processor, many thanks to **Vuman'Computing Services Ltd.** of the Manchester Science Park and the University of Manchester. It was a delight for me to find there, close to my Lancashire roots in Oldham, the ultimate solution to my electronic problems. The passage of the text through four computers, and at the most harrowing time the transfer of over one hundred typographically complex disc files and consequent four months of re-editing a finished manuscript, were almost too much. The delay did, however, help

keep the work up-to-date, and one hopes that the most recent changes in the French government will not adversely affect attitudes to the minorities and to the lesser-used languages of France.

My considerable thanks to my academic editor Prof. Dr. G. Bossong for his wise counsel.

Last, though I am sure they would rather not be reminded of it, I really must thank my family: Marie-Christine, Christopher and Noémi, for their patience and encouragement. But for them, ...

Needless to say, I alone am responsible for the final selection of material and for the arrangement of the grammar. A determination to be concise has, I hope, been a stimulus to a clearer and more generally accessible description. I have, too, had to chart a wary course between the many approaches to the description of language and of the language itself, a most treacherous area in the case of Breton. If I seem to put the language itself first, and indeed to pay less attention to the dialectal variety of the language, bear with me; if my presentation verges at times on the "prescriptive", then it is not meant to be so, though that that might come to the mind of readers reflects my hope that speakers of Breton will not cease in their efforts to unify, and at the same time to maintain the richness of, their language.

London, March 1986

I. Press

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1. General Background

Breton is an Indo-European language like English, French, German, Russian and Sanskrit; together with Welsh and the extinct, possibly reviving, Cornish, and less closely with Irish, Scottish Gaelic and the extinct, less possibly reviving, Manx, not to mention also at least the long-extinct Gaulish, it forms the Celtic sub-group of Indo-European. All four surviving Celtic languages are under various types and degrees of threat.

The Breton language is spoken by an uncertain number of people in Lower Brittany (Basse Bretagne, Breizh Izel), plus exiles in other parts of France (particularly Paris and Angers), Europe, the United States, Canada and elsewhere. Around one million speakers have been claimed; this is, however, realistic only as an absolute maximum, and perhaps 50,000-100,000 represents the number of people actively using the language today. In 1980, Morvannou gives around 500,000, and 400,000-800,000 is often given casually as representing the maximum possible range. In 1892, p.35, Joanne estimated the number at 1,200,000. Needless to say, a linguistic census is long overdue. French language policy, military and war service (particularly in the First World War), and outright oppression of Breton speakers after 1945, because of unwarranted suspicion of collaboration, have dealt massive blows to the language, its culture and people. The last phenomenon, depriving a whole generation of the language in the 1950's, has rendered the situation especially serious. Recently asking a considerable, and anonymous, authority on Breton how many speakers there were, we received the following response: Ne gredan ket e vije tu da c'houzout.

## 2 Introduction

Ar pep brasañ a zrailh brezhoneg bremañ "I don't think there would be any way of knowing. Most people now speak broken Breton".

Of all the other Celtic languages the most closely related to Breton is Cornish; indeed, it almost certainly has its origin in emigration notably from south-west Britain at the time of the Germanic expansion there (5th-6th centuries A.D.). Using traditional criteria, it is P-Celtic and Insular Celtic. In rather gross terms, this is reflected in the initial p of many question words (compare the initial q (hard or soft [k], as appropriate) in equivalent Irish words), and in the contention that Breton was a Celtic language of the British Isles, not of the European continent, at the time of the appropriate dialectal division.

A certain amount of study of the dialects has been made, some of it very detailed; but to this day Breton lacks a universally accepted, or successfully imposed, standard. Dialectal division is quite considerable, particularly in that one dialect-group diverges considerably from the other three (or four). The four principal dialect-groups are those of KERNEY (Cornouaille, henceforth K for kerneveg), LEON (Léon, henceforth L for leoneg), TREGER (Pays de Tréguier, Trégor, henceforth T for tregerieg) and, most divergent, GWENED (Vannes, henceforth Gw for gwenedeg (vannetais)). The modern standard, which is described here, was originally based on the Leon dialect-group; it is quite acceptable as a standard, literary language for Kernev, Leon and Treger, - hence its popular name, KLT. The divergent dialect of Gwened, divergent without presupposing that it has grown apart from the others, retains considerable vitality (up to 150,000 people are claimed to understand or make some use of it in daily life), and boasts a considerable literary tradition - one need only mention the outstanding Groix poet Y.P. Kallouh (see Appendix C), dead in the trenches of the First World War. The fifth dialect is Goëlo, used south from Bréhat to the language frontier, on the eastern edge of T.

It might be stated that all native speakers of Breton are now, more or less, able to speak French too. Many shades of bilingualism are present. This should not necessarily be seen as weakening Breton since bilingualism, the general term for the possession by one person of two or more linguistic codes, is the rule rather than the exception in linguistic situations and is becoming, once more, common in our generally monolingual Europe. It is a complex and imperfectly understood phenomenon, neurologically, but one might quote the influential opinion of Bouton in 1984, p.113 on the fears which are often expressed regarding the intellectual development of bilingual children:

"Chez certains auteurs on sent la crainte que les phénomènes d'interférence ralentissent ou déséquilibrent l'établissement des deux codes linguistiques en contact. Mais, d'autres notent que chez l'enfant bilingue, le transfert constant et aisé des acquisitions cognitives d'un système linguistique à l'autre, y compris plus tardivement celles de la lecture et de l'écriture, est un facteur de développement intellectuel particulièrement favorable. [...] Dans une situation de bilinguisme bien assumée par un enfant ne présentant aucun trouble constitutionnel et bien dirigée par des éducateurs compétents, la somme des avantages l'emporte toujours sur celle, inévitable, des inconvénients."

We may hope that the changes anticipated at the end of this Introduction will indeed take place.

See the Bibliography and the Maps (Appendix D) for additional information.

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### 2. Aim of the Present Grammar

In the present grammar only KLT is described, though there are cross-references, both to gwenedeg and to the individual dialects. The phonological component, the sound-system, will be more removed from dialectal reality than the morphological and syntactic component(s). Our own experience is that a good knowledge of the standard language, followed by the acquisition of comprehension competence and, to some extent, of an appropriate local dialect, together represent the most important practical skills. The Breton of the vast majority of native speakers will initially be perplexing. But these native speakers have a similar problem. And what English speaker understands every other English speaker? Of course, in the case of Breton the low prestige of the standard, largely because of its almost total absence from the educational system and the "out-of-house" fabric of everyday life, aggravates the situation.

The aim, then, is simple and limited: to provide an accessible description of the literary language, sufficient to permit reading and, in conjunction with a suitable course, to permit communication with native speakers. Much currently useful information is given in the Bibliography. It is hoped that the grammar may also serve as a work of reference.

### 3. The Orthography

The orthography is a problem vitiated by personal and political positions. A single spelling system is absolutely indispensable. Currently there seem to be three more or less widely used systems. Of these the least important, the Inter-dialectal Orthography, is disregarded here. The two major systems are as follows. First, the nouvelle orthographe universitaire (1955, henceforth QU), created by François Falc'hun, ever less officially accepted by the media (radio, television, some publishers) and supported principally by the Université de Bretagne Occidentale (Brest). Secondly, the Zedacheg or KLTGw (1941) orthography, which seems to be gaining favour.

The name Zedacheg stems from its notorious use of the digraph ZH to denote, roughly, KLT [z] and Gw [h]. Zedacheg is very much the

literary and, with notable exceptions, scholarly orthography, found in the most widely used dictionaries and Kervella in 1947/76. It is used by the Université de Haute-Bretagne/Rennes II (Rennes), where there is a Licence de Breton et Celtique and, from 1986 for Breton, a CAPES, the basic teaching qualification for secondary education. Zedacheg is much maligned because of suspicions regarding the circumstances of its "creation" during the occupation. It is the system used throughout this grammar.

Zedacheg is a compromise orthography. Simplifying a little, it is less phonetically based than QU, it can be used by speakers of gwenedeg, and, as said above, it is the orthography of most Breton literature and journals. It and QU are separate developments of the 1911 reformed orthography, often referred to as the KLT of the Emglev ar Skrivagnerien "The Writers' Accord" (Gruault, Vallée, Le Clerc, Le Braz). Switching between the two presents no difficulties, but a choice has to be made, at least at the outset. One might with confidence argue that both are superior to the French and English orthographies.

The Zedacheg alphabet is as follows:

A a, B b, Ch ch, C'h c'h, D d, E e, F f, G g, H h, I i,  
J j, K k, L l, M m, N n, O o, P p, R r, S s, T t, U u,  
V v, W w, Y y, Z z.

Occasionally, ç, q, and x are encountered in words of non-Breton origin; and the first two particularly in gallicized place- and personal names. Certain digraphs are not listed, since no words begin with them. These are: eu, ou (ou when in (potential) alternation with stressed ou), gn (ni in morpheme juncture), ng, (i)lh (li in morpheme juncture), and zh. In addition, ï and ü may be found to mark hiatus where a diphthong would otherwise be pronounced. Gw, which may be treated differently from g in the mutation system, is not given separately. One encounters also ê - an optional contraction of ae, or to differentiate words, and ô - an optional contraction of ao. The letter ñ after a vowel denotes (optional) nasalization.

An alternative order places k between b and d, c'h, ch between h and i, and y between i and j.

The QU alphabet differs from the English alphabet only in that it

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lacks q and x. C includes both ch and c'h, the latter being used only, if not always, before [w], and elsewhere being replaced by h. Otherwise, the same observations as for Zedacheg are applicable, except that ou is not used, é is sometimes found, (i)lh becomes (i)ll, and zh is absent. A symbol 'f may occur absolute word-initially for mutated (spirant mutation) p, representing a sound between [f] and [v], closer to the latter in that it is voiced.

Some general examples contrasting the two orthographies are as follows, Zedacheg preceding OU: kelou - kelou "(item of) news", dilhad - dillad "clothes", boutailh - boutaill "bottle", bed - béd "world", va c'halon - va halon "my heart" (kalon "heart"), laezh - laez "milk", va fenn - va 'fenn "my head" (penn "head"). The examples involving kalon and penn demonstrate the spirant mutation after va "my".

Neither in Zedacheg nor in OU need the diacritics be included in upper-case letters. This practice is followed in the present grammar.

Summarizing, Zedacheg pretends to greater breadth of viability, while OU claims, in its variable realization, to be dialectally narrower. The arguments seem to be circular and interminable.

Looking in more detail at the two main orthographies, we first note that in the choice of absolute word-final p - b, t - d, k - g, partly s - z they use different criteria. Zedacheg takes on the whole the voiceless consonant for adjectives and the voiced consonant for nouns, while OU takes on the whole the nature of the radical as its basis.

For example:

	Zedacheg	OU
"Breton" - N	<u>brezhoneg</u>	<u>brezoneg</u>
- AJ	<u>brezhonek</u>	<u>brezoneg</u>
"(to) look at"	<u>sellout</u> (or <u>sellet</u> )	<u>selled</u>
"looked at"	<u>sellet</u>	<u>sellet</u> (historically <u>selled</u> )

As we shall see, in the stream of speech an absolute word-final voiced consonant is statistically more frequent than a voiceless consonant; this is reflected in the tendency for OU to use voiced consonant letters here. There is a tendency towards voiceless consonants before a pause, though after a stressed, long vowel (i.e. not a loanword), the voiceless stop may be considered lenis and may well sound voiced. Hence, there is no "correct" pronunciation. Other examples, lacking any clear-cut grammatical criterion and not at all consistently observed, are:

	Zedacheg	OU
"without"	<u>hep</u>	<u>heb</u>
"with"	<u>gant</u>	<u>gand</u>
"for"	<u>evit</u>	<u>evid</u>
"not"	<u>ket</u>	<u>ked</u>

For a good discussion of the evolution of Breton orthography see Jackson in 1967, pp.825-33 or, for Zedacheg, Per Denez in a supplement to Hor Yezh "Our Language", No.99, 1975 and for OU Andreu Merser in 1980. It is of great sociolinguistic importance to resolve this problem,

## 8 Introduction

described admirably for Occitan by Kremnitz in 1974.

There follows a short text in its OU original (Tricoire in 1963, p.201), with a Zedacheq (ZH) version and broad gloss interlined and all followed by an English rendering. A fuller OU text is given in Appendix C. Throughout the grammar, glosses are given broad or narrow according to the context.

OU - Arabad eo deoh tamall an ijinadennou nevez.

ZH - Arabat eo deoc'h tamall an ijinadennoù nevez.

forbidden is to+you condemn the inventions new

OU - Ar re-mañ eo, er hontrol, hag a lakaio

ZH - Ar re-mañ eo, er c'hontrol, hag a lakaio

the ones+here is, in+the opposite, which put-will

OU - ar Vretoned yaouank gouest da vired o

ZH - ar Vretoned yaouank gouest da virout o

the Bretons young capable to prevent their

OU - yez koz da vond da goll: piou e-nije

ZH - yezh kozh da vont da goll: piv en dije

language old to go to loss: who would+have

OU - soñjet, deg vloaz zo hebken, e vije bet

ZH - soñjet, dek vloaz zo hepken, e vije bet

thought, ten year ago only, that would-be been

OU - embannet kement a bladennou brezoneg?

ZH - embannet kement a bladennoù brezhoneg?

published so+many of records Breton

Rough translation: "You must not condemn new inventions. On the contrary, it is they which will render young Bretons capable of preventing their old language from being lost; who would have thought, only ten years ago, that so many Breton records would have been brought out?"

The differences are minimal in this rather averagely contrastive text.

#### 4. Conclusion

We are now able to commence our exposition of the grammar of modern standard Breton. The core of the grammar consists of the sections devoted to phonology, morphology and syntax. There is a short section on word formation. The Appendices, Bibliography and Thematic Index are intended to be of reference and overall value. The separate sections overlap with each other to a considerable degree. There is no way any language can be forced into the straitjacket of discrete components, and the consequent repetitiveness is designed to be useful.

Two small points. First, the actual data of the Breton language is throughout underlined. To this, there are two overall exceptions: (i) as appropriate, it may be given in bold characters; (ii) in the grammatical tables underlining is on the whole discarded as unnecessary. Secondly, in the phonological section the transcription is, so far as the word processor

on which the grammar has been prepared permits, that of the I.P.A.; a relatively broad transcription is used, and the renderings are most definitely only approximate.

And so, why this grammar? In 1948 Hardie's useful but now dated A Handbook of Modern Breton (Armorican) appeared. Apart from Delaporte's valuable English rendering of Per Denez's Course Brezhoneg... Buan hag Aes, first published in 1977, and Delaporte's own Elementary Breton-English Dictionary published in 1979, there seems to be nothing in English on the modern standard language. This work is a first attempt to fill that gap. Our debt to the work of authors mentioned in the Bibliography, most notably Kervella in 1947/1976, is great and intentional.

The grammar is dedicated to the people of Brittany, Upper and Lower. The ordinary people of Lower Brittany have seldom been heard, and when they have, their voices have most often been distorted by an inculcated submissiveness. We are not going to repeat here any of the oft-quoted pronouncements of eminent figures, save that of the Minister Anatole de Monzie in 1925: "Pour l'unité linguistique de la France, la langue bretonne doit disparaître." Rather we would take the words of the Prefect of Morbihan, E. Le Lorois, quoted recently in Bremañ by Lukian Kergoat (No.25, October, 1983, p.4):

"Je suis Breton, et j'éprouve une vive sympathie pour tout ce qui peut conserver notre nationalité. Je sais que les principes généraux des Gouvernements sont de combattre l'esprit de province et d'effacer, autant que possible, les divisions résultantes des différences de langage. Mais une langue vivante est un peuple. Faire mourir une langue, c'est faire disparaître une individualité de la famille des nations; c'est détruire un système d'entendement, un caractère national, des moeurs, une littérature. La philosophie et la morale condamnent également cette espèce de meurtre."

It may well be that over the last hundred years there has, too, been a relentless, and unconscious, loss of the Breton and the other lesser-used languages of France in the minds of the people.

As a postscript, in August, 1985 the Minister of Culture, Jack Lang, announced the creation of the Conseil national des langues et cultures de France and of a Breton CAPES, the secondary education teaching certificate. If action is taken on these creations, then the situation may change for the better.



# Chapter 2

## Phonology

### 1. Background

In spite of the existence of several monographs, of several perceptive overall phonetic descriptions, and of the guidance, for standard Breton, of a number of sketches in course books and manuals, for all of which see the **Bibliography**, sections 2, 3 and 5, we still seem to lack an argued presentation of a phonology of modern standard literary Breton.

### 2. Problems

We confront in the **Phonology** some of the salient problems associated with a description of the Breton sound system. The confrontation offers no solutions, for several reasons. First, because of the limits of our knowledge. Secondly, because it is always controversial what the phonological system of a language will be (not to mention the endless debates about what phonology itself is); there will always be loose ends, guarantees of the dynamism of the system. Thirdly, because so little is still known, in detail, about the Breton dialects; though it may well turn out that an adequate and representative sample of data is available. Fourthly, because there continues to be argument over just what standard Breton is.

The principal problems seem to concern the place of the correlations of strength, voice and quantity in a phonology of Breton. Diphthongs and triphthongs, nasality and the mutation system are also examined. By "nasality" is meant the opposition of nasal and oral vowels, with particular reference to the position within the system of contingent

nasality, that is, where an oral vowel is more or less nasalized by an immediately following nasal consonant.

More important here, by "strength" is meant an opposition between fortis and lenis consonants. Other, not always totally synonymous, terms for these are strong/tense/long and weak/lax/short. We transcribe fortis consonants (by gemination) only where illustratively appropriate. By "voice" is meant an opposition between voiceless (often crudely identified with fortis) and voiced (often equally crudely identified with lenis) consonants. By "quantity" is meant an opposition between long and short vowels, though the distinction may equally well be applied to consonants. When stressed and followed by a consonant, the regular sequence

short vowel + long consonant  
long vowel + short consonant

illustrates an important feature of Breton syllabic structure (stress is non-distinctive in standard Breton, since it is on the whole fixed on the penultimate syllable; it is here that Gw, with its ultimate stress, diverges most from KLT, though there are KLT dialects with ultimate stress).

This brief overview of the problems reveals the overlapping which will lead to competing correlations in the phonological system. The aim, for our description of standard Breton, will be a maximally simple and generally acceptable system.

### 2.1. Voice

Various authors have proposed data to demonstrate the linguistic significance of the features of strength, voice and quantity. Of these three the least strong arguments at first seem to be those put forward for a consonantal correlation of voice (the most general and, probably, most acceptable position is, in fact, one which accepts distinctive voice). In 1976, pp.42-5 Desbordes contends that [s] and [z], [š] and [ž] seem to be in free variation, while [f], [vh] (see Appendix C, section 1) and [v] seem to be in complementary distribution; in no case does he feel that comprehension is prejudiced by mispronunciation. In 1951, pp.32ff. Falc'hun gives examples countering this. From among them we give:

<u>E</u> [vh]it	<u>g</u> winl	-	<u>e</u> [v]it	<u>g</u> win
drink-IMV	wine-NM		for-PRP	wine-NM
"Drink wine!"			"for wine"	
<u>s</u> kui[s]a <sup>h</sup>		-	<u>s</u> kui[z]a <sup>h</sup>	
tired-AJSUP			tire-INF/VN	
"most tired"			"(to) tire"	

In the first example, however, the question of stress arises: evit "for" often loses its first, unstressed, syllable, and the [v] may be pronounced [w]. In the last two examples the pairs are additionally set apart by the competing distinction of vocalic quantity. In Falc'hun's dialect, Ar Vourc'h Wenn (Bourg-Blanc, North Finistère), the fact that certain voiced (and non-paired) consonants are strong, i.e. the fortis character of [λ], [ñ] and [m], of [j], [w] and [w̃], and of [n], [l] absolute word-initially and when written as geminates, and the neutralization of absolute word-final consonants in monosyllables and final-stressed words as voiceless lenis - always lenis, but perceptible as either voiced or voiceless, make us question further the distinctiveness of voice. We might note too that [r] behaves somewhat like [n] and [l].

Even if distinctive voice is so far unproven in our argument, it remains important in external sandhi. As we shall see, the most familiar voiceless/voiced pairs ([p]/[b], [t]/[d], [k]/[g]) have this correlation side-by-side with a correlation of strength; they are distinctive absolute word-initially and (accompanied by vowel quantity) intervocalically, but neutralized absolute word-finally after stress. After unstressed vowels they may be perceived as very weak voiceless lenes, as in pakad ['ppakkat] "packet", moereb ['mwe:rep] "aunt". In external sandhi the lenis/voice parallel re-emerges (see 3.2.1.5).

In 1967, p.63, #100 Jackson notes that for Plougrescant, in kuitaat "to leave" - chadennet "chained", the voice difference between [t] and [d] after the unstressed vowel is there, but from the point of view of the system it may not be significant; compare the neutralization of fortis and lenis [n] in kannerez "washerwoman" - kanerez "singer". We have real doubts here. Certainly, absolute word-initial f, s, and ch (the second only pre-vocalically) tend to be pronounced [v], [z], and [ž]; but how does one

differentiate paz "cough" and bazh "stick" if Plougrescant has no fortis (long) consonants absolute word-initially? It has to be voice, unless it is claimed that absolute word-initially the articulatory force employed renders consonants stronger than lenis, let's say "non-fortis".

## 2.2. Quantity

In 1947/1976, p.12, #5 Kervella gives the following examples:

LONG	SHORT
<u>ta</u> l "forehead"	<u>da</u> ll "blind"
<u>me</u> l "honey"	<u>me</u> ll "big"
<u>gw</u> ir "true"	<u>gri</u> k! "shhh!"
<u>ro</u> d "wheel"	<u>ko</u> ll "(to) lose"
<u>ru</u> z "red"	<u>ru</u> st "abrupt"
<u>me</u> ud "thumb"	<u>tre</u> ust "rafter"
<u>trou</u> z "noise"	<u>do</u> us "sweet"

Anyone hearing Breton cannot but be at first struck by the quantitative differences between the vowels. Yet the question remains as to how relatively significant quantity is among these three problematic features. If we disregard expressive lengthening, then long vowels occur only under stress. As such they will be long if followed by silence or by a lenis consonant - not merely voiced, since [λ], [ñ], etc. are voiced yet fortis. One might note that vowel length seems never to have been marked in Breton spelling. It might be said, too, that in, for example, bras "big", we have a voiceless dental fricative [s] (claimed in 1976, p.208, #222 by Desbordes; in 1981, p.29 Merser calls it "dure", though he identifies "dure" with "sourde").

If this is accepted, then there is a loading of the phonological distinction onto the quantity of the vowel. That there are such speakers there can be no doubt; that it might be easier to teach is, too, not irrelevant. But does it reflect the standard language? In 1982, p.14 Bothorel rejects distinctive quantity except for the Gw dialect of Groix. In fact, if there is to be a phonology of modern standard Breton, it

would seem more appropriate to hold that there is neutralization of the consonant as "voiceless lenis" here: [ʼbra:Z]. This is not a very felicitous term, since in external sandhi and absolute word-finally the voicedness may emerge (see 3.2.1.5).

Looking at the gradation of bras and of some other adjectives, plus the pronunciation of a closely related word and a homonym, one can see how important the fortis/lenis distinction may be:

<u>br</u> [a:Z]	<u>br</u> [ass] <u>oc'h</u>	<u>br</u> [ass] <u>añ</u>
big-AJ SMP	big-AJ CMP	big-AJ SUP
"big"	"bigger"	"biggest"

<u>s</u> [ε:Γ]	<u>s</u> [εxx] <u>oc'h</u>	<u>s</u> [εxx] <u>añ</u>	<u>s</u> [ε:γ] <u>añ</u>
dry-AJ SMP	dry-AJ CMP	dry-AJ SUP	dry-INF/VN
"dry"	"drier"	"driest"	"(to) dry; drying"

<u>y</u> [y:D]	<u>y</u> [ytt] <u>oc'h</u>
treacherous-AJ SMP	treacherous-AJ CMP
"treacherous"	"more treacherous"

<u>y</u> [ytt] <u>añ</u>	<u>y</u> [y:D]
treacherous-AJ SUP	howl-N
"most treacherous"	"howl(ing)"

We see that there is an alternation within the adjective. A fortis with neutralization in the simple form gives a pattern without the creation of extra phonemes. This fits Falc'hun's dialect and, in dialects where the final consonant would be seen as voiceless, could equally well be regarded as a regular, morphologically conditioned alternation. In s[ε:γ]añ "drying", a non-neutralized lenis (hence the lower-case symbol) does appear; and in y[y:D] "howl(ing)" derivatives reveal a basic lenis, e.g., y[y:d]ou PL.

Moreover, in Kervella's examples the vowels vary with the following consonant (fortis or lenis), or with silence.

## 2.3. Strength

We have seen that there may be some weakness in the positing of a consonantal correlation of voice in Breton. In addition, vowel quantity presents an opposition only under stress and is bound with the quality or quantity of the following sound. Will the character of the following sound provide us with our distinctive feature?

So far there have been the restraints imposed by positional considerations. The major distinctive feature should, within reason, be non-restricted for position.

A neutralization of fortis and lenis as voiceless lenis has been noted. This is characteristic of the absolute word-final position in monosyllables and in final-stressed words (depending on dialect there will be exceptions, where the final consonant is fortis, e.g., tap! ['ttapp] "catch!", pak! ['ppakk] "seize, deceive, pack!". That these are often loan-words may not be irrelevant). Is there, one may ask, such a thing as a "voiced fortis"? Keeping apart the consonants mentioned in 2.1, the answer would be that non-mutated b, d, g are fortis when absolute word-initial (a feature of the explosive character of this position). This seems to indicate that absolute word-initial consonants will be fortis (non-fortis, if not lenis, in Plougrescant voiced initials, for example). So, surely fortis/lenis is redundant here. It would seem that voice must step in to keep absolute word-initial p/b, t/d, k/g apart.

There are, then, competing correlations. However, it remains worth while looking at words in the syntagma. In 1947/1976, p.23, #19, Kervella cites the following phrases to illustrate the significance of the fortis/lenis distinction. It is important to note that, for all its dialectal and literary richness, he provides a grammar of literary, standard Breton, not a composite dialectal grammar. Thus:

(1) Emañ e garr e gar Landerne  
is his cart in station Landerneau  
"His cart is at Landerneau station."

(2) Gwisket e oa e du eus e du  
dressed PRC was in black from his side  
"For his part, he was dressed in black."

- (3) An heol a bar e barr an neñv  
 the sun PRC shine in top the sky  
 "The sun shines at the zenith."

In (1) the first *g* is lenis, the second fortis; in (2) the first *d* is fortis, the second lenis; in (3) the first *b* is lenis, the second fortis. The words concerned are minimal pairs.

In 1951, Falc'hun cites many similar examples, e.g. (pp.44, 66)

- (4) an hini naetañ / lousañ  
 the DETPRO clean-SUP / dirty-SUP  
 "the cleanest/dirtiest one."

Here we have lenis *n/l/r* in the adjective if the referent is feminine, fortis if it is masculine. See section 4 for a description of the mutations. Falc'hun in 1951, pp.61, 64, 67 gives additional examples. Note particularly the following, given on p.67:

- (5) Ro e lod dezhañ, hag he lod dezhi  
 give his share to-him, and her share to-her  
 "Give his share to him, and her share to her"
- (6) Ro he lod dezhañ, hag e lod dezhi  
 give her share to-him, and his share to-her  
 "Give her share to him, and his share to her"

The spelling has been adapted (JIP) into Zedacheg. Both *e* "his" and *he* "her" are pronounced [e]; *e* causes the soft mutation, and *he* the spirant mutation. That is, after *he* "her" fortis *n/l/r* are maintained).

Context may play a role in comprehension, but it remains clear (and this is backed up by native-speaker intuition) that the fortis/lenis distinction is of significance. Since the syntagma is a single accentual unit, the data seem phonologically acceptable.

So, absolute word-finally after stress there is neutralization, e.g. gopr ['go:B(r)] (also ['gop(r)]) "salary", unless a short root vowel remains, as may happen in non-native words, e.g. tap(out) "to catch", pak(añ) "to pack, seize, deceive" cited above in this section. Vowel quantity is bound

with the character of the following consonant; and in the absolute word-initial position voice seems to step in to keep the stops separate.

There may yet remain a problem. This is all very fine from the point of view of n, l, ɫ, where we have a fortis/lenis distinction in consonants which, barring subsidiary allophones, occur only voiced. What of the other consonants in the syntagma? Consider the following:

- (7) an hini mat - an hini vat  
 the DETPRON good - the DETPRON good  
 "the good one" (M/F reference)
- (8) an hini paour - an hini baour  
 the DETPRON poor - the DETPRON poor  
 "the poor one" (M/F reference)

The m/y distinction seems weird, and surely p/h is a voice distinction. In the first case, however, m is exclusively fortis in Breton, with y being the reflex of original lenis m (and lenis b). So we have a fortis/lenis pair here. As for p/h to which t/d, k/g at least may be added, it might be asserted that here we have a fortis consonant which happens to be voiceless, paired with a lenis consonant which happens to be voiced. It is interesting to note a surname like Lagathu, from lagad du (N + AJ) "black eye", where the correlated consonants are realized as voiceless fortis; this is general in Breton, e.g., ed du (N + AJ) "buckwheat" (lit. "corn black"), often rendered with voiceless fortis [tt]. This also happens with the initial d of Doue "God", as in Va Doue! "My goodness!". See 3.2.1.5 below for external sandhi.

Falc'hun in 1951, p.44 suggests that if the Roman alphabet had not happened to have a symbol for the fortis dental stop, then modern Breton might well have (had) skoddenn for skotenn "dry biscuit"; compare skodenn "bundle of wood". Parallel to eno "there" (AV) - enno "in them" (PRS PRP). We have a vowel distinction too, with the long high vowel tending to be closer. As we shall see below, in 3.1, a when long will be slightly retracted. The mid vowels, like the high vowels, will be closer when long, on the whole. Lenis b, d, g are mutations of fortis p, t, k; lenited fortis b, d, g are v [v], z [z], c'h [ɣ] respectively. So there might have been a potential for absolute word-initial consonants to be

voiceless fortis with voice redundant (i.e. fortis with a subsidiary voice distinction); this may well obtain in the fricatives, notably f/v, s/z (always [s] in an initial consonant group), ch/j. But in the stops voice does not seem to step in to keep the labials, dentals and velars apart (at least for certain dialects).

#### 2.4. Nasality

A brief word about nasality. The problem is that of allocating contingent nasality a place in the system. On the whole, contingent nasality is conveyed in the orthography by means of the sequence oral vowel (i, e, a, o, u, eu, ou) + n or m whereas for nasality the oral vowel is followed by ñ. This is a clear case where individual dialects and words must decide, particularly in a language where there is no mean amount of spontaneous and sporadic nasalization, e.g. dimeziñ [di'mē:zī] "(to) marry", tey ['tēō] "fat" (Sommerfelt, in 1920-1/1978, pp.83, 85). An example of contingent nasalization become pure would be T (Plougrescant) pa rin with [ĩ] "when/if I do" as against pa ri with [i] "when/if you do" (Jackson, in 1967, p.60). A possible proposal might be to allocate a contingently nasal vowel to the oral vowel phoneme, and the nasal element to the nasal consonant phoneme.

#### 2.5. Diphthongs and Triphthongs

At least on a practical rather than a theoretic level, the Breton diphthongs, tending to be or to become full vowels followed in the same syllable by a "weaker" vowel, can be seen as vowel + [j], [w], [w̃], e.g., kaer ['kajr] "fine, beautiful", paotr ['pawt(r)] "lad", eeun ['ewn] "simple, direct". In the first two cases there is often contraction to close e, close o (see the following paragraph). The "weaker" vowel of the third case could also be [w̃], a fronted, palatal variant of [w] (i.e. a labial palatal approximant), typically occurring before or after front vowels. Other examples would be gwelout "(to) see", gwin "wine". The same sound is found in French, e.g. nuit "night".

Kervella, in 1947/1976, pp.16-17, ##13-15 cites loar ['lloar] "moon",

kreiz ['kreis] "middle", frouezh ['frues] "fruit", all with prominence of the first component, clearly monosyllabic, since the prominence does not shift if a syllable is added. We may compare also troad ['trwat] - ['trwa:D], c'hoar ['xwar] - ['xwar]. The sequences oa, oue may tend to [wa], [we]; in the two words concerned the vowel will then be long. Without this tendency, oa is monosyllabic and the o is open. The group oua is disyllabic and rather infrequent, e.g. gouarn "(to) steer, govern" (from French gouverner), douar "land, earth". The group oe is very rare, e.g. the native root loen ['llöēn] or ['llwē:n] "animal"; note the extension of nasalization (and note non-native poent, Fr point). Kervella also gives, as diphthongs tending to contract, ae ([ɛ:] + ɪ on the whole, [e:] otherwise); ao ([o:]; L has metathesis), au - including av ([u:]).

In his 1920-1/1978, pp.45-8, ##36-51 Sommerfelt notes few diphthongs (and one triphthong: diaoul ['diaul] "devil" for Kastell Paol/St-Pol-de-Leon.) Falc'hun, in 1951, pp.23-4 sees them as more abundant and offers more analysis. If the sonority of the group is falling (open+close, e.g. kreiz "middle"), then he sees one syllable; otherwise (e.g. frouezh "fruit") he sees two. If there is equal sonority (e.g., close+close), there seem to be two syllables in back+front (e.g. loen "animal"), one syllable in front+back (e.g. heol "sun"). If the diphthong is followed by a vowel, the second, closer, element becomes a semi-consonant [j], [w], [w̥] and behaves as if fortis: faeus ['fajys] "contemptuous", botaouer [bo'tawer] "cobbler", re uhel ['rrew̥el] "too high" (compare re uhel [rre'yel] "high ones"). Overall, Falc'hun in 1951, p.23 gives eleven diphthongs for Ar Vourc'h Wenn, while Jackson gives four for Plougrescant. Bothorel 1982, p.384 gives seven for Argol. Ternes 1970 has nine for Gw Groix. Bothorel in 1982, pp.9-11 offers a general survey of all three studies, tabulated below.

TABLE 1

	RISING	FALLING	EVEN
1951 Falc'hun (L)	-	[ae, ao, õo, õd, ĩi, ei, ey, ĩo, ou, eo]	[iu]
1961 Jackson (T)	-	[ao, õõ, áu, ei]	-
1971 Ternes (Gw)	[ea, eo, ea:, eo:, eã]	[ei, øy, ou, ae]	-
1982 Bothorel (K/L)	-	[aε, au, ao, ei, eo, õõ ĩĩ]	-

It might be borne in mind that, as given in the table, the "falling" diphthongs of at least L and T are arguably "even", and the "rising" diphthongs of Gw too may be even.

### 3. A Proposed System

#### 3.1. The Vowels

Before passing to the mutations, it is vital to take stock and sketch a system. The system proposed cannot but be imprecise in formulation, given the dialectal fractioning of Breton, the perhaps relatively incomplete knowledge of the dialects, and the relative artificiality of standardization, whether of a language or of a dialect. But it both attempts a generalizing description and an allocation to fortis/lenis of a place while acknowledging the significance of voice.

First, the vowel phonemes. Quantity, being seen as positional, is disregarded, long vowels being stressed and followed by silence or lenis (alternatively, by voiced consonants with certain exceptions). Marginal phonemes (total presence/absence is dialect-dependent) are given in

parentheses, and alternatives are marked by a slanting line. Orthographic symbols are underlined (nasality is marked by a tilde or circumflex, as typographically necessary). Examples follow. Simplistically, diphthongs are rendered by vowel + [j, w, w̃].

TABLE 2

	ORAL VOWELS					NASAL VOWELS						
	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK			FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK				
HIGH	i	<u>i</u>	y	<u>u</u>	u	<u>ou</u>	(i)	<u>iñ</u>	(y)	<u>yñ</u>	(u)	<u>ouñ</u>
close	e	<u>e</u>	ø	<u>eu</u>	o	<u>o</u>	ẽ	<u>eñ</u>			õ	<u>oñ</u>
MID												
open	ɛ	<u>e</u>	(α)	<u>eu</u>	ω	<u>o</u>	ẽ	<u>eñ</u>	ẽ	<u>euñ</u>		
LOW			a	<u>a</u>							ã/ã	<u>añ</u>

The semi-vowels [j], [w], [w̃] may be seen as components of diphthongs or as members of the consonantal phonemes /j/, /w/, /(w̃)/ (see 3.2 below).

### 3.1.1. Examples and Discussion

In the following examples it should be borne in mind that variation, sometimes considerable, will occur. Unstressed e, o, for example, may hover between half-open/half-close variants; stressed e, o may "tend" to closeness when long, but to openness when short.

## 3.1.1.1. Stress Mobility

tremen ['tremen] "(to) pass" - tremenet [tre'me:net]  
(PPCP)

mignon ['miñon] "friend" - mignoned [mi'ño:net] (PL)

an den [an'de:n] "the man" - un den ['ænden] "a man"

This is particularly strong in certain syntagmata, where, given a second component which is monosyllabic, the stress may fall on the first component. Contrast the definite article with the indefinite article in the examples above, and the pronominal re with the modifier re in 2.5 above, in re uhel. Thus also: dek den "ten men" (stress on the first e) - daouzek vloaz "twelve years" (stress on the first e instead of on au). The tendency is for the first of two adjoining stresses to become less prominent. Thus: an hent strizh "the narrow road", with the greater prominence on the i of the adjective. This applies too where one of the stressable items is a monosyllabic form of the verbs bezañ "(to) be", kaout/endevoù "(to) have" and ober "(to) do": keuz am eus "I regret" (regret I+have) (greater prominence on eus), mont (a) ra "goes" (go PRC AUX) (greater prominence of the auxiliary ra, from ober "(to) do"); n'eo ket "isn't" (NEG it+is NEG) (greater prominence of the negative particle ket). Of course, this is a highly variable situation; one might find the opposite in, for example, tomm eo "it's hot" (hot it+is).

The general rule applies also to hyphenated words, especially if they are frequently used. The demonstrative particles -mañ "this", -se "that", -hont "that yonder", however, do not attract the stress, except to the extent that, if qualifying a non-monosyllable, the stress will be attracted to the final syllable of the qualified word: en iliz-mañ "in this church" (PRP+DART N+DEM). This happens too with the emphatic personal forms of, for example, the preposition evit "for" (a different realization is used for the third persons):

evidon (PRSPRP1PSG) "for me" (stress on i) -  
evidon-me (PRSPRP1PSG+PRSPRO) "for ME" (stress on o)

Kervella in 1947/1976, pp.49-54, ##67-80 gives the following as first components which may attract stress:

- (a) cardinal numerals and eil "second"
- (b) pet "how much/many", holl "all", ken "as, so", pegen "how (+ adj)!", re "too", gwall "very"
- (c) preposed adjectives or qualifiers, e.g. gwir "true", hanter "half", kard "quarter", gwall "bad". But not pezh, pikol, mell, all serving as augmentatives, e.g. ur mell den "a big man"
- (d) the "reflexive" particle en em.

A good number of monosyllabic words may be end-stressed. In his 1947/1976, p.50, #70 Kervella gives a comprehensive selection, from which a few illustrative examples are taken. Not a few are original compounds, where the "end-stress" reflects this origin:

- (i) Nouns: abardaez "evening", itron "lady, Madame", gwinegr "vinegar", Pantekost "Pentecost"
- (ii) Adjective: fallakr "rascally, evil"
- (iii) Punctual forms of bezañ "(to) be": emaon "I am", etc.
- (iv) Some personal forms of prepositions: ganin "with me", diouzhoc'h "from you"
- (v) Adverbs, pronouns, prepositions: abred "soon", antronoz "the following day", avat "but, however", dalc'hmat "constantly", disul "next/last Sunday", e(n)ta "so" evel "like", fenozh "tonight", ouzhpenn "in addition", pelec'h "where", warc'hoazh "tomorrow", zoken "even"
- (vi) Place-names: mostly consisting of an unstressed first component, e.g. Plou-/Plo-/Pleu-, Lan-, Kastell-, Kêr-, Meilh-; if the second and last component is monosyllabic, then the place-name is end-stressed, e.g., Plogoñv "Plogoff", Lanveur "Lanmeur", Kastellin "Châteaulin", Kêrlaz "Kerlaz".

Of these words one might note e(n)ta, which need not be end-stressed. The word atav may optionally be end-stressed - this affects the pronunciation: [a'taw] - ['ato]. The interrogative petra tends to be end-stressed where it corresponds to Fr quoi, penultimate stressed where it corresponds to Fr que, though this is obviously rather fluid.

### 3.1.1.2. Vowel Quantity

Unstressed vowels are short. Stressed vowels may be long or short. There is some non-rule-governed behaviour here, as for example in the case of mab "son", which seems to have short and long [a].

Guidelines might be as follows:

(a) Short before fortes (including, of course, m(m), nn, ll, rr, gn/ni [ñ], i/y [j], (i)lh/li [λ], w/ou [w], u [w̃] and groups beginning with fortes) and in addition before n + t/k, and before l/r + stop/fricative/[j].

Examples (with fortis transcribed):

tap ['ttapp] "catch", chas ['ššass] "dogs", tach ['ttašš], "nail"; lemm ['lɛmm] "sharp", lenn ['lɛnn] "(to) read", pell ['ppɛll] "far, long"; roio ['rrɔjo] "will give", ray ['rraj] "will do"; daou ['ddaw] "two (M)", eeun ['ɛw̃n] "simple, direct", park ['ppark] "field", barzh ['bbars] "poet", moriou ['mmorju] "seas".

(b) Long before lenes (including n, l, r) and before groups ending in r/l, unless they begin in s.

Examples (with fortis transcribed):

bras ['bbra:Z] "big", mat ['mma:D] "good", tad ['tta:D] "father", kêr ['kkɛ:r] "town, settlement"; a-ratre [a'ra:tre] "in good order", semplañ ['sse:mplǽ] "(to) faint".

As seen in 2.2 above, certain suffixes may affect quantity without displacing the stress.

Examples (with fortis transcribed):

glas ['ggla:Z] "blue, green" - glasoc'h ['gglassox] "bluer, greener" (the [o] may be more open) - glasañ ['gglassõ] "bluest, greenest" (compare glazañ ['ggla:zõ] "(to) become blue".

Trepos in 1974/1980, pp.11-12, ##11-13 has been drawn upon here.

### 3.1.1.3. Vowel Quality

The close vowels /i, y, u/ show no significant variation in quality. The closer realizations of /e, o/ may, depending on dialect, overlap with them. The phoneme /a/ may vary; when long it may retract slightly (this is more marked under nasalization). The vowels /o, e, ε, ω/ and, less /ø/, show the greatest variation.

Examples (with fortis transcribed):

For /a/: tan ['tta:n] "fire", kazh ['kka:Z] "cat".

Overall, the tendency is to have [a:] when stressed in a monosyllable or in a final syllable, though retraction is occasionally reported here. Note too the reported retractions in, for example, labour ['llɔ:bur] "work", bugale [bby'gɔ:le] "children", and poelladenn [pwe'llɔ:den] "exercise, test". Otherwise non-retracted [a]: hadañ ['hha:dõ] "(to) sow". A retracted vowel is common in words like nann ['nnɔnn] "no", where the contingent nasality may exert an influence.

So there is a combination of free variation and complementary distribution here. If distinctive vowel quantity were accepted, one might propose /a/, /ɑ:/.

For orthographical ɛ there are close, mid-to-open, open and extra-open variants. The second and fourth can be reasonably well restricted. Mid-to-open ɛ occurs post-tonically in a suffix (we may have shwa or even loss); if it comes under stress, it tends towards close ɛ. Thus:

labourer [lla'bu:rer] "worker" - labourerien [llabu're:rjen] "workers"

Extra-open e occurs only before c'h [x,ɣ] and before consonantal groups beginning with r (including rr), before lc'h, y [j], w/o/ou [w], and u [w̃]. For example:

sec'h ['sɛ:ɿ] "dry", kelc'h ['kɛlx] "circle", berr ['bɛ:r] "short" (note that rr is not realized as fortis here), merc'h ['mɛ:rx] "daughter", nerzh ['nɛrs] "strength", eizh ['ɛjs] "eight", tev ['tɛw] "fat".

As for the close and open realizations, the close mainly occurs long, though it may be short: gwel ['gwe:l] "see!", deg ['de:G] "ten", Brest ['brest] "Brest". The open realization may be long or short: kêr ['kɛ:r] "town", stêr ['stɛ:r] "river", Per ['pɛ:r] "Peter", rez ['re:Z] "simple, straight" (see this section below); compare pell ['pɛll] "far, long", tres ['tress] "drawing", lemm ['lɛmm] "sharp".

So there seems to be no clear way, through quantity or through following consonants/silence, of constraining the close and open e. The following examples suggest that they can be regarded as separate phonemes, with mid-to-open e assigned to /e/ and extra-open e assigned to /ɛ/.

Consider the following three pairs:

rez ['rɛ:Z] "simple" - rez ['re:Z] "you do"  
tres ['tress] "drawing" - trec'h ['trɛ:ɿ] "victory"  
ren ['re:n] "(to) lead" - Brest ['brest] "Brest"

(All exhibit the sequence re, - and there may be variation.)

For ɔ we have the same, if phonetically less categorical, situation. For example:

mɔr ['mɔ:r] "sea" (the close ɔ is rarely found short), rɔ ['rɔ:] "give!", koll ['kɔll] "(to) lose", kilhog ['kiλok] "cockerel" (mid-to-open, unstressed), tost ['to(:)st] "near, almost" (long/short, mid-to-open), roc'h ['rɔx] "rock", broc'h ['brɔx] "badger" (both extra-open). And there may be close/open alternations, e.g. skol ['sko:l] - skolioù ['skɔλu] "school(s)".

So we have a similar distribution and distinction as with /e/-/ɛ/, if probably less hard-and-fast.

There may be a similar situation with eu. When close, it is almost always long. For example:

neuze ['nnø:ze] "then", neud ['nnø:D] "thread"

But eus ['ø:s] "there is/are" (also ['ø:Z], perhaps [ø:s]). There may be a mid-to-open realization: teusk ['tœ(:)sk] "meagre", and an open realization: beuz ['bœ:Z] "box-trees", breur ['brœ:r] "brother". The extra-open realization occurs as with [ɛ], [œ]: neurzh ['mœrs] "March, Tuesday", seurt ['sœrt] "sort". This extra-open realization is clearly definable; the others, however, despite the correlation with quantity and thence with the following segment, are somewhat randomly distributed, and it seems more acceptable to propose /ø/ alone as a phoneme.

#### 3.1.1.4. Nasal Vowels

Basically, all the vowels can be nasalized. Particularly in the west and north-west -añ, -iñ (very common as infinitive and, only for the first, superlative endings) are pronounced orally. Examples:

dañsal ['dōsal] "(to) dance", skāñv ['skāw] "light (AJ)"  
fiñval ['fiival] "(to) move", debrīñ ['debrī] "(to) eat"  
teñval ['tē:val] "dark", bleñch ['blěš] "extremity",  
treñ ['trē:] "train", kreñv ['krē(:)] "strong"  
bleuñv ['blō] "flowers", (euñ occurs open only)  
pyñs ['pỹs] "well (water)", pluñv ['ply(:)] "feathers"  
doñjer ['dōžer] "disgust", doñv ['dō] "tame" (oñ occurs  
close only)

It does seem that we have the phonemes /ē/ - /ě/, as the environments are impossible to delimit. It may equally well be that we have some measure of free variation.

### 3.2. The Consonants

In the following table the same format is adopted as for the vowels. In addition, the hyphen denotes absolute word-initial position, geminates denote fortis, capitals denote "voiceless lenis" absolute monosyllable-final neutralization, parentheses denote marginal phonemes and neutralizations, S denotes a syllabic, and [vh] denotes the voiced result of the SP mutation (also in some roots, - see 2.1 above).

TABLE 3

## PLACE OF ARTICULATION

	BLB/LBDN	DN	PAL	VEL	PHR/LAR
oral	b, (bb-) pp (B, p) <u>b</u> , <u>p</u>	d, (dd-) tt (D, t) <u>d</u> , <u>t</u>	-	g, (gg-) kk (G, k) <u>g</u> , <u>k</u>	-
STOPS					
nasal	mm <u>mm</u> , <u>m</u>	nn, n <u>nn</u> , <u>n</u>	ñ <u>gn</u> , <u>ni</u> -+S		
FRICS	v, (vv-) ff, vh (V, f) <u>v</u> , <u>f</u>	z, (zz-) ss (Z, s) <u>z</u> , <u>s</u>	ž, (žž-) šš (Ž, š) <u>ž</u> , <u>ch</u>	(γγ-), xx (Γ, x) <u>c'h</u>	h, (hh-) <u>h</u>
LATS	-	ll, l <u>ll</u> , <u>l</u>	λ <u>lh</u> , <u>li</u> -+S	-	-
VBRS	-	rr, r or PHR/LAR) <u>rr</u> , <u>r</u>	-	-	-
SEMI-CC	w, <u>w</u> <u>ou/w</u>		j S+ <u>i</u> +S, <u>y</u>		

The front rounded semi-consonant [w̥] occurs often when a following or preceding vowel is front. There tends to be palatalization of velar stops before and after front vowels (even leading to affrication, as in Swedish Kirsten). Thus the absolute word-initial k in keno "good-bye", and both consonants (sometimes only the second, which may resemble a palatal voiceless dental stop) in kig "meat".

### 3.2.1. Examples and Discussion

#### 3.2.1.1. The Non-nasal Stops

Taking the non-nasal stops first, one notes that the voiced stops occur fortis only absolute word-initially/non-mutated (see 4 below). Lenis they occur intervocalically and as lenis mutations of /pp, tt, kk/. [B, D, G] are neutralizations, found as voiceless lenis (this description is problematic) absolute word-finally in monosyllables, i.e. post-tonically; they will occur, at least in Falc'hun's dialect, for written p, t, k before final r (1951, p.79): sukr ['sy:G(r)] "sugar". This generally happens where the consonant is alone, though in verbs with root-final fortis, the fortis is retained: lip(at) "(to) lick", frit(añ) "(to) fry", stek(iñ) "(to) knock" (this applies even in sandhi, see 3.2.1.5). In other groups one has non-fortis voiceless, perhaps something of an artificial creation (except in that it is heard as voiceless, while the voiceless lenis may, to certain ears, be heard as fortis or as lenis). Putting it rather crudely, we have a voiced or a voiceless consonant in this context, according to dialect.

#### 3.2.1.2. The Nasal Stops

As for the nasal stops, /mm/ m/mm is exclusively fortis and may conveniently be denoted /m/. For /nn/, /n/ there is a clear fortis/lenis opposition, registered, except absolute word-initially, in the orthography: n- is fortis if non-mutated (if mutated, the lenition is minimal, since the mutation is conditioned by the definite and indefinite articles an, un, whose absolute word-final n exerts an influence - progressive assimilation in strength, see 3.2.1.5. below); after a short, stressed vowel -nn(-) is fortis, -n(-) is lenis. Note the exception dindan "under", which in its personal forms has a fortis n before the personal ending, in spite of the spelling. Thus: dindani (under-PRSPRP3PSGF) "under her".

## 3.2.1.3. The Laterals and Vibrants

We see that /ll/, /l/ function as /nn/, /n/ (to the extent too that their definite/indefinite article forms are al/ul). After an unstressed vowel there is some blurring of the difference. The blurring is more or less total in the case of /rr/, /r/; fortis /rr/ is minimally fortis. The situation with nasals, laterals and vibrant(s) is created by the absence of any significant correlation of voice. See Falc'hun in 1951, pp.51, 61). With /rr/-/r/ we seem to have a final lenis, even when rr is written. The preceding vowel, if stressed, is long. Absolute word-initially, however, there is fortis /rr/ (with the same situation regarding the articles: ar/ur). Intervocally, after stress, the opposition seems to be maintained:

berañ ['bbe:rǎ] "(to) drip" - berrañ ['bberrǎ] (SUP)  
(Falc'hun in 1951, p.49; adapted)

The vibrant(s) are pronounced as an alveolar trill or as a uvular fricative, depending on local usage. The overall tendency has been for the uvular to replace the trill, probably under the influence of standard French. In certain dialects there is an almost complementary distribution of [R] (voiced velar trill) and [x] (voiceless velar fricative), the latter only occurring absolute word-finally and the former elsewhere (in Argol, as demonstrated by Bothorel in 1982, p.175, #5.6.8.1 and defined by him as velar constrictives). The question of the distribution and pronunciation of r/rr is complex except in monosyllables, where the syllable seems to be long (long vowel plus shortish r). Where certain endings are added, e.g. SUP, INF in -aat, the syllable becomes short.

## 3.2.1.4. The Fricatives

The fricatives present problems in that it is claimed, not without reason, that [f] and [v], [s] and [z], [š] and [ž] are not distinctive. Added to this is the labio-dental lenis [vh], produced as the spirant mutation of [pp], but also present in some roots. Absolute word-initial voiced [v], [z], [ž] are indeed rare, even foreign to Breton. For [v] there is va "my" (L and standard), vi "egg", to which war "on" may be added. Mutated b/m ([v], see 4 below) will, of course, never come first. There are a few loans from French: vertuz "virtue", vijil "vigil", vakañsoù "holidays", vak "free". For [z] there is zo "am, is, are" and the related zoken "even", leaving loans aside. The confusion of [š] and [ž] is "folkloric": Chesus! "Jesus!", Chañ "John".

For the labio-dental fricatives, the data do conspire to keep them separate. Absolute word-initially, [f] and [v] are contrasted, though, as has been seen, [v] is rare; intervocalically, all three may be contrasted, though [f] is infrequent, e.g., kafe ['kaffe] "coffee" (leaving aside the -fe(-) conditional when immediately preceded by a vowel: e yafe [(e)'jaffe] "would go"). Finally in a monosyllabic verbal radical we have [v]. Intervocalically we have mainly [v], with the occasional [vh]: compare livañ ['liviṽ] "(to) paint" - evañ ['e:vhṽ] "(to) drink". The consonant [vh] is relatively less lenis than [v]. Falc'hun in 1951, p.33 sees the three labio-dentals in a Lower Leon inhabitant's avec neuf hommes forts "with nine strong men". One might see [vh] as a weakly voiced [v]. (See Appendix C, section 1.)

There is less justification for /s/-/z/. Absolute word-initially [z] is hardly attested; absolute word-initial z will be pronounced [z] when not initial in the prosodic unit, even if not (normatively) mutated, e.g. ar sac'h [ar'za:Γ] "the sack" (M). One would normally expect [z] here only if the noun was feminine. Absolute word-finally there is [Z] after stress (occasionally fortis [ss], e.g. kas ['kass] "(to) take"), [s] (non-fortis) after unstressed syllables (rarely written z, e.g. e kanes "you sang" (PRC IMF2PSG); usually here there is z or zh, with frequent loss of the consonant in the sequence -ez). Falc'hun in 1951, p.36 sees an opposition in, for example: skuishañ ['skwiṽ] "most tired" - skuizhañ ['skwi:zṽ] "(to) tire".

These and similar examples favour a Breton phonology with a

correlation of consonantal voice. But this is a problem which has no simple solution. Falc'hun in 1951, p.36 gives koshañ ['kossǎ] "oldest" - kozhañ ['ko:zǎ] "(to) age". One may too hear ['ko:ssǎ], or is it ['kɔ:sǎ] "oldest"? Does this reflect the closeness of voiceless lenis [Z] (kozh ['ko:Z] "old") and voiceless non-fortis intervocalic [s]? Compare e kasan [(e)'kkassan] "I take" ((PRC) PREIPSG). The correlations are clear artifacts.

Weaker still is [š] - [ž], - see the examples given above. The consonant [ž] may arise from [z] + front vowel: izel ['i:žɛl] "low". There are minimal pairs, e.g. lochenn ['llɔššɛn] "hut" - e lojen [(e)'llo:žɛn] "I lodged" (loanword). And they are accompanied, as so often, by a difference in vocalic quantity.

Just as the native speaker "feels" a difference between the "voiced" and "voiceless" palatal fricatives, a difference not easily justified in phonological terms, so there may be felt to be a [x]-[ɣ] difference. These are velar fricatives, though the voiced lenis may be laryngeal. Absolute word-initially [ɣ] is rare, e.g. c'hoazh ['ɣwa:Z] "still, yet". Between vowels after the stress [x] is infrequent: sac'hañ ['ssaxxǎ] "(to) stagnate" - sac'hañ ['ssa:ɣǎ] "(to) put in a bag". They may differentiate gender (compare [s]-[z]), e.g. ar c'harr ['arxɑ:r] "the cart" (M) - ar c'har [ar'ɣɑ:r] "the leg" (F).

One might note, too, the laryngeal/pharyngeal voiceless fortis [h], found absolute word-initially, but often silent: heol ['hhɛol] "sun", heñvel ['hhēvel] "similar", he [e] "her" (OPRO, PSSAJ). The orthographical presence or absence of h may be etymological, as in the first two examples, or to set a distinction through the orthography, as, partly, in the third (from g "him, his" (OPRO, PSSAJ)). In many dialects and, so it is argued, in the standard language, h is never pronounced. In T it is widespread and may be added. When not ancient, as in heñvel, it may have been introduced in order to differentiate words, thus possibly g "his" - he "her". Dialectally it may be found internally, voiced, written c'h. Thus kloc'her "bellringer".

### 3.2.1.5. Consonantal Groups

The situation regarding internal-sandhi consonantal groups may be summarized as follows:

1) Initial: ([s]) + STOP + ([r]/[l]) ([tl], tl is rare; [tn], [kn] → [tr], [kr]).  
Examples: dle "debt" - ho tle (PSSAJ N) "your debt"; traonienn "valley",  
krec'h "top, hill"; stlank "loft".

2) Internal: ([s]/[m]/[n]/[r]/[l]) + STOP + ([r]/[l]). Examples: mantrus  
"overwhelming", amprevan "insect", mengleuz "mine (coal, etc.)".

The sequences [ntl], [ndl] are not found. Internally (and finally) -l/-r  
+ c'h(-) has the voiced velar fricative [ɣ].

3) Final [l], [r] in a group tend to drop. Even if they survive, the  
preceding consonant may be neutralized as if it were final. Examples:  
gopr ['go:B(r)] (or ['ggop(r)]). These groups are the same as the internal  
groups (historically a final vowel has been lost). If the group starts with  
[s], voicelessness remains in sandhi: fresk eo ['freskeo] "it's cool".

Pursuing this, one notes that a stop or fricative after m, n, l, r  
voices before a following vowel: poent eo (N V) ['pwɛndeo] "it's time";  
fals eo (AJ V) ['falzeo] "it's false". The groups -mb/-mp, -nd/-nt are  
confused with -m, and -n.

After the stress -lc'h/-rc'h may develop an epenthetic vowel: a-walc'h  
[a'wa:lax] "enough"; erc'h ['ɛrax] "snow"; park ['pa:ɛk] "field".

The general Breton rule for external sandhi is that an absolute  
word-final consonant voices before the next segment in a prosodic unit.  
The exception is that if two homorganic consonants come together, both  
will devoice. Most frequently we will encounter a sequence voiced  
consonant + vowel: kalet eo (AJ V) ['ka:ledeɔ] "it's strong". In the case  
of two homorganic consonants, it may be that they only share the  
feature "stop": hent bras [(h)en(t)pra:Z] "highway" (N AJ). A more  
straightforward example would be ur beleg kozh "an old priest" (NM  
AJ) with [kk], with which we might contrast ur vag vihan "a little boat"  
(NF AJ) with [gv]. This is very much a question of frequency and of  
rhythm. The orthography may mask the pronunciation, e.g., ur vestrez vat  
[ur'vɛstres(ʰ)fa:D] "a good mistress" (IDART NF AJ). If an ʒ-initial group  
ends the first word, voicelessness remains: Pask eo ['paskeo] "It's Easter"  
(N V).

In 1947/1976, pp.35-6, #39 Kervella gives some useful examples: dek gwenneg [kk] (NUM N) "ten sous", bezet graet [tk] (IMV3PSG PPCP) "may it be done", bep gwech [pk] (AV) "every time", roc'h zu [xs] (this may demonstrate the recent date of provection - see 4 below); kreisteiz (= kreiz + deiz "middle + day") [st] (N) "midday, south".

#### 4. The Mutations

##### 4.1. Introduction and Systems

The mutations of consonants are originally phonetic changes in absolute-word-initial consonants, motivated by the stringing together of words in phrases. Phonetic development, particularly the attrition of endings, has obscured the original phonetic source, so that the original mutations are now on the whole the result of certain grammatical (morphosyntactic) sequences. In many cases the mutations may seem to have no special morphosyntactic significance, - though their presence or absence may reflect a pause or the subordination of one sub-group to another. For example, the preposition war causes a contact (i.e. automatic or non-distinctive) mutation. That is, the very fact of its governing a nominal element causes lenition in the initial consonant of the nominal element. Thus:

war      toenn      an      ti  
 on-PRP   roof-NF DART   house-NM  
 "on the roof of the house"

gives either: war toenn an ti (emphasis of toenn an ti "the roof of the house") or: war doenn an ti (a single unit, with greater prominence of war).

The possessive construction (also glossed as APPGEN, as it were an appositive genitive construction) in this phrase inhibits the contact mutation; there is little problem here, since the contact mutation, being

"automatic", has no decisive linguistic significance. But it does have overall linguistic, say, pragmatic, significance. Another example is given by Kervella in 1947/1976, p.102, #170:

war        vor  
 on-PRP sea-NM  
 "at sea" (AVP)

war        moriou    ar        c'hreisteiz  
 on-PRP     sea-NMPL DART    south-NM  
 "on the southern seas" (PRPP)

In the second example, a prepositional phrase, the mutation is inhibited by the "heaviness" of the adjectival phrase.

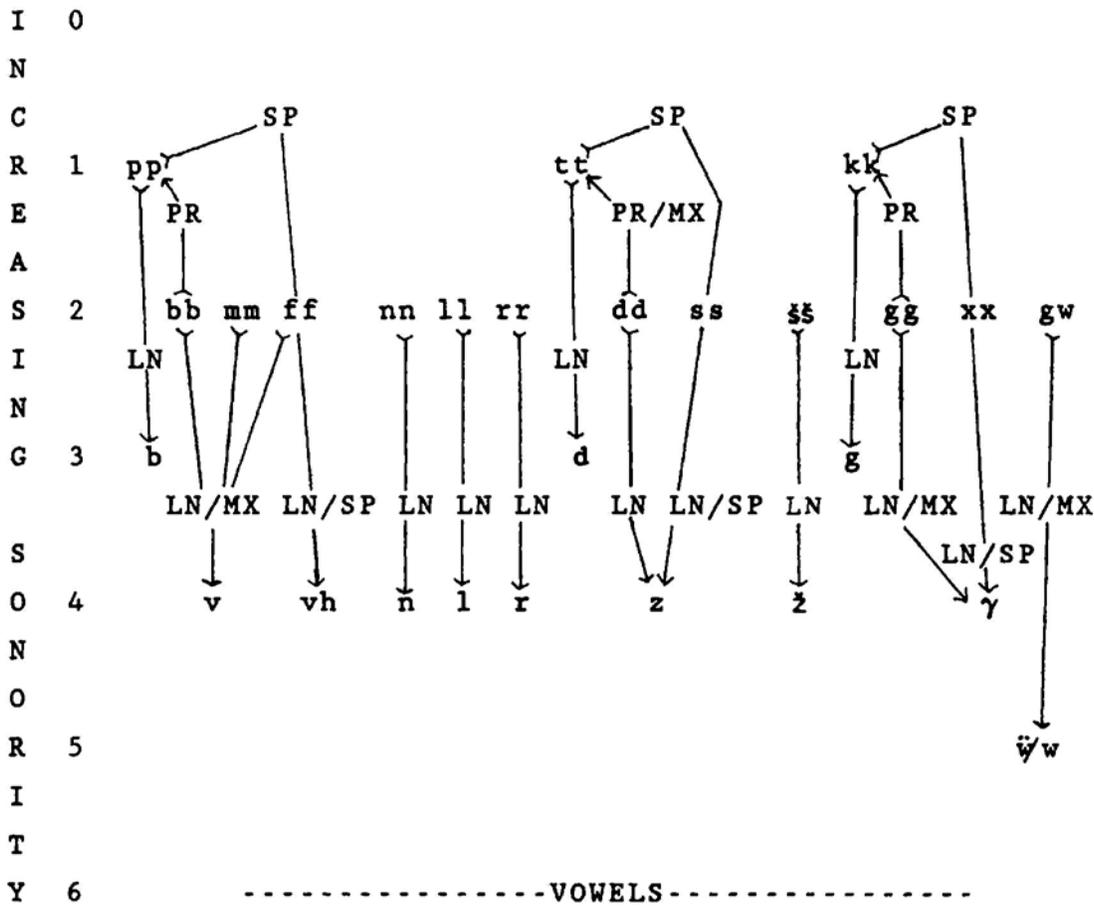
To expand, and still referring to Kervella in 1947/1976, emphasis, or pause, does prevent mutation. Thus: tud Breizh "people of Brittany", where masculine human plural tud should cause lenition of b to v in Breizh. Similarly:

ur        gazeg    vihan        c'hlas  
 IDART    mare-NF    small-AJ    grey-AJ  
 "a small grey mare"  
 (mutation of bihan, glas after F SG kazeg)



TABLE 4

## THE CONSONANTAL MUTATIONS OF SPOKEN BRETON



Of the other consonants,  $\gamma$  [j] occurs absolute word-initially, but falls outside the mutations. Like [λ] and [ñ], it may be considered exclusively fortis. It might be argued that  $\underline{h}$ - [hh] mutates to zero. All the symbols are phonetic.

## NOTES:

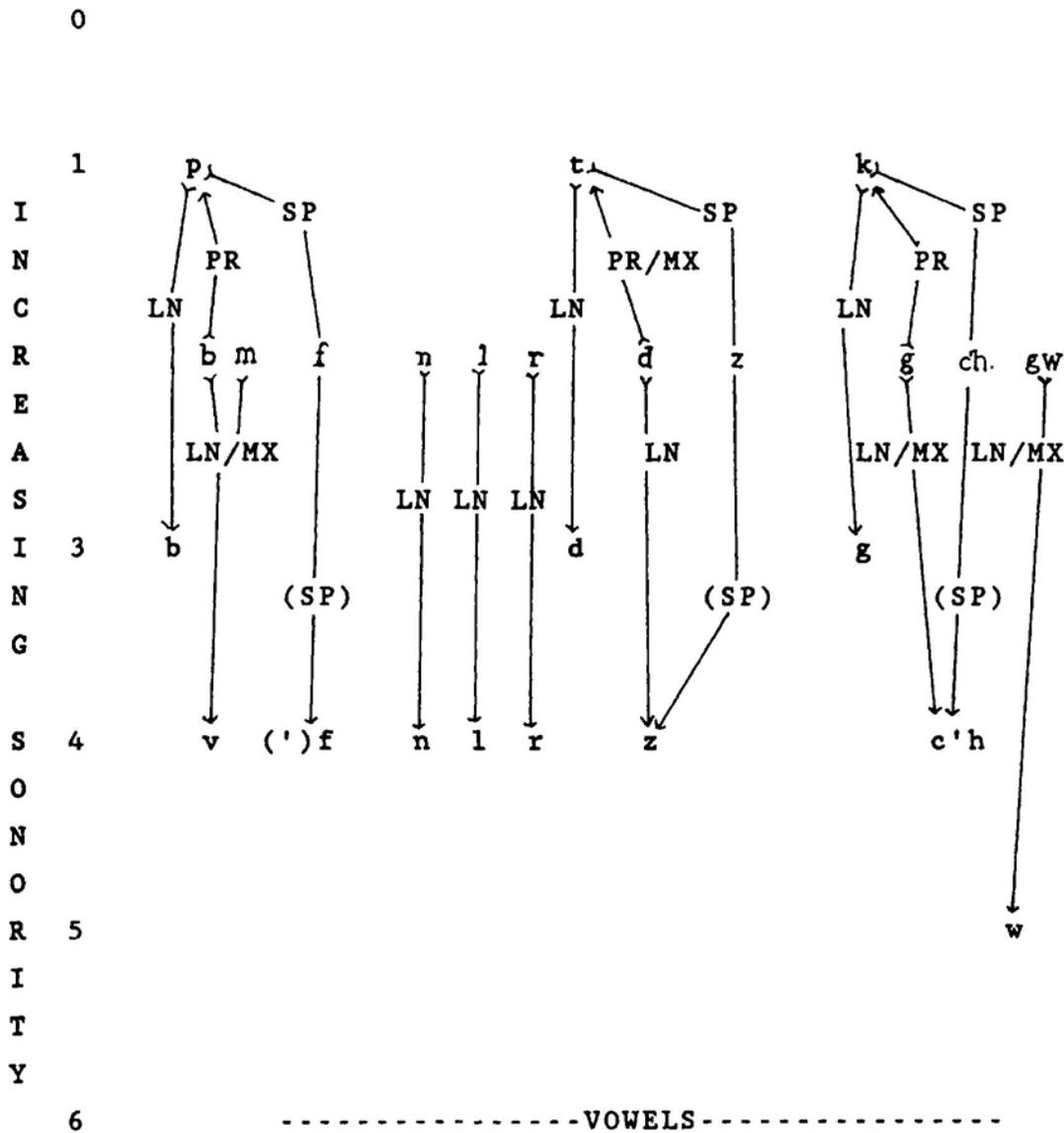
- 1) LN: lenition, or the soft mutation.
- 2) SP: spirantization, or the spirant/fricative mutation.
- 3) PR: provection, or the reinforcing/strengthening/fortis mutation.
- 4) MX: the mixed mutation.

Note how certain mutations are double and how, through sandhi, mutations are continuing to evolve, e.g., ur vestrez vat cited above in 3.2.1.5.

Simplifying, and giving only the mutations of the standard written language, one may propose:

TABLE 5

THE CONSONANTAL MUTATIONS OF WRITTEN BRETON



In Table 5 Level 2, n, l and, according to dialect, r, are written geminate when non-absolute-word-initial and fortis.

Note (1) the clear general tendency towards increasing sonority, with the obvious exception of provection and the change of  $\underline{d}$  to  $\underline{f}$  within the mixed mutation, and (2) the orthographic identity of certain symbols.

To make things absolutely clear, if less exact, the following table, with transcription as necessary, is offered:

TABLE 6

(a) Lenition	WRITTEN	*	NOT WRITTEN
FORTIS	p t k b d	g gw m f	s ch c'h n l r [š] [x]
	↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
LENIS	b d g v z	c'h w v f	s ch c'h n l r [ɣ] [vh] [z] [ž] [ɣ]

## (b) Spirantization

FORTIS	p t k
	↓ ↓ ↓
LENIS	f z c'h
	[vh] [ɣ]

## (c) Provection

FORTIS	p t k kw
	f f f f
FORTIS	b d g gw

## (d) The Mixed Mutation

FORTIS	t
	f
FORTIS	b d g gw m
	↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
LENIS	v c'h w v
	[ɣ]

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### 4.2. The Four Mutations

We are able to propose four mutations:

- 1) Lenition, or the soft mutation.
- 2) Spirantization, or the spirant or fricative mutation.
- 3) Provection, or the reinforcing or strengthening or fortis mutation.
- 4) The mixed mutation.

They are presented below in detail.

#### 4.2.1. Lenition

All four mutations may cause distinctive changes. Lenition in addition causes contact or non-distinctive changes.

(a) contact lenition:

This is caused by:

- 1) possessive adjectives: da "your" (2PSG), e "his" (both are also object pronouns);
- 2) prepositions: da "to", a "from", dindan "under", diwar "from", dre "through", war "on", etc.;
- 3) pronominal determiner: (ar) re + AJ "the ... (ones)";
- 4) quantifier: (an) holl + N "all the [...]";
- 5) verbal particles: a, na, ne;
- 6) "reflexive particle": en em;
- 7) gerundial particle: en ur + INF/VN;
- 8) optative particles: da, ra + FTR (da preceded by the "subject");
- 9) conjunctions: aba "since", endra "while", pa "when, if", pe "or" (first three followed by a verb, the fourth by a nominal element);
- 10) adverbs: gwall "very", hanter "half", re "too", seul... seul... "the more..., the more..." (the first two + a nominal element; the third + an

adjective; the fourth + a comparative adjective);

11) numerals: daou/div (M/F) "two". In the literary language tri/teir (M/F) "three", pevar/peder (M/F) "four", nay "nine" cause the spirant mutation, but generally they cause lenition.

12) "verbal preposition": eme "says/say/said";

13) adjective: pe "what, which";

14) adverbial particle: ez-/en-/er- (mutations here are incomplete).

We may note here that the mutation is neutralized if the contact word ends in n, l, r and the mutated word begins in n, l, r. There is some avoidance too of d [dd] becoming z [z], particularly in dont "(to) come", dleout "(to) owe, have to". This mutation is altogether absent from T.

(b) distinctive lenition:

1) After the definite and indefinite articles. We may bear in mind that the exceptions mentioned in 3.2.1.2 and 3.2.1.3 above are applicable here. In addition, if the nominal element begins in a vowel, then the n of the article is fortis. Morphological details are given in the next chapter; however, the definite article is an, al, ar, and the indefinite article (a unique feature of Breton among Celtic languages) is un, ul, ur. An/un are used before words beginning in a vowel, n, t, d, h; al/ul are used before l-; ar/ur are used in other cases. Lenition occurs where the noun is feminine singular or masculine human plural. Thus: p, t, k, b, g, m, gw → b, d, g, v, c'h, v, w. Note that d → z does not occur after the article. Compare Tables 4, 5, and 6 to obtain an approximate actual pronunciation. Adjectives used alone after the article (singular only, optionally) behave as nouns. Nouns in k- which are neither FSG nor non-MHUMPL change the k- to c'h- [x] (or [ɣ]) after the article.

Among the exceptions are masculine plural human nouns in -où: tadoù "fathers", priedoù "spouses/husbands", testoù "witnesses", and FSG plac'h "girl (pejorative)". Mein "stones" (M; SG maen) may be mutated: ar vein "the stones".

There are situations where an adjective precedes a noun (superlative, numeral, pejorative adjective, emphatic adjective, augmentative adjective). Here there is no mutation, except that k- becomes c'h- [x]: kant "100", kozh "rotten, awful". As an adjective, hanter "half" followed by the

singular causes no mutation, whereas followed by the plural we have lenition: un hanter maouez "a half woman" - hanter vaouezed "half women".

There is some tendency to override these exceptions, levelling the whole process.

In the case of the days of the month the mutation does occur: ar gentañ "the first" (also d'ar c'hentañ "(on) the first"), ar bemp "the fifth", but an daou (or an eil) "the second".

2) The unmarked position of the adjective in Breton is after the modified noun. After feminine singular (including plac'h) and masculine human plural nouns (except those in -où) lenition may occur. If the noun ends in l, r, m, n, non-consonantal y or a vowel, then the whole range of lenitable consonants is affected (i.e. including, optionally, d → z; d tends not to change after dentals, and never after the article, as stated above); otherwise, only b, m, d, g, gw beginning the adjective are lenited. This is because the preceding consonant is less sonorous.

These mutations occur also after the pronominal determiner unan (F) + AJ and (an) hini (F) + AJ: unan kozh/unan gozh "an old (person)"; an hini kozh/an hini gozh "the old person", M and F respectively. The plural of (an) hini is (ar) re, as given in the list above. Numeral pronouns, masculine or feminine, cause lenition in following adjectives, subject to the above conditions.

This also applies to the demonstrative pronouns (M and F):

TABLE 7

	MSG	FSG	PL
THIS/THESE	hemañ	ho(u)mañ	ar re-mañ
THAT/THOSE	hennezh	ho(u)nnezh	ar re-se
THAT/THOSE (YONDER)	henhont/ hennont	ho(u)nhont/ honnont	ar re-hont

In the plural -mañ/-se/-hont are separable and may be attached to the adjective. If there is more than one adjective, in a mutable situation, then they may all be mutated; but mutation here is obligatory only in the first adjective.

If there is more than one modified noun, the noun closer/closest to the adjective determines the mutation. Interposed adverbs do not mutate (except for keit "as long", koulz "as well"). Nouns modifying nouns behave like adjectives (very common in Breton; see tud Breizh/Vreizh in 4.1 above).

3) First components in compound words tend to cause mutations under the same conditions as with adjectives. There are, however, exceptions. And here it is even more a case of giving a word list. See, for example, Kervella in 1947/76, pp.92-4, #143; Desbordes in 1983, pp.105-6, #217; Trepos in 1974/1980, pp.40-2, #86 and the short section 2.4 in Chapter 5.

Oddities to be noted:

- (a) dor "door" (F): an/un nor (nasal mutation?!)
- (b) phrasal verbs: ober vad "(to) benefit" (lit. "(to) do good"; mad); ober van "(to) feign" (\*man).
- (c) tra "thing" is masculine but mutates and causes mutations as if feminine, e.g., daou dra vat (NUM NM AJ) "two good things" (not div!). Tu "side" may behave similarly.
- (d) pet? "how much/many?" (+ SG) and all numbers except ur "a(n)", tri/teir "three" pevar/peder "four", pemp "five", nav "nine", mil "thousand" mutate bloaz "year" (M) to vloaz.
- (e) re "pair(s)" (M) lenites the following noun. The word lann "heath" behaves similarly.
- (f) avel "wind", amzer "weather, season, time", aer "air" are masculine, but cause lenition in following words.
- (g) labour "work" (M), used in a general sense (i.e. not preceded by the indefinite article), causes lenition in following words. C'hoari "game", as a masculine noun, is similar. The verb seems to cause different mutations, but Kervella suggests loss of the definite article in c'hoari c'hartoù "(to) play cards".
- (h) The dual masculine causes mutation, while the dual feminine does not. This oddity has received an ingenious explanation by P. Denez and

J.-Y. Urien in 1980, pp.3-26. We may say daou lagad "two eyes" or daoulagad "eyes" (DL). Or we may say div skouarn "two ears" or divskouarn "ears" (same distribution). The first of each pair causes the expected mutation (none for the former (M); lenition for the latter (F)). The dual can be differentiated if the mutations are reversed.

(i) In possessive constructions the words ti "house" and ki "dog", both masculine, may lenite the following noun.

(j) pep "each, every", used in adverbial expressions, becomes bep (probable loss of a leniting preposition).

(k) The second parts of men's names, whether they are adjectives, second components in a compound, or surnames, may be lenited. This may happen too after Sant "saint", with regard to m-/g-/gw-.

There are also phenomena which are more difficult to explain, e.g. Yaoubask "Maundy Thursday". Foreign names obey at least the contact rules; for the sake of clarity, the base form may be preceded by a hyphen and the mutation in lower case, e.g., da z-Dulenn "to Dublin".

Kervella in 1947/76, pp.84-94, ##126-42, and pp.97-102, ##153-70 has been drawn on here and the reader with Breton is recommended to refer to it for a comprehensive set of data. See below for a set of examples.

#### 4.2.2. Spirantization

Only p, t, k are affected here; compare below 4.2.3 and 4.2.4 for the mixed and fortis mutations, which affect consonants other than these. First, though it may be incorrect to do so, we may mention the isolated k → c'h ([kk] → [x] (or [ɣ])) after the articles in respect of singular masculine and plural masculine non-human, and plural feminine nouns, noun substitutes, preposed adjectives, and superlatives referring to a singular male. The same change occurs after hor "our; us" (PSS AJ, OPRO) and her "it" (NTR; coexisting with hen, hel with the same distribution as the article; OPRO).

The mutation proper occurs, as a contact, if partly distinctive, mutation after:

- (a) va, ma "my, me" (PSSAJ; OPRO); he "her" (PSSAJ, OPRO; same pronunciation as e "his, him", see above 4.2.1, therefore distinctive here); o "their, them" (PSSAJ, OPRO; same pronunciation as ho(c'h) "your, you" (2PPL), see below 4.2.3; consequently distinctive. Also after hon "our, us" (PSSAJ, OPRO) in T.
- (b) am "me", d'am "to me/to my", em "in me/in my" (clitic OPRO/PSSAJ; the mutation p to f [pp] to [vh] may not occur).
- (c) tri/teir (M/F) "three", pevar/peder (M/F) "four", nav "nine" - but see above 4.2.1, and bear in mind that, if followed by a (pro)nominal adjective, we have lenition.

#### 4.2.3. Provection or Strengthening

Here b, d, g, (incl. gw) are strengthened to p, t, k (kw). This occurs after:

- (a) ho(c'h) (hoc'h before a vowel; formerly hoz) "your, you" (2PPL; PSSAJ, OPRO).
- (b) az "you", d'az "to you/to your", ez "in your" (clitic; OPRO, PSSAJ).

#### 4.2.4. The Mixed Mutation

Here b, m, d, g, gw become v, v, t (N.B!), c'h, w after the verbal particles e "that", o (PRG marker) and after the conjunction ma "that; if" (more about them in Chapters 3 and 4).

Here too there is the possibility of distinctiveness; this is reduced somewhat in that e, ma always immediately precede a verb, and that o (becoming ouzh when followed by an object pronoun, oc'h before an infinitive/verbal noun beginning in a vowel and before the reflexive particle en em, being the progressive aspect marker), must be followed closely by an infinitive/verbal noun, separable from it only by an object pronoun or the reflexive particle. In numerous dialects o becomes e (and, in its context, e may be replaced by a).

### 4.3. Additional Examples

The examples on the whole follow the order of the preceding sections. Full clarification and glossing is not consistently given.

#### 4.3.1. Lenition

belo "bicycle" - da velo (PSSAJ N) "your bicycle" (a loan from French; note the Breton avoidance of y-)

bihan "little" - ar re vihan (DETPRO AJ) "the little ones"

tud "people" - an holl dud (ID/QUT N) "all the people"

goulenn "(to) ask" - me a c'houlenn (PRSPRO PRC ANTPRE) "I ask"

klask "(to) seek" - en em glask a raint (REFPRC INF PRC FTR3PPL) "they'll sort themselves out"

bale "(to) walk" - en ur vale (VAVPRC INF) "while taking a walk [, I did something else]"; not to be confused with the verbal particle and progressive aspect marker o)

meuliñ "(to) praise" - ra veulimp Doue (OPTPRC FTR1PPL N) "May we praise God"

pardonñ "(to) forgive" - Doue d'e bardono (N OPTPRC+OPRO ANTFTR) "May God forgive him"

dont "(to) come" - pa zeuy (CNJ FTR3PSG) "when/if he/she comes" (lit. will come)

bras "big" - re vras (AV AJ) "too big"

gwelloc'h "better" - seul welloc'h (AV CMP) "the better [...]"

den "person" - daou zen (NUM NSG) "two people"

eme "say(s)/said" - eme Ber (PRP/V N) "said Peter"

deiz "day" - pe zeiz eo hiziv? (INTAJ N IDN AV/N) "What day is it today?"

dont "(to) come" - eñ a deuy/zeuy warc'hoazh (PRSPRO PRC ANTFTR AV) "he'll come tomorrow"

kelaouenn "magazine" - ar gelaouenn "the magazine" (F)

kelaouennoù "magazines" - ar c'helaouennoù "the magazines"

keloù "news" - ar c'heloù "the (piece of) news" (M)

toenn "roof" - an doenn "the roof" (F)

tad "father" - an tad "the father" (M)

tadoù "fathers" - an tadoù "the fathers" (HUM - exception)

big "magpie" - ur big "a magpie" (F)

big "pick" - ur big "a pick" (M)

kemenerez "seamstress" - ar gemenez "the seamstress" (F)

kemenerezed "seamstresses" - ar c'hemenerezed "the seamstresses"

kemener "tailor" - ar c'hemener "the tailor" (M)

kemenerien "tailors" - ar gemenerien "the tailors" (M HUM)

karr "cart" - ar c'harr "the cart"  
kirri "carts" - ar c'hirri "the carts"

ar gwaz bihan "the little man" - ar wazed vihan "the little men" (DART NMHUM AJ)

ar vaouez vihan "the little woman" - ar maouezed bihan "the little women" (DART NF AJ)

ar merc'h vihan "the little girl" - ar merc'h pinvidik "the rich girl"  
(DART NF AJ - exception)

unan pinvidik "a rich one" (PRONUMM AJ) - unan binvidik "a rich one"  
(PRONUMF AJ) (note the retention of adjectival -k, - it is pronominal unan which is modified)

re binvidik "rich ones" (DETPROM/F)

hemañ vras - houmañ vras "this big person" (M/F DEMPRO AJ)

henezh paour - hounnezh paour "that poor person" (M/F DEMPRO AJ -  
no LN because of -zh)

ar re-mañ baour/ar re baour-mañ "these poor people" (DEMPRO AJ -  
note the position of the DEM PRC)

ma merc'h vihan kaer/gaer "my pretty little daughter" (PSSAJ NF AJ AJ  
- optional LN of second AJ)

Note that consecutive adjectives may determine the presence or absence of mutation, e.g., e verc'h vras karet "his beloved big daughter" (PSSAJ NF AJ AJ. The g of vras (the [a:] of vras not fully stressed in this context), inhibits lenition.

ur vaouez (a) Vontroulez (IDART NF (PRP) N) "A Morlaix woman"

## 4.3.2. Spirantization

(ki "dog" - hor c'hi "our dog" (PSSAJ N)

penn "head": va fenn "my head", he fenn "her head", o fenn "their head(s)" (PSSAJ N)

tad "father": va zad "my father", he zad "her father" o zad "their father" (PSSAJ N)

kalon "heart": va c'halon "my heart", he c'halon "her heart", o c'halon "their heart" (PSSAJ N)

Compare e benn "his head", e dad "his father", e galon "his heart" (PSSAJ N)

ti "house" - em zi "in my house" (PRP+PSSAJ N)

park "field" - d'am fark "to my field" (PRP+PSSAJ N)

kavout "(to) find" - d'am c'havout "to find me" (PRP+OPRO INF/VN)

kozh "awful" (preposed) - ur c'hozh ti "an awful house"

kentañ "first" - ar c'hentañ den "the first person"

## 4.3.3. Provection or Strengthening

bro "country": ho pro "your country" - ez pro "in your country" (PRP+PSSAJ N)

dent "teeth": ho tent "your teeth" - ez tent "in your teeth" (PRP+PSSAJ N)

goulenn "question": ho koulenn "your question" - ez koulenn "in your question" (PRP+PSSAJ N)

gwelout "(to) see": deut eo d'ho kwelout "he's come to see you" - deut eo d'az kwelout "he's come to see you" (PPCP AUX PRP+OPRO INF/VN)

Two different addressees are present here, though the rules concerning their range of uses are not uniform in Brittany. A general suggestion would be to use the c'hwi forms only (if in doubt), or to follow the local usage.

#### 4.3.4. The Mixed Mutation

goulenn "(to) ask": ma c'houlenn "if/that [...] ask(s)" (CNJ SNTPRE3PSG or ANTPRE)

gwelout "(to) see": o welout "seeing"

dont "(to) come": o tont "coming" (PRG INF/VN = "PREPCP")

bevañ "(to) live/be alive": e vev "live(s)" (PRC SNTPRE3PSG or ANTPRE)

meuliñ "(to) praise": e veul "praises" (PRC SNTPRE3PSG or ANTPRE; or OPRO SNTPRE3PSG/ANTPRE)

Compare o gwelout "to see them", ho kwelout "to see you", demonstrating distinctiveness.

The mutations for a standard Breton are succinctly described by Desbordes in 1983, pp.9-17, ##1-12, and comprehensively and with great insight by Kervella in 1947/76, pp.77-1-2, ##121-70. In 1951, pp.84-102 Falc'hun offers an useful survey. All these authors should eventually be consulted for more details.

## 5. Conclusion

This section seeks to provide a basis for a phonology of modern standard Breton. The system proposed leaves many questions unanswered, and does not insist on any particular phonological correlations. There are distinct tensions between different possibilities. It would not be advisable to predict a standard phonology, but the balance seems to be shifting in favour of a system with distinctive consonantal voice and vocalic quantity.

Bearing in mind the dialect studies which have been made, we may place in relief certain similarities:

- 1) KLT has penultimate stress on the whole, while Gw has ultimate stress.
- 2) There is a rich inventory of nasal and oral diphthongs.
- 3) One finds high nasal vowels, e.g. kuñv "easy-going". fiñv "movement".
- 4) We find qualitative variation particularly in the mid vowels.
- 5) Vowels occur long and short, but this is positionally determined in that only stressed vowels may be long, and they will then be long only before silence and lenis consonants.
- 6) We have a consonantal correlation of voice, with significance of strength.
- 7) There is some positional palatalization of k and g after i, and also before front vowels.
- 8) There is overall a progressive assimilation of consonants in external sandhi, and a devoicing or strengthening of homorganic consonants when they come into contact. A final consonant will voice (or be voiced) before an immediately following vowel.



## Chapter 3

# Morphology

This part of the grammar outlines the morphology of present-day standard Breton. As with the Phonology, dialectal "complications" are avoided. The Morphology is designed as a reference section, though the various descriptive problems are noted and discussed. For a listing of interjections see Kervella in 1947/76, pp.245-7, ##411-15.

The morphology is very much the body of a language like Breton, and this is reflected in the length of this chapter. Needless to say, it overlaps significantly with the others.

### 1. Introduction

#### 1.1. The Noun

We may consider that the Breton noun occurs MASCULINE or FEMININE, and has basically SINGULAR and PLURAL number; however, to these two numbers, which "reflect" singular and plural number in the conjugation of the verb, we must add DUAL (which may control singular verbal number and itself have a plural form), COLLECTIVE, NON-COUNT and SINGULATIVE (derived from the NON-COUNT and, in particular, the COLLECTIVE). The noun is characterized by mutations, and by endings to denote plurality, singulativity, and the noun's "content", as in French journée "day". The prefixed numeral daou/div, contracted or not, denotes dualness.

## 1.2. The Article

Breton possesses definite and, unique among the Celtic languages, indefinite articles. The articles do not vary for gender or number, but according to the initial sound of the following element.

## 1.3. The Adjective

The adjective mutates and undergoes gradation: SIMPLE, COMPARATIVE, SUPERLATIVE, EQUATIVE, EXCLAMATIVE. It is, with the optional exception of kaezh "poor" (plural keizh), invariable for number. Certain adjectives may have a "plural form"; they are, however, then not adjectives but nouns, e.g., ar beorien "the poor" (from paour "poor").

## 1.4. The Numeral

Among the numerals we note CARDINAL, ORDINAL, FRACTIONAL and MULTIPLE forms.

## 1.5. The Pronoun

The pronouns are INDEFINITE (including QUANTIFIERS), INTERROGATIVE, RELATIVE (coinciding with the verbal particle a for indirect relatives, also with the conjunction ma), and DEMONSTRATIVE. To these we add the POSSESSIVE pronouns; in their adjectival use these coincide with DIRECT-OBJECT PERSONAL pronouns. The other PERSONAL pronouns are DISJUNCTIVE, coinciding with the SUBJECT pronouns, and the formerly EMPHATIC pronouns, made up of the preposition a "of" + a personal ending (i.e. in its "conjugated" form), which are now in addition the predominant markers of the DIRECT-OBJECT pronoun.

### 1.6. The Preposition

As for prepositions, most initially intriguing here are the methods of linking them with personal endings and of expressing emphasis (the third person differs from the other two, probably connected with the overall tendency in at least some European languages to replace original third-person "nominatives").

### 1.7. The Conjunction

We shall list and examine the conjunctions, linking noun phrases and coordinating/subordinating verb phrases.

### 1.8. The Verb

1) The verb possesses three persons, SINGULAR and PLURAL, and an AUTONOMOUS form, historically rising from the passive voice. There is an INDICATIVE mood, an IMPERATIVE mood, and a CONDITIONAL mood.

2) VOICE is realized periphrastically and in the autonomous form. The forms, for the active voice, may be SYNTHETIC, with the person expressed within the verb form, ANALYTIC, with the person expressed outside the verb form, or in a PERIPHRASTIC form using the verb ober "(to) do" as auxiliary.

3) TENSE is realized as PAST, NON-PAST, and FUTURE, and there are PERFECT (including an EMPHATIC PERFECT), HABITUAL, PUNCTUAL and PROGRESSIVE ASPECTS.

4) There is one type of regular verb. The dictionary form is the INFINITIVE or VERBAL NOUN, and from it the RADICAL, if not already identical with the INFINITIVE, is drawn. Both the RADICAL and the INFINITIVE may function as nouns, the latter having a more verbal/progressive sense (depending on the meaning of the verb). The INFINITIVE itself is often referred to as the VERBAL NOUN. There are five or six verbs which may be considered irregular. Of these dont "(to) come" is only marginally less regular than many a regular verb,

namely in the singular or polite imperative form deus!, with s added to the radical. Gouzout "(to) know (facts)" is irregular, in certain respects bringing to mind the verb "(to) be", hence its ending -out. Mont "(to) go" and ober "(to) do", the latter functioning also as an auxiliary of fundamental importance, are more or less identical, with their RADICALS g "go" and gr "do". Leaving aside the auxiliary function of ober, all these verbs are syntactically regular.

5) Different, at least on the syntactic surface, are kaout/endevoud "(to) have", the only Breton "verb" with obligatory subject/verb agreement, even if this is not historically the case, and bezañ (occasionally bout, though occurring in certain infinitival forms as -out, -voud, -vezout) "(to) be", as much a minefield in Breton as in the other Celtic languages.

## 1.9. The Adverb

We shall look at the formation and gradation of the adverb, and at its semantic classes.

## 2. The Noun

### 2.1. General

As we might expect, the noun may be PROPER (Yann, Pariz) or COMMON (den "person", gwezenn "tree"), the latter further CONCRETE (tog "hat") or ABSTRACT (gwirionez "truth"). Infinitives may function as nouns, e.g., an troc'hañ "the cutting (action)"; less "verbal" would be radical noun an troc'h "the cut/split"; in between we would have the derived an troc'hadur "the cut/cutting". All nouns, bearing in mind the oddity of tra "thing" (M, but lenites after the article and lenites following adjectives) and, less, tu "side, direction", are either MASCULINE or FEMININE.

## 2.2. Gender

In his 1947/76, pp.196-203, ##294-303 Kervella gives a comprehensive guide and listing. We may note that, apart from sex-determined gender, there is the following situation.

### 2.2.1. Feminine

- 1) names of countries, e.g., Breizh-Vihan "Brittany".
- 2) names of towns, unless derived from a masculine noun which is still productive as a masculine noun.
- 3) names of rivers.
- 4) some expressions of time.
- 5) many derived nouns (see the list of feminine endings immediately below).

#### Feminine endings

##### -ell:

ur gontell "a knife" (kontell), ur stagell "a conjunction". This does not apply if the noun is non-derived, e.g., ur sell "a look/glance" (M), or if, for example, it is a loan, e.g., ur c'hastell "a castle" (kastell).

##### -enn:

ur gistinenn "a sweet chestnut" (kistinenn), ur werenn "a glass" (gwerenn). This is the singulative suffix. Masculine are ar penn "the head" and ar pallenn "the rug". Some words in -ienn also have a form in -ien, e.g., ar venien "(the) cold(ness)"; this too is feminine.

-ded:

ar hirded "the length".

-oni:

ar gasoni "(the) hatred" (kasoni).

-enti:

ar vezventi "(the) drunkenness" (mezventi).

-iri:

ar ganiri "hymn" (kaniri; also -eri). But an diri "the step(s)/ladder" (M).

-ez:

ar Saozez "Englishwoman" (there are many masculines too in in -ez, -erezh/-ourezh (abstracts). They tend to be feminine if they refer to women or to machines.

-idigezh/-egezh/-elezh/-adegezh/-adelezh:

an dristidigezh "(the) sadness" (tristidigezh).

-añs:

ar fiziañs "(the) trust". But ar bevañs "(the) food" (M).

Most other endings are masculine. But they will include feminines. In 1947/76, pp.198-9, #296 Kervella gives an exhaustive list.

## 2.2.2. Masculine

- 1) temporal expressions, except for eur "hour", noz "night", sizhun "week". Thus: an deiz "the day", ar miz "the month", an abardaez "the evening", ar mintin "the morning", ar bloaz "the year", al lun "Monday" (and ar meurzh, ar merc'her, ar vaou, ar gwener, ar sadorn, ar sul, in order; in this form they are used only to name days of the week), an nevez-amzer "spring" (and an hañv, an diskar-amzer, ar goañv, in order).
- 2) names of winds, e.g., ar mervent "south-westerly".
- 3) names of Feasts, e.g., Pask "Easter", Nedeleg "Christmas".
- 4) letters of the alphabet, e.g., ar be "B", daou ell "2 L's".
- 5) substantivized adjectives and adverbs, e.g., ar gwenn "the white(ness)", ar penaos "the "how"".
- 6) infinitives, e.g., ar studiañ "studying".
- 7) verbal radicals, e.g., ar gwel "the sight".
- 8) non-count nouns, e.g., ar glav "the rain", al laezh "the milk", an houarn "the iron", ar gwinizh "the wheat".

## 2.2.3. Additional Notes on Gender

The gender of the basic word is not affected by the addition of certain derivational suffixes:

- 1) the content suffixes -(i)ad and -vezh. The latter is temporal, similar to but much more widespread than French année, soirée, e.g., sizhunvezh "week [of...]".
- 2) the diminutive suffix -ig.

There are other words which may be masculine or feminine, e.g., amzer "time, season, weather", dantelezh "lace", reizh "gender", souezh "astonishment".

Different meanings may be enforced by a difference of gender, e.g., gouel "feast" (F), "sail" (M).

In compound nouns the qualifier determines the gender. But there are problems. Hemon in 1978, pp.420, 524 gives kann-loar and loargann "full moon" (both masculine), while Kervella in 1947/76, p.201, #299) gives

loar-gann (note his spelling) as feminine.

Feminines are most often formed by suffixing -ez. The suffix -enn may be used too; it may be strongly delimitative, e.g., ur goantenn "a pretty lass", ur Vigoudenn "a Bigoudène", or, after -ad(-), pejorative, e.g., ur Blougastelladenn "a Plougastell woman".

With animal names, the generic term may be feminine, e.g., ar waz "the goose" (gwaz), or masculine, e.g., al louarn "the fox". Some words have no singular, e.g., ar saout "the cattle". Sex specification is done with par/parez, tad/mamm, tarv, e.g., an tad-moualc'h "the cock blackbird", an tarin "the male bird; bigwig" (tarv "bull" + evn "bird").

Many of the most common pairs are suppletive:

tad "father" - mamm "mother"; breur "brother" - c'hoar "sister"; eontr "uncle" - moereb "aunt"; gwaz "man" - maouez "woman"; kilhog "cock(ere)" - yar "hen"; tarv "bull" - buoc'h "cow"; mevel "servant" (M) - matezh "servant" (F).

### 2.3. Number

The number category of Breton may perhaps be schematized as follows:

TABLE 8

		REFERENCE					
		SINGULAR		SINGULAR/PLURAL			PLURAL
N							
U		1	2	3	4	5	6
M							
B		SGT	SG	NCT	DU	CLL	PL PL 2
E		PROPER			PROPER		
R							

The relations are as follows:

- 1) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 may all have plural (6) forms.
- 2) 1, 3, 5 are individualized or classed.
- 3) 4 are pairs.
- 4) 3, 5 may have derived singulatives (1), denoting "drops of something".
- 5) 4 may have a derived singulative, denoting a "single item".
- 6) 2 may have a dual (4) form.
- 7) 4 may be singular in reference, though more often it is plural.
- 8) (2), 3, 5, 6 may have secondary plural (7) forms. Singulars (2) falling in here have optional, generalized plurals. Secondary plurals from (3), (5) may have a colloquial flavour.
- 9) Duals (4) may be treated as singular.

Examples:

- 1 → 6: perenn "pear" → perennoù "(individual) pears"
- 2 → 6: tog "hat" → togoù "hats", lizher "letter (postal)" → lizheroù "letters",  
dant "tooth" → dent "teeth", houad "duck" → houidi "ducks"
- 3 → 6: gwinizh "wheat" → gwinizhoù "sorts of wheat", dour "water" →  
dourioù "(types of) water(s)"
- 4 → 6: daoulagad "(pair of) eyes" → daoulagadoù (pairs of) eyes"
- 5 → 6: gwez "trees" → gwezioù "types of trees"
- 6 → 7: parkoù "fields" → parkeier "fields (in general)", dourioù "waters" →  
doureier "waters (in general)"
- 5/6→7: tud "people" → tudoù "people"
- 2 → 4: skouarn "ear" → di(v)skouarn "(pair of) ears"
- 3 → 1: dour "water" → dourenn "drop of water"
- 5 → 1: gwez "trees" → gwezenn "tree"
- 4 - 2: daoulagad "(pair of) eyes" - (un) daoulagad "a pair of eyes"

## 2.3.1. The Formation of the Plural

The Celtic languages are renowned for the difficulty which may be found in forming the plural of nouns (i.e. if we think of them in singular/plural terms).

Basically, we can formalize the situation as follows, bearing in mind that there are many exceptions.

TABLE 9

FORM	I	II	III
	DESINENTIAL	INTERNAL	DESINENTIAL+INTERNAL
HUMAN			
A	- IEN,	RARE	* - I
ANIMATE	(-OU)	(N.B. -IZ)	
B	*-(I)OU,	*	* - I
INANIMATE	(-ED)		

"Animate" includes trees, animals and machines. The most widespread means of formation are given here, "\*" signalling a predominant one. In parentheses are given forms which "balance" the picture. Illustration and clarification come below. The lone "\*" for inanimate internal plurals denotes that there is no ending; plurality here is denoted on the whole by internal vowel mutation (usually some sort of fronting, to be explained historically).

As we shall see below, there are many other endings. Also, we will note infixes, e.g., ez, əou and, as referred to above, the vowel fronting typical of II and III.

Kervella, in his study of plural formation in 1947/76, pp.204-14, ##306-35, makes a division according to frequency. For example, abstracts and inanimates most often take the ending -(i)ou. There is no simple rule for the choice between -ou and -iou, though Kervella in 1947/76, pp.204-5, #307 gives some guidance. A learner will quickly achieve a feeling for the ending, but on the whole one might say that

-ioù will be favoured after final long vowels ( $\pm$ lenis consonants) unless (1) an absolute word-final vowel is non-back, (2) the noun ends in nasal + v, or (3) the noun ends in an oral stop, e.g.

traoù "things" (tra) - tuioù "sides" (tu), sammoù "burdens" (samm), pennoù "heads" (penn) - poanioù "pains" (poan), hañvoù "summers" (hañv) - anvioù "names" (anv), bagoù "boats" (bag; plural also bigi), tasoù "cups" (tas) - gwazhioù "streams" (gwazh), kofoù "stomachs" (kof) - livioù "colours" (liv), selloù "glances" (sell) - peulioù "pillars" (peul).

As already mentioned under mutations, there are some animates, including animals, with plurals in -où:

tad/où "father/s", mamm/où "mother/s", pried/où "spouse/s", test/où "witness/es", maer/ioù "mayor/s", mestr/où "masters" (also mistri), leue/où "calf/ves".

On the whole, however, animates (including animals and trees) take -ed (with some possible internal changes):

gwaz - gwazed "men", paotr - paotred "boys", maouez - maouezed "women"; loen - loened "animals".

Note jirafenn but jirafed "giraffes" and a standard semantic pattern dervenn - devenned "oak-trees".

Note also c'hoar - c'hoarEZed "sisters", and the same ending in the suffix -erez (women/females and machines):

mederez - mederezed "harvesters", skrivagnerez - skrivagnerezed "writers", skrijerez-noz - skrijerezed-noz "owls".

Other formations are -ien, sometimes -ion (for people), -ier (for things), -i, -iz (for peoples), and the purely internal plurals.

The plurals in -ien are quite common in that they are attached to the occupational suffixes -er/-our, e.g.,

pesketaer - pesketaerien "fishermen", labourer-douar - labouerien-douar "agricultural workers", marc'hadour - marc'hadourien "merchants".

They are found too with human-reference nouns in -eg (-eien, loss of g): beleg - beleien "priests", reuzeudig - reuzeudien (note!) "wretches". We may note them also with other nouns, e.g., mevel - mevelien "servants", kalvez - kilvizien "carpenters" (note the internal change), ebeul - ebeulien "foals"; and, for example, the inanimate skaf - skefien "barges" (again note the internal change).

The ending -ier may cause internal vowel fronting, e.g.,

yalc'h - yilc'hier "purses", porzh - perzhier "courtyards, ports", kazh - kizhier "cats", sac'h - seier "sacks"; and, for inanimates in -eg: foenneg - foenneier "hayfields",

The vowel fronting may occur too with -i: mestr - mistri "masters", enez - inizi "islands", houad - houidi "ducks" (with no internal change note bleiz - bleizi "wolves"). The more common singular of inizi these days is enezenn, with the singulative suffix; enez is also used in island names, e.g., Enez Eusa "Ushant".

The example of houidi "ducks" brings us to person names in -(i)ad: these have a plural -idi if simply with person reference, -iz if names of inhabitants. Thus:

broad - broidi "compatriots", tremeniad - tremenidi "passers-by", kariad - karidi "friends" (or: kariaded)

But:

broad - broiz "inhabitants" (compare broad - broadoù "nations" (F), Breizhad - Breizhiz "Bretons", Leonad - Leoniz "people of Leon".

In several of the preceding examples, notably those in -ien and -(id)i, we have noted vowel fronting. Plurals may too be formed purely internally, without any ending. Examples of such internal plurals are:

alarc'h - elerc'h "swans", azen - ezen "asses", kastell - kestell "castles", dañvad - deñved "sheep", manac'h - menec'h "monks", sant - sent "saints"; abostol - ebestel "apostles"; kroc'hen - krec'hin "skins"; ozhaç'h - ezec'h "heads of the family"; draen - drein "thorns", kaezh - keizh AJ "poor"; troad - treid "feet" (see also notes on the dual below 2.3.4); louarn - lern "foxes".

The plurals in -iz might be considered internal. Finally, we may add a selection of "odd" plurals:

aotrou - aotronez "gentlemen"; ti - tiez, tier "houses"; laer - laeron "robbers"; draf - drefen (drafoù) "gates"; korn - kern(iel) "horns" (and others, with different meanings; see Appendix G); kar - kerent "relatives"; biz - bizied "fingers"; ki - kon/chas "dogs" (the former is found now only in compounds, e.g. dourgon "otters", from dourgi; the latter is suppletive, see den below); gwreg - gwragez "women"; bugel - bugale "children"; breur - breudeur "brothers"; den - tud "people".

### 2.3.2. Non-count and Collective Nouns

Non-count and collective nouns may to a large extent be grouped together morphologically, though syntactically non-counts are singular and collectives are plural. There is some overlap of individual words: kistin (NCT) = "chestnut (timber)"; (CLL) = "chestnuts". The non-count nouns may not be accompanied by the indefinite article, cardinal numbers, ebet "no, not any" (postposed adjectival quantifier), bennak "any" (postposed adjectival indefinite), and certain other indefinites or quantifiers, e.g., meur a + SG "several". Semantics dictates choice here. The collectives designate a group of objects: per "pears", frouezh "fruit", but aval - avaloù "apple - apples". Non-counts and collectives are masculine in

gender. They all, less so the collectives, have "plurals", at least in form. For the non-counts, this is a designation of "types/sorts of [...]": dourioù "waters" (NCT), geotoù "grasses" (CLL).

### 2.3.3. The Singulative

From both the collectives and the non-counts are derived the singulatives. These are all feminine in gender and characterized by the suffix -enn. For the collectives this locates one of the group and may well be developing to a simple singular. For the non-counts it is a part or a type, e.g., perenn "pear" (CLL → SGT) - edenn "grain, type of corn" (NCT → SGT) - dourenn "drop of water, juice, liquid". Singulatives may have their own plural, thereby retaining their particular sense (a plurality of individual objects, e.g. perennoù "some/a few pears"). Other nouns may take -enn, say in a figurative sense: kalonenn "heart-shaped object" (kalon "heart").

Note that the names of fruits in -enn are also one of the names for trees, e.g., abrikezenn "apricot tree". The plural here is -ed; also, for example, avalenn/avalenned "apple tree(s)" (F).

Note too botoù "(one) pair of shoes" - botez "shoe" - botezenn "single shoe" - boteier "pairs of shoes". Also, if somewhat different: keloù "news; item of news" - keleier "(the) news".

One may also mark singularity by the use of the words penn "head", pezh "piece", loen "animal". Thus: ur penn-dañvad "one sheep" (note the use of PL deñved, from dañvad), ur pemoc'h "one pig" (penn + moc'h; moc'h CLL "pigs"); ur pezh dilhad "a piece of clothing" (dilhad NCT/CLL "clothes"); ul loen kezeg "one horse" (note the use of PL kezeg, one of the PL forms of marc'h).

For a monograph one might refer to Trepos in 1957.

## 2.3.4. The Dual

The dual number relates to parts of the body only and is formed by prefixing the appropriate form of the numeral "two" to the noun: daou- (M), div- (di-) (F). Syntactically it may be considered plural, though it may be used, qualified by, for example, the indefinite article, as a singular. It is quite separate from the phrase "two eyes". The dual itself may take a plural ("pairs of [...]"), and the singular may, often in a figurative sense, have its own plural. Thus:

TABLE 10

SINGULAR		DUAL	
<u>lagad</u>	"eye"	<u>daoulagad</u>	"eyes"
<u>skouarn</u>	"ear"	<u>divskouarn</u>	"ears"
PLURAL I		PLURAL II	
<u>daoulagadoù</u>	"pairs of eyes"	<u>lagadoù</u>	"flecks of fat"
<u>divskouarnoù</u>	"pairs of ears"	<u>skouarnoù</u>	"handles"

Also: dorn "hand" - daouarn "hands", glin "knee" - daoulin "knees", troad "foot" - daoudroad (also treid) "feet", brec'h "arm" - divrec'h "arms", bronn "breast" - divronn "breasts", gar "leg" - divhar "legs", gweuz "lip" - diweuz "lips", morzhed "thigh" - divorzhed (also morzhedoù) "thighs", skoaz "shoulder" - diskoaz "shoulder"

Where no dual exists, as in the case of objects or animal names, the word re is often used: ur re votoù "a pair of shoes" (also botoù), ur re oc'hen "a team of oxen".

### 2.3.5. Secondary Plurals

Secondary plurals may be formed on existing plurals:

kerent - kerentoù "relatives"

bugale - bugaleoù "children"

or even be applied to multiple plurals or certain nouns, e.g.,

marc'h "horse" - marc'hoù, mirc'hi, kezeg, kezegoù.

More important are words with semantically clearly alternative plurals, the second, as given below, being more general:

gwalenn - gwalennoù, gwalinier "ring/s", park - parkoù, parkeier "field/s",  
koad - koadoù, koadeier "wood/s", lann - lannoù, lanneier "heathland/s",  
menez - menezioù, menezeier "hill/s, mountain/s"

### 2.4. The Diminutive

The diminutive is formed by the suffix -ig, whose plural is -igoù. However, the diminutive plural is added to the plural of the noun. Thus:

denig - tudigoù "(little) people"

tammig - tammoùigoù "(little) pieces"

and, with a contraction:

bugale "children" - bugaligoù "little children"

If the diminutive sense has been lost, this rule may be broken. Thus:

rannig - rann(où)igoù "particles (grammar)"

### 2.5. Compound Nouns

If composed with a hyphen, the first component changes for number unless it is a collective or non-count noun:

loiz-aour - loized-aour "Louis d'or", loen-korn - loened-korn "horned animals", danvez-gwaz - danvez-gwazed "fiancés" (danvez "material, fortune, capability, subject, candidate")

If there is no hyphen, then the plural is formed regularly, e.g.,

rannarme - rannarmeoù "divisions (military)", rannvro - rannvroioù "regions"

### 3. The Article

Somewhat simplifying, one might say that the Breton articles are used much as in English, with certain French features. For example, the definite article will be omitted with Breton-based names of countries (as in English), but will be used with abstract nouns, and partitivity may be conveyed by the use of the preposition a "of; Fr de" (and optionally after certain quantifiers and negative verbs). Strictly speaking, there is no partitive article in Breton: laezh "some milk", dour "some water". Idiosyncratic is the frequent omission of the definite article from the position before names of peoples, e.g., Breizhiz "(the) Bretons". The indefinite article, found only in Breton of all the Celtic languages, is a truncated (adjectival) form of unan "one". This truncated form is, indeed, commonly used pronominally. The forms are differentiated not for number or gender, but on the basis of the following absolute word-initial sound of the nominal element. The lenis mutation here causes no switching between the different forms, perhaps part of the reason why d → z does not occur (another part of the reason would be the non-phonological status of z its absolute word-initial rarity).

Thus:

TABLE 11

DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	
<u>an</u>	<u>un</u>	+ <u>n</u> , <u>d</u> , <u>t</u> , <u>h</u> , vowel
<u>al</u>	<u>ul</u>	+ <u>l</u>
<u>ar</u>	<u>ur</u>	+ other consonants

In syntagmata, the definite article is not stressable, whereas the indefinite article is.

A few examples of the choice of the different forms are: an naer "the serpent", an den "the person", an ti "the house", an hent "the road", an eur "the hour"; al lun "Monday", al loar "the moon"; ar penn "the head", ar vrec'h "the arm", ar werenn "the glass", ar vezh "the language", ar yun "the fast", ar zink "the zinc", and ar ouenn "the race, species" (gouenn).

In all the monosyllabic examples above, co-occurrence with the indefinite article would involve stress, if somewhat weak stress, of the article.

To the definite and indefinite articles we might add, from the point of view of form variation, the following:

hon - hol - hor "our; us" (PSS AJ; OPRO) (see 6.2 below)

ken - kel - ker "so, as" (AV) (see 4.2.4 below)

(also pegen - pegel - peger + AJ "how [...]"] (INT/EXC)

hen - hel - her "it" (OPRO) (see 6.2 below)

and the contraction of the definite article with g (PRP): en - el - er.

We note that the rule is strict only for the articles.

As regards usage of the articles, the situation might be presented as follows:

We note the omission of the definite article in the following situations:

1) Before a noun denoting the "possessed" in a possessive construction, what we might refer to as a juxtaposed or appositive genitive construction. Thus: levrioù pep hini (books each DETPRO) "each one's books", gwetur va zad (car my father) "my father's car", maerdi Lannuon (town-hall Lannion) "Lannion town-hall", miz Mae (month May) "the month of May", gouel Nedeleg (feast Christmas) "Christmas" (Nedeleg may be used alone). See the Syntax, section 5, for details. Exceptions include set expressions such as an deiz diwezhañ 'r miz (the day last the month) "the last day of the month", an deiz kentañ 'r bloaz (the day first the year) "the first day of the year", where 'r might well stand for +a ar (now eus ar; Gw and elsewhere ag ar) "of the". The rule does not obtain where the noun functions as an adjective: ar Sul Fask (the Sunday Easter) "Easter Sunday", al levr oferenn (the book mass) "missal", or in expressions with a, e.g. an ti a sevenadur (the house of culture) "the House of Culture".

2) Before certain words: kêr "town", meal names, in compound verbs, after the verb c'hoari "(to) play". Examples:

mont e kêr (go in town) "(to) go to town"; but mont d'ar gêr (go to-the home) "(to) go home". Thus the usage depends on the meaning of kêr: e kêr "in/to town", er gêr/d'ar gêr "at/to home".

dont da lein, verenn, goan, bred (come to breakfast, lunch, dinner, meal) "(to) come to breakfast, lunch, dinner, for a meal" (lein, merenn, koan, pred). There may be some dialectal variation in the referents of meal names.

ober van, ober vad, ober skol, labourat douar, c'hoari c'hartoù (do pretence, do good, do school, work land, play cards) "(to) pretend, do good, go to school, till the land, play cards" (\*man, mad, skol, douar, kartoù). An exception may be ober an neuz (do the appearance) "(to) pretend".

We note that where the noun is specified, it may be accompanied by a determiner: er gêr vras (in-the town big) "in the city", d'o c'hoan int aet (to-their dinner are-3PPL gone) "they've gone for their dinner", d'ar c'hoan hon eus aozet int aet (to-the dinner us there-is prepared are-3PPL gone) "they've gone for the dinner we've prepared".

3) Usually before plurals in -iz denoting inhabitants: Breizhiz (or ar Vreizhiz) "the Bretons"; but ar C'hallaoued "the French".

4) Before non-French geographical names: Breizh-Uhel "Upper Brittany", Bro-Saoz "England", Amerika "America"; but an Amerik "America" (borrowing from French). Note an Elorn - (ar) Stêr-Elorn ((the) river+Elorn) "the (river) Elorn"

5) Often before a preposed superlative: gwashañ gwallzarvoud a zo bet (worst accident PRC is-COP been) "the worst accident there has been".

6) In certain adverbial expressions: dec'h vintin (yesterday morning) "yesterday morning", warc'hoaz da noz (tomorrow to night) "tomorrow night"; but ur wech an amzer (one time the time) "now and then", an devezh all (the day other) "the other day".

7) In address: Aotrou Gov! "Mr. Gov!". But note the use of the article when talking about someone: An Aotrou Gov... "Mr. Gov...", and, slightly apart, the placing of the article before the surname when the first name is used: Loeiz ar Gov. The same applies to other terms of address, e.g. I(n)tron "Mrs.", Dimezell "Miss", Doktor "Doctor". One notes the set phrase an Aotrou 'n Abad (the lord the abbot) "His Lord the Abbot".

8) Before pezh "piece" in pezh a + V "that which", though ar pezh a is often recommended.

It is interesting to note that the infinitive, as a verbal noun, may take the article and, if it is transitive, the "direct object" will then follow immediately: an debriñ avaloù (the eat apples) "the eating of apples".

We note the omission of the indefinite article before bloaz "year" and miz "month": bloaz 'zo (year ago) "a year ago", araok miz (before month) "in a month's time".

The indefinite article may be used emphatically or approximatively before collectives, numbers, non-singulars and adjectives: un dud a oa eno! (a people PRC was there) "what a crowd there was there!", un dek

bennak (a ten some) "around ten", ur botoù (a shoes) "a pair of shoes", ur c'haer eo sellout outañ (a beautiful is-IDN look at-him) "he's splendid to look at!"

For more details one might consult Kervella in 1947/1976, pp.231-6, ##369-86, and Trepos in 1974/1980, pp.86-9, ##183-97.

#### 4. The Adjective

##### 4.1. General

Here the treatment is restricted to the qualifying adjective, as traditionally understood. Demonstrative adjectives, etc., are included with the pronouns.

With the exception of kaezh (SG) - keizh (PL; optional) "poor", the Breton adjective is invariable, though subject to lenition, e.g., mezv "drunk": ur plac'h mezv "a drunken girl" (one may also form nouns from adjectives, e.g., ur vezvez, with the same meaning as ur plac'h vezv). It typically follows the modified noun; some, however, precede. Thus: ur gwall hent "a bad road", un hanter devezh "a half day", ur mell ti "a large house", ur c'hozh ti "a wretched house". Used pronominally, e.g., "the evil", "a good one", "three red ones", one uses (an) hini + AJ, unan/tri, etc. + AJ. The pronoun may be omitted, particularly in names, e.g., an Aotrou Bras "Mr. Legrand", Per ar Bras "Pierre Legrand". This is illustrated in the following table:

TABLE 12

M	F	PL	
<u>an hini mat</u>	<u>an hini vat</u>	<u>ar re vat</u>	"the good one(s)"
<u>unan mat</u>	<u>unan vat</u>	<u>re vat</u>	"(a) good one(s)"
		<u>tri ruz</u>	"three red ones"

Adjectives are strung together using commas, ha(g) "and" preceding the last:

un den oadet, bras ha kreñv "an elderly, large and strong man"

Adjectives may also qualify the demonstrative pronouns: hemañ glañv "one", etc. After pronouns and indefinite numbers the preposition a "of" is used, e.g., Petra a vat...? "What good...?", Netra a nevez "Nothing new".

Other parts of speech, e.g. nouns and noun phrases, may function as adjectives: ur vaouez (he) blev du (a woman (her) hair black) "a black-haired woman"; ar gazetenn hiziv (the newspaper today) "today's newspaper". This may be disputed, kazetenn hiziv, resembling a possessive construction, being seen as the only acceptable form (see the Syntax, section 5). Breton on the whole prefers juxtaposed nouns or noun phrases to derived adjectives, thus: ar vered parrez (the cemetery-F parish) "the parish cemetery" (bered), ur pont koad (a bridge-M wood) "a wooden bridge", an doenn deol (the roof-F slates-CLL) "a slate roof" (toenn, teol), ur c'hastell toenn deol (a castle roof slates, with roof+slates as AJP) "a slate-roof castle", re zu-hont (DETPROPL yonder-AV) "the people of that area yonder". For more discussion one might consult Kervella in 1984, pp.153-4.

An alternative, emphatic attributive construction is:

Ur brav a amzer a zo bet [...]  
 a-IDART fine-AJ of-PRP weather-NF PRC is-COP been-PPCP  
 "Fine weather it's been..."

Tri hir a veajou hon eus graet  
 3-NUM long-AJ of-PRP trip-PL us-(I)O there-is do-PPCP  
 "Three long journeys we've made"

Also un dek a gezeg (a ten of horses) "ten or so horses".

Adjectives may be modified, either by being preceded or followed by modifiers, e.g., gwall "very" (preposed; + LN); -tre, -kaer, -kenañ, -meurbet, da vat "very" (postposed); re "too" (preposed; + LN); repetition: brav-brav eo an amzer (fine+fine is the weather) "the weather is very fine"; a-walc'h "quite" (postposed), or by the use of a word functioning as an adverb, e.g., teñval-sac'h (dark+sack) "pitch black", ruz-tan (red+fire) "fiery red", mezv-dall (drunk+blind) "blind drunk".

Some adjectives may or must control an object:

ur paotr gouest (a lad capable) - gouest da lenn (capable to read) "a capable lad" - "capable of reading" (optional control of object)

ur plac'h douget da evañ (a girl inclined to drink) "a girl inclined to drink" (obligatory control of object)

Others: heñvel ouzh "similar to", laouen da "happy to", trist gant "sad because of", ampart war "skilled in", leun a (+ PL/NCT) - leun gant (+ others) "full of" (all optional; tuet da "inclined to" (obligatory).

## 4.2. Gradation

In addition to the above-mentioned adjectival modifications, it is important to look at Breton adjectival gradation, which includes equative and exclamative grades in addition to diminutive, comparative, superlative, - and simple. There are found also "lesser, least" analytic forms, though these are considered to be unnecessary gallicisms, such grades being achieved within Breton itself by means of negation.

## 4.2.1. The Diminutive

This is formed by the addition of -ik (a preceding lenis voiceless consonant becomes voiced, e.g., brazik from bras "big"). It has a diminutive or affective sense, plus a possible nuance of excess. The comparative (see 4.2.2) may also have a diminutive form (-oc'hik), as, very rarely, may the superlative (-añ becomes -añik). Examples: mat - madik "good"; bihan - bihanik "little", tev - tevik "fat, thick", glas - glazik "green", kozh - kozhik "old".

## 4.2.2. The Comparative

This is formed by the addition of the suffix -oc'h to the simple form. A final consonant, excepting -y since in adjectives it tends to be pronounced [o] or [w], will be pronounced fortis if it is, in the simple form, voiceless lenis. This change is, for the standard language (Zedacheg), reflected in the spelling of the oral stops and zh, z, e.g., tev - tevoc'h "fatter", brav - bravoc'h "finer", kriz - krisoc'h "crueller, rawer; rougher", gleb - glevoc'h "wetter", yud - yutoc'h "more treacherous", kozh - koshoc'h "older"

The comparative marker "than" is expressed by eget or evit (followed by na + V if a subordinate clause follows).

There is too an analytic form: muioch "more" + simple grade, used mainly for emphasis, but also (optionally) with adjectival past participles, e.g. karet "(be)loved; favourite".

Unless used indefinitely, the attributive comparative follows the

modified noun and lenites or not as usual:

ur maouez koshoc'h  
 a-IDART woman-NFSG old-AJCMP  
 "an older woman"

but:

diaesoc'h arnodenn n'em eus gwelet biskoazh  
 difficult-CMP test-NF NEG+me-(I)O is-V see-PPCP never-AV  
 "a more difficult examination I have never seen"

(Glossing is simplified if context permits, and where space demands it.)

Preceded by seul (+ LN), we have the expression "the more [...]":

Seul vuanoc'h e labour, seul welloc'h e teu  
 more-AV quick-CMP PRC works more-AV good-CMP PRC comes  
da vezañ  
 to-PRP be-INF  
 "The more quickly s/he works, the better s/he becomes"

Without verbs, this may be replaced by conjoined comparative + superlative, e.g., buanoc'h-buanañ (quicker+quickest) "more and more quickly".

See TABLE 13, in 4.3, for a summary, including the irregular forms.

#### 4.2.3. The Superlative

We have the suffix -añ, causing strengthening exactly as for the comparative. Analytically, one may use (ar) muiañ "(the) most". The definite article is usually present. Governing a noun, the preposition eus "(out) of" is used, though others are possible: etre, war, e (the behaviour of the simple grade may be apposite). For a following subordinate clause, we have the conjunction ma if the superlative is adverbial (see Section 10 in this chapter). Used as an adjective, we have the subordinating particle a. In this situation the superlative may precede the qualified noun, and the definite article may be omitted. Thus:

Kreñvañ bugel am eus anavezet  
 strong-SUP child me-(I)O is-V known-PPCP  
 "The strongest child I've known"  
 (for ar c'hreñvañ bugel [...])

Preposed, there is only the k → c'h mutation. Postposed, mutations are as normal. Pronominally, mutations are as normal. Thus:

ar bihanañ paotr "the smallest boy" (preposed; M)  
ar bihanañ plac'h "the smallest girl" (preposed; F)  
ar paotr plijusañ "the most pleasant lad" (postposed; M  
 )  
ar voest vrasañ "the biggest box" (postposed; F)  
hennzh a zo ar bihanañ "That one is smallest" (AJF)  
hennzh eo ar vihanañ "That one is the smallest" (PROF)  
ar re vihanañ "the smallest ones" (M/F; PRO)

In the two examples beginning hennzh "that (one)", the SUP in the first must be a predicative adjective after a zo, while in the second the superlative must be the subject after eo. The first, with the expression of the definite article after a zo, is slightly odd.

For the singular pronominal form we have an hini b/vihanañ "the smallest", leniting as appropriate (k → c'h for M).

For irregular forms see TABLE 13 in 4.3.

## 4.2.4. The Equative

Basically this may be formulated as follows:

ken + simple grade + ha "as [...] as [...]"

Note that ken may be realized as ker, kel also, like the articles. Should a subordinate clause follow, then this is introduced by ma immediately after ha. If the substance of the equation is of the type "as [...] as (all) that", then the adjective is followed immediately by se "that (NTR)" or all "other" (optionally linked by a hyphen).

Examples:

ken kozh ha ma zad  
as old as my father  
"as old as my father"

ken yaouank ha ma oa d'ar mare-se  
as young as CNJ was at+the time+that  
"as young as he was at that time"

ken bras-se  
as big+that  
"as big as (all) that"

Used with a negative, this renders the comparative of inferiority, although the emphatic gallicism with nebeutoc'h (an nebeutañ "least") is common. Compare:

Nebetoc'h bras eo egedon - N'eo ket ken bras ha me  
less big is than-me NEG-is NEG as big as I  
"He/She isn't as big as I"

For irregular forms see the table below.

## 4.2.5. The Exclamative

The exclamative is formed by adding the suffix -at to the simple grade. This suffix may cause strengthening in the preceding consonant, exactly as the -oc'h of the comparative and, historically, the -añ of the superlative.

It may be followed by a + N and/or preceded by na "nor", which we might consider a particle here:

Na gwellat devezh! (PRC EXC N) "What a good day!"

Nag un devezh mat! (PRC IDART N AJ) "What a good day"

Note the expression Nag a dud! (PRC PRP N) "What a lot of people!".

Alternatively, it may be replaced by pegen INT + AJ (pegen may become peger, pegel, like the articles), or pebezh INT + N. Thus:

Pegen ker eo! (INT AJ V) "How expensive/dear it is!"

Pebezh tud lous! (INT N AJ) "What dirty people!"

## 4.3. Summary

TABLE 13

SIMPLE	DIM	EQU	CMP	SUP
		ken... ha(g)		
bras	brazik	bras (kement ha)	brasoc'h	(ar) brasañ
pizh	pizhik	pizh	pishoc'h	(ar) pishañ
gleb	glebik	gleb	glepoc'h	(ar) glepañ
mat	madik	(ken)koulz ha	gwell(oc'h)	(ar) gwellañ
drouk/ gwall	drougik	ken gwazh ha	gwashoc'h/ gwazh	(ar) gwashañ
hir/ pell	hirik/ pellik	keit ha (ken hir/ ken pell ha)	hiroc'h/ pelloc'h	(an) hirañ (ar) pellañ

The exclamative forms, which could not be fitted into the table, are brasat, pishat, glepat, gwellat, gwashat, and hirat/pellat.

Note that in certain equative forms ken is already incorporated. The meanings of the adjectives are: "big, precise, wet, good, bad, long/far".

## 5. The Numeral

## 5.1 General

The basic division with which this section is concerned is that into cardinal and ordinal numerals, although there are sub-sections on fractions, multiples, approximation and other important uses of counting and reckoning.

## 5.2. Cardinal Numerals

Of the cardinals, unan "one" is pronominal; adjectivally, it takes the form of the indefinite article: un, ur, ul. Occasionally, un is found pronominally. The numbers "2", "3", "4" have masculine and feminine forms: daou/div "two", tri/teir "three", pevar/peder "four". The other numbers are invariable. It is worth noting that milion "million" and miliard "billion" are ordinary nouns. The same is actually true of ugent "twenty", kant "hundred", and mil "thousand", though it is only milion and miliard that can be preceded by ur. They must, too, take the otherwise optional construction a + PL: ur milion a skolioù brezhonek (a million of schools Breton) "a million Breton schools". All other numbers are constructed with the singular of the noun, placed immediately after the lower number (if the number is compound). Alternatively, a + PL may be used after the entire number. From "60" to "199" inclusive Breton may use the vigesimal system.

The whole series of cardinal numerals is as follows:

0-9: zero/mann/netra, unan, daou (M) - div (F), tri (M) - teir (F), pevar (M) - peder (F), pemp, c'hwec'h, seizh, eizh, nav.

Note that attributive "1" is un, ur, ul.

11-19: dek, unnek, daouzek, trizek, pevarzek, pemzek, c'hwezek, seitek, triwec'h, naontek.

Note the formation of the second series, namely unit + ten, with the exception, for the standard language, of "three six(es)" for "18";

dialectally we may have eitek. There are no feminine forms for "12", "13", "14".

20-29: ugent, unan warn-ugent, daou/div warn-ugent, tri/teir warn-ugent, pevar/peder warn-ugent, pemp warn-ugent, c'hwec'h warn-ugent, seizh warn-ugent, eizh warn-ugent, nav warn-ugent.

The 21-29 numerals are the only ones compounded with warn "on the; on't"; see this section below for the general ordering structure.

30-39: tregont, unan ha tregont, daou/div ha tregont, tri/teir ha tregont, pevar/peder ha tregont, pemp ha tregont, c'hwec'h ha tregont, seizh ha tregont, eizh ha tregont, nav ha tregont.

The 31-39 compounds reflect the pattern of other tens/units compounds; for the general ordering structure see below.

40-49: daou-ugent, unan ha daou-ugent, etc.

Here we see the first sign of the vigesimal system, in that daou-ugent means "two twenties". Daou- is invariable. However, this series does not go through to "60". Note that the units "2" to "4" remain variable for gender.

50-59: hanter-kant, unan hag hanter-kant, etc.

"50" is literally "half (a) hundred".

60-79: tri-ugent, unan ha tri-ugent, daou/div ha tri-ugent, [...] dek ha tri-ugent "70", unnek ha tri-ugent "71", [...] naontek ha tri-ugent "79".

Here the fuller vigesimal system starts, the numbers occurring in series of "twenty". Tri- is invariable.

80-99: pevar-ugent, unan ha pevar-ugent, daou/div ha pevar-ugent, etc.

100-119: kant, unan ha kant or kant unan, etc.

Kant stands in for "pemp-ugent".

120-139: c'hwec'h-ugent or kant ugent, unan ha c'hwec'h-ugent or kant unan warn-ugent, etc.

The optional patterns can easily be discerned. One may note that vigesimal 120-199 are increasingly rare.

140-149: seizh-ugent, unan ha seizh-ugent, etc.

Or kant daou-ugent, kant unan ha daou-ugent, etc.

150-159: kant hanter-kant, kant unan hag hanter-kant, etc.

160-179: eizh-ugent, unan hag eizh-ugent, etc.

Or kant tri-ugent, kant unan ha tri-ugent, etc.

180-199: nav-ugent, unan ha nav-ugent, etc.

Or kant pevar-ugent, kant unan ha pevar-ugent, etc.

200: daou-c'hant (note the spirant mutation)

300: tri-c'hant, tri-c'hant seizh ha tregont (337)

400: pevar-c'hant, pevar-c'hant daou warn-ugent (422)

500: pemp-kant, pemp-kant hag hanter-kant (550)

600: c'hwec'h-kant, c'hwec'h-kant tri (603)

700: seizh-kant, seizh-kant nav ha pevar-ugent (789)

800: eizh-kant, eizh-kant div hag hanter-kant (852 F)

900: nav-c'hant, nav-c'hant seitek ha tri-ugent (977)

Within the numbers 200-999 the 1-99 system is operated.

1000-1999: mil, mil kant or unnek-kant, [...] to mil nav-c'hant naontek ha pevar-ugent or naontek-kant nav ha pevar-ugent.

From here the first of the two possibilities given above for 1000-1999 is used, though of course the option reappears wherever 1000-1999 features as part of the compound numeral.

1000000: ur milion.

The general ordering structure may be conceived as:

((MILL(S))(THOU(S))(HUND(S))(UNITS/TEENS)(WARN-/HA(G))(TENS))

with the optional positioning of MILL(S), THOU(S) after UNITS/TEENS, and where MILL = "million", THOU = "thousand", and HUND = "hundred".

Here are some examples in construction with nouns, in response to the question Pet? "How much/many?":

ur vaouez "a woman", ul lenn "a lake", un den "a person";  
(an) daou zen "(the) two people", (an) div verc'h "(the) two girls";  
tri faotr "three lads", teir merc'h "three girls";  
pevar c'hazh "four cats", peder c'hazetenn "four newspapers";  
pemp tra "five things"; nav belo "nine bicycles";  
unnek tok "eleven hats"; ugent kador "twenty chairs".

teir c'hador warn-ugent or teir warn-ugent a gadoriù "23 chairs";  
pemp maouez ha tregont "35 women";  
nav ha daou-ugent a zeiziù "49 days";  
tri zi hag hanter-kant "53 houses";  
seitek ki ha pevar-ugent "97 dogs";

un nadoz ha kant or kant unan a nadoziù "101 needles";  
dek den ha kant or kant dek a dud "110 people";

pevar mil ha tri-ugent a dud "64000 people";  
c'hwezek mil ha daou ugent, tri-c'hant trizet levr ha tri-ugent or  
c'hwezek mil ha daou-ugent, tri-c'hant trizek ha tri-ugent a levriù  
 "56373 books";

With compound numbers the a "of" + PL construction may be more common.

tri milion, nav-c'hant tri mil ha tri-ugent, pevar-c'hant div niverenn warn-ugent "3963422 issues/copies";

er bloaz mil nav-c'hant pevar ha pevar-ugent or er bloaz naontek-kant pevar ha pevar-ugent "in (the year) 1984".

### 5.3. Ordinal Numerals

The ordinal numerals are overall characterized by the suffix -vet added to the cardinals. In fact, there may be no exceptions (saving contractions in the forms divet "second (F)", navet "ninth"), though there is an optional restriction on unanvet "first" in that it is used on the whole in compounds only. As in many languages, the lowest ordinals include the "irregular" forms. These are:

kentañ or unanvet "first";  
eil(vet) or daouvet/divet (M/F) "second";  
trede or trivet/teirvet (M/F) "third";  
pevare or pevarvet/pedervet (M/F) "fourth";  
pemp(v)et "fifth";  
navet "ninth".

Used as pronouns, they are preceded by the definite article (see below for an optional exception), and will mutate as appropriate. Thus:

Setu ar skouerenn; ar gantvet eo  
 Here+is-AV the copy            the 100th-ORD it+is  
 "Here's the copy; it's the hundredth"

Used attributively, they precede the modified noun. Kentañ "first" may follow, as if it were a superlative, - which it is. It will mutate as appropriate. The same applies to diwezhañ "last", a fossilized superlative. Preposed, they do not mutate (with the usual exception of k becoming c'h); nor does the modified noun. Examples, three of DART ORD N, one of DART N ORD, are:

ar c'hentañ gwech or ar wech kentañ "the first time";  
ar pedervet gwech "the fourth time";  
an eil gazetenn "the second newspaper".

The article may be omitted if the ordinal is the referent of a relative clause, e.g.,

Kentañ en deus graet [...]  
 first-SUP him is-3PSGM done-PPCP  
 "The first thing he did..."

Note the rendering of "penultimate"

an eil kensonenn diwezhañ  
 the two-ORD consonant-NF last-SUP  
 "the penultimate consonant"

#### 5.4. A Note on the Expression of Dates

For the expression of dates either the ordinals or the cardinals may be used. Thus:

Ar petvet eus ar miz emaomp?  
Ar bet eus ar miz emaomp?  
 the howmanieth/how+many of the month are+we  
 "What date is it?"

or:

D'ar petvet e + V ?  
D'ar bet e + V ?  
 On+the how many/howmanieth PRC  
 "On what date...?"

giving:

(d') ar c'hentañ/an unan, an daou/an eil,  
an trede/an dri, an triwec'hvet/an driwec'h

(to+) the NUM ORD/NUM CD...

"(on) the first, second, third ,eighteenth"

a viz (Genver, C'hwevrer, Meurzh, Ebrel, Mae,  
Mezheven, Gouere, Eost, Gwengolo, Here,  
Du, Kerzu.

of month MONTH NAME...

"of (January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December)."

For "on the first" one may also say d'an deiz kentañ (to+the day first).

### 5.5. A Note on Telling the Time

For the hour the cardinals are used, with the noun eur (F):

<u>Pet</u>	<u>eur</u>	<u>eo?</u>	<u>Da</u>	<u>bet</u>	<u>eur</u>	<u>e + V?</u>
how+many-	INT	hour-NF	is+it	to	how+many	hour PRC V
"What time is it?"			"At what time [...]"			

(d'/da) un eur, div/ziv eur, teir/deir eur,  
hanternoz, kreisteiz/greisteiz

(to+/to) TIME EXPRESSION [...]

"(at) one, two, three... o'clock, midnight, midday"

Time after the hour is expressed by adding:

ha(g) 1... 29 "one... twenty-nine minute(s) past"

ha kart "quarter past"

hanter "half-past"

(ha(g) "and" may be omitted)

Time to the hour is expressed by adding:

nemet 29... 1 "twenty-nine... one minute(s) to"  
nemet kart "a quarter to..."  
 (nemet "less/minus")

For example:

Da beder eur hag ugent e teuy  
 to four hour and twenty PRC come-3PSG+FTR  
 "He'll come at 4:20"

Da greisteiz hanter e vo prest  
 to midday half RDC be-3PSG+FTR ready  
 "It'll be ready at 12:30"

Pemp eur nemet unan warn-ugent e oa  
 five hour less one on+t+twenty RDC be-3PSG+IMP  
 "It was 4.39"

The twenty-four-hour clock is used in official language.

## 5.6. A Note on the Days of the Week

For good measure we may mention here the days of the week. They occur in two forms, a nominal or naming form and an adverbial form:

1) Al lun, ar meurzh, ar merc'her, ar yaou, ar gwener, ar sadorn, ar sul "Monday,... Sunday"

Preceded by d', these forms convey a habitual adverbial sense, e.g., D'al lun "on Mondays".

2) Dilun, dimeurzh, dimerc'her, diriaou, digwener, disadorn, disul "(next/last) Monday,... Sunday"

The context clarifies whether it is "next" or "last".

### 5.7. A Note on Money Terms

One would do well to consult a detailed treatment, e.g., Kervella in 1947/76, pp.272-3, ##456-8 or Trepos in 1974/80, pp.134-5, ##306-11.

Nowadays one most often encounters lur (F) "franc; Fr livre (F)" and sañtim/kañtim (M) "centime", with gweneg (M) "sou (five centimes)" in set expressions. The plurals, though the Breton numeral system means they are not so frequent, are lurioù, sañtimoù and gwenneien. Briefly, the details of gweneg, real, skoed and lur are as follows:

- 1) gweneg "sou (5 centimes)" is used from one to nineteen. Thus: c'hwezek gweneg "80 centimes".
- 2) real "25 centimes" starts at pevar real "4 reals (1 franc)". Amounts close to the appropriate number of reals are reckoned like time: ha(g)... "plus", nemet... "minus". Thus: seizh real ha daou wenneg "1 franc 60 centimes".
- 3) This continues until "2 francs 95 centimes", which is ur skoed nemet ur gweneg. Thus, ur skoed replaces twelve reals. But real is still used up to tri real warn-ugent "23 reals (5 francs 75 centimes)". Then we have daou skoed "6 francs".
- 4) For larger amounts than seven we use skoed "écu", lur "franc" and gweneg "sou". So "180 francs" may be nav-ugent lur or kant pevar-ugent lur or tri-ugent skoed.
- 5) It is possible to form compounds of numbers and money terms: kantlurioù "quantities of hundred francs". One may compare ur millur bennak "over 1000 francs" with mil lur bennak "around 1000 francs".

### 5.8. Fractions

If we change -vet, the ordinal formant, into -vedenn (F), we have a fractional number. Exceptions are:

1/2: hanter (also AJ and AV); hanterenn (F); daoufarzh (M).

1/3: trederenn (F).

1/4: palefarzh(enn) (M/(F)); kart(erenn) (M/(F)). Also palevarzh(enn).

### 5.9. Multiples

Multiples are formed by adding kement, gement or c'hement (plus or minus -se or all) as appropriate to the cardinal. Gwech "time" may be interposed: dek gwech (kement all). Nouns are derived with the suffix -ad, verbs with the suffix -iñ:

Pevar c'hement-se en devoa  
four quantity+that him had-3P  
"He had four times that"

daougement "double" (NM)  
daougementiñ "(to) double"

### 5.10. Approximation and Other Numerical Expressions

Though we shall meet some of these below, one may mention here certain expressions of approximation:

- 1) un/ur/ul + two NUM separated by pe.
- 2) war-dro, tost da + NUM "around".
- 3) ouzhpenñ + NUM "more than".
- 4) (un/ur/ul +) NUM + bennak (the ordinal may be used here too).

Examples:

Un daou pe dri levr am eus lennet  
 a two or three book me is read  
 "I've read two or three books"

War-dro peder eur eo en deus tremenet en hon ti  
 around four hour is-CLF him is passed in our house  
 "He stopped by our house at around four o'clock"

Tost da c'hwec'h e vo  
 near to six PRC be-FTR  
 "There'll be almost six"

Ouzhpenn kant gwech eo he deus lavaret an dra-se  
 Beyond 100 time is-CLF her is said the thing+that  
 "She's said that over a hundred times"  
 (ouzhpenn may follow: kant ouzhpenn "100 more")

(Un) hanter-kant bennak a c'hivri hon eus bet en  
 (a) fifty some of goats us is been in+the  
deizioù-se  
 days+that  
 "We had around fifty goats in those days"

It is worth noting expressions such as daou-ha-daou, etc. "two by two", a-zaouoù, etc. "by twos", bep eil... "every other/second...", bep daou..., etc. "every two", bep a dri, etc. "three each" (those with bep are adverbial; with a nominal base they would be pep, if appropriate).

Finally, expressions such as Loeiz pevarzek "Louis XIV", Loeiz kentañ/unan "Louis I", and the very frequently needed Lodenn daou, Lodenn tri "Part 2, 3" (note the masculine number accompanying the feminine noun), Paienn kant "Page 100" (no mutation), but Eil/teirvet lodenn "Part 2, 3", Kantvet paienn "Page 100".

## 6. The Pronoun

## 6.1. General

In this section we look at the personal pronoun, the possessives, the demonstratives, the interrogatives and relatives, and the indefinites and quantifiers. Our approach is traditional, pronouns assumed to be equally pro-NP's.

## 6.2. The Personal Pronoun

TABLE 14

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
STRONG						
FULL	me	te	eñ/hí	ní	c'hwi	i or int or int-i
EMP 1	-me	-te	(-eñ/-hí)	-ní	-c'hwi	(-int) or -hu
EMP 2	va-/da-/e/he(c'h)-/hon-/hoc'h/o- (PSSPRO) + unan					
WEAK						
O	va or ma	da	e/he(c'h)	hon -	ho(c'h)	o
(DO)	am	az	(NTR: hen - hor -			
(also PSS)			her - hel)	hol		
SUFF	-on,	-out,	-(zh)añ/	-(e)omp,	-(e)oc'h	-(zh)o
(IO)	-in	-it	-(zh)i	-imp		
	(+ -me/-te)/e-unan/he(c'h)-unan/-ní)/-c'hwi/o-unan					

For the 3PRSPL suffixal form we may have -(zh)e, and for the 2PRSPL suffixal form there is the alternative ending -hu.

Explanations follow in the discussion, but for now note that "or" separates alternatives (whether or not dialectally based), a comma separates systems, "/" separates genders (M/F), and a dash separates article-like variants. Under the weak personal pronouns, forms placed in parentheses are emphatic additions; under the strong forms, the same generally applies, with the restrictions that (i) the forms in parentheses are only occasionally found after personal prepositions, and (ii) the hyphen may be omitted, in which case the personal pronoun becomes more emphatic and syntactically independent.

One might have added en "him" under weak OPRO, found in the verb kaout "(to) have" and often glossed as "him", for example, en deus (him is) "he has".

It would more faithfully reflect the reality of modern Breton to place under the object pronouns the new forms ac'hanon "me", etc. given below. These are identical in form with the personal forms of the preposition a "of, from", but behave quite independently. It is likely that they emerged as "partitives", most often after negative verb forms, though their original meaning may reflect the genitive/possessive character of Celtic DO pronouns. They may also reinforce the subject of non-transitive verbs, and are restricted only in that they may not function as topic, i.e. come first in a sentence (to put it loosely), unless immediately followed by a "full" (or EMP 1, without hyphen) personal pronoun. We are grateful to Janig Stephens for this observation.

The term "full" is given to the independent pronouns. Used on their own in a "vocative" sense or in response to a "WHO/WHich" (animate) question. For inanimates a demonstrative is more likely to be used. They also function as "subject" preposed to the particle a + V which, as we shall see in the Syntax, is a rhematization (that is, we "front" (for Breton) the subject in order to comment on it), or possibly a pragmatically quite neutral order in certain dialects (e.g., Leon):

Me/Te a gan/gane/gano/ganfe/ganas  
 I/You PRC sing-ANT+PRE/IMP/FTR/CND/PD  
 "I/You sing/used to sing/will sing/would sing/sang"

Me (a) zo/oa/vo/zo bet/vefe o kanañ  
 I (PRC) be-ANT+PRE/IMP/FTR/AUX PPCP/CND PRGPRC VN  
 "I am/was/will be/have been/would be singing"

Me am eus kanet  
 I me is sung  
 "I have sung"

The verb form in the first two sets of examples is the analytic (the construction literally approximates to "I who sings", etc.). The "present" is provided by the verb radical (equivalent to the 3PSG) and the other tenses by the 3PSG form. The verb here is invariable, whatever the "subject". But see 9 below for more precision. In general, we might see the preposed pronoun as strongly stressed. When tagged on to the verb, the emphasis is less strong.

The "real" subject is expressed as a verbal ending (close to our SUFFIX in the table if we disregard vowels and the third person), and it is to these that the emphatic forms may be added (usually after a ne + V + ket negative group). In possessive constructions they may be added to nouns and, except for the third person, to the "personal" forms of prepositions (see 6.2.1 and 7.2 below).

Examples:

da Roazhon ez in-me  
 to Rennes PRC go-FTR1PSG+me  
 "I'll go to Rennes"

e di-eñ (his house+he) "his house", he breur-hi (her brother-she) "her brother" (better: he breur dezhi (her brother to+her), and ur breur dezhi (a brother to+her))

em falez va-unan (in+my palace myself) "in my own palace"

evidon-me (for+me+me) "for me"

evitañ e-unan (for+him himself) "for him" (evitañ-eñ is usually rejected)

el levr dezhañ (in+the book to+him) "in his book" (al levr dezhañ "his book" is odd, as if the PRSPRP imposes an adverbial rather than a nominal construction)

Note e hini-eñ "his", va hini-me "mine" (also va hini din(-me)), all emphatic pronouns.

Other uses of these forms, noted by Kervella in 1947/76, p.254, #425 are:

- 1) Preceding eo "it is": ni eo "it's us" (note mar deo c'hwi "if it's you", with an inserted d);
- 2) Direct object of imperative (particularly the third person): kasit-eñ "take him";
- 3) After setu "here is/are": setu c'hwi "here you are";
- 4) Third-person direct object of endevout "(to) have": bez' hor bo-int "we'll have them".

The object forms are the possessives, - see 6.3 below. They also function as direct objects, though in KLT and the non-literary language the tendency has been for them to have been replaced by the new pronouns mentioned above, identical in form with the personal forms of the preposition a "of": ac'hanon "me", ac'hanout "you", anezhañ "him", anezhi "her", ac'hanomp "us", ac'hanoc'h "you", anezho or anezhe "them" (these forms are in speech subject to considerable contraction). However, the direct objects as given precede the finite synthetic verb, the infinitive, the imperative (the third person, particularly, follows), and, in the periphrastic forms, the past participle. The appropriate mutations are caused: va, ma, am, he, o + SP; az, ho = PR; da, e + LN; her, hor = k → c'h.

Examples:

Me az kwel (I-S you-DO see-ANTPRE) "I see you"

Va selaouit! (me-DO listen+to-IMP2PPL) "Listen to me!"

Aet on d'o gwelout  
gone-PPCP be+I-PRE to+them-DO see-INF  
"I've gone to see them"

E welet em eus (him-DO see-PPCP me-O is) "I've seen him"

Deuet eo d'am c'has gantañ  
come-PPCP be-AUXPRE3PSG to+me take-INF with+him-PRSPRP  
"He's come to take me with him"

Ne garfen ket ho tegemer em zi-me  
NEG like-CND1PSG NEG you-DO receive-INF in+my house+me  
"I wouldn't like to receive you in my house"

This leads us to...

### 6.2.1. A Preview of the "Conjugated Preposition"

Compare the phrases above with the same ones using the ac'hanon system:

Me a wel ac'hanout, Selaouit ac'hanon!, Aet on da welout anezho, Gwelet em eus anezhañ, Deuet eo da gas ac'hanon gantañ, Ne garfen ket degemer ac'hanoc'h em zi-me.

The neuter object pronoun very often may replace e/he, even if there is clear animate reference.

All have the same meanings as the phrases given above.

For the moment we will leave discussion of the personal forms, since they can be more comprehensively treated in the section on prepositions.

We have already seen above the most common of them, a. Others, reflecting very common verbal relations, would be e "in", da "to", evit "for", gant "with; by (transport, passive agent)". These personal or "conjugated" forms, given here for convenience, but repeated in 7 below, are as follows:

TABLE 15

	E	DA	EVIT	GANT
"me"	ennon	din	evidon	ganin
"you"	ennout	dit	evidout	ganit/ganez
"him"	ennañ	dezhañ	evitañ	gantañ
"her"	enni	dezhi	eviti	gantí
"us"	ennomp	dimp or deomp	evidomp	ganimp or ganeomp
"you"	ennoc'h	deoc'h	evidoc'h	ganeoc'h
"them"	enno or enne	dezho or dezhe	evito or evite	ganto or gante

We have final stress in the first- and second-person forms of gant, a feature also of the very common preposition quzh "at, against, to". For its forms and those of others see section 7.2.1 below. Note also the strengthening which may occur in the third-person forms.

### 6.3. The Possessives

It is apposite to turn to the possessives, which we have already met in their adjectival form as (direct) object personal pronouns. An alternative means of expressing possession may be to follow a definite noun with the requisite form of a: an dristidigezh anezho "their sadness". For the expression of nominal possession, as in "the boy's hat", see section 4 in the Syntax.

Of the possessives, the third-person singular and the second-person plural may have general or impersonal reference.

The pronoun is formed simply by the addition, for the singular, of hini and, for the plural, of re, to the possessive adjective. Thus:

va re "mine" (PL), da hini "yours" (SG), hec'h hini "hers" (SG), etc.

Emphasis may be conveyed by the tacking on of va-unan "myself", hon-unan "ourselves", etc., or of emphatic personal forms of da "to": hoc'h hini deoc'h-c'hwi (your DETPRO to+you+you) "yours". Note that va-unan, etc., as well as meaning "myself", mean "I alone". We find too va-unan-penn in the sense of "I alone". An additional form is on-unan "oneself".

Adjectival examples would be: va zi "my house", em zi "in my house", da di "your house", ez ti "in your house", e di "his house", he zi "her house", hon ti "our house", ho ti "your house", o zi "their house".

#### 6.4. The Demonstratives

The simplest demonstratives, however attenuated their demonstrative function, are the definite and indefinite articles, which have already been considered. Their pronominal forms are unan (adjectival un, ur, ul) and an hini (SG), ar re (PL). Hini on its own is collective or general: hini mat "some good". Re is non-definite (generalized) plural. We have just met these determiner pronouns as formants of the possessive pronouns, and of adjectival pronouns, e.g., an hini mat "the good (one)", etc.

An important if non-standard syntactic use of an hini (usually abbreviated to 'ni) is its use as a postposed rhematizer of any potentially autonomous part of the sentence (this part is placed first). Note that the nominal referent role here has been lost, e.g.,

Va zad 'ni eo (a) gomze  
 my father PRC CLF (PRC) say-IMP  
 "It's my father used to say"

Buan 'ni (e) rede dre ar parkeier  
 quickly PRC (PRC) run-IMP through the fields  
 "It's quickly he would run through the fields"

Da Roazhon 'ni eo aet  
 to Rennes PRC be-AUX gone  
 "It's to Rennes she's gone"

In the second (less likely the third because of the AUX) of these examples one might well place the clefting form eo "it is" after, or in place of, 'ni. The glossing is left rather vague. The PRC a might be seen as an AJ PRC, and e as a N PRC; the other important subordinating conjunction, ma, would be seen as the AV PRC, respectively introducing REL, N and AV clauses.

The more familiar demonstratives may be graded as:

- 1) Near the speaker: THIS
- 2) Near the addressee: THAT
- 3) Near neither, or near a third person: THAT YONDER

To form the adjectives, one of the following forms is simply attached to a noun qualified by the definite article: -mañ (less often -hen) "this", -se "that", -hont "that yonder".

Should the noun be accompanied by an adjective, then the demonstrative marker will be attached to the adjective, since it on the whole follows the noun. Should there be several adjectives, however, the first will tend to be chosen. All three markers are unstressed and do not affect the stress pattern of the noun phrase; however, the m of -mañ

will, because it is fortis, shorten a preceding long vowel. Compare the a's of tra "thing" in an dra-mañ "this" - an dra-se "that".

A compound noun, its component parts linked by a hyphen, often loses the hyphen when a demonstrative marker is added: ar rummad-kenteliou "the course (of lessons)" - ar rummad kenteliou-mañ "this course".

One might propose as the most remote demonstrative all "other" (also arall, particularly in Gw). It may be stressed: un ti all "another house".

The actual demonstrative pronouns are as follows:

TABLE 16

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	
THIS	hemañ	ho(u)mañ	ar re-mañ/ar re-hen
THAT	hennezh	ho(u)nnezh	ar re-se
THAT	hennont	honnont	ar re-hont
(YONDER)	henhont	hounhont	

For inanimate reference we have an dra-mañ, an dra-se, an dra-hont, se. "All this", etc. are rendered by kement-mañ, kement-se, (kemend-all). For animate reference we might add an den-mañ "lit. this man", etc.

An adjective qualifying even the masculine forms will normally be lenited. Thus: hemañ dev "this stout person".

To render "that which" we use (ar) pezh a + V. If qualified by an adjective, the preposition a must be interposed. Thus:

Ar pezh a dalvoudus en deus graet

that-PRO of useful him is done

"That useful thing which he did"

The same is true for se, kement-mañ and kement-se. Se itself is often found in set expressions, with predictably obscure meanings:

gwell a se "fortunately; so much the better"; gwazh a se "unfortunately; so much the worse"

N' he deus ket labouret a-walc'h. se  
 NEG her is NEG work-PPCP enough-AV that-PRO  
 "She hasn't worked enough, at that"

Note the less obscure ken uhel-se, ken uhel all "as high (as that)".

## 6.5. The Interrogatives

### 6.5.1. Questions in Breton

Questions in Breton may be asked using WH-words, with which we are concerned here, or by various means in the case of YES-/NO-questions:

- 1) No change
- 2) Use of the introductory interrogative particle ha(g) or daoust ha(g) for all positive sentences. The latter originates from da c'houzout ha(g) lit. "to know if". A following verb will not be in a conjugated (synthetic) form.
- 3) daoust ha(g) + negative verbs.
- 4) daoust hag-eñ + V (preceded by e if POS). Originally this was in itself a subordinate clause, an indirect question, equivalent to French Est-ce que...?

Indirect questions are precisely like direct questions:

- 1) ha + V (POS)
- 2) hag-eñ + V (POS/NEG; as daoust hag-eñ)

Construction (1) gives a compound sentence, (2) a complex sentence (see the Syntax, section 3).

For the responses see 6.5.4 below.

### 6.5.2. WH-Words in Breton

Here, however, we are interested in WH-words. The principal pronouns are: piv? "who?", petra? "what?" (petra a + AJ), pehini?/pere? "which one(s)?", and, for enquiries as to the date: ar p/betvet? or ar bet? "when?".

These may be linked with adjectives such as pe? "which, what?", petore?, peseurt? "which, what, what sort of?", and ar petvet? "which in order?".

### 6.5.3. Other WH-Words

It seems apposite to include here the interrogative "adverbs", particularly as they are to various extents pronominal in origin:

Place: (e) pelec'h?, da belec'h?, a belec'h?, dre belec'h?, etc. "where, whither, whence, by where?"

Time: pegoulz?, peur?, pedavare? "when?"

Extent: pegeit? "how long/far?" (SPC, TM) (pegeit may be nominalized: Pegeit a zo ac'hann di? (INT/N PRC is hence thither) "How far is it from here to there?").

Quantity: pet...?, pegement a...? "how much/many?" (pet means both "how much" and "how many". It is followed by the singular and presupposes a

divisible quantity; pegement a...? occurs with non-count or plural nouns, presupposing something vague; with count nouns, it may take the plural).

Quality: pegen + AJ/AV "how...?" (also in exclamations; compare pebezh...! with nouns.

Reason: perak?, pe evit tra? "why?".

Manner: penaos? "how?".

Order: da betvet? "which in order?" (- da gentañ "first", d'an eil "secondly" (all but da betvet? and da gentañ DART)).

If bennak is added to an interrogative pronoun, this gives the expression "-ever". Thus:

(E) pelec'h bennak emañ o chom. e kavin  
 (in) where some be-PNT PRC live-VN PRC find-FTR1PSG  
anezhañ  
 him-OPRO

"Wherever he lives, I'll find him"

(note that "where" is often taught and read as pelec'h)

Petra bennak, though it may mean "whatever", is also one rendering of "although", in which case it is followed by ma + V (a after "whatever").

A verb following the "adverbs" will, as we will learn in more detail below, be "preceded" by, or have incorporated into it, the particle e.

## 6.5.4. Responses to YES/NO-Questions

How do we respond to YES/NO-questions?

TABLE 17

	CONFIRMATION/ AGREEMENT	CONTRADICTION/ DISAGREEMENT
POSITIVE ASSERTION	ya, 'vat, sur, repetition	(nann,) n'eo ket
POSITIVE QUESTION	ya + repetition of sentence	nann
NEGATIVE ASSERTION	nann	eo, bez' e vin, etc.
NEGATIVE QUESTION	nann	eo, bez' e vin, etc.

Eo, sometimes geo, corresponds to French si or German doch in a retort to a negative.

Simple examples:

ASSERTION/QUESTION	RESPONSE
(1) Mat eo e Lannuon →	Ya, Nann
Mat eo e Lannuon? →	Ya, Nann

(good is in Lannion(?)) "It is good in Lannion(?)"

(2) N'eo ket mat e Lannuon →	Nann, Eo
N'eo ket mat e Lannuon? →	Nann, Eo

(NEG is NEG good in Lannion) "It isn't good in Lannion(?)"

We still have the older, and more general, form - the repetition of the pertinent element of the sentence: Yaouank eo da c'hoar? (young is your sister?) "Is your sister young?" → Yaouank (eo) (young (is)) "Yes"; Ha dont a reot? (INTPRC come-INF PRC do-FTR2PPLAUX) "Will you come?" → Dont a rin (come-INF PRC do-FTR1PSGAUX) "Yes".

#### 6.6. The Indefinites and Quantifiers

In his 1947/76, pp.296-9, Table 18 Kervella gives a full picture. See also pp.275-81, #470 there.

Traditionally, these words are grouped together as indefinites; really, however, some of them are not at all indefinite, and some are referred to as quantifiers.

This is a very broad subject, and it should suffice to list them with minimal comment. Additional comment is given on certain forms after the list.

an holl "everyone", an neb (a) "whoever; the one (who)", pep hini "each one", an hini all "the other one", unan bennak "someone (or other)", ur re bennak "a few people", pep "each" (not + SBR CLS; see kement), kement (+ N) (a) + V "each/every one who", pep a... "...each" (distributive), piv bennak "whoever", lies hini "many a person", ar re all "the others", un dra bennak "something (or other)", un nebeud (+ PL) "several...".

To these we may add negative words:

tra (ebet), netra, mann "nothing", den (ebet), nikun "no-one", and gwech ebet, biskoazh, morse, biken (FTR only) "never", neplec'h "nowhere".

Analytic forms may be readily formed, e.g., lec'h ebet (place-N none-AJ) "nowhere".

Other expressions:

an den-mañ-den, den-pe-zen "some man or other",

lod a/darn a + V "some..."

lod a/darn a... lod a/darn a/ar re all a... "some..., others..."

an holl dud "everyone",

an ti en e bezh/an ti a-bezh "the whole house" (e reflects the gender of M ti),

ar gentel en he fezh "the whole lesson" (he reflects the gender of F kentel).

Note: kresket krenn "totally grown (up)", graet a-grenn "totally done".

an eil... egile... (M), an eil... eben (F) "the one..., the other",

an eil hag egile/eben (M/F) "the one and the other" (reciprocal pronouns)

memes, hevelep "same" (cf. un hevelep maouez "such a woman", with the indefinite article).

ar Vretoned end-eeun/zoken "the Bretons themselves".

an den/unan, or the passive/autonomous form of the verb (see Section 9) "one" (indefinite generalized subject).

ar pep + SUP "the (best) one(s)" (there is no other use of ar pep).

(ur) seurt den, un den a seurt-se, un den eus ar seurt "such a man"; seurt-se "such a thing".

## 6.6.1. Comments

1) bennak is most often to be found in the sequence unan bennak or "ID ART + N + bennak". It is not to be found after a plural (including a collective) or after a non-count noun. For a non-count noun, one may interpose banne "drop" (for liquids), tamm "piece" (for solids): ur banne sistr "some cider", un tamm kig "some meat". For collectives one takes the singulative: ur bizenn bennak "some pea or other".

An neb is little used, piv bennak "whoever" being preferred. As mentioned above, note that petra bennak, completed by the conjunction ma, means "although".

Interrogatives with bennak on the whole lose their interrogative sense and become "-ever". If they retain their interrogative sense, then this gives a nuance of "I/one wonder(s)", e.g., perak bennak, pegeit bennak, pegement bennak, peur bennak.

Verbal particles will be a or e depending on the role of the bennak phrase and on whether the verb is bezañ "(to) be" or not.

2) Note the adverbial (temporal) use of pep "each, every". In such a use it is always lenited as bep, e.g., Bep bloaz e teuan da Lesneven (every year-AV PRC come-PRE1PSG to-PRP Lesneven) "Every year I come to Lesneven", cf. Pep bloaz a zeu da vezañ berroc'h (every year-N PRC come-ANTPRE to-PRP be-INF short-CMP) "Every year becomes shorter" (adverbial vs. subject). A distributive sense is conveyed by pep a: Kas a rin deoc'h-holl pep a levr brezhonek (send-INF PRC do-FTR1PSGAUX to+you+all-PRSPRP each of book Breton) "I'll send you each a Breton book". Note that the time nominal in the expression with pep never has the suffix -vezh.

3) The negative adjectives corresponding to nikun and netra are nep (preposed; rare) and the postposed ebet. A noun qualified by ebet will be a singular count noun and not be accompanied by an article. If non-count or collective, tamm or banne must be preposed.

The basic negative expression "not" is ne + V + ket, where V corresponds to a synthetic verb form (including an auxiliary), or an analytic verb form if the subject precedes. Examples are given below in section 9.

Other expressions are ne + V + ken + N + nemet "no other... than" (often followed by an infinitive):

Va breur n' en devo ken c'hoant nemet mont  
 my brother NEG him is-FTR more desire less go-INF  
d'an aod  
 to+the shore  
 "My brother will have no other desire than to go to the  
 seaside"

ne + V + ken "no longer" (or ne + V + ket + other word + ket "no longer"):

Ne vin ken aze (NEG be-FTR1PSG more there) "I'll be there no more",  
 cf. N'em bo ket c'hoant ken... (NEG me be-FTR NEG desire more...)  
 "I'll have no more desire...".

and ne + V + ket nemeur a + singular (not non-count) noun "scarcely not":

Ne gavot ket nemeur a zen du-hont (NEG find-FTR2PPL scarcely of man-SG there) "You'll find scarcely anyone there".

4) There is a series of expressions with reference to more than, or more specific than, bennak. Thus:

meur a + SG CNT, lies + SG, lies a + PL "several"

Reference to larger quantities is as follows:

kalz, kalz a + PL or NCT "much, many" (also as in kalz gwelloc'h "much better").

We have too the adverbial expressions e-leizh, a-leizh "in abundance": e-leizh a dud, e-leizh a zour "people, water in abundance"; or tud a-leizh, dour a-leizh "idem" (i.e. used with plurals and non-counts).

Sufficiency is rendered by a-walc'h: a-walc'h a saout/saout a-walc'h "enough cattle", kemenerien a-walc'h "enough tailors", glav a-walc'h "enough rain" (as one might expect, a-walc'h may suggest "rather a lot"; it may be postposed to adjectives or adverbs: bihan a-walc'h "quite small", buan a-walc'h "quite quickly"; it too may serve as a pronoun, though the noun trawalc'h serves here).

For small quantities we find: nebeut a + PL or NCT, un nebeud + PL (animate, inanimate) "few, a few", nebeut "few" (pronominal; animate and inanimate reference).

Note da nebeutañ "at least", but d'ar muiañ "at most".

To express excess, one uses re a: re a verc'hed "too many girls" (note the Gallicism a re "de trop"). "More than, over" is conveyed by ouzhpenn, tremen (preposed), e.g., Tremen/Ouzhpenn dek vloaz "(for) over ten years". Ouzhpenn is a much-used word, often in the sense of "in addition to, as well as, too".

To express approximation, the usual phrase is war-dro "about" (preposed). See 5.10.

5) All "other" tends to come last in a noun phrase, though bennak may follow it:

Un ti bras, gwenn all bennak  
a house large white other some  
"Some other large, white house"

(The ordering is a question of emphasis.)

As pronouns we have unan all "another", re all "others", an hini all "the other (one)", ar re all "the others", kement all "every other".

In comparisons, or as reciprocal pronouns (see 9.5.2.5 and this section above), we have egile (M), eben (F), thus:

unan... egile/eben... "one..., the other..."

hemañ/houmañ... egile/eben... "this one..., the other..."

## 7. The Preposition

### 7.1. General

In Breton we find simple and compound prepositions, many of the compound ones being able to function as adverbs. Examples:

- 1) Simple: a, eus "from", da "to", evit "for", e "in";
- 2) Compound: a-drek "behind", dindan "under(neath)", war-lerc'h "after".

Thus:

War-lerc'h eo chomet va yalc'h  
 after-PRP is-AUX remained-PPCP my purse  
 "I have forgotten my purse"

As has already been mentioned above, simple, and some compound, prepositions appear "conjugated", that is, they have certain personal endings which resemble those of verbs. One might, alternatively, say that the verb, in addition to the tense/mood markers (see 9), also has affixed personal pronoun forms like the prepositions.

There are two basic classes (giving the forms in the order of verbal conjugation):

- 1) -on; -out; -añ/-i; -omp; -oc'h; -o (-e); -or.
- 2) -in; -it; -añ/-i; -(e)omp; -(e)oc'h; -o (-e); -(e)or.

The first and second persons singular and plural of (2) are end-stressed.

Examples of the patterns are given below. The various grammars and courses have similar tables. Here fresh examples are offered, based on Kervella in 1947/76, pp.334-5, #583.

## 7.2. A Classification of Breton Prepositions

### 7.2.1. Prepositions allowing Personal Endings

Within each of the two classes there are sub-classes based on the link-consonant between the preposition and the ending. For (1), the o-group, we have (a) zero, (b) -n-, (c) -t-, (d) -z-, and (e) mixed. For (2), the i-group, we have (a) the special case of da and (b) the link-consonant -t-. In all cases one might add an autonomous form in -(e)or.

1) The q-group:

TABLE 18

(a) zero link-consonant: hervez "according to", evit "for":

hervezon; hervezout; hervezañ/hervezi;  
 hervezomp; hervezoc'h; hervezo.

evidon; evidout; evitañ/eviti;  
 evidomp; evidoc'h; evito.

(b) -n- link-consonant: e "in", war "on":

ennon; ennout; ennañ/enni;  
 ennomp; ennoc'h; enno.

warnon; warnout; warn(ezh)añ/warn(ezh)i;  
 warnomp; warnoc'h; warn(ezh)o.

## Notes:

1.(a) Like hervez is dreist "over, beyond" (concrete and figurative). Note that both these would be in group 1.(d) were it not that they already ended in -z, -t. Kervella places dindan "under" here rather than in 1.(b), since only one n is written; the n, however, is fortis, and short a is pronounced. Like evit are eget "than", nemet "except", estreget "other than", panevet "were it not", and davet "towards, for (a person)" (as in "going to get someone").

1.(b) Like e is dindan, if only in pronunciation. Like war is diwar "from".

TABLE 19

(c) -t- link-consonant: e-giz "like", hep "without":

egiston; egistout; egistañ/egisti;  
egistomp; egistoc'h; egisto.

hepdon; hepdout; heptañ/hepti;  
hepdomp; hepdoc'h; hepto.

(d) -z- link-consonant: eme "said", a-raok "before":

emezou; emezout; emezañ/emezi;  
emezomp; emezoc'h; emezo.

araozon; araozout; araozañ/araози;  
araozomp; araozoc'h; araozo.

(e) mixed endings: a "of":

ac'hanon; ac'hanout; anezhañ/anezhi;  
ac'hanomp; ac'hanoc'h; anezho.

Notes:

1.(c) Like e-giz is a-zioc'h "above". Like hep is evel "like; than (colloquial, gaining ground on eget)".

1.(d) Like eme, which should perhaps not be regarded as a preposition, are etre "between" and dre "through, across". Like a-raok are rak "before, in front of, of (as in "afraid of")", and dirak "in front of". Spatial dirak and temporal a-raok are more common than rak, which one rather finds in set phrases, e.g., kaout aon rak "(to) be afraid of".

1.(e) a is unique. In its full meaning "from" it provides personal forms for eus "from", which itself lacks such forms. Before vowels we may have ag (particularly Gw), though eus usually replaces it (for example, before the article).

2) The *i*-group:

TABLE 20

(a) Special case: da "to":

din; dit; dezhañ/dezhi;  
dimp (deomp); deoc'h; dezho.

(b) -*i*- link-consonant: gant "with, by", ouzh "against, at"

ganin; ganit (ganez); gantañ/ganti;  
ganimp (ganeomp); ganeoc'h; ganto.

ouzhin; ouzhit; outañ/outi;  
ouzhimp (ouzhomp); ouzhoc'h; outo.

## Notes:

2.(b) Like gant is digant "from". Like ouzh is diouzh "from". Note that the first and second persons are end-stressed.

Overall we should bear in mind that a multiplicity of variants are found, some idea of the range of which may be discovered by consulting Kervella in 1947/1976, pp.334-5, #583. There is considerable inter-influence, and the "verbal" factor can be discerned from the form ganez "with you" and the forms emezonn "I said", etc.

## 7.2.2. Prepositions not allowing Personal Endings

Some prepositions do not blend directly with personal endings. Either they are followed by an auxiliary preposition, e.g., betek "until, as far as" - betek ennon "as far as me" (betek e) or use is made of a possessive, e.g., diwar-benn "concerning" - diwar he fenn "concerning her".

## 7.2.2.1. Auxiliary Prepositions

Examples with auxiliary prepositions: a-us da "above", a-dreñv da "behind", en tu-mañ da "on this side of", war-du e "towards", gant aon rak "for fear of", tost ouzh "near", pell diouzh "far from", heñvel ouzh "like, similar to". Note some similarity to English expressions, and that of all those listed only a-dreñv and war-du do not require the auxiliary if the dependent noun phrase is not a personal pronoun.

## 7.2.2.2. Prepositions using Possessives

Examples with a possessive: war-lerc'h "after, behind", e-kichen "near", e.g., war va lerc'h "after me", en e gichen "near him", em c'hichen "near me". Other examples are more complex, e.g., a-zivout "concerning" - diwar va divout "concerning me", a-douez "among" - eus hon touez "among us", a-raok - em raok "before me" (alternative to (1.(d))), goude "after" - ez koude "after you" (war-lerc'h usually steps in here).

## 7.2.2.3. Others

Some prepositions cannot be used with pronominal suffixes. If there is need of such a construction, a semantically close and appropriate preposition may be taken, e.g., eus for a, as mentioned above. Other prepositions which simply do not have personal forms include e-barzh "in(side)", e-pad "during", a-hed "throughout", e-mesk "among". This is semantically justified in at least the cases of e-pad and a-hed.

### 7.2.3. Emphasis

Finally, it should be noted that personal emphasis may be obtained by suffixing first- and second-person forms to the personal forms. Thus we have evidon-me "for me", ouzhit-te "against you", davedomp-ni "for us", eveldoc'h-hu "like you". This is rare for the third-person forms, where recourse is had to postposing of e-unan, hec'h-unan, o-unan, e.g., digantañ e-unan "from him", hepti hec'h-unan "without her", dezho o-unan "to them".

## 8. The Conjunction

### 8.1. Types of Conjunction

#### 8.1.1. Co-ordinating Conjunctions

Co-ordinating conjunctions may be traditionally classified as copulative, separative, and adversative. In 1947/76, p.361, #647 Kervella refers also to deductive, causative and, in contrast to copulative, oppositive. Thus:

- 1) Copulative: ha(g) "and"
- 2) Oppositive: na(g) "nor, and not"
- 3) Separative: pe "or"
- 4) Adversative: met, hogen "but" (first in clause, with no effect on word order); avat "however, but", koulskoude, evelato "however" (all three tend to come last in a sentence or clause, or after an emphasized constituent; see below)
- 5) Deductive: neuze, neuze 'ta, erfin, e(n)ta "then, so" (these tend to behave like avat, but see below)
- 6) Causative: rak "for, because" (first in clause, but no effect on word order)

Of the conjunctions which tend to come last, certain may in fact come first, e.g., neuze, koulskoude, in which case they will be followed by the particle g and the verb. More will be said about this aspect of the conjunctions in the Syntax.

### 8.1.2. The Relative

It seems fair to say that there is no distinctive relative in Breton; formally, it coincides with the particle a (sometimes hag a). A distinction may be apparent through context and/or intonation. The negative equivalent is na + V + ket (sometimes ne + V + ket), or with a first component nag a, equivalent to hag a. In appropriate contexts we refer to a as the AJ PRC, with g the N PRC, ma the AV PRC, and o the PRG PRC.

Thus:

An den a lavaras an dra-se a oa eno  
 the man AJPRC say-PD that-PRO PRC was there  
 "The man who said that was in Quimper"

An den na lavaras ket an dra-se ne oa ket eno  
 the man NEGAJPRC say-PD NEG that-PRO NEG was NEG there  
 "The man who didn't say that wasn't in Quimper"

See also the Syntax, 3.2.2.

### 8.1.3. The Adverbial Conjunctions

The adverbial conjunction, though it may be equivalent to an (indirect) relative in English or French, is ma (ne) + V + (ket). This may also function as an explicative, a function also, and more often, borne by g + V, negative ne + V + ket. Explicit adverbial conjunctions are, on the whole, composed of prepositions or adverbial expressions + ma (ne) + V + (ket). If such an adverbial has an non-adverbial, e.g., nominal, origin, then the particle may be g. Thus:

- 1) Place: e-lec'h ma "where".
- 2) Time: pa "when", evel ma "as, while" (compare evel a "as" as in evel a lavarit "as you say", a parenthetic expression), dre ma "while, as", a-boan ma "scarcely", goude ma "after".
- 3) Cause: pa "since", peogwir e "because" (note that it is arguable that the particles a and e are in fact part of the verb, which will obligatorily follow all these conjunctions immediately), dre ma/abalamour ma/en abeg ma "because", o vezañ ma "since, as it is that".
- 4) Consequence: e doare ma "so that", evit ma "in order that".
- 5) Concession: daoust ma/petra bennak ma/evit ma "although".
- 6) Condition: pa/ma/mar "if", gant ma "provided that", nemet ma "unless", zoken ma "even if".
- 7) Comparison: evel ma/dre ma "as".

## 8.2. Its Role in the Sentence (A Preliminary Note)

All "subordinating conjunctions" are followed immediately by a verb form, with nothing intervening unless for the stylistic ends of pause or emphasis. Co-ordinating conjunctions, among which we should in particular note met, hogen, rak (see 8.1.1), are not immediately followed by the verb form unless appropriate, i.e. they as it were preface a new phrase. Ha "and" and pe "or" may seem to be exceptions, since they are followed by a + verb form if the subject is common to both or all verb forms, and precedes; otherwise we have e.

Thus:

Yann a zeuy hag a ray ur brezegenn  
 Yann-S a-PRC come-FTR CNJ a-PRC do-FTR a talk-O  
 "Yann will come and give a talk"

Yann a zeuy hag e vo kavet labour  
 Yann-S a-PRC come-FTR CNJ e-PRC be-AUX found work-S  
evitañ  
 for-him  
 "Yann will come and some work or other will be found  
 for him"

The relative a (hag a often when the antecedent is indefinite) is followed immediately by the verb. Thus, with alternative readings:

Ar gwaz a oa o chom e Landerne  
 the man PRC was PRGPC live in Landerneau  
 "The man (who) was living in Landerneau"

Pa/ma are not followed by e (or by any verbal particle). However, if the following verb begins with a vowel, 'z is inserted.

Certain conjunctive expressions have na as core: hep na "without", gant aon na "for fear that", ken na "so long that, until".

Ma ne may occur as na, though the former is preferable.

Before we meet the verb, it is useful to know that we may often avoid subordinate clauses in Breton. There are two possible constructions:

- 1) PRP + da + S + INF: Araok din mont da Roazhon "Before I went to Rennes".
- 2) PRP + S + da + INF: Hepton da welout ar bigi "Without (my) seeing the boats".

## 9. The Verb

### 9.1. General

The morphology of the Breton verb is relatively straightforward. There is one conjugation, with a small number of variations, and a very few "irregular" verbs: ober "(to) do"; mont "(to) go"; gouzout "(to) know"; bezañ "(to) be"; endevout/kaout "(to) have".

Of the irregular verbs the first two, ober and mont are very similar: the radical of ober is gra, while that of mont is a, the a element reflecting a shared structural feature. Gouzout, in many ways akin to bezañ, may dialectally be regularized. The last two are historically one verb, bezañ, since endevout emerged from an indefinite and impersonal use of bezañ with object pronouns, and is unique in Breton in having subject/verb agreement. Like gouzout, it may be regularized in dialects.

First we look at all Breton verbs except for bezañ and endevout.

### 9.2. Verbs other than Bezañ and Endevout/Kaout

#### 9.2.1. The Radical

In the dictionary verbs will be found in the infinitive, or verbal noun, form. This form may consist of the radical alone, - like English verbs, or of the radical, changed or not, plus an ending. The most common endings are -añ, -iñ, with, as others, -at, -out, -et, -ek, -al, -a, -in, -ezh, -er, and -el. Examples:

lenn "(to) read", kanañ "(to) sing", deskiñ, "(to) teach, learn", lammat "(to) jump", gouzout "(to) know", redek "(to) run", nijal "(to) fly", boueta "(to) feed", c'hoarzhin "(to) laugh", laerezh "(to) steal", embreger "(to) undertake", gervel "(to) call".

Verbs in -el may often end in -er, the sonants being interchanged, e.g., derc'hel - delc'her "(to) hold, keep". Verbs in -iñ with the ending immediately preceded by -e- change the -e- to -o(-) and may have the -o- in the infinitive form, e.g., treiñ - tro - troiñ "(to) turn, translate", reiñ - ro - roiñ "(to) give". Also digeriñ "(to) open", terriñ "(to) break", with digor(-), torr(-). But notice serrriñ - serr(-) "(to) close".

The radical, or base, or root form is very important. As well as providing the base to which temporal/modal/aspectual formants may be added, it in itself provides:

- 1) the familiar, or singular, command form (where used). Thus: ro! "give!". The polite, plural or general exclusive command form has the ending -iñ added to the radical: roiñ! "give!". The inclusive form is roomp! "let's give!", with added -omp.
- 2) the third-person singular form of the present tense (present covering habitual, stative, timeless, but not progressive or punctual, aspects; there are exceptions). Thus (a slightly odd sentence):

Al laezh a ro da Vari  
 the milk-O PRC gives-3PSG to Marie  
 "He/She gives the milk to Marie"

- 3) the basic, all-person, form used (present tense only) when the "subject" is expressed (more on this below). Thus:

Ni a ro al laezh da Vari  
 we PRC give-PRE the milk to Marie  
 "We give the milk to Marie"

Ne ro ket al laeron a laezh da zen  
 NEG give-PRE NEG the robbers PRP milk to anyone  
 "The robbers give no-one any milk"

An dud a zeu da Roazhon  
 the people PRC come-PRE to Rennes  
 "The people (who) come to Rennes"

If to this form we add certain endings, different tenses, moods and aspects are obtained:

TABLE 21

	LENN	REIN	KANAN	DONT
PRE	lenn	ro	kan	deu
FTR	lenno	roy/roio	kano	deuy/deuio
PD	lennas	roas	kanas	deuas
IMF	lenne	roe	kane	deue
CND	lennfe	rofe	kanfe	deufe
PCND	lennje	roje	kanje	deuje

In the table we clearly see the formants zero, o, as, e, fe, je. All the forms obtained are in themselves tense/mood/aspect radicals and retain the third subsidiary function of radicals given above. Note that this obtains when the subject precedes (affirmative), follows (negative) and, with third-person (subject) reference, in relative clauses. Other temporal and aspectual forms are periphrastic. Note too that the "past definite" is now very much a part of the written language (a periphrastic "perfect" has on the whole replaced it). It should be borne in mind also that the forms listed above are most often lenited, since they occur after ne, na and, though it may be phonetically absent, a.

## 9.2.2. The Realizations of the Verb

## 9.2.2.1. The Positive Forms

First, the positive forms. There may be said to be three of these. They are given in no order of priority, though the first may be seen to be "basic".

## 9.2.2.1.1. The OBER Conjugation

This first one is periphrastic, consisting of

INF + PRC a + APPROPRIATE FORM OF ober ((g)ra)

This construction places a very mild emphasis on, or gives a rhematization of, the "action", though this is so slight as to be arguably the superficially "neutral" or "normal" or "unmarked" structure. For more discussion of the problems raised by element or word order and functional sentence perspective, see below in the Syntax.

Bearing in mind that ober is irregular and that a full listing will be given below, here are examples of the use of this construction:

Debriñ a reomp hor boued "We eat our food"

Dont a raent da Lannuon "They used to come to Lannion"

Klask a raint o mignoned "They'll look for their friends"

Gwelout a ran al loar "I see the moon"

Selaou a rit an avel "You listen to the wind"

(After the forms of ober we have, in order: PSSAJ N, PRP N, PSSAJ N, DART N, DART N.)

Note that English uses the auxiliary "do" also, but only for the interrogative (positive/negative) and the affirmative negative forms, whereas Breton would only emphatically use ober in the negative. Thus: Kousket ne rin ket (INF NEG do-FTR1PSG NEG) "I shall not sleep".

From a pedagogical point of view, for the beginner: if in doubt, use this form! Of course, the particle a is inaudible except in parts of Leon, and this "auxiliary" is very much a grammatical marker of tense, aspect, mood and person. If we employ the questions method, then it answers the question: Petra a rit? "What are you doing/do you do?"

#### 9.2.2.1.2. The Analytic/Impersonal Conjugation

The second affirmative construction has already been mentioned. If the "subject", be it a personal pronoun, a noun or some other valid form, is placed before particle a, then the verbal element is the radical, which remains invariable except for tense, aspect, and mood. This subject is in fact a rheme, or focus, except in parts of Leon where it may be seen as providing a neutral form. Thus we have:

me, etc. + a + ro/roio/roe/roas, etc. "I, etc. give/shall give/was giving/gave, etc."; ar gwaz a lenn "the man reads" - ar wazed a lenn "the men read"; ar vaouez a gendalc'h "the woman continues" - ar maouezed a gendalc'h "the women continue"; al labous a niife "the bird would fly" - al laboused a niio "the birds will fly"; ar c'hanañ a gendalc'he "the singing continued".

Such forms will answer a question Piv a + V ? "Who...?", Petra a + V? "What...?", where the interrogative is subject of the verb.

Thus, the verb is "known". We might note that there are a few instances, - idiomatic or stylistic, where a + verb comes first. For example, a gav din (PRC find-RDC to+me-PRSPRP) "I think; it seems to me".

## 9.2.2.1.3. The Synthetic/Personal Conjugation

If the first two constructions do not apply, then we have the true synthetic conjugation. This almost invariably involves rhematization of a constituent other than the verb, and will answer questions such as Piv a + V? "Whom...?", Petra a + V? "What...?". where piv?, petra? refer to the direct object (indirect if modified) of the verb. In addition, they may refer to questions beginning with adverbial modifiers, e.g., Penaos e + V? "How...?", Perak e + V? "Why?", etc. Emphasis on the verbal element may be conveyed by the verb being preceded by Bez' e; there are, too, a very few forms where the verb, preceded by e, comes first: E c'hallfe bezañ ma + V "It could be that...", E kredan e V "I believe...". If the synthetic form occurs sentence-initial, preceded by Bez' e, then we have emphasis on the action. Examples:

Al levr a brenan (DO PRC V) "I buy the book" (also "the book which I buy"; with a relative clause interpretation there is often a resumptive pronoun after the verb: Al levr a brenan anezhañ (DO PRC V OPRO);

Ouzh ar skeudenn e sellan (IO PRC V) "It's the picture I look at" (compare the English cleft construction, possible explicitly in Breton as Ouzh ar skeudenn eo e sellan (IO CLF PRC V));

Ar skeudenn a sellan outi (O PRC V PRSPRP+O) "The picture which I look at";

Yannig a welit (O PRC V) "You see Yannig";

Warc'hoazh e kouskint (AV PRC V) "Tomorrow they'll sleep".

Bez' e welot anezho warc'hoazh (PRC V O AV) "You'll see them tomorrow".

The element placed before the verb may be more strongly emphasized by the use of an hini a or, possibly, an hini e (both contracted to 'ni), or an hini eo a or an hini eo e (both contracted to 'ni eo). The choice between e + MX mutation and a + LN depends on the sentence structure. At first glance a literal reading of the expressions suggests that a would always be appropriate, but this is not so because of extension in their use. For example:

Va breur-me 'ni oa aet d'ar mor (S EMP AUX PPCP AV) "It's my brother had gone to sea";

Eus Kemper 'ni teue va c'hoar, bemdez (AV EMP V S AV) "It's from Quimper my sister would come every day".

#### 9.2.2.2. The Negative Forms

Secondly, the negative. With two exceptions, this always occurs in the full synthetic form. The first exception was referred to above, namely the emphatic form of the type: Kousket ne rin ket "Sleep is one thing I won't do" (one might even tack on me). The second is that, if the subject is not a personal pronoun, and if it follows the verb, then the verb is in the radical form, adapted only for tense, aspect, and mood. Compare:

N'ouzon ket "I don't know" - Me n'ouzon ket and N'ouzon ket, me

In these two examples, me is not the grammatical subject.

Ne zeuint ket "They won't come"

An dud-se ne lennont ket - Ne lenn ket an dud-se

"Those people do not read"

In these last two examples, an dud is the rheme in the first, and hence is independent of the plural marking in the verb; it may be followed by a pause or exhibit a distinctive intonation. In the second it is the subject. Note too the following examples:

Anavezout a ran tud na ouzont ket ar brezhoneg  
 know-PRE1PSG folk NEGAJPRC know-3PPL NEG O  
 "I know people who do not know Breton"

Ar re na zebront ket o boued a yelo d'ar gwele  
 DETPRO NEG eat-3PPL NEG O PRC go-FTRRDC AV  
 "Those who do not eat their food will go to bed"

In both cases we have relative clauses where the subject of the verb in the clause is preposed and the verb is in the synthetic form.

### 9.2.3. Table of the Synthetic Conjugation

TABLE 22

Sub-tables of the synthetic forms are given below. Examples of a clearly regular form are given first: lenn "(to) read" and then of slightly anomalous forms, e.g., reiñ "(to) give", derc'hel "(to) hold", lakaat "(to) put", boueta "(to) feed", heuliañ "(to) follow", bleniañ "(to) drive", dont "(to) come". Sub-tables of three of the irregular verbs follow: gouzout "(to) know (facts)", mont "(to) go", and ober "(to) do, make".

The Infinitive/Verbal Noun:

lenn; reiñ, derc'hel, lakaat, boueta,  
heuliañ, bleniañ, dont; gouzout, mont,  
ober.

## The "Present Participle":

o lenn; o reiñ, o terc'hel, o lakaat,  
o voueta, o heuliañ, o vleniañ, o tont;  
o c'houzout, o vont, oc'h ober.

(= o followed by the mixed mutation.)

## The Past Participle:

lennet; roet, dalc'het, lak(a)et,  
bouet(a)et, heuliet, bleniet, deu(e)t;  
gouezet, aet, graet.

(Composed of the radical + -et, with spelling adjustment for the radical of heuliañ, bleniañ; see below.)

## Tenses/Aspects/Moods:

Here the ordering is more traditional, except that the autonomous or "passive" form is added on at the end. This last form corresponds somewhat to the French on dit construction, though here are differences, with a widespread use of an analytic construction. Notes follow the whole set of sub-tables.

## Present:

1PSG	lennan	roan	dalc'han	lak(a)an	bouet(a)an
2PSG	lenez	roez	dalc'hez	lak(a)ez	bouet(a)ez
3PSG	lenn	ro	dalc'h	lak(a)	boueta
1PPL	lennomp	roomp	dalc'homp	lak(a)omp	bouet(a)omp
2PPL	lennit	roit	dalc'hit	lak(a)it	bouet(a)it
3PPL	lennont	roont	dalc'hont	lak(a)ont	bouet(a)ont
AUT	lenner	roer	dalc'her	lak(a)er	bouet(a)er

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1PSG	heulian	blenian	deuan	gouzon	an	gran
2PSG	heuliez	bleniez	deuez	gouzez	ez	grez
3PSG	heuilh	blegn	deu	goar	a	gra
1PPL	heuliomp	bleniomp	deuomp	gouzomp	eomp	greomp
2PPL	heulhit	blegnit	deuit	gouzit	it	grit
3PPL	heuliont	bleniont	deuont	gouzont	eont	greont
AUT	heulier	blenier	deuer	gouzer	eer	greet

Future:

1PSG	lennin	roin	dalc'hin	lak(a)in	bouet(a)in
2PSG	lenni	roi	dalc'hi	lak(a)i	bouet(a)i
3PSG	lenno	roio/royu	dalc'ho	lak(ai)o	bouet(ai)o
1PPL	lennimp	roimp	dalc'himp	lak(a)imp	bouet(a)imp
2PPL	lennot	root	dalc'hot	lak(ai)ot	bouet(ai)ot
3PPL	lennint	roint	dalc'hint	lak(a)int	bouet(a)int
AUT	lennor	roor	dalc'hor	lak(a)or	bouet(ai)or

1PSG	heulhin	blegnin	deuin	gouezin	in	grin
2PSG	heulhi	blegni	deui	gouezi	i	gri
3PSG	heulio	blenio	deuio	gouezo	aio	graio
1PPL	heulhimp	blegnimp	deuimp	gouezimp	aimp	graimp
2PPL	heuliot	bleniot	deuiot	gouezot	eot	greet
3PPL	heulhint	blegnint	deuint	gouezint	aint	graint
AUT	heulior	blenior	deuor	gouezor	eor	greor

Alternative 3PRSSG forms are deuy (dont), yav/velo (mont), gray (ober).

## Imperfect:

1PSG	lennen	roen	dalc'hen	lak(a)en	boueten
2PSG	lennes	roes	dalc'hes	lak(a)es	bouetes
3PSG	lenne	roe	dalc'he	lak(a)e	bouete
1PPL	lennemp	roemp	dalc'hemp	lak(a)emp	bouetemp
2PPL	lennec'h	roec'h	dalc'hec'h	lak(a)ec'h	bouetec'h
3PPL	lennent	roent	dalc'hent	lak(a)ent	bouetent
AUT	lenned	roed	dalc'hed	lak(a)ed	boueted

1PSG	heulien	blenien	deuen	gouien	aen	graen
2PSG	heulies	blenies	deues	gouies	aes	graes
3PSG	heulie	blenie	deue	gouies	ae	grae
1PPL	heuliemp	bleniemp	deuemp	gouiemp	aemp	graemp
2PPL	heuliec'h	bleniec'h	deuec'h	gouiec'h	aec'h	graec'h
3PPL	heulient	blenient	deuent	gouient	aent	graent
AUT	heulied	blenied	deued	gouied	aed	graed

Boueta may be conjugated bouetaen, etc. An alternative root for gouzout here is goueze-.

## Past Definite:

1PSG	lennis	rois	dalc'his	lakis	bouetis
2PSG	lennjout	rejout	dalc'hjout	lakjout	bouetjout
3PSG	lennas	roas	dalc'has	lakas	bouetas
1PPL	lennjomp	rejomp	dalc'hjomp	lakjomp	bouetjomp
2PPL	lennjoc'h	rejoc'h	dalc'hjoc'h	lakjoc'h	bouetjoc'h
3PPL	lennjont	rejont	dalc'hjont	lakjont	bouetjont
AUT	lennjod	rejod	dalc'hjod	lakjod	bouetjod

1PSG	heulhis	blegnis	deuis	gouezis	is
2PSG	heuilhjout	blegnjout	deujout	gouezjout	ejout
3PSG	heulias	blenias	deuas	gouezas	eas
1PPL	heuilhjomp	blegnjomp	deujomp	gouezjomp	ejomp
2PPL	heuilhjoc'h	blegnjoc'h	deujoc'h	gouezjoc'h	ejoc'h
3PPL	heuilhjont	blegnjont	deujont	gouezjont	ejont
AUT	heuilhjod	blegnjod	deujod	gouezjod	ejod

Ober conjugates like mont, but with initial gr-: gris, greiout, greas, greiomp, greiout, greiod. Both lakaat and boueta may have the radical with -a-: lakais, bouetais, etc. Alternative 3PSG forms are gouias (gouzout) and yeas (mont).

#### Non-past and Past Conditional

1PSG	lennfen	rofen	dalc'hfen	lakfen	bouetfen
2PSG	lennfes	rofes	dalc'hfes	lakfes	bouetfes
3PSG	lennfe	rofe	dalc'hfe	lakfe	bouetfe
1PPL	lennfemp	rofemp	dalc'hfemp	lakfemp	bouetfemp
2PPL	lennfec'h	rofec'h	dalc'hfec'h	lakfec'h	bouetfec'h
3PPL	lennfent	rofent	dalc'hfent	lakfent	bouetfent
AUT	lennfed	rofed	dalc'hfed	lakfed	bouetfed

1PSG	heuilhfen	blegnfen	deufen	gou(e)fen	afen
2PSG	heuilhfes	blegnfes	deufes	gou(e)fes	afes
3PSG	heuilhfe	blegnfe	deufe	gou(e)fe	afe
1PPL	heuilhfemp	blegnfemp	deufemp	gou(e)femp	afemp
2PPL	heuilhfec'h	blegnfec'h	deufec'h	gou(e)fec'h	afec'h
3PPL	heuilhfent	blegnfent	deufent	gou(e)fent	afent
AUT	heuilhfed	blegnfed	deufed	gou(e)fed	afed

Ober conjugates like mont, but with in initial gr-: grafen, grafes, grafe, grafemp, grafec'h, grafent, grafed. Both lakaat and boueta may have the radical with -a-: lakafen, bouetafen, etc.

For the past conditional replace -f- with -j-, with the exception of gouzout, where we have forms based on gouijen or gouezjen, etc.

## Imperative:

The first three forms given below correspond to second persons singular and plural, and first person plural. Finally, the rarer third-person forms are given. The 2PSG form is identical with the radical, except for deus with its added s.

2PSG	2PPL	1PPL	3PSG	3PPL
lenn	lennit	lennomp	lennet	lennent
ro	roit	roomp	roet	roent
dalc'h	dalc'hit	dalc'homp	dalc'het	dalc'hent
lak(a)	lak(a)it	lak(a)omp	lak(a)et	lak(a)ent
boueta	bouetit	bouetomp	bouetet	bouetent
heuilh	heuilhit	heuliomp	heuliet	heulient
blegn	blegnit	bleniomp	bleniet	blenient
deus	deuit	deuomp	deuet	deuent
gouez	gouezit	gouezomp	gouezet	gouezent
kae, a	kit, it	(d)eomp	aet	aent
gra	grit	greomp	graet	graent

Note the two forms for the second person of mont, the first being used in the positive, the second in the negative: kae d'ar gwele! "go to bed!", n'a ket d'ar gwele! "don't go to bed".

## Supplementary notes to TABLE 22

- 1) In the past definite of reñ-verbs, the -e- may reappear in certain forms.
- 2) There is a vowel change and possible sonant metathesis in -el-type verbs. Note sevel "(to) construct, educate": sav-, tevel "(to) be silent": tav-; cf. mervel "(to) die": marv-. Also gervel or gelver "(to) call", with radical galv-.
- 3) The change of spelling in heuliañ- and bleniañ- verbs occurs (i) if a non-consonantal i occurs in the ending, (ii) if the -ni-/-li- is followed by a consonant.
- 4) The -a- in lakaat-type verbs is optional. The penultimate a is stressable.

5) The -a- in boueta-type verbs (verbs of "collecting", on the whole, derived from nouns, e.g., kistina "(to) collect chestnuts", avalaoua "(to) collect apples", is optional (and rare) except in the third person singular present and the second person singular imperative boueta.

6) Alternative forms are on the whole dialectally motivated, for more details of which Kervella might be consulted in 1947/76, pp.123-149, #206. In mont, however, euphony may be a consideration, e.g., me a yeas "I went". The truncated forms, e.g., eñ a zeuy "he'll come" are optional. In the future, one finds yelo only after a.

7) The g- of ober is in fact almost always deleted by special lenition, e.g. te a ra "you do" (i.e. by the verbal particles e, a, and ma, which almost always precede it).

It is retained (i) in the imperative, (ii) in affirmative answers to questions, e.g., Ha gwelout a rit anezhi? "Do you see her?" - Gran "Yes". We have regular lenition of the g in compounds of the verb, e.g., adc'hraet "altered, redone".

8) A similar irregular mutation occurs in gouzout, where after the particles a, e and ma the g- is deleted.

9) Of the tenses/aspects/moods illustrated here the past definite has been almost eliminated from the spoken language by the perfect, a periphrastic form which will be illustrated below. There is considerable confusion between the "non-past" and the "past" conditionals, though the rule of thumb would be to use the former in non-past context, and the latter in a past context. A subjunctive mood is conveyed by the conditionals and the future.

#### 9.2.4. The Periphrastic Forms

For a complete picture the periphrastic forms are also needed. Since, however, these require knowledge of the verbs bezañ "(to) be" and endevout/kaout "(to) have", the forms and peculiarities of these verbs, of which the latter was originally a form of bezañ (OPRO + ID RDC, adapted as appropriate for tense/aspect), will be outlined first.

### 9.3. Endevout/Kaout "(to) have"

#### 9.3.1. General

First, let us take the simpler of the two, endevout or kaout "(to) have", not to be confused with the regular verb kavout "(to) find/seem". Endevout (sometimes endevout) is unique among Breton verbs in that it and its subject correspond to rather than complement one another. If the subject is first person singular, then the verb is first person singular; if the subject is third person plural, then the verb is third person plural, and so on. An additional feature is that the third person singular verb forms are differentiated for gender.

This particular situation has arisen because an original preposed object pronoun has become part of the verb. So "I have" would literally have been "(to) me (there) is", glossed by us occasionally as "me is", etc.

The verb is unique too in that, like the imperative, it is not preceded by a verbal particle, though in the written language variation in the spelling of the first and second persons singular may "reflect" the verbal particles a and e. In fact, this "variation" seems optional, though literary Breton may state certain preferences. And the particle-like element is most often omitted.

Lastly, the verb is unique in that, in its tense/aspect forms, it may not occur phrase-initially.

Its use is as the general verb "(to) have", denoting possession, and in many set phrases. As infinitive kaout will normally be chosen (endevout may be more common in Gw, where it will vary for person; it will be noted that endevout is a fossilized 3PSGM form). If it is wished to emphasize personal possession, then one will tend to use bezañ da "(to) be to", da governing the possessor. To convey that one has something at the moment, though the something may not be a possession, one uses bezañ gant, governing the "possessor". Examples:

Ur velo c'hlas am eus  
 NP                    have-1PSGPRE  
 "I've a blue bicycle"

An ti-mañ a zo din

NP be-RDC PRSPRP

"This is my house/I own this house"

Ganti e oa teir yar

PRSPRP PRC be NP

"She had three hens"

N 'hon eus ket soñj

NEG have-1PPL NEG NP

"We don't remember" (a set phrase)

There are other ways of expressing possession, particularly involving bezañ plus one or another preposition, e.g., war "on", quzh "at", en-dro da "around". These may often be used where the possessor is non-human or inanimate, though there is no rule because of set phrases. Glossing should be clear from the previous examples. Examples:

Mall a zo ganin - Mall a zo warnon "I'm in a hurry"

Daou zor a zo war an ti-se "That house has two doors"

One might quote also the following examples given by Tricoire in 1963, Part 2, p.220:

Me a zo lous va daouarn "I have dirty hands/My hands are dirty" (lit. "I am dirty my hands" - me is really a fronted focus, not subject.) Here the French equivalent often makes one feel the verb "(to) have" is present: j'ai les mains sales.

Setu Chann, un tok ledan ganti war he fenn "Here's Jeanne, who has a broad hat on her head" (lit. "Here's Jeanne, a broad hat with her on her head" - thus omission of "(to) have" in a subordinate clause; one might disagree with Tricoire's analysis, seeing rather apposition here.)

9.3.2. Table of the Verb Endevout/Kaout

TABLE 23

The Infinitive/Verbal Noun:

kaout, endevout, en devout

The "Present Participle":

o kaout

The Past Participle:

bet

Tenses/Aspects/Moods:

The range of tenses and aspects, particularly in the presence of a habitual aspect form, provides us with an introduction to the verb bezañ "(to) be".

## Present and Future:

	PRESENT	PRESENT HABITUAL	FUTURE I	FUTURE II
1PSG	am eus	am bez	am bo	am bezo
2PSG	az peus	az pez	az po	az pezo
3PSGM	en deus	en devez	en devo	en devezo
3PSGF	he deus	he devez	he devo	he devezo
1PPL	hon eus	hor bez	hor bo	hor bezo
2PPL	hoc'h eus	ho pez	ho po	ho pezo
3PPL	o deus	o devez	o devo	o devezo
IND	ez eus	e vez	e vo	e vezo

## Notes:

- 1) am may be em or 'm. The last is normal in speech. Of the first two the former may be considered correct if preceded by the subject or the direct object.
- 2) az peus is an ever more common form for the 2PSG. The strictly correct literary form is ac'h eus/ec'h eus, with ac'h occurring after the subject and direct object.
- 3) For the 3PSGM we often have e neus.
- 4) In the 3P Future there may be shortening, e.g., en do; there may be a "nasal" mutation in the 1PSG: am mo. The Future II is now an alternative form.
- 5) The indefinite forms, paralleling the autonomous one elsewhere, correspond in fact to "there is", etc. They are taken straight from bezañ "(to) be".

## Imperfect and Past Definite:

	IMPERFECT	IMPERFECT HABITUAL	PAST DEFINITE
1PSG	am boa	am beze	am boe
2PSG	az poa	az peze	az poe
3PSGM	en devoa	en deveze	en devoe
3PSGF	he devoa	he deveze	he devoe
1PPL	hor boa	hor beze	hor boe
2PPL	ho poa	ho peze	ho poe
3PPL	o devoa	o deveze	o devoe
IND	e oa	e veze	e voe

## Notes:

- 1) In the 3P Imperfect and Past Definite we may have shortening: he doa, etc. The Past Definite is rare, mainly confined to the written language.
- 2) The Indefinite forms correspond to "there was", etc. They are taken straight from bezañ "(to) be".

## Non-past and Past Conditional:

	NON-PAST CONDITIONAL	PAST CONDITIONAL
1PSG	am befefe	am bife
2PSG	az pefe	az pife
3PSGM	en defefe	en devife
3PSGF	he defefe	he devife
1PPL	hor befefe	hor bife
2PPL	ho pefe	ho pife
3PPL	o defefe	o devife
IND	e vefe	e vife

Notes:

- 1) The non-past conditional has a truncated form, with the final syllable omitted (-fe).
- 2) The difference between the two conditionals is rather blurred, though essentially meant to be based on the temporal context.
- 3) The indefinite forms correspond to "there would be", etc. They are taken straight from bezañ "(to) be".

The Imperative:

2PSG	az pez (bez)
3PSGM	en devefet
3PSGF	he devefet
1PPL	hor bezet (bezomp)
2PPL	ho pezet (bezomp)
3PPL	o devefet

We note the first elements, which are common throughout the paradigm. In the second element we can discern the radical of bezañ "(to) be"; this element is less variable in the tenses/aspects/moods.

#### 9.4. Bezañ "(to) be"

##### 9.4.1. General

First, we should note that there is, in the present and imperfect, and formally if not functionally in the future, a "regular" formation on the expected radical bez-. This conveys the habitual aspect. Thus, in its more common mutated form, we have:

(a/e) vezan/vezin/vezen

As we have seen, this is extended to endevout "(to) have". It is used to convey nuances of habit/iterativeness and is often used with

appropriate adverbs, e.g., alies "often", bemdez "every day", a-wechoù "sometimes", atav "always", dibaouez "constantly".

Secondly, we have the punctual and, deriving from them, the progressive aspects, situated precisely in time and space. They occur in the present and, for literary Breton and Leon, in the imperfect.

Here it is appropriate to give the paradigm of bezañ. The discussion can be more profitably continued once the forms have been before us.

#### 9.4.2. Table of the Verb Bezañ

TABLE 24

The Infinitive/Verbal Noun:

bezañ (bout, most often in compounds, e.g., gouzout, endevout; -vezout exclusively so, e.g., talvezout "(to) be worth, serve as")

The "Present Participle":

o vezañ

The Past Participle:

bet

## Tenses/Aspects/Moods:

To the range of tenses/aspects we now add the punctual aspect, which together with the present participle provides the progressive aspect.

## Present:

	RDC	-	IDN	-	HBT	-	PNT	-	ID
1PSG	(a) zo		on		bezan		emaon		-
2PSG	(a) zo		out		bezez		emaout		-
3PSG	(a) zo		eo		bez		emañ		eus
1PPL	(a) zo		omp		bezomp		emaomp		-
2PPL	(a) zo		oc'h		bezit		emaoc'h		-
3PPL	(a) zo		int		bezont		emaint		eus
AUT	-		eur		bezer		emeur		-

## Note:

The indefinite form fulfils the functions of the impersonal of kaout. But see below for fuller information.

## Future:

	FUTURE I	-	FUTURE II ("HABITUAL")
1PSG	bin		bezin
2PSG	bi		bezi
3PSG	bo		bezo
1PPL	bimp		bezimp
2PPL	biot		bezot
3PPL	bint		bezint
AUT	bior		bezor

## Note:

These two forms are really equivalent. A habitual future is rather difficult to conceptualize. The -f of the 2PPL is very often replaced by -c'h, here as in all verbs except kaout.

## Imperfect:

	IMPERFECT	- IMPERFECT HBT	- IMPERFECT PNT
1PSG	oan	bezen	edon
2PSG	oas	bezes	edos
3PSG	oa	beze	edo
1PPL	oamp	bezemp	edomp
2PPL	oac'h	bezec'h	edoc'h
3PPL	oant	bezent	edont
AUT	oad	bezed	edod

## Past Definite and Conditional:

	PAST DEFINITE	* CONDITIONAL I	- CONDITIONAL II
1PSG	boen	be(fe)n	bijen
2PSG	boes	be(fe)s	bijes
3PSG	boe	be(fe)	bije
1PPL	boemp	be(fe)mp	bijemp
2PPL	boec'h	be(fe)c'h	bijec'h
3PPL	boent	be(fe)nt	bijent
AUT	boed	be(fe)d	bijed

## Notes:

The Past Definite is mainly confined to the written language. The difference between Conditional I and II is as mentioned before, though there is considerable confusion. The two forms under Conditional I are alternatives. It is worth mentioning here that throughout the verb conjugation Conditional I (the Non-past Conditional) replaces -f- with -h- in Gw and in many dialects. In Gw Conditional II (the Past Conditional)

has -z- for -j-.

The Imperative:

2PSG	bez
3PSG	(bezet)
1PPL	bezomp
2PPL	bezit
3PPL	(bezent)

### 9.4.3. Discussion

#### 9.4.3.1. The Punctual and the Progressive

The punctual aspect is of particular importance since, collocated with the present participle, it gives the progressive aspect, e.g., English "I'm going". It occurs idiomatically too, as in Emaon o chom "I live/reside". The present participle consists of the particle o plus the verbal noun or infinitive, o causing the mixed mutation. Before a vowel we have oc'h, and should there be a preposed object pronoun, then we have ouzh.

Examples:

Emaon o vont "I'm going"; Emaout o tont "You're coming"; Emaint o tebriñ "They're eating";

Emaoc'h oc'h en em vezviñ "You're getting drunk" ;

Setu an nor. Emaon ouzh he digeriñ "Here's the door. I'm opening it"

Here we have a general gloss: be-PRG PRGPCR INF X.

Note that en em is a reflexive/reciprocal/idiomatic particle, which does not function as a pronoun. Consequently it is preceded by oc'h.

The PRG forms are not found in compound tenses, etc. The personal pronoun may be preposed in the negative: Me n'emaon ket o vont di "I'm not going there".

The punctual aspect itself is used to locate something precisely in (present) time or space. Thus:



Pemp biz a vez ivez war bep troad, dek biz troad a zo eta da bep den  
 "There are also five toes on each foot, so each man has ten toes"

The example is valid for kaout and bezañ. One might suggest that we have the habitual in the first clause because of its general nature, but the non-habitual in the second clause, because of the reference to the specific pep den. Normally, usage is not so difficult to define.

A more typical example would be:

E Lesneven e veze bemdez  
 AVP(PLC) PRC be-HBTIMF3PSG AV(TM)  
 "He used to be in Lesneven every day"

#### 9.4.3.3. The Neutral and the Copula

Fourthly, and last, the neutral, and functionally the most complex, forms.

If the "subject" precedes, then we have, for the various tenses, aspects and moods:

me... (a) zo, a oa, a voe, a vo, a vefe, a vije (and a vez, a veze)  
 "I... am, was, was, will be, would be, would be (plus habitual forms)"

Where the verb here is a copula linking two nominal elements, then the second on the whole will be indefinite, or a piece of new information. The sentence-initial (emphatic) element might be seen as the focus.

Should the "subject" not precede, i.e. should it immediately follow the copula (in which case individuation, and definiteness, coincide), then we have (taking third person forms):

(ez) eo, e oa, e voe, e vo, e vefe, e vije (and e vez, e veze, eman).  
 "is, was, was, will be, would be, would be (plus habitual, punctual forms)"

If the "subject", in the present, is non-definite and non-singular, then we have (ez) eus, - the radical of kaout.

Here we meet in the synthetic conjugation, where the "subject" is expressed within the verb:

on, bezan, oan, etc.

"I am, I am (HBT), I was, etc."

The b- given above in the paradigms will occur only in the imperative and in affirmative answers; otherwise we always have y-, preceded or not by a, e. Thus:

En ti e vlot? - Bin.

AV PRC V V

"Will you be in the house?" - "Yes."

#### 9.4.3.4. "There is/are"

In order to render "there is/are", (a) zo will be used if a noun phrase precedes; otherwise (ez) eus is used. Thus:

Kalz tud a zo e Douarnenez hiziv.

NP RDC AV AV

or:

E Douarnenez ez eus kalz tud hiziv.

AV IMP NP AV

"There are many people in Douarnenez today"

Note: we would have a vez, e vez if it was, for example, "every day", i.e. habitual or repeated.

## 9.4.4. Summary

## The Positive Forms

- 1) The verbs bezañ and kaout have no periphrastic form using ober as auxiliary. See 9.5 below.
- 2) If the subject precedes the verb, then the verb's radical form, invariable for person, is used, preceded by the particle a. The particle may be omitted, - indeed it ought to be omitted in the case of (a) zo, where zo is in itself a relative form; compare the cognate Welsh sydd. Such a construction is available to all the tenses/aspects/moods EXCEPT the punctual, where the "subject" may not precede. Should the "subject" precede in a punctually nuanced context, then (a) zo will be used.
- 3) If the subject does not precede the verb, then the synthetic conjugation is used, as appropriate. Where the subject is nominal, i.e. third person non-pronoun, then the 3PSG form will be used even if the subject is plural. Where there is a "there is/are" nuance, the correlation is between (a) zo ("subject" precedes) and ez eus (+ ID) rather than (ez) eo (+ D).

## The Negative Forms

There is considerably more freedom where the verb is negative, the only strict rule being that (a) zo must be replaced by n'eo ket, n'eus ket or n'emañ ket, etc. as appropriate. There is no form ne zo ket. As we know, in the positive conjugation, if the "subject" precedes, then the verb goes into the radical form. In the negative conjugation we have no redundant agreement between the "subject" and the verb if the subject follows, i.e. a verb will be third person singular independent of whether the subject is singular or plural. If, however, the "subject" is third person and precedes the negative verb, then we will have redundant agreement. This is because the preposed "subject" is probably not really the subject but an independent, appositive or detached, element. We have already seen indications of this:

An dud-se a zo lous o daouarn

"S" V AJP

"Those people's hands are dirty"

An dud-se n'eo ket lous o daouarn

"S" NEG V NEG AJP

"Those people's hands aren't dirty".

These notes apply in particular to the third person forms, where the "subject" is nominal. Where the subject is pronominal, the use of the personal pronoun is most often emphatic and more obviously a redundant expression of the subject.

Examples: Positive

TABLE 25

Va breur a zo fur - ?Emañ va breur fur

Fur eo va breur

"My brother is good"

(emañ perhaps not appropriate here)

Ar merc'hed a zo fur - ?Emañ ar merc'hed fur

Fur eo ar merc'hed

"The girls are good"

(emañ perhaps not appropriate here)

Va breur a zo kemener - Kemener eo va breur

"My brother is a tailor"

Va breur a zo en ti - Emañ va breur en ti

En ti emañ va breur

"My brother is in the house"

Va breur a zo gwall ampart - Gwall ampart eo va breur  
 "My brother is a very competent person"

Va breur a zo o vont a-hed an hent  
Emañ va breur o vont a-hed an hent  
 "My brother is going along the road"

Un draonienn a zo du-hont  
Du-hont emañ/ez eus an/un draonienn  
 "There's the/a valley over there"

Tud a-leizh a zo amañ - Amañ emañ/ez eus tud a-leizh  
 "There are abundant people there"

In the other tenses/aspects/moods (a) zo will be replaced by a form preceded by a (the a may be omitted, but the lenition will remain): eo/emañ/ez eus will be replaced by a form preceded by e (e may be omitted, but the mixed mutation will remain). Where emañ was appropriate for the present, and where appropriate, the imperfect punctual forms may be used.

Negative:

TABLE 26

Negating, and making appropriate changes to the above sentences, we have:

Va breur n'eo ket fur - ?Va breur n'emañ ket fur  
N'emañ ket fur va breur  
 (PNT perhaps not appropriate here)

Ar merc'hed n'int ket fur - Ar merc'hed n'emaint ket fur  
N'emañ ket ar merc'hed fur  
 (PNT perhaps not appropriate here)

Va breur n'eo ket kemener - N'eo ket va breur kemener

Va breur n'emañ ket en ti - N'emañ ket va breur en ti  
En ti n'emañ ket va breur

Va breur n'eo ket gwall ampart  
Gwall ampart n'eo ket va breur  
N'eo ket va breur gwall ampart

Va breur n'emañ ket o vont a-hed an hent (no other verb form is possible here, though a-hed an hent may come first, and va breur may follow the auxiliary).

An draonienn n'emañ ket du-hont  
N'eus traonienn ebet du-hont

N'eus den ebet amañ or: N'eus ket kalz a dud amañ  
 (or: N'eus ket kalz tud amañ)

The above examples are on the whole non-emphatic, though they may be somewhat pragmatically marked. They serve only to illustrate some of the possible uses of the forms of bezañ in subject/complement sentences. See the Syntax for more information.

As already stated, with the other forms of bezañ there is no problem. One simply has a form preceded by a if the subject comes first, and one preceded by e in all other cases. The problem remains of determining, where subject and complement are nouns, which is subject and which complement. The general rule will be that the more definite and specific will be the subject (or "subject"), since we will be allocating it to a class, which will be the complement. For those who know French, it can be useful to think of eo as c'est, ce sont, bearing in mind that question words, though specific, are indefinite, since they refer to unknowns. Thus:

Piv eo an den-se? - Va zad-kozh eo.  
 "Who is that man?" - "He's my grandfather."

## 9.5. The Periphrastic Forms of the Verb

## 9.5.1. General

Let us now return to the verb in general, starting with the periphrastic forms.

1) Above we recommended the student, or the hesitant, to choose the periphrastic form with ober "(to) do" as auxiliary. This form also exists with a negative form, though it then becomes rather emphatic. Thus:

Labourat a raen gant va mamm er parkeier

INF PRC AUX NP AV

"I used to work in the fields with my mother"

Labourat ne rin biken ganeoc'h

INF NEG AUX NEGAV NP

"I shall never work with you"

2) From the tables it will have been seen that if to the radical we add the ending -et, we obtain the past participle. With the exceptions of bezañ and kaout, both having bet, the only exception is dont "(to) come", with the form deut alongside the regular deuet.

This form, together with the appropriate form of bezañ or kaout, will provide periphrastic tenses, aspects, and moods. Intransitive verbs usually have bezañ as auxiliary. A temptation to be resisted is to treat Breton as if it were French. Certainly there are similarities, but it is better to treat the two separately.

3) Certain intransitive verbs take kaout. The most common among these might be lamm "(to) jump", bale "(to) walk/ramble", pourmen "(to) take a walk", red "(to) run", nijal "(to) fly", tec'hout "(to) flee". If, however, they contain the prefix de- (German her-), or if they are accompanied by kuit "away" (German hin-) or another adverbial modifier (even if interpretable as a noun phrase), then bezañ is used. Thus:

Nijet eo al labous kuit

PPCP AUX S AV

"The bird has flown away"

Nijet int diwar o neizh

PPCP AUX AV

"They have left their nest"

If another action is closely linked to the action described by a verb usually auxiliated by bezañ, or if additional detail is given which "detracts" from the action described by the main verb, then kaout may be used. Thus:

Kouezhet en deus/eo en ur zont

PPCP AUX AVPCP

"He fell while coming"

Marvet en deus al leue bihan "The little calf has died"

In the second example the qualification of al leue adds an emotional nuance and brings in kaout. Perhaps better here is Mervel en deus graet al leue bihan, an insistent form (see 9.5.2.1).

## 9.5.2. The Various Realizations

## 9.5.2.1. The OBER Conjugation

Kerzhout a ran/rin/raen/rafen/rajen

INF PRC do-AUX

"I walk/will walk/used to walk/would walk/would walk"

Periphrastic forms of ober may accompany the infinitive (closer to a verbal noun in this use). This emphasizes "perfectivity" and is comparable with French J'ai eu fait "I've done", etc. (the passé surcomposé). Thus:

kerzhout am eus graet

INF/VN AUX PPCP

"I've walked"

## 9.5.2.2. The Progressive Aspect

Da Gemper emaon/e vin/e oan/e vefen o vont

AV PRG PREPCP

"I am/will be/was/would be going to Quimper"

The four major elements of such sentences: adverbial, direct object, present participle and punctual aspect, can be freely interchanged. The only constraint is that a subject, if expressed, may not be placed before a positive punctual aspect form.

## 9.5.2.3. The Perfect Series

The major constraint here seems to be that, where the past participle precedes the auxiliary kaout, a direct object may not come in between. Thus, in the examples given below, Lennet al levr en deus Yann would not be acceptable, though Lenn al levrc en deus graet Yann (see 9.5.2.1) would. The examples given all contain an expressed subject.

Lennet en deus Yann al levr - Yann en deus lennet al levr  
 PPCP    AUX    S    O    S    AUX    PPCP    O

Al levr en deus Yann lennet anezhañ  
 O    AUX    S    PPCP    OPRO  
 "Yann (has) read the book"

Dibabet he do Mari ar falc'h-se  
 PPCP    AUX    S    O  
 "Marie will have chosen that scythe"

Kavet o doa ar soudarded ar c'hazh dindan ar gador  
 PPCP    AUX    S    O    AV  
 "The soldiers had found the cat under the chair"

Va zud o devefe diskouezet din ar voest-se  
 S    AUX    PPCP    IO    DO  
 "My family would have shown me that big box"

E niz en devije digoret deomp dor an ti  
 S    AUX    PPCP    IO    DO  
 "His nephew would have opened the house door for us"

Alongside such forms we may also have compound or periphrastic forms of bezañ or kaout auxiliating a past participle. These are quite common, and denote a state or action in relation to another state or action located in the past (there is no past definite form). Thus:

Kavet em eus bet al levr "I've found the book"

Savet eo (bet) dija "He's already got up"

From the two preceding examples we see that the auxiliary for bezañ is itself, and that that for kaout is itself too. Since both share a past participle, this is the only way of differentiating them. Thus:

Bet em eus tri lur diganti

PPCP AUX O AV

"I've had three francs off her"

Bet on (bet) teir gwech e Pariz

PPCP AUX (PPCP) AV AV

"I've been to Paris three times"

#### 9.5.2.4. The Passive Series

As we might expect, this is created with the past participle of a transitive verb and the auxiliary bezañ. Breton is even like English (not French), with its "I have been given a book by them" (where the subject of the verb is the indirect object of the transitive equivalent: "They gave me a book/They gave a book to me"). The passive is heavily used in Breton. Thus:

Kollet eo bet ar voutailh gant Lan

PPCP PSVAUX S AGENT

or Gant Lan eo bet kollet ar voutailh

AGENT PSVAUX PPCP S

or Ar voutailh a zo bet kollet gant Lan

S PSVAUX PPCP AGENT

"The bottle has been lost by Lan"

plus: Me a zo bet roet ul levr din gant Yannig  
 FCS PSVAUX PPCP S? IO? AGENT  
 lit. "I have been given a book to me by Yannig"  
 "I've been given a book by Yannig"

Note that the agent is introduced by the preposition gant.

We should not forget that there is in Breton the autonomous form, which is historically a passive. Here the subject is unspecified, though one may argue for its presence:

Al levr a lenner  
 "S" PRC PSV  
 "The book is read" - "One reads the book"

Permutations of PREPCP/AUTPNT/NP: o lenn emeur al levr - o lenn al levr emeur - emeur o lenn al levr; but not al levr emeur o lenn. (The "subject" may not precede the positive punctual.)

Er stal e welor kalz levrioù  
 AV PRC AUTFTR NP  
 "Many books will be seen in the shop"

The autonomous form is different from the periphrastic passive in that it cannot have an agent. To convey habitual aspect, too, where one very often finds French on..., one will, alongside the Gallicism an den a..., most often find a straight passive with, if appropriate, the habitual present or imperfect of bezañ as auxiliary. Thus: Amañ e vez komzet brezhoneg rather than Amañ e komzer brezhoneg "Breton is spoken here".

Of the two the latter would be used in a specific instance. It should be added that passive turns of phrase, in the 3PSG, are exceedingly common in Breton, with a personal subject being expressed prepositionally or clitically.

For example:

Penaos e vez graet ac'hanoc'h? "What are you called?"

(lit. "How is it made of you?")

Per (a vez graet ac'hanon "(I'm called) Peter"

(These expressions are often replaced by more direct enquiries, e.g. Penaos e vezit anvet? lit. "How are you named?", N'anaouan ket ac'hanoc'h lit. "I don't know you".)

Degouezhet eo ganin ho lizher "I've got your letter"

(lit. "Arrived is with me your letter")

Kresket eo an dud en hon ti

"There's been an addition to our family"

(lit. "Grown is the people in our house")

#### 9.5.2.5. "Reflexives"

"Reflexive" verbs are conveyed in Breton by preposing the leniting particle en em before the main verb, not the auxiliary. The auxiliary is most often bezañ, probably a French influence, though kaout may be found. Examples:

Ar vugale en em vag - En em vagan a ra ar vugale

"The children feed themselves"

(analytic and ober constructions)

Ar vugale n'en em vagont ket - N'en em vag ket ar vugale

"The children do not feed themselves"

(preposed subject/focus and postposed subject)

The term "reflexive" is, as we see from many languages, imprecise:

Reflexive:

En em c'houlenn a ran hag-eñ e teuy pe ne zeuy ket  
 RFL INF PRC AUX CNJ PRC V CNJ NEG V NEG  
 "I wonder if he will come or not"

Reciprocal:

An armeoù en em gann  
 S/FCS RFL ANTV  
 "The armies fight"

N'en em garont ket an eil egile  
 NEG RFL SNTV NEG S  
 "They don't like each other"

Idiomatic:

En em zibab a raimp  
 RFL INF PRC AUX  
 "We'll sort things out"

#### 9.5.2.6. Impersonal Verbs

There are numerous "impersonal" verbs similar to those identified for other languages. They often relate to natural and psychological phenomena. Thus, with the ober conjugation: Noziñ a ra "Night is falling", brumenniñ a ra "It's misty", skorniñ a ra "It's frosty". The last may also occur as a personal verb.

Some nouns are used with ober:

Glav a ra "It's raining"  
Erc'h a ra "It's snowing"  
Amzer vrav a ra and Brav eo an amzer "It's fine"

With nouns bezañ may replace ober: glav a zo - glav a vez (aliases) "it's raining" - "it (often) rains".

Other weather manifestations are either as in brumenniñ a ra or are constructed with (a) zo, ez eus:

Brumenn a zo du-se - Du-se ez eus brumenn

With adjectives we may have the appropriate form of bezañ:

Tomm eo "It's hot" - Yen eo "It's cold"

Feminine pronominal forms may co-occur with the expression (as in Welsh). Thus:

Noz eo anezhi "It's night"  
(lit. "night it is of it")

Impersonals, like passives, are widespread in Breton:

Fall eo ganti "She's not well"  
(lit. "bad it is with her")

There is too a number of pseudo-impersonal verbs, e.g.

fellout da, falvezout da/gant "(to) want";  
ne vernout ket da "not (to) care"

Examples:

Int a fell dezho c'hoari ganin  
FCS PRC V IO INF NP  
"They want to play with me"

Hi ne felle ket dezhi chom er gêr  
FCS NEG V NEG IO INF AV  
"She didn't want to stay at home"

Fellout a reas din kavout va breur  
INF PRC AUX IO INF O  
"I wanted to find my brother"

Ne falvezo ket dezho/ganto paeañ

NEG V NEG IO INF

"They don't want to pay"

Ne vern morse deoc'h

NEG V AV IO

"You never care"

Fellout is more common than falvezout. With bernout we have the set phrases ne vern (ket) "it doesn't matter", and the synonyms ne ra (ket) forzh and n'eus forzh.

The three verbs above are never used in an exclusively personal way. The "subject" is always controlled by da (or gant), an independent personal pronoun being a fronted focus.

Within the context of modals, one might mention Breton renderings of "must":

Necessity:

rankout "(to) have to"

ret eo da + N + INF "it is necessary to N to do SOG"

Moral obligation:

dleout "(to) have to" (no LN of d-)

dav eo da + N + INF "it is good to N to do SOG"

(dav is cognate with Welsh da "good"; a useful alternative in Breton is to use mat good in an identical construction: mat eo da + NP + INF)

The expression of prohibition, or a means of expressing a negative imperative, is with arabat (eo) + INF, e.g.

Arabat soñjal e traoù seurt-se  
 forbidden INF NP  
 "Don't think of such things"

There are a number of verbs which may be used as personal verbs, perhaps with special meanings, in addition to having the pseudo-impersonal construction. Amongst these may be mentioned: kavout "(to) seem" (personal: "(to) find"); plijout "(to) like" (personal: "(to) please); soñjal "(to) think, consider" (personal: "(to) think"). Examples:

Int a zegouezho warc'hoazh, a gav din  
 S PRC V AV PRC V IO  
 "They'll arrive tomorrow, I think"

Int a gav dezho e vo mat evel-se  
 FCS PRC V IO PRC V AJ AV  
 "They think it'll be fine like that"

Hi a blijfe dezhi debrñ ur grampouezhenn vras  
 FCS PRC V IO INF NP  
 "She'd like to eat a big crêpe"

Plijout a rafe deomp ober un dro e Montroulez  
 INF PRC AUX IO INF NP AV  
 "We'd like to go for a walk in Morlaix";

Eñ a soñje dezhañ e teuñ e vab hep dale  
 FCS PRC V IO PRC V NP AV  
 "He thought his son would come without delay".

One can readily discern the possible variations on the constructions given in the examples above.

## 9.6. Overview and Conclusion

Although the verbal pattern of Breton has been summarized at various points, it will be useful here to give a brief overview. More information will be forthcoming in the Syntax, which the Morphology has already substantially foreshadowed.

### 9.6.1. Verbs other than Bezañ and Endevout/Kaout

#### 9.6.1.1. The Role of the Radical

All Breton verbs have a base, root or radical form. In this grammar the last term has been chosen and it has been proposed that it is variable for tense/aspect/mood, but not for person. Nonetheless, the basic radical is the one which is identical with the second person singular imperative and, with the preposed personal pronoun or nominal as "subject", conveys the "positive present tense". A representative, and useful, list follows below:

TABLE 25

INF	RDC	PRE	OTHER FORMS
derc'hel	dalc'h	me a zalc'h	zalc'h-o/e/as/fe/je
deskiñ	desk	me a zesk	zesk-o/e/as/fe/je
digeriñ	digor	me a zigor	zigor-o/e/as/fe/je
goleiñ	golo	me a c'holo	c'holo-io/e/as/fe/je
gouarn	gouarn	me a c'houarn	c'houarn-o/e/as/fe/je
gouelañ	gouel	me a ouel	ouel-o/e/as/fe/je

INF	RDC	PRE	OTHER FORMS
gwelout	gwel	me a wel	wel-o/e/as/fe/je
gwriat	gwri	me a wri	wri-o/e/as/fe/je
hadañ	had	me a had	had-o/e/as/fe/je
kemer	kemer	me a gemer	gemer-o/e/as/fe/je
lenn	lenn	me a lenn	lenn-o/e/as/fe/je
mervel	marv	me a varv	varv-o/e/as/fe/je
ober	gra	me a ra	ra-io/e/!/fe/je ! = reas
selaou	selaou	me a selaou	selaou-o/e/as/fe/je
sevel	sav	me a sav	sav-o/e/as/fe/je
serrin	serr	me a serr	serr-o/e/as/fe/je
teurel	taol	me a daol	daol-o/e/as/fe/je

Meanings are "hold, learn/teach, open, cover, steer/govern, weep, see, sew, sow, take, read, die, do/make, listen, build/educate, close, throw".

Compare gouarn and gouelañ, with [g] in the former and [gw] or [g<sup>w</sup>] in the latter.

## 9.6.1.2. The Positive

When the verb is positive, there are three ways of rendering it in Breton:

- 1) The non-personal conjugation, as shown above under 9.6.1.1.
- 2) The OBER conjugation, e.g.,

Basic pattern below = INF PRC AUX X:

c'hoarzhin a ran "I laugh"; c'hoari a rez "you play"; sellout a rav "he'll watch"; dont a raemp "we used to come"; fumiñ a rejoc'h "you smoked"; studiañ a rafent "they'd study"; kompren a ra-eñ "he understands" (emphasis of "he"); komz a ra Olier "Olivier speaks"; diskouez a ra ar gelennerien dimp al levr "the teachers show us the book".

Note the possible emphasis of the subject by suffixation of the personal pronoun to the form of ober. This can be done also with the synthetic or personal conjugation given under (3).

3) If (1) and (2) do not apply, then personal and tense, aspect, mood endings combined are fusionally added to the radical. If the verb form is preceded by its direct object, the particle is a; otherwise the particle is e. Special emphasis of the action may be obtained by preceding this synthetic form with bez' e (bez' alone for appropriate forms of kaout and for the punctual of bezañ; see 9.6.2). Thus, with the patterns OV, XVO, XVINFO, VX, we have:

Ar sae a brenan "I buy the dress"; Yannig a welez "you see Yannig";  
Amañ e kavó-hi ur wetur "she'll find a car here";  
Dec'h e klaskent gwerzhañ o dilhad kozh "Yesterday they tried to sell their old clothes";  
Bez' e teuimp-ni d'az kwelout digwener "We'll come to see you on Friday".

## 9.6.1.3. The Negative

The negative, with two exceptions, always comes under 9.6.2 (3) above. The exceptions are:

1) the OBER conjugation may, emphatically, be used, in which case the synthetic form of ober is negated, e.g., Kousket ne rin ket "I shall not sleep"

2) if the subject, nominal and plural, follows the verb form, the verb form will be third person singular. This is potentially an argument for the basic postposing of the subject in relation to the verb in Breton, since the rule seems to be that, with an expressed, non-emphatic, nominal (thus third person), subject the verb is invariably in the "3PSG" form. Should such a subject precede, the verb form will be plural.

Examples:

Ne'z ajen ket

NEG V

"I wouldn't go"

Me ne brenin ket an dra-se

FCS NEG V O

"I'll not buy that"

Ne fume ket pa oa yaouank

NEG V CNJ V AJ

"He didn't smoke when he was young"

Ne daolimp ket ar bili war ar geot

NEG V O AV

"We won't throw the pebbles onto the grass"

Va zud ne ouzont ket - Ne oar ket va zud

FCS NEG V NEG V S

"My family don't know"

Note that the suffixed personal pronoun cannot be used here.

## 9.6.2. Bezañ and Endevout/Kaout

### 9.6.2.1. Endevout/Kaout

Putting aside the various dialectal regularizations of this verb, we note that it is based on the third person singular of the verb bezañ, with the availability of the habitual forms and, for the present non-habitual, using the indefinite form (ez) eus. Person is expressed by the prefixing of what may be seen as originally an object personal pronoun. The unique feature of this verb, namely that there is redundant agreement between the subject and the form of the verb, is thus etymologically not precisely that. Very often "(to) have" is expressed in Breton by means of other expressions, typically using bezañ as verbal pivot, and having the possessor dependent on a preposition, of which the most common are da (to express ownership), and gant (to express possession, often punctual, with no insistence on ownership).

For examples it is better to consult 9.3 above.

### 9.2.8.2.2. Bezañ

A fundamental way in which bezañ seems to differ from all other verbs is that the particle a used only after the "subject"; in all other cases we have e. In fact, this is not really correct, since the verb bezañ does not have a direct object, and so the other possible use of a never arises.

Thus, for all but the non-habitual present tense we have a two-way opposition:

TABLE 26

- 1) after "subject": a vez, a vo, a oa, a veze,  
a voe, a vefe, a vije.
- 2) in other cases: e vez, e vo, e oa, e veze,  
e voe, e vefe, e vije.

Note that the forms under (2) occur in full synthetic paradigms.

All these forms as given may convey indefiniteness, i.e. "there is/are, etc."

The non-habitual present tense presents us with the punctual, the indefinite, and what we might refer to as the neutral form. The oppositions are as follows:

TABLE 27

	PUNCTUAL	INDEFINITE	NEUTRAL
1) after "subject":	<u>(a) zo</u>	<u>(a) zo</u>	<u>(a) zo</u>
2) in other cases:	<u>emañ</u>	<u>(ez) eus</u>	<u>(ez) eo</u>

The forms denoted as emañ and (ez) eo stand for full synthetic paradigms. Note too that (a) zo (often 'zo) after a plural or collective noun conveys the meaning "some, a few".

In the literary language and in Leon there is also the punctual imperfect edo, with a full synthetic paradigm, contrasting with a oa (the post-"subject" form).

## 10. The Adverb

### 10.1. General

Just as the adjective qualifies the noun, so the adverb, in general, modifies the verb. Adverbs are subdivided by reference to such concepts as place, time, manner, cause, extent, etc.

Certain adverbs may be purely so: c'hoazh "still, yet", buan "quickly", eno "there", neuze "then". We might also include ya "yes", nann "no". Some are compound, consisting of a preposition plus a noun: a-wechou "sometimes", diriaou "(next/last) Thursday", war ar sizhuun "in the week", gant nerzh "forcefully". We may have an adjective qualified by a "adverbial" noun: nevez-flamm "brand-new" (lit. "new-flame"), gwenn-erc'h "sparkling white" (lit. "white-snow"). Finally, the adjective may in itself function as an adverb: bras "great" - "greatly", though the leniting particle ez (er, en, end) may precede: ervat "well", ez-leal "loyally", ez-c'hlas "green, blue", end-eeun "even, precisely".

Kervella in 1947/76, pp.307-22, ##522-49 gives an exhaustive treatment, with several tables. His description is to some extent followed in 10.2.

The adverb gradates as for the adjective, though the analytic exclamative prevails, and the equative will have -se or all appended.

### 10.2. A Classification of the Breton Adverb

#### 10.2.1. Place

For standard KLT the basis for many forms is the word lec'h "place". The interrogative pelec'h? "where?" may be preceded by any appropriate preposition: e, a, eus, da, dre, evit, war, etc. The basic form may be seen as pelec'h, though e pelec'h is sometimes preferred.

Other forms: un tu bennak, ul lec'h bennak "somewhere"; pep lec'h, dre holl "everywhere"; neblec'h "nowhere"; lec'h all "elsewhere"; e (n'eus) forzh pelec'h or (n'eus) forzh e pelec'h "anywhere"

The basic demonstrative forms are given in TABLE 28, with some others in TABLE 29:

TABLE 28

	LOC/(ILL)	EL	ILL/(LOC)
HERE	amañ	ac'hann	du-mañ
THERE	aze	alese	du-se
YONDER	ahont	ac'hahont	du-hont
THERE (UNSEEN)	eno (LOC)	ac'hano	di (ILL)

Locative/Illative covers both stationary position and movement, and this form may be further defined, e.g., war-du amañ "towards this place", dre amañ "through here". Elative denotes "from".

TABLE 29

	LOC/ILL	EL	OTHERS
OUT	er-maez	eus ar maez	dre/war ar maez
IN	e-barzh	eus e-barzh	war an diabarzh
UP	en nec'h	eus an nec'h	dre an nec'h
	war-laez	eus al laez	war-drec'h eus al laez, war-laez
DOWN	en traonñ	eus an traonñ	dre an traonñ
	en-dias	eus an dias	war-draon
ABOVE	a-us	a-zioc'h	dreist
BELOW	a-is		
ON	war-c'horre (LOC only)	diwar-c'horre	(dre) war c'horre
UNDER	dindan	a-zindan	dre zindan
IN FRONT	(d')ar raok	a-ziarak	dre a-raok, war-raok
BEHIND	a-dreñv, a-drek	eus (an) adreñv	dre a-dreñv war a-dreñv
BEFORE	dirak	a-zirak	dre zirak, war zirak
AFTER	war-lerc'h	a-ziwar-lerc'h	(dre) war-lerc'h
NEAR	tost	a-dost	dre dost
	e-kichen, da-gichen	a-gichen	dre gichen
FAR	pell	a-bell	dre bell
AMONG	e-kreiz	a-greiz	dre greiz
AROUND	war-dro	a-ziwar-dro	war-dro
LEFT	a-gleiz		war-gleiz
RIGHT	a-zehou		war-zehou

Some variants and other key adverbs of place are: E(n) diavaez "inside"; e(n) diabarzh "outside"; en trec'h "above, upstairs"; en traonñ "below, downstairs"; e(n) diarak "in front"; e(n) diadreñv, en diwar-lerc'h "behind"; en diabell "far away"; e-touez (plus a-douez, dre-douez) "in the middle".

## 10.2.2. Time

For general reference to time we may have gwechall "formerly", bremañ "now", and en dazont "in the future". In reference to days we have dec'h "yesterday", en derc'hent "the day before", derc'hent dec'h "two days before"; hiziv, hirio "today"; warc'hoazh "tomorrow", antrono "the following day". For years we have warlene "last year", hevlene "this year". Analytic forms are possible, e.g., er bloaz-mañ "this year", er bloaz a zeu "next year". It is possible to make free use of mare, koulz "time, period", e.g., d'ar mare-mañ "now", d'ar c'houlz-se "then".

More specifically, for days we have the already mentioned adverbial forms referring both to past and future, according to context: dilun, dimeurzh, dimerc'her, diriaou, digwener, disadorn, disul. Should context be insufficient, one may add, here as elsewhere, tremenet or paset "last", or a zeu "next".

For location within a day, one may place da between the more general and the more specific term, e.g., dec'h da noz "last night", warc'hoazh da vintin "tomorrow morning", hiziv d'abardaez "this evening". Otherwise one has diouzh ar mintin "in the morning", diouzh an noz "during the night" and, broader, war ar sizhun "during the week". In addition to these expressions we may have analytic use of, for example, e-pad "during". Clock time and dates have already been covered under the numeral, - here use is made of da: d'an unnek a viz Meurzh "on the eleventh of March", da nav eur hanter "at half-past nine".

It is possible to qualify adverbs of time with prepositions:

TABLE 30

	PRIOR	ANTERIOR	CORE ADVERB
(before/after)	a-raok	war-lerc'h	bremañ
(after)		goude	
(till/since)	betek	adalek	neuze
(till/since)	ken	diwar	
(since)		abaoe	
(by)	a-benn		

Overall, the core adverbs can be preceded by any of the given prepositions. There are inevitable qualifications. First, a-raok, war-lerc'h, goude and abaoe can be used on their own. Goude is often goudeze (ze = se "it"). Goude cannot be followed by bremañ. "Till now" is more often betek-hen. Adalek and betek convey a nuance of continuity, while abaoe implies an end. Betek and adalek are often used together, and may refer to place.

Others are as follows: dija "already" (always phrase-final); kerkent, dizale "immediately"; kentoc'h "sooner; rather"; c'hoazh "still, yet" (mentioned above; mostly phrase-final).

There is considerable facility in Breton over the conversion of other parts of speech into adjectives; indeed, the creation of a specific adjectival form may be considered bad style, if not "un-Breton". Here one may mention the adverbs abred "soon", diwezhat "late", and diouzhtu "immediately", all of which may be freely used as adjectives. Examples: un den gwechall/a wechall "a person of yesteryear"; kazetenn dec'h "yesterday's newspaper". As an example of an adverb transformed into a noun we have: Ne fell ket dezhi displegañ din ar pelec'h "She doesn't want to explain to me the "where" of it".

The question Pegeit (amzer)? "How long?" may elicit: pell (amzer) "a long time"; berr amzer, nebeut amzer "a little time"; da viken "for ever", etc. The question may be expanded: Abaoe pegeit?, to which one might respond with a-viskoazh "from time immemorial".

The questions Pegen alies? "How often?", Pet gwech? "How many times?" may elicit: nepred, biskoazh "never" (see below); gwech pe wech "occasionally"; ral "seldom"; a-wechoù "sometimes"; alies "often"; peurvuiañ "(the) most often"; bepred, atav "always" (atav may change for meaning as to which form of bezañ co-occurs with it: with the habitual it means "always", with the punctual it means "still"); dalc'hmat "always, constantly".

Breton possesses numerous words to convey "never". Three of them may be used freely with any tense/aspect/mood: morse, gwech ebet, nepred. One is used with the past tense: biskoazh. And one, plus a variant of it, is used exclusively with the future: biken, birviken. All these adverbs on their own convey "never"; if used after a verb, the verb will be preceded by ne. On their own they may acquire the indefinite sense "ever", as we saw in the adverb a-viskoazh.

### 10.2.3. Manner

The manner adverbs respond to the questions: Penaos?, E pe zoare? "How?". Any semantically appropriate qualifying adjective can function without change as an adverb:

Brav he deus lammet (AV AUX PPCP) "She jumped well"

Skuizh-bras eo-hi (V+AV V) "She's really tired"

It is possible to create unambiguously adverbial forms. For example: end-eeun "simply", er-vihan "while young", ez-vrav "well, fine". Where these do not have any perceptible semantic effect on the basic meaning, they may add emphasis.

To express "like this/that" one uses: evel-hen, evel-se, evel-hont, or e-giz-mañ, e-giz-se, e-giz-hont.

And, in an indefinite sense, we have: en un doare bennak "somehow", e pep doare "in every way", e doare ebet "in no way", n'eus forzh penaos "no matter how", e-giz-mañ-giz "somehow or other".

Examples consisting of a preposition plus a nominal or verbal form: a-walc'h "quite, enough" (postposed); a-vihanig "since childhood"; a-ratozh "on purpose"; a-sav "(stock-)still" (as in chom a-sav "(to) stop"); a-dammoù

"bit by bit"; a-zaou(i)ou "two by two"; e-gwir "truly"; war-eeun "directly"; war un dro "at the same time"; war e giz "slowly" (e may be adapted as appropriate); war-gil "backwards".

Examples consisting of words linked by ha: tamm-ha-tamm "gradually"; kichen-ha-kichen "close to each other".

#### 10.2.4. Sequence

Sequential adverbs include: da gentañ "first, at first"; da eil or d'an eil "secondly"; da drede or d'an trede "thirdly"; da zekvet or d'an deket "tenthly"; bep eil "every other, every second one".

Only da gentañ "first", of such adverbs, may not be accompanied by the definite article.

#### 10.2.5. "Collective" Adverbs

"Collective" adverbs are of the following type:

PSS + NUM (+ DIM SUFF) (+ penn)

Thus: va-unan or va-unanig "myself"; va-unan-penn "on my own"; hon-unanig "ourselves"; o-fevar "the four of them"; ho-tekig-penn "the ten of you on your own".



Ken kaer eo!

AV AJ V

"How beautiful it is!"

Also: ken alies-se "so often; as often as that" (or ken alies-mañ, ken alies all).

Within a clause:

Ken buan ma ya, e tegouezho a-raok ar fin

AV AV PRC V PRC V AV

"He's going so quickly that he'll arrive before the end".

"As/So much/many" is rendered by kement a + PL, CLL or NCT noun. Such a nominal constituent may be equative, followed by ha(g) + N or by ha ma + V. Thus:

N'eus ket kement a zour ha warlene

NEG V EQU PRP N EQU AV

"There isn't as much water as last year"

Kement a zour "so much water"; kement a dud "so many people";

Kement a asiedoù hag en o zi "as many plates as in their house";

Debret en deus kement a voued (ha) ma'z eo marvet gantañ

PPCP AUX EQU PRP N (EQU) PRC AUX PPCP "IO"

"He ate so much food that he died".

(lit. "[...] that it is dead with him")

In a demonstrative sense we have kement-mañ/se "as much as this/that", kement all "as much" (also kemend-all "likewise, as much"), keit-mañ/se "as long as this/that", keit all "as long". We may include

kenkoulz all "as well" (cf. koulz ha(g) "in addition to, besides, as well as"). Any perusal of a dictionary will reveal a bewildering variety of similar expressions.

Other words: kalz "much, many": kalz a baotred or kalz paotred "many lads"; The gradations of kalz are: muioc'h "more" (plus a expressions of quantity), ar muiañ "(the) most". "(At) most" or "mostly" is peurvuiañ or d'ar muiañ.

Still within the area of "more", "no more/no longer" is rendered by ne + V + ket ken. Ket may be omitted if nothing else would intervene between the verb and ken. Thus: Ne zeuiot (ket) ken "You'll come no longer" - Ne chomin ket amañ ken "I'll stay here no longer". If the subject is expressed and follows the verb, ken must follow the objects. Thus: Ne roy ket va mamm a arc'hant ken d'hec'h eontr "My mother'll give no more money to her uncle". Ne... (ket) ken has the synonym ne + V + (ket) mui, where ket may be omitted.

The opposite of kalz is nebeut, used only with a, and its gradations nebeutoc'h, an nebeutañ. "At least" is da nebeutañ.

"More than, in excess of" may be rendered by tremen or ouzhpen followed by the quantity.

Approximation is rendered by war-dro plus the quantity.

Kennebeut "either" occurs only in negative sentences, coming after the qualified word. For example:

Va gwreg ne vo ket eno kennebeut

S            NEG V            AV            AV

"My wife will not be there either"

The words for "only": hepken, hepmuiken, are similarly positioned:

Ar merc'hed hepken a zeuy d'ar c'hendalc'h

S            AV    PRC    V            AV

"Only the girls will come to the congress"

"Only" may also be rendered by ne + verb + nemet:

Ne welis nemet daou labousig en neizh

NEG V AV O AV

"I only saw two little birds in the nest"

Zoken "even" is placed before or after the qualified word:

N'he deus klasket zoken gwalc'hiñ he belo

NEG AUX PPCP AV INF O

"She hasn't even tried to wash her bicycle"

The positioning of other similar adverbs is as follows:

Before: re "too" (leniting); hanter "half" (leniting); peuz- "almost"; peur- "completely"; gwall "very".

After: -holl "completely"; -kenañ, -meurbet "very"; a-walc'h "quite, sufficiently".

#### 10.2.7. Cause and Reason

The adverbs which respond to the question Perak? "Why?" are analytic and restricted to the following types of combinations: rak-se, dre-se, gant-se, evit-se lit. "for, through, with, for that", each of which may also have a nuance of consequence or purpose. One may also make an appropriate use of such a noun as abeg "cause, reason".



# Chapter 4

## Syntax

### 1. General

The **Syntax** takes the data and discussion of the **Morphology** (and, indeed, of the **Phonology**), and offers a syntactic sketch of the language, geared very much to the question of element order. It concludes with a note on the possessive construction.

Greater reliance is placed on traditional accounts, which seem to present the language in a more readily accessible way. Detailed and statistical studies remain to be made; moreover, there are many alternative descriptive approaches.

The sentence as traditionally presented is simple or composite, the latter being subdivisible into compound or complex. Of these both may, intonation permitting, be juxtapositions of simple sentences (this applies in particular to the compound sentence). For example:

(1) Yann a rae stamm, Mari a laboure (COMPOUND)

S        V        O        S        V

"Yann knitted, (and/but) Mari worked"

(2) Yann a davas, Mari a oa skuizh (COMPLEX)

S        V        S        V    CPT

"Yann became silent, (because) Mari was tired"

Otherwise they consist of simple sentences linked by conjunctions: coordinating (copulative, separative, adversative, etc.) for the compound sentence, and "subordinating" (complementizing, attributive/relative, or adverbial) for the complex sentence. The subordinating conjunctions

correspond to the secondary parts of the sentence: complement/object, attribute/appositive, adverbial modifier.

For the complex sentence the "subordinating conjunctions" are e for the object/complement relation, a for the attributive/relative relation (often ma if the attributive is indirect; this a is usually distinguished from "subject" + a + RDC by intonation), and ma preceded or not by a preposition and/or adverb for the adverbial relation. This last relation may convey an attributive indirect object. For fuller details see the section on conjunctions in the Morphology. Thus:

- (3) Setu an ti m' emaon o chom ennañ  
 AV NP AVPRC be-PRG1PSG PREPCP in+it-PRSPRP3PSGM  
 "Here is the house in which/where I live"

Note that m' might be omitted here, because of the locational nuance already present (historically also, as ma) in the verb form emaon.

- (4) Setu an dorgenn ma savas-hi he zi warni  
 AV NP AVPRC build-P3PSG+PRO NP AV  
 "Here is the hill on which/where she built her house"

If the antecedent may function as "subject", then the conjunction may be a:

- (5) An den a gomzed diwar e benn  
 NP AJPRC speak-IMPAUT about-him+PRSPRP3PSGM  
 "The man who was spoken about"

- (6) Per a zo tomm e gof  
 FCS CPT "S"  
 "Per's stomach is hot"

## 2. The Simple Sentence

### 2.1. Overview

In the *Morphology* we have already seen the various ways of conjugating the verb and the considerations which underlie the various permutations.

If we look over the element order of some very common constructions in Breton, we see that Breton is a relatively consistent centrifugal-type language, in that the head of a construction comes before the dependent element(s). Thus, the subject follows the verb, the object follows the verb, the adjective follows the noun, the genitive (possessor) follows the possessed, the adverb follows the verb, the noun follows the adposition (i.e. we have prepositions), the relative clause follows the qualified noun, the compared nominal follows the comparative, and, less overall, the auxiliary verb follows the verb. Breton is inconsistent in having, in its morphology, both suffixes and prefixes. The field of syntactic, or word-order, typology (see Bossong in 1980 for some of its history) still needs careful analysis.

Basically, the new information (rheme) seems to come first in Breton. This is often a feature of spoken language, not of written language, which is generally more explicit. Its prominence in Breton may be due to the relative failure of Breton to impose itself, or to be permitted to function, as a written language. We are therefore more dependent on the spoken language for our information. The known information (theme), is sometimes referred to as the topic, and seems to come after the rheme. In his 1984, p.52, Rappaport describes the topic as "a given entity which the sentence makes a statement about". Radford in 1981, p.179 sees topicalization as a not unconditioned movement of a constituent to the front of the sentence (i.e. it may not move out of a relative clause). In 1980, pp.8-9 Bossong proposes to limit topicalization to "object thematization", and focalization (the focus is unshared information, in the presupposition of the speaker) to "subject rhematization". Whatever the solution, and it would seem to us that in Breton the sentence-initial element is interpretable as either a topic (what we know "I" am going to talk about) or a focus (what the speaker is drawing attention to and intends to talk about), the general picture for contextual Breton is that

the new information comes first, and one may see this new information as selected by an imaginary question. The most neutral statement must be all-rheme, context-free. Sentence (7) below may correspond to this. This goes against the general assertion that theme precedes rheme. A glance through the opening, thus context-free (?), sentences of a number of Breton novels showed a clear preponderance of initial adverbials, setting the scene, an occasional ober construction, as in (7), and several with a focal subject. What writer starts his work in a neutral fashion?

Searching for a "neutral sentence" or a "basic word order" is a task on which much time has been spent, with many languages. Probably no solution has been found for any language, not only because no-one agrees on what a "neutral sentence" or a "basic word order" is. This is not the place to go into details, but it does seem that one might argue that, in the world of everyday communication, a "neutral sentence" cannot exist. If there is a candidate for this doubtful honour in modern Breton for pragmatic and syntactic reasons, then one would choose the ober construction. E.g.,

- (7)                    Gwelout a ra Yann e vignonez  
                                   V                    S                    O  
                                   "Yann sees his girl friend"

For theoretic linguists the problem has focussed on many things, among them the question of deciding which sentences are marked emotionally and which are not, on deciding whether frequency is a valid criterion for choosing one order against another; and, for Breton as a Celtic language, on the dilemma perhaps posed by the discontinuity of the verb phrase. In other words, how can it be that in a very common word order in Celtic languages the subject comes between the verb and its object? Why it shouldn't, in our actual speaking, is not clear. So the Celtic languages are usually seen as presenting a basic word order, for the sentence with a verb and a nominal subject and direct object, of VERB + SUBJECT + OBJECT. We see this in (7) above, if gwelout a ra is seen as a single, verbal, component. Where the subject is pronominal, we can reduce it to being a grammatical marker suffixed to the verb, and this reduces or eliminates the discontinuity. The quasi-synthetic nature of the ober construction is clear from the impossibility of calling the

verb into relief by a clefting construction:

- + (8)            Gwelout eo a ra Yann e vignonez  
                   INF     CLF  AUX  S            O  
                   lit. "see it is which does Yann his girl friend"

Sentence (8) is unacceptable. However, one can emphasize gwelout, as in (though this may be considered non-standard):

- (9)            Gwelout 'ni 'ra Yann e vignonez  
                   INF    EMPPRC  AUX    S            O  
                   "Yann actually sees his girl friend"

It is possible that in (9) we do not have the ober construction proper, but a construction where the infinitive is closer to its status as verbal noun, and is thus almost the direct object of ober. In such a construction we may have a double object, or a reflection of the Breton genitive construction, which we see clearly in at least the object pronoun construction as illustrated by:

- (10)            E welout a ran  
                   OPRO INF/VN    PRC do-AUXPRE1PSG  
                   "I see him"  
                   (lit. "his seeing I do")

Compare the more recent construction, which in itself, by the use of the personal forms of a "of", reflects a genitive construction:

- (11)            Gwelout a ran anezhi  
                   INF    AUX    OPRO  
                   "I see her"

Referring again to (9), it does seem that the following are possible:

- (12)            Gwelout e vignonez eo a ra Yann  
                   INF           O       CLF AUX    S  
                   "Yann sees his girl friend"

- (13)            Dihuniñ eo a ra Yann  
                   INF CLF AUX    S  
                   "Yann wakes up"

Here a transitive verb complete with direct object, and an intransitive verb allow clefting, that is, they are brought into relief at the beginning of the sentence by the "particle" eo "it is" - compare the use of c'est in French: C'est Jean qui voit sa petite amie "It's Jean who sees his girl friend". This suggests an aspectual distinction, where a perfective, conveying the action in its totality, i.e. the verb phrase is complete (transitive with object; intransitive), allows clefting. Perhaps this is a bridge to the "emphatic" ober construction. Such ideas are elaborated by Janig Stephens in 1982 and in Hor Yezh (1984).

So it may be that, alongside auxiliary ober there is the full lexeme ober, which will be preceded by the full verb phrase:

- (14)            Gwelout e vignonez a ra Yann (either ober)  
                   INF           O       AUX    S



SENTENCES 17-28	SYNTAX	PRAGMATICS	NOTES
Yann a zibab ul levr S V O "Yann chooses a book"	SVO	Yann - RHM	weakened RELCLS
Ul levr a zibab Yann O V S "Yann chooses a book"	OVS	O - RHM Better with CLF after O	weakened RELCLS
Yann a wel Morwenna S V O "Yann sees Morwenna"	SVO	S - RHM	weakened RELCLS
Morwenna a wel Yann O V S "Yann sees Morwenna"	OVS	O + RHM	weakened RELCLS
Morwenna e wel Yann O V S "Yann sees Morwenna"	OVS	O - FCS?	discon- nected O
El liorz h e c'h ortoz Yann XVS AV V S "Yann waits in the garden"		AV - RHM	PRG better here
El liorz h 'ni c'h ortoz Yann XVS AV V S "Yann waits in the garden"		AV - RHM	EMP

SENTENCES 17-28	SYNTAX	PRAGMATICS	NOTES
U1 levr 'ni glask Yann O V S "Yann seeks a book"	OVS	O - RHM	EMP
U1 levr eo a glask Yann O cl V S "Yann seeks a book"	OVS	O - RHM	cleft; PRG better

## Notes:

- 1) Of all the sentences (17) is the most neutral. If, however, the auxiliary is negated, then we have an "insistent" nuance.
- 2) Sentence (19) cannot be negated.
- 3) In clefted sentences it is the clefting verb eo which is negated.
- 4) Sentences with 'ni are negated by placing n'eo ket in absolute sentence-initial position. After 'ni the particle may be a, reflecting the original literal meaning "the one which/who". One might, however, claim that 'ni replaces the particle (Trepas in 1974/1980, pp.195, #445). Extra emphasis is gained by postposing eo, thus: 'ni eo + a/e as appropriate. Emphasis is also achieved by the use of certain conjunctions, e.g. e(n)ta "so, then" with an imperative, suffixed personal pronouns, e.g. -me "I, me", or the personal forms of a "of" referring to the subject - see sentence (93).
- 5) Sentences with animate nominal subject and object, using the analytic conjugation, may be ambiguous as to which is the subject and which the object, though it is most often SVO. Intonation and/or context usually clarifies the relations. Negation may disambiguate the situation if the verb is plural - in such a case the subject must be post-verbal. If singular (i.e. analytic), the plural subject must be pre-verbal.
- 6) The disconnected object sentence is notable, as the use of e signals a placing of the preceding direct object in relief, disconnecting it from the verb. In the case of a non-direct object or adverbial preceding the verb, we have the same use of e, though here it may be an exaggeration to speak of "disconnection", since such constituents may be seen to be less

inherently part of the verb phrase. This construction is discussed by Kervella, Urien and Desbordes in Hor Yezh, No.111, 1978. The possible basic VSO order of Breton, and the considerable frequency of sentences not composed of subject/verb/object, but with impersonal constructions and personal forms of prepositions, creates a situation where the "verb phrase" may be a less major constituent.

7) Disconnection allows many variations on the sentence structure, the only argument against syntactic consideration of such variations being that we are no longer dealing with the single intonational unit of the sentence. Thus: Me a chomo er skol - Me, er skol e chomin - Me, chom a rin er skol - Er skol e chomin, me, etc. "I'll stay at school".

The situation is confused and perhaps somewhat unreal, for two reasons:

(i) the two particles are phonetically realized and differentiated only in the literary language and in Leon.

(ii) elsewhere a, or the lenition caused by a, may take over in all circumstances.

The terms "topic", "focus", "theme" and "rheme" are often a problem here (see 2.1 above). Even the questions method may leave ambiguity, since the question itself may be ambiguous, e.g.

(29)            Piv a wel Yannig? - Mari a wel Yannig  
                   S     V     O                    S     V     O  
                   "Who sees Yannig?" - "Marie sees Yannig"

(Yannig could well be the subject of the sentences)

Mari is the rheme and the new information. She is the topic in that she is the identification of the shared "who?". Another topic may be al labour in (30):

- (30) Al labour e kavo mat  
 "O"/TPC V-FTR3PSG CPT  
 "He'll find the work good"

## 2.2. Element Order

Many considerations need to be taken into account: pragmatic, intonational, syntactic, and so on. We prefer to draw together this discussion with a summary and illustration adapted from Kervella in 1947/76, pp.393ff., ##751ff.

### 2.2.1. The Imperative

The verb form comes first, though a clitic pronoun may precede it.

- (31) Diskouezit din an ti "Show me the house" (IMP IO O)
- (32) Na ziskouezit ket din an ti "Don't show me the house" (NEGIMP IO O)
- (33) Selaouit ac'hanon or Va selaouit "Listen to me" (IMP OPRO or OPRO IMP)
- (34) Na selaouit ket ac'hanon "Don't listen to me" (NEGIMP OPRO)

2.2.2. The Simple Forms

2.2.2.1. Positive Sentences

2.2.2.1.1. Nominal Predicates

By this is meant reference to copula or semi-copula constructions ("be", "become", "seem", "appear", etc.).

- (i) COMPLEMENT + VERB + SUBJECT (+ XX)
- (ii) SUBJECT + VERB + COMPLEMENT (+ XX)
- (iii) XX + VERB + SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT (+ XX)
- (iv) XX + VERB + COMPLEMENT + SUBJECT (+ XX)
- (v) Bez' (e) + VERB + COMPLEMENT + SUBJECT (+ XX)

Examples:

- (35) Pesketaer e vo Yannig a-hed e vuhez (i)
- (36) Yannig a vo pesketaer a-hed e vuhez (ii)
- (37) A-hed e vuhez e vo Yannig pesketaer (iii)
- (38) ?A-hed e vuhez e vo pesketaer Yannig (iv)
- (39) Bez' e vo pesketaer Yannig a-hed e vuhez (v)

"Yannig'll be a fisherman all his life"

Examples of semi-copulae are dont da vezañ "(to) become", chom "(to) remain".

## 2.2.2.1.2. Verbal Predicates

The glossing is abbreviated, for reasons of space. The  $\S$  in parentheses denotes "more than one".

- (i) INF + OBER + S(S) (+O(S)/XX)
- (ii) S(S) + ANT (+ O(S)/XX)
- (iii) (O(S)/XX) + V + S(S) (+ O(S)/XX)
- (iv) Bez' e + V + S(S) (+ O(S)/XX)

Examples:

- (40) Debriñ a ra Mona he boued er gegin (i)
- (41) Mona a zebr he boued er gegin (ii)
- (42) He boued e tebr Mona er gegin (iii)
- (43) +He boued er gegin e tebr Mona (iii)
- (44) Er gegin he boued // e tebr Mona (iii; // - pause)
- (45) Bez' e tebr Mona he boued er gegin (iv)

"Mona eats here food in the kitchen"

## 2.2.2.2. Negative Sentences

- (i) (XX +) ne + ANT + ket + S(S) (+ O(S)/XX)
- (ii) (XX +) S(S) ne + V + ket (+ O(S)/XX)

For (i), verbs objects or other secondary parts may precede ne. This applies also to (ii), though here a pause will be observed. Ket may, of course, be replaced by other negatives.

Examples:

(46) Ne gavo ket ho preudeur a labour e Pariz (i)

(47) or Ne gavo ho preudeur labour ebet e Pariz (i)

(48) E Pariz ne gavo ho preudeur (a) labour (i)

(49) or E Pariz ne gavo ho preudeur labour ebet (i)

(50) Ho preudeur ne gavint ket (a) labour e Pariz (ii)

(51) or Ho preudeur ne gavint labour ebet e Pariz (ii)

(52) E Pariz ho preudeur ne gavint ket (a) labour (ii)

(53) or E Pariz ho preudeur ne gavint labour ebet (ii)

"Your brothers'll not find any work in Paris"

### 2.2.2.3. A Note on Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative YES/NO sentences may be formed exactly as positive and negative sentences. Ha(g), as an INT PRC, may come first in a POS question. In WH-questions ("P-questions" in Breton), the WH-word comes first, though an emphasized constituent may precede it. Examples are given in the Morphology, section 6.5. For INT emphasis in YES/NO-questions (interrogation is already emphatic), Daoust may precede ha(g), or we may have Daoust hag-eñ + SBRCLS ordering (see 3 below).

## 2.2.3. The Periphrastic Forms

## 2.2.3.1. The Perfect Series

## 2.2.3.1.1. Positive Sentences

## 2.2.3.1.1.1 Nominal Predicates

We have 2.2.2.1.1 (i-v), plus:

(v) PPCP + AUX + COMPLEMENT + S(S)(+ XX)

(vi) PPCP + AUX + S(S) + COMPLEMENT (+ XX)

Examples:

(54) Labourer-douar eo bet Yannig e-pad daou vloaz (i)

(55) Yannig a zo bet labourer-douar e-pad daou vloaz  
(ii)

(56) E-pad daou vloaz eo bet labourer-douar Yannig  
(iv)

(57) Bez' ez eo bet labourer-douar Yannig daou vloaz  
(v)

(58) ?Bet eo labourer-douar Yannig e-pad daou vloaz  
(vii)

(59) Bet eo Yannig labourer-douar e-pad daou vloaz  
(viii)

"Yannig's been a farm-worker for two years"

In (59) one might insert a second bet between eo and Yannig. Version (iii), the most acceptable, with Yannig, preceding labourer-douar, has been left out.

Where the semi-copula is compound, the invariable element will be separable, immediately preceding the complement, e.g.,

- (60) Deut eo Yannig da vezañ labourer-douar  
           COP      S          COP+CPT  
       "Yannig's become a farm-worker"

#### 2.2.3.1.1.2. Verbal Predicates

- (i) VN + AUX + graet + S(S) (+ O(S)/XX)  
 (ii) S(S) + AUX + PPCP (+ O(S)\XX)  
 (iii) (O(S)/XX) + AUX + S(S) + PPCP (+ O(S)/XX)  
 (iv) Bez' e + AUX + S(S) + PPCP (+ O(S)/XX)  
 (v) PPCP + AUX + S(S) (+ O(S)/XX)

An exception to (v) concerns clitic direct-object pronouns, which will precede the past participle. Examples:

- (61) Debriñ en deus graet Yann e voued er wetur (i)  
 (62) Yann en deus debret e voued er wetur (ii)  
 (63) E voued en deus debret Yann er wetur (iii)  
 (64) Bez' en deus Yann debret e voued er wetur (iv)  
 (65) Debret en deus Yann e voued er wetur (v)

"Yann has eaten his food in the car"



## 2.2.3.2. The Progressive Series

The basic orderings are as follows, with negative forms simply involving enclosure of the appropriate form of bezañ within ne + V + ket, etc. The bez' e construction has no negative form, as usual. The abbreviation PRG stands for: q + VN (+ O(S)/XX). Thus:

(i) PRG + bezañ + S(S) (+ O(S)/XX)

(ii) S(S) + bezañ + PRG

(iii) (O(S)/XX) + bezañ + S(S) + PRG

(iv) Bez' e + bezañ + S(S) + PRG

(v) Bet + bezañ + S(S) + PRG

If the direct object is pronominal and clitic, i.e. not the a construction, then PRG is realized as ouzh + clitic + VN. The reflexive particle is not a pronoun, and so here we have oc'h en em + VN, oc'h being the pre-vocalic realization of q.

Examples:

(72) Q naetaat e oa Divi e gambrig-kousket gant evezh

(i)

(73) Divi a oa o naetaat e gambrig-kousket gant evezh

(ii)

(74) E gambrig-kousket e oa Divi o naetaat gant evezh

(iii)

(75) Bez' e oa Divi o naetaat e gambrig-kousket gant

evezh (iv)

"Divi was carefully cleaning his bedroom".

(76) or Bet eo (bet) Divi o naetaat e gambrig-kousket gant evezh (v)

"Divi has been carefully cleaning his bedroom"

(77) and Ouzh e naetaat e oa Divi gant evezh

(78) or O naetaat anezhi e oa Divi gant evezh

"Divi was cleaning it carefully"

Where a direct object is nominal and comes first in the sentence, it may be echoed by an appropriately placed clitic pronoun. For example:

(79) ?Ar bara e oa Mari o troc'hañ anezhañ

(80) or Ar bara e oa Mari ouzh e droc'hañ

"Mari was cutting the bread".

Thus, for the simple sentence we have a widespread structure where the default ordering will be V + S + O/XX, most often given as VSOX. The default is not necessarily the most frequent ordering, and any topicalized or focussed constituent may precede the verb, causing morphological changes where appropriate.

If, in a sentence or utterance, the subject or direct or indirect object comes first, then the ordering rules are on the whole strictly adhered to. If, however, a long adverbial comes first, then the rule may be broken, and a "new" sentence may start after the inevitable pause. An example would be:

(81) Disul, goude an oferenn, ar beleg a zo aet  
 AV                    AV                    S                    V  
da c'hoari c'hartoù  
 X

"Last Sunday, after Mass, the priest went to play cards"

Were it not for the "heavy adverbials" here, we would have expected

(82) Disul, goude an oferenn, ez eo aet ar beleg  
 AV                    AV                    V                    S  
c'hoari c'hartoù  
 X

Sentence (82) remains acceptable.

### 3. The Composite Sentence

So far we have looked at the simple sentence. The composite sentence, in its two forms compound and complex, is relatively straightforward, though rather different from the simple sentence.

#### 3.1. The Compound Sentence

In the compound sentence, if ha(g) "and" or pe "or" link the clauses, then the verbal particle will be a or e according to the structure of the introductory, or "main", clause. Thus:

(83) Me a yelo di hag a gavo an teñzor  
 "S"    V    AV CNJ    V            O  
 "I'll go there and find the treasure"

- (84) C'hwi a yelo, pe e kavo Lan hoc'h arc'hant  
 "S"        V    CNJ    V    S            O  
 "You'll go or Lan will find your money"

Where the conjunction is met, mez or hogen "but", the immediately following clause will be a "new" sentence. This also applies in the case of the conjunction rak "for, as" (equivalent to French car as opposed to the subordinating conjunction parce que). Thus:

- (85) Me a breno ar sae, hogen c'hwi a wisko anezhi  
 "S"        V            O        CNJ        "S"        V            O  
 "I'll buy the dress, but you'll wear it"

### 3.2. The Complex Sentence

#### 3.2.1. General

As for the complex sentence, its adverbial clauses have a strict VSOX order. With the single exception of one indirect question construction, this ordering is disregarded only in cases of disconnection or emphasis.

Adverbial clauses will be introduced by ma or e, both causing the mixed mutation. The various "subordinating conjunctions" have already been listed, and on the whole consist of a PRP or AV + ma or an AV (sometimes originally a phrase) + e.

Explicative, or Noun clauses, as in "I know that he will come", "I said that that was wrong", are introduced by the particle e followed by a strict VSOX ordering.

First, consideration will be given to relative clauses. Secondly, to adverbial clauses.

## 3.2.2. Relative Clauses

There are certain set, but variable, phrases with a, which may reflect reduced relatives. Thus:

(86) Evel a vez lavaret "As is said" (ma is possible)

(87) War a gomze, . . . "According to what he said, . . ."

(88) Bez et a vezo "So be it"

The relative is a descriptive problem in Breton since it has somewhat blended with the SVO/OVS order of simple sentences and is often set apart rather by intonation or context (in the relative clause there is less emphasis on the referent). Where we have a non-DO (or non-IO, based on an NP) relative the a is often replaced by ma, originally the adverbial conjunction cognate with the suffix -va "place", e.g. in gweledva "landscape".

"Whose" is often rendered by the construction

POSSESSOR + a + V + PSS AJ + POSSESSED

Examples:

(89) Soazig a sav he mab abred  
 FCS(?) V S(?) AV  
 "Soazig, whose son rises early"  
 (or "Soazig's son rises early")  
 lit. "Soazig (who) rises her son early"

The second reading shows left focussing of the possessor.

(90) Me a oa skornet va bizied  
 FCS(?) V S(?)  
 "I, whose fingers were frozen"

- (91) Doue a veulomp e vadelezh  
 FCS(?)        V            O  
 "God, whose kindness we praise"

And in both these sentences we may give the alternative, and synonymous, readings "My fingers were frozen" and "We praise God's kindness".

Where we wish to emphasize the relation, the conjunction ma may be used; and where a pronominal preposition in final position, or a possessive, signals the relation, a may be replaced by e. This is possible in all sentences such as (89)-(91), with the particle e, or its mutational effect, signalling disconnection and clarifying the non-"subject" status of the pre-verbal constituent, where appropriate.

We may have a situation where a relative clause is signalled by a pronominal preposition or a possessive, which points to the (immediately) preceding verb as the start of the clause:

- (92) Ar c'hazh a gavas va c'hi anezhañ  
           O                V            S            OPRO  
 "The cat which my dog found"

The preposition signals that va c'hi is subject; its presence is not needed, and such sentences may remain ambiguous.

With the verb bezañ, the preposition signals the subject. Thus:

- (93) Me a oa pesketaer ac'hanon  
           S            CPT                SPRO  
 "I (who) was a fisherman"

Another way of conveying relative relations is to precede a with ha(g). This may bring in also a concessive nuance (often echoed by koulskoude "however" at the end of the clause), or the referent may be indefinite. Thus:

- (94) Ar marc'hadour roñseed, hag a oar e vicher  
                   "S"                  CNJ   V      O  
koulskoude, a chomas berr da laerezh anezhañ  
           AV                  V                  X  
 "The horse dealer, though he knows his trade well,  
 failed to steal it."  
 (Trepos in 1974/1980, p.121; orthography adapted; CNC)

- (95) Rodig hag a dro, a ra bro  
           "S"  CNJ  V      V  
 "A wheel that turns, travels."  
 (Kervella in 1947/76, p.419, #808; EMP)

- (96) UN den hag a zo amañ  
           S  CNJ  V   AV  
 "A person who is here."  
 (ID)

We should not forget expressions such as the following, already referred to above in the Morphology 9.2.7.2.6, though they not should be seen as illustrating relative clauses:

Me a fell din "I want", Me a gav din "I think", Me a soñj din "I think", and Me a vefe mat din "I would like", the first two recalling the French expressions il me faut and il me semble, though there one might equally claim that a French expression is reflecting a native Breton construction, i.e. me a gav din might be seen as closer to je trouve, the dictionary meaning of kavout "(to) find".

The negative relative relation is conveyed by na + V + ket (or other appropriate negative element). It should however, be noted that in many a dialect the distinction between ne and na, in addition to that between e and a, has been lost. This removes the asymmetry of the literary language, where both negative particles cause lenition, while e and a may cause different mutations.

## 3.2.3. Adverbial Clauses

Attention has been given to (adverbial) conjunctions in the sentence in the Morphology (8.1.3. and 8.2).

Some general points and exemplification may be helpful. There are some subordinating conjunctions in na..., e.g., hep na... "without", gant aon na... "for fear that", ken na... "until", where na does not convey negation. Where the basic subordinating conjunction contains ma, we may have the replacement of ma with na... ket, or, more commonly, ma ne... ket. Thus evit na... ket or evit ma ne... ket "in order that... not". Conjunctions with the particle e have ne... ket, for example: peogwir e... "because", perak e... "why", penaos e... "how", hag-eñ e... "if, whether" (indirect question), pa... "when, if, because" (pa'z... + vowel). One might even argue that ma may be followed by e, since we have ma'z pre-vocally (see below).

As pointed out above, met and hogen "but", and rak "for, because" are not subordinating conjunctions and thus do not require to be followed immediately, barring clitics, by a verb. What follows them behaves as if it were a "new sentence". This also applies where, in an indirect question, ha(g) is used to render "if, whether". The alternative, hag-eñ e, is a straightforward subordinating conjunction.

Should the subordinate clause precede the main clause, then the main clause will be introduced by e and have the order VSO. Thus:

(97)            Pa c'hellin dont, e teuin  
                   CNJ    SNTV    INF    PRC   SNTV  
                   "If I can come, I shall come"

Adverbs like avat "but, however", neuze, eta "then, so" come finally in the clause they "introduce".

Certain conjunctions are not followed by particles unless the verb begins with a vowel. Thus: pa'z "when, if, because", ma'z "if, that". This glide consonant itself reflects g, which is on the whole reflected as ez before kaout, bezañ and mont, and as ec'h before other verbs. As has already been mentioned, the conjunctions pe "or" and ha "and" are followed by a or e depending on the structure of the sentence.

- (98) Int a zeuy pa roy mammig dezho arc'hant  
 "S" V CNJ V S IO O  
 "They'll come when/if mum gives them money"

- (99) Int a zeuy pe a yay  
 "S" V CNJ V  
 "They will come or go"

#### 4. Element Order: Conclusion

It is clear, then, that there is considerable variety of constituent or element order in Breton. This order is reflected morphologically - the particular form of the verb, phonologically - the particular mutation caused, the verbal particles, etc., and is constrained pragmatically and stylistically.

Thus we should not consider such sentences as (100) as incorrect, and the assertion that there is emphasis or leftward focussing in the subordinate clause need not be valid:

- (100) Me 'lavar deoc'h ar marc'h-se a oa re gozh  
 "S" V IO "S" V AJ  
 "I tell you that horse was too old"  
 (Trepos in 1974/80, p.249, #589)

although we may expect the structure of (101):

- (101) Me 'lavar deoc'h e oa ar marc'h-se re gozh  
 "S" V IO PRC V S AJ

## 5. The Possessive Construction

The Syntax can be closed with a brief reference to the possessive construction within the Breton noun phrase. Trepos in 1974/80, pp.77-84, ##159-82) offers a very clear treatment.

The archetypal construction is "the page of the book", where both nominal components are definite; less frequently, one might have an indefinite second component, e.g., "the page of a book", although this would make more sense if "a book" was qualified by, say, an adjective. In a way, then, both components, possessed and possessor, are "definite" or "defined", and the semantic implicitness of this gives us the peculiarity, but not the uniqueness, of the Celtic construction in that what is the possessed must not be qualified by the definite article.

Historically, the possessor was in the genitive case, as still found in, for example, Irish. In Modern Breton we might see it as a juxtaposition with a particular nominal structure:

N + DN or particularized N

Thus:

(102)                    tok Erwan  
                              "Erwan's hat"

(103)                    toenn ti ar pesketaer  
                              "the roof of the fisherman's house"  
                              (a double possession)

(104)                    toennoù Enez Sein  
                              "the roofs of Sein"

(N.B.: the possessed may be qualified: toenn ruz an ti "the red roof of the house", provided that there is no selection among roofs - see below; we may also have toenn un ti bras "the roof of a big house" and toenn pep ti "the roof of every house".)

Here there is no real selection or comparison, such as may particularly arise if the possessed is plural. If one wishes to speak only of certain roofs of the house, then the preposition eus "of, from" may be used; if one emphasizes "each" or qualifies the possessed with a superlative adjective, the same applies. Thus:

- (105) toennoù an ti - toennoù eus an ti -  
pep toenn eus an ti - an uhelañ toenn eus an ti  
 "the house roofs" - "...roofs of the house" -  
 "each roof of the house" -  
 "the highest roof of the house".

So eus or another suitable preposition (e.g., diwar with ar maez "from (the country)") will be appropriate when the possession is relative, and often found too where the possessive expression is the direct object of a negated verb. Where the possessor is animate, da is a more appropriate preposition. Examples:

- (106) tud Roazhon - (an) d/tud eus Roazhon  
 "Rennes people" - "(the) people from Rennes"
- (107) N'em eus ket kavet ar mignon-se da Ber  
 NEGAUX          PPCP          O          X(PSS)  
 "I haven't found that friend of Per's"
- (108) Ne c'hellan ket gwelout ar prenestroù eus e di  
 NEGV                  INF                  O                  X(PSS)  
 "I can't see the windows of his house"

In (108), prenestrou e di would have been acceptable. In (107), however, the demonstrative marker tends to force, by its relativizing role, the use of a preposition. Numerals too tend, through their relativizing or selectioning role, to demand the use of eus. In many such cases the possessive relation is no longer paramount. We see that the use of a preposition fits in where the possessed or complement is indefinite, e.g. ur mignon din "a friend of mine" or daou eus he moerebed "two of her aunts"/"two aunts of hers". Or there can be straight juxtaposition, leading to lexicalization or the use of the preposition a. Thus: sae-gambr "dressing gown", tud a vor "sea folk", ti a sevenadur "Maison de la Culture". Here the DART may be used.



# Chapter 5

## A Note on Word Formation

### 1. Introduction

We have already seen many important aspects of word formation in the discussion of, in particular, various nominal suffixes. Here the reader is referred to Kervella in 1947/76, pp.425-73, ##821-90 for a thorough exposition, and to Trepos in 1974/80, pp.56-62, ##117-123 for a useful list.

Below we simply illustrate the wealth of derivation to be found in Breton.

### 2. Components

#### 2.1. Nominal Suffixes

-ach/-aj:

be/aj "voyage" (F); bugale/aj "childhood" (M).

(The suffix is a French loan, though gender is not fixed; beaj has become Breton feminine perhaps because of the association of v- with lenition. Bugaleaj is derived from bugale "children" + -aj.)

-(i)ad:

(i) quantity (added to the singular): litr/ad "litre"; bag/ad "boatful; troupe, flock"; dorn/ad "handful; slap (like an "earful!")"; fri/ad "noseful; pinch of snuff; sore nose". The roots are litr NM "litre", bag NF "boat", dorn NM "hand", fri NM "nose". (Gender as for the base noun.)

(ii) people: merde/ad "seaman"; kêr/iad "townsman". For the first, the root is merde "navigate", found in merdeiñ "(to) navigate" and merdeadenn "sea journey". For the second the root is kêr "town, farm(s)". (M)

-aer, -er, -our:

(i) professions, trades: kig/er "butcher"; marc'had/our "merchant, shopkeeper"; pesket/aer "fisherman"; the feminine is formed by adding -ez to this suffix, and may denote a machine, e.g., dorn/er/ez "threshing machine"; see -ez (ii/iii) below. The roots are kig NM "meat", marc'had NM "market", pesked NPL "fish" or pesketa "(to) fish" (we also have pesketour "fisherman"), and dorn, as in dornañ "(to) thresh, beat".

(ii) others: aot/er "altar". (M)

To these suffixes we may add -ezh, denoting (abstract) activity, e.g., keginerezh "the art of cookery", dornerezh "threshing" (M). The feminine suffix -ouriezh denotes names of sciences, e.g., douarouriezh "geology", from douar NM "earth" (compare douaroniezh NF "geography").

-an:

people: Norm/an "Norman", Amerik/an "American" (loans). Also, but native Breton: loenig/an NM "tiny animal" (loen NM "animal" + -ig (DIM) + -an), and korrig/an NM "elf" (korr NM "dwarf" + -ig (DIM) + -an). (M)

-añs:

fizi/añs "confidence"; dismeg/añs "contempt"; bal/añs "scales".

These are loans from French, with some extension of the suffix to Breton words: dismegañs, dismegañ "(to) despise". Balañs is a simple loan, but fiziañs has become more independent as a Breton word: fiziout "(to) (en)trust". (F)

-((V)m)ant:

gouarn/amant "government"; gwisk/amant "article of clothing"; bati/mant "building, ship".

These are partly loans from French, and as such often consist of V + -mant; they are M and the plural is often in -ñchoù. We note gwiskamant, where the root, gwisk, is Celtic. One might bear in mind also karantez NF "love", paourentez NF "poverty", mezventi NF "drunkenness".

-ded/-der:

abstracts, formed from adjectives: uhel/der or uhel/ded "height" (from uhel "high"); tomm/der "heat" (from tomm "hot"). Such words in -ded are feminine; those in -der are masculine.

-ed:

formed from adjectives: yec'h/ed "health" (from vac'h "healthy"); kleñv/ed "illness" (from klañv "ill"). (M)

-eg:

(i) language names: gall/eg "French" (adjective = -ek; Gall NM "Frenchman");

(ii) from collective/non-count: balan/eg "expanse of broom" (balan CLL "broom");

(iii) from singular: enez/eg "archipelago" (the root enez NF "island" is

also used in island names, for example, Enez Vriad "Bréhat");

(iv) from singulatives (also tree names): perenn/eg "pear orchard" (perenn NF "pear; pear-tree");

(v) others, e.g., ti/eg "head of the household" (ti NM "house").

(M/F)

-ell:

(i) implements: kont/ell "knife" (loan from Fr couteau), skub/ell, also skubellenn "broom" (root skub, as in skubañ "(to) sweep");

(ii) diminutive sense: rod/ell "lock (of hair)" (rod NF "wheel");

(iii) others: mant/ell "overcoat" (loan from Fr manteau).

Such nouns are, on the whole, feminine. An exception is kastell "castle" (from Fr château). They may have various types of plural.

-enn:

(i) the singulative of collectives: gwez/enn "tree" (gwez CLL "trees");

(ii) the notion of "a bit": dour/enn "drop of water" (dour NM NCT "water");

(iii) other meanings: kalon/enn "heart-shaped object" (kalon NF "heart");

(iv) forming fractions: eilved/enn "half" (eil(vet) ORD "second");

(v) forming nouns from plurals: kelaou/enn "newspaper" (keloù NM "(item of) news");

(vi) forming nouns from adjectives: koant/enn "pretty girl" (koant AJ "pretty");

(vii) forming nouns from verbs: to/enn "roof" (teñ, RDC to "(to) roof")

(viii) foreign origin: brum/enn "mist" (Fr brume "mist").

All these are feminine. There are some words in -enn which are masculine: pallenn "mat" (related to Latin palea "chaff" (?)); tevenn "cliff" (related to tev AJ "fat, thick" (?)); penn "head".

-ent:

skev/ent "lungs" (PL; related to skañv AJ "light"); ker/ent "relations" (plural of kar AJ "related").

-ez:

(i) collectives, from French: banan/ez "bananas"; singular = SGT: bananezenn. (Gender inapplicable; "non-feminine".)

(ii) feminines: kazh/ez "female cat"; note also c'hoar/ez/ed, plural of c'hoar NF "sister". (F)

(iii) machines: gwrier/ez "sewing machine" (also "seamstress"; root gwri, RDC of gwriat "(to) sew"). (F)

(iv) others: buh/ez "life", digar/ez "excuse, pretext". (The first contains a Celtic suffix; compare, for example, Welsh cyndynrwydd NM "obstinacy", or bywyd NM "life"; the second is built on the root digarez, RDC of digareziñ "(to) excuse".) (F/M)

-(n)i:

abstracts: dieg/i "laziness"; kozh/ni "old age".

The first is cognate with Welsh diogi NM "laziness", with AJ diog as against Breton dieguş. The second is derived from kozh AJ "old". (F)

-nezh:

abstracts: fur/nezh "wisdom"; skuizh/nezh "tiredness"

Also written as -nez; see note to -aer, -er, -our above. (F)

-ur:

results of actions: skritur "writing".

With a compound suffix we have plijadur NM "pleasure". Our example here is probably a French loan: écriture NF. More typical would be magadur "eating, food", derived from mag/añ "(to) feed". (M)

-vezh:

content of a period of time (-iad may be added to give a quantitative sense, - often qualified by a noun): deiz → devezh → un devezhiad labour "a day of work". (Gender as base noun)

Other examples:

mintin - mintin/vezh "morning"; bloaz - bloa/vezh "year"; sizhun - sizhun/vezh "week"; noz - noz/vezh "night"; miz - miz/vezh "month"; eur - eur/vezh "hour".

As we have seen, endings may be accumulated: devezhiadennoù "little "dayfuls"; deskadurezh "education; doctrine" (synonym of deskadur).

There are many other endings, of which the following is a brief sample:

-id: kistin/id NF "chestnut grove" (kistin CLL "chestnut trees");

-od: onn/od NF "ash grove" (onn CLL "ash trees");

-iz: yaouank/iz NF "youth" (yaouank AJ "young"; note yaouankizoù NPL "young people");

-oud: gall/oud NM "power"; based on the RDC of gall/ou "(to) be able" (note the ZH spelling).

## 2.2. Verb Derivation

For a general guide to the distribution of verbs in the Breton vocabulary, we may take Kervella in 1947/76, p.450, #864 who gives root verbs as 5%, -(i)añ as 50% plus, -iñ as 20% plus, -at as 5.5% plus, -out as 3%, -(i)al as 3% and -el as 1.25% of the "full complement" of Breton verbs. Other endings include -et, -er, -ezh, -en, -in, -ek.

None of these endings conveys any special sense. All one might note is that, where there are alternative infinitive forms, -iñ may denote intransitivity and -añ transitivity, e.g., dihun-iñ/añ "to awake/awaken" (note how English "(to) wake up" is both transitive and intransitive).

However, we might note the following suffixes:

-a (with reinforcement of the preceding consonant):

These are added to collectives, non-counts, some plurals and to nouns in -ad denoting quantity or "blows" (note the reinforcement of d to t).  
Examples:

bezhin/a "(to) collect seaweed"; logot/a "(to) chase mice"; kraoñ/a "(to) collect walnuts" (also kraoñ-a/e-ta), pesket/a "(to) fish"; bazhat/a "(to) cudgel"; dornat/a "(to) gather handfuls, slap"; and bouet/a "(to) feed".

-aat (with reinforcement of the preceding consonant, where appropriate).

Most often these are formed from adjectives and adverbs, and convey a nuance of process. Examples:

kosh/aat "(to) age"; yac'h/aat "(to) grow healthy"; abret/aat "(to) advance"; brezhonek/aat "(to) Bretonize"; trugarek/aat "(to) thank"; pinvidik/aat "(to) grow rich/enrich".

From a noun we have goap/aat "(to) mock".

We might note kleñvel "(to) fall ill" - klañvaat "(to) fall ill, make ill" (klañv AJ "ill").

### -aouiñ

These are formed from "plurals" in -où: skeudennaouiñ "(to) illustrate" from skeudenoù "pictures" (cf. skeudenniñ "(to) represent, describe"); goulaouiñ "(to) shine, begin to dawn" from gouloù M "light" (plural gouleier).

## 2.3. Compound Words

Breton prefers concrete expressions and compound words to long abstracts. Kervella in 1947/76, pp.455, #869 contrasts:

dispennidigezh ar c'harregenoù dindan nerzh an doureier  
destruction the rocks under force the waters  
"the destruction of the rocks under the force of the  
waters"

using possessive constructions, with

an doureier o tispenn ar c'harregenoù  
the waters PRG INF the rocks  
"the waters destroying the rocks"

where the latter is by far preferable to the abstract and more nominal, less vivid, former.

Also: ar pevar jedadur - ar pevar doare-jediñ "the four calculations" (lit. "the four way(N)+calculate(V)), where again the more concrete latter is preferable to the abstract former.

Examples of compounds:

marc'had-mat "cheap" (N + AJ; from Fr bon marché); ruz-tan "fiery red" (AJ + N); mezv-dall "blind drunk" (AJ + AJ/AV); edet-stank "densely cultivated" (PPCP + AV); ti-vec'hed "sanatorium" (N + N); dour-red

"running water" (N + RDC); bag-pesketa "fishing boat" (N + INF); lonk-e-sizhun "drunkard" (RDC + PSSAJ (variable) + N).

We note that the qualified form tends to come first, which contrasts with the alternative ordering in Old Breton: kroazhent "crossroads", dourgi "otter" (dour + ki "water+dog", brogar (bro + kar "country+love") "patriotic".

We also find expressions such as mont-dont "coming and going" (INF+INF); bevañ-bevaik "(to) eke out a miserable existence" (INF+INFDIM); gwenn-du (or gwenn ha du "white and black") "black and white" (AJ+AJ); well-wazhik "(taking it) as it comes" (CMP+CPDIM), koshoc'h-koshañ "older and older" (CMP+SUP); brav-brav "very beautiful" (AJ+AJ; a common way of expressing an absolute superlative).

#### 2.4. Other Derivational Affixes

In 1947/76, pp.458-70, ##874-86 Kervella gives a whole host of first (non-independent) components and on pp.470-2, ##887-8 provides a list of personal and place-name first formants.

Here we give a few examples of common prefixes in their most common forms. It will be noticed that they may cause mutation, particularly lenition, on the whole along the same lines as in the case of the mutating of attributive adjectives.

ad- "repetition": ad/ober "to modify, redo" (ober "(to) do").

ar- "proximity": ar/goad NM "woodlands of the interior", ar/vor NM "coastal region" (koad "wood", mor "sea").

dam- "almost": dam/reizh "anomalous", dam/heñvel "somewhat similar" (reizh AJ "correct, regular", heñvel "similar"). Compare direizh "irregular", disheñvel "dissimilar".

de- "towards" (German her-): de/gas "(to) bring", de/gemer "(to) receive", de/dennañ "(to) attract" (kas "(to) take, send", kemer "(to) take", tennañ "(to) pull").

di(s)- "separation; antonyms": dis/fiziañs NF "distrust", di/varrek "incapable, unable" (fiziañs "trust", barrek "able").

dorn- "hand, manu-": dorn/skrid NM "manuscript" (skrivañ "(to) write").

eil- "second, re-": eil/ger NM "response" (ger NM "word").

em- "reflexive, reciprocity": em/guzuliata "(to) have a meeting" (lit. "(to) consult one another"). A related verb is kuzuliañ "(to) advise", with kuzul NM "advice; council" and kuzuliad NM "client" (kuzuliadeg NF "council, consultation") perhaps providing the source. Compare the reflexive particle en em.

etre- "inter": etre/vroadel AJ "international" (bro "country", broad "nation"; -el AJ SFX).

fe- "this": feteiz "today", fenez "tonight" (deiz NM "day", noz NF "night"; also hiziv, hirio "today", henozh "tonight").

gour- "augmentation": gour/drouz NM/V "(to) threat(en)" (trouz NM "noise").

ken- "mutuality, commonness": ken/werzh NF "commerce", kem/pouez NM "equilibrium" (gwerzh NF "sale, price"; pouez NM "weight, importance", compare a-bouez "important"; from an earlier pronunciation of Fr poids).

neur- "completion": neur/heñvel "identical" (i.e., "perfectly similar"; heñvel AJ "similar").

rak- "anteriority": rak/varn NF "prejudice", rak/weler NM "prophet" (barn "(to) judge", gwelout (RDC gwel) "(to) see").

# Appendices

## Appendix A

### A Glossary of Breton Grammatical Terminology

The following list is an expansion, translation and adaptation of the terms given by Kervella in 1966, pp.1-7. A very few terms in the list published in Hor Yezh, No.156-7, 1984, pp.125-32, by G.P., have been included. The list is a selective general guide and not meant to be complete. Breton linguistic terminology is very much only emerging, and is likely to include a good number of international words.

It may be interesting to note, in many of the formations, the use of a noun in an qualifying role, where in English we would have an adjective.

amger "affix"

Also rakger (PFX), enger (infix), lostger (SFX).

(an) amresisaat "(the) indefinite"

This refers to the use of a common noun without any qualification, e.g., vioù "(some) eggs" or by an indefinite expression, e.g., meur a zen "several people", kalz kizhier "many cats", un ti bennak "some house (or other)", war-dro div eur "around two hours/o'clock", ar memes merc'h "the same girl/daughter".

amzer "tense"

amzer-dremenet "imperfect tense" (IMF)

Example: Diouzh an noz e rae-hi un droiadig er c'hoad "At night she would take a walk in the wood".

amzer-amdremenet-boaz "imperfect habitual tense" (IMF HBT; aspect)

Found only in the verbs bezañ "(to) be" and kaout "(to) have".

Examples: Gwechall e veze komzet brezhoneg e pep kêr "Formerly Breton was spoken in every town"; Bep bloaz en deveze mignoned en e di da Bask "Every year he would have friends in his home at Easter".

amzer-amdremenet-lec'hiañ "imperfect locational tense" (IMF LOC; aspect)

Found occasionally in the verb bezañ "(to) be".

Example: Edo va mamm el liorz "My mother was in the garden".

amzer-beurdremenet "pluperfect tense"

Examples: Kemeret en doa e dok "he had taken his hat"; Aet e oan war ar maez "I had gone to the countryside".

amzer-vremañ "present tense" (PRE)

amzer-vremañ-boaz "present habitual tense" (PRE HBT; aspect)

As in the verbs bezañ "(to) be" and kaout "(to) have".

Examples: Alies e vez mamm-gozh e Kemper "Grandmother is often in Quimper"; A-wechoù am bez traoù a-bouez da ober "I sometimes have important things to do".

amzer-vremañ-lec'hiañ "present locational tense" (PRE LOC/PNT; aspect)

As in the verb bezañ "(to) be".

Example: Da belec'h emaoç'h o vont? "Where are you going?"

amzer-voaz "habitual tense" (HBT; aspect)

amzer-da-zont "future tense" (FTR)

Example: Warc'hoazh ez in da Vontroulez "Tomorrow I'll go to Morlaix".

amzer-da-zont-tremenet "future-in-the-past tense"

Example: Prenet em bo tri levr "I'll have bought three books".

amzer-digevrenn "simple tense" (i.e., synthetic, or radical)

That is, the single verb form plus or minus a tense/person ending.

Examples: Me a lenn al levr or Al levr a lennan "I read the book".

amzer-gevrennek "compound tense" (involving use of an auxiliary verb)

Examples: Lenn a ran al levr "I read the book"; Lennet em eus al levr "I've read the book".

amzer-dremenet "past tense" (P)

See below and, for amzer-amdremenet, above.

amzer-dremenet-amstrizh "perfect tense" (PRF; aspect; lit. "past indefinite")

Example: Tremenet em eus va vakañsoù e Pempoull "I've spent my holidays in Paimpol".

amzer-dremenet-kent "past anterior tense" (very rare in speech)

Example: Ur wech m'en devoe lazhet e eotr... "Once (that) he had killed his uncle,..."

amzer-dremenet-strizh "past definite tense" (PD)

Not used in speech in the verbs bezañ "(to) be" and kaout "(to) have"; in other verbs only in the third person; the perfect replaces it.

Examples: Mont a reas da Vrest - Da Vrest ez eas "He/She went to Brest".

amzer-lec'hiañ "locational tense" (LOC/PNT; punctual aspect; see above)

anv "noun, substantive, nominal form" (N)

anv-kadarn "substantive" (the precise term) (N)

anv-boutin "common noun"

Examples: lizher "letter", paotr "boy, lad", lennegezh "literature", plijadur "pleasure".

anv-diverzek "abstract noun" (a subdivision of "common noun")

Examples: karantez "love", enor "honour", tristidigezh "sadness", trugarez "mercy" (also an expression for "thank you").

anv-divoutin "proper noun" (DN)

Examples: Yann, Roazhon "Rennes", Bro-Saoz "England", Breizhiz "(the) Bretons".

anv-gourel "masculine noun" (NM)

anv-gwan "adjective" (lit. "weak noun") (AJ)

anv-gwan-amresisaat "indefinite adjective"

Examples: holl "all", ebet "no(ne)", kalz "much, many".

anv-gwan-doareañ "qualifying adjective"

Examples: bras "big", gwenn "white", ker "expensive", paour "poor", pinvidik "rich", kozh "old".

anv-gwan-goulennata "interrogative adjective" (INT(AJ))

Examples: peseurt...? "what/which (sort of)...?", pet? "how many?"

anv-gwan-perc'hennañ "possessive adjective" (PSS(AJ))

Examples: va/ma "my", he(c'h) "her".

anv-gwan-verb "past participle" (lit. "verbal adjective") (PPCP)

Examples: debret "eaten", aet "gone", troet "turned, translated".

anv-gwregel "feminine noun" (NF)

anv-lies "plural noun" (see liester below)

anv-niver "a noun denoting a number"

Example: ur bern (+ noun) "a deal of".

anv-unan "singular noun" (see unander below) ((N)SG)

anv-verb "infinitive, verbal noun" (INF/VN)

That is, the dictionary form of the verb.

Examples: selaou "(to) listen (to)", terriñ "(to) break".

anv-verb-tremenet "past/perfect infinitive"

Examples: bezañ aet "(to) have gone", bezañ roet "(to) have given".

araogenn "preposition" (PRP)

Examples: da "to, for", eus "from", e-tal "near".

barrennig "dash"

barrennig-stagañ "hyphen"

berradur "abbreviation"

(ar) bihanaat "diminutive" (DIM)

Example: tiig "little house".

blot "lenis"

brezhonekaat "(to) Bretonize"

brezhonekadurioù "Bretonisms"

brezhoneg unvan "Unified Breton"

(an) damziskouezhañ "indefinite demonstrative" (ID DEM)

Examples: un tu bennak "somewhere", pep lec'h "everywhere", neblec'h "nowhere".

daou bik "colon"

derez kevatal "equative (degree)" (EQU)

Examples: keit "as long/far", ken kreñv "as strong".

derez estlamm "exclamative (degree)" (EXC)

Examples: brasat!, na brasat!, pegen bras! "how big!", pebezh den! "what a person!"

derez-plaen "positive/simple (degree)" (SMP)

Example: kozh "old".

derez uhel "superlative degree" (SUP)

Example: koshañ "oldest".

derez uheloc'h "comparative degree" (CMP)

Example: koshoc'h "older".

deveradur "derivation"

dibenn "ending, desinence"

dielfennerezh "analysis"

digemm "invariable"

dilostger "suffix" (SFX)

direizh "irregular"

Also amreizh, though optionally denoting a lesser degree of irregularity, e.g., mont "(to) go" is direizh, while boueta "(to) feed" is amreizh.

direizhder "irregularity"

(an) diskouezhañ "demonstrative" (DEM)

Examples: an N-mañ "this", an N-se "that", henhont "that one yonder".

displegañ "(to) conjugate"

That is, to change the form of the verb according to tense, mood, voice, aspect, person, number and gender (as appropriate).

displegadur "conjugation"

distagadur "pronunciation"

divlizherennoù "geminate letters"

divvezhegezh/divvezhel "bilingualism, bilingual"

doare-diskleriañ "indicative (mood)" (IND)

That is: present, imperfect, future, perfect, past definite, future-in-the-past, pluperfect.

doare-divizout "conditional mood" (CND)

doare-divizout-bremañ "present conditional" (PRECND)

Example: me a lennfe "I should read".

doare-divizout-tremenet "past conditional" (PCND)

Example: me a lennje "I should read".

doare-gourc'hemenn "imperative mood" (IMV)

Examples: kerc'h!, kerc'homp!, kerc'hit! "(let's) seek!"

doare-sujañ "subjunctive mood" (SBJ)

Usually expressed by the future tense or conditional mood.

Example: Ra zeuv Yann a-benn daou zeiz! "May Yann come in two days!"

doareañ "(to) qualify"

eillier "double plural"

Example: park "field" - parkoù/parkeier "fields".

fonologiezh "phonology"

ger "word"

geriadur "dictionary"

ger-mell "article" (ART)

ger-mell-amstrizh "indefinite article" (IDART)

ger-mell-strizh "definite article" (DART)

ger-rener "subject" (S)

That is, the verb subject.

(ar) goulennata "interrogative" (INT)

Examples: piv "who", petra "what", perak "why", pegement "how much".

gour "person" (P/PRS)

As in the first ("I", "we"), second ("you") and third ("he", "she", "they") persons of the verb.

gourvouezhiad "archiphoneme"

harzou ouzh ar c'hemman "obstacles to the mutations"

See the entries under kemmadur below.

islavarenn "subordinate clause" (SBRCLS)

As in the complex sentence, which may be islavarenn-anv-gwan "relative clause" or islavarenn-adverb "adverbial clause", to which we may add islavarenn-anv "noun clause".

Examples:

Anavezout a ran ar paotr en deus roet deoc'h ar gazetenn "I know the boy who gave you the newspaper";

Dont a reas dre ma ne c'helle ket echuiñ e lizher-gourc'hemennou "He came because he couldn't finish his letter of congratulations"

Lavarout a ris e teuje Frañsez gant e vreur "I said that Francis would come with his brother"

kalet "fortis"

kemmadur "mutation" (lit. "change")

kemmadur dre greñvaat "provection" (strengthening or reinforcing mutation) (PR)

The change of b, d, g(w) to p, t, k(w).

kemmadur dre c'hwezhadenniñ "spirant mutation" (SP)

The change of p, t, k to f (pronounced somewhat like [v]), z, c'h.

kemmadur dre vlotaat "lenition" (softening or voicing mutation) (LN)

The change of p, b, m, t, d, k, g, gw to b, v, v, d, z, g, c'h, w (plus, not marked in the spelling, f, s, ch to v, z, j, and n, l, r).

kemmaduriou "mixed mutation(s)" (MX)

The change b, m, g, gw, d to v, v, c'h, w, t.

kemmaduriou diglok "incomplete mutations"

kenlavarenn "compound sentence"

Where the clauses are linked by equivalents of "and, but, or", or by intonation standing in for such words. Strictly speaking, this term refers to the less or least important clause(s), not to the main clause or to the whole sentence.

kensonenn "consonant" (C)

kensonenn-c'hwezh "fricative" (FRC)

kensonenn-darzh-divouezh "voiceless stop/plosive"

kensonenn-darzh-mouezhiek "voiced stop/plosive"

kensonenn-fri "nasal consonant"

kensonenn-linkus "sonorant"

kevreadur "syntax". Based on the root kevre "link", thus "linking".

klotañ "(to) agree, be in congruence"

klochedoù "parentheses" (see also krommelloù below)

klochedoù sonn "square brackets"

klochedoùigoù "quotation marks"

krommelloù "parentheses" (see also klochedoù above)

kumuniezh yezhel "linguistic community"

lavarenn "sentence, phrase, utterance"

lavarenn-c'houlenn "interrogative sentence"

liesger "compound word"

Example: adwelout "(to) see again".

liester "plural" (PL)

lizherenn "letter (of the alphabet)"

lizherenn-dibenn "final/desinential letter"

lizherenneg "alphabet"

morfologiezh "morphology"

mouezhiad "phoneme" (also fonem)

(an) nac'hañ "negation" (NEG)

Example: ne lennan ket may be seen as the negated form of lenn a ran "I (don't) read".

niver "number" (NUM)

Both in the sense of "numeral" and the grammatical category ("singular", "dual", "plural", etc.).

niver-daou "dual" (DL)

Example: daouarn "hands" from dorn "hand".

(an) niveriñ "the numerical system"

niver-kevrennañ "fraction"

niver-pegementiñ "cardinal number" (lit. "how-many number") (CD)

niver-petvedañ "ordinal number" (lit. "how-manieth number") (ORD)

pennlavarenn "main clause" (CLS = "clause")

That is, in a composite (compound, complex) sentence.

pennrann "radical, root, base" (i.e. of the verb) (RDC)

Examples: debr from debrñ "(to) eat", tro from treñ "(to) turn, translate", sav from sevel "(to) raise, build, educate".

(ar) perc'hennañ "possessive" (PSS)

See above under anv-gwan-perc'hennañ and below under raganv-perc'hennañ.

pik "full stop"

pik-estlammañ "exclamation mark"

pik-gouennata "question mark"

pik-virgulenn "semi-colon"

poentadur "punctuation"

pouez-mouezh "stress" (lit. "power-voice")

As a rule, on the penultimate vowel/syllable of a Breton word, thus:  
poentAdur - poentadUrioù (the stressed vowel has been capitalized).

rakger "prefix" (PFX)

raganv "pronoun" (PRO)

raganv-amrejsaat "indefinite pronoun" (IDPRO)

Example: an holl "everyone", netra "nothing", kalz "a lot".

raganv-diskouez "demonstrative pronoun" (DEMPRO)

Example: hemañ "this man", honnehz "that woman", ar re-hont "those people over there", se "that, it" (neuter), an dra-mañ "this" (neuter).

raganv-gouennata "interrogative pronoun" (INTPRO)

Example: pi v? "who?"

raganv-gour "personal pronoun" (PRSPRO)

Example: me "I", c'hwi "you".

raganv-perc'hennañ "possessive pronoun" (PSSPRO)

Example: ho hini "yours" (singular), va re "mine" (plural).

raganv-stagañ "relative pronoun" (RELPRO)

Formally identical with the verbal particle a (if we consider a relative pronoun exists in Breton). Negative = na + V + ket.

rannig-diskouezhañ "demonstrative particle" (DEMPC)

That is, -mañ, -se, -hont.

rannig-verb "verbal particle" (plural - rann(où)igoù (PRC)

That is, a, e, to which one might add ma, o.

rakverb "adverb" (AV)

Examples: neuze "then, so", amañ "here", buan "quickly".

rakverb-amzer "adverb of time" (AVTM)

Example: diwezhatoc'h "later".

rakverb-kementad "adverb of quantity" (AVQUT)

Example: nebeut "little".

rakverb-lec'h "adverb of place" (AVPLC)

Example: du-mañ "(to) here/my place".

N.B. a common alternative to rakverb is adverb.

reizh "gender"

Breton has masculine and feminine gender.

reizh-c'hourel "masculine gender" (M)

reizh-wregel "feminine gender" (F)

reizhskrivadur "orthography"

renadenn "complement, object" (O)

Examples: Me a zo KLANY "I am ill", Kavout a ran A BARA "I find the bread", Sellout a ran OUZH AR SKINWEL "I watch the television".  
The capitalized elements represent the renadenn.

renadenn-dieun "indirect object" (IO)

Example: Reiñ a ran ar bara DA BER "I give the bread to Per".

renadenn-eeun "direct object" (DO)

Example: Reiñ a ran AR BARA da Ber "I give the bread to Per".

N.B. If we wish to separate the concepts "complement" and "object", then we may use doareenn for the former and renadenn-dra for the latter.

rener "subject" (S)

renkad-pikou "omission marks" ("...")

reolenn "rule"

skeul an doareañ "degrees of comparison" (gradation of the adjective)

skiltr-mouezh "intonation"

skouer "example"

sellout ouzh "(to) concern, refer to"

silabenn "syllable"

(ar) stagañ "relative" (REL)

For example, (hag) a "who, which".

stagell "conjunction" (CNJ)

Examples: ha(g) "and", met "but", pe "or".

stagell-kenurzhiañ "coordinating (and adversative and contrastive) conjunctions" (as above) (CRDCNJ)

stagell-isurzhiañ "subordinating conjunctions" (SBRCNJ)

Examples: dre ma "since, while, because", goude ma "after".

strollad-kemmadurioù "group of mutations".

strollad-lizherennoù "cluster of letters"

This can be varied by replacing -lizherennoù with -kensonennoù, -vogalennoù.

(ar) strollder "collective (noun)" (CLL)

Example: koumoul "clouds".

stumm "form"

stumm-kenemober "reciprocal form" (REC)

Example: en em garout "(to) love one another".

stumm-diogel "positive form" (POS)

stumm\_dc'hour "impersonal form" (IMP)

Example: Noziñ a ra "Night falls".

stumm-emober "reflexive form" (RFL)

Example: en em vodañ "(to) assemble".

stumm-gouzañv "passive form" (PSV)

Example: Al lizher a zo skrivet "The letter is written".

N.B. tu-gouzañv "passive voice", tu-gra "active voice".

stumm-gouzañ-dic'hour "impersonal passive form" (IMPPSV or AUT)

Example: Hiziv e kavor mouar er c'hoad "Today blackberries will be found in the wood".

stumm\_nac'h "negative form" (NEG)

stummañ gerioù "word formation"

tildenn "tilde" ("~")

tired "accent mark"

tired begek "acute accent"

tired digor "grave accent"

tired kognek "stress/accent mark"

More correctly the circumflex accent.

tro-lavar "expression, turn of phrase"

unander "singular" (SG)

unanderenn "singulative" (SGT)

Example: ur goumoulenn "a (single) cloud".

verb "verb" (V)

verb amreizh "anomalous verb"

Example: pesketa "(to) fish", with the two radicals pesket- and pesketa-.

verb direizh "irregular verb"

Examples: bezañ "(to) be", mont "(to) go".

verb gwan "intransitive verb" ((V)ITR)

verb reizh "regular verb"

verb tre or verb kreñv "transitive verb" ((V)TR)

That is, it may have a direct or, arguably, indirect object, e.g., debrñ "(to) eat...", sellout ouzh "(to) look at..."

verb-skoazell "auxiliary verb" (AUX)

Examples: bezañ "(to) be", kaout "(to) have", ober "(to) do".

virgulenn "comma"

virgulenn-grec'h "apostrophe"

vogalenn "vowel" (V)

Also hantervogalenn "semi-vowel", divvogalenn "diphthong".

vezh "(spoken) language"

vezhadur "grammar"

Also vezhadurel "grammatical", vezhadurour "grammarian".

vezhoniezh "linguistics"

Also vezhouriezh "linguistics", vezh(on)our "linguist", vezh(oni)el "linguistic."

Note:

There is variation in usage in the writing of a hyphen. Certainly the following may omit the hyphen: anv-gourel, anv-gwregel, kensonenn-fri, reizh-c'hourel, reizh-wregel.

## Appendix B

### A Glimpse of Breton Literature

This appendix offers a rapid and derivative survey of Breton literature. Further details on some of the works mentioned and on how to obtain them can be found in the **Bibliography**.

From the seventh to the eleventh century is the period of Old Breton. From this period no long texts are extant; we have only a certain number of glosses, Latin texts with single-word and single-phrase explanations in Breton in the margins. Examples of these are the following:

Oxoniensis prior (9th c.); Manus (9th c.); Gloses à Juvencus (8th-9th c.); Glose à Martianus Capella (8th c.); Scholies à Virgile (9th-10th c.); Glose à Amalarius (?952); Canons (9th-11th c.)

There are also two Charters:

Cartulaire de Redon (8th-11th c.), Cartulaire de Landévennec (11th c.).

From the eleventh to the fourteenth century inclusive there seem to be no Breton texts at all. The first known texts appear in the fifteenth century, and include mystery plays:

Buez Santes Nonn ("The Life of Saint Nonne" (?1464))

A most important date is 1499, the date of the printing of the Catholicon, a trilingual Breton-French-Latin dictionary, in Tréguier. The author was Jean Lagadeuc, of Plougoñven in Finistère.

In the sixteenth century mystery plays remain in vogue:

Buhez Santez Barba ("The Life of Saint Barbara" (1557))

Buhez Sant Gwenole ("The Life of Saint Gwenole" (1580))

To these may be added the Tremenvan an Itron guerhez Maria ("The Agony of Our Lady the Virgin Mary"), the Pemzek levezet Maria ("The Fifteen Joys of Mary"), and, most valuable, the Buhez mab-den ("The Life of Man").

The seventeenth century marks the gradual emergence of Breton from the earlier half-Breton, half-French, "impure" earlier language, though one must bear in mind the Catholicon, mentioned already.

Interest in Breton had been initiated by Dom Michel Le Nobletz (1577-1654). His follower Julien Maunoir (1606-83) learned Breton and published a grammar, catechism and lexicon with some limited proposals for orthographical reform entitled the Sacré Collège de Jésus in Quimper in 1659. Guillaume Quiquer of Roscoff published a dictionary and some dialogues: Dictionnaire et colloques françois et breton (Morlaix, 1626, second edition, Quimper, 1671). Other names are Tanguy Guéguen and Jean de Landévennec.

For the eighteenth century we might mention Pierre de Chalons (d.1718), for his Breton-French dictionary, Dom Louis Le Pelletier (d.1733), for his etymological Dictionnaire de la langue bretonne (Paris, 1752), and Grégoire de Rostrenen, for his French-Celtic dictionary (1732) and his Breton grammar (1738). Other grammarians are Le Brigant for a glimpse of the features of Breton (1799), and Alain Dumoulin for a Latin-Celtic grammar (1800, published in Prague). For literature itself there is the anonymous work Robert le Diable (1741). Noury wrote verse and the memorable song Pe trouz zo ar en douar? ("What stir is about the Earth?"). Claude-Marie Le Lae (1745-91) wrote Maro Mikael Morin ("The Death of Mikael Morin"), and Ar C'hy ("The Dog"). Around 1770 we have the play Ar Farvel goaper ("The Mortal Mocker") by Pascal de Kerenveyer. There are fables (Claude Le Bihan, Guillaume Ricou), and works in prose (François Le Lay).

Massive impetus was given to the development of Breton and of Breton spelling by Jean-François Le Gonidec (1775-1838) in his Grammaire Celto-Bretonne (Paris, 1807) and his Dictionnaire Celto-Breton, ou Breton-Français (Angoulême, 1821).

However, the nineteenth century did not maintain the impetus provided by him, and it is only in the twentieth century that Breton really made its mark. This is demonstrated by the number of scholars who turned to it and learned the language. Such are Vallée, Hemon, and Mordiern. Important journals, some of them no longer appearing, are: Dihunamb! "Let us awake!" (Gw; created by Loeiz Herrieu), and Gwalarn "The North-West" (1925; founded by Roparz Hemon). Others include: Feiz ha Breiz "Faith and Brittany", Ar Vro "The Country", Ar Falz "The Sickle", Breiz Ataq "Brittany for Ever", Skol "School", Al Liamm "The Link" (the continuation of Gwalarn), Skrid "Writing" (produced on the whole by the Breton students of Rennes), Hor Yezh "Our Language" (a major linguistic and cultural journal alongside Al Liamm), Pobl Vreizh "The People of Brittany" (mouthpiece of the UDB, "Union Démocratique Bretonne", survived by its French-language edition), Al Lanv "The High Tide", and Amzer "Time". A regrettable loss was Marsel Klerg's excellent Barr-Heol "Full Sun". With Bremañ "Now", produced by Skol an Emsav, Brittany is perhaps moving towards having a good newspaper in Breton.

Important philologists include Joseph Loth (1847-1934), Emile Ernault (1852-1939) and François Vallée (1860-1949). The last-mentioned is of the greatest importance, not only for his short courses Leçons élémentaires de langue bretonne (1902) and Le Breton en 40 leçons (1909), but particularly for his Grand dictionnaire français-breton (1933) and Supplément (1948, reprinted 1980). He was helped in the work on his dictionary by Ernault and Meven Mordiern (the pseudonym of René Le Roux).

On a more general linguistic level, Loeiz Herrieu and Roparz Hemon are of significance. The former set the bases of Vannetais (Gw) and wrote a useful history of Breton literature (1943). His son, Meriadeg, has continued his work. Hemon (the pseudonym of Louis Némou) touched on every cultural area with almost equal success. For the cultural background his Ur Breizhad oc'h adkavout Breizh "A Breton Rediscovering Brittany" is of great value. It remains a matter of regret that his years since the Second World War were passed in Irish exile.

Other names relevant here are Tanguy Malmanche, Colin, Guillevic, Alain Le Diuzet, François Falc'hun, Pierre Le Roux, Frañsez Kervella, Jean-Marie Normant, Jean Choleau, Fanch Elies (pseudonym Abeozen, with a good grammar written in 1942), Yves Berthou (pseudonym

Kalevoulc'h), C. Uguen, and Visañt Seité.

Turning to poetry, among the poets Yann-Ber Kalloc'h (Y. P. Kalloh) (1888-1917) is outstanding. He is one of the great names of Breton, and potentially world, literature. He was published first of all in Dihunamb, under the pseudonym Bleimor. One might mention the play Pardonet demb hon ofanseu "Forgive us our Trespasses" and the outstanding mystical poem Ar en deulin "On one's Knees" (1926). All his work is in Gw, only the last named having been translated (into French).

Other poets are: Anatole Le Bras, Yves Berthou, Toussaint Le Garrek, Charles Rolland, Georges Le Rumeur, Philomene Cadoret, François Abgrall. One should mention François Jaffrennou (pseudonym Taldir, author of Bro gozh ma zadoù "Old Land of my Fathers"), Jean-Marie Kermarrec, Roperzh Ar Mason, Jakez Riou, Youenn Drezen, Roparz Hemon, Divi Kenan Kongár, Xavier de Langlais, Añjela Duval and Loeiz Ar Floc'h (pseudonym of Maodez Glanndour).

It is in the twentieth century that Breton prose has at last emerged, barring such exceptions as Inizan's outstanding Emgann Kergidu (see Appendix C). The following list refers to some important prose writers plus one or more of their works. The information given in the Bibliography will be of value in finding out more, and extracts are included in the Appendix C.

Fañch An Uhel, Kontadennoù Ar Bobl "Popular Tales" (the first of three volumes was published in 1984 by Al Liamm.

Yvon Crocq, Eur Sac'had Marvailhou "A Sackful of Tales", 1924 (excellent Breton prose).

Per Denez, Glas evel Daoulagad C'hlas na oant ket ma Re "Blue like Blue Eyes which were not my own", Brest, 1979 (one of the most active and outstanding current Breton scholars; Professor of Breton at Rennes II University).

Youenn Drezen, An Dour en-dro d'an Inizi "The Water around the Islands", Roazhon, 1932/1970 (taken by René Le Gléau as source work for his study of standard literary Breton in 1973).

Per-Jakez Helias, however much his fame has been achieved in French-language works, e.g., Le Cheval d'orgueil, is a writer of great importance.

Roparz Hemon, Mari Vorgan "Mermaid", 1962, An Ti a Drizek Siminal "The House with Thirteen Chimneys", 1956, An Tri Boulomig Kalon Aour "The Three Dear Little Fellows", 1961, and much more.

Ronan Huon, An Irin Glas "The Blue Sloes", 1966, and many other works. Ronan Huon is the director of Al Liamm, the leading cultural magazine and a major publisher, alongside Hor Yezh and certain others.

Goulc'han Kervella, Ar Chase "The Hunt", 1980.

Jakez Konan, Ur Marc'hadour a Vontroulez "A Merchant from Morlaix", 1981, Lannevern e Kañv "Lannevern in Mourning", 1980. An outstanding Treger writer, who has also recently translated Edouarzh Ollivro's novel Picou fils de son père (1952) as Pikou, Mab e Dad, 1983.

Fant R. Meavenn, Ar Follez Yaouank "The Mad Young Girl", 1941.

Jarl Priel, Va Zammig Buhez "My Little Life", 1954-7.

Jakez Riou, Geotenn ar Werc'hez "The Virgin's Blade of Grass", 1934. A much-loved story-teller, author also of a celebrated play Nominoe-Oe.

Appendix C, with its selected readings with commentary, and the Bibliography set the scene more fully. A fundamental history of Breton literature remains yet to be written; meanwhile a broader survey is offered by Yves-Marie Rudel in 1950.

## Appendix C

### Selected Readings with Commentary

#### 1. Introduction

This short reader consists of thirteen texts designed to give an overall impression of the present-day Breton literary language. Of them two are in fact somewhat earlier than this latter half of the twentieth century, namely the extract from Yvon Crocq's Eur Zac'had Marvailhou (1924) and Lan Inizan's Emgann Kergidu (1877-8). These are included for the excellence of their Breton. With the three exceptions of (1) the extract from Yvon Crocq's work (KLT; 2.6), (2) the passage from Tricoire's course (QU; 2.12), and (3) the two stanzas from Kalloh's Ar en deulin (Gw; 2.13), the orthography is KLTGw or Zedacheg. We are very grateful to the authors and, where appropriate, publishers, for permission to include extracts from their works.

Each text is accompanied by a more or less literal translation. Texts 2.1, 2.3 and 2.9 are accompanied by a standard, indeed somewhat idealized, phonetic transcription and morphosyntactic glosses. Text 2.13 is accompanied by morphosyntactic glosses and, in addition to the translation, a rendering in KLT and Zedacheg. One might have preferred interlinear glossing and transcriptions, but it was felt that the integrity of the texts should be maintained. Finally, texts 2.6, 2.7 and 2.11 are accompanied by a broad phonetic transcription prepared on the basis of a recording kindly made by Janig Stephens. Dr. Stephens is a native speaker of the Treger dialect, as spoken in Bulien (Buhulien), a small village south-east of Lannion. The rest of the grammar, and the courses and dictionaries mentioned in the Bibliography, will help achieve a deeper understanding.

Four important notes: first, that, as elsewhere in the grammar, the

voiceless lenis [f], distinct from [v], is transcribed as [vh], as suggested by Falc'hun and reported by Bothorel in 1982, p.8. Bothorel himself uses [f], a usage not applied here, so as to reserve ['] (in this Appendix immediately before the stressed vowel) for marking stress. Related to this, half-length and secondary stress are not noted. Secondly, that absolute word-initial fortis consonants are not marked, since, in that position in a dialect which applies the distinction, they may be seen as redundantly fortis. Thirdly, that contingent nasalization is not noted unless, in 2.6, 2.7, 2.11 the vowel is clearly synchronously nasalized. Fourthly, that palatalization in dentals and velars is denoted by a cedilla except in the case of [g], where we have a superscript, for example [g̃].

## 2. Texts

### 2.1. Perak ne rafen ket, A. Duval

Añjela Duval, Traoñ an Dour "The Bottom of the Water", Al Liamm, Brest, 1982.

This is an outstanding collection of poetry by a much-loved Treger poetess. The selected poem is to be found on page 51 of the source edition.

#### Perak ne rafen ket "Why I shouldn't"

Mar deus ul loen ganin karet  
 Me lavar eo sur va c'hazeg  
 War he c'hein 'vel ur marc'heg  
 Gant joa me rafe tro ar Bed  
 Perak ne rafen ket ?

Mar deus un all ganin karet  
 Me lavar eo va c'hi Fousoù  
 Hed an deiz 'mañ war va seulioù  
 War va lerc'h eñ rafe tro 'r Bed  
 Perak ne rafe ket ?

C'hoazh 'm eus ul loenig all karet  
 Ur maoutig koant : un emzivad  
 Un oan bihan hep mamm na tad  
 War va lerc'h e rafe tro 'r Bed  
 Perak ne rafe ket ?

Un deiz gant va loened karet  
 En desped d'ar goap ha d'ar fent  
 Ma tro em fenn me yel en hent  
 Ganto me raio tro ar Bed.  
 Perak ne rafen ket ?

25/6/1965.

### Morphosyntactic Gloss

why-INTAV NEG do-SNT1PSGPRECND NEG

if-CNJCND be-IMPPRE IDART animal-NMSG by+me-PRSPRP love-PPCP  
 I-SPRO say-ANTPRE be-IDN sure-AV my-PSSAJ mare-NFSG(SP) on-PRP  
 its-PSSAJF back-NMSG(SP) like-PRP IDART knight-NMSG with-PRP  
 joy-NFSG I-SPRO do-ANTPRECND tour-NFSG DART  
 world-NMSG(APPGEN) why-INTAV NEG do-SNT1PSGPRECND NEG

if-CNJCND be-IMPPRE IDART other-PRO by+me-PRSPRP love-PPCP  
 I-SPRO say-ANTPRE be-IDNPRE my-PSSAJ dog-NMSG(SP) Fousoù  
 along-PRP DART day-NMSG be-PNTPRE on-PRP my-PSSAJ heel-NMPL  
 on+my+trace-PRSPRP he-SPRO do-ANTPRECND tour-NFSG DART  
 world-NMSG(APPGEN) why-INTAV NEG do-SNT3PSGPRECND NEG

still-AV have-1PSGPRE IDART animal-NMSGDIM other-AJ love-PPCP  
 IDART sheep-NMSGDIM pretty-AJ IDART orphan-NMSG IDART  
 lamb-NMSG little-AJ without-PRP mother-NFSG or-CNJ father-NMSG  
 on+my+trace-PRSPRP PRC do-SNT3PSGPRECND tour-NFSG DART  
 world-NMSG(APPGEN) why-INTAV NEG do-SNT3PSGPRECND NEG

one-AJ day-NM with-PRP my-PSSAJ animal-NMPL love-PPCP  
 in+spite+to-PRP DART mockery-NMSG and-CNJ to-PRP DART  
 joking-NMSG if-CNJCND turn-SNT3PSGPRE in-PRP+my-PSSAJ  
 head-NMSG(SP) I-SPRO go-ANTFTR in-PRP+DART way-NMSG  
 with+them-PRSPRP I-SPRO tour-NMSG DART world-NFSG(APPGEN)  
 why-INTAV NEG do-SNT1PSGPRECND NEG

#### Phonetic Transcription

[per'a:G ner'affen k'e:D

m'a:r d'ø's 'yllwen gan'in k'a:ret  
 m'e: l'a:var 'ew s'yr vaɣ'a:zek  
 wa:r eɣ'ɛjn v'ɛll yrm'arxek  
 ganž'wa: er'affen tr'o: arb'e:D  
 per'a:G ner'affen k'e:D

m'a:r d'ø's 'ynnall gan'in k'a:ret  
 m'e: l'a:var 'ew vaɣ'i: f'usu  
 (h)'e:D and'ɛjs m'ǎw'ar vaz'øλu  
 w'arvall'ɛrx 'ē: r'affe tr'o:rb'e:D  
 per'a:G ner'affe k'e:D

ɣ'wa:Z m'ø's yll'we:nigall k'a:ret  
 yrm'ǎwtikk'wan(t) ynɛmz'i:vat  
 'ynwanb'ian (h)ebm'am nat'a:D  
 warvall'ɛrx er'affe tr'o:rb'e:D  
 per'a:G ner'affe k'e:D

'yndejs gan vall'we:net k'a:ret  
 end'εspet darg'wap a darf'ent  
 ma tr'o:εmvh'enn m'e: j'e:l ennen(t)  
 g'anto m'e: r'εjo tr'o: arb'e:D  
 per'a:G ner'affen k'e:D]

### Translation

If there is an animal beloved by me, I say that it is certainly my mare; on her back like a knight, with joy I would go around the world. Why shouldn't I?

If there is another beloved by me, I say that it is my dog Fousou; all day long on my heels behind me he would go around the world. Why shouldn't he?

I have yet another little animal beloved by me: a pretty little sheep, an orphan, a little lamb without mother or father. Behind me it would go around the world. Why shouldn't it?

One day with my beloved animals, in spite of mockery and laughter, if it crosses my mind I'll set off; with them I'll go around the world. Why shouldn't I?

### Selective Commentary

Here, with one exception, we note the optional absence from the written language of the verbal particles a and ε. We see too truncated and non-truncated future radicals (vel for velo "go", raio (note the pronunciation) "do"), personal forms of prepositions (ganin "with me"), and the inserted d of mar deus "if there is". The preposed personal pronoun is glossed as SPRO "subject pronoun", whatever our final decision on its status. Note particularly in the fourth line of the first stanza the clear pause after ioa, syntactically marked by me rafe "I would do" rather than the "expected" ε rafen.

2.2 Diwar-benn marv ur gelaouenn vrezhonek, L. Andouard

Barr-Heol war Feiz ha Breizh "Full Sun on Faith and Brittany", Nos.99-100, miz Kerzu (December), 1978.

An extract from the last number of this noted and much regretted journal, produced through the efforts largely of Marsel Klerg, priest of Bulien, a village south-east of Lannion. Klerg died in July, 1984.

The selected passage is from pages 14-15 of a short article by Loeiz Andouard, until his recent death a regular and distinguished contributor to the journal, and to many others.

Diwar-benn marv ur gelaouenn vrezhonek

"On the Death of a Breton Journal"

gant L. Andouard

Emañ Barr-Heol o vont da vervel. Dizale, peogwir e vo an niverenn-mañ (an naontekvet hini ha pevar-ugent) an hini ziwezhañ. Hag an darvoud-se ne ray, moarvat, na tomm na yen d'ar Vretoned nemet da unanig bennak e ve.

Tud'zo a lavaro n'eus netra dibar e kement-se. Genel ha mervel a rar ar c'helaouennoù evel an dud. A dra sur. Pa c'hoarvez kemend-all en ur vro vras pe zoken en unan vihan n'emañ ket bepred oc'h horjellañ war he sichenn, e c'heller chom difrom a-walc'h ken sur ha ma vezer e teuio, abred pe ziwezhat, unan all da gemer he lec'h.

Marv ur gelaouenn vrezhonek, avat, a zo un afer all. Ur giladenn eus ar yezh n'eo ken, un drouziwezh rak ne vezer ket sur, tamm ebet, e vo stanket an toull lezet evel-se e talbenn ar yezh. Peurliesañ ne vo ket. Kroaz ar Vretoned, Breiz hag Arvor a zo marv-mik ha pell'zo bremañ, keit ha ma ouzon, n'hon eus mui kelaouenn vrezhonek sizhuniek ebet hag, a-hervez, n'emeur ket tost da gaout unan all.

[...]

Kemend-all a c'hoarvezo, moarvat, evit Barr-Heol a zo bet anezhi, d'am soñj, unan eus ar c'helaouennoù gwellañ hon eus bet biskoazh, ken e-keñver an danvez ken e-keñver ar yezh. En tu all d'an danvez relijiel ez eus bet embannet warni a bep seurt pennadoù bourrus ha talvoudus. Evit ar yezh, n'oufen ket e veuliñ re. Yezh Varr-Heol a zo pinvidik, glan, gwevn ha, war an dro, aes da gompren. Gwir skouer ar yezh a-vremañ, a rankomp ober ganti, eo anezhi. Emañ hanter-hent etre ar yezh uhel a zo huñvre lod eus ar vrezhonegourien hag ar yezh re boblel ha, rak-se, re c'hallekaet implijet gant reoù all. Hag eno e vo ar c'holl, 'm eus aon, en e vrasañ.

Pa gomzan eus drouziwezh ez eo, a-dra sur, evit ar c'holl emañ o paouez menegiñ met ivez abalamour d'un dra all. Pezh a sko war va spered en un darvoud evel-se eo hon dic'halloudegezh. Dic'halloudegezh ar Vretoned. Stourm kalonek a ra, a-dra sur, lod anezho nemet, ouzhpenn n'eo ket niverus a-walc'h ar re-mañ, n'eo ket, 'm eus aon, efedus-bras o stourm. Penaos kompren ne deu ket unan bennak da gemer lec'h Klerg e penn Barr-Heol? Penaos kompren e yelo da get hag an holl o chom diseblant ouzh he marv? N'heller ket meizañ kement-se, d'am meno, ma ne weler ket ez eus er Vretoned, en darn vrasañ anezho da nebeutañ, ur si, ur perzh-fall diremed. Divarrek e vezont, peurliesañ, da labourat a-stroll. Pep hini en e gorn. Aze e vezer brav. Aes eo gwelout e chom re alies hon oberoù re un den nemetken ha rak-se n'eo ket souezh ez a da get an oberenn pa ziskrog diouti, evit abeg pe abeg, an oberour.

#### Translation

Barr-Heol is going to die. Soon, because this issue (the ninety-ninth) will be the last. And that event will probably bring neither warm nor cold to the Bretons except to one or two.

Some people will say that there is nothing special in all that. Magazines are born and die like people. Certainly. If something like that happens in a big country or even in a small one, it doesn't constantly shudder on its base, one can remain rather detached since one is sure that, sooner or later, another one will come to take its place.

But the death of a Breton magazine is another affair. It's no longer a retreat on the part of the language, it's a defeat because one isn't sure, not at all, that the hole left like that in the front of the language will be blocked. Most often it won't be. Kroaz ar Vretoned, Breiz and Arvor are stone-cold dead and it's long since now, so far as I know, that we no longer have any weekly Breton magazine and, apparently, one isn't near to having another one.

[...]

The same will happen, probably, for Barr-Heol which has been, in my opinion, one of the best magazines we have ever had, both as regards the material and as regards the language. In addition to the religious material there have been printed in it appealing and useful articles of every sort. As for the language, I wouldn't know how to praise it too much. The language of Barr-Heol is rich, pure, supple and, at the same time, easy to understand. It is a true example of the modern language which we must make use of. It is half-way between the high language which is the dream of part of the Breton-speakers and the too popular language and, because of that, too Gallicized used by others. And there the loss will be, I fear, at its greatest.

When I talk of defeat it is, certainly, for the loss I have just mentioned but also because of another thing. What hits my spirit in an event like that is our powerlessness. The powerlessness of the Bretons. Certainly, some of them struggle valiantly, but these people aren't numerous enough, I fear, their struggle isn't very effective. How to understand that someone doesn't come to take the place of Klerg at the head of Barr-Heol? How to understand that it will disappear with everyone remaining indifferent to its death? One cannot comprehend all that, in my opinion, if one doesn't see that there is, in the Bretons, in the greatest part of them at least, a flaw, an irremediable defect. They are incapable, most often, of working together. Each one in his corner. There one is fine. It's easy to see that too often our works remain those of a single person, and consequently it is not a surprise that the work disappears when the author lets go of it, for whatever reason.

### Selective Commentary

A straightforward and clear text, with interesting contrasts in the lenition or non-lenition of d- (an hini ziwezhañ - ne deu ket: the initial d of the forms of dont tends less and less to lenite). There are examples of the emphatic and very common copular construction where the "subject" is completed by a personal form of the preposition a, e.g., Me a oa pesketaer ac'hanon "I was a fisherman". This is also found with intransitive verbs, and may have a partitive origin, or an origin in negative sentences.

#### 2.3. Miz Kerzu e-tal ar Mor, Kenan Kongar

Al Liamm "The Link", Du-Kerzu (November-December), 1983, Niv.221.

An extract from this celebrated cultural journal, directed by Ronan Huon and appearing six times a year.

Our particular extract is from an article "Miz Kerzu e-tal ar mor" ("December by the Sea"), by Kenan Kongar, a major Breton writer of prose and verse and, under his real name, Frañsez Kervella, author of the major Breton-language grammar of Breton. The article is on pages 345-368, and the extract from pages 354-5.

Miz Kerzu e-tal ar Mor  
"December by the Sea"

Kenan Kongar

Distroomp eta etrezek aod Santa Clara. En ur sellout ouzh gweleadoù mein a zizoloe d'an izelvor, e tizolois e kaved, el lec'hioù krignet gant ar mor, un niver kaer a besked hir, heñvel a-walc'h ouzh siliou. Ne oa ket siliou e gwirionez, met ur ouenn "silured-mor", kar eta d'ar re a veze va labourerien o tapout en douarennoù er gwazhioù dour-dous, met disheñvel da welout eus an diavaez. Tu a voe da dapout un niver mat anezho, hag ur gwir lip-e-bav e voent evidon, ha va labourerien o-unan a dapas ivez o lod.

En deiz war-lerc'h, pa guitais Santa Clara e teuas glav, hogen glav evel ne 'm eus ket gwelet alies dre zu-hont: glav-mor. Peurliesañ, en enep, e teu ar glav, dindan stumm barroù-arnev, eus diabarzh ar vro, hag e-lec'h bezañ douget gant an avel, e c'hounez warnañ. En deiz-se e kouezhas da gentañ un doare brumenn war ar mor, ha neuze e teuas glav stank, heñvel ouzh an hini a gouezh peurvuiañ e Breizh.

Goude bezañ aet da ober un dro betek Louis, e tistrois da Veg Esteiras d'an abardaez. Eno e kavis va mignon ar c'hoadour gwall enkrezet: ur wezenn vrein a oa bet diskaret gant ur barr-avel e-kichen kêriadenn e labourerien, hag unan eus ar re-mañ a oa bet flastret dindani. Hennezh a zo unan eus ar re-mañ ar gwallzarvoudoù a c'hell c'hoarvezout an aliesañ er vro-se. Kaer ez eus lavarout emeur ken dizañjer er c'hoadoù-meur digenvez ha m'emeur en hor broioù europat, ar gwalleur a c'hell c'hoarvezout pa c'hortozer an nebeutañ: bezañ flastret gant ur wezenn o kouezhañ, pe hen bezañ gant ur c'harr-tan war an hent-bras a zo kendalvoud sur-a-walc'h !

## Morphosyntactic Gloss

month-NMSG December-NM(APPGEN) near-PRP DART sea-NMSG

return-1PPLIMV then-AV towards-PRP DART shore-NMPL Santa+Clara-N  
(APPGEN). ADVPRC look-INF at-PRP stratum-NMPL  
stone-NMPL(APPGEN) (AJ)PRC discover-ANTIMF at-PRP+DART  
low+tide-NMSG, PRC discover-SNT1PSGPD (N)PRC find-AUTIMV,  
in-PRP+DART place-NMPL erode-PPCP by-PRP DART sea-NMSG,  
IDART number-NMSG fine-AJ of-PRP fish-NMPL long-AJ, similar-AJ  
quite-AV to-PRP eel-N(F)PL. NEG be-SNT3PSGIMF NEG in+truth-AV,  
but-CNJ IDART species-NFSG rays+sea-NMPL, related-AJ then-AV  
to-PRP+DART DETPRONPL AJPRC be-ANTHBTIMF my-PSSAJ  
worker-NMPL PRGPCR catch-INF in-PRP+DART burrow-NFPL  
in-PRP+DART stream-NFPL water+sweet-NM(APP), but-CNJ dissimilar-AJ  
to-PRP see-INF from-PRP DDART outside-NMSG. Chance-NMSG PRC  
be-IMPPD to-PRP catch-INF IDART number-NMSG good-AJ  
of+them-PRSPRP, and-CNJ IDART true-AJ lick+its+paw-NMSG PRC  
be-SNT3PPLPD for+me-PRSPRP, and-CNJ my-PSSAJ themselves-PRO PRC  
catch-ANTPD also-AV their-PSSAJ share-NMSG.

In-PRP+DART day-NMSG after-AV, when-CNJ left-SNT1PSGPD  
Santa+Clara-N PRC come-ANTPD rain-NMSG, but-CNJ rain-NMSG  
like-PRP NEG have-1PSGPRE(AUX) see-PPCP often-AV  
through+yonder-AV: rain+sea-NMSG. Most+often-AV, in+the+opposite-AV,  
PRC come-ANTPRE DART rain-NMSG, under-PP form-NMSG  
blow-NMPL+storm-NMSG, from-PRP inside-NMSG DART  
country-NF(APPGEN), and-CNJ instead-PRP be-INF(AUX) carry-PPCP  
by-PRP DART wind-NFSG, PRC win-SNT3PSGPRE on+it-PRSPRPM.  
In-PRP+DART day-NMSG+that-DEMPRC PRC fell-ANTPD at+first-AV  
IDART sort-NMSG mist-NFSG(APP) on-PRP DART sea-NMSG, and-CNJ  
then-AV PRC came-ANTPD rain-NMSG heavy-AJ, similar-AJ to-PRP  
DART DETPROSG AJPRC fall-ANTPRE most-AV in-PRP Brittany-N.

After-PRP be-INF(AUX) go-PPCP to-PRP do-INF IDART tour-NFSG  
until-PRP Louis-N, PRC return-SNT1PSGPD to-PRP Cape+Esteiras-N  
to-PRP+DART evening-NMSG. There-AV PRC find-SNT1PSGPD

my-PSSAJ friend-NMSG DART forester-NMSG very-AV worried-AJ:  
 IDART tree-NFSGT rotten-AJ PRC be-ANTIDNIMF(AUX) be-PPCP(AUX)  
 fell-PPCP by-PRP IDART blow-NMSG+wind-NFSG near-PRP  
 village-NFSG his-PSSAJ worker-NMPL(APPGEN), and-CNJ of-PRP DART  
 DETPROPL+here-DEMPRC PRC be-ANTIDNIMF(AUX) be-PPCP(AUX)  
 crush-PPCP under+it-PRSPRPF. That-DEMPRO PRC be-ANTIDNPRE  
 of-PRP DART accident-NMPL AJPRC can-ANTPRE happen-INF DART  
 often-AVSUP in-PRP+DART country-NFSG+that-DEMPRC. Fine-AJ PRC  
 be-IMP say-INF be-AUTPNTPRE as-EQU safe-AJ in-PRP+DART  
 wood-NMPL+big-AJ remote-AJ as-EQU AVCNJ+be-AUTPNTPRE in-PRP  
 our-PSSAJ country-NFPL European-AJ, DART misfortune-NMSG PRC  
 can-ANTPRE happen-INF when-AUTPRE DART least-SUP: be-INF(AUX)  
 crush-PPCP by-PRP IDART tree-NFSGT PRGPCR fall-INF, or-CNJ  
 it-OPRONTR be-INF by-PRP IDART car-NMSG+fire-NMSG on-PRP  
 DART road-NMSG+big-AJ PRC be-ANTIDNPRE equivalence-NMSG  
 sure-AV quite-AV!

### Phonetic Transcription

[m'i:Z kɛrɜ'y: et'a:l arm'o:r

distr'o:om(p) et'a etr'e:zeg 'o:D s'anta kl'ara enørz'ellud 'uz gwele'a:du  
 m'ɛjn azizol'oe d'an izelv'o:r ettizol'o:is ek'a:vet ɛll'ɛxju kr'iñet g'an(d)  
 arm'o:r ynn'i:ver k'ajr a b'ɛsket (h)'i:r (h)'ëvel aw'alx uss'ilju newak'e:D  
 s'ilju egwiri'o:nes me:D 'yrwenn sil'y:redm'o:r k'a:r et'a darr'e: av'e:ze  
 valabur'e:rjen ott'aput ɛnduar'ennu ergw'a:zju durd'us mettis'ëvel daw'e:lut  
 øzandiav'ajs t'y: av'we: dad'aput ynn'i:verm'a:D an'e:zo ag yrgwirlipeb'aw  
 ev'wen ev'i:don a valabur'e:rjen o'y:nan ad'apas 'i:ve oll'oD

ɛnd'ɛjz warl'ɛrx pa g'witàis s'anta kl'ara ett'øas gl'aw (h)'o:gen gl'aw  
 ev'e:l nɛmøsk'e:D gw'e:led al'iez drez'yon glawm'o:r pørl'iesǎ ɛnn'e:nep  
 ett'ø: argl'aw dindanst'ym barru'arnew øzdiab'arz arvr'o: ag ell'ɛ:ɣ b'ezǎ  
 d'u:get gan ann'a:vel exx'unes w'arnǎ ɛnd'ɛjsse ekk'we:zas dag'entǎ  
 ynd'ware brymen wararm'o:r ann'ø:ze ett'øaz gl'aw st'aŋk 'ëvel uzann'i:ni  
 ag'we:Z pørv'yjǎ ebbɛjs

g'u:de b'e:zã 'εjt ta 'o:ber 'yndro b'etek l'uis ettistr'ois da v'e:G estεjras  
 danabard'εjs 'e:no ekk'a:vis vam'iñon arγ'wadur gw'all enkr'e:zet  
 urw'ezen vr'εjn aw'a bet disk'a:ret gan yrbar'a:vel ekkišen keria:den  
 elabur'e:rjen ag 'y:nan øz arr'e:mã aw'a bet fl'astret dind'anni (h)'ennez  
 a z'o: 'y:nan øz arr'e:mã argwalzarv'udu aγ'ell xwarv'e:zut annal'iesã  
 ervr'o:ze k'ajr ezøðs lav'a:rut em'ør kendiz'ãžer γwadum'ør dig'enves  
 amem'ør ennorbro:ju ør'opat argw'allør aγ'ell γwarv'e:zut pa γwrt'o:zer  
 anneb'øtã b'e:zã fl'astret gan(d)yrw'e:zen okkw'e:zã pe (h)enb'e:zã gan(d)yr  
 γart'an warannen(t)pr'a:Z az'o kend'alvut s'yr aw'alx]

### Translation

Let us return, then, to the Santa Clara coast. Looking at the strata of stones which were uncovered at low tide, I discovered that one found, in the places eroded by the sea, a fine number of long fish, rather similar to eels. They were not really eels, but a type of ray, related consequently to those which my workers caught in the burrows in the freshwater streams, but dissimilar to see from the outside. There was the chance to catch a good number of them, and they were a real tasty meal for me, and my workers too themselves caught their share.

The day after, when I left Santa Clara, rain came, but rain as I haven't often seen there: sea rain. Most often, on the contrary, the rain comes in the shape of storms, from the interior, and instead of being carried by the wind, it overcomes the wind. That day there fell at first a sort of mist over the sea, and then heavy rain came, like the rain which most often falls in Brittany.

After having gone for a walk as far as Louis, I returned to Cape Esteiras in the evening. There I found my friend the woodman very worried: a rotten tree had been felled by a blast of wind near the settlement of his workers, and one of these had been crushed underneath it. That is one of those accidents which can happen most often in that country. It is in vain to say that one is as safe in the desolate forests as one is in our European countries; the misfortune can happen when one expects it the least: to be crushed by a tree falling, or to be it by a car on the main road is compensation, of course!

### Selective Commentary

This is a good example of clear and good modern Breton narrative. One might simply note the negation of ne 'm eus ket gwelet "I didn't see", with "correct" retention of the negative particle ne and rendering of "I have" as 'm eus.

#### 2.4. Bro-Lanuon: Ur C'halvidigezh Elektronek?, F. Kerrain

Bremañ. Kazetenn ar stourmoù e Breizh "Now. Newspaper of the Struggles in Brittany", Du (November), 1984, Niv.38.

Bremañ is a new appearance on the Breton scene, a successful monthly newspaper which manages to write, seriously, about things other than Brittany (nearly always) and produced by an indefatigable team from Skol an Emsav in their Rennes base.

The extract is from page 4 of an article Bro-Lanuon: Ur C'halvidigezh Elektronek? "The Lannion Region : An Electronic Vocation?", pp.4-5, by Fañch Kerrain.

Gouzout a ran e vefe start ar c'hrogad adal ma klaskfe an dud difenn o labour e korn-bro Lanuon. Setu 10 vloaz ma heuilhan a-dost diaesterioù ha trubuilhoù an ex-AOIP e Gwengamp ha ma kemeran perzh, evel rener kevredad UDB Bro-Dreger, e stourm an uzin-se. Gallout a ran testenianñ e vije bet aet houmañ kuit, a-bell 'zo, diwar douar hor bro; evel m'eo c'hoarvezet gant uzin AOIP Montroulez; ma ne vije ket bet e penn CGT uzin Gwengamp Bretoned vat, o tistentiñ ouzh dielfennerezh ha gerioù-urzh ar CGT c'hwec'hkognek hag o kas da benn gant dalc'husted ur stourm nerzhus ha kalet, diazezet war bennreolennoù breizhat. N'eo ket hep abeg, da skouer, o doa asantet Barbier, sekretour CGT an AOIP hag al lodenn vrasañ eus ar re a oa e penn ar c'hweluniad-se (sindikad) paeronianñ al listenn bet savet gant an UDB evit ar mouezhiadegoù-kêr e Gwengamp, ma oa warni kalz a emsaverion, a bep seurt.

Ma bouezan war gement-se ez eo peogwir n'eo ket anavezet ez eus bet e Breizh un embregerezh da nebeutañ hag a oa disheñvel-krenn he doare-stourm hag he c'hendrec'hidigezhioù diouzh re an embregerezhioù all, dre m'he doa lakaet an emskiant breizhad da sichenn hec'h obererezh. Ar pezh a ziskouez pegen bresk eo, abaoe pell 'zo, stad an implijoù e Bro-Dreger. O vezañ ma anavezan mat kudenn an ex-AOIP (bet enframmet er CIT-Alcatel) ha dre m'em eus miret liammoù start gant izili 'zo eus al labouradeg-se, n'on ket bet souezhet tamm ebet gant ar pezh a zo bet kemennet deomp, nevez 'zo, a-zivout an digopradege er pellgomzerezh hag en elektronik el labouradegoù LTT ha THOMSON.

#### Translation

I know (knew?) the struggle would be hard as soon as the people tried to defend their work in the Lannion region. It's 10 years since I have been following closely the difficulties and troubles of the ex-AOIP in Guingamp and since I've taken part, as leader of the UDB association of Trégor, in the struggle of that factory. I can testify that this one would have gone (away), long since, from the earth of our country, as has happened with the Morlaix AOIP factory, if there hadn't been good Bretons at the head of the Guingamp factory CGT, dissenting from the analysis and directives of the Hexagon's CGT and realizing with perseverance a powerful and hard struggle, set in Breton principles. It

isn't without reason, for example, that Barbier, secretary of the AOIP CGT, and the greatest part of those who were at the head of that union, had agreed to support the list drawn up by the UDB for the town elections in Guingamp, on which there were many members of the movement, of every type.

If I dwell on all that it is because it isn't recognized that there is, in Brittany, one enterprise at least which is very dissimilar in its manner of struggle and its convictions from those of other enterprises, because it had made Breton awareness the base of its activity. That which shows how fragile the job situation in Trégor is, and has been for a long time. Since I know well the problem of the ex-AOIP (framed in the CIT-ALCATEL) and because I have kept firm links with certain members of that works, I haven't been at all surprised by what has been notified to us, recently, concerning redundancy in the telephone and electronics industry in the LTT and Thomson works.

#### Selective Commentary

A typical example of committed and personal Breton journalism, more articulate than much newspaper writing. There is little ellipsis, and much jargon. The text is reproduced as it was printed, ignoring an inconsistency like breizhad - breizhat "Breton" (AJ). The beginning should probably be Gouzout a raen. Note -ion for -ien in emsaverion.

2.5. Testeni, Y.F. Kemener

Hor Yezh "Our Language", Niv.126, miz Gouere (July), 1979.

Though very simply produced, the occasional journal Hor Yezh is perhaps the premier Breton journal on the Breton and Celtic languages, and on linguistics. Directed by Per Denez, it is run from the little town of Lesneven by Yann Desbordes; Tereza Desbordes runs the book-publishing side of the business.

For variation, this extract is the beginning of Testeni "Witness", pp.47-73 (here p.48), a text set down by Y.F. Kemener of a recording made by an Itron Pensel of Treboull (the Douarnenez area) on the 18th of April, 1978, when she was 101 years old. By 1979 around one thousand pages of such texts had been set down.

- C'hwi zo ganet e Poullann?

- Me zo ganet e Maner Kervern, en ur vont da Bouldeuilh hag am eus bet kollet ma zud abred. Ma mamm n'am eus ket anavezet anezhi, a oa hi marv pa oa bet ganet ma breur ha goude-se ni... Me a zo bet kaset war ar maez e ti ur voereb din, 'moe ken eizh bloaz c'hoazh, huit ans, alors... Ni oa daou hag i pemp en ti, pemp krouadur ha ni oa d'ober daou, setu oa seizh. Neuze an traoù oa strizh, oa ket netra ebet, a vad ebet. Pa oan aet oa faret din un tammig krampouezh, krampouezh tev aze e-giz kaletex bihan vie lavaret, teir war-gorre ar billig aze, oa ken an dra-se. Amann... Saout oa en ti, peogwir oa ur feurm bras oa saout, met an amann a vie gwerzhet pevar ha pemp real d'an deiz kentañ ar bloaz hag ar fetoù un tammig keroc'h, an deiz all oa pevar real al lur amann, an traoù oa cheñchamant, kea. Ha me zo chomet aze betek pevarzek bloaz, o sikour da ober pezh a c'hallen e ti ma eontr: kas ar saout er-maez, diwall ar saout, traoù 'giz an dra-se. Goude-se pa oan deuet da bevarzek vloaz, oan kaset da blac'h bihan war ar maez, da ziwall ar saout ivez, ha d'ober ar pezh oan kapapl, kea. Oan ket kapapl d'ober tout bep seurt traoù c'hoazh d'an oajou-se, d'ober pezh oan kapapl ha goude-se pa oan bet aze ur bloaz 'barzh ar feurm-se am 'oe ugent lur da ma bloaz, ha oa prenet din un tamm bennak a draoù gant

an ugent lur-se emichañs hag un tavañjer a vie roet deoc'h a-wechoù war ar briz, un tavañjer. Ha deus aze - aze neuze on bet ur bloaz hag a oa c'hoazh ur plac'h all hag honnezh oa ar plac'h bras ha me oa ar plac'h bihan. Setu 'benn ar bloaz all war-lerc'h me oa kontant da gaout ivez un tamm paeamant brasoc'h ivez ha ma eontr 'noe kaset ac'hanon d'ar Pont, a vie ur foar, ur foar vie er Pont, ur foar evit an dud a nie plas ebet anezho.

#### Translation

"Were you born in Poullann?"

"I was born in Kervern Manor, on the road to Pouldeuilh, and I lost my parents early. My mother, I didn't know her, she was dead when my brother was born, and we... I was sent to the country to the house of an aunt of mine, I still wasn't eight, huit ans, alors... We were two and them five in the house, five kids and us who made two, that was seven. Then things were tight, there was nothing at all, nothing good. When I had gone, some crepes were prepared for me, thick crepes there like little cakes it was said, three on the pan there, that's all it was. Butter... There were cattle in the house, because it was a big farm there were cattle, but the butter was sold for four and five reals on the first day of the month and the feast days a bit dearer, the other day butter was four reals the pound, things were changing, weren't they? And I stayed there until fourteen, helping to do what I could in my uncle's house: taking the cattle out, watching over the cattle, things like that. Then, when I was fourteen, I was sent as maid in the country, to watch over the cattle too, and to do what I could, wasn't I? I wasn't capable yet of doing all manner of things at that age, of doing what I was capable of, and after that when I had been there a year in that farm I had twenty francs for my year, and a few things were bought for me with those twenty francs probably and an apron was given you sometimes on top of it, an apron. And after there - there then I was a year and there was also another girl and that one was the senior maid and I was the junior maid. So by the year after I was happy to have also a bit bigger payment too and my uncle had sent me to the Pont,

which was a fair, a fair was the Pont, a fair for the people who had no job.

### Selective Commentary

The text is clear and close to the standard language. We note the presence and absence of lenition of bloaz "year" after pevarzek "14", and the masculine gender of tavañjer "apron" (feminine in the standard language). There are several examples of the past definite of bezañ. Forms in -oe reflect the past definite of bezañ (or endevout). The forms vie and nie are imperfect habituais of bezañ (the latter in a "there was not" sense). Note too oajou "ages, times" (here singular in meaning), from oad. Final t and d become intervocalic are often palatalized. This may happen also within words, e.g., gwenodenn/gwenojenn "path".

### 2.6. Nebeut a dra!..., Y. Crocq

Yvon Crocq, Eur Zac'had Marvailhou "A Sackful of Stories", Kemper, 1924.

This is an excellent and classic selection of traditional stories, in an impeccable Breton. The original KLT orthography has been retained.

The extract is from the story Nebeut a dra!... "A Mere Nothing!...", pp.122-9 (here 122-4).

Gwechall - hag abaoe n'eus ket ken pell-ze, rak pell emañ c'hoaz diouz va c'hant vloaz, - gwechall e chome em farrez daou bried yaouank. Nevez dimezet e oant, ha ne oa deut c'hoaz netra beteg enno; en eur gêriadennig distro e vevent "dizoursi-bras ha dinec'h", didrouzik hag eurus.

Paskolig, an ozac'h, a veze bemdez o tevezia war ar meaz ha ne zigoueze er gear nemet da glask e goan, e wele hag e wreg. Houmañ, Soazig, a yee he amzer ganti da zoursial ouz he bioc'h, da gempenn he zammig tiegez, ha da benselia, da dapouna dilhajou ha kreziou.

Pep-hini anezo en em emelle eus e draou, hag evel-se ne veze ket reuz ganto. Eun draig o doa divizet kenetrezo pa oant dimezet: penaos pep-hini d'e dro a rankje gwalc'hi ar skudellou goude koan. Kement-se a oa nebeud a dra, emezoc'h, rak n'edo nemet diou skudell ha deurel eur banneig dour a-dreisto. N'eus forz, dont a reas an ampoent hag an nebeudig-ze a dorras ar peoc'h a rene etre an daou bried. Rak, eur zadornvez da noz, Paskolig ha Soazig o doa koaniet gant yod kerc'h silet, ha leaz-mesk fresk o tont diouz ar ribod. Ma! goude koan, hag hep lavaret grik, an ozac'h a lakeas eun tammig tan war e gorn-butun da vogedi toullou e fri, hag ar wreg a grogas en he labour da ober eur vrochennad stamm bennak. Hogen e-pad ar c'houlz-ze, dilerc'h koan a chome war an daol: ar jidhouarn, eun tammig yod c'hoaz en he strad ha krestenn ouz he c'hantennou, ar skudilli, al loaïou. Met hep dale mouez Paskolig a zavas rustoc'h eget m'edo boazet.

- Poent eo dic'huba an daol, tanfoultr! emezañ.
- Piou a zo o c'hortoz? a respontas Soazig.
- Da dro eo, me 'gred mat: dillo, kemer an torch-skaota, ha didrouz!
- N'eo ket va zro, eme eben; daoust ha n'eo ket dec'h 'oa bet da goan avalou-douar en o c'hroc'hen?
- Foei! Me ne ran forz gant kement-se, na gant patatez, na gant o flusk; met dec'h e oa ar gwener, ha me eo a walc'has ar stalikerez, soñj am eus re vat!
- N'eo ket gwir!
- A zo gwir!
- Nann!
- Eo!

Sellou du a rejont an eil ouz egile, met aze e chomjont, ha gwell a oa ze. Ma vijent bet primoc'h, an eil hag egile, e vijent bet eat pelloc'h, ha diwar nebeud a dra koulskoude.

## Phonetic Transcription

This transcription has been made on the basis of a recording, with no regularization. Oblique lines denote pauses, the more of them the longer the pause. Long vowels are no more than half-long. Indistinct sounds are placed within parentheses. Unstressed [a] in a polysyllable is often rather short and raised. These notes apply also to 2.7 and 2.11 in this Appendix.

[gw'ešal / ag abw'e: nøs ket ken pɛlze / rak pɛl ɛm'ɔwn ɣwas djuz  
va xanna // gw'ešal eš'ome nem vharwz dɔw br'i:ɛdʒowaŋ // n'ewe  
ɔim'e:d ew'ɛŋt / a ne wa dɔ:t ɣwas netr'a beteg'eno // enɔrgeriad'ɛnnik  
d'istro ew'eweŋ ɔ'yzursibraz a d'inɛx / d'idruziɔ ɔg j'y:rys//

pask'zɔ:liɔ ann'o:zax / av'e:ze p'ɛmde otev'e:zia war(a)rm'e:s / a ne  
zisk'we:ze ket erg'er n'emɛt dagl'ask egw'ɔ:n / ew'ele / ag ewr'ek //  
h'omɔ / s'wɔ:ziɔ / a j'e: eh'ɔmžer g'ɔnti da zurs'i:al uzeb'i:(j)ɔx / da  
g'ɛmpɛn ez'ɔmi(k)ti'e:ges a da bɛns'e:lia / da dap'una diɔ'a:du a kr'e:zju  
//

pep'i:ni an'e:(e) ɛnɛmem'ɛle ɔzedr'eo(w) / ag evels'e: ne ve:ze k'et r'ɔ:z  
g'antɔ // ɔn dr'a:iɔ d'wa div'i:zet kenetr'e:zo pa wɔŋt dim'e(e)t / pen'o:s  
pep'ini de dr'o a raŋkše gw'alxi arskyd'ɛlu g'uɔde k'wɔ:n // kem'ɛntse  
a'wa n'ɔ:bɔd a dr'a: / em'ezɔx // rak ned'ɔ n'emɛt dju sk'ydel a d'ɔrel  
ɔerb'ɔneik d'ur adr'e(j)stɔ // nɔsf'ɔrs / dɔn ar'eas an'ɔmpwɛn ag  
annɔb'ɔ:dɔse ad'oraz arp'ɔx ar'e:ne dr'e an d'ɔw br'iet // rak /  
ɔrzad'ornvez dan'o:s pask'o:liɔ a s'wɔ:ziɔ odo(w)'a k'wɔŋet gan jodk'ɛrx  
s'i:ɔet / a l'e:zmesk fresk otɔn djuz arr'i:but / ma / g'uɔde k'wɔn / ag  
hɛp l'ɔvaret kr'ik / ann'o:zax alak'eas ɔnt'ɔmik t'ɔ:n w'a:r eg'ornb'ytn  
davog'e:di t'ulu evhr'i: / ag arvhr'eg agr'o:gaz en e l'a:bur d(ɔ)'ober  
ɔrvroš'ɛnad st'ɔm bɛn'a:g // ok'e:n / ep'ad arɣ'ulɔ / d'i:lɛrx k'wɔn  
aš'ome war and'o:l // aršid'u:ɔrn / ɔnt'ɔmiɔ j'o:d ɣ'waz en estr'a:d a  
kr'esten uz e hɔnt'ɛnnu / arskyd'illi al'waju // mɛt / hɛp'd'a:le m'wez  
pask'o:liɔ az'a:vas r'yɔstɔx eg'ɛt m'edɔ(w) b'wɔ:zet //

p'wεnew diγ'ybα and'o:l / tɔnf'ultr // em'ea

p'ju az'o: oγ'wrtoz / aresp'ontas s'wɔ:ziʦ //

dadr'o: e(w) / m'e: gr'ed m'a:t / d'ilu / k'emεr ant'o(r)šškota / a  
d'i:drus //

n'e(w)ket vazr'o: / em'e: eb'e:n // d'ɔwst a ne(w)ket d'e:(ω)x aw'abet  
dag'wɔ:n av'aludu:ɔr en o γr'ωγen //

f'we(j) / m'e: nera(n)f'o:rs gankem'εnse / n'a gantpat'ats / n'a gan(d) o  
fr'yšk // met d'e:x ew'a argw'e:ner / a m'e: e(w) aw'alxas ɔrstaliq'e:res  
// š'o:z m'ɔs r'e:vat//

n'e(w)ket gw'i:r //

'azo gw'ir //

n'ɔn //

'e(w) //

z'εlu q'y ar'e:šœ(η) ɔn'ελ quzeg'ile / m'et 'ɔ:ze eš'omžœn / a gw'εl  
ɔz'e // m'a v'i:šiη b'it pr'imωx ann'ελ ageg'ile / ev'i:šiη b'et 'et  
p'εlωx / a d'i:wɔr n'ɔ:bɔd adr'a: kusk'ude///]

## Translation

Some time ago, and since there isn't so long as that, for I'm still far from my hundred years, - some time ago a man and his wife lived in my parish. They were newly married, and nothing had yet come to them [i.e. "they hadn't any children yet"]; in a little remote village they lived "very carefree and worry-free", calmly and happily.

Paskolig, the husband, would every day be doing daywork in the countryside and didn't come home except to seek his supper, his bed and his wife. She, Soazig, spent her time caring for her cow, tidying her little household, and patching, mending(?) clothes and shirts.

Each of them managed his affairs, and so they had no sadness. One thing they had decided when they got married: how each one in his turn would have to wash the bowls after supper. All that was little, you say, for there were only two bowls and [the need to] throw a drop of water over them. Anyway, the moment came and that little nothing broke the peace which reigned between man and wife. For, one Saturday evening, Paskolig and Soazig had supped on sieved oats porridge, and buttermilk coming from the churn. Well! After supper, and without saying a word, the husband put a little light to his pipe to smoke through his nostrils, and the wife set to her work knitting. But during that time, the supper things remained on the table: the cauldron, a bit of porridge still in its bottom and crust on its sides, the bowls, the spoons. But without delay Paskolig's voice rose more abruptly than he was accustomed.

"It's time to clear the table, for heaven's sake!" he said.

"Who's waiting?" Soazig replied.

"It's your turn, I do believe: quick, take the pot-towel, and be quiet about it!"

"It isn't my turn," the other said. "Wasn't it yesterday you had your supper of jacket potatoes?"

"Goodness! I couldn't care less about all that, neither about potatoes, nor about their peel; but yesterday was Friday, and it was me washed the dishes, I remember it very well!"

"It's not true!"

"It is true!"

"No!"

"Yes!"

They gave each other black looks, but there they remained, and a good thing too. If they had been quicker, the two of them, they would have gone further, and for a mere trifle.

#### Selective Commentary

An excellent illustration of many major constructions. Leon features are the metathesis of diphthongs and the opening of e before ɫ, are Leon dialectal features. Note too the closing of o rendered in the spelling emaoun "I am" (l.1), and the absence of final nasals in the infinitive in this text. Interesting is sentence-initial a zo an emphatic riposte to a negative assertion, with the particle stressed in the recording.

#### 2.7. An Dour en-dro d'an Inizi, Y. Drezen

Youenn Drezen, An Dour en-dro d'an Inizi, "The Water around the Islands", Al Liamm, Brest, 1970 (first published by Gwalarn, 1932).

One of the major Breton novels, and with a highly regarded literary style. This short extract is taken from pages 13-14.

P'edon o chom e Gwened, va c'hêr c'henidik, e kasen ur bern labour da fornioù pri-livet Lok-Maria Kemper. Me 'oa va micher merañ er pri delwennouigoù, pe livañ war bodoù, skudilli ha binvioù all, bleunioù, pe gouerien o bragoù roufennet ha Breizhadezed gwisket kran.

Marteze e kavfes c'hoazh va sinadur e kornig sichenn meur a volomig chomet diberc'henn e stal ur marc'hadour. Soñjet em eus n'oan ket dornet re fall, rak en amzer-se, n'oa ket dibaot ar vignoned a c'houlenne diganin ar pezh a anvomp "pezhioù nemeto" e yezh ar vicher.

Un deiz, e kavis em boest, dindan ur golo-lizher a di Henriot "fornioù pri-livet, e Kemper", ur gomz a-berzh un aotrou Joz Bodri, marc'hadour pesked e Douarnenez. Fellout a rae d'an den mat-se ficher

gant skeudennoù breizhek ar c'henkiz en doa nevez-prenet er Bono, ster an Alre. E verc'h a blije dreist dezhi va stumm broadel. Setu ma c'houlenne... hag all.

Respont a ris "ya" hep marc'hata. Douarneneziz o deus anv da vezañ distag-meurbet o c'halon ouzh ar baourentez. Ur mintinvezh, eta, e kaven un dimezell war bondalez va zi, e traoñ straed ar Chalonied, un hentig enk o hedañ war ziribin an iliz-veur. [...] A-vec'h aet tre hag azezet, e tenne an dimezell he manegoù ler, hag e komze.

### Phonetic Transcription

This transcription is based upon a recording (see 2.6).

[ped'õ: oš'õm e gw'e:net / vax'e:r xen'idiṭ / ek'asen œrb'ern l'a:bur da  
vh'õrnju pril'iwet lɔkmar'ija k'emp̃er / m'e: 'wa v'a m'išer m'e:rõ erpr'i:  
delwenj'ugy / pe l'i:wã warb'udu / skyd'ili a b'õnju 'al / bl'õnju / pe  
gw'e:rjen obr'agu ryf'enñet a brejzad'e:zet gw'isket kr'õ:n/

mart'e:ze ek'axfe w'az vazin'a:dyr ek'õrniṭ s'išen m'ø:r a vol'omiṭ š'omet  
dib'eryen est'a:l œrmarɣ'a:dur / šõžet em'ø̃s nw'a:nket d'orñet rev'al /  
rag en'õmzerze: / n(j)w'a ket ðib'a(w)t arviñ'o:ned aɣul'ene digan'i:n  
arp'es a'anvõm p'e:zju nem'etœ ej'e:z arv'išer /

'œnde ek'a:vis nemb'west / di(n)dan œrg'o:loli:zer ad'i: 'erjo f'õrnju  
pril'i:wet / e k'emp̃er / œrg'õmz ab'erz œn'o:tru žo:s b'odri / marɣ'a:dur  
p'esket eḍu(w)ar'nenes / f'elut ar'e: dand'e:n matse f'iša gant skød'enu  
br'eizek arɣ'enkis en(j)'wa nevepr'e:net erb'ono / st'ε:r an'alre / ev'ery  
abl'iže dr'ejst d'ei vast'ym bro'a:del / set'y m'a ɣul'ene / ag'al

r'espond a r'is j'a hepmarɣ'ata / du(w)arnen'e:ziz od'ø̃s 'õno dav'e:(j)õ  
d'istag mø:rb̃et oɣ'õlon uzarbõwr'ente / œrmint'i:wez / e'ta /ek'a:ven  
õndim'e:zel warbond'õ:le vaz'i: / entr'ãw̃ str'e:d aršalon'i:et / œnn'entiṭ  
'ε̃k oh'e:dã warziri:bi an'i:lizv'ø̃r / aw'ε:ɣ ettr'e agaz'e:(j)et et'ene  
andim'e:zel eman'e:gu l'e:r / ageg'õmze]

## Translation

When I lived in Vannes, my native town, I sent a lot of work to the Lok-Maria Quimper potteries. My trade was to form little statues in clay, or to paint, on pots, bowls and other instruments, flowers or peasants with their pleated trousers and finely dressed Breton girls.

Perhaps you still found my signature in the corner of the base of many a little fellow left without an owner in a tradesman's shop. I thought I wasn't too unskilled, for at that time, the friends who asked me for what we call in the trade unique pieces weren't rare.

One day I found in my letter-box, under an envelope from the Henriot potteries in Quimper, a note on the part of a Mr Jos Bodri, fish merchant from Douarnenez. That good man wanted to adorn with Breton pictures the villa which he had recently bought in Bono, on the Auray river. His daughter really liked my popular style. So he asked me... and so on.

I replied "yes" without hesitating. Douarnenez women have the reputation of being very sympathetic to poverty. So, one morning, I found a young lady on the porch of my house, at the bottom of the rue des Chanoines, a narrow street going along the lower side of the cathedral. Scarcely had we gone in and sat down, than the young lady took off her leather gloves, and spoke.

## Selective Commentary

Again a clear text bringing out many features of modern standard Breton. Note the diminutive plural, the front-focussed me in Me oa va micher... "My trade was...", and the use of the past definite.

2.8. Glas evel Daoulagad C'hlas na oant ket ma Re, P. Denez

Per Denez, Glas evel Daoulagad C'hlas na oant ket ma Re 'Blue like blue Eyes which were not my own', Al Liamm, Brest, 1979.

Per Denez is one of the most active supporters of Breton language and culture at the moment. In a way he may be seen to have taken on the mantle of Roparz Hemon, whose fate was to live out his life in exile. He is Professor of Breton at the Université de Haute-Bretagne/Rennes II.

The extract is taken from pages 86-7 of this horrifying tale of a modern Lady Macbeth, who poisons and buries in her garden the suspected mistress of her husband.

An deiz war-lerc'h e c'hellen kemer aesoc'h an traoù. Ar pallennou bras o doa servijet evit an douar, div dro a voe graet ganto er mekanik-gwalc'hiñ. An dra-se ne oa netra. Kalz hiroc'h labour a oa d'ober e kambr Gristina. Pignat a ris eno, azezañ war he gwele, hag en em c'houlenn: ma vefen da vont kuit da vat, petra a gasfen ganin? Be'z eus ganin ur valizenn hag ur sac'h, ne c'hellan goulenn sikour gant den peogwir ne fell ket din bezañ gwelet o vont kuit, neuze petra 'gasan ganin? Pezh a oa d'ober avat n'eo ket chom da brederiañ, met ober ma fakadoù, evel pa vefen o vont. Kemer a ris ar valizennig truilh a oa ganti pa oa deut da labourat, hag ar sac'h-beaj he doa prenet abaoe. O-daou em boa da leuniañ. Un nebeut dilhad, pas re, pas re nebeut, an traoù d'en em gempenn, ul levr pe zaou, ur podig bennak, ur skeudenn pe ziv, ne chome ken an dra-se ganti eus he familh, un disglavier, arabat disoñjal an disglavier, ne zisoñje anezhañ morse pa veze an disterañ feson glav. He sac'h-dorn. He faperioù. He argant. An disterig a ficherezh, ne oa ket tu d'ober "bravigoù" eus an dra-se.

Aketus e voen o furchal en tiretennoù: arabat e oa lezel an disterañ tra a vije bet ret-bras dezhi kas ganti. Ne gave ket din e vije deut morse den da c'houlenn keloù, d'ober enklask, met gwelloc'h oa bezañ pare. Ur sell diwezhañ a ris war ma zro. C'hoari mont kuit a raen: petra 'm eus ezhomm c'hoazh? A ya, ma dihuner! Dindan ar goubenner, n'em eus disoñjet netra? E tiretenn-diabarzh ma arbell? Dal: an dro-vrec'h, ya, da gas ganin. Setu. Leun oa ar valizenn hag ar sac'h. Diskenn a ris d'ar c'harrdi.

#### Translation

The day after I could take things more easily. The big rugs which had served for the earth, they were given two turns in the washing machine. That was nothing. There was a lot more work in Kristina's room. I went up there, sat on her bed, and wondered: if I were going away for good, what would I take with me? But what there was to do was not to stay and ponder, but to pack my things, as if I was going. I took a tatty little suitcase which she had when she had come to work, and the travelling bag she had bought since. I had the two of them to fill. A few clothes, not too many, not too few, things to keep one tidy, a book or two, some little pot, a picture or two, that was all she had from her family, an umbrella, mustn't forget the umbrella, she never forget it when there was the slightest hint of rain. Her handbag. Her papers. Her money. The little bit of adornment, you couldn't really call it "jewellery". I was attentive going through the drawers: mustn't leave the slightest thing which would have been very necessary for her to take with her. I didn't think that anyone would ever come to ask for news, to enquire, but it was better to be ready. I took a last look around me. I played at going away: what did I still need? Oh, yes, my alarm clock! Under the pillow, haven't I forgotten anything? In the inside drawer of my wardrobe? Ah: the bracelet, yes, to take with me. Well then. The suitcase and the bag were full. I went down to the garage.

### Selective Commentary

A work full of everyday terms. We might note how, in line 2, the context imposes a relative clause reading on o doa... and, in lines 4-5, how the infinitive in itself may contextually convey the nuance of "next action in the past".

#### 2.9. Mari Vorgan, R. Hemon

Roparz Hemon, Mari Vorgan "Mermaid", Al Liamm, Saint-Brieuc, 1962.

One of Hemon's best-known novels, written in diary form. So broad were Hemon's gifts that the temptation is to see his work as lightweight. Certainly the ease, and pleasure, with which many of his prose works may be read strengthens this temptation; but this would not do justice to his rich imagination and distinct narrative gift. For a man, too, whose native language was not Breton, his Breton is particularly good. Bretons, however, will argue over this. Taken from pp.60-1.

#### 17 a vezheven

Anzav a rankan, mignonez, e sellan alies ouzh ar mor. A-wechoù n'eo nemet ur sell. A-wechoù, pa'm eus amzer, e choman e-pad un hanter eur, en noz pe en deiz. N'eo ket, Adela, evit he gwelout; er c'hontrol, evit bezañ sur n'emañ ket aze; evit dont da grediñ tamm-ha-tamm n'eus ket anezhi.

Sellout a ran ouzh ar mor, evel dre laer. Ne fell ket din e teufe den da zivinout va menozioù. An holl ofiserien a oar bremañ istor an daou vartolod o deus klasket pakañ ur vari-vorgan. Darn o deus c'hoarzhed, - Arzhur en deus graet an neuz da gaout plijadur ivez, - met ne gomzont ket diwar-benn se kement ha n'em bije soñjet. Kriz eo va stad. C'hoant em eus klevout, ha ne c'hellan goulenn netra, hag e rankan ober zoken evel pa ne selaoufen ket.

Sur on ez eus re all evel don. Meur a hini a sell ouzh ar mor ivez, e kuzh. Iskis e kavan daoulagad an dud. Iskis e kavan o doareoù. Ar

galloud fall, a lavarfed, an hini a rae aon d'ar c'habiten, oc'h astenn war an Agenor e roued vurzхудus.

Dec'h da noz, edo Arzhur war ar pont, e-unan-penn, difiñv, evel beuzet en e soñjoù. Stumm e gorf a welen, treset e du war an oabl steredek. N'em gwele ket. Ur pennad mat omp chomet e-giz-se, ne ouzon tamm pegeit. Pa'z eo aet kuit on chomet c'hoazh ur pennad hir el lec'h ma edon, ne ouzon ket perak.

### Morphosyntactic Gloss

#### 17-CDNUM of-PRP June-NM

confess-INF PRC must-SNT1PSGPRE friend-NFSG NPRC  
 look-SNT1PSGPRE often-AV at-PRP DART sea-NMSG sometimes-AV  
 NEG+be-SNT3PSGPREIDN but-PRP IDART look-NMSG sometimes-AV  
 if-CNJ+have-1PSGPRE time-NFSG PRC remain-SNT1PSGPRE during-PRP  
 IDART half-AJ hour-NFSG in-PRP+DART night-NFSG or-CNJ  
 in-PRP+DART day-NMSG NEG+be-SNT3PSGPREIDN NEG Adela-N  
 for-PRP her-OPRO see-INF in-PRP+DART opposite-NMSG for-PRP  
 be-INF sure-AJ NEG+be-SNT3PSGPREPNT NEG there-AV for-PRP  
 come-INF to-PRP believe-INF bit+and+bit-AV NEG+be/have-IMP NEG  
 of-her-PRSPRP/OPRO

look-INF PRC do-SNT1PSGPRE(AUX) at-PRP DART sea-NMSG like-PRP  
 through+thief-AV NEG want-SNTIMPPRE NEG to+me-PRSPRP NPRC  
 come-ANTPRECND man-NEGPRO to-PRP guess-INF my-PSSAJ  
 intentions-NMPL DART all-QUT officer-NMPL PRC know-ANTPRE  
 now-AV story-NMSG DART two-CDNUM sailor-NMSG  
 have-3PPLPRE(AUX) try-PPCP catch-INF IDART mermaid-NFSG  
 part(some)-NFSG(PRO) have-3PPLPRE(AUX) laugh-PPCP Arzhur-N  
 have-3PSGMPRE(AUX) do-PPCP DART appearance-NFSG to-PRP  
 have-INF pleasure-NFSG also-AV but-CNJ NEG speak-SNT3PPLPRE NEG  
 about-PRP that-PRO as+much-EQU as-CNJ NEG have-1PSGPCND(AUX)  
 think-PPCP difficult-AJ be-ANTPRE my-PSSAJ state-NFSG desire-NMSG  
 have-1PSGPRE hear-INF and-CNJ NEG can-SNT1PSGPRE ask-INF  
 nothing-PRO and-CNJ PRC must-SNT1PSGPRE do-INF even-AV

as+if-CNJ NEG listen-SNT1PSGPRECND NEG

sure-AJ be-SNT1PSGPREIDN PRC be-IMP DETPROPL other-AJ  
 like+me-PRSPRP several-QUT of-PRP DETPROSG PRC look-ANTPRE  
 at-PRP DART sea-NMSG also-AV in+secret-AV strange-AJ PRC  
 find-SNT1PSGPRE eye-NMDL DART people-NMPL(APPGEN) strange-AJ  
 PRC find-SNT1PSGPRE their-PSSAJ ways-NMPL DART power-NMSG  
 evil-AJ PRC say-AUTPRECND DART DETPROSG AJPRC do-ANTIMF  
 fear-NM to-PRP+DART captain-NMSG PRGPCR stretch-INF on-PRP  
 DART Agenor-N its-PSSAJM net-NMSG miraculous-AJ

yesterday+to+night-AV be-ANTIMFPNT Arzhur-N on-PRP DART  
 bridge-NMSG himself+alone-PRO motionless-AJ as-PRP drown-PPCP  
 in-PRP his-PSSAJ thought-NMPL shape-NMSG his-PSSAJ  
 body-NMSG(APPGEN) PRC see-SNT1PSGIMF trace-PPCP in-PRP  
 black-AJ on-PRP DART sky-NMSG starry-AJ NEG+me-OPRO  
 see-SNT3PSGIMF NEG IDART moment-NMSG good-AJ  
 be-SNT1PPLPRE(AUX) remain-PPCP like+that-AV NEG  
 know-SNT1PSGPRE NEG how+long-INTAV when-CNJ+PRC  
 be-SNT3PSG(AUX) go-PPCP away-AV be-SNT1PSGPRE(AUX)  
 remain-PPCP still-AV IDART moment-NMSG long-AJ in-PRP+DART  
 place-NMSG that-AVPRC be-SNT1PSGIMFPNT NEG know-SNT1PSGPRE  
 NEG why-INTAV

## Phonetic Transcription

[ars'εjtεk avez'ë:ven

'anzavaraŋkan miñ'o:nes es'ellan al'ies uzarm'o:r aw'εšu n'ew n'emet  
 'yrzell aw'εšu pam'øz 'amzer eš'oman ep'a:D yn'anter'ør εnn'o:Z pe:  
 εnd'εjs newk'eD ad'e:la ev'i:D egw'e:lut ery'ωntrol evitp'e:(z)ǎ s'y:r  
 nemǎk'e:D 'a:ze ev'i:ttōn(t) dagr'e:dī tamat'amøsk'e:D an'e:(z)i

s'elludaran uzarm'o:r ev'el drel'ajr nevellk'e:D d'in ett'øffe d'e:n da  
 ziv'i:nut vamen'o:zju annωllofis'erjen aw'a:r br'εmǎ 'istor and'aw vart'o:lot  
 od'øš kl'asket p'akkǎ yrvariv'ωrgan d'arn od'øš xw'arzet 'arzyr  
 en(d)'øskr'ε:et ann'ø:Z da g'awt pliž'a:dyr 'i:ve m'e:D neg'ωmzon(t) k'e:D  
 diwarb'enn kem'entse a nemb'i:že s'ōžet kr'i:zew vast'a:D xw'ant em'øš  
 kl'e:vut a neγ'ellan g'ulen n'etra ag er'aŋkan 'o:ber ev'elpanezel'awffen  
 k'e:D

s'y'r 'on ez'øš r'eal ev'eldon møra'ini az'ell uzarm'o:r 'i:ve ekk'y:Z  
 'iskiz ekk'a:van dawl'a:gad and'y:D 'iskiz ekk'a:van oddwar'e:u  
 argallutf'all alav'arfet ann'i:ni ar'ε:e 'awn dar γab'iten ωγ'asten  
 waranag'e:nor er'uetfyrz'ydyš

d'ε:γ dan'o:Z 'e:do 'arzyr wararp'ont e'y:nanp'enn d'ivī ev'el b'ø:zet  
 enez'ōžu st'ym eg'ωrf av'e:len tr'ezet e'ddy: warann'wa:B(l) ster'e:dek  
 nemgw'e:le k'e:D yrp'ennad m'a:D 'oms'omet eg'isse ne'uzon t'am pe'gεjt  
 paz'ew 'εjt k'wīt 'on š'omet γ'wa:Z yrp'ennat (h)'i:r ell'ε:Γ m'a: 'e:don  
 ne'uzon k'e:t per'a:G]

## Translation

17th June

I must confess, my friend, that I often look at the sea. Sometimes it's only a glance. Sometimes, when I have the time, I remain during a half hour, at night or in the daytime. It's not, Adela, in order to see her;

on the contrary, it's to be sure that she isn't there; in order to come to believe bit by bit that she does not exist.

I look at the sea, as if furtively. I don't want anyone to come to guess my thoughts. All the officers now know the story of the two sailors who tried to catch a mermaid. Some laughed, - Arthur pretended to find it pleasant too, - but they don't talk about that as much as I would have thought. My situation is difficult. I want to hear, and I don't want to ask anything, and I must do even as if I didn't listen.

I am sure that there are others like me. Many a one looks at the sea too, in secret. I find people's eyes strange. I find their ways strange. The evil power, you would say, the one that fills the captain with fear, extending over the Agenor its miraculous net.

Last night, Arthur was on the bridge, alone, motionless, as if drowned in his thoughts. I saw the shape of his body, drawn in black on the starry sky. He didn't see me. A good moment we remained like that, I don't know how long. When he went away, I remained another long moment where I was, I don't know why.

#### 2.10. Emgann Kergidu, L. Inizan

Lan Inizan, Emgann Kergidu "The Battle of Kergidu", 2 parts, Al Liamm, Brest, 1977.

Originally published in 1877 and 1878, in the Leon dialect, this tale of events in Brittany during the Revolution of 1793 is a masterpiece of Breton narrative literature.

The extract is from Chapter 14 of Part 1, Kergidu (pp.201-13, here pp.210-11). This particular edition is a most valuable annotated one, prepared with the help of Yann-Erwan Abalan, Frañsez Kervella, Yann Desbordes, Per Denez and Ronan Huon.

Kalz ac'hanomp a voe mac'hagnet; me, evit ma lod, am boa bet un taol baionetez em morzhed. Hennezh, avat, an hini en doa roet ar mestr-taol-se din, ne zaleas ket da vont d'ar bed all; ur Roskoad yaouank em c'hichen, a dorras e benn outañ gant un taol krog. Daoust da se, va gwad a rede puilh, saflikañ a rae em botoù dre ma valeen; koulskoude ne raen van ebet, ne ouien ket zoken oan tizhet. An neb n'eo ket bet en emgann ne c'hello biken kompren petra eo an den paour e-kreiz an tan, war an dachenn. E zaoulagad a luc'h en e benn evel daou gef-tan, an eonenn a zo e korn e c'henoù, disec'h eo e vuzelloù, e fronelloù a zo digor hag a deu evel moged anezho, e dal a zo roufennet, e gorf a-bezh a gren gant e herder, dialanet eo, ha koulskoude ne ehan da redet ha da skeiñ pa gav e du; kollet eo e benn hag e skiant gantañ. Lod a lavar eo c'hwez ar poultr eo a ra kement-se. Koulskoude gwechall, a-raok m'oa poultr, fuzuilhoù ha kanolioù ec'h en em ganned gant kement a gounnar ha bremañ. Me 'gredfe kentoc'h e teufe, e-pad an emgann, an Aotrou Doue da zilezer an den da heuilh sioù fall e galon, da ober droug dezhañ e-unan ha da dud ne anavez ket zoken, abalamour ar brezel a zo unan eus e walinier. N'eus forzh, evidon-me a gav din em boa kollet va fenn, n'em boa aon rak netra, ne raen van a netra. Gwelet a raen tud, hag a anavezen mat, astennet war an douar, mac'hagnet, hag ez aen e-biou dezho evel pa ne vijent ket bet eno; va c'halon a yoa deuet da vezañ dir. N'em boa ken youl nemet lazhañ ha diskar soudarded muiañ ma c'helljen.

#### Translation

Many of us were mutilated; I, for my part, had had a bayonette blow in my thigh. That one, however, he who had given me that master-blow, didn't delay in going to the other world; a young Roscoff man near me, he broke his head with a swivel-hook blow. In spite of that, my blood ran in a stream, it splashed in my boots as I walked; however, I didn't show it, I didn't even know I had been hit. Whoever has not been in battle will never be able to understand what is the poor man amid the fire, in the field. His eyes glare in his head like two embers, there is foam in the corner of his mouth, his lips are dried out, his nostrils are open and smoke as it were comes from them, his

forehead is creased, all his body trembles with his daring, he is out of breath, and yet he doesn't stop running and hitting when he has his chance; his head and his reason are lost. Some say that it is the smell of the powder that does all that. But formerly, before there was powder, rifles and cannon one fought with as much fury as now. I would believe rather that, during the battle, the Lord God would come to abandon man to follow the evil vices of his heart, to do harm to him and to people he doesn't even know, because war is one of his calamities. Anyway, for me who think I had lost my head, I was afraid of nothing, I made show of nothing. I saw people whom I knew well, stretched out on the ground, mutilated, and I went past them as if they had not been there; my heart had become steel. I had no other desire than to kill and fell soldiers the most I could.

#### Selective Commentary

A more difficult text, with its unexpected infinitive forms, e.g., redet for redék "(to) run", and the glide y the imperfect of bezañ "(to) be", e.g., a yoa.

2.11. Ur Marc'hadour a Vontroulez, J. Konan

Jakez Konan, Ur Marc'hadour a Vontroulez "A Merchant of Morlaix", Al Liamm, Brest, 1981.

A simple and well-told tale of adventure, with a happily-ever-after ending, by a most versatile Treger author.

The extract is taken from Chapter III, pp.31-45 (here pp.31-2).

Tamm ha tamm e teuas Garan ennañ e-unan. Digeriñ a reas e zaoulagad. E pelec'h edo? Ne ouie mui. Bonnañ evel ur gor ha leskiñ a rae e gilpenn bep gwech ma c'hoantae fiñval. E gwirionez, e glopenn a-bezh a rae poan. Adserriñ a reas e zaoulagad en ur glask kounaat ar pezh a oa c'hoarvezet gantañ. A greiz-holl e santas ur c'hwechadenn domm war e zremm hag e klevas ur rufladenn. Sellout a reas met ne welas tra. Re deñval an noz. Ne grede ket fiñval abalamour d'ar c'hloaz. A-dastorn e klaskas gant e zaouarn gouzout petra e c'halle bezañ. Santout a reas a-us d'e benn un dra flour, klouar, bev ha na dec'has ket pa stokas outañ. Anavezout a reas min e gompagnun-hent, e varc'h.

- O, Faro! emezañ.

Kennerzhet en em gave gant bezañs e loen en e gichen. Soñj a zeue dezhañ bremañ eus an darvoudoù. A-nebeudoù ez eas en e goazez. Edo en un douflez, taolet eno moarvat gant ar re o devoa e daget ha laeret digantañ e varc'hadourezh, e yalc'h hag e eurier. Pegeit e oa bet en e c'hourvez hep anaoudegezh? Ne c'halle ket lavarout. En diwezh e teuas a-benn da vonet en e sav. A-drantell, evel un den mezv, ez eas da harpañ ouzh Faro. Ret e voe dezhañ ober un ehan. Aer fresk an noz hen sikouras da beurzivadaouiñ ha dizale en em gavas barrek da varc'hegezh.

## Phonetic Transcription

The transcription is based upon a recording (see 2.6).

[tamat'am et'ø:as g'a:ran 'ɛna e'ynan / dig'ɛri ar'e:az ez wl'a:gat /  
 epɛl'ɛx ed'o: / new'ie m'wi: / b'o:nǎ ev'el ɔrg'ur a l'ɛski ar'e: eg'ilpɛn  
 bɛpkw'ɛš ma ɣwant'e: f'i:(w)al / egwirj'o:ne egl'o:pɛn ab'e:z ar'e:  
 po(w)α:n / adz'ɛri ar'eaz ezɔwl'a:ga(d) ɛnɔrgl'ask kun'aat arp'es a'wa  
 ɣwarv'e:zet g'ɔntǎ / agrejz'ɔl es'ɔntas ɔrɣweš'a:dɛn d'ɔm war e zr'ɛm  
 ag egl'e:waz ɔrryfl'a:dɛn / z'ɛlut ar'e:as me(t) new'elas tr'a / re:d'ē:val  
 an(n)'o:z / negr'e:de ket f'i(n)wal abal'a:mur darɣl'(w)α:z / ad'aston  
 ekl'askas gan ez'ɔwarn g'uzut petr'a eɣ'ɛle b'e(j)ǎ / s'ɔntut ar'e:as a'ys  
 deb'ɛn ɔndr'a fl'ur / kl'u:ɔr / 'be(o) a nad'ɛhas k'et pa st'okas utǎ(n) /  
 anv'e:ud ar'e:as m'in egɔmp'añunɛn / ev'arx

ɔ: f'aro / em'e:a(n)

ɣen'ɛ:rzed enemg'a:ve gan b'e:zǎs elow'aĩ eneg'išɛn / šōž az'ø(w)e d'ē:ā  
 br'ɛmǎ ø:zandarv'u:du / anøb'ø:du e'e:as ɛneg'wα:ze / 'e:do ɛn ɔnt'ufle /  
 t'o:led 'e:no m(w)arv'at gan arr'e od'e:vwa ed'a:get a l'e:ret dig'ǎntɔ  
 evarɣad'ures / ej'alx ag e ør'ier /peɣ'eit e'wa b'et eneɣ'urve  
 hepɔnɔud'eges / neɣ'ɔleket lɔ:ru(t) / end'i:wes et'ɣwaz ab'ɛn dav'ɔn  
 ɛnez'a / adr'ɔntel . ev'el 'ɔnden m'ɛo / e'e:as dah'arpa usf'aro / r'e:d  
 e'wa d'e:ǎ 'o:ber øn'e:jɔn / 'ɛr vhrisk a(n)no:z inšik'uraz  
 dabørzivadu w'ɛni a diz'a:le en g'a:vas b'arɛk da varɣe:ges]

## Translation

Gradually Garan came to. He opened his eyes. Where was he? The back of his neck had shooting pains like an abscess and burned every time he wanted to move. In truth, his whole head hurt. He closed his eyes again, seeking to remember what had happened to him. Suddenly he felt a warm breath on his face and heard a sniffing sound. He looked but saw nothing. The night was too dark. He didn't think to move because of the wound. Gropingly he tried with his hands to know what it could be. He felt above his head a soft, moist, living thing which did not flee

when he bumped into it. He recognized the face of his travelling companion, his horse.

"Oh, Faro!" he said.

He comforted himself with the presence of his animal near him. He now remembered the events. Little by little he sat up. He was in a ditch, thrown there probably by those who had caught him and stolen from him his wares, his purse and his watch. How long had he been lying there unconscious? He couldn't say. At last he managed to stand up. Tottering, like a drunken man, he went to lean against Faro. He had to pause. The fresh air of the night helped him to recover fully and without delay he found himself capable of riding.

#### Selective Commentary

Among the forms here one might note vonet, for vont (mont) "(to) go", and the emphatic ennān e-unan "in him" (ennañ-eñ and the other 3P forms are, unlike ennon-me "in me", etc., very rare, if not "incorrect"). Bear in mind here as elsewhere the contextual realization of relative clauses. There are occasional "misreadings" in the reading, which have been left in the transcription.

2.12. Komzom, lennom ha skrivom brezoneg, J. Tricoire

This short passage is given as an illustration of the OU orthography, uncontrasted with KLTGw/Zedacheg. The extract is taken from p.199 of Tricoire 1963.

- Dispar. Hag e ouzon pez a lavaran, peogwir am-eus e welet, e Landreger, ar zizun dremenet.

En-em-weled a ran hoaz eno: ar zal a zo leun dija, pa'z erruan, daoust d'ar féstou a reer tro-war-dro er vro... Dao! dao! dao! setu ar ouel o sevel. Ha pebez taolenn gaer a zispak dirazom adaleg an arvest kenta. An oll hoarerien a zo barreg war o micher ive. Dond mad a ra ganto, ha berz a reont. Ken fromuz eo ma teu an daerou en daoulagad. Strakadennou daouarn a sklok er zal aliez. Pa gouez ar ouel, e sav keuz din dleoud mond kuit ken abred. Koulz ar hoarerien evel rener ar Strollad o-deus droed da veza meulet.

## Translation

"Excellent. And I know what I'm saying, because I saw it, in Treguier, last week.

I till see myself there: the hall is already full when I arrive, in spite of the festivities going on all around in the region... Bang! bang! bang! Look at the curtain rising. And what a fine spectacle unfolds before us from the first act. All the players are god at their craft too. They make a good job of it, and are successful. It is so moving that tears come to one's eyes. Approving applause is often heard in the hall. When the curtain falls, I feel regret at habving to go away so soon. Both the players and the director of the Group are right to be praised.

## Selective Commentary

We may note the following spelling differences from KLTGw:

- 1) z for zh: pez, hoaz, pebez, berz, gouez. Compare z in KLTGw too: zo, 'z, zispak, dirazom(p), keuz, koulz, veza(ñ).
- 2) orthographic representation of LN: zal.
- 3) final voiced stops and fricatives (after vowels): en-em-weled, adaleg, barreg, dond, mad, fromuz, aliez, dleoud, mond, abred. Compare em-em-weled INF with melet, meulet PPCP, zispak (Bretonized loan; but Fr droed "droit"), sklok (onomatopoeic; "(to) gobble (of a turkey)"), kuit (loan: Fr "quitte").
- 4) é: féstou (no grave in the PL ending either).
- 5) hoaz, hoarerien: h for c'h before [w] (optional in OU).
- 6) non-representation of final nasals: kenta, veza.

Other points:

- (i) droed (retention of earlier French diphthong),
- (ii) dija (phrase-final),
- (iii) a reer "which are "going on"" (a as AJ/RELPRC, AUT as passive).

2.13. Ar en deulin, Y.P. Kalloh

The extract is taken from Herrieu 1979, p.287.

Born on the island of Groix in 1888, Kalloh is perhaps the greatest of Breton poets. Ar en deulin "On one's knees" is generally considered to be his masterpiece.

Me zo ganet é kreiz ar mor  
 Tèr lèu ér méz;  
 Un tiig gwenn duhont em-es,  
 Ar benal 'gresk étal an nor  
 Hag ar lann e hol an anvez.  
 Me zo ganet é kreiz ar mor,  
 E bro Arvor.

Me zad e oé, èl é dadeu,  
 Ur martelod;  
 Bèuet en-des kuh ha diglod  
 - Ar peur ne gan dén é glodeu -  
 Bemdé-bemnoz àr ar mor blod.  
 Me zad e oé, èl é dadeu,  
 Stleijour-rouédeu.

## Morphosyntactic Gloss

I-SPRO be-ANTPRE(AUX) be+born-PPCP amid-PRP DART sea-NMSG  
 three-CDNUM league-NFSG out-AV  
 IDART house-NMSGDIM white-AJ there-AV have-IPSGPRE  
 DART broom-CLL grow-ANTPRE near-PRP DART door-NF  
 and-CNJ DART heather-NFSG in-PRP all-QUT DART environ-NM(?)SG  
 I-SPRO be-ANTPRE(AUX) be+born-PPCP amid-PRP DART sea-NMSG  
 in-PRP land-NFSG Arvor-NM(APPGEN)

my-PSSAG father-NMSG PRC be-ANTIMF like-PRP his-PSSAJ  
 father-NMPL  
 IDART sailor-NMSG  
 live-PPCP have-3PSGPRE(AUX) obscure-AV and-CNJ without+glory-AV  
 DART fear-NMSG NEG sing-ANTPRE man-NEGPRO(S) its-PSSAJ(M)  
 glory-NMPL  
 everyday+everynight-AV on-PRP DART sea-NMSG soft-AJ  
 my-PSSAJ father-NMSG PRC be-ANTIMF like-PRP his-PSSAJ  
 father-NMPL  
 trawler-NMSG+net-NFPL(APP)

### Translations

1) into standard Breton, to demonstrate their closeness:

Me 'zo ganet e-kreiz ar mor  
 Teir lev er-maez;  
 Un tiig gwenn du-hont am eus,  
 Ar banal 'gresk e-tal an nor  
 Hag al lann tro-dro.  
 Me 'zo ganet e-kreiz ar mor,  
 e bro Arvor.

Ma zad a oa, evel e dadoù,  
 Ur martolod;  
 Bevet en deus e kuzh ha diglod,  
 - an aon ne gan den e glodoù -  
 Bemdez-bemnoz war ar mor blot.  
 Ma zad a oa, evel e dadoù,  
 Stlejour-rouedoù.

## 2) Into English:

I was born amid the sea  
 Three leagues out;  
 A little white house I have there,  
 Broom grows by the door  
 And heather all around.  
 I was born amid the sea,  
 In the land of Armor.

My father was, like his fathers,  
 A sailor;  
 He lived obscurely and without glory,  
 - No man sings the glories of fear -  
 Every day, every night on the soft sea.  
 My father was, like his fathers,  
 A trawler of nets.

## Selective Commentary

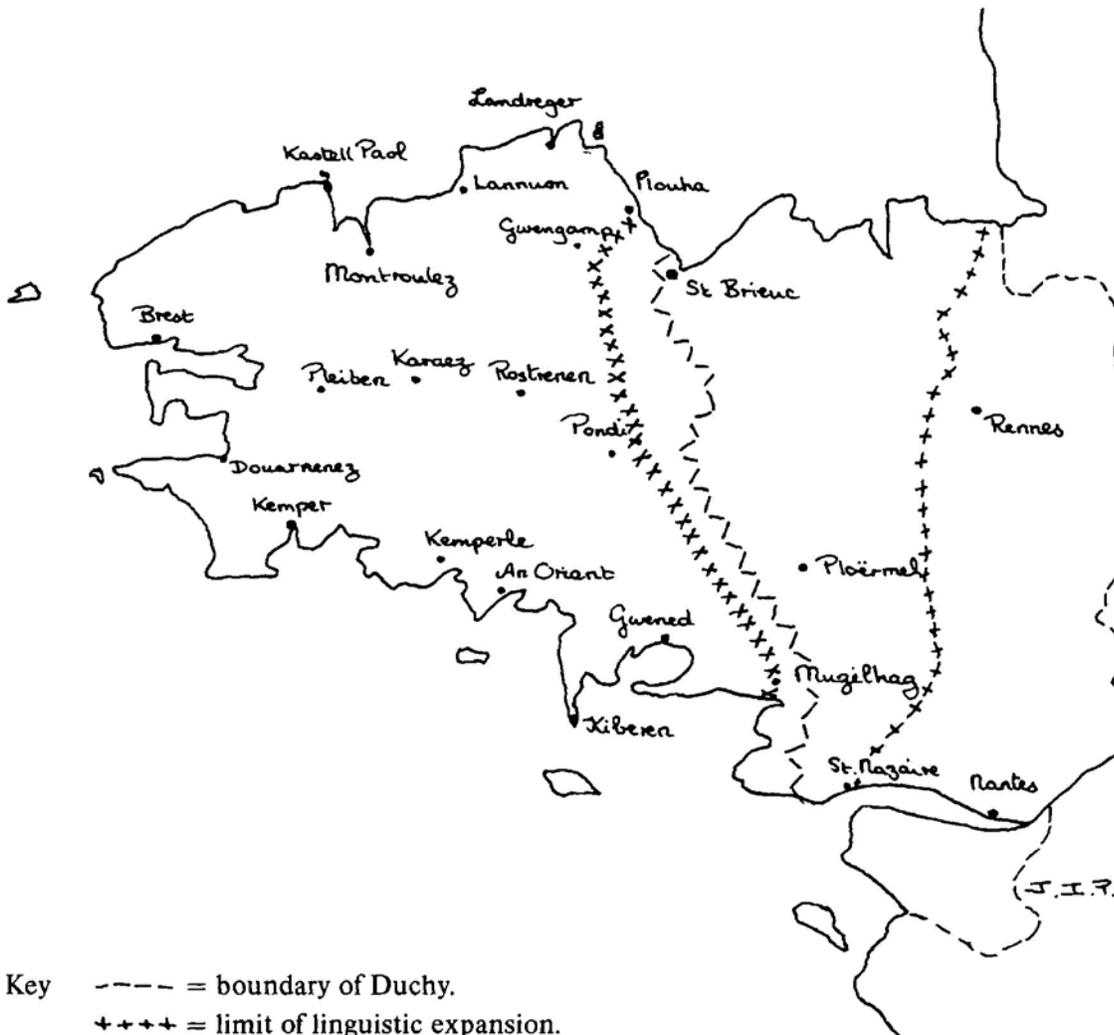
The similarity, if superficial, is clear. We note the omission of the a particle and the plurals in -eu. An e without accent corresponds to shwa. Note the focus-fronting of ar peur, the referent of e "his"; the subject is den. A similar example would be:

Hor mamm a welomp he dilhad  
 our mother PRC see-1PPLPRE her clothes  
 "We see our mother's clothes"





## 2. The Settlement of Brittany



Key  
 - - - - = boundary of Duchy.  
 + + + + = limit of linguistic expansion.  
 \ / \ / = limit of core linguistic area.  
 x x x x = approximate present-day linguistic frontier (concealing the dominance of French in urban areas and the decline of Breton due to the prestige of French, tourism, etc.).

The area between \ / \ / (Loth's line 2) and + + + + (Loth's line 1) was a mixed zone.

The densest settlement may have been west of a St. Brieuc-Kiberen line. The current linguistic core is often seen as the Montroulez-Karaez-Gwengamp triangle.

Map based on, among others, Jackson in 1967, p. 17.

3. The Chief Dialectal Regions



This is rather approximate; there are many shadings. The boundaries reflect closely those of the former bishoprics. Hill ranges may have played a rôle, in particular the Menez Arre between L, T and K.

Map based on Jackson in his 1967, p. 23 (see also pp. 15-77).



## Appendix E

### Linguistic Abbreviations

The following is a list of the abbreviations of linguistic terms and linguistic symbols used in the grammar, particularly in the tables, the glossary (Appendix G), and in the morphosyntactic glosses. With two exceptions no abbreviation is longer than three letters (KLTGw, OBER) and, with the three exceptions of Fr, Br, and KLTGw (the last including Gw on its own) all the abbreviations contain only upper case. In one case three abbreviations are identical, but it was felt that context would never permit confusion: P = "phrase", "person", "past"; and in the sense "person" it is restricted to collocation with the "persons" of the verb. In one case two abbreviations are identical: V = "vowel", "verb". More overlapping would have been possible, and certain abbreviations may seem outlandish, but it was decided to keep them as short and distinctive as possible, for reasons of space in the morphosyntactic glossing. Wherever possible or appropriate in the text, the abbreviations are replaced with the full forms of the words.

In the glosses the abbreviations are joined by a hyphen to the right of the morpheme translation(s), as appropriate. Glossing is on the whole full only on those elements to which attention is directed in the given context. Compound abbreviations are juxtaposed or, if appropriate for reasons of clarity, spaced, or occasionally joined by a hyphen, for example in the Phonology where the glossing is not always critical. Plurality is denoted by the gemination of monoliteral abbreviations, and by the addition of "S" in the cases of other abbreviations and in the sense "one or more". A small point is that prepositional phrases have, as appropriate, been glossed as "AV". For [vh] see Appendix C, section 1.

As is the custom, phonetic transcription and sounds are throughout

given according to the I.P.A. in square brackets. For technical reasons there have some divergences from the I.P.A., though a logical and unitary system has been retained. Phonemic transcription and phonemes are enclosed in slanting lines.

Non-alphabetic abbreviations are:

1 = first (person), or primary.

2 = second (person), or secondary.

3 = third (person), or tertiary.

"+" precedes an unacceptable construction, or may join morpheme translations, in the case of compound forms.

"\*" precedes a hypothetical form.

"?" precedes a questionable construction.

"-" joins morpheme translation(s) to a linguistic abbreviation.

ACT = active.

ADV = adversative.

AJ = adjective/adjectival.

APP = apposition/appositive.

ART = article.

ATT = attribute/attributive.

AUT = autonomous form, or "impersonal passive". See IMP.

AUX = auxiliary.

AV = adverb/adverbial.

BLB = bilabial.

Br = brezhoneg/Breton.

C = consonant/consonantal (CC = consonants).

CD = cardinal.

CLF = cleft/clefting construction.

CLL = collective.

CLS = clause.

CMP = comparative/comparison.

CNC = concession/concessive.

CND = condition/conditional.

CNJ	=	conjunction.
COP	=	copulative/copula.
CPT	=	complement.
CRD	=	coordinating.
CS	=	cause.
CSQ	=	consequence.
CST	=	causative.
CT	=	count.
D	=	definite.
DED	=	deductive.
DEM	=	demonstrative.
DES	=	desinence/ending; desinential.
DET	=	determiner.
DIM	=	diminutive.
DL	=	dual.
DN	=	dental.
DO	=	direct object.
DSJ	=	disjunctive.
EL	=	elative.
EMP	=	emphasis/emphatic.
EQU	=	equative.
EXC	=	exclamative.
F	=	feminine.
FCS	=	focus.
Fr	=	French.
FRC	=	fricative.
FTR	=	future.
GEN	=	genitive.
Gw	=	gwenedeg, vannetais.

HBT = habitual.

HUM = human.

I = may give the opposite of a term ("in-").

ID = indefinite.

IDN = identity/neutral form. See NTR.

IJ = interjection.

ILL = illative.

IMF = imperfect.

IMP = impersonal (may be synonymous with AUT).

IMV = imperative.

IND = indicative.

INF = infinitive (see VN).

INT = interrogative.

IO = indirect object.

ITR = intransitive.

K = kerneveg/cornouaillais.

KLT = Breton minus gwenedeg or, underlined, the reformed orthography of 1911.

KLTGw = Breton with gwenedeg or, underlined, the 1941 orthography, also known as Zedacheg (see ZH).

L = leoneg/léonais.

LB = labial.

LAR = laryngeal.

LAT = lateral.

LN = lenition/soft mutation.

LOC = locative/locational.

M = masculine.

MNR = manner.

MX = mixed mutation.

N = noun/nominal.

NCT = non-count.

NEG = negative.

NTR = neuter/neutral form (see IDN).

NUM = number/numeral.

O = object.

OBER = the OBER or ober conjugation.

OPP = opposite.

OPT = optative.

ORD = ordinal

OU = the orthographe universitaire of 1955 (underlined, like other orthography symbols).

P = person, phrase (VP, NP, AVP, AJP,...), past.

PAL = palatal.

PCP = participle/participial.

PD = past definite.

PFX = prefix.

PHR = pharyngeal.

PL = plural.

PLC = place.

PNT = punctual.

POS = positive.

PR = provection/reinforcing/strengthening/fortis mutation.

PRC = particle.

PRD = predicate/predicative.

PRE = present.

PRF = perfect.

PRG = progressive.

PRO = pronoun.

PRP = preposition.

PRS = person/personal (see P).

PSS = possession/possessive.

PSV = passive.

QUF = qualifying.

QUT = quantity (extent)/quantifier.

RDC = radical.

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REC = reciprocal.

REL = relative.

RFL = reflexive.

RHM = rHEME.

S = subject.

SBJ = subjunctive.

SBR = subordinate/subordinating.

SEP = separative.

SFX = suffix.

SG = singular.

SGT = singulative.

SMP = simple.

SNT = synthetic.

SO = someone (see UB).

SOG = something (see UDB).

SP = spirant/fricative mutation/spirantization.

SPC = space.

SQ = sequence.

SUP = superlative.

T = tregerieg/trégorrois.

THM = theme.

TM = time.

TPC = topic.

TR = transitive.

UB = someone (unan bennak).

UDB = something (un dra bennak).

V = vowel/vocalic (VV = vowels), verb/verbal.

VEL = velar.

VN = verbal noun (see INF).

VBR = vibrant.

WH = WH-word/question.

WO = word order.

X = unspecified sentence element.

YN = Yes/No question.

ZH = Zedacheg (the KLTGw orthography, used in this work; see KLTGw above).



## Appendix F

### The Pronunciation of the Breton Alphabet

All the consonants may be pronounced by the addition of [e] to the transcriptions given below. Exceptions may be c'h [εx], f [εf], h [aš], l [εl], m [εm], n [εn], r [εr], s [εs], z [zed] and, not in the alphabet, lh [ελ], gn [εñ]. Consonantal strength and vocalic quantity are not noted in the transcriptions.

Nasal vowels, written V + ñ, may be oral absolute word-finally.

The alphabet is given on the left, with sequences of pronunciations immediately to the right. The first transcription given might correspond to the cardinal rendering, with "/" denoting various degrees of alternatives. Further to the right are appropriate non-alphabetic additions.

a	[a]	añ	[ã]
b	[b]		
ch	[š]/[ž]		
c'h	[x]/[ɣ]		
d	[d]		
e	[ε]/[e]	eñ	[ẽ] eu [ø] euñ [õ]
f	[f]/[v]		
g	[g]	gw	[gʷ]
h	[h]		
i	[i]	iñ	[ĩ]
j	[ž]/[š]		
k	[k]		
l	[l]	lh	[λ]
m	[m]		

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n	[n]	
o	[o]/[ɔ]	oñ [õ] ou (ou [u])
p	[p]	
r	[r] (rolled or uvular fricative)	
s	[s]/[z]	
t	[t]	
u	[y]	uñ [ỹ]/[ũ]
v	[v]/[w]	
w	[w]/([w̥])	
y	[j]	
z	[z]/([s])	

## Appendix G

### Breton-English Glossary

The glossary lists words cited in the Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and A Note on Word Formation, together with minimal linguistic information and appropriate English renderings. It is not meant to be a dictionary, though it will have a certain use as such and as a database for linguistic examples. Inclusion of the extra words to be found in the other Appendixes would indeed have led to the creation of a small dictionary, but it is felt that the English translations included there, the selective commentaries, transcriptions and glosses, etc., and a suitable dictionary from among those listed in the Bibliography, should suffice. Where a word is one of the principal ones linked with a particular change, e.g. it causes a mutation, this is noted immediately after the word. The part of speech which follows it is not normally given; one may assume that a nominal form follows a PRP and, though it is stretching a point, a verb a CNJ. Thus:

DA + LN PRP "to" means da is a preposition causing lenition meaning "to".

EVIT MA + MX CNJ "in order that" means that evit ma is a (subordinating) conjunction causing the mixed mutation and meaning "in order that".

Knowledge of the mutations and word formation may help to trace words. The radicals of verbs like boueta "(to) feed" are given together with the final -g; it may optionally be omitted. Full cross-referencing of items is not given in all cases.

A + LN PRC/PRP. A PRC located between the S and the V or the DO and the V. May be translated as "who, which" in appropriate circumstances. Occasionally glossed as AJ PRC. As PRP means "of, from"; synonymous with eus, which replaces it before the ART and vowels, though ag may be found. Its PRS forms, ac'hanon "(of) me", etc. serve also for eus and as (D)O pronouns.

ABA + LN CNJ "since" (TM). Not followed by a PRC.

ABALAMOUR MA + MX CNJ "because". Also PRP in the form abalamour da "because of" (see DA PRP).

ABARDAEZ N M; PL abardaeziou "evening".

ABEG N M; PL abegou "cause, reason". See EN ABEG MA CNJ, EN ABEG DA PRP.

A-BENN AV/PRP "since; by; in time for" (TM). Note dont a-benn (da) + INF "to succeed".

A-BOAN AV/CNJ "scarcely, hardly". See POAN N F. Compare Fr à peine. As a CNJ, used with MA + MX.

ABOSTOL N M; PL abostoled or ebestel "apostle" (PL abostolou = "epistles").

ABRED AV/AJ "soon, early; precocious".

ABRETAAT V "(to) advance". RDC abreta.

ABRIKEZ CLL "apricots". SGT N F abrikezenn.

AC'HAHONT AV "from yonder". Also ac'halehont.

AC'HANN AV "from here". Also ac'halen, ac'hanen. Note ac'hann di

"from here to there" (PLC/TM).

AC'HANO AV "from there" (unseen).

AD- PFX denoting repetition. Thus adober V "(to) alter, redo", RDC adc'hra, and addont V "(to) come back", RDC addeu. Also SFX denoting content: ur vagad vugale "a boatful of children" (also -iad; does not alter gender of base noun).

ADALEK PRP/CNJ "since" (TM/PLC). As CNJ, followed by MA + MX.

A-DAMMOU AV "in pieces". See A PRP and TAMM N M.

A-DOUEZ PRP "among". See E-TOUEZ PRP.

A-DREK (DA) PRP/AV "behind". See DA PRP, required for the PRS forms.

A-DRENV (DA) PRP/AV "behind". As A-DREK. Compound AV include eus (an) adreñv, dre a-dreñv, war a-dreñv, e(n) diadreñv.

AER N F/M; PL aeriou "air".

AES AJ "easy" (aes N M "ease").

A-GLEIZ (DA) PRP/AV "to/on the left (of)". See DA PRP, required when a PRP. Associated AV: war-gleiz.

A-HED PRP "along; throughout".

AHONT AV "yonder".

A-IS (DA) PRP/AV "below". See DA PRP, required when a PRP.

AL, AN, AR D ART "the". Unstressed. Invariable for gender and number.

ALARC'H N M; PL elerc'h "swan".

ALESE AV "from there" (seen). Also ac'halese.

ALL AJ "other". Also arall (mainly Gw).

AM + k- → c'h- DO/PSS AJ "me; my". Also em, where g- reflects the PRC E (see), and with the meaning "in my..." (see E PRP). AM is used as a PSS AJ after DA PRP (see): d'am... "to my...". Also a PFX denoting an attenuated antonym, e.g. amreizh "non-regular".

AMAN AV "here".

AMERIK N "Amerika". Fr form of country name, used with D ART: An Amerik. Compare Br form: Amerika. Also Amerikan N M; PL Amerikaned "American".

AMPART AJ "skilled". See WAR PRP "on", compounded with which it takes a complement: "skilled in...".

AMPREVAN N M; PL amprevaned "insect".

AMZER N F; PL amzerioù "weather, season".

AN EIL... EGILE M/EBEN F PRO "the one... the other...". For the PL we may have an eil re... ar re all...

ANAWEZOUT (ANAOUT) V "(to) know, recognise". RDC anavez.

ANTRONoz AV "the next day".

ANV N M; PL anvioù "name".

AON N M "fear". Compound PRP gant aon rak "for fear of", CNJ gant aon na + LN "for fear that". See GANT PRP.

AOTER N F; PL aoterioù "altar".

AOTROU N M; PL aotronez, aotrouien "gentleman; Mr.". Used with the D ART when not direct address.

AR- PFX denoting proximity, attenuation. Thus: argoad "interior area", arvor "coastal area", arc'hlas "bluish, greenish" (see KOAD, MOR, GLAS).

ARABAT AV(?) "forbidden". Used before an INF to provide a NEG IMV. An appropriate form of bezañ "(to) be" may come between it and the INF: arabat eo ober an dra-se "one should not do that".

A-RAOK AV/PRP/CNJ "before" (TM). The hyphen is lost in the PRS forms of the PRP: araozon "before me". As CNJ used with MA + MX.

A-RATOZH AV "on purpose".

A-RATRE AV "in a good condition".

ARC'HANT N M NCT CLL "silver; money"

ARME N F; PL armeoù "army".

ARNODENN N F; PL arnodennoù "test, examination".

AR PEP + SUP; PRO "the -est one(s)".

A-SAV AV "standing". Note chom a-sav "(to) stop ITR)". See CHOM V.

ASIED N M; PL asiedoù "plate".

ATAV AV "always". Alternative pronunciations [ˈato] - [aˈtaw].

A-US (DA) AV/PRP "above". See DA, required when a PRP.

AVAL N M; PL avaloù "apple". Note avalenn N F; PL avalenned "apple tree"; avalenneg N F; PL avalennegi, avalennegoù "apple orchard".

AVALAOUA V "(to) pick apples". RDC avalaoua.

AVAT CNJ "but; however". Placed sentence-finally.

AVEL N M/F; PL avelioù "wind".

A-VIHANIG AV "since childhood".

A-VISKOAZH AV "since time immemorial". See BISKOAZH.

A-WALC'H AV "enough". Follows N/AJ. Also an interjection: "Enough!"

A-WECHOU AV "sometimes".

AZ + PR DO/PSS AJ "you; your". Also ez, where e- reflects the PRC E (see), and with the meaning "in your..." (see E PRP). AZ is used as a PSS AJ after DA (see): d'az... "to your...".

AZE AV "there" (seen).

A-ZEHOU (DA) PRP/AV "to/on the right (of)". See DA PRP, required when a PRP. Associated AV: war-zehou.

AZEN N M; PL azened, ezen "ass; stupid person".

A ZEU AJ "next (TM)". Composed of A PRC and DEU RDC of DONT "(to) come" (see).

AZEZAN V "(to) sit down; sit". RDC azez. Note en e azez "sitting", with reference to "him" through the PSS AJ E (see).

A-ZIOC'H AV/PRP "above".

A-ZIVOUT PRP "concerning". The PRS form is composed of WAR PRP + PSS AJ + DIVOUT mutated as appropriate, thus war ho tivout "concerning you" (see HO(C'H) and WAR).

BAG N F; PL bagoù, bigi "boat". Note bagad "boatful" (see AD) and the compound bag-pesketa "fishing boat" (see PESKETA V).

BALAN CLL "broom". SGT N F balanenn. Also banal. Note balaneg N F; PL balanegoù, balanegi, balaneier "broom thicket".

BALANS N F; PL balañsoù "(weighing) scales".

BALE V "to (go for a) walk". RDC bale. Also N M; PL baleoù "outing, walk".

BANANEZ CLL "bananas". SGT N F bananezenn.

BANNE N M; PL banneoù "drink (of), drop (of)". An "individualizer" for liquids (see TAMM for solids, PENN, PEZH, LOEN for animals and certain other words - see DILHAD). Also bannac'h N M; PL bannac'hoù.

BARA N M NCT "bread".

BARR N M; PL barroù "outburst; top". Also AJ "full to the brim".

**BARREK AJ** "able, competent". See **WAR PRP** "on", compounded with which it takes a complement: "competent in...".

**BARZH N M**; PL barzhed "poet". Note barzhoneg N F; PL barzhonegù "poem", barzhoniezh N F "poetry".

**BATIMANT N F**; PL batimantoù "ship; building".

**BAZH N F**; PL bizhier "stick". Note bazhata V "(to) cudgel". RDC bazhata.

**BEAJ N F**; PL beajoù "journey". Note beajiñ "(to) travel". RDC beaj. Also beaier, beaiour NM; PL -ien "traveller".

**BED N M**; bedoù "world; universe".

**BELEG N M**; PL beleien "priest".

**BELO N F**; PL beloioù "bicycle".

**BEMDEZ AV** "every day".

**BENNAK ID/AJ** "some, any; certain; approximate". Comes last in NP. After PRO creates forms such as: piv bennak + PRC "whoever". Note that petra bennak ma means "although". See PIV, PETRA, MA.

**BENVEG N M**; PL benvegoù, binvioù, binviji "tool; machine". Commonly used prefixed to words to denote particular instruments or machines, e.g. benveg-seniñ "musical instrument".

**BEP EIL (or PEP EIL) + N ID** "every other". Thus: bep eil tro "every other turn" (with b- = AV expression).

**BEPRED AV** "always, constantly".

**BERAN V** "(to) run, drip (liquid)". RDC ber.

**BERN** N M; PL berniou "pile; large quantity" (+ N "a pile of...").

**BERNOUT** IMP V "(to) matter". RDC bern. Thus: ne vern "it doesn't matter".

**BERR** AJ "short".

**BETEK** PRP "until; as far as (PLC/TM)". Used with E (see) for PRS forms. Note betek(-)hen AV "until now". Functions as a double PRP with **ADALEK** (see) "since, from".

**BEUZ** CLL "box trees". SGT N F beuzenn.

**BEVAN** V "(to) live, exist". RDC bev. Note bevañ-bevaik "(to) eke out a living", en em vevañ "(to) feed oneself" (see EN EM RFL PRC).

**BEVANS** N M NCT "provisions, food".

**BEZAN** V "(to) be". RDC bez. Irregular V: IDN eo, ANT a zo, PNT emañ, HBT vez, FTR vo, CND vefe/vije (giving "3PSG" forms). Note the sentence-initial PRC bez' e + V (MX), emphasizing the verb. Note bezet a vezo "whatever the case may be". Alternative INF: **BOUT**. Constructed with **GANT** PRP "with" or **DA** PRP "to" may convey possession: "(to) have", the PRP P marking the possessor.

**BEZHIN** CLL "seaweed". SGT N F bezhinenn. Note bezhina V "to collect seaweed". RDC bezhina.

**BIGOUDENN** N F; PL bigoudenned "woman from Pont-L'Abbe". Note that PL bigouedennoù refers to the local coiffe.

**BIHAN** AJ "small".

BIKEN AV "(n)ever". Ne + V + biken "never". Used with FTR reference only. Note da viken "for ever". See BSKOAZH.

BILI CLL "(sea-shore) pebbles". SGT N F biblienn.

BIRVIKEN AV "(n)ever". As BIKEN (see). Note da virviken "for ever".

BSKOAZH AV "(n)ever". Ne + V + biskoazh. Non-FTR reference only. See A-VSKOAZH, BIKEN, MORSE.

BIZ N M; PL bizied "finger".

BLEIZ N M; PL bleizi "wolf".

BLENIAN V "(to) drive, guide, lead". RDC blegn/bleni (the former where i is syllabic).

BLENCH N M; PL bleñchou "end" (PL "twigs").

BLEUNV CLL "flowers". SGT N F bleuñvenn "flower". Also bleuniou "flowers", "SGT" N F bleunienn "flower".

BLEV CLL "hair". SGT N F blevenn "(a) hair". Note the interjection Blev! "My foot!"

BLOAZ N M; PL bloaziou "year". Also bloavezh N M; PL bloavezhio "year (length, duration)". See -VEZH.

BLOT AJ "soft" ("weak", "lenis" of consonants).

BOEST N F; PL boestou "box".

BOTAQUER N M; PL botaquerien "cobbler".

BOTEZ N F; PL boto, boteier "shoe". Boto: "pair of shoes", boteier: "pairs of shoes".

BOUED N M; PL bouedoù "food; bait".

BOUETA V "(to) feed". RDC boueta.

BOUT V - see BEZAN.

BOUTAILH N F; PL boutailhoù "bottle".

BRAS AJ "big".

BREC'H N F; DL divrec'h, PL brec'hioù "arm".

BREIZH N F "Brittany". Also Breizh-Vihan "Brittany", Breizh-Uhel "Upper Brittany", Breizh-Izel "Lower Brittany", Breizh-Veur "Great Britain".

BREIZHAD N M; PL Breizhiz "Breton". Breizhiz not normally accompanied by the D ART. F form: Breizhadez, PL Breizhadezed.

BRETON N M; PL Bretoned "Breton". Synonym of BREIZHAD (see), but used with the D ART in the PL. F formed with -ez, PL -ed.

BREUR N M; PL breudeur "brother".

BREZHONEG N M "Breton (language)". Also brezhonek AJ "Breton", Brezhoneger N M; PL Brezhonegerien "speaker of Breton; Bretonnant" (F form: -ez, PL -ed), and brezhonegañ V "(to) speak Breton" (RDC brezhoneg).

BREZHONEKAAT V "(to) Bretonnize". RDC brezhoneka.

BRO N F; PL broioù "country, region".

**BROAD** N M; PL broidi "compatriots", broiz "inhabitants" (not normally with D ART). Also N F; PL broadoù "nations". Note broadel AJ "national".

**BROC'H** N M; PL broc'hed "badger".

**BROGAR** AJ "patriotic". Note brogarour N M; PL brogarourien "patriot".

**BRONN** N F; DL divronn "breast". PL bronnoù may mean "spouts".

**BRUMENN** N F; PL brumennoù "mist". Note brumenniñ IMP V "(to) be misty". RDC brumenn.

**BUAN** AV/AJ "quick(ly)".

**BUGALEAJ** N M NCT "childhood".

**BUGEL** N M; PL bugale "child".

**BUHEZ** N F; PL buhezioù "life".

**BUOC'H** N F; PL buoc'hed, buoc'hened, saout "cow".

**CHADENN** N F; PL chadennoù "chain". Also chadenniñ or chadenn V "(to) chain". RDC chadenn.

**CHOM** V "(to) remain; reside". RDC chom. Note the use of the PRG in non-PRG sense: Emaomp o chom e Landreger "We live in Tréguier". Also chomlec'h N M; PL chomlec'hioù "address" (lit. "live-place"). Note the expression chom berr da + INF "(to) fail to".

C'HOANT N M; PL c'hoantou "wish, urge". Note kaout c'hoant (da) + INF "(to) want (to)", and c'hoantaat V "(to) want", RDC c'hoanta. Expression of a strong desire.

C'HOAR N F; PL c'hoarezed "sister".

C'HOARI V "(to) play". RDC c'hoari.

C'HOARZHIN V "(to) laugh". RDC c'hoarzh. Note mousc'hoarzhin "(to) smile".

C'HOAZH AV "still, yet".

C'HWECH CD NUM "six". For ordinals see -VET.

C'HWECH-KANT CD NUM "six hundred".

C'HWECH-UGENT CD NUM "one-hundred-and-twenty".

C'HWEZEK CD NUM "sixteen".

C'HWEVRER N M "February". Often preceded by MIZ "month" (see).

C'HWI PRS PRO "you". "2PPL", but dialectally variable relationship to "2PSG" TE (see). May replace te, but better to follow local usage.

DA OPT CNJ + SBJ (= FTR) "Would that...!" Thus:

Doue d' he fardono!  
 God-N OPTCNJ her-OPRO forgive-FTR/SBJ  
 "May God forgive her!"

DA + LN PRP "to, for". PRS forms: din "to me", etc. Common in compound prepositions.

DA + LN PSS AJ 2PSG/O PRO 2PSG "your/you". As O PRO placed before P PCP, IMV, INF; nowadays largely replaced by ac'hanout, 2PSG PRS form of A PRP. As PSS PRO linked with HINI SG, RE PL (see). Thus: da hini "yours".

DA DREDE (or D'AN TREDE) AV "thirdly". See TREDE "third".

DA EIL (or D'AN EIL) AV "secondly". See EIL "second".

DA GENTAN AV "(at) first". See KENTAN "first".

DALC'HMAT AV "all the time".

DALL AJ "blind".

DALE N M; PL daleoù "delay". Note hep dale (also written without a gap) AV "without delay". Also daleañ V "(to) delay". RDC dale.

DA NEBEUTAN AV "at least".

DAM- PFX denoting "partly, half". Thus damheñvel AJ "rather similar", damreizh "somewhat correct".

DANT N M; PL dent "tooth". Note dantañ V "(to) bite". RDC dant. Also dañtist N M; PL dañtisted "dentist" (the nasal reveals it to be a loan from Fr).

DANTELEZH N F; PL dantelezhioù "lace (fabric)". Also CLL, with SGT dantelezhenn N F "piece of lace". Also spelled dantelez.

DANVEZ N M; PL danveziou "subject, material; wealth; candidate". Note danvez-gwaz N M; PL danvez-gwazed "fiance". See GWAZ N M.

DANSAL V "(to) dance". RDC dañs. Also dañs N M; PL dañsou "dance", dañsadeq N F; PL dañsadeqou "dancing", dañsadenn N F; PL dañsadennoù "(a) dance", dañser N M; PL dañserien "dancer".

DANVAD N M; PL deñved "sheep". Note dañvadez N F; PL dañvadezed "ewe".

DAOU/DIV + LN CD NUM M/F "two". Note the expressions daou-ha-daou "two by two", a-zaouou "in twos", bep daou "every two", bep a zaou "two each", all extendable to other numbers. ORD daouvet M/divet F, and eil M/F. See EIL.

DAOU-C'HANT CD NUM "two-hundred".

DAOUFARZH N M "two thirds".

DAOUST DA PRP + LN "in spite of". Note the construction daoust da Yann bezañ... "in spite of Yann's being...". Also DAOUST MA CNJ + MX "although". Note (DAOUST) HA + CLS, functioning as an INT PRC. This word has its origin in da c'houzout "to know"; thus daoust ha means "(I'd like) to know whether...". See GOUZOUT, HA(G).

DAOU-UGENT CD NUM "forty".

DAOUZEK CD NUM "twelve".

D'AR MUIAN AV "at most"

DARN N F; PL darnou "part, piece". Also PRO: darn... darn... "some... others..." (in this meaning the SG only is used). See under LODENN "part".

(D')AR RAOK AV (PLC) "forward, in front". Associated with d'ar raok are a-ziaarak, dre a-raok, war-raok, e(n) diarak.

DAV AJ "necessary". Used with 3PSG forms of BEZAN (see) to provide a modal of moral obligation. Cognate with Welsh da "good". A

mild alternative in Br is mat eo + INF lit. "it is good". See MAT, BEZAN.

DA VAT AV "earnestly; for good; very". In the meaning "very", postposed to the AJ.

DAVET PRP "towards, to (person)".

DA VIKEN AV "for ever". See BIKEN.

DAZONT N M "future" (TM and grammatical). Also replaced in TM sense by amzer-da-zont N F. Also da zont AJ "future".

DE- PFX denoting an approach, close to German her-. Thus degas (= de + kas "take") "(to) bring", degemer (= de + kemer "take") "(to) receive".

DEBRIN V "(to) eat". RDC debr.

DEC'H AV "yesterday".

DEIZ N M; PL deizioù "day". Also deiziad N M; PL deiziadoù "date".

DEGEMER V "(to) receive" RDC degemer. Also degemer N M (or F) "welcome; reception" and SAL-DEGEMER "sitting room".

DEGOUEZHOUT V "(to) arrive". RDC degouezh. Used with E PRP "at, in" (see). Close synonym of erruout, RDC erru "(to) arrive".

DEK CD NUM "ten".

DEN N M; PL tud "man (in general)". Note an den PRO "one...".

**DERC'HEL** (also delc'her) V "(to) hold, keep". RDC dalc'h. Note derc'hel da + INF "(to) continue" (see **KENDERC'HEL**), and derc'hel soñj "(to) remember".

**DERV CLL** "oak trees". SGT N F dervenn. Also derv N M "oak timber".

**DESKADUREZH** N F NCT "education". Synonym: deskadur N M.

**DESKIN** V "(to) learn, teach". RDC desk.

**DEVEZH** N M; PL devezhioù "day (duration)". Note un devezh AV "one day" and un devezhiad labour "a day's work" (see **AD-**).

**DI** AV "there" (movement, place unseen).

**DIAES** AJ "difficult".

**DIAOUL** N M; PL dialouled, diaoulien, diaouloù "devil".

**DIBAB** V "(to) choose". RDC dibab. Note en em zibab "(to) sort things out, get out of a jam" (see **EN EM RFL**). Also dibab N M; PL dibaboù "choice, selection" and eus an dibab AJ "outstanding".

**DIBAOUEZ** AV "continuously". Note that di- is often, as here, a **NEG PFX**, here combined with the verb paouez "(to) stop; have just (+ da + INF)" or noun paouez N M; PL paouezioù "pause".

**DIEGI** N M/F "laziness". Note diegus AJ "lazy".

**DIGANT** PRP "from (someone's possession)".

**DIGAREZ** N M; PL digarezioù "excuse; chance". Also digareziñ V "(to) excuse". RDC digarez.

**DIGERIN** V "(to) open". RDC digor (also digor AJ "open").

DIHUNIN V ITR, DIHUNAN V TR "(to) wake up". RDC dihun (also AJ "awake").

DIJA AV "already". Phrase-final.

DILHAD CLL "clothes". SGT N M pezh dilhad "article of clothing".

DIMEZIN V "(to) marry". RDC dimez. Constructed with GANT PRP "with" (see).

DINDAN + LN PRP/AV "under". Associated words: a-zindan, dre-zindan.

DIOUZH PRP "from; according to (SOG)". Compare HERVEZ PRP "according to (SO)" (see).

DIOUZHTU AV "immediately".

DIRAK AV/PRP "in front of (PLC)". Associated words: a-zirak, dre-zirak, war-zirak.

DIRI PL of derez N M; also PL dereziou "step, grade, degree". Also diri PL "stairs".

DIS- NEG PFX, as in DISFIZIANS N F "distrust". Also DI-, e.g. divarrek AJ "incapable".

DISKAR-AMZER N M "autumn".

DISKOUEZ V "(to) show". RDC diskouez.

DISMEGANS N F; PL dismegañsòù "contempt; insult".

DISPENNIDIGEZH N F; PL dispennidigezhioù "destruction" (high-falutin). Also dispenn N M; PL dispennoù "destruction" and dispenn V "(to) destroy". RDC dispenn.

DISPLEGAN V "(to) unfold; relate; explain". RDC displeg.

DIWAR PRP + LN "from; because of".

DIWAR-BENN PRP "concerning, about". The PRS forms involve the insertion of a PSS AJ, thus diwar va fenn "about me". Composed of DIWAR + PENN (see).

DIWEZHAN AJ "last".

DIWEZHAT AJ "late".

DIZALE AV "soon". Composed of DI + DALE (see).

DLE N M; PL dleoù "debt, duty". Also dlead N M; PL dleadoù "duty".

DLEOUT V "(to) owe, have to". RDC dle. The d- rarely lenites.

DOARE N M; PL doareoù "manner; sort; way; appearance". Found in many expressions: E pe zoare? "How?", en un doare bennak "somehow".

DOARE-SKRIVAN N M; PL doareoù-skrivañ "orthography".

DONT V "(to) come". RDC deu (2PSG IMV deus!). Note dont da vezañ "(to) become" (lit. "come to be").

DONJER N M "disgust". Compare dañjer N M; PL dañjerioù "danger".

DONV AJ "tame".

DOR N F; PL doriou "door, town gate". Note the "nasal mutation" with the ART: an nor, un nor.

DORN N M; DL daouarn, PL dorniou. Note dornad N M; PL dornadoù "handful; slap", and dornata V "(to) manipulate; take by handfuls", RDC dornata. Also dornskrid N M; PL dornskridoù "manuscript".

DORNEREZ N F; RDC dornerezed "threshing machine".

DOUAR N M; PL douarou "land, earth". Note douarouriezh N F "geology", and douaroniezh N F "geography".

DOUE N M; PL doueed, doueou "God/god".

DOUGET (DA) + LN PRP "inclined to". See DA PRP.

DOUR N M; PL douriou, doureier (generalized) "water". Note dour-red "watercourse" (see REDEK). Also "SGT" dourenn N F; PL dourennoù "liquid; juice".

DOURGI N M; PL dourgon "otter". Composed of DOUR + KI "dog" (see). Kon is an old plural, compare Welsh ci - cwn "dog".

DOUS AJ "sweet; gentle".

DRAEN N M; PL drein "thorn; fishbone".

DRAF N M; PL drafoù, drefen "small gate".

DRE + LN PRP "through; by means of". Note dre holl AV "everywhere", dre amañ AV "hither", dre-se AV "therefore". Also dre ma + MX CNJ "as, while (TM/CS); because (CS)".

DREIST AV "excellent", AV/PRP "above". Note dreist-holl "particularly", cf. Fr surtout. Also dreistden AJ/N M; PL dreisttud "superhuman; superman".

DROUK AJ "wicked, evil". Also droug N M; PL drougou "evil; pain; anger". Note droug a zo ennon "I am angry", lit. "evil there is in me".

DU AJ "black".

DU N M "November". Often preceded by MIZ "month" (see).

DU-HONT, DU-SE, DU-MAN AV "over yonder/there/here" or "in/to their/your/our house".

E + LN PSS AJ/O PRO "his/its; him/it". As O PRO before P PCP, IMV, INF, now largely replaced by anezhañ 3PSG M PRS form of A PRP (see). The PSS PRO = e\_hini SG, e\_re PL.

E + MX PRC. The verbal particle placed between the non-S and non-DO and the verb. Often corresponds to "that" introducing a N CLS.

E PRP "in/into". Becomes en before a vowel. Blends with the D ART to give el, en, er. See E-BARZH, which often replaces it in spoken Br (frequently contracted to ba'), though it strictly speaking emphasizes "inside".

E-BARZH AV/PRP "in/to, inside". PRS forms provided by E PRP (see).

EBET AJ/AV "no/none; not any; at all". AV status illustrated by tamm ebet "not at all" (see TAMM).

EBEUL N M; PL ebeulien "foal".

EBREL N M "April". Often preceded by MIZ "month" (see).

ECHUIN V "(to) end". RDC echu - also AJ "finished", to be compared

with the P PCP echuet.

ED N M NCT/CLL; PL edoù, edeier; SGT N F edenn "corn, cereal".  
Note edet-stank AJ "tightly packed".

E-DOARE MA + MX CNJ "so that".

EEUN AJ/AV "simple; precise".

EGET "PRP" "than" after a CMP. In spoken Breton often replaced by  
EVIT "for" (see).

E-GIZ PRP "like". Note e-giz-mañ-giz AV "like this and that".

E-GWIR AV "indeed, truly, really".

EIL(VET) ORD NUM "second". Note eil + N + diwezhañ AJ  
"penultimate". Also AN EIL (...) EGILE/EBEN PRO "each other" (see).  
And eilvedenn N F; PL eilvedennoù "second". Also EILGER N M; PL  
eilgerioù "reply", eillagad N M; PL eillagadoù "monocle".

EITEK CD NUM "eighteen". A non-standard form. See TRIWEC'H.

EIZH CD NUM "eight".

EIZH-KANT CD NUM "eight hundred".

EIZH-UGENT CD NUM "one-hundred-and-sixty".

EJEN N M; PL eiened, oc'hen "ox".

E-KICHEN PRP/AV "near". The PRS forms are obtained by inserting a  
PSS AJ between e(n) and kichen. Associated AV include a-gichen,  
da-gichen, dre-gichen.

E-KREIZ PRP/AV "in the middle of". The PRS forms are obtained by inserting a PSS AJ between e(n) and kreiz. Associated AV include a-greiz, dre-greiz. Note e-kreiz ma + MX CNJ "while".

EL-, ER-, EZ- PFX to form adverbs. For example: ez-leal "loyally", ez-vihan "while small", compounded ervat "well" (er + mat).

E-LEIZH AV "many".

ELORN N F "River Elorn". Used as an Elorn or with prefixed STER (see): Stêr-Elorn.

EMBANN V "(to) publish; proclaim". RDC embann.

EMBREGER V "(to) undertake, handle". RDC embreger. Also embreger AJ "enterprising" and embreger N M "enterprise". Note embregerezh N M; PL embregerezhioù "business".

EME "V/PRP" "say(s), said".

E-MESK PRP "among".

EMGLEV N M; PL emglevioù "agreement, accord".

EMGUZULIATA V "(to) meet for consultations". RDC emguzuliata.  
EN PRS PRO "he, it".

EN ABEG MA + MX CNJ "because". Note en abeg da + LN PRP "because of" (see DA PRP).

END-EEUN AV "exactly, precisely", AJ "real, very".

EN DERC'HENT AV "the day before". Also derc'hent dec'h "two days ago".

ENDEVOUT V "(to) have". RDC bez, eus. See BEZAN. Alternative INF forms are en devout and kaout, the latter not to be confused with

KAVOUT "(to) find" (see).

E(N) DIABARZH AV "inside". Also diabarzh AJ "interior".

EN DIABELL AV "far away".

EN-DIAS AV "below". Also eus an dias.

E(N) DIAVAEZ AV "outside". Also diavaez AJ "exterior".

EN DIWAR-LERC'H AV "behind". See WAR-LERC'H AV/PRP "after, behind".

EN-DRO DA PRP "around". See DA PRP. Note en-dro AV "back", e.g. dont en-dro "(to) return, come back".

EN EM + LN RFL PRC. May give a RFL, REC sense.

ENEZ N F; PL inizi, also enezenn N F; PL enezennoù "island". Enez may be prefixed to island names, thus Enez Sun "Sein". Also enezeg N F; PL enezegoù, enezegi "group of islands".

EN-NEC'H AV "upstairs" (stationary). D'an nec'h = movement. Associated AV include eus an nec'h, dre an nec'h.

ENO AV "there" (stationary, unseen).

EN TU-MAN DA PRP "on this side of". The affix -mañ "this" may be replaced by -se "that", -hont "that yonder". See DA PRP.

EN UR + LN PRC. Followed by the INF, introducing an AV PCP construction usually referring to the S. Not to be confused with the PRG aspect and "PRE PCP". See O PRC.

ENDRA + LN CNJ "while". No PRC before V.

EN-TRAON AV "downstairs" (stationary). D'an traon = movement.

Associated AV include eus an traoñ, dre an traoñ, war-draoñ.

EN-TREC'H AV "above, upstairs". As EN-NEC'H (see).

(G)EO 3PSG IDN form of BEZAN "(to) be". Used, with/without g-, as contradiction of NEG YN question, as Fr si, German doch.

EONTR N M; PL eontred "uncle".

EOST N M "August". Often preceded by MIZ "month" (see).

E-PAD PRP "during".

ERC'H N M "snow". Note ober erc'h IMP "to snow": erc'h a ra "it's snowing".

ERFIN AV "at last".

ER-MAEZ AV "outside, out". Note er-maez eus PRP "out of" (see EUS). Associated adverbs include eus ar maez, dre ar maez, e-maez, and war ar maez "in the countryside". See MAEZ.

ERVAT AV "well".

ESTREGET PRP "other than".

E(N)TA or 'TA AV "so, then". Phrase-final.

E-TOUEZ AV/PRP "in the middle (of), among". For the PRS forms the PSS AJ is inserted between e(n) and touez. Associated AV include dre-douez, a-douez (see).

ETRE PRP "between". Also as PFX: etrevroadel "international" (see BRO).

EUR N F; PL eurioù "hour".

EUS PRP "from". The PRS forms are provided by A PRP (see).

EVAN V "(to) drink". RDC ev.

EVEL PRP "as, like". Note evel-se AV "like that". Also evel\_a + LN CNJ "as", evel\_ma + MX CNJ "as if", evel\_pa + LN CNJ "as if". In the "as if" sense usually followed by the CND mood.

EVELATO CNJ "however".

EVEZH N M "care, attention". Note teurel evezh ouzh "(to) pay attention to". See TEUREL V, OUZH PRP.

EVIT PRP "for". Note evit-se AV/CNJ "therefore". Also evit\_ma + MX CNJ "so that, although". Extendable to most simple, and appropriate, PRP is their CNJ use: evit + N/PRO + da + INF, or evit\_da + N/PRO + INF.

EVN N M; PL evned "bird". See also LABOUS.

EZ PRO. See AZ PRO "you" (2PSG). Also one of the forms of E PRC before a vowel (the other is ec'h). It may translate "that" introducing N CLS. Also F- and machine-denoting SFX.

FAEUS AJ "scornful". Note fae N M "scorn".

FALC'H N F; PL filc'hier, filc'hi "scythe".

FALL AJ "bad, wicked".

FALLAKR AJ "wicked".

FALS AJ "false".

FELLOUT IMP V + DA + LN + INF "(to) want to". RDC fell. For example: hi a fell dezhi mont kuit "she wants to go away". Note the fronted PRS PRO. Also falvezout V.

FENOZ AV "tonight". See HENOZH.

FINVAL V "(to) move". RDC fiñv. Also fiñv N M; PL fiñvoù "motion; gesture".

FIZIANS N F "trust". See DISFIZIANS.

FOENNEG N F; PL foennegi, foennegoù, foenneier "(hay) meadow". Note foenn N M; PL foennoù "hay".

FORZH AV "any, ever, much", N M "value; account". Note forzh pegement "ever so much", n'eus forzh and ne ra (ket) forzh "it doesn't matter".

FRI N M; PL frioù "nose". Note friad N M; PL friadoù "slap on the nose", i.e. with the SFX -AD (see).

FRITAN V "(to) fry". RDC frit.

FROUEZH CLL "fruit; product". SGT N F frouezhenn.

FUMIN V "(to) smoke". RDC fum. Also butuniñ, butunat V. RDC butun. Note butun N M "tobacco".

FURNEZ(H) N F "wisdom". Also fur AJ "wise".

GAD N F; PL gedon "hare".

GALL N M; PL Gallaoued "Frenchman".

GALLOUT, or GELLOUT V "(to) be able". RDC gall or gell. Note galloud N M "power".

GANT PRP "with; by means of; by (conveyance, agent in PSV)". Note gant-se AV/CNJ "therefore". Also gant ma + MX CNJ "provided that", gant aon na + LN CNJ "for fear that", gant aon da + LN PRP "for fear of".

GAOU N M; PL gevier "lie, falsehood" (the PL may be used with a "SG", abstract nuance).

GAR N M/F; PL gariou "station" (no mutation after ART). Also N F; DL divhar, divesker, PL gariou "leg".

GAVR N F; PL givri "goat; crane (machine)".

GENVER N M "January". Often preceded by MIZ "month" (see).

GEOT N M; PL geotou, geoteier "grass". Also geotenn SGT N F; PL geotennou "(blade of) grass".

GERVEL V "(to) call" (also gelver). RDC galv.

GLAS AJ "blue; green (nature); grey (horses)".

GLAV N M; PL glavioù, glaveier "rain". Note ober glav "(to) rain". See OBER.

GLAZAN V "(to) become blue/green/grey". RDC glaz.

GLEB AJ "damp, wet".

GLIN N M; DL daoulin, PL glinou "knee".

GOANV N M; PL goañvou, goañveier "winter".

GOAPAAT V "(to) make fun". RDC goapa. Also goap N M "fun, derision", and ober goap ouzh "(to) make fun of". See OBER, OUZH.

GOLEIN V "(to) cover". RDC golo. Note golo N M; PL goloioù "cover,

lid, envelope".

GORTOZ V "(to) wait for, expect". RDC gortoz.

GOUARN V "(to) govern, steer". RDC gouarn.

GOUARNAMANT N M; PL gouarnamantoù "government".

GOUDE PRP "after". For the PRS forms WAR-LERC'H is used (see), though there are relics of a preposed E (see): ez koude "after you" (2PSG). Also goudeze, goude-se AV "afterwards".

GOUEL N F; PL gouelioù "sail, veil". Also N M; PL gouelioù "feast".

GOUELAN V "(to) weep". RDC gouel.

GOUENN N F; PL gouennoù "race; species". Note a ouenn da "native of/to" (see DA PRP).

GOUERE N M "July". Often preceded by MIZ "month" (see).

GOUEST AJ "capable".

GOUEZ AJ "wild".

GOULENN V "(to) ask, request, order". RDC goulenn. "From" = OUZH, DIGANT (see). Also goulenn N M; PL goulennoù "question", en em c'houlenn V "(to) wonder".

GOULOU N M; PL gouleier, goulaouioù "light". Also goulaouenn "SGT" N F; PL goulaouennoù "candle". Note goulaouiñ V "(to) (give) light". RDC goulaou.

GOURDROUZ V "(to) threaten". RDC gourdrouz. Also gourdrouz N M; PL gourdrouzoù "threat".

GOUZANZ V "(to) suffer; endure". RDC gouzañv.

GOUZOUT V "(to) know (facts)". RDC gouz, gouez, goar.

GREUN CLL "seeds". SGT N F greunenn.

GRIK N M "(not) a word". Also grik ebet (see EBET), and interjection "Shhh!".

GWALC'HIN V "(to) wash". RDC gwalc'h. Compare gwalc'hañ "(to) sate".

GWALENN N F; PL gwalennoù, gwalinier "ring (finger)".

GWALL AV "badly, very" (+ AJ); AJ "bad"; N M "evil; error, fault". Also gwallzarvoud N M; PL gwallzarvoudoù "accident".

GWAREMM N F; PL gwaremmoù, gwaremmeier "waste land".

GWAZ N M; PL gwazed "man; husband". Also N F; PL gwazi "goose".

GWAZH AJ CMP "worse". Note gwazh a se "so much the worse; unfortunately". Note gwazh N M; PL gwazhioù (also gwazh-dour) "stream".

GWECH N F; PL gwechoù "time; occasion".

GWECHALL AV "formerly". Compare Fr autrefois.

GWELE N M; PL gweleoù (stress on the second e) "bed".

GWELEDVA N M; PL gweledvaoù "landscape".

GWELOUT V "(to) see". RDC gwel.

GWENED N "Vannes".

GWENEDEG N M "the Vannes Br dialect; vannetais".

**GWENER** N M "Friday". Note digwener AV "last/next Friday" (P/FTR reference, specific).

**GWENGOLO** N M "September". Often preceded by **MIZ** "month" (see).

**GWENN** AJ "white: blank". Note gwenn-erc'h AJ "as white as snow" and gwenn-du or gwenn ha du AJ "black and white". Also N M "target", synonym of pal N M; PL paliou "target; aim".

**GWENNEG** N M; PL gwenneien "sou (5 centimes)".

**GWERENN** N F; PL gwerennoù "(drinking) glass". Also gwer N M "glass", and AJ "green" (see **GLAS** AJ).

**GWERZHAN** V "(to) sell". RDC gwerzh. Also gwerzh N M/F; PL gwerzhioù "sale; worth", e\_gwerzh AV "on sale".

**GWETUR** N F; PL gweturioù "car(riage)". See **KARR**.

**GWEUZ** N F; DL diweuz, PL gweuzioù "lip".

**GWEZ** CLL "trees". SGT N F gwezenn.

**GWIN** N M; PL gwiniou "wine".

**GWINEGR** N M "vinegar".

**GWINIZH** "NCT" N M; PL gwinizhoù "wheat".

**GWIR** AJ "true". Also N M; PL gwirioù "truth; right; duties (PL)".

**GWIRIONEZ** N F; PL gwirionezioù "truth". Note e\_gwirionez AV "really".

**GWISKAMANT** N M/F; PL gwiskamantoù "costume, suit; uniform".

**GWISKAN** V "(to) dress". RDC gwisk. Also en em wiskañ "(to) dress oneself" (see EN EM RFL). Note diwiskañ, en em ziwiskañ "(to) undress (oneself)".

**GWREG** N F; PL gwrazez "wife".

**GWRIAT** V "(to) sew". RDC gwri. Note gwrierez N F; PL gwrierezed "seamstress; sewing machine", and gwrierezh N M "sewing".

**HA(G)** CNJ "and". Also INT PRC, to introduce direct and indirect questions (see DAOUST HA), having no effect on WO. Also CNJ "as" after EQU. Hag a may function as REL PRO, often after indefinite N(P). As an INT PRC in indirect questions, where it carries the meaning "if, whether", it has no influence on the WO. Compare HAG-EN E + MX CNJ (see).

**HAG-EN E + MX** CNJ "if, whether". Used in indirect questions and followed, like most other CNJ, directly by the V. See HA(G).

**HADAN** V "(to) sow". RDC had.

**HANTER** AJ "half" (preposed). As AV, + LN of SG. Also N M; PL hanteroù "half". Note hanterenn N F; PL hanterennoù "half".

**HANTER-KANT** CD NUM "fifty".

**HANTERNOZ** N M "midnight; north".

**HANV** N MI PL hañvoù "summer".

**HE + SP** PSS AJ/O PRO 3PSG "her" (as O PRO before P PCP, IMV, INF). PSS PRO before hini (SG), re (PL). May become hec'h before vowel, h-.

HEL, HEN, HER O PRO 3PSG "it" (before P PCP, IMV, INF). Often replaced by an dra-se (see TRA).

HEMAN, HENNEZH, HENHONT DEM PRO M "this one/that one/that one yonder". PL uses ar re-mañ, etc. (see RE). For F see HO(U)MAN.

HENOZH AV "tonight". See FENOZ "tonight".

HENT N M; PL hentoù, heñchoù "way, road". Note mont en hent V "(to) set off". See MONT "(to) go".

HENVEL AJ "similar".

HEOL N M; PL heolioù "sun".

HEP PRP "without". Note hep ma + MX CNJ and hep na + LN CNJ "without".

HEPKEN AV "only".

HEPMUIKEN AV "only".

HERE N M "October". Often preceded by MIZ "month" (see).

HERVEZ AV "apparently". Also PRP "according to". See DIOUZH "from; according to".

HEULIAN V "(to) follow". RDC heuilh, heuli (the former before syllabic i).

HEVELEP AJ "such, same" (preposed).

HEVLENE AV "this year".

HI PRS PRO 3PSG "she". Also -hi tacked on to SNT V, N, PRS form of PRP for emphasis.

HINI DET PRO "one, other". It transforms an AJ, PSS AJ into PRO, PSS PRO. Without the D ART = "some...". For example: an hini mat - hini mat - va hini "the good one - some good - mine".

HIR AJ "long", AV "at length". Note hirded N F, hirder N M "length".

HIZIV, HIRIO AV "today". Also FETEIZ.

HOGEN CNJ "but". It has no influence on following WO.

HOL, HON, HOR PSS AJ/O PRO "our/us". As O PRO, before P PCP, IMP, INF; largely replaced by ac'hanomp (see A PRP). Distribution as for D ART. Hor causes the mutation k- → c'h-. The PSS PRO is formed by the postposition of hini (SG), re (PL).

HOLL + LN AJ "all" (preposed). An holl PRO "everyone". Postposed as -holl = "completely".

HO(U)MAN, HO(U)NNEZH, HO(U)NHONT DEM PRO F "this one, that one, that one yonder". PL formed with ar re-mañ, etc. (see RE).

-HONT DEM PRC "that yonder".

HOUAD N M; PL houidi "duck".

HOUARN N M; PL houarnoù, hern "iron".

-HU EMP SFX PRS PRO 2PPL (2P) "you". Also -c'hwi.

IJINADENN N F; PL ijinadennoù "invention". Note ijinañ V "(to) invent". RDC ijin. Also ijin N M; PL ijinoù "ingeniousness; machine".

-IK AJ DIM SFX. For N, we have -ig, PL -igoù, with -igoù preceded by the PL of the noun, and the gender unchanged.

ILIZ N F; PL ilizoù "church".

I(NT(-I)) PRS PRO 3PPL "they". Also O PRO after IMV, though here we more often have anezho (see A PRP).

ITALIAN N M; PL Italianed "Italian".

ITRON N F; PL itronezed "lady; Mrs." D ART included when not direct address. Also intron.

JAMEZ, JAMES AV "never". See BIKEN, BSKOAZH, MORSE, among others.

JEDIN V "(to) calculate". RDC jed. Also jedadur N M; PL jedaduriou "calculation" (compare doare-jediñ). Note jederez N F; PL jederezed "calculator", jedonezh N F "mathematics".

JIRAFENN N F; PL jirafed "giraffe".

KADOR N F; PL kadoriou "chair".

KAER AJ "beautiful". Also -kaer AV "very" (postposed to AJ). Note -kaer AJ "-in-law", dre gaer AV "willingly". Also kaer kaout + INF, kaer bezañ da + S + INF "(to)... in vain". See KAOUT/ENDEVOUT, BEZAN, DA PRP.

KAEZH AJ; PL kezh "poor, unfortunate; dear, loved". For example: va faour kaezh Perig "my poor little Per".

KAFE N M; PL kafeou "coffee".

KALET AJ "hard; strong (phonetic)".

KALON N F; PL kalonioù "heart". Also kalonenn N F; PL kalonnenoù "heart-shaped object". Note kalonek "courageous".

KALVEZ N M; PL kilvizien "carpenter".

KALZ AV + N or + A PRP + N "much, many". See A PRP "of".

KAMBR N F; PL kambroù "(bed)room". Note kambrig-kousket N F; PL kambroùigoù-kousket "bedroom"

KANAN V "(to) sing". RDC kan.

KANEREZ N F; PL kanerezed "singer".

KANIRI N F "singing; chant".

KANNAN V "(to) beat, hit; wash, whiten". RDC kann. Also en em gannañ "(to) battle". Note kann N M; PL kannoù "battle", and kann AJ "brilliant".

KANNEREZ N F; PL kannerezed "washerwoman".

KANT CD NUM (M) "hundred". Note dre gant "per cent". Also N M; PL kantoù "circle, disk".

KAOUT V "(to) have". See ENDEVOUT.

KAR AJ "related". Note M PL kerent "kinsfolk, relatives".

KARIAD N M; PL kariaded, karidi "friend".

KAROUT V "(to) love, want". RDC kar. Alternative INF karet, as in most cases where -out has no etymological link with BOUT (see). Also karantez N F; PL karantezioù "love".

**KARR** N M; PL kirri "car(t)". Note karr-tan N M; PL kirri-tan, also oto N M, PL otoioù "car" (see GWETUR). Also karr-boutin N M; PL kirri-boutin "coach, bus".

**KARREG** N F; PL kerreg "rock; reef".

**KART, KARD** N M; PL kartoù, kardoù "quarter". Also karterenn N F; PL karterennoù "quarter". Note kardeur N M; PL kardeurioù "quarter of an hour".

**KARTOU (C'HARTOU)**, PL of kartenn "cards". Thus: c'hoari (ar) c'hartoù V "(to) play cards". See C'HOARI.

**KAS** V "(to) send; take; lead". RDC kas.

**KASONI** N F; PL kasonioù "hatred".

**KASTELL** N M; PL kastelloù, kestell, kastilli "castle".

**KAVOUT** V "(to) find". RDC kav. Note (me) a gav din "I think; it seems to me", and en em gavout V + gant PRP "(to) meet". See EN EM RFL and GANT PRP "with".

**KAZEG** N F; PL kazeged, kazegi, kezekenned "mare" (the last specifically refers to "brood-mares").

**KAZETENN** N F; PL kazetennoù "newspaper". Note kazetenner N M; PL kazetennerien "journalist".

**KAZH** N M; PL kizhier "cat". Note kazhez N F; PL kazhezed "tabby cat".

**KEGIN** N F; PL keginoù "kitchen". Note keginer N M; PL keginerien "cook, chef", and keginerezh N M "cookery, cuisine".

KEIT EQU "so/as long/far". Note keit-mañ "as long as this", keit-se "as long as that", keit-all "such a long time/distance". Also keit-ha-keit "together (TM)", and keit ha (ma) + MX CNJ "as long as".

KELAOUENN N F; PL kelaouennoù "newspaper; magazine".

KELC'H N M; PL kelc'hioù "circle; club".

KELENNER N M; PL kelennerien "teacher". Also kelenn V "(to) teach". RDC kelenn. And kelennadurezh N F; PL kelennadurezhioù "teaching; education; doctrine". Compare kelenn CLL "holly". SGT N F kelennenn.

KELOU N M; PL keleier "(item of) news".

KEMENER N M; PL kemenerien "tailor". Note kemenerez N F; PL kemenerezed "seamstress". See GWRIEREZ.

KEMENT EQU "so/as much/many". Also kement-mañ/se "as/so much/many as this/that". Also functions as ID REL kement + N/hini + a + LN "all who...".

KEMPOUEZ N M "balance; equilibrium".

KEN + AJ HA AV (EQU marker) "as... as...". Also ken + AJ-se "as... as that". Without ha, ken + AJ may mean "so...". Note the expression, for example, ken bras ha ken bras "as big as each other" (see BRAS). Also ne + V(LN) + ken, ne + V(LN) + ket + X + ken "no longer". As a PFX, ken- conveys "co-, con-". See KEMPOUEZ.

KEN NA + LN CNJ "until, as long as".

-KENAN AV "very" (postposed to AJ).

KEN(AV)O AV "goodbye".

KENDALC'H N M; PL kendalc'hiou "congress; continuation".

KENDERC'HEL V "(to) continue". RDC kendalc'h (see). Either TR or + da PRP + INF (see).

KENKOULZ HA EQU PRP "as well as". Also kenkoulz ha ma + MX CNJ "as well as".

KENTAN ORD NUM "first". Note CMP/AV kentoc'h "sooner; before; rather". Compare Fr plutôt, German ehér, English sooner.

KENWERZH N M/F; PL kenwerzhiou "trade, commerce".

KER AJ "dear, loved; expensive". Also variant of KEL (see).

KER N F; PL kêriou "town; farm(s); home". Note e kêr "in/to town", er gêr "at home", d'ar gêr "(to) home".

KERIAD N M; PL kêriz "town person" (normally no D ART with the PL). Compare tud diwar ar maez "country folk" (see DEN, MAEZ).

KERKENT HA EQU "as soon as". Also kerkent AV "at once" and kerkent ha ma + MX CNJ "as soon as".

KERNE(V) N "Cornouaille". Also kernevad N M; PL kerneviz "person from Kernev" (normally no D ART with PL), and kerneveg N M "Kerneve dialect", kernevek AJ "of Kernev".

KERZHOUT V "(to) walk". RDC kerzh.

KERZU N M "December". Often preceded by MIZ "month" (see).

KET NEG AV/PRC/PRO "not". Used in the construction ne + V + ket "not". See NE, KEN.

KEUZ N M "regret". Note keuz kaout "(to) regret". See KAOUT, ENDEVOUT.

KI N M; PL chas (obsolete kon, see under DOUR) "dog".

KICHEN-HA-KICHEN AV "side by side". See E-KICHEN.

KIG N M "meat; flesh". Note kiger N M; PL kigerien "butcher".

KILHOG N M; PL kilheien, kilhegi "cock(ere)".

KISTINA V "(to) gather sweet chestnuts". RDC kistina. Note kistin CLL "sweet chestnuts". SGT F N kistinenn. Also kistinid N F; PL kistinidou "sweet-chestnut grove".

KLANV AJ "ill, sick".

KLASK V "(to) see; beg; try". In last sense + INF. Note klasker-bara N M; PL klaskerien-vara "beggar". Also en em glask "(to) get out of a jam" (see EN EM RFL).

KLENVED N M; PL kleñvedoù "illness".

KLENVEL, KLANVAAT V "(to) fall ill". RDC klañv(a).

KLEVOUT V "(to) hear". RDC klev.

KLOC'HER N M; PL kloc'herien "bell-ringer".

KLOUAR AJ "damp, moist".

KOAD N M; PL koadoù, koadeier "wood". Also koadeg N F; PL koadegoù, koadegi "forest".

KOANT AJ "pretty". Also koantenn N F; PL koantenned "pretty girl".

KOF N M; PL kofoù "stomach".

**KOLL** V "(to) lose". RDC koll. Also koll AJ "lost", koll N M; PL kolloù "loss". Note mont da goll "(to) go to one's destruction; be lost" (see MONT).

**KOMPEZ** AJ "flat".

**KOMPREN** V "(to) understand". RDC kompren.

**KOMZ** V "(to) speak". RDC komz.

**KONTELL** N F; PL kontilli "knife".

**KONTROL** N M "(the) contrary, opposite". Also kontrol AJ "contrary". Note er c'hontrol "on the contrary". Compare kontroll N M; PL kontrolloù "control; check".

**KORN** N M; PL korniou "corner; angle". Also N M; PL kerniel, kern "horn". Also N M; PL kern(i)ou "cusp". Note korn-butun "(tobacco) pipe".

**KORRIGAN** N M; PL korriganed "elf". Note korr N M; PL korred "dwarf".

**KOSHAAT** V "(to) grow old". RDC kosha. See KOZH "old".

**KOUEZHAN** V "(to) fall". RDC kouezh.

**KOULSKOUDE** CNJ "however".

**KOULZ** EQU/AV "as well". Note koulz ha "as well as", koulz lavaret "so to speak", koulz tra eo din "it's all the same to me" (see TRA, BEZAN, DA PRP). Synonym of last = ingal eo din.

**KOULZ** N M; PL koulz(i)ou "time, moment". Note koulz eo din + INF "it's time for me to...". See BEZAN, DA PRP.

KOUSKET V "(to) sleep". RDC kousk. Note kousk(ed) N M "sleep".

KOZH AJ "old" (preposed = "wretched"). Note the extendable expression koshoc'h-koshañ "older and older". Also kozhni N F "old age". Kozh is postposed to appropriate relationship terms to render "grand", e.g. mab-kozh "grandson". See OADET AJ. Also KOSHAAT and KOZHAN "(to) age" (see).

KRAMPOUEZH CLL "crêpes, pancakes". SGT N F krapouezhenn.

KRAON CLL "nuts". SGT N F kraoñenn. Note kraoñell N F; PL kraoñelloù "kernel". Also kraoñ(at)a, kraoñeta V "(to) collect nuts". RDC kraoña(ta).

KREC'H N M; PL krec'hioù "summit; hill".

KREDIN V "(to) believe, think". RDC kred.

KREISTEIZ N M "midday; south" (kreiz + deiz; see).

KREIZ N M; PL kreizioù "middle; centre". Note kreiz-kêr N M "town centre". See E-KREIZ.

KRENN AJ "complete; average; grown-up"; also AV "completely".

KRENV AJ "strong".

KRESKIN V (I)TR "(to) grow; increase; exaggerate". RDC kresk.

KRIZ AJ "raw, rough, cruel; bad (weather)". Also kriz N M; PL krizoù "fold; wrinkle".

KROAZHENT N M; PL kroazhentoù "crossroads".

KROC'HEN N M; PL krec'hin "skin; bark; hide".

KUIT AV "away, off". As in mont kuit "(to) go away, depart". Also AJ

"exempt, free".

KUNV AJ "easy-going".

KOZHAN V "(to) grow old". RDC kozh. See KOSDHAAT.

LABOUR N M; PL labourioù "work" (often LN of AJ in SG, as if F). Also labourat V "(to) work". RDC labour. Note labouradeg N F; PL labouradegoù "group work; factory". And labour-douar N M "agriculture", labouerrer-douar N M; PL labouerrerien-douar "farm workers".

LABOUS N M; PL laboused "bird". See EVN.

LAER N M; PL laeron "thief". Also laer-mor N M; PL laeron-vor "pirate". Note laeroñsi N M; PL laeroñsioù "theft".

LAEREZH V "(to) steal". RDC laer.

LAEZ N M "top". See EL-LAEZ.

LAEZH N M "milk". Note laezh dre-e-zienn "full milk" (dienn N F "cream"), laezh diennet "skimmed milk".

LAGAD N M; DL daoulagad, PL lagadoù "eye".

LAKAAT V "(to) put, set; make + AJ; make SO do SOG". RDC lak(a).

LAMMAT V "(to) jump". RDC lamm.

LANN N F; PL lannoù, lanneier "heath, waste land". More lanneg N F; PL lannegi, lannegoù "moor".

LAVAROUT V "(to) say, tell". RDC lavar. Often shortened to larout, laret. Alternative full form lavaret.

LEAL AJ "loyal".

LEDAN AJ "wide, broad".

LEIN N F; PL leinoù "lunch; breakfast" (depending on dialect).

LEMM AJ "sharp; subtle".

LENN N F; PL lennoù "lake, mere". Note loc'h N F; PL loc'hioù "coastal lake, lagoon".

LENN V "(to) read". RDC lenn. Also lennegezh N F; PL lennegezhioù "literature".

LEON N "Leon". Also Leonad N M; PL Leoniz "inhabitant of Leon" (normally no D ART with PL), leoneg N M "the Leon dialect", leonek AJ "of Leon".

LEUE N M; PL leueoù, leoù "calf (animal)".

LEVR N M; PL levrioù "book". Note levraoueg N F; PL levraouegoù "library", levrdi N M; PL levrdioù "library; bookshop", stal-levrioù N F; PL stalioù-levrioù "bookshop" (stal "shop; shelf").

LIES (HINI) AJ/PRO "lots of, many". Note lies gwech "many a time".

LIORZH N F; PL liorzhoù "garden".

LIPAT V "(to) lick". RDC lip.

LITR(AD) N M; PL "litre" (see -AD).

LIV N M; PL livioù "colour; ink; paint". Note livañ V "(to) colour; paint". RDC liv.

LIZHER N M; PL lizher(i)où, lizhiri "letter; MS." Also lizherenn N F; PL lizherennoù "letter of the alphabet". Note paotr al lizhiri N M; PL paotred al lizhiri "postman" (see PAOTR). Synonym fakteur N M; PL fakteurien.

LOAR N F; PL loarioù "moon". Note loar-gann, loargann, kann-loar N F "full moon".

LOCHENN N F; PL lochennoù "cabin, hut". Synonym: loch N M; PL lochoù.

LODENN N F; PL lodennoù "share, portion". Also lod N M; PL lodoù "share, portion", and PRO "some" (synonym of DARN - see).

LOEN N M; PL loened "animal". Note loenigan N M; PL loeniganed "little animal".

LOGOD CLL "mice". SGT N F logodenn. Also logota V "(to) catch mice, go mousing". RDC logota.

LOIZ-AOUR N M; PL loized-aour "Louis d'or".

LOJAN V "(to) lodge". RDC loi. Also lojeiz N M; PL(?) "flat".

LONK-E-SIZHUN N M "drunkard" (lit. "swallow-his-week", i.e. E PSS AJ variable according to referent). Note lonkañ V "(to) swallow, absorb; drink excessively". RDC lonk.

LOUARN N M; PL lern "fox".

LOUS AJ "dirty". Compare louz N M; PL louzed "dirty man; badger" (see BROC'H).

LOUZAN V (I)TR "(to) dirty, become dirty". RDC louz.

LUN N M "Monday". Also dilun AV "next/last Monday".

LUR N M; PL luriou "franc; pound (money)".

MA PSS AJ + SP "my". Also O PRO before P PCP, IMV, INF. See VA. PSS PRO created with addition of HINI (SG), RE (PL) (see).

MA + MX CNJ "(so) that; where". Also mmay be added to, for example, a PRP to create a compound CNJ. It is, grossly, the equivalent of the AV/IO SBR CNJ, as against E "N SBR CNJ" and A "AJ SBR CNJ". Note original PLC sense in ma N M; PL maou "plain; fair" (see GWELEDVA).

MAB N M; PL mibien "son, child, boy".

MADELEZH N F; PL madelezhio "kindness, favour".

MAE N M "May". Often preceded by MIZ "month" (see).

MAEN N M; P mein (PL often lenited after D ART: ar vein) "stone".

MAER N M; PL maerio "mayor" (no LN in PL after D ART, except in case of alternative PL maered: ar vaered).

MAEZ N M; PL maezio, maezeier "countryside; open sea". Note ar maezio "the countryside", war ar maez AV "in the country".

MAGAN V "(to) feed, nourish". RDC mag. En em vagan V "(to) feed oneself" (see EN EM RFL). Also magadur N M; PL magadurio "nourishment; food".

MALL N M "haste". Note mall eo "it's high time" (see BEZAN). Also mall a zo warnon/ganin "I'm in a hurry" (see BEZAN, WAR, GANT).

MAMM N F; PL mammoù "mother".

MAN - in ober van "(to) pretend" (see OBER).

MANAC'H N M; PL menec'h "monk".

MANN NUM/N M "nothing".

MANTELL N F; PL mantelloù, mantilli, mentell "overcoat; mantelpiece".

MANTRUS AJ "devastating, disappointing". Note mantrañ V "(to) disappoint". RDC mantr. Also mantr N M "desolation".

-MAN DEM PRC "this".

MAOUEZ N F; PL maouezed "woman".

MAR CNJ "if". Also mar N M "doubt": hep mar "probably", hep mar ebet "certainly".

MARC'H N M; PL kezeg (general), mirc'hed, mirc'hien, mirc'hier, mirc'hi, merc'h "horse". Also marc'h N M; PL marc'hoù "easel".

MARC'HAD N M; PL marc'hadoù "market; deal". Note war ar marc'had AV "in addition, on top of it all". Also marc'hadour N M; PL marc'hadourien "merchant"; marc'hadourezh N F; PL marc'hadourezhiù "goods".

MARC'HAD-MAT AJ "cheap". CMP either gwelloc'h marc'had or marc'had-matoc'h.

MARE N M; PL mareoù "time, while". Note a vare da vare AV "from time to time"; d'ar mare-se "at that time".

MAT AJ "good". Note mad N M; PL madoù "service, property".

MATEZH N F; PL mitizhien "servant".

ME PRS PRO "I". Also -me, tacked on to SNT V, N, PRS form of PRP for emphasis, like other PRS PRO. See AM.

MEDEREZ N F; PL mederezed "harvester". Note mediñ V "(to) reap". RDC med.

MEL N M "honey; marrow, sap".

MELL N M; PL melloù AJ "big, enormous" (preposed).

MEMES AJ "same". Also AV "even". Note memestra AV "all the same" (see TRA).

MENEZ N M; PL meneziou, menezeier "hill, mountain". Note Menez-Mikael (-ar-Mor) "Mont-Saint-Michel".

MENGLEUZ N F; PL mengleuziou "mine, quarry". Note mengleuzier N M; PL mengleuzierien "miner".

MERC'H N F; PL merc'hed "girl; daughter".

MERC'HER N M "Wednesday". Note dimerc'her AV "next/last Wednesday".

MERDEAD N M; PL merdeidi "navigator, sailor". Also merdeadenn N F; PL merdeadennou "voyage" and merdeiñ V "(to) navigate", RDC merde.

MERENN N F; PL merennou "lunch; dinner" (depending on dialect).

MERVEL N "(to) die". RDC marv. Also marv AJ "dead" and marv N M; PL marvoù "death".

MERVENT N M "south-west; mortality".

MESTR N M; PL mistri, mestrou (no LN after D ART in the case of mestrou) "master; teacher". Note mestrez N F; PL mestrezed "mistress".

MET CNJ "but". Also mez. No effect on WO.

MEUD N M; PL meudoù "thumb; pincer (crab)". Often biz-meud N M "thumb" (see BIZ).

MEULIN V "(to) praise". RDC meul.

MEUR A + LN ID/QUT "several" (followed by SG). Note meur AJ "big, great".

-MEURBET AV "very" (postposed to AJ).

MEURLARJEZ N M "Shrove Tuesday".

MEURZH N M "Tuesday". Note dimeurzh AV "next/last Tuesday". Also N M "March". Often preceded by MIZ "month" (see).

MEVEL N M; PL mevelien, meveloù "servant" (no LN in meveloù after D ART).

(MEZH)EVEN N M "June". Often preceded by MIZ "month" (see).

MEZV AJ "drunk". Note mezvez AJ/N F "drunk(en woman)". Also mezv-dall AJ "blind drunk" (see DALL), and mezventi N F "drunkenness".

MICHER N F; PL micheriou "profession; job".

MIGNON N M; PL mignoned "friend". Also mignonez N F; PL mignonezed "friend".

MIL CD NUM "thousand". Note millur N M; PL millurioù "a thousand francs".

MILIARD N M; PL miliardoù (CD NUM) "milliard/billion".

MILION N M; PL milionoù (CD NUM) "million".

MINTIN N M; PL mintinoù "morning". Note diouzh ar mintin AV "in the morning". Also beure N M; PL beureoù "morning" (particularly T).

MIROUT V "(to) preserve; prevent". RDC mir. Note mirout ouzh + PRP da + INF "(to) prevent SO from ...ing".

MIZ N M; PL mizoù "month". Often preposed to month-names. Compare miz N M; PL mizoù "costs, expenses": mizoù-kas "post and packing".

MOEREB N F; PL moerebed "aunt".

MONT V "(to) go", RDC a.

MOR N M; PL morioù "sea; crowd". Note moriad N M; PL moriadoù "tide; crowd".

MORSE NEG AV "never". See BIKEN, BIRVIKEN, BSKOAZH, JAMEZ. Used with V with preposed NE (see).

MORZHED N F; DL divorzhed, PL morzhedoù "thigh".

MOUALC'H N F; PL mouilc'hi "blackbird". Note tad-moualc'h "cock blackbird" (see TAD).

NA + LN NEG PRC "who/which... not" (completed by ket or other appropriate NEG after V). Also the NEG PRC of the IMV. Note ne + SNT V + na... na... "neither... nor..." (no mutation) and na(g) + AJ EXC. Also nag a dud! "what a lot of people".

NADOZ N F; PL nadoziou "needle".

NAER N F; PL naered, naeron "snake".

NAET AJ "clean, neat". Also naetaat V "(to) clean, tidy; become clean, tidy". RDC naeta.

NANN AV "no".

NAONTEK CD NUM "nineteen".

NAV CD NUM "nine. Note ORD NUM navet (for \*navvet).

NAV-C'HANT CD NUM "nine hundred".

NAV-UGENT CD NUM "one-hundred-and-eighty".

NE + LN NEG PRC "not; that... not". Followed by a V and, except in set expressions, by an appropriate NEG.

NEB PRO, as an neb a + LN of ANT V "whoever".

NEBEUD N M; PL nebeudou, as un nebeud + PL "some, a few". Note nebeud a dud "few people". Also nebeut a + PL or NCT, nebeut PRO "little, not much; few". And nebeut AV "little", nebeut ha nebeut "little by little". See TAMM.

NEDELEG N M "Christmas".

NEIZH N M; PL neizhiou "nest".

NEMET PRP "except". Also ne + V + nemet "only", nemetañ, nemeti, nemeto AJ M/F/PL "unique", and nemetken AV "only". Note nemet ma + MX CNJ "but; unless".

NEMEUR A + SG/CNT ID/QUT "few". Also nemeur AV "scarcely" and a-barzh nemeur AV "soon".

NENV N M; PL neñvouù "sky". Also oabl N M; PL oabloù "sky".

NEP AJ "no" (preposed). See EBET. Also neplec'h AV "nowhere".

NEPRED AV "never". See BIKEN, etc.

NERZH N M; PL nerzh(i)où "strength".

NETRA N M "nothing". Used with pre-V ne. See TRA.

NEUD CLL "thread". SGT N F neudenn "thread".

NEUZ N F; PL neuzioù "form, appearance". Note ober an neuz da + INF "(to) pretend to...". See OBER, DA PRP.

NEUZE (\*TA) AV/CNJ "then, so".

NEVEZ AJ "new". Also nevez-flamm "brand new" (lit. "new + flame"). Note nevez'zo "recently".

NEVEZ-AMZER N M "spring".

'NI EMP PRC. Replaces an hini. Postposed to a left-shifted or phrase-initial emphatic/rheme/focus.

NI PRS PRO IPPL "we". Also -ni as emphatic form postposed to V, N, PRS PRP. Like the other full forms, it seems it may be placed, emphatically, after a ne + V + ket group.

NIJAL V "(to) fly". RDC nij.

NIKUN NEG PRO "no-one"; N M "a nobody". Also den (ebet). See DEN. Used with pre-V ne.

NIVER N M; PL niver(i)ou "(large) number; count". Notenniverenn N F; PL niverennoù "figure; number (address, etc.); issue (magazine)".

NIZ N M; PL nized "nephew". Note nizez N F; PL nizezed "niece".

NORMAN N M; PL Normaned "Norman".

NOTENN N F; PL notennoù "note, record; bill; musical note; examination mark".

NOZ N F; PL noziou "night".

O + MX PRC + INF. Creates the PRE PCP. Before a vowel (including en em RFL PRC) → oc'h; before an O PRO → ouzh.

O VEZAN MA + MX CNJ "as, since, because, granted that".

O + SP PSS AJ "their". Also O PRO before P PCP, IMV, INF "them". PSS PRO o hini SG, o re PL "theirs".

OADET AJ "old, elderly" (politer than KOZH (see)). Note oad N M; PL oadoù "age". Not to be confused with aod N M; PL aodoù "coast".

OBER V "(to) do, make". RDC gra.

OFERENN N F; PL oferennoù "mass".

ONN CLL "ash trees". SGT N F onnenn. Also onnod N F "ash grove".

OUZH PRP "against, at". See O PRC.

OUZHPENN AV "in addition, moreover". Also PRP "more than".

OZHAC'H N M; PL ezeç'h "husband; head of family".

PA + LN CNJ "when, if". Before a vowel we have pa'z. Note ha pa  
CNJ (+ CND) "even if".

PAEAN V "(to) pay (for)". RDC paë. Note paë N M; PL paëoù "pay,  
wages". Synonym: godr N M; PL godrouù.

PAJENN N F; PL paiennoù "page".

PAKAN V "(to) wrap; catch; trick". RDC pak.

PALEFARZH or PALEVARZH N M "quarter".

PALEZ N M; PL palezioù "palace".

PALLENN N M; PL pallennoù "blanket; carpet, rug".

PANEVET "PRP" "but for".

PANTEKOST (Gouel ar Pantekost) N M "Whit Sunday".

PAOTR N M; PL paotred "boy, son". In the PL also has the meaning  
"men, lads, fellows".

PAOUR AJ/N M; PL peorien "poor (person)". Note paouraat V "(to)  
be/become poor; impoverish". RDC paoura. Also paourentez N F  
"poverty".

PAR N M; PL pared "male". Note parez N F; PL parezed "female".

PARAN V "(to) shine; rest (of a glance)". RDC par.

PARDONIN V "(to) forgive". RDC pardon.

PARK N M; PL parkoù, parkeier "field".

PASEET AJ "last (TM)".

PASK N M; PL paskoù "Easter".

PAZ N M; PL pazioù "cough; step, pace". Note pasaat V "(to) cough".  
RDC pasa.

PE? + LN INT AJ "what/which?". But see the more commonly used PESEURT, PETORE. Also pe + LN CNJ "or". In a composite sentence pe CNJ will be followed by A PRC or E PRC, as appropriate.

PE EVIT TRA? INT AV "Why?". See PERAK?

PEBEZH + N INT "AJ" (preposed) "What a...!".

PEDAVARE? INT AV "When?".

PEGEIT? INT AV "How long/far?".

PEGEMENT? INT AV "How much/many?".

PEGEN? + AJ INT "AJ" (preposed) "How...!". May vary on the pattern of the D ART.

PEGOULZ? INT AV "When?".

PEHINI? INT PRO "Which one?". PL: pere?

PELEC'H? INT AV "Where?". Often e pelec'h, da pelec'h, etc. as appropriate.

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PELL AJ/AV "far, distant". Note pell 'zo "a long time ago". Associated words include a-bell, dre-bell.

PEMP CD NUM "five".

PEMP-KANT CD NUM "five hundred".

PEMZEK CD NUM "fifteen".

PENAOS? INT AV "How?".

PENN N M; PL pennoù "head; end". Note pennad N M; PL pennadoù "chapter; moment; stretch".

PEOGWIR E + MX CNJ "because".

PEP ID AJ "each, every". Note pep a + NUM(LN) "... each". Lenites to BEP (see) in AV expressions of time or with temporal connotations.

PER CLL "pears". SGT N F perenn.

PERAK? INT AV "Why?".

PESEURT? INT PRO/AJ (preposed) "What/Which (sort of)?".

PESK N M; PL pesked "fish". Note pesketa V "(to) fish". RDC pesketa.

PESKETAER N M; PL pesketaerien "fisherman".

PET? INT AJ/PRO "How much/many?". Variants are pet + SG, pet a + PL. Note (d')ar bet? "(on) what date?".

PETORE? INT AV "what/which (sort of)".

PETRA? INT PRO "What?". Note petra bennak ma + MX CNJ "although".

PETVET? ID ORD (AJ) "The howmanieth?". Note (d')ar petvet? "(on) what date?".

PEUL N M; PL peulioù "pillar, post".

PEUR- PFX "complete(ly)". For example, peurheñvel "identical".

PEURLIESAN AV "mostly; most often; usually". See PEURVUIAN.

PEURVUIAN AV "most often". Also N M "the majority".

PEUZ- PFX "almost". For example, peuznoz N F; PL peuznoziù "twilight; dusk".

PEVAR/PEDER CD NUM M/F "four".

PEVAR-C'HANT CD NUM "four hundred".

PEVARE ORD NUM "fourth". Also regular pevarvet/pedervet.

PEVAR-UGENT CD NUM "eighty".

PEVARZEK CD NUM "fourteen".

PEZH N M; PL pezhioù "piece; coin; play (drama)". Note pezh AJ (preposed) "big". Also en e bezh "all; in its (M) entirety" (lit. "in its (M) piece" - the PSS AJ varies, as appropriate). And (ar) pezh a REL PRO "that which".

PIG N F; PL piged "magpie". Also pig N M; PL pigoù "pick(axe)".

PIKOL N M; PL pikoloù, used as pikol AJ (preposed) "big". See MELL.

PINVIDIK AJ "rich". Note pinvidig N V; PL pinvidien "rich person". Also pinvidikaat V "(to) enrich; become rich". RDC pinvidika.

PIV? INT PRO "Who?".

PIZ CLL "peas". SGT N F pizenn.

PIZH AJ "exact; attentive; miserly".

PLAC'H N F; PL plac'hed "girl (pejorative); servant". No LN after the ART.

PLADENN N F; PL pladennoù "tray; plateau; gramophone record". Also pladenn N F; PL pladenned "hypocritical woman". Note plad N M; PL pladoù "dish".

PLIJOUT V "(to) please". RDC plij. Constructed with DA PRP to render "(to) like", and the S may be thematized: me a blij din... "I like...". Also plijadur N F; PL plijadurioù "pleasure".

PLOUGASTELLADENN N F; PL plougastelladenned "woman from Plougastel-Daoulas".

PLUNV or PLU CLL "feathers". SGT N F pluenn.

POAN N F; PL poanioù "pain". See A-BOAN AV.

POELLADENN N F; PL poelladennoù "exercise; reflection, consideration".

POENT N M; PL poentoù "point, moment". Note poent eo + INF "it's time to...", e poent AV "on time".

PORZH N M; PL porzhioù, perzhier "court, yard; port; gate".

POURMEN V "(to) go for a walk". RDC pourmen.

PRED N M; PL predoù "moment; meal".

PRENAN V "(to) buy". RDC pren.

PRENESTR N M; PL prenestroù, prevester, prenistri "window".

PREST AJ "ready". Also AV "quickly". Note prest N M; PL prestoù and prestadenn N F; PL prestadennoù "loan". Also prestañ V "(to) lend". RDC prest.

PREZEGENN N F; PL prezegennoù "talk (speech)".

PRIED N M/F; PL priedoù "husband; wife". No LN after D ART in PL.

PUNS N M; PL puñsoù "well (water)".

RA + LN OPT PRC. See DA OPT PRC. Thus: Ra vezo meulet Erwan! "May Erwan be praised!".

RAK PRP "in front of; before". Note kaout aon rak... "(to) be afraid of...". Also rak CNJ "for" (no effect on following WO). Also PFX "pre-". See RAKVARN, RAKWELER.

RAKVARN N F; PL rakvarnoù "prejudice". Also rakvarn V "(to) prejudice" (RDC rakvarn). Note barn N M; PL barnoù "judgement", barner N M; PL barnerien "judge". And barn V "(to) judge". RDC barn. See RAK.

RAKWELER N M; PL rakwelerien "prophet, seer". See RAK, GWELOUT.

RAL AJ/AV "rare; seldom".

RANKOUT V "(to) have to". RDC rank + INF.

RANNARME N F; PL rannarmeoù "division (army)". Note rann N F; PL rannoù "part; division". Also rannvezh N F; rannvezhoù "dialect", rannvro N F; PL rannvroioù "region; province".

RANNIG N F; PL rann(où)igoù "particle (grammatical)". Note that rannig is felt as a root rather than as a DIM, hence the PL rannigoù.

RE DET PRO PL; SG hini. Thus ar re-mañ "these (ones)". Also re N M; PL reoù + LN "pair", e.g. ur re\_votoù "a pair of shoes".

RE + LN AV "too".

REAL AJ "royal". Also real N M; PL realed, realioù "five sous".

REDEK V "(to) rn". RDC red.

REIN V "(to) give". RDC ro. Alternative INF roiñ.

REIZH AJ "regular; right, good". Also reizh N F/M; PL reizhoù "justice; sex, gender".

REN V "(to) reign; lead; guide; lead (life)". RDC ren. Note en em ren "(to) behave". See EN EM RFL PRC.

RET AJ "necessary". Also N M "necessity". Example: ret eo deomp chom amañ "we must live here" (lit. "necessary it is us to live here").

REUZEUDIG N M; PL reuzeudien "wretch". Note reuzedik AJ "wretched".

REZ AJ "straight; easy". Also N M "level". Note a-rez PRP "at... level", e.g., a-rez ar mor "at sea level".

ROC'H N F; PL reier "rock".

ROD N F; PL rodou "wheel". Note rod-vleniañ "steering wheel" (see BLENIAN). Also rodig DIM.

RONSE N M; PL ronseed, ronsed "steed, horse".

RUST AJ "rough; strict".

RODELL N F; PL rodelloù "curl, lock (hair)".

RUZ AJ "red". Note ruz-tan "fiery red" (lit. "red-fire"). See TAN "fire".

SAC'H N M; PL seier "sack".

SAC'HAN V "(to) stagnate; get stuck". RDC sac'h. Also "(to) put in a sack".

SADORN N M "Saturday". Note disadorn AV "next/last Saturday".

SAE N F; PL saeiou "dress; robe". Note sae-gambr N F; PL saeiou-kambr "dressing gown". See KAMBR.

SAMM N M/F; PL sammou "burden". Note karr-samm N M; PL kirri-samm "lorry". See KARR "car(t)", GWETUR "car(riage)".

SANT N M; PL sent "saint". Note santez N F; PL sentezed "saints".

SANTIM N M; PL sañtimou "centime". Also kañtim.

SAOUT CLL/PL of BUOC'H (see) "cattle".

SAOZ N M; PL saozon "Englishman", Note Saozez N F; PL Saozezed "Englishwoman". Also saozneg N M "English language", saoznek AJ "English". And Bro-Saoz N F "England".

-SE DEM PRC "that (near you)".

SEC'H AJ "dry".

SEC'HAN V "(to) wipe; dry". RDC sec'h.

SEITEK CD NUM "seventeen".

SEIZH CD NUM "seven".

SEIZH-KANT CD NUM "seven hundred".

SEIZH-UGENT CD NUM "one-hundred-and-forty".

SELAOU V "(to) listen (to)". RDC selaou.

SEMLAN V "(to) faint". RDC seml.

SERRIN V "(to) close". RDC serr. Note serr AJ "closed".

SETU AV "behold; here/there is/are".

SEUL + CMP (LN) AV "the more..." (repeated).

SEURT N M; PL seurtoù "sort". Note AV seurt-se, a seurt-se "like that".

SEVEL V "(to) rise; raise; rear; educate; build; compose". RDC sav. See A-SAV.

SEVENADUR N M; PL sevenadurioù "culture". Note an ti a sevenadur "the house of culture". Also seven AJ "polite".

SELLOUT V "(to) look". RDC sell. Sellout ouzh = "to look at". See OUZH. Also sell N M; PL selloù "look; glance".

SISTR N M; (PL sistroù) "cider". Also chistr.

SIZHUN N F; PL sizhunioù "week". Note war ar sizhun AV "on weekdays; during the week".

SKAF N M; PL skafioù, skefen "skiff, boat".

SKANV AJ "light; fickle".

SKEUDENN N F; PL skeudennoù "picture". Note skeudennaouiñ V "(to) illustrate". RDC skeudennaou.

SKEVENT PL "lungs".

SKOAZ N F; DL divskoaz, PL skoazioù "shoulder".

SKODENN N F; PL skodennoù "share, contribution; base of tree trunk; roots; faggot".

SKOED N M; PL skoedoù "shield; écu".

SKOL N F; PL skolioù "school". Note skol-veur N F; PL skolioù-meur "university". See MEUR.

SKORN N M "ice". Also skorniñ V "(to) be icy, frozen". RDC skorn.

SKOTENN N F; PL skotenoù "dry biscuit".

SKOUARN N F; DL divskouarn, PL skouarnioù "ear".

SKOUERENN N F; PL skouerennoù "sample; copy". Compare skouer N M; PL skouerioù "example", as in da skouer AV "for example".

SKRIJEREZ-NOZ N F; PL skrijerezed-noz "owl".

SKRITUR N M/F; PL skriturioù "writing".

SKRIVAGNER N M; PL skrivagnerien "writer". Also skrivagnerez N F; PL skrivagnerezed "writer". Note skrivañ V "(to) write". RDC skriv.

SKUBELL or SKUBELLENN N F; PL skubelloù, skubellennoù "broom".

SKUIZH AJ "tired". Note skuizhnez(h) N F "fatigue". Synonym = skuizhder N M. Also skuizhañ V "(to) become tired". RDC skuizh.

SONJ N M; PL soñjoù "thought". Also soñjal (e) V "(to) think (of); intend". RDC soñj.

SOUDARD N M; PL soudarded "soldier".

SOUEZH N M/F "surprise". Note n'eo ket souezh "it's not surprising". Also souezhus AJ "surprising". And souezhañ V "(to) surprise". RDC souezh.

STAGELL N F; PL stagelloù "link; conjunction (grammar)".

STAMM N M; PL stammoù "knitting". Note ober stamm "(to) knit". See OBER.

STEKIN (OUZH) V "(to) knock; touch; clink". RDC stok.

STER N F; PL stêrioù "river". Compare ster N M; PL sterioù "meaning".

STLANK N M; PL stlankoù "attic". Note the initial CC group.

STRIZH AJ "narrow".

STUDIAN V "(to) study". RDC studi.

SUKR N M; (PL sukrouë) "sugar".

SUL N M "Sunday". Note disul AV "next/last Sunday".

SUR AJ/AV "sure(ly), certain(ly)".

TACH N M; PL tachou "nail (metal)". Compare ivin N M; PL ivinou "finger nail".

TAD N M; PL tadou "father" (no LN in PL after D ART). Note tadig DIM "daddy", tad-kozh "grandfather", tad-kaer "father-in-law", tad-moualc'h "cock blackbird" (see -IK, KOZH, KAER, MOUALC'H).

TAL N M; PL taliou "forehead; front".

TALVEZOUT V "(to) be worth". RDC talvez. The RDC may shorten to tal. Note talvezout da (see DA PRP) "(to) serve as", and talvezout kement ha (see KEMENT) "(to) signify".

TALVOUDUS AJ "useful".

TAMALL V "(to) condemn". RDC tamall. Note tamall N M; PL tamallo "blame".

TAMM N M; PL tammo "piece, bit". Note tamm-ha-tamm AV "gradually, little by little", a-dammo AV "in pieces". Also un tamm(ig) "a little". See NEBEUT.

TAN N M; PL taniou "fire".

TAPOUT V "(to) catch; take". RDC tap.

TARIN N M; PL tarined "male of bird; important person; difficult person". See TARV, EVN.

TARV (sometimes TARO) N M; PL tirvi "bull". May be used to denote the male of animals. See TARIN.

TAS N M; PL tasoù "cup". Also tasad N M; PL tasadoù "cup(ful)": un tasad te "a cup of tea".

TE PRS PRO 2PSG "you". May be SG of familiar reference as opposed to C'HWI (see), or may be replaced by C'HWI. The form -te, postposed to N, PRP, and V forms, is emphatic. See AZ.

TEC'HOUT V "(to) flee". RDC tec'h. Also INF tec'het. Note tec'h N M "escape".

TENVAL AJ "dark". Note teñval-sac'h "pitch-black" (lit. "dark-sack").

TENZOR N M; PL teñzoriou "treasure". Also teñzorer N M; PL teñzorerien "treasurer".

TEOL CLL "tiles". SGT N F teolenn.

TERRIN V "(to) break, be broken". RDC torr.

TEST N M; PL testoù "witness" (no LN in PL after D ART). Also testeni N M; PL testeniou "evidence; certificate".

TEUREL V "(to) throw". RDC taol. Also taol N M; PL taolioù "knock, blow", and taol N F; PL taolioù "table".

TEUSK AJ "skinny; stingy; meagre".

TEV AJ "big; fat".

TEVEL V "(to) be/fall silent". RDC tav.

TEVENN N M; PL tevennoù, tevinier "cliff, sea-shore".

TI N M; PL tiez, tier "house".

TIEG N M; PL tiejen "head of household; farmer".

TOENN N F; PL toennoù "roof".

TOK, TOG N M; PL tokoù, togoù, tokeier "hat".

TOMM AJ "hot". Note tommder N M "heat".

TON N M; PL tonioù "tune". Also ton N M; PL toned "tuna".

TONN N F; PL tonnoù "big wave".

TORGENN N F; PL torgennoù "hill(ock)".

TOST AJ/AV "near(by)". Associated words: a-dost, dre dost, dost.

TRA N M; PL traoù "thing". May be used with NE (see) for "nothing".  
Mutates and causes mutations as if F.

TRAONIENN N F; PL traoniennoù "valley". See EN-TRAON.

TRAWALC'H AV "enough".

-TRE AV "very" (postposed to AJ). Note dont tre "(to) come in" (see DONT).

TREC'H N M; PL trec'hioù "victory".

TREDE ORD NUM "third". Also regular trivet/teirvet (M/F).

TREDERENN N F; PL trederennoù "third (part)".

TREGER N "Treger". Note Tregeriad N M; PL Tregeriz "Tregor man",  
Tregeriadez N F; PL Tregeriadezed "Treger woman". Also tregerieg N M  
"Treger dialect; tregorrois", and tregeriek AJ "of Treger".

TREGONT CD NUM "thirty".

TREIN V "(to) turn; translate". RDC tro. Alternative INF troiñ.

TREMEN AV "over, more than". Also tremen V "(to) pass, elapse, happen". RDC tremen. Note tremen e "(to) drop in at".

TREMENIAD N M; PL tremenidi "passer-by".

TREMENET AJ (P PCP) "past". See PASEET.

TREN N M; PL treñioù "train".

TRES N M; PL tresoù "look; trace".

TREUST N M; PL treustoù "beam".

TRI/TEIR CD NUM M/F "three".

TRI-C'HANT CD NUM "three hundred".

TRISTIDIGEZH N F "sadness". Also trist AJ "sad".

TRI-UGENT CD NUM "sixty".

TRIWEC'H CD NUM "eighteen" (= tri + c'hwec'h). See EITEK.

TRIZEK CD NUM "thirteen".

TROAD N M; DL daoudroad, PL treid, troadoù "foot".

TROC'HAN V "(to) cut". RDC troc'h. Note troc'h N M; PL troc'hoù "cut", and troc'hadur N M; PL troc'hadurioù "action of cutting".

TROUZ N M "noise; row".

TRUGAREKAAT V "(to) thank". RDC trugareka. Note trugarez N F "pity" or interjection "thank you". Also mersi (bras) or mat eo "thank you".

TU N M; PL tuioù "side; way; means; opportunity".

TUD PL; SG N M DEN (see). With PSS AJ = "family". Note tud a vor "seafolk".

TUET (DA) AJ "inclined (to)". See DA PRP.

UGENT CD NUM "twenty".

UHEL AJ "high". Note uhelder N M; PL uhelderioù, also uhelled N F "height".

UL, UN, UR ID ART "a(n)". Also the AJ form of UNAN (see).

UNAN CD NUM "one". Used as PRO; see UL for AJ function. Postposed to PSS AJ in sense "-self": va-unan "myself". Note too the pattern o-unan-penn "themselves".

UNANVET ORD NUM "first" (in compound numbers). See KENTAN.

UNNEK CD NUM "eleven".

VA PSS AJ "my". Also O PRO "me" before P PCP, IMV, INF. PSS PRO formed by addition of hini (SG), re (PL): va hini "mine". See MA PSS AJ.

VAK AJ "vacant, free; idle".

VAKANSOU PL "holidays". Note e vakañsoù "on holiday".

'VAT - see ERVAT.

VERTUZ N F; PL vertuziòu "virtue".

-VET ORD SFX (-y- lost in navet "ninth", optionally in pemp(v)et).

-VEZH N SFX denoting periods/moments of time. Draws attention to length/activity. Does not change the gender of the base noun.

VI N M; PL viòu "egg".

VIJIL N M; PL vijilòu "fast-day".

WAR PRP "on". Note war a gomze "according to what he/she said" (perhaps a collapsed REL construction).

WARC'HOAZH AV "tomorrow". The initial w- may be lost.

WAR-C'HORRE AV/PRP "on the top (of)". PRS forms have an inserted PSS AJ. Associated AV: diwar-c'horre, dre war c'horre. The root noun is gorre N M; PL gorreòu "surface, top".

WAR-DRO PRP "(round) about". PRS forms have an inserted PSS AJ. Note ober war-dro "(to) look after". See OBER.

WAR-DU (E) PRP "towards". The PRS forms provided by postposed E (see). Sometimes war-zu.

WAR-EEUN AV "straight; right ahead".

WAR-GIZ AV/PRP "back(wards)". Note mont war e giz "(to) retrace his steps" (note the PRS form with inserted PSS AJ).

WAR-GIL AV "backwards". Note kil N M "back". Also kilañ V "(to) move back". RDC kil. A synonym is kizañ, RDC kiz. See WAR-GIZ.

WAR-LAEZ AV "above; upstairs". Associated word: eus al laez.

WARLENE AV "last year".

WARLERC'H AV/PRP "after, behind". The PRS forms are provided by an inserted PSS AJ, and provide those of GOUDE "after" too (see). Associated words: a-ziwar-lerc'h, (dre) war-lerc'h.

WARN- infix for NUM 21-29, e.g. tri warn-ugent "twenty-three".

WAR UN DRO AV "at the same time". See TREIN. Tro N F; PL troioù "turn; walk".

WELL-WAZH(IK) AV "on the average; all things equal".

YA AV "yes".

YAC'H AJ "healthy". Note yac'haat V "(to) be (getting) healthy". RDC yac'ha.

YALC'H N F; PL yilc'hier "purse".

YAOU N M "Thursday". Note diriaou AV "last/next Thursday".

YAOUANK AJ "young". Note yaouankiz N F "youth". The PL form yaouankizoù means "young people". Also yaouankaat V "(to) grow younger". RDC yaouanka.

YAR N F; PL yer "hen".

YEC'HED N M; (PL yec'hedoù) "health". The PL form is used as an interjection meaning "Everyone's health!".

YENIEN, YENIJENN N F "(the) cold (weather)". Also yen AJ "cold".

YEZH N F; PL yezhoù "language".

YEZHADUR N M; PL yezhadurioù "grammar".

YUD N M; PL yudòu "howling". Note yudal V "(to) howl, roar, yell".  
RDC yud.

YUD AJ "treacherous".

YUN N M; PL "fast(ing)". Note war yun AV "fasting". Also yunañ V  
"(to) fast". RDC yun.

ZEDACHEG N M "Zedacheg" (the orthography, KLTGw, using zh to  
denote, very roughly, where KLT has [z] and Gw [h]).

ZERO N M; PL zeroioù "zero".

ZINK N M "zinc".

'ZO AV "ago" (postposed to time noun or expression).

ZOKEN AV "even". Also zoken ma + MX CNJ "even if".

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The list has been split into seven sections; as usual, there is some inevitable overlapping, but endeavours have been made to reduce this as much as possible and to make cross-references. There is no attempt at completeness or at representation only of the "best" works; some works of fundamental importance will be soon enough come across by the serious student, or will be already known.

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Useful linguistic articles appear regularly. Note the following issues: Nos.58 (4/1968), 63 (1/1970), 69-70 & 73-4 (2/1972; F. Kervella's Méthode nouvelle de breton, see Courses below), 99 (supplement, 2/1975; Per Denez on the orthography), 111 (3/1976; Yann Desbordes's Notennoù Yezhadur "Grammatical Notes"), 119 (1978; discussion of Desbordes in No.111 by Kervella, Urien, and Desbordes); 124 (1979), 126 (1980; study of the dual by Denez and Urien), 130 (1980; Denez on phonology), 151 (1983; Denez on the impersonal), 152 (1983; Denez on the preposition to render "in", Stephens on the particles o and en ur), 153 (1984) and 154-5 (1984).

Humphreys, H.Ll.

- 1972 "Les sonantes fortes dans le parler haut-cornouaillais de Bothoa (Saint-Nicolas-du-Pélem, Côtes-du-Nord)", Etudes Celtiques XIII: 1, pp.259-74.

Humphreys, H.Ll.

- 1978 Le Breton de Bothoa, Sonskrivadeg Vroadel Breizh (Dastum: Plougastel-Daoulas).

Jackson, K.

- 1967 A Historical Phonology of Breton (DIAS: Dublin). (Fundamental study of Breton.) \*

Kremnitz, G.

- 1974 Versuche zur Kodifizierung des Okzitanischen seit dem 19. Jh. und ihre Annahme durch die Sprecher (Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik (Bd. 48): Tübingen).

Le Gléau, R.

- 1973 Syntaxe du breton moderne. 1710-1972 (La Baule).  
(A good treatment of modern Breton syntax.)

Le Roux, P.

- 1924-63 Atlas linguistique de la Basse Bretagne, Fasc.1-6 (Plihon and Homy: Rennes, E. Champion: Paris). (A new atlas has been planned by J. Le Du.)

Le Roux, R.

- 1930 Le Verbe breton (Imprimeries réunies: Rennes).

Loth, J.

- 1890 Chrestomathie bretonne (armoricain, gallois, cornique),  
1. partie. (Bouillon: Paris).

Merser, A.

- 1980 Les Graphies du breton. (étude succincte) (Brest).  
(No.15 in the Series Ar Helenner (OU).)

Merser, A.

- 1981 Précis de prononciation du breton (Brest) (No.25 in the Series Ar Helenner (OU).)

Morvannou, F.

- 1980 "Bretagne: dans un champ de ruines culturelles, un peuple en marche", Nationalia V. Quartes del Centre Internacional per a les Minories Etniques i Nacionals (Abadia de Montserrat): pp.126-87.

Philippaki-Warburton, I.

- 1985 "Word Order in Modern Greek", Transactions of the Philological Society 1985 (Basil Blackwell: Oxford): pp.113-43.

Radford, A.

- 1981 Transformational Syntax. A Student's Guide to Chomsky's Extended Standard Theory (CUP: Cambridge).

Rappaport, G.C.

- 1984 Grammatical Functions and Syntactic Structure: The Adverbial Participle of Russian (Slavica: Columbus, Ohio).

Shopen, T. (ed.), Language Typology and Syntactic Description.

- 1985 I. Clause Structure, II. Complex Constructions, III. Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon (CUP: Cambridge). (Useful overall view; some references to Breton by S.R. Anderson in III.)

Sommerfelt, A.

- 1920 Le Breton parlé à Saint-Pol-de-Léon (Rennes). (new edition prepared by F. Falc'hun and Magne Oftedal, Oslo - Bergen - Tromsø, 1978). (Excellent study of a dialect of Breton rather different from that examined by Falc'hun.)

Stephens, J.

- 1982 Word Order in Breton (Doctoral Thesis, SOAS, University of London: London). (A valuable study of Breton element element order.) \*

Ternes, E.

- 1970 Grammaire structurale du breton de l'île de Groix (Carl Winter: Heidelberg).

Trepos, P.

- 1957 Le Pluriel breton (Brest). (A thorough, seminal study; also Rennes, 1956, Annales de Bretagne, t.63, no.2.)

Urien, J.-Y.

- 1982 Le Schème syntaxique et sa marque. Application au breton contemporain, I-III (Doctoral Thesis, University of Haute-Bretagne: Rennes). (An abundantly documented syntactic study of the Breton of the Saint-Pol-de-Léon region.) \*

### 3. Grammars

Desbordes, Y.

- 1983 Petite grammaire du breton moderne (Hor Yezh: Lesneven, 1983. (A sound introductory grammar.)

Guillevic, A. and P. Le Goff

- 1912 Grammaire bretonne du dialecte de Vannes, 2nd edition (Lafolye: Vannes).

Hardie, D.W.F., PhD

- 1948 A Handbook of Modern Breton (Armorican) (University of Wales Press: Cardiff). (Fascinating reading, though now dated.)

Hemon, R.

- 1940- Grammaire bretonne, many editions (Al Liamm: Brest). (Very useful, succinct and to the point, though weak on pronunciation.)

Hemon, R.

- 1979 Yezhadur berr ar brezhoneg "The Short Grammar of Breton" (Al Liamm: Brest). (A simple outline, very handy.)

Herrieu, M.

1979 Le Breton parlé, (Rennes). (Gw, not KLT.)

Kervella, F.

1947-76 Yezhadur bras ar brezhoneg "The Great Grammar of Breton" (Al Liamm: Brest). (An essential description of the standard language, with some attention paid also to the dialects.)

Le Clerc, L.

1911 Grammaire bretonne du dialecte de Tréguier, 2nd edition (Prud'homme: Saint-Brieuc). (Though a description of T, an extremely useful work, particularly in the syntax.)

Merser, A.

1979 Précis de grammaire bretonne (Brest). (No.10 in the Series Ar Helenner (QU).)

Lewis, H. and H. Pedersen

1937 A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht: Göttingen).

Pedersen, H.

1909-13 Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht: Göttingen).

Trepos, P.

1980 Grammaire bretonne, 2nd printing (Ouest-France: Rennes. (QU orthography; tragically posthumous, a work so far surpassed only by Kervella 1947/76.)

## 4. Dictionaries

Delaporte, R.

- 1979 Elementary Breton-English Dictionary (Cork University Press: Cork). (A very useful 6500-word dictionary.)

Denez, P.

- 1980-4 Geriadur brezhoneg Douarnenez "Dictionary of the Breton of Douarnenez" (Hor Yezh: Lesneven). (Three parts of this dictionary published so far.)

Ernault, E.

- 1984 Geriadurig brezoneg-galleg "Little Breton-French Dictionary" (Brud Nevez: Brest). (A second impression of this dictionary.)

Gadored, G.

- 1984 Geriadur bihan brezhonek-gallek (Hor Yezh: Lesneven). (Based on F. Kervella's basic vocabulary of Breton as given in Hor Yezh in 1969; about 3000 words.)

Gros, J.

- 1977 Le Trésor du breton parlé (Eléments de stylistique trégorroise). Deuxième partie. Dictionnaire breton-français des expressions figurées, 2nd edition (Giraudon: Lannion). (QU ; a rich collection of Breton expressions, of considerable general linguistic value.)

Gros, J.

- 1982 Le Trésor du breton parlé (Eléments de stylistique trégorroise). Première partie. Le langage figuré, 3rd edition (Emgleo Breiz - Brud Nevez: Brest). (QU orthography; the syntax-cum-vocabulary approach.)

Gros, J.

- 1984 Le style populaire, 2nd edition (Emgleo Breizh - Brud Nevez: Brest).

Hemon, R.

- 1947- Dictionnaire francais-breton, many editions (Al Liamm: Brest). (The standard learner's dictionary.)

Hemon, R.

- 1958- Geriadur istorel as brezhoneg "Historical Dictionary of Breton"(Al Liamm - Preder: Rennes).

Hemon, R.

- 1978 Nouveau dictionnaire breton-francais, 6th edition (Al Liamm: Brest). (The standard learner's dictionary, as for the last but one entry above.)

Le Gléau, R.

- 1983-4 Dictionnaire classique francais-breton. Tomes I-II (Al Liamm: Brest). (What promises to be a very useful dictionary, listing the various Breton equivalents of French verbs and following the list with literary examples.)

Ollivier, O.

- 1980 Geriadur ar brezhoneg arnevez "Dictionary of Modern Breton" (Imbourc'h: Rennes). (Basically one-to-one equivalents with minimal grammatical information.)

Vallée, F.

- 1980 Grand dictionnaire francais-breton suivi du "Supplément". avec le concours de E. Ernault et R. Le Roux, 2nd edition (Association bretonne de culture: Gronwel). (KLT orthography; still the basic reference dictionary.)

## 5. Course Books

Abalan, Y.E.

- 1985 Poelladennoù Herve ha Nora "Herve and Nora Exercises" (Skol: Saint-Brieuc). (more than 800 written and oral exercises for Ar C'halvez 1979, 1981 given in this section below).

Ar C'halvez, A.

- 1958 Kontadennoù kozh ha nevez "Tales Old and New" (Skol 1, New Series: Ploueg-Ar-Mor). (For us a classic, full of real Breton; primitive presentation, reflecting the problems of the times, but worth using; not for beginners.)

Ar C'halvez, A.

- 1979 Herve ha Nora. Levr kentañ. Manuel de breton modern "Herve and Nora. Book 1", new edition prepared by Yann Desbordes and Yann-Erwan Abalan (Skol: Saint-Brieuc). (Fine new edition of a classic introduction.)

Ar C'halvez, A.

- 1981 Herve ha Nora. Eil Levr. Manuel de breton moderne "Herve and Nora. Book 2", new edition prepared by Yann Desbordes and Yann-Erwan Abalan (Skol: Saint-Brieuc). (Continuation and end of the preceding entry.)

Denez, P.

- 1972- Brezhoneg... Buan Hag Aes "Breton... Quickly and Easily" (Omnivox: Paris). (Perhaps the most widely used course nowadays; may be supplemented by slides, cassettes, a book of exercises, and a book of practice in the language; there is an English adaptation by R. Delaporte, Cork University Press: Cork, 1977-.)

Hemon, R.

Cours élémentaire de breton (numerous editions) (Al Liamm: Brest). (Traditionally one's first course; dated, perhaps, and with an unfortunate choice of certain texts in earlier editions. But full of sound sense.)

Kervella, F.

1966 Skol an trec'h kentañ "School of the First Victory" (OBER: Saint-Brieuc). (An advanced course, based on comprehension passages, grammar and essay-writing.)

Kervella, F.

1984 Méthode nouvelle de breton. Hent nevez d'ar brezhoneg (Ouest-France: Rennes). (the work of an almost uniquely perceptive observer, user, and grammarian of the language; the phonetic transcriptions are very welcome. An up-date of the course as presented in Hor Yezh, Nos.69-70, 1971 and Nos.73-4, 1972.)

Lanig ha Nolwenn "Lanig and Nolwenn" (two books so far)

1984 No.1 in the Series Nevez-hañv "Spring" (Université de  
1986 Haute-Bretagne: Rennes). (Based on a strip cartoon, this is a lively introduction to the language for the teenage or older learner.)

Le Du, J. and Yves Le Berre

1978 Ar brezoneg dre zelled, kleved, komz ha lenn. Méthode audio-visuelle de langue bretonne "Breton through Looking, Hearing, Speaking and Reading", second edition (Université de Bretagne Occidentale: Brest). (A complete and very good course, using the QU orthography; there is a course book, a set of exercises, a teacher's book, and a set of drawings.)

Ober (Gwaremm Leurvenn: Plufur)

(See the final section; Ober has prepared some useful reference materials, including a disc for reviewing the mutations, and notes on the conjugation of the verb, on the history of the language, and on vocabulary: the garden, vegetables, fish.)

Seïté, V.

1976 Le Breton par l'image, several editions (Emgleo Breiz: Quimper).(OU orthography; a simple and useful course designed for children.)

Tricoire, Dr. J.

1955- Komzom, lennom ha skrivom brezoneg. 1-2 (Emgleo Breiz: Rennes - Brest). (OU orthography; this may be almost the best of all the Breton courses that we have used. There are excellent recordings. A slight bias towards K.)

## 6. Readers

Just a selection of some of the readers which are becoming available in the drive to provide teachers with simple reading materials.

Denez, P.

1971 Kentelioù brezhonek (eil derez) "Breton Lessons (Level 2)" (Al Liamm: Brest). (Used by OBER for their second level, and in other contexts; a good selection of literary extracts, plus lexical and grammatical explanation, and exercises.)

Denez, P.

1971 40 pennad-lenn evit ar skolioù. (Baccalauréat) "40 Reading Passages for Schools (Baccalauréat)" (Al Liamm: Brest). (Passages, with no accompanying explanation;

however, in No.84, 1973 of the journal Hor Yezh there are exercises to accompany the reader.)

Denez, P.

1980 Skridoù brezhonek (Hor Yezh: Lesneven). (Like the preceding entry, but without exercises.)

Pennadoù brezhonek evit ar skolioù "Breton Texts for Schools"

1984 No.2 in the Series Nevez-hañv "Spring" (Centre Régional de Documentation Pédagogique: Rennes). (A good selection, some of the texts rather testing; with short vocabularies.)

## 7. Periodical Publications and Organizations

The simplest step is to consult the Diary produced each year by Skol an Emsav, 8 straed Hoche, 35000 Roazhon/Rennes. This diary contains many addresses and much valuable general information.

The following simply gives some names and addresses to assist in first steps.

Al Lanv: 8, straed Ile-de-Batz, 29000 Kemper (Quimper). An engaged, socialist magazine.

Al Liamm: Yann-Ber d'Haese, Pont-Keryau, 29190 Pleiben (Pleyben). The major cultural magazine. Also a major publisher, for details of which the address is Mlle Queillé, 47, rue Notre-Dame, 22200 Gwengamp (Guingamp).

Bremañ: Skol an Emsav, 8 straed Hoche, 35000 Roazhon (Rennes). The nearest thing Breton has to a newspaper.

Brud Nevez: A. Merser, 6 ru Beaumarchais, 29200 Brest. OU. A useful journal.

Evid ar Brezhoneg: BP 93, 22202 Gwengamp (Guingamp). A popular

magazine with help in French between the lines.

Hor Yezh: Yann Desbordes, 1, plasenn, Charles Peguy, 29260 Lesneven. An indispensable magazine devoted to all aspects of the language. Also a major publisher, in which connection enquiries should be addressed to Tereza Desbordes.

Imbourc'h: 7, Bd A. Burloud, 35000 Roazhon (Rennes). A frequently interesting journal, catering particularly for Roman Catholic readers.

Preder: Penn Menez, Ploveilh, 29000 Kemper (Quimper). A major academic publisher.

Skol: Yola Chariou, 16, straed Berlioz, 22000 Sant-Brieg (St-Brieuc). An occasional publisher of scholarly works and of easy and/or entertaining Breton-language texts, e.g., simple stories by Roparz Hemon, an adventure story by children by Garmenig Ihuellou.

Skol Vreizh: 6, straed Hir, 29210 Montroulez (Morlaix). An important organization and sometime publisher.

Skrid: Gwendal Denez, Ri, Ploare, 29100 Douarnenez. A regular selection of literary work by young writers, often from the Celtic Department of Rennes II University, but also including translations and newly-discovered works by famous writers.

Other titles to be noted include An Here, Ar Falz, An Had, Cholori, Dihun, Planedenn.

For more information concerning the four levels of correspondence courses offered by Skol OBER, the address is: Gwaremm Leurven, Plufur, 22310 Plestin-les-Grèves.

There are several bookshops, of which one might mention the following:

- 1) Gwalarn, 15, rue des Chapeliers, 22300 Lannuon (Lannion).
- 2) Breiz(h), 9, avenue Général-de-Gaulle, 44500 La Baule; 17, rue de Penhoët, 35000 Rennes; 10, rue de Maine, 75014 Paris.
- 3) Kornog, Straed ar Vur, 29210 Montroulez (Morlaix).
- 4) Diffusion Breizh, 4, straed Gourin, 29135, Spezed.
- 5) Ar Bed Keltiek, 2, straed ar Roue Gradlon, 29000 Kemper (Quimper).
- 6) Librairie de Marchallac'h, 21, rue Compagnie Roger Barbe, 22300 Lannuon (Lannion).
- 7) Ar Bed Keltiek, plasenn Guerin, 29200 Brest.

## Thematic Index

The Thematic Index aims only to supplement the Contents and the Appendices by drawing attention, on the whole, to significant themes touched on in subsections not explicitly devoted to them. Reference is, nonetheless, by subsections rather than by pages, with the Chapter number or Appendix letter preposed.

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Articles, 2.4.2.1, 3.3.

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