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Phrasal verbs in Welsh in relation to the  
Welsh linguistic norm and contact with  
English

Czasowniki frazowe w języku walijskim  
w odniesieniu do walijskiej normy  
językowej i kontaktu z językiem  
angielskim

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pod kierunkiem prof. UAM dr. hab. Michaela Hornsby'ego

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**Ja, niżej podpisana**

Marta Listewnik

**przedkładam rozprawę doktorską**

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---

**na Uniwersytecie im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu**

**i oświadczam,**

**że napisałam ją samodzielnie.**

Oznacza to, że przy pisaniu pracy, poza niezbędnymi konsultacjami, nie korzystałam z pomocy innych osób, a w szczególności nie zlecałam opracowania rozprawy lub jej istotnych części innym osobom, ani nie odpisywałam tej rozprawy lub jej istotnych części od innych osób.

Jednocześnie przyjmuję do wiadomości, że gdyby powyższe oświadczenie okazało się nieprawdziwe, decyzja o wydaniu mi dyplomu zostanie cofnięta.

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## Table of contents

<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS OF DICTIONARIES AND CORPORA.....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<i>Phrasal Verbs in Welsh – the present and past .....</i>	18
<i>Phrasal verbs as a language contact feature.....</i>	23
<i>Aims of the research and research questions. ....</i>	25
<i>Structure of the thesis .....</i>	27
<i>Practical implications of the research.....</i>	28
<b>CHAPTER 1 : MODERN WELSH IN CONTACT WITH ENGLISH – PERSPECTIVES, IDEOLOGIES AND ISSUES OF STANDARDISATION .....</b>	<b>30</b>
INTRODUCTION .....	30
1.1. THE CURRENT SITUATION OF WELSH .....	31
1.1.1. <i>Welsh between 1900 and present – an overview .....</i>	31
1.1.2. <i>Changes in the linguistic landscape .....</i>	35
1.2. STANDARD WELSH – LINGUISTIC NORM(S)?.....	39
1.2.1. <i>Language ideologies, attitudes and issues of standardisation .....</i>	40

1.2.1.1. Ideologies and attitudes .....	40
1.2.1.2. Ideologies of standardisation .....	44
1.2.2. <i>Standard and minority languages</i> .....	48
1.2.3. <i>Registers of Welsh – typologies</i> .....	52
1.2.4. <i>Written standard</i> .....	55
1.2.4.1. Literary Welsh .....	56
1.2.4.2. Official Welsh and semi-formal varieties .....	61
1.2.5. <i>Spoken Standard</i> .....	66
1.2.5.1. Conservative spoken standard – “pulpit” Welsh .....	67
1.2.5.2. <i>Cymraeg Byw</i> .....	68
1.2.5.3. Broadcast Welsh .....	69
1.2.6. <i>Lexical planning – dictionaries and terminology</i> .....	73
1.2.6.1. <i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i> .....	74
1.2.6.2. <i>Geiriadur yr Academi</i> .....	75
1.2.6.3. Other online dictionaries.....	76
1.2.6.4. General printed dictionaries.....	78
1.2.6.5. Terminology dictionaries.....	79
1.2.7. <i>Standard and non-standard – further remarks</i> .....	80
1.3. WELSH AND ENGLISH IN CONTACT – THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON WELSH .....	85
1.3.1. <i>Language contact, language change and transfer</i> .....	86
1.3.1.1. Language contact .....	86
1.3.1.2. Contact-induced change and lexical transfer .....	88
1.3.1.3. Borrowing and its integration .....	90
1.3.1.4. Classification of borrowings .....	92
1.3.1.5. Borrowing vs code-switching .....	94
1.3.2. <i>English borrowings in Welsh – literature review</i> .....	96
1.3.3. <i>Ideological stances towards borrowing from English – an overview</i> .....	99
1.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS .....	104
1.5. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE PRESENT STUDY .....	107
<b>CHAPTER 2 : PHRASAL VERBS IN WELSH – CROSS-LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND AND SYNCHRONIC DESCRIPTION .....</b>	<b>110</b>
INTRODUCTION .....	110

2.1. PHRASAL VERBS IN ENGLISH LINGUISTICS – AN OVERVIEW.....	111
2.1.1. <i>Definitions</i> .....	112
2.1.2. <i>Popular notions about phrasal verbs</i> .....	113
2.1.2.1. <i>Informality</i> .....	113
2.1.2.2. <i>Replaceability by a single item</i> .....	114
2.1.2.3. <i>Idiosyncrasy</i> .....	115
2.2. PHRASAL VERBS IN LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATIONS – EVIDENCE FROM OTHER LANGUAGES .....	117
2.2.1. <i>Phrasal verbs in other languages in contact with English</i> .....	117
2.2.2. <i>Phrasal verbs in other Celtic languages</i> .....	118
2.3. PHRASAL VERBS IN WELSH LINGUISTICS .....	121
2.3.1. <i>Fowkes 1945</i> .....	121
2.3.2. <i>M. Jones (1979) and A. Thomas (1987)</i> .....	122
2.3.3. <i>P.W. Thomas 1996</i> .....	123
2.3.4. <i>Heinz 2003 and Asmus and Williams 2014</i> .....	126
2.3.5. <i>Rottet 2000 and 2005</i> .....	127
2.3.6. <i>Hirata 2012</i> .....	130
2.3.7. <i>Other studies</i> .....	131
2.3.8. <i>Summary of literature on PVs in Welsh</i> .....	132
2.4. PHRASAL VERBS IN THE PRESENT STUDY .....	133
2.4.1. <i>Definition and characteristics of phrasal verbs in Welsh</i> .....	134
2.4.2. <i>Semantic classification – Idiomaticity</i> .....	137
2.4.2.1. <i>Criteria for distinguishing between compositional and idiomatic phrasal verbs</i> .....	141
2.4.3. <i>Syntactic classification of phrasal verbs</i> .....	144
2.4.3.1. <i>Adverbial phrasal verbs</i> .....	144
2.4.3.2. <i>Phrasal prepositional verbs</i> .....	145
2.4.3.3. <i>Prepositional verbs</i> .....	146
2.4.4. <i>Language contact classification</i> .....	147
2.4.5. <i>Scope and focus of the present study</i> .....	148
<b>CHAPTER 3 : PHRASAL VERBS IN WELSH – A CORPUS STUDY .....</b>	<b>150</b>
3.1. <b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>150</b>

3.1.1. <i>Aims of the study</i> .....	151
3.1.2. <i>Scope of the research</i> .....	151
3.2. ANALYSIS OF THE CORPUS .....	152
3.2.1. <i>The corpus</i> .....	152
3.2.2. <i>Methods</i> .....	154
3.2.3. <i>Quantitative analysis – results</i> .....	156
3.2.3.1. Verbs and particles.....	156
3.2.3.2. Frequency count.....	159
3.2.3.3. Syntactic categories .....	160
3.2.3.4. Language contact categories and mode of narration .....	164
3.2.4. <i>Stylistic markedness</i> .....	170
3.2.4.1. Fiction .....	170
3.2.4.2. Press .....	175
3.3. CORRESPONDENCE OF MEANINGS – A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PARTICLE SEMANTICS .....	180
3.3.1. <i>A cognitive model for analysing the semantics of PV particles</i> .....	182
3.3.2. <i>The particles</i> .....	184
3.3.2.1. ALLAN and OUT .....	184
3.3.2.2. I FYNY and UP .....	187
3.3.2.3. YMLAEN, RHAGDDO, AR and ON .....	189
3.3.2.4. I LAWR and DOWN .....	192
3.3.2.5. I MEWN, I MEWN I and IN, INTO.....	193
3.3.2.6. YN ÔL and BACK .....	195
3.3.2.7. I FFWRDD, YMAITH, OFF, ODDI AR and AWAY, OFF.....	195
3.3.2.8. HEIBIO and BY, ASIDE.....	197
3.3.2.9. O GWMPAS, ROWND and (A)ROUND .....	198
3.3.2.10. DRAW, DROS, DROSODD, and OVER, FOR, AWAY .....	199
3.3.2.11. DRWODD, TRWY and THROUGH .....	202
3.3.2.12. AR DRAWS and ACROSS .....	203
3.3.2.13. AR ÔL and AFTER .....	204
3.3.2.14. Other prepositional particles .....	205
3.4. CORPUS STUDY – SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION .....	206
3.5. CONCLUSIONS .....	212

**CHAPTER 4 : PHRASAL VERBS IN WELSH DICTIONARIES AND TEACHING MATERIALS ..... 213**

4.1. INTRODUCTION .....	213
4.2. TEACHING MATERIALS AND COURSES .....	214
4.2.1. <i>Analysis</i> .....	214
4.2.2. <i>Summary of findings</i> .....	221
4.3. BOOKS AND DICTIONARIES OF IDIOMS .....	223
4.4. <i>CYSILL</i> .....	225
4.5. DICTIONARIES – CASE STUDIES .....	226
4.5.1. <i>Edrych ymlaen</i> .....	229
4.5.2. <i>PVs with ymlaen conveying progress</i> .....	230
4.5.3. <i>Other construction with ymlaen: dod ymlaen, bod ymlaen, rhoi ymlaen...</i>	232
4.5.4. <i>Edrych ar ôl</i> .....	233
4.5.5. <i>Native PPs: torri ar draws, dod ar draws and taro ar</i> .....	234
4.5.6. <i>Mynd heibio</i> .....	235
4.5.7. <i>Semi-idiomatic PVs: dod draw, edrych yn ôl, mynd allan gyda, torri i mewn</i> .....	235
4.5.8. <i>Pleonastic PVs: eistedd i lawr, tyfu i fyny and torri i lawr</i> .....	236
4.5.9. <i>Calques and loanblends: troi i fyny, sortio allan, ffeindio allan</i> .....	237
4.5.10. <i>Summary of the findings</i> .....	238
4.6. CONCLUSIONS .....	239

**CHAPTER 5 : THE ACCEPTABILITY OF PHRASAL VERBS AMONG PROFESSIONAL SPEAKERS OF WELSH – A FIELD STUDY ..... 242**

5.1. INTRODUCTION .....	242
5.2. STUDY BACKGROUND .....	244
5.2.1. <i>Lexical acceptability</i> .....	244
5.2.2. <i>Previous research</i> .....	244
5.2.3. <i>Ideologies of standardisation</i> .....	246
5.3. STUDY DESIGN .....	248
5.3.1. <i>Aims of the study</i> .....	249
5.3.2. <i>Research hypotheses</i> .....	249
5.3.3. <i>The sample</i> .....	250



5.3.4. <i>Methods</i> .....	253
5.3.4.1. The procedure .....	254
5.3.4.2. Questionnaire A (Aim 1) .....	255
5.3.4.3. Questionnaire part B (Aim 2) .....	257
5.3.4.4. Personal questionnaire and interviews (Aim 3).....	259
5.3.5. <i>Qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study</i> .....	260
5.4. RESULTS .....	261
5.4.1. <i>The profile of the professional speakers</i> .....	261
5.4.1.1. Extralinguistic data .....	261
5.4.1.2. Use of Welsh in daily life .....	265
5.4.1.3. Reading, writing and use of Welsh-language media .....	266
5.4.1.4. Speakers' perceived competence and confidence.....	267
5.4.1.1. Use of dictionaries and software.....	269
5.4.1.2. Use of borrowings.....	271
5.4.1.3. Summary of data .....	274
5.4.2. <i>Questionnaire Part A</i> .....	275
5.4.3. <i>Questionnaire Part B</i> .....	291
5.4.3.1. Results.....	291
5.4.3.2. Extralinguistic variables – statistical analysis .....	298
5.4.4. <i>Interview data</i> .....	308
5.4.4.1. Acceptability and usefulness of borrowings .....	308
5.4.4.2. Ideologies of purism .....	316
5.4.4.3. The influence of English on Welsh vocabulary and structures .....	322
5.4.4.4. Speakers' views on phrasal verbs in Welsh.....	325
5.4.4.5. Views on standard Welsh .....	330
5.5. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS .....	336
5.6. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	343
5.7. CONCLUSIONS .....	344
<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>347</b>
WELSH PHRASAL VERBS – GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.....	348
<i>Definition and categorisation</i> .....	348
<i>Transparent vs. idiomatic</i> .....	349

<i>Native vs. borrowed idiomatic phrasal verbs</i> .....	349
<i>Classification of transferred phrasal verbs</i> .....	350
<i>Productivity</i> .....	351
<i>Transitivity</i> .....	352
<i>Stylistic properties and acceptability</i> .....	353
<i>Phrasal verbs and linguistic norms and ideologies</i> .....	355
LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY .....	358
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH .....	360
PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINDINGS .....	361
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	363
<b>STRESZCZENIE</b> .....	365
<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	368
<b>APPENDIX A – THE CORPUS</b> .....	396
<b>APPENDIX B – THE QUESTIONNAIRE</b> .....	398
<b>APPENDIX C – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE</b> .....	404

## List of tables

Table 1. Varieties of Welsh - typologies .....	55
Table 2. Morphological variation of the preposition trwy ‘through’, after Jones (2013: 210). .....	136
Table 3. Dialectal variants of PV particles in Welsh.....	136
Table 4. Dialectal or colloquial variants of particles and their frequencies in the corpus. ....	155
Table 5. First recorded uses of borrowed verbs constituting PVs in the corpus according to GPC.....	156
Table 6. The most productive verbs in the corpus.....	157
Table 7. Particles constituting PVs in the corpus and their frequencies.....	158
Table 8. The 23 most frequent PVs in the corpus.....	159
Table 9. The syntactic distribution of verb-particle constructions. ....	160
Table 10. The distribution of PVs in the corpus according to language contact categorisation. ....	164
Table 11. The distribution of PVs in narrative and conversation, according to language contact categories.....	165
Table 12. Examples of native APVs and PPVs in the corpus.....	166
Table 13. Prepositional PVs (PPs) in the corpus classified as native items or loan renditions.....	168
Table 14. Pleonastic PVs in the corpus.....	169
Table 15. Number of PVs per 1000 words in novels.....	170
Table 16. Proportion of PVs used in dialogues in the analysed novels.....	171

Table 17. Frequency and distribution of PVs in the press sample.....	175
Table 18. Number and percentage of the most frequent PV in the corpus included in Welsh dictionaries.....	228
Table 19. The representation of selected PVs in dictionaries of Welsh. ....	228
Table 20. Geographical distribution of speakers according to their place of residence. .....	264
Table 21. Speakers' use of Welsh and English in daily life. ....	265
Table 22. Declared readership and the use of Welsh media among the participants. ..	267
Table 23. Dictionaries of Welsh and other tools used by the informants. ....	270
Table 24. Percentage of speakers accepting the selected lexical items in Part A of the questionnaire. ....	275
Table 25. Percentage of speakers accepting PVs and alternative expressions in Part A of the questionnaire in descending order.....	289
Table 26. Part B – perceived acceptability of selected PVs in different registers .....	292
Table 27. Sentences in the questionnaire containing <i>torri i lawr</i> 'break down'.....	292
Table 28. Sentences in the questionnaire containing <i>troi ymlaen</i> 'turn on'. ....	293
Table 29. Sentences in the questionnaire containing <i>troi i fyny</i> 'turn up'. ....	294
Table 30. Sentences in the questionnaire containing <i>edrych ar ôl</i> 'look after'. ....	295
Table 31. Sentences in the questionnaire containing <i>rhedeg allan o</i> 'run out of'. ....	296
Table 32. Sentences in the questionnaire containing <i>ffeindio allan</i> 'find out'. ....	297
Table 33. The results of student's t-test for differences between sexes in Register 4 and total score with normal distribution. ....	299
Table 34. The results of the Mann-Whitney U test for differences between sexes for Registers 1, 2 and 3 with non-normal distribution.....	299
Table 35. The results of Spearman's test for correlation between age and Questionnaire B scores for Registers 1-4 and the total score.....	300
Table 36. The results of student's t-test for differences between speakers with secondary and higher education in the total score.....	300
Table 37. The results of the Mann-Whitney U test for differences between speakers with secondary and higher education in Registers 1-4.....	301
Table 38. Acceptability of PVs in Part B in spoken registers with regard to speakers' level of education. ....	302

Table 39. Acceptability of PVs in Part B in written registers with regard to speakers' level of education.....	303
Table 40. The results of Part B for Groups B and L compared with the mean. ....	304
Table 41. The results of student's t-test for differences between Groups B and L for the total score and R2.....	304
Table 42. The results of the Mann-Whitney U test for differences between Groups B and L for R1, R3 and R4 with non-normal distribution.....	305

## List of figures

Figure 1. Exchangeability of verb and particle in English PVs (after Thim 2012: 14)	139
Figure 2. Exchangeability of verb and particle in Welsh PVs.....	139
Figure 3. Network of meanings of OUT according to Rudzka-Ostyn (2003:41).....	184
Figure 4. Network of meanings of UP according to Rudzka-Ostyn (2003: 103).....	187
Figure 5. Age of the speakers. ....	262
Figure 6. Geographical distribution of the participants according to their place of residence.....	263
Figure 7. Answers to the question “Does it happen that you cannot think of a Welsh word you need?”.....	269
Figure 8. Declared use of borrowings in speech and writing. ....	273
Figure 9. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 1 ( <i>dod yn ôl/dychwelyd</i> ). ....	277
Figure 10. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 10 ( <i>eistedd/eistedd i lawr</i> ). ....	278
Figure 11. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 2 ( <i>tyfu/tyfu i fyny</i> ). ....	279
Figure 12. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 6 ( <i>helpu/helpu allan/helpu mas/cynorthwyo</i> ).....	280
Figure 13. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 3 ( <i>digwydd/mynd ymlaen</i> ). ....	281
Figure 14. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 4 ( <i>darganfod/gweithio allan/gweithio mas</i> ).....	282
Figure 15. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 11 ( <i>diffodd/ troi i ffwrdd/troi bant/troi off</i> ).....	283
Figure 16. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 7 ( <i>dysgu/ pigo i fyny/pigo lan/cael crap ar</i> ).....	284

Figure 17. The verbs chosen in Sentence 5 ( <i>disgwyl yn eiddgar, edrych ymlaen at, edrych ymlaen i</i> ).....	286
Figure 18. The verbs chosen in Sentence 12 ( <i>sefyll o'r neilltu, eistedd yn ôl</i> ).....	286
Figure 19. The verbs chosen in Sentence 9 ( <i>parhau/bwrw ymlaen/cario ymlaen</i> ).....	288
Figure 20. The verbs chosen in Sentence 8 ( <i>dod ar draws/ taro ar</i> ).....	288
Figure 21. Part B – perceived acceptability of selected PVs in different registers.....	291
Figure 22. Mean results for the total score according to education.....	301
Figure 23. Mean results for R3 scores according to education.....	302
Figure 24. Mean total score in Groups L and B.....	305
Figure 25. Percentile distribution of R1 scores for Groups B and L, .....	306
Figure 26. Percentile distribution of R3 scores for Groups B and L. ....	306

## Abbreviations of dictionaries and corpora

CS	<i>Collins Spurrell Welsh Dictionary</i>
CEG	<i>Cronfa Electroneg o Gymraeg</i> [Electronic Corpus of Welsh]
CCCC	<i>Corpws Cyfochrog Cofnod y Cynulliad</i> [Parallel Corpus of the Assembly Proceeding]
GA	<i>Geiriadur yr Academi: the Welsh Academy English-Welsh Dictionary</i>
GB	<i>Geiriadur Bangor</i>
GM	<i>Y Geiriadur Mawr</i>
GPC	<i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: a Dictionary of the Welsh Language</i>
Gom	<i>Geiriadur Cymraeg Gomer</i>
Gwe	<i>Gweiadur</i>
PMWD	<i>The Pocket Modern Welsh Dictionary</i>
TSD	<i>University of Wales Trinity Saint David Dictionary</i>
WLD	<i>The Welsh Learner's Dictionary</i>



## Introduction

The inspiration for writing this doctoral thesis came from my own experience of attending an intensive course of practical Welsh as a student at the Department of Celtic Languages and Literatures (now Centre for Celtic Studies) at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. After several years of studying the language, I became interested in idiomatic verb-particle constructions called phrasal verbs, which most advanced Polish speakers of English are familiar with and usually consider rather challenging to learn. Thinking of phrasal verbs as something unique to the English language, I was surprised to encounter the constructions also in Welsh, but soon discovered that the majority of them appeared to be word-for-word translations from English. However, what attracted my attention the most were different approaches to these constructions on the part of my Welsh teachers. Whilst native speakers of Welsh without formal education in linguistics used phrasal verbs extensively in their speech and considered them entirely natural, another teacher from outside Wales forbade the use of phrasal verbs as ‘incorrect’ calques from English. This view seemed to be supported by the fact that verb-particle constructions were not included or discussed in Welsh dictionaries, grammars and materials for learners available to me at the time. Yet, the ubiquity of Welsh phrasal verbs appearing not only in spoken language, but also in written texts, stood in sharp contrast with a universal prescriptive rule against the use of these constructions and called for a more critical investigation.

This personal experience prompted me to ask questions on the status of phrasal verbs in modern Welsh and investigate whether the linguistic norm I encountered as a learner is indeed reflected in the standard language used today. These questions appear valid both from a theoretical perspective of Welsh linguistics, and from a practical point of view of language teaching.

Before outlining the aims and structure of the thesis, I believe it worthwhile to present the reader with some illustrative examples of the use of phrasal verbs in Welsh, as well as opinions of them voiced recently and in the past. This will help contextualise the investigated issues and delineate tensions between the linguistic norm and the usage of phrasal verbs in modern Welsh.

To begin with the term ‘phrasal verb’ itself, it should be noted that it has been defined in a multitude of ways, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2 of the thesis. For the purpose of this introduction, phrasal verbs are defined as combinations of a verb and a particle – an adverb, preposition, or both – which form a single unit in speakers’ minds. Consequently, speakers associate phrasal verbs primarily with idiomatic constructions rather than transparent phrases pertaining to movement in space (see 2.1.1.). Since my research is going to focus on idiomatic phrasal verbs in Welsh as a phenomenon of language contact, the examples in the present section also belong to the category of idiomatic constructions.

As phrasal verbs are extremely widespread in the spoken Welsh of today, they are easily encountered outside of their natural occurrence, such as in scripted talk. Here, the chosen example is from a single episode of a popular Welsh detective series *Y Gwyll* (Evans 2013) set in Ceredigion, Mid-Wales, a region where just below half of the population is Welsh-speaking. Despite the bilingual sociolinguistic reality, the series portrays a fictitious entirely Welsh-speaking world, given that it was produced in two language versions, Welsh and English (under the title *Hinterland*), each of which is near monolingual. Thus, in the first episode of the Welsh version the characters speak only Welsh and their language contains very few recent loanwords from English and no instances of code-switching. Yet, dialogues in the hour and a half long episode contain 20 idiomatic phrasal verbs, of which some examples are marked in bold, listed below:

- (1) *Oeddwn i'n edrych ymlaen yn fawr i gwrdd â chi.*  
‘I was **looking forward** very much **to** meet you.’
- (2) (...) *doedd o byth moyn tyfu lan.*  
‘He never wanted to **grow up**.’
- (3) *Cwympon ni mas.*

- ‘We **fell out**.’
- (4) *‘Naethoch chi **redeg allan o** baent?’*  
‘Did you **run out of** paint?’
- (5) *Roedd hi'n credu bod angen **bwrw'r** cythraul **mas** o'r plant.*  
‘She believed that you had to **drive** the devil **out** of the children.’
- (6) *Licen ni **gario ymlaen** 'da cwestiynu ac os ydy o'n **torri i lawr**...*  
‘I would like to **carry on** with interrogation and if he **breaks down** again...’
- (7) *Oedd hi'n **edrych ar** fy ôl i.*  
‘She **looked after** me’.
- (8) *Dim clem beth oedd yn **mynd ymlaen** yn y lle 'ma.*  
‘No idea what was **going on** in that house.’
- (9) *(...)fel basai'n ffeindio ei hun **neud lan am** golli Awen.*  
‘As if she wanted to **make up for** losing Awen.’
- (10) ***Dere mlaen**, Mared.*  
‘**Come on**, Mared.’

Despite the fact that authors of the script strove to make the series almost monolingual, they do not seem to avoid this type of idiomatic phrases, which appear to be word-for-word translations from English. What is also worth noting is that even such a small and random sample contains one example of a Welsh phrasal verb which is not directly translatable: *bwrw mas* ‘drive out’ (5), literally ‘strike out’. The example of the *Y Gwyll* episode leads us to two observations. Firstly, that the use of these constructions in speech is unhindered even in forcedly monolingual contexts and, secondly, that the phenomenon of phrasal verbs goes beyond the process of calquing.

The integration of idiomatic verb-particle constructions in Welsh is not a recent phenomenon, as there is abundant evidence of them used extensively in both spoken and written language well over a hundred years ago. A great number of idiomatic phrasal verbs can be found for example in one of the earliest Welsh novels, *Rhys Lewis* by Daniel Owen (1885). As noted by Hincks in his study of purism in 19th-century Wales, the language used by Daniel Owen was unhindered by ideologies of linguistic purism popular of his time; the novelist would not limit his language to the formal literary register, but reflect the speech of the Welsh countryside which was already strongly influenced by English (Hincks 2007: 63–65). Consequently, the first 200 pages of this novel contain

over 100 instances of idiomatic phrasal verbs<sup>1</sup> occurring primarily in dialogue, but also in the narrative. Among the latter, one may find the same examples which have appeared in the episode of *Y Gwyll* described above:

(11) *Rhywbryd yn y cyfnod hwn deuthum i edrych yn mlaen at ddiwrnod y cyflog (...)*  
(Owen 1885:31).

‘Sometime at that period I began to **look forward to** the pay day.’

(12) *Am oddeutu awr o amser, nid oedd yn ymddangos i mi fod dim gwaith yn myned ymlaen yn yr ysgol* (Owen 1885: 46).

‘For about an hour, it did not seem to me that any work was **going on** in the school.’

(13) *Mae swân eu clogs ar y ffordd galed (...) yn ailennyn hiraeth yn nghalon ambell weddw ieuanc, yr hon ddaw i’r drws a phlentyn ar ei braich, ac un arall yn cydio yn ei ffedog, i edrych ar eu holau, fel pe byddai hi o hyd yn disgwyl i John ddyfod yn ôl* (Owen 1885:194).

‘The sound of their clogs on the hard road (...) rekindles yearning in the heart of a young widow, the one who comes to the door with a child on her arm and another one holding to her apron, to **look after** them, as if she were still waiting for John to come back.’

While these examples provide evidence for the widespread use of phrasal verbs at the end of the nineteenth century, prescriptive ideological stances against using phrasal verbs had also existed at that time, as can be seen in the 1889 article “*Plicio gwallt yr hanner Cymry*” [Plucking off the hair of the half Welsh] by Emrys ap Iwan (1848-1906). The famous scholar criticises journalists who “publish in bad Welsh before making an effort to learn better Welsh” and use an excessive amount of English words and idioms, which turns their Welsh into “translated English” (ap Iwan 1939: 107–111)<sup>2</sup>. Ap Iwan proceeds to give lists of “slovenly” and “un-Welsh-like phrases” (*ymadroddion annestlus/anghymreigiaidd*), which include ten sentences with phrasal verbs, for example:

“*Aeth y tân allan*”, *yn lle Fe ddiffoddodd y tân. (...)*

“*Y maent bob amser yn ei rhedeg ef i lawr*”, *yn lle ... yn lladd arno (...)*

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<sup>1</sup> These estimations are derived from a preliminary corpus study conducted according to the methodology presented in Chapter 3 of the thesis. The study of the novel was, however, excluded from the final project.

<sup>2</sup> All the translations from Welsh sources are mine, ML.

“*Os try rhywbeth i fyny, dywedwch,*” *yn lle Os digwydd rhywbeth. (...)*  
“*Wedi eu llosgi i fyny,*” *yn lle Wedi eu llwyr losgi. (ap Iwan 1939: 120-122)*

“The fire went out”, instead of The fire extinguished.’  
“They always run him down”, instead of... criticise him [lit. kill on him].’  
“If something turns out, say”, instead If something happens.’  
“Having burned out”, instead of Having burned completely.’

Ap Iwan’s remarks are clearly influenced by a puristic ideology, which condemns calqued constructions as “un-Welsh”, stemming from the “laziness and carelessness” of writers (1939:108). Perceiving phrasal verbs as a threat to natural Welsh idioms, the author went as far as to deem those who use Anglicised language as “half Welsh”.

This kind of discourse can also be encountered today, for instance, in publicly made comments regarding the language used in the media. As noted by Ball and Müller the “complaint tradition” of writing to the Welsh press has been on the rise since the establishment of Welsh broadcast media (Ball and Müller 1992: 264) as a way of expressing the ideology of purism. An example worth quoting is a reader’s letter published several years ago in a Welsh-language newspaper *Y Cymro* (18 Mar. 2009):

As one who worries about the obvious deterioration in the standard of Welsh among many of our young people and in fact among some of the older ones on the media, may I have some space to list some un-Welsh and unacceptable forms, and put the native idioms in brackets, hoping that the guilty ones will pay some attention and improve!<sup>3</sup>

The reader proceeds to give this list of ten commonly used expressions, six of which are phrasal verbs, and their native equivalents in brackets:

(14) *Colli allan (ar eu colled)*

‘Miss out’

(15) *Rhedeg allan (mynd yn brin o...)*

‘Run out of’

(16) *Marw allan (darfod, crebachu/edwino/dod i ben)*

‘Die out’

(17) *Cymryd drosodd (cymryd yr awenau/achub y blaen ar..)*

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<sup>3</sup> “Fel un sy’n poeni am y dirywiad amlwg yn safon y Gymraeg ymysg llawer o’n pobl ifanc ac yn wir ymysg rhai hŷn ar y cyfryngau, a gaf ychydig o ofod i restru rhai o’r ffurfiau anghymreig ac annerbyniol, a rhoi’r priod-ddull cynhenid mewn cromfachau, yn y gobaith y bydd yr euog yn talu sylw ac yn gwella!”

‘Take over’

(18) *Ffeindio allan/mas (darganfod, dod i wybod am..)*

‘Find out’

(19) *Pethau’n edrych i fyny/lan (pethau’n argoeli’n dda)*

‘Things are looking up’

The reader concludes:

I could add a lot more, but I will keep silent for the time being by noting the latest abomination I heard on S4C News, that is *dringo i lawr* [‘climb down’] instead of *syrthio ar ei fai* [‘acknowledge his fault’, lit. ‘fall on his fault’] and that by an experienced journalist. Sad.<sup>4</sup>

This approach highly resembles the opinions of Emrys ap Iwan, in that the reader describes calqued phrasal verbs in strongly negative terms, such as “abomination”, “obvious deterioration”, “un-Welsh and unacceptable”, while people who use them are considered “guilty” of not using native Welsh idioms. Such voices are publicly raised by a small number of people and although they might not have a tangible effect on speakers’ behaviours, they are important indicators of the changing linguistic norm and sensitivity of some speakers to language contact phenomena (Ball and Müller 1992: 264). A major point of concern for both ap Iwan and the contemporary reader is the endangered native idiomaticity of Welsh in view of the rising influence of English. This has been aptly summarised some years ago by Hincks in his article for the magazine *Barn* (Hincks 1993):

By now we have to ask whether what is spoken by many Welshmen is Welsh or English translated into Welsh. What guidelines can we follow while deciding what is acceptable? It is obvious there is space for borrowed idioms which settled in the language a long time ago, e.g. *next door*, *of course*, *blow away*, *look forward*, *be worthy*, but at the same time is there place, even in spoken language for slavish translation (...)? There are other idioms which are based on English but are accepted by many writers, e.g. *take into consideration*, *catch up with* and even *stand to reason*. With many idioms, therefore, we cannot say they are ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect’, but rather that they are ‘traditional’ or ‘untraditional’, ‘English-

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<sup>4</sup> “Mi fedrwn ychwanegu llawer mwy, ond tawaf am y tro trwy nodi’r erchylltra diweddaraf a glywais ar Newyddion S4C yn ddiweddar sef ‘dringo i lawr’ yn lle ‘syrthio ar ei fai’, a hynny gan newyddiadurwr profiadol. Trist.”

like' or 'Welsh-like', 'acceptable in literary language' or unacceptable in literary language', etc.<sup>5</sup>

The largely anecdotal evidence presented above is intended to illustrate the major issues regarding the nature of Welsh phrasal verbs in Welsh. On the one hand, it cannot be doubted that the constructions are widely used and at least a number of them appear to be well integrated in the language of native speakers. On the other hand, one may observe a continuing discourse forbidding the use of phrasal verbs as calques from English, resulting in their absence from linguistic description of the language. These facts make phrasal verbs in Welsh an extremely interesting case which has been remarkably little researched thus far.

### *Phrasal verbs as a language contact feature*

Bearing in mind the issue of the status of phrasal verbs as alleged borrowings, the present research can be placed within studies of language contact between Welsh and English, which is a relatively new area of study. The small number of pioneering publications on the influence of English on Welsh has touched on a range of aspects, such as language change and revitalisation (Jones 1998), code-switching and loanword integration (Deuchar 2005, 2006; Deuchar and Davies 2009; Stammers and Deuchar 2012; Parafita Couto et al. 2015, Deuchar et al. 2016), the Welsh of heritage speakers (Boon 2014), as well as cross-linguistic influence on phonetics and phonology (Morris 2013, Buczek-Zawiła 2014; Morris et al. 2016; Mayr et al. 2017), morphology (Phillips 2007), and structures (Davies 2010; Hirata 2012; Nicoladis and Gavrilă 2015) (see literature review 1.3.2.)<sup>6</sup>.

Phrasal verbs have attracted very little attention in Welsh linguistics thus far. They are discussed in only one grammar of Welsh, *Gramadeg y Gymraeg* by P.W. Thomas

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<sup>5</sup> “Erbyn hyn rhaid gofyn ai Cymraeg a siaredir gan lawer o Gymru ynteu Saesneg wedi’i throsi i’r Gymraeg. Pa ganllawiau a allwn eu dilyn wrth benderfynu beth sy’n dderbyniol? Mae’n amlwg fod lle i briod-ddulliau bentyg sydd wedi hen ymgartrefu yn yr iaith, e.e. drws nesaf, wrth gwrs, chwythu i ffwrdd, edrych ymlaen, bod yn werth, ond ar yr un pryd a oes lle, hyd yn oed yn yr iaith lafar, i drosi’n slafaidd(...)? Mae priod-ddulliau eraill sy’n seiliedig ar y Saesneg, ond a dderbynnir gan lawer o ysgrifenyddwyr, e.e. cymryd i ystyriaeth, dal i fyny â, a hyd yn oed sefyll i reswm. Gyda llawer o briod-ddulliau, felly, ni ellir dweud eu bod yn ‘gywir’ neu ‘anghywir’, ond yn hytrach eu bod yn ‘draddodiadol’ neu ‘anhraddodiadol’, yn ‘Seisnigaidd’ neu’n ‘Gymreigaidd’, yn ‘dderbyniol yn yr iaith lenyddol’ neu’n ‘annerbyniol yn yr iaith lenyddol’ etc.”

<sup>6</sup> For an overview of studies of Welsh English see Durham and Morris (2016: 14–17).

(1996) in a long footnote, in which transparent and semi-idiomatic constructions are described as informal loanwords from English, while idiomatic phrasal verbs are almost entirely omitted (for a review see 2.3.3). The only in-depth academic work on Welsh phrasal verbs is an article by Rottet (2005). Having presented the key properties of Welsh phrasal verbs, Rottet confirms their presence in contemporary written Welsh, illustrating this by a number of examples from the press and fiction. This author also outlines directions for future diachronic studies on phrasal verbs in Welsh, comparing them with other Brythonic languages. He presents evidence for the claim that the constructions are not always simple calques from English, as they have been present in the Welsh language for centuries. He also proposes a classification of Welsh phrasal verbs borrowed from English based on their type of transfer mechanism. The final part of his paper analyses how phrasal verbs are represented in several selected dictionaries, a grammar and exercise book and in other metalinguistic contexts, indicating a pedagogical norm prescribing the use of some idiomatic constructions. Rottet's short but comprehensive study approaches the phenomenon of phrasal verbs in Welsh from a range of different perspectives and has provided an excellent basis for the present extended research on the same subject (for a review see 2.3.5).

Other than offering a purely linguistic description, the thesis will examine tensions between the norm and usage regarding phrasal verbs in Welsh and investigate them in view of linguistic ideologies manifested in the Wales of today. Linguistic ideologies are another relatively little researched area of Welsh linguistics, although a small number of studies have appeared in recent years, including Musk (2006, 2010, 2012) and Robert (2011, 2013). The field of language ideologies is closely related to studies in language attitudes. Studies on Welsh in this field in the last decade include Robert (2009), Williams (2009), Davies et al. (2010), Morris (2014) and Owen (2018). As the present thesis is oriented towards investigating a linguistic feature itself rather than purely social aspects of language use, issues of ideology and attitudes will be considered as secondary in view of the main aims of the research (see 1.2.1. for a detailed discussion).



*Aims of the research and research questions.*

Building on the previous work by Thomas (1996) and Rottet (2005) this study hopes to provide fresh insights into the features and use of phrasal verbs in contemporary Welsh and their acceptability within the linguistic norm. The short description of phrasal verbs in Thomas is not devoid of shortcomings and rather unsystematic (2.3.3.). In turn, the nature of Rottet's (2005) pioneering study is largely exploratory. The author quotes examples of phrasal verbs from different sources and outlines major issues regarding acceptability and integration of these constructions. However, his observations are based on selected examples encountered in a fairly random sample of texts rather than a rigorous corpus-based study which would supplement intuitive observations with some quantitative data. Moreover, Rottet's observations on the acceptability of the constructions were inferred from comments found in metalinguistic sources only and not supported by data obtained directly from speakers. Finally, in the course of the last twenty years since his article was written, especially with the advent of the Internet and online resources, major changes have occurred in Welsh lexicography and teaching, providing new materials to investigate.

In view of the above, the key aim of the thesis is to fill a major gap in Welsh linguistics by providing a preliminary, yet comprehensive description of phrasal verbs with focus on their acceptability within Welsh linguistic norm in view of contact with English. The study applies mixed methodologies in order to explore different aspects of phrasal verbs and provide the complementarity of findings, that is "to measure overlapping but also different facets of a phenomenon, yielding an enriched, elaborated understanding of that phenomenon" (Greene et al. 1989: 258). The main research questions are:

1. What are the major characteristics of phrasal verbs in Welsh?

Aiming to systematise basic information on phrasal verbs, which have not been thoroughly described in Welsh linguistics thus far, the thesis will examine their semantic and syntactic properties and productivity on the basis of available literature and an original corpus study. Although the study focuses on written Welsh, the analysis will also include written representations of spoken language and the acceptability of phrasal verbs therein. I will also propose a categorisation of Welsh phrasal verbs with regard to contact with English and mechanisms of transfer, expanding on Rottet's

(2005) typology, in particular by adding idiomatic prepositional constructions (Chapters 2 and 3).

2. Are Welsh phrasal verbs integrated in the standard written language of today?

The level of standardisation of phrasal verbs which is the focus of the thesis will be investigated by examining their frequency and stylistic markedness in the written language (Chapter 3) as well as acceptability measured in a field study on professional speakers of Welsh (Chapter 5), providing new quantitative and qualitative data.

3. How are Welsh phrasal verbs represented in contemporary grammars, teaching materials and dictionaries?

This question will be examined by a study of representation of phrasal verbs in contemporary grammars and linguistic works (Chapter 2) and normative sources, primarily teaching materials and dictionaries (Chapter 4), expanding the corpus investigated by Rottet (2005), in particular with teaching and on-line materials, which are of great importance today.

4. What ideologies towards phrasal verbs are manifested by Welsh scholars and proficient speakers of Welsh?

As a final issue, the thesis will address the question of possible motivations for accepting or rejecting phrasal verbs by authors of normative sources (Chapter 4) and proficient speakers of Welsh (Chapter 5), thus placing the research within the wider context of standardisation and providing insights for future studies in language ideologies and attitudes.

The study spans various areas of linguistics, such as semantics, stylistics, corpus studies, lexicography, and language contact in order to conduct a multi-perspective synchronic analysis of phrasal verbs in Welsh offering a basis for future studies on this subject. Unsurprisingly, the scope of the thesis will not allow to go in many potentially interesting directions, such as diachronic analysis or studies of natural-occurring talk. It should be noted in particular that due to the focus on linguistic norm, the analysis will be devoted primarily, though not exclusively, to written language.

### *Structure of the thesis*

This thesis contains five chapters. Chapter 1 begins with a review of the current situation of the Welsh language in order to provide the background to the discussion which follows. The second part of the chapter explores the concepts of language ideologies, attitudes, standardisation processes and the notion of standard Welsh. The third part of the chapter is concerned with issues of language contact between Welsh and English. It presents key terms and definitions relevant to this research and discusses ideologies which influence the Welsh linguistic norm, focusing on the changing acceptability of English borrowings. Finally, implications of the theoretical background for the methodology applied in the thesis are discussed.

Chapter 2 formulates the basis for the empirical studies in the subsequent chapters by defining and describing Welsh phrasal verbs based on the existing sources. It begins with a review of the literature regarding phrasal verbs in English and Welsh and places the phenomenon of calquing in a wider context, providing comparative data with other languages in intense contact with English. This chapter establishes an essential division between transparent and idiomatic phrasal verbs and arrives at a definition and classification of idiomatic phrasal verbs used in subsequent chapters on the basis of studies by Rottet (2000, 2005) and parallel studies on phrasal verbs in Irish.

Chapter 3, the first of the analytic chapters, presents a corpus of written Welsh created for the purpose of this dissertation, comprised of works of fiction and press materials envisaged as a representative sample of semi-formal registers of Welsh. The quantitative results of the corpus analysis show the frequencies of phrasal verbs according to text type, syntactic categories and contact-related classification. The grammatical description of Welsh phrasal verbs found in the literature is successively compared with observations derived from corpus data. The second part of the chapter is a qualitative analysis of corpus texts focusing on the examples of stylistic markedness which indicates the acceptability of phrasal verbs within the linguistic norm. The third part is a semantic analysis of particles found in the corpus. Based on Rudzka-Ostyn's (2003) cognitive model, this section compares corpus data with lexicographic materials and identifies extensions of particle meanings which are most likely to have emerged due to contact with English.

Chapter 4 discusses the description of phrasal verbs in Welsh teaching materials and dictionaries. The first part of this chapter reviews a number of pedagogical resources, demonstrating the existence of a prescriptive norm which discourages the use of some phrasal verbs as direct translations from English. The second part of the chapter examines dictionary entries for the 25 most frequent phrasal verbs in the corpus, investigating the consistency of their representation in lexicographic sources.

Finally, Chapter 5 presents the results of a field study conducted in 2016 and 2017 on 55 professional speakers of Welsh in seven groups: a) librarians, b) writers, c) school teachers d) Welsh for Adults courses tutors, e) journalists f) staff of a research centre responsible for preparing Welsh-language materials g) members of an organisation campaigning for the Welsh language. The study consisted of a questionnaire, which investigated the acceptability of phrasal verbs among speakers who are familiar with the linguistic norm, as well as semi-structured interviews which touched upon more general issues related to borrowing and standardisation. The results of the field study show variation in acceptability of phrasal verbs depending on the type of verb and the used register. They also illustrate the complexity of opinions on the changing linguistic norm, while pointing to potential factors which shape speakers' beliefs on that matter.

It is hoped that the present investigation of the phenomenon of phrasal verbs will contribute to the description of modern Welsh language and the changes it has undergone due to extensive contact with English.

#### *Practical implications of the research*

Apart from its scholarly value, the study is expected to have practical implications. As my experience has shown, the discrepancy between norm and usage can be a source of confusion and difficulty for learners, who are usually eager to know whether they 'are allowed' to use particular forms. A norm which is divorced from reality is bound to create divisions between the language of native speakers and learners, which may be precarious especially in view of the current vulnerable situation of Welsh. While making no claims to judgments whether phrasal verbs in Welsh should be deemed 'correct' or 'incorrect', I believe it is crucial to gather evidence for a realistic presentation of the contemporary

language, with the hope that by providing the basis for an accurate and systematic description of verb-particle constructions in modern Welsh, the present research will contribute to the preparation of future teaching resources, grammar books and dictionaries.

# **Chapter 1: Modern Welsh in contact with English – perspectives, ideologies and issues of standardisation**

## **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the sociolinguistic situation in Wales, with a focus on the level of standardisation of the Welsh language and issues connected with bilingualism and language contact. The first section describes the general situation of the Welsh language and future perspectives for the language's survival and revitalisation. It outlines major factors influencing linguistic changes which have taken place in Wales, providing the context for the discussion of standardisation to follow. The second part of the chapter defines and discusses the notions of language ideologies, attitudes and other concepts related to language standardisation with a focus on minority languages. Subsequently, by analysing various registers of Welsh and channels through which linguistic norms are implemented, I attempt to establish the degree of standardisation of the Welsh language of today. This will provide the background for the discussion of the status of phrasal verbs in standard varieties of Welsh in the later chapters. The third part of the chapter concentrates on language contact and the phenomena of transfer between Welsh and English related to phrasal verbs. This is followed by an overview of the literature on the influence of English on Welsh from a linguistic perspective, as well as from the point of view of ideologies manifested by Welsh speakers throughout the centuries regarding the English element in Welsh. This provides a broader context in which the investigation of the phenomenon of Welsh phrasal verbs can be placed. In the final section, I discuss some theoretical and methodological issues that have implications for the nature and scope of subsequent analytical chapters.

## **1.1. The current situation of Welsh**

### **1.1.1. Welsh between 1900 and present – an overview**

Welsh is a Celtic language of the Indo-European family, currently spoken by over half a million people, most of whom live in Wales and other parts of the United Kingdom. There is also a small Welsh-speaking community in the Chubut province in Patagonia, Argentina<sup>7</sup>, and a “broad but thin” Welsh diaspora in the United States (Coupland and Aldridge 2009:10).

The sociolinguistic landscape of Wales has undergone immense changes in the course of the last two hundred years with considerable population growth and a rapid language decline. At the end of the 19th century, there were almost one million Welsh speakers, who comprised 50% of the population, with over 50% of them being monolingual. The years 1871-1921 marked a dramatic decline in the number of speakers of Welsh. The process was particularly rapid in the south, where some areas quickly became solely English-speaking due to high numbers of migrants from England and the high prestige of English (Löffler 2008: 352). The heartlands in the north and west of Wales did not remain unaffected either, gradually changing into bilingual areas.

By 1981, the number of Welsh speakers had dropped to half a million with practically no monoglots left (Morris 2010b: 82; Jones 2012: 10). Currently, Wales has a population of around 3.1 million people, 19% of whom (ca. 560,000 speakers) are Welsh-speaking (Gwyn Lewis 2015: 149), a decrease of 1% in the number of speakers in the last decade according to the National Census. Importantly, these figures express the declared ability to speak the language, while the percentage of the population that speak Welsh daily and can speak more than just a few words of Welsh has been estimated by the Welsh Government at 10% (Welsh Government 2017: 11).

Accordingly, as a minority language with a decreasing numbers of users, Welsh has been classified by the UNESCO Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger as “vulnerable” (Moseley ed. 2010). However, it cannot go unnoticed that the pace of the demographic decline has been slowed down in recent decades due to multiple revitalisation

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<sup>7</sup> It originated in the establishment of Y Wladfa, a Welsh colony in 1895. Johnson (2013) estimates the number of Welsh speakers in Chubut at no more than 4000.

efforts and the increasingly official status of the language. The critical period for this reverse trend began in the 1960s when a series of movements, political initiatives and campaigns were launched in order to maintain and secure the future of Welsh. Among these ground-breaking events was “Tynged yr iaith” [The fate if the language], a radio speech by Saunders Lewis, which inspired the establishment of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (Welsh Language Society), an activist group exercising pressure on the authorities regarding such areas as access to Welsh-language media, education and services.

Indeed, the last fifty years saw major developments in these fields. Beginning with the Welsh-language media, BBC Radio Cymru and the television channel S4C began broadcasting in 1977 and 1982, respectively. In 2018, a second Welsh-language radio channel BBC Radio Cymru 2 launched broadcasts for several hours a day as an alternative morning programme for younger audience. Regional radio stations also offer programmes and music in the Welsh language.

The development of Welsh-medium education began with the opening of the first Welsh medium private primary school in Aberystwyth in 1939, followed by the first official Welsh medium school in Llanelli established in 1947. While these schools originally catered for the needs of native speakers, in subsequent years they became increasingly attractive for parents and children from English-speaking families (Redknap 2006: 4-5). Another landmark was the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988 when Welsh became a compulsory subject to be studied by all pupils in Wales aged 7-16, a core subject in Welsh-medium schools and a foundation subject in others (Morris 2010b: 81)<sup>8</sup>. In consequence, Welsh as the Second Language became a statutory subject in the National Curriculum in 1990 (Welsh Government 2013:1). This created a potential for a substantial group of new speakers of Welsh.

The official status of the language was gradually improving as well. In 1993, the first Welsh Language Act gave Welsh and English equal status in the public sector and

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<sup>8</sup> “Core subjects are English, mathematics and science (and Welsh in Welsh-speaking schools) and are mandatory; Foundation subjects are also compulsory but are given less lesson time in the curriculum than Core subjects. Welsh became a compulsory subject for all pupils in Wales at Key Stages 1, 2 and 3 (i.e. up to age 14) in 1992. In 1993 it became a compulsory subject at Key Stage 4; this meant that all pupils in Wales studied Welsh (either as a first or a second language) for 11 years, from the ages of 5 to 16. From 2008, the National Curriculum for 3- to 7-year-olds has been superseded by the Foundation Phase programme. In the Foundation Phase, all schools and pre-school settings implement a Welsh-language educational programme for children in this age group” (Jones and Jones 2014: 11).



obliged public institutions to prepare appropriate statutory language schemes (cf. Williams 2010: 38; Aitchison and Carter 2000). It also created the Welsh Language Board to “promote and facilitate the use of the language” (Parliament of the United Kingdom 1993). Following the 1997 referendum, a process of devolution began, leading to the establishment of the Welsh National Assembly in 1998. This paved the way for further changes in legislation. In 2011, the Assembly passed the Welsh Language Measure, making Welsh the official language of Wales. By the same act, the Welsh Language Board was replaced by the office of the Welsh Language Commissioner. The Welsh government has continued to state their commitment to the revitalisation project by publishing national strategies, the most recent of which is entitled “Cymraeg 2050: A million Welsh speakers”. It aims to achieve two targets by 2050: a million Welsh speakers and “the percentage of the population that speak Welsh daily, and can speak more than just a few words of Welsh” to increase from 10% to 20% (Welsh Government 2017: 11).

The combined revitalisation efforts led to a small increase in the number of Welsh speakers between the years 1991 and 2001, up to nearly 21% of the population of Wales (Jones 2012: 21). Due to introducing Welsh into the national education system, the census showed a rise in the number of young speakers (Morris 2010b: 81), which would seem to offer good prospects for the future. Another important tendency was a reported positive change of attitudes towards the language, both among Welsh and non-Welsh-speakers (cf. Lyon and Ellis 1991; Davies et al. 2010: 149).

However, the results of the 2001 census proved to be “a false dawn” (Aitchinson and Carter 2013), in that the positive trends appear to have reversed. Ten years on, the 2011 National Census once again showed a decline in the number of Welsh speakers from 20.8% to 19% within a decade (i.e. from 582, 000 to c. 562,000 speakers (Office for National Statistics 2012). More detailed statistics suggest that the situation of the Welsh language is, in fact, much more precarious. Only 14.6% of respondents (430,717) in the 2011 census declared being able to read, write and speak Welsh. The figure was slightly higher in the National Welsh Language Use Survey for Wales 2013-14 (Welsh Government and Welsh Language Commissioner 2015) where the estimated number of adults aged 16 and over who can write in Welsh was 457,000. The number of fluent speakers was estimated by the same report at 310,000 (11%), while a 2012 Welsh Language Board report stated that it does not exceed 300,000 (Jones 2012).

Another fact that causes concern is the decline in the number of habitual speakers in traditionally stronghold areas in northern and western parts of Wales; these include Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire, where the number of Welsh speakers in 2011 did not exceed 50% for the first time in history. The only two counties where the number of Welsh speakers is higher than 55% are Gwynedd and Isle of Anglesey (Gwyn Lewis 2015: 149–151). Changes in the distribution of speakers caused by the growing population mobility can also be seen in the almost 15% growth in the number of Welsh speakers in the capital city Cardiff, which is now believed to have more Welsh speakers than the whole of Ceredigion (Aitchinson and Carter 2013). This means that an increasing number of Welsh speakers live in urban rather than rural settings. The census data do not, however, reflect actual language use. Studies have shown that Welsh is more likely to be used in areas where it is spoken by more than 60% of the population and when the speakers come from Welsh-speaking homes (Jones 2008: 552).

Other than geographical distribution, a change in the proportion between first language (L1) and second language (L2) speakers is another important issue. After introducing the language into the National Curriculum, the number of ‘new’ speakers<sup>9</sup> i.e. L2 speakers who acquired Welsh through statutory education or other formal means, has been on the rise and has contributed to the statistical increase in the total number of Welsh speakers (Robert 2009: 94). According to the 2004 survey commissioned by the Welsh Language Board, 73% of Welsh-speaking children learnt Welsh outside their home (Phillips 2007: 165–166). Concurrently, the same institution reported an annual net loss of about 3,000 fluent speakers a year (Jones 2012), which means that the percentage of learners and L2 users among the Welsh-speaking population is increasing.

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<sup>9</sup> The term *new speakers* denotes here individuals “with little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual educational programs, revitalization projects or as adult language learners” (O’Rourke et al. 2014: 1, see also 1.2.1.).

### 1.1.2. Changes in the linguistic landscape

The reasons behind the ongoing decline of the Welsh language are multiple and complex. They include civilizational changes, such as changes in the traditional family model<sup>10</sup>, as well as the weakening importance of religion and the rural economy, areas which used to be central for the maintenance of Welsh (Aitchison and Carter 2004: 23; Davies et al. 2010: 149). The phenomena of shrinking Welsh-speaking communities and the diminishing number of channels through which the language was previously transmitted are aggravated by high levels of out- and in- migration, particularly in the traditional Welsh-speaking areas. The net in-migration from the rest of the UK has been in positive figures since 1981; in 2001, over 20% of the inhabitants of Wales were born in England (Davies et al. 2010: 148). Although studies have shown that in-migrants generally have a positive attitude towards Welsh, “only about half of the adults had been prepared to take up the challenge of learning Welsh, with relatively few succeeding at more than a basic level” (Davies et al. 2010: 157–158). Low levels of linguistic integration of people born outside Wales result in a process of Anglicisation (H. Jones 2010: 142).

The disintegration of traditional community ties weakens individuals’ attachment to the language, as well as their ability and confidence. This finds its reflection in speakers’ behaviours and attitudes, such as insecurity, reluctance or lack of interest in using Welsh. Several surveys suggest that the level of linguistic insecurity among native speakers of Welsh is very high. According to the Welsh Language Board, as much as 42% of L1 Welsh speakers declare not feeling fully confident in using their mother tongue (Jones 2012: 9), while in the Beaufort Report commissioned by the S4C TV channel, 40% of respondents who were fluent Welsh speakers declared that they “would like to speak better Welsh”<sup>11</sup> (Beaufort Research 2013: 86).

Apart from the ability to speak and confidence in using Welsh, one should also consider the actual usage of the language, which is not reflected in the figures cited above.

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<sup>10</sup> Involving, for example, growing numbers of mixed couple and single-parent households. Statistical data suggest that these factors may influence language transmission. “Where the household contained a couple (either married or cohabiting) and both adults could speak Welsh, 82% of children aged 3 to 4 could speak Welsh. In the case of one-parent households, the percentage was 55%.(...) The transmission rates are also lower in families where the couple are cohabiting, as compared with married couples, though we can perhaps explain this by their socio-economic status. Cohabiting couples tend to be younger than married couples and youth tends to be linked to lower socio-economic status” (Jones 2012: 59–60).

<sup>11</sup> The survey measured linguistic confidence in general, though, and did not specify what “better Welsh” meant.

In fact, one of the major problems as regards the future of Welsh is the reluctance of some speakers to use the language in their everyday life (Morris 2010a: 6). This concerns, in particular, members of the younger generation who, though able to speak the language, often show little interest in using it when they are not obliged to do so in a classroom environment (cf. Selleck 2016: 552). It has also been reported that young people are least likely to speak Welsh at home or outside it, including participation in cultural, sport or social events (Beaufort Research 2013: 87). Morris's research on young people in twelve different places across Wales showed that a decrease in the use of Welsh with friends and peers both inside and outside school between subsequent school levels was observed regardless of the location (Morris 2010b: 89). Evans's (2015) study of teenagers' attitudes towards Welsh and their use of it has shown that only less than 20% of the surveyed declared using Welsh-language electronic media or reading Welsh books or magazines. Similarly low figures are reported for regular use of Welsh on-line, although in this case it is the young people who use this medium most (Beaufort Research 2013: 14; Welsh Government and Welsh Language Commissioner 2015: 41–42). These data raise concern for the future maintenance of the language. As Evans (2015) puts it: “when even fluent speakers feel that they will not use Welsh in everyday life, this suggests that the language infrastructure remains weak, and that Welsh remains far from a ‘living language’”. A recent study by Owen (2018) suggests that one of the most important factors which discourages young people attending Welsh-medium schools from speaking Welsh is lack of opportunities to use the language outside the classroom, especially in communities with a low percentage of Welsh speakers (Owen 2018: 263). The same problem has been noted in the Welsh Government report with regard to young people studying Welsh as Second Language (2013: 39-40).

Taking the above issues into account, it seems that institutional domains remain crucial for revitalisation efforts in securing the future of Welsh. Yet the functioning of the public sector and education system does not necessarily provide speakers with sufficient motivation or confidence to speak Welsh, especially as regards L2 speakers. Although Welsh language schemes have been introduced extensively into the public sector, full Welsh language services are not always available and there has been limited success in promoting the language in the private sector (Williams 2010: 39). As a consequence,

opportunities for gaining better employment due to the knowledge of Welsh generate relatively little motivation to learn the language, particularly in the areas where English is dominant (Robert 2009: 113).

Similar issues apply to Welsh-medium education<sup>12</sup>. Owen (2018:27-28) pays attention to the phenomenon of ‘disappearing’ young Welsh speakers emerging from census data: the figures for 5 to 15 year-old Welsh speakers in subsequent censuses constitute the ‘peak’ across age groups with c. 40% speaking the language. However, the figures for the 20-44 age group noted over decades remain the same, at c. 15%. This suggests that a major percentage of people who are able to speak Welsh while attending school stop using the language in their adult life.

Difficulties in the use of Welsh in educational environment stem from disproportions between L1 and L2 speakers in Welsh-medium schools. In fact, in many areas in Wales the majority of children studying through the medium of Welsh come from non-Welsh speaking families (Gwyn Lewis 2015: 157). Researchers point at various results of this imbalance. For example, Coupland and Aldridge (2009: 8) suggest that negative attitudes towards the “new”, “school-learned” speakers, whose usage of Welsh may differ a great deal from the “traditional” varieties, might discourage the L2 speaker and inhibit revitalisation efforts. The existence of such negative attitudes has been confirmed by Robert (2009) whose MGT<sup>13</sup> study investigated the perception of language competence, ethnicity, and evaluations of social attractiveness and prestige of L1 and L2 Welsh speakers. She concludes that

[p]erceptions of social attractiveness are not dependent on identification as L1 or L2, but on perceived language competence. The results point to a clear separation of the L2-low group from all other three groups [L1-high, L1-mid, L2-mid – ML] in terms of social attractiveness. Members will, we can predict, encounter difficulties in integrating into social networks and communities. (Robert 2009: 112)

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<sup>12</sup> Gwyn Lewis (2015: 157) notices that using the term Welsh-medium schools may be misleading as many of them are in fact bilingual schools; in some cases Welsh may be available only as an option, which hardly seems motivating for learners – for instance, students may be given bilingual examination papers and are free to write answers in either of the two languages. There are four categories of secondary schools in Wales according to Welsh medium provision: Welsh-medium Secondary School, Bilingual Secondary School (with four subdivisions), Predominantly English-medium school with significant use of Welsh and Predominantly English-medium secondary school (Welsh Assembly Government 2007).

<sup>13</sup> In a matched-guise test (MGT) participants are asked to evaluate a tape-recorded speaker according to personal traits, such as ambition, leadership, sociability and sense of humour (O’Rourke 2011: 26).

Jones's research (1998: 351) suggests, however, that the language of L1 speakers might also be influenced by intensive contact with learners, creating a hybrid "interlanguage", a simplified mixed variety. Baker (2010: 64) sees this type of language mixing as a transitional stage from bilingualism in English and Welsh towards English monolingualism. Hickey (2007) notices "unofficial submersion" of minority-language speaking children in the higher-status language when they are mixed with L2 speakers, while Hickey et al. (2014: 230) also point out to the danger of the normalisation of code-switching and insufficient support for minority language L1 speakers in situations when teaching methods are being adjusted to the abilities of L2 speakers.

Similarly, Selleck's studies (2012, 2013) in secondary schools in Wales have demonstrated that students commonly used the so-called Wenglish to negotiate their position within different "hierarchies" of Welshness. "Wenglish" is here understood as a mixture of Welsh and English, which, according to Selleck, goes beyond code-switching and can be described as heteroglossic bilingualism (2013: 30)<sup>14</sup>. The author links these tendencies with unsuccessful implementation of government revitalisation policies, which propagate equality of access to both languages, tolerance, openness and inclusion with the aim of normalising bilingualism on these terms. In practice, however, in the Welsh-medium school that she investigated the prevailing ideology was that of the strict separation of Welsh and English within the ideology of protecting the minority language. This, in the author's opinion, creates language hierarchies and may lead to marginalisation and exclusion of groups. As a result, English is often seen as the universal language of social inclusion, while Welsh might be seen as the language of exclusivity (Selleck 2012: 153-162).

The speed of Anglicisation processes varies across different regions. This was confirmed e.g. by Morris (2010b), who established a typology of communities across Wales based on relationships between members of language groups. She divided them into: 1) assimilating communities, where there was pressure on L2 speakers to use the language 2) distinctive language communities, where Welsh speakers belonged to quite distinctive language groups and communities 3) assimilated communities, where speakers of Welsh were "rapidly becoming assimilated into the normative context where English was the predominant language" (Morris 2010b: 96-97). The last type of community

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<sup>14</sup> The term "Wenglish" is used also in another context, denoting the distinctive dialect of English spoken in the South Wales Valleys (see 1.2.2.)

were those communities where the percentage of migrants was the highest. The author does not mention the ethnic origin of the migrants; yet, it can be assumed that the growing number of migrants from outside the UK as well as from England is going to further increase the diversification of the linguistic landscape<sup>15</sup>. Brooks notes that due to the fact that English is officially denoted as the common language for the whole multicultural community, migrants to Wales lose any sense of obligation to learn Welsh (Brooks 2014).

Social and demographic changes in the Wales of today combined with the English-dominated global culture and the multitude of English-language media make the effective revitalisation of Welsh challenging and virtually impossible to maintain the language in its traditional form. Bilingual speakers of Welsh are a minority in a monolingual English-speaking society and the intensity of English influence discussed above will inevitably bring profound changes to the Welsh language within the foreseeable future. As stated by Durham and Morris (2016: 12) the main challenge of the present time is to normalise the Welsh-language in Welsh society which, by the end of the twentieth century, had grown accustomed to seeing itself as bilingual. Efforts to introduce Welsh in all domains of social life will, as a result, have to account for the concepts of standard language and a linguistic norm, which will be discussed in the following section.

## **1.2. Standard Welsh – linguistic norm(s)?**

One of the major research questions of this thesis is how well phrasal verbs are integrated in standard Welsh of today. This issue can be placed in a wider perspective as a case study of changes in contemporary Welsh since acceptance of these constructions or lack of it may to some degree reflect the prevailing ideologies connected with standardisation among Welsh speakers. In order to address these issues it is necessary to describe the level of standardisation of Welsh and identify major sources of the standard. This section will discuss the historical evolution of standard varieties of Welsh as well as language planning efforts in the twentieth and twenty-first century in the wider framework of the standardisation of minority languages. The subject will be introduced in the following

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<sup>15</sup> However, as for 2011 National Census, 97% of inhabitants of Wales declared English or Welsh as their main languages (Durham and Morris 2016: 6).

subsections: section 1.2.1 will present some theoretical concepts related to language ideologies and attitudes. Section 1.2.2. will discuss recent developments within considering standardisation processes with focus on minority languages, while sections 1.2.3-1.2.7 will give a detailed discussion of the evolution of standard varieties of Welsh throughout centuries and the current level of standardisation.

## **1.2.1. Language ideologies, attitudes and issues of standardisation**

### **1.2.1.1. Ideologies and attitudes**

As has been shown in the Introduction, in common discourse one can observe two contrasting perceptions of phrasal verbs in Welsh: as an unmarked feature of the language or undesirable borrowings. These views are clearly linked to linguistic ideologies and attitudes of individual speakers. Language ideologies and language attitudes are two crucial concepts used to investigate dynamic sociolinguistic processes such as language change, which is of importance to the present dissertation. While attempting to determine the acceptability of phrasal verbs within the Welsh linguistic norm, the present study will inevitably touch on these issues. Although the two concepts are closely connected, as they both deal with speakers' feelings and notions about various forms of language, they differ when it comes to their origin and methodologies applied by researchers in the two fields (Kroskrity 2016:1). It is therefore worthwhile briefly describing the two areas in order to highlight differences between them and relate relevant sections of the dissertation to these concepts.

A classic definition of *language ideology* formulated by Silverstein states that it comprises “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979:173). Consequently, research into language ideologies investigates relations between particular language situations and speakers' expectations linked to their perceptions of various social identities. Accordingly, Armstrong (2012: 152) provides a more detailed definition of ideology as “a constellation of beliefs, attitudes and social norms, often concerned with the connec-



tion between language and identity or ethnicity, but also with reference to ontology, epistemology, history, politics, language structure and language use. (...) Language ideology always implies a judgment of social correctness.” Studies in language ideologies are related to areas such as linguistic anthropology, interpretive sociology, and systemic functional linguistics. They rely mainly on qualitative methods such as ethnography, conversational analysis, and discourse analysis, inferring ideological stances from explanations articulated by speakers as well as discursive practice (Kroskrity 2016). This kind of methodology will be also applied in the analytical chapters of this thesis, which make use of text and discourse analysis.

In contrast, as the origins of the concept of language attitudes lie in social psychology, quantitative sociolinguistics, and educational linguistics, studies in this area typically focus on quantitative measurement of speakers’ reactions to language and its components (Kroskrity 2016). The notion of attitude has been present in sociolinguistics since Labov’s classic study on social stratification of speech communities (1966) which showed differences in language attitudes attributable to socioeconomic conditions and social class. Derived from Sarnoff’s (1970:249) claim that an attitude is „a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects”, an attitude has been defined as “an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort” (Garrett 2010: 20)<sup>16</sup>. With regard to language, attitudes can be held not only towards a language as a whole but also at all its levels, such as lexicon, grammar, accent, pronunciation and dialects (Garrett 2010: 2-15). Since attitudes are seen as dispositions, they are believed to be evaluative stances which are sufficiently stable to be identified and in some sense measured (Garrett et al. 2003: 3).

The three main traditional approaches to researching language attitudes are: societal treatment of language varieties (content analysis of the treatment given to languages and language varieties and to their speakers within society), direct measures (elicitation of evaluations usually through questionnaires and interviews), and indirect measures (primarily matched-guised technique, MGT) (Garrett et al. 2003: 15-17). However, these methods have been challenged in recent years by scholars who see attitudes as more context-bound and constructivist, arguing that they should always be studied in a discursive

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<sup>16</sup> It should be noted that in everyday usage and also in the discourse of some researchers the term “attitude” is often synonymous with “opinion” which term lacks the affective component and is not latent but verbalised (Garrett 2010: 32).

context rather than measured in experiments. Such an approach gave rise to qualitative “interaction research”, that is one that examines the emergence of attitudes in and through interaction (for an overview see Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain 2017). This approach uses discursive psychology, conversational analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and theory of motivated information management, which brings it closer to research in language ideologies. In fact, within this approach the two concepts are seen as related and interacting (Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain 2017:3).

This variety of research techniques in attitudes measurement stems from a number of difficulties inherent to the field, some of which will be now addressed. Attitudes are commonly believed to consist of three components: cognitive (thoughts and beliefs), affective (feelings, prejudices, anxiety) and behavioural (predisposing to act in a certain way) (Garrett et al. 2003: 3). The issue of how these three are interconnected has been widely discussed with regard to their congruity, in particular the relation between overt and covert attitudes as well as relation between attitudes and actual behaviour (Garrett 2010: 23). The incompatibility between overt and covert attitudes has been aptly summarised by Baker (1992):

“Irrational prejudices, deep-seated anxieties and fears may occasionally be at variance with formally stated beliefs. In attitude measurement, formal statements are made reflecting the cognitive component of attitudes. These may only reflect surface evaluations. Doubt has to be expressed whether deep-seated, private feelings, especially when incongruent with preferred public statements, are truly elicited in attitude measurement. Such measurement may not always delve beneath the surface. Overtly stated attitudes may hide covert beliefs”.  
(Baker 1992: 12-13)

The same point has been made in more recent studies, for example by Edwards (2010: 96), who argues that attitudinal measurements touch on peoples’ beliefs only without referring to the affective component. This twofold aspect of attitudes is a major challenge to researchers and gave rise to the emergence of indirect measurements, such as MGT, which hope to elicit attitudes of speakers by using a range of deceptive techniques (Garrett et al. 2003:16).

Moreover, since attitudes are, at least to a certain degree, latent, it has been suggested that they should be inferred from external behaviour (Baker 1992: 11). In fact, explaining behaviour or its patterns has been seen by many as one of the main purposes of attitudinal studies with many practical implications (Garrett 2010: 25). Attitudes func-

tion in two ways, as input and output factors, a “cycle of influence between social cognition and language variation” (Garrett 2010: 21). In other words, they may play a role in social processes while processes might create favourable or unfavourable language attitudes.

However, discrepancies between people’s declared attitudes and actual behaviour have been noted for many decades, beginning with the widely-cited study by LaPiere (1934). The same is true for attitudes regarding language; to give one example concerning Welsh, experiments conducted by Parafita Couto et al. (2015) showed that Welsh speakers’ behaviour did not always match their acceptability judgments. On the theoretical ground, it has been attempted to resolve this difficulty by introducing an intermediate category of behavioural intentions (Garrett 2010: 25-26).

The validity of attitude measurements has been questioned by Baker, who argues that “attitude measurement is rarely, if ever, totally valid” and lists three important reasons for this (Baker 1992: 18-19). Firstly, people may respond to an attitude test in a way that makes them appear more prestigious and give socially desirable answers. Secondly, the researcher (his or her ethnic identity, gender, status, age, language, social class), the environment and the perceived purpose of the research may influence the speaker’s responses. The third argument is worth quoting in its entirety: “a good attitude test will encompass the full range of issues and ideas involved in a topic. The initial item pool must of necessity cover the fullest range of possible attitudes in terms of topic, complexity and favourability and unfavourability, just as the item analysis on the item pool (to find the most reliable statements and exclude unreliable items) must be executed on a representative and not atypical sample of people” (Baker 1992: 19). This implies that for the attitude test to be valid it must be based on a sound pre-existing body of knowledge on possible attitudes towards the investigated object. When these conditions are not met, i.e. the object has not been well investigated, creating a good attitude test might present great difficulties.

Concentrating on evaluative judgements, studies in language attitudes are typically linked to stereotyping in intergroup relations, which performs, among others, a social-explanatory function, creating and maintaining group ideologies (Garrett et al. 2003:3). Therefore, focus in such studies is placed on how a person's language variety is socially meaningful to others i. e. what makes people associate the speaker with a particular social group or set of activities.

As can be seen, the two concepts – language ideologies and attitudes – are to some extent interrelated: language ideologies are seen as constructs comprised of individual language attitudes, while attitudes might be investigated as a factor in the emergence of ideologies. In fact, one can interpret studies in ideologies as investigation of individual attitudes from a socially derived and intellectualized, rather than psychological perspective (Schieffelin et al. 1998: 16). While attitudes focus on the individual, language ideology studies investigate competing representations of reality within the same community and identities constructed in response to historical and social forces (Myers-Scotton 2006:110). What both areas have in common is the belief that “language is not only the medium for expressing ideas, but also the medium for expressing evaluations across groups and therefore for expressing power” (Myers-Scotton 2006:115). It has also been argued by Maio et al. (2006: 284) that ideologies, attitudes and also values are three interrelated constructs operating on various levels of abstraction, and studying one in isolation from the others cannot fully explain people’s behaviours.

With its emphasis on the question of linguistic norms rather than feelings and behaviours of individual speakers, the present research on phrasal verbs does not focus on language attitudes but is mostly concerned with standardisation-related ideologies prescribing the English element in Welsh, which certainly play a role in the representation of these constructions, especially in metalinguistic discourse. Issues of language contact have been an important area of language ideology studies as it has been observed that language ideology is an essential phenomenon in language change having a potential to influence the linguistic structure; however, the extent of this influence has been much debated (Schieffelin et al. 1998: 12-13). Ideologies of standardisation which will be now discussed are a focal point of such studies.

#### **1.2.1.2. Ideologies of standardisation**

Standardisation is a process which involves attempts to control the variability of language by suppressing variation and can therefore be considered an ideology (Milroy 2005: 133). It is closely related to two other language ideologies relevant to this thesis, namely prescriptivism and purism. *Prescriptivism*, as defined by Crystal (2008: 184), is an ideological approach “which attempts to lay down rules of correctness as to how language should

be used. Using criteria such as purity, logic, history or literary excellence, prescriptivism aims to preserve imagined standards by insisting on norms of usage and criticizing departures from these norms.” Prescriptivism can be manifested in authoritative dictionaries and grammars, which “identify conservative usages, linked with traditional literature and established social values, and they discourage departure from the established norms” (Bright 1998: 81). As will be shown, such prescriptive strategies can be also observed in Welsh. Prescriptivism differs from standardisation in that the latter allows change and innovation and therefore needs not necessarily be prescriptive (Walsh 2016: 9).

In the discussion of *purism*, I adopt here the definition of G. Thomas, who states that purism is: “the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (...) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (...). It may be directed at all linguistic levels but primarily the lexicon” (Thomas 1991:12). While all three ideologies of standardisation, prescriptivism and purism share the idea that there is only one correct form of the language, purism touches on the themes of contamination, corruption, protection and preservation (Walsh 2016: 9). According to Thomas, motivations behind purist attitudes are non-rational and motivated by a need to perceive the world in terms of binary opposition, such as “foreign” versus “native”, “pure” versus “corrupted” (1991: 37).

These three ideologies are firmly rooted in the notion of *standard language*, understood here as a prestige variety of language used within a speech community (Crystal 2008: 450). Standard forms are typically equated with a *linguistic norm*, i.e. “an accepted set of rules among a group of people who may view themselves as belonging to a unified language community” (Costa et al. 2017: 3). Standard varieties of a language function predominantly in formal social situations, associated with fields such as politics, religion, education and mass media (Baker and Jones 1998: 210). Standard languages evolve in the process of *standardisation*, which, according to Ferguson’s definition (Ferguson 1996[1988]: 189), takes place when a variety of a language is acknowledged throughout the speech community as a prevailing norm valued higher than regional and social dialects.

Standardisation is also a process of *language planning*, which, following Millar (2005: 99-100), consists of three major elements: corpus planning, status planning and acquisition planning. The first element, corpus planning, is the most relevant one for the

present research<sup>17</sup>. It involves producing new terms and identifying the ‘correct’ or ‘pure’ linguistic forms. Thus corpus planning is strongly connected with the ideologies of prescriptivism and purism. The basic difference between them is that while prescriptivism focuses on the notion of correctness, purism refers to external or internal threat which is believed to result in language decline. It is connected with a “complaint tradition” of publicly criticising non-standard usages, which has been observed for centuries in English (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 24–44) and has been present also in Welsh (Ball and Müller 1992: 264). Purism can take different forms: while in minority languages it is usually concerned with the purity of lexicon, in the case of a dominant language like English, which generally embraces borrowings, more emphasis is placed on standards in pronunciation (Milroy 2005:105).

Introducing a recent collection of studies on prescriptivism, Percy and Ostade (2016) note that prescriptive norms are more and more often challenged by socio-political changes in modern societies, in particular new media and immigration, which increase linguistic variation. The authors also observe that the growing domination of English affects traditional standards even in cultures with a strong monolingual norm, such as France or Russia (Percy and Ostade 2016: 12).

Processes of standardisation may take a variety of forms. A commonly used division is between *monocentric* standards, which form a single set of universally accepted norms and *polycentric* standards, where several norms, based on political, ethnic and religious allegiance, exist simultaneously (Millar 2005: 38). The range of language planning situations is also considerably wide. Standardisation may take place semi-consciously over centuries or be introduced through specific language planning strategies over a short period of time (see Millar 2005: 114). All in all, as it is hardly possible to talk of a universal standardisation process, the case of each language should be discussed individually (Percy and Ostade 2016: 18)

Standardisation occurs primarily in the domain of writing, since standard varieties typically originate from the written language, which often successively contributes to the emergence of a spoken standard. Implementing linguistic norms has been achieved by creating canons of national literatures and normative dictionaries and grammars, which

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<sup>17</sup> Status planning attempts to elevate the status of a language variety in relation to other language varieties, while acquisition planning is “an activity designed to encourage the greater knowledge, and (eventually) native use, of a language variety” (Millar 2005:99-100).

facilitate a description of the standard variety and allow for building a comprehensive educational system. Normative sources recognise conservative usages, associated with traditional literary norms and established social values, and discourage departure from them (Bright 1998: 186). Standardisation requires also the regulating and coining of specialist terminology in fields such as science and technology. Within a standardising strategy, abundant linguistic resources together with an effective education system are to ensure the use of a given language in every area of life (Baker and Jones 1998: 211). This may be extremely challenging since even those languages which enjoy institutional support are bound to be disadvantaged by dominant languages in fields such as science (Milroy 2005: 68).

As mentioned above, standard-related linguistic ideologies are tied to the question of social power. This is expressed in the concept of *legitimate language* introduced by Bourdieu (1991). He associates standard with social hierarchies, where linguistic practice is measured against the universally recognised practices of the dominant groups enjoying social and political power. Thus the term standard language does not refer only to the internal characteristics of a language, i.e. its uniformity and invariance, but also the non-neutral, ideologically-based ideas of prestige and speakers' "measure of achievement"; in other words, prestige linked to specific language varieties is not necessarily related to the linguistic forms used, but the social position of speakers (Milroy 2001: 531–532). This is so because standard language is invariably connected with the notion of 'correctness' which can be mastered only through the process of formal education. According to Bourdieu,

'[c]orrect usage' is the product of a competence which is an incorporated grammar, the word grammar being used explicitly (and not tacitly, as it is by the linguists) in its true sense of a system of scholarly rules, derived *ex post facto* from expressed discourse and set up as imperative norms for discourse yet to be expressed. (1991:61)

Consequently, the standard variety may be seen as an abstract stable and uniform idea, which can never be perfectly and consistently realised in speech. In this sense the ideology of the standard is related to the question of language ownership, based on an assumption that language is not the possession of the native speakers, but those who have been formally taught the canonical, externally defined forms (Milroy 537-543). Cooper (1989: 88) divides groups responsible for implementing linguistic norms into *formal elites* and *influentials*. Formal elites are people officially empowered to make policies,

while influentials enjoy authority without actual statutory powers. The latter include for example scholars, journalists and members of middle class, such as teachers, clergy and officials of corporate bodies. The standard is therefore strongly connected with social class, as it is usually the middle-class elites who are responsible for its creation and maintenance, although members of all social classes may contribute to language planning indirectly by introducing change in the language (Millar 2005: 97–98).

On the level of language structure, Langer and Nesse (2012) note that standardisation necessarily involves exclusion of some linguistic elements: “codification cannot really take place without stigmatizing those words and constructions which are not to become part of the standard language” (Langer and Nesse 2012: 613). As shown in the Introduction, phrasal verbs in Welsh might be sometimes placed outside the legitimate language because of such ideological views. An overview of ideological stances towards borrowings from English will be presented in 1.3.3.

### **1.2.2. Standard and minority languages**

The strength of standards in the Western Europe of today is historically linked to the ideologies of the modern state. Standards emerged in modern Europe as tools of integration and for the consolidation of nation states, where the drive towards uniformity was to ensure greater efficiency in achieving social and economic goals: “progressive standardisation of monetary systems, weights, and measures and of factory-made goods generally, has gone hand in hand with the rise of international trade and capitalism, and progressive standardisation of language has developed alongside standardisation of these things” (Milroy 2001: 534). The ideology of standardisation had a philosophical as well as a socioeconomic dimension. The age of Enlightenment gave rise to the concept of language as a channel of transmission for human reason. However, this role was given to state languages only, while others, including minority languages, “were relegated to a position outside of reason, as patois or of expressions of unreasonable and emotive thought” (William 1994: 81). In brief, the ideology of a monoglot standard has been based on two founding concepts: unification and rationalisation, viewed as both the function of the language and the ultimate goal (Urla et al. 2017: 29).



Whilst widely used languages such as English or French have developed “standard language cultures” (Milroy 2001:530), processes of standardisation are present also in minority languages, constituting an important part of language planning, which is to ensure these languages’ survival. In the European context, the introduction of European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages by the European Union has provided more space for standardisation by recommending state support for language policy and planning initiatives for minority languages and thus raising their status (Percy and Ostade 2016: 18; Costa et al. 2017: 16).

Standardisation has a number of potential advantages for minority languages. Firstly, being considered the most ‘correct’ and prestigious varieties associated with a high social position, standards might elevate the language’s status. Secondly, in the context of language planning and maintenance, they increase social cohesion by facilitating communication between speakers from different regions and between public institutions and the public (Lane 2014: 265). Last but not least, in the political dimension, they may constitute a unifying factor for a minority community by emphasising its distinctiveness and thus constructing national identities (Sayers 2009: 207).

Yet although standardisation may strengthen the status of a minority language, there is a number of difficulties inherent in the process. A well-established standard variety enjoys a degree of authority as long as it is perceived by the speakers as authentic, i.e. representative of their speech, and universal i.e. socially neutral and belonging to all citizens (Gal 2006: 166). Both criteria, however, give rise to some issues. The concept of universality appears to be questionable in the case of a minority language, which by definition exists in the shadow of a “universal”, dominant language (Gal 2006: 171). Issues of authenticity are bound to emerge in the situation of considerable dialectal variation when a standard variety is rejected by the speakers. Such problems have been observed in a number of minority languages in Europe, for instance in Galician, where “despite over 30 years of institutional standardisation, half of all Galicians still see *galego normativo* as artificial” (O’Rourke 2017: 90), or in Scots, whose standard variety has been contested even by language advocates (Costa 2017: 52). Such phenomena often stem from lack of central authority or power elite which would legitimise the standard language and give it authenticity. Such seems to be the case of, for example, standard Breton, created as something of a compromise between the four main dialects of the language (Baker and Jones 1998: 214).

Standardisation might be also perceived as detrimental for linguistic diversity expressed in dialectal variation in that it results in dialect loss, disappearance or mixing. Instead of strengthening the self-worth of speakers of dialectal varieties, it may lead to stigmatisation of both the linguistic forms and the speakers (O'Rourke 2017: 89). For example, it has been suggested that the weakening vitality of dialects in Irish might partially stem from lack of recognition in the public space dominated by the prescribed standard variety (Ó hÍfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011: 100). Loss of dialectal diversity in Welsh has been discussed by Jones (1998) and Sayers (2009: 311–322).

Other issues of standardisation emerge in the context of bilingualism, which is especially relevant in the case of Wales. As mentioned above, the notion of a standard variety of language, dating back to the Enlightenment period, is based on the idea of a national state unified by a common tongue and territory. This concept gave rise to monolingual norms according to which if two or more languages exist next to each other they should be kept apart by the speakers and each of them should remain 'pure', without interference from another (Gal 2006: 170).

The monolingual norm has been challenged in recent years by a number of post-structuralist approaches which are used to explain current linguistic practices among marginal populations, and place practice rather than standards at the centre of research. "Linguistic and cultural practices are no longer examined against the background of abstract standard languages, uniform views of speakers and stable group identities. Rather, such practices are investigated with reference to the fragmented repertoires that people acquire, construct and mobilise" (Pérez-Milans 2015: 88). Researchers have investigated new profiles of speakers, attempting to replace the traditional labels of "learners" or "L2 speakers" with the term "new speakers", especially relevant to minority languages (O'Rourke et al. 2014). As part of the critique of traditional ideologies of multilingualism, the post-structuralist approaches have used a variety of terms, such as, "heteroglossia", "polylingualism" and "translanguaging". The concept of heteroglossia derived from Bakhtin (1981) views languages as a social and political mediums rather than distinct linguistic systems, deconstructing the idea of a unitary language. Polylingualism (Jørgensen 2008) differs from multilingualism in that it sees languages as constituents of a given speaker's language, rather than separate entities. Translanguaging (García 2009), in turn, involves concurrent uses of two languages in a bilingual classroom, embracing the use of code-switching and translation. It has been proposed as a method of retaining and developing

bilingualism in Wales (Lewis et al. 2012). Also in the context of bilingual education, Blackledge and Creese (2010) have proposed a division between two alternative ideologies of bilingualism: “separate bilingualism”, which propagates the separation of language mentioned above and “flexible bilingualism”, where the school encourages fluid movement from one language to another for effective communication.

Notwithstanding the potential of poststructuralist ideological frameworks, it seems that more conservative views involving notions of distinct national languages, native speakers and mother tongue are still prevalent, underpinning an image of monolingualism in heteroglossic societies (O’Rourke 2017: 328). A popular idea worth mentioning is “additive bilingualism”, which views bilingualism as a positive phenomenon, yet holds that a bilingual person should have an equal command of two languages and be able to clearly separate one from another (Landry and Allard 1991: 198–199). Consequently, when bilingualism is seen as “double monolingualism in two distinct, standardized national languages” (Flores and Schissel 2014: 457), linguistic phenomena such as extensive borrowing or code-switching are seen as nonstandard and unwelcome. This notion might be challenging both for native and new speakers living in a fully bilingual environment, as is often the case in Wales (cf. Selleck’s 2013 study on bilingual education in Wales).

In view of the above, if the standard is too much divorced from the varieties used by the speakers of a minority language on everyday basis, imposing restrictive norms may have negative results on the users in that they start to depreciate their own linguistic ability (Gal 2006: 165; Baker and Jones 1998: 213). On the other hand, as pointed above, linguistic norm and the existence of a prestigious variety of a language can be a source of pride and strong cultural and political self-identity, ensuring a connection with tradition and the heritage of the past. A standardised language able to describe the latest developments in technology or science is likely to enjoy high prestige and be associated with modern life. Neglecting standards may create a notion that the minority language is a thing of the past, “outside of the realms of reason” (Williams 1994: 82), and lead to its further decline at the cost of the dominant language. For that reason the effectiveness of language revitalization may significantly depend on widespread literacy and proficiency in the prestigious variety.

This overview points out to some of the issues connected with standardisation of minority languages and illustrates the many facets of the problem. In Wales, with its varied linguistic landscape, the situation is no less complex. First and foremost, in contrast to other Celtic languages such as Irish or Breton, an official Standard Welsh has not been created neither for educational nor official purposes. Standard varieties of Welsh have evolved throughout centuries, their most important source being the language of literature stemming from the practices of the elites supporting a traditional culture and bearing relatively little relationship to speech. However, the last hundred years of sociolinguistic changes in Wales have brought an immense change also in the perception of the linguistic norm. In these circumstances, one can hardly talk about a single standard, but a number of high (H) varieties, or registers, of the language which are seen as standard ones.

### **1.2.3. Registers of Welsh – typologies**

Following Crystal's definition (2008: 409), the term *register* will be used here to denote, varieties of language used according to their use in social situations, as opposed to those defined according to the user, for instance dialects. Register, therefore, will be viewed here as a functional and contextual category reflecting the social order in the variety of social processes (Malmkjaer 2004: 169). With the multitude of situations and domains, registers "comprise an open-ended set of varieties (or styles) of language typical of occupational fields, such as the language of religion, the language of legal documents, the language of newspaper reporting, medical language, technical language, etc." (Trosborg 1997: 5). In consequence, setting clear-cut boundaries between various registers of a language is hardly possible.

It should be emphasised at this point that the present discussion of standard varieties of Welsh will focus on the contextual dimension of registers rather than possible geographical variance. The reason for that is that Welsh H registers are comparatively universal in that they do not seem to favour a particular dialect. For example, considering the lexicon, they are more inclined towards the Northern dialects, e.g. preferring *gan* over *gyda* (for 'with' used to express 'to have'), but in some cases prefer the southern variants e.g. *gyda* over *efo*, (for the preposition 'with'). Unsurprisingly, the lower one moves along the register continuum, the more pronounced dialectal differences become.

The divisions between registers in Welsh are mostly based on the formality criterion, which might intuitively seem clear-cut due to the diglossia<sup>18</sup> between the formal, literary language and its spoken varieties, which is a characteristic feature of modern Welsh (cf. e.g. Fife 1986). This substantial variation emerges in nearly all aspects of the language, including phonology, morphology, syntactic patterns, lexicon and discourse (for detailed description of the differences see e.g. National Language Unit 1978; D. G. Jones 1988; Morris Jones 1993). Morphology of the verb is where the greatest discrepancy occurs. For example, certain conjugated forms of the verb, such as the present/future 3rd person irregular forms tense are confined to H varieties. Adjective inflections are heavily reduced in the informal language and the equative degree is expressed in a different way. There is also diversity in the rules governing the use of particles and pronouns. As regards syntax, periphrastic forms of the verb are preferred in informal varieties. In terms of lexicon, a characteristic feature of the more formal varieties is the tendency to avoid Anglicisms (see 1.3.3.). Some researchers believe that the differences span also the non-borrowed lexicon: “anyone who tries to read Welsh poetry from a grounding in colloquial forms is in for a nasty shock, much more so (on a purely intuitive basis) than with the comparable transition in, say, French or Russian” (Fife 1986: 146).

As a result of this diversity, in today’s popular discourse a division is often made between ‘literary’ and ‘colloquial’ Welsh, the first being associated with written and formal, the other with the spoken and informal language. This differentiation, supported by the popular grammar by King (1st ed. 1993), who claims that “Literary Welsh” and “Colloquial Welsh” are so different that they might be called two distinct languages, found its way into the English Wikipedia in the form of two separate articles on Welsh morphology (“Colloquial Welsh morphology” 2018; “Literary Welsh morphology” 2018).

Many researchers, however, view this as an oversimplification and exaggeration. It is a general view in modern linguistics that diglossia is a continuum, “a gradient cline, with one variant shading into another” (Schiffman 1998: 210). Roberts and Jones (1974)

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<sup>18</sup> Following Ferguson’s classic definition, *diglossia* is understood here as “a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation” (Ferguson 1972[1959]: 245).

proposed three main “levels” of Welsh: literary, standard speech and local dialect, each with two “modes of expression” (written vs. spoken) and each with a variety of “registers”, while Jones and Thomas (1977) classified varieties of Welsh into formal written, formal spoken and informal/spontaneous spoken (after D. G. Jones 1988: 137). Morris Jones (1993: 2–4) distinguishes between written and spoken Welsh in two dimensions: channel, i.e. the physical representation of language (written/spoken), and medium i.e. grammatical, phonetic and discursive features characteristic for written/spoken language. In this model the registers are placed along the formal-informal continuum. Lewis (1995) differentiates between written formal, written informal and spoken vernacular. Focusing on the written language, he identifies the "formal, traditional" as characteristic of poetry, legal language, and religious writing, while "informal, contemporary" Welsh is expected to be used in the press and popular works of fiction and on everyday basis by an educated Welshman (Lewis 1995: 10)<sup>19</sup>. Jones and Chapman (2000: xi–xii) draw attention to the multitude of registers in Welsh, dividing them into the following:

- a. literary Welsh to be found in the Bible, and "most forms of highbrow literature";
- b. official Welsh identified with Lewis's "contemporary written informal";
- c. colloquial Welsh used mostly in informal speech, but also accepted in formal spoken situations and used in fiction;
- d. *bratiath* – a "debased Welsh" very heavily influenced by English, rarely to be found in writing (see **Błąd! Nie można odnaleźć źródła odwołania.**);
- e. Wenglish, which can be seen as Welsh "spoken through the medium of English" or a variety of English heavily influenced by Welsh in the industrial valleys of South Wales<sup>20</sup>.

The models are summarised in Table 1.

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<sup>19</sup> This division is by necessity simplified to serve the practical purpose of Lewis's book.

<sup>20</sup> This dialect combines the intonation and accent of South West Welsh (Gwenhwyseg dialect) with the speech rhythms of spoken English. It is considered a variety of English with a high number of lexical and structural borrowings from Welsh and is estimated to be spoken by over a million people (Lewis 2016: 11–34).

Table 1. Varieties of Welsh - typologies

	<b>Robert and Jones 1974</b>	<b>Jones and Thomas 1977</b>	<b>Morris Jones 1993</b>	<b>King 1993</b>	<b>Lewis 1995</b>	<b>Jones and Chapman 2000</b>
<b>H variety</b>	Literary	Formal written	Formal written/spoken	Literary	Written formal	Literary
	Standard speech	Formal spoken			Written/spoken informal	Official
<b>L variety</b>	Local dialect	Informal/spontaneous speech	Informal written/spoken	Colloquial	Vernacular	Colloquial
						<i>Bratiaith</i> (Wenglish)

The key divisions to be seen in these typologies are between written and spoken mode and along the formality continuum. While written formal/literary language remains the H variety in all models, a change can be observed in the middle of the register continuum: the semi-formal register, which used to be mostly associated with spoken language, is now regarded as the official variety used also in writing. This points to the growing discrepancy between traditional and contemporary semi-formal language, as the latter contains more features of informal language than before.

In an attempt to explain the tendency to eliminate traditional diglossia, the next sections will look in more detail at the H varieties of Welsh and seek to establish the current functioning of the linguistic norm in Wales by addressing the question which varieties of the written and spoken language are considered standard and to what degree they are accepted and universal.

#### 1.2.4. Written standard

The discussion of written standards will focus on two varieties of Welsh described most often as H varieties (Table 1): literary and official Welsh. Out of the two, literary Welsh has a much longer tradition behind it, dating back to the earliest written accounts of the Welsh language (D. G. Jones 1988: 126). Legal Welsh, or as B.P. Jones (1988: 173) calls it, proto-official Welsh, emerged as early as the 10th century with the laws of Hywel Dda. However, with the Act of Union, Welsh lost its position as the language of politics and law for hundreds of years. Thus, it was the language of literature, and not of the court, that became the major standard in the centuries to come.

### 1.2.4.1. Literary Welsh

The earliest written accounts of literary Welsh, dated to the 6th century, are the works of the so-called *Y Cynfeirdd* (“The Early Poets”), whose poetry is believed to have had important political, magical and ritual functions. By the 12th and 13th centuries poets established themselves as a class of professionals, who played a vital role in the social system of medieval Wales, ensuring the survival of kingdoms by composing eulogies and elegies for the ruler, legitimising his power. This generation of poets, known as *Beirdd y Tywysogion* (“Poets of the Princes” also called *Gogynfeirdd* lit. “not so early poets”) performed their poetry accompanied by music. It should be borne in mind, therefore, that literary Welsh was originally a spoken, not a written variety. At the same time, the preserved manuscripts, such as the four branches of *Mabinogi*, provide some evidence of what informal spoken language of that time might have been like and point to the fact that next to the elevated, formal language of the court poets, there functioned a more “relaxed” standard, confined to prose (D. G. Jones 1988: 126).

The language of the poets underwent extensive codification in the 15th century. The new generation of bards, known as *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* (“Bards of the Gentry”) continued to create intricate verse, following the complex rules of poetic art, *cerdd dafod*. Professional poets were obliged to study the grammatical rules of the language, yet at the same time, they experimented with the lexicon and were not reluctant to borrow extensively from other languages (see 1.3.3.) Although from the 16th century onward the poetic tradition began to decline, the language of the poets became the basis for the literary language used until today. One of the major reasons was that the bardic diction served as a model for the 1588 translation of the Bible by Bishop William Morgan (1545-1604) commissioned by Elizabeth I. Morgan’s Bible was a major landmark in the history of Welsh, partly regaining its prestige as the language of the church. The revised edition of the Welsh Bible by Bishop Richard Parry (1560-1623) and Dr John Davies of Mallwyd (c.1567-1644) was published in 1620 and its influence on the standard language extended well into the late 20th century (Hunter 2006: 210; Robert 2011: 135). As Lewis (1987: 13) puts it: “the authority of the text – a sacred book – supported the authority of the ‘standard’ language into which it was translated”.

With the advent of the Renaissance and the New Learning, attempts were made by humanists to adapt the Welsh language to the new intellectual climate. It was the time



of creating first dictionaries and first attempts to standardise the orthography (D. G. Jones 1988: 129). Another key point in history was the emergence of Protestant denominations: literary language became known to the common people not only through the Bible but also abundant religious prose, which followed somewhat less rigid linguistic norm. This trend increased in the two centuries to follow with gradual spread of literacy due to emerging Welsh-medium circulating schools and Sunday schools (Hunter 2006: 210). In the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century the chapel was closely linked to the Welsh identity and Welsh language. As well as catering for local Welsh-speaking communities and providing basic education, chapels supported the revival of the idea of poetry competitions, eisteddfods, on the local and national level, which brought back focus on poetry in Wales after the decline of the bardic tradition (Cohen 2007: 92–97).

The late 18th century was the beginning of a period which has been called the times of “xenophobic purism” (Hincks 2000: 17) or “strange and sad corruption” (D. G. Jones 1988: 130), when a number of major writers decided to ‘elevate’ Welsh by introducing artificial changes to the language, for instance by arranging words to imitate the patterns of English. This made the idiom extremely unnatural and pretentious. The most influential figure of that time was William Owen Pughe (1759-1835), author of a dictionary and grammar notorious for its unnatural and strange syntax, orthography and coinages. His influence extended over the following decades (Heinz 2003: 170).

By the end of the 19th century there emerged a new generation of scholars willing to purge Welsh of its peculiar mannerisms. The two most prominent figures here were Emrys ap Iwan (1848-1906), author of essays, who based his model of good Welsh on prose writers of the Reformation and Methodist revival period, and John Morris-Jones (1864-1929), an Oxford scholar and poet who advocated the authority of the poetic tradition (D. G. Jones 1988: 132). They were concerned with the relationship between the written and the spoken language and encouraged narrowing the gap between the two. Morris-Jones believed, however, that literary Welsh is something to be learned and mastered and that therefore absolute unification was impossible:

The value of the tradition is that it represents the language in a form which was everywhere recognised as pure, and of which various dialects represent different corruptions. (Morris-Jones 1921: v)

'Pure' language was thus understood as the language of educated people devoid of dialectal elements. In consequence, in Morris-Jones's view, the main criterion considered as a benchmark for standard Welsh was the correctness and naturalness perceived by an educated Welsh speaker.

The great authority of Morris-Jones lasted for many decades. He was successful in establishing a new standard nicknamed "Oxford Welsh" (D. G. Jones 1988: 134–135), much closer to the spoken language than the elevated Victorian idiom. Morris-Jones also played a pivotal role in standardising Welsh spelling. He created the Dafydd ap Gwilym Society which helped develop a new consistent orthography, leading to the publication of *Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg* [Orthography of the Welsh language] in 1928 by the University of Wales. This is the standard spelling valid to this day.

As can be seen from this historical overview, by the early 20th century the Welsh language had a developed and distinctive H variety maintained through three main channels: the church, traditional literature and high educational institutions, which ensured its stability. The last hundred years saw deep-going changes in that respect.

To begin with the religious domain, the 1930s marked the beginning of a gradual decline in church adherence and attendance in Wales, which accelerated dramatically in the 1960s and has continued until today (Brown 2014: 26–27). According to Morgan (2000), the decline of Welsh language and Christianity were closely intertwined:

[u]ntil the mid-20th century and after that in the areas where Welsh continued to be the main language, religion was the only field where Welsh had a strong position. English was the medium of everything else – government, trade, education (except for primary schools), public media such as radio, television, the cinema and the major newspapers, and the modern Anglo-American culture. All of this was absolutely devastating for both religion and Welsh. Any dualism between the holy and secular is injurious to religion as it restricts the sovereignty of God (...). In Welsh-language areas there was a tendency to narrow down "religion" to specific religious practices, such as going to chapel, worshipping, praying, holding Sunday schools and practicing some aspects on individual morality. Just as religion could not predominate secular matters, be it politics, economy, aesthetics or social ethics, neither could Welsh embrace life in its entirety since English was the language of the "world". (Morgan 2000: 378)

The 2011 census has shown a 14.3 percentage point decline in the number of Christians since 2001 and a parallel growth in the number of citizens stating no religion. Moreover, according to a 2007 survey, the level of regular church attendance in Wales is 12%, the lowest in the UK (Williamson 2014). These numbers indicate that the number of Welsh people who have access to biblical language is low and constantly decreasing.

What is more, the classic Morgan's Bible ceased to be the default version of the Scriptures when a new translation, *Beibl Cymraeg Newydd* [New Welsh Bible] was published in 1988 (Hunter 2006: 210). Its grammar was modernised and the language simplified to be more comprehensible. *Beibl Cymraeg Newydd* is the version currently used in services but it is questionable whether it has ever reached the same prestigious position as Morgan's Bible. For example, the authors of *Geiriadur yr Academi* (1995) chose to quote the traditional translation when including biblical idioms in their dictionary (D. G. Jones 1988: 152).

It seems, however, that even the more comprehensible language of *Beibl Cymraeg Newydd* may be inaccessible to the younger generation of speakers. A symptomatic illustration of this is the launch of yet another translation of the Bible in 2015, *beibl.net*, aimed at "young people, learners and those who wish to have a more straightforward explanation of the original text" (Pritchard 2015). The new translation is written in spoken, colloquial Welsh with simplified morphology and a reduced lexicon. All in all, the importance of the Bible as a source of the standard language appears to be diminishing alongside the decline of traditional Christianity in Wales.

The language of literature also underwent deep changes in the 20th century. One of the major reasons for that was the advent of the modern novel and short story. These forms emerged comparatively late in Wales, at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries (Hunter 2006; Tomos 2006). Possible reasons for that are the hostility of Nonconformist churches towards fiction and the lack of a rich urban middle-class in Wales, who at that time would be the main target audience of these genres (Morgan 1981: 239; Snell 1998: 38). The Welsh novel was thus not associated with the elites; Welsh authors who aimed at a realistic portrayal of their communities did not wish to preserve the classical elevated standard. Welsh translations of English-language fiction might also have played a role in that their authors attempted to convey different registers of English through the use of Welsh vernacular (Willis 2016). As a consequence, in the course of time, dialect and colloquial spoken language began to be increasingly incorporated into prose. The poetic idiom has also moved much closer to the spoken language, although it still contains numerous forms characteristic of the high register (cf. D. G. Jones 1988: 152).

An institution that should be mentioned at this point is the National Eisteddfod, a Welsh-language national festival of culture held annually since 1861. The key elements of the Eisteddfod are literature competitions, most notably competition for the Chair for

strict-metre verse, the Crown for free-metre in poetry and the Daniel Owen Memorial Prize (awarded since 1978) for the best novel (see 3.2.1). The importance of the Eisteddfod as a platform of maintaining literary standards and traditions is partly due to the influence of John Morris-Jones, who, a poet himself, advocated his ideas about the language as an Eisteddfod adjudicator (Hunter 2006: 1776). To this day the linguistic element plays an important role at the Eisteddfod in adjudicating both poetry and prose. Although there are no official standards for literary competitions, judges frequently pay attention to authors' excellence in the language and to the 'purity' of their Welsh (see 1.3.3.).

Despite the unbroken literary tradition, contemporary Welsh fiction has fully embraced a wide variety of registers in Welsh, including the least prestigious varieties such as *bratiaith* to accurately reflect the linguistic diversity in Wales. Writers do not seem to feel constrained by a necessity to use traditional literary Welsh, although many of them draw from its rich resources. For example, Jones and Chapman notice that the language of contemporary fiction might be more conservative than the language of the new Bible in its use of idioms (2000: 53).

Another channel of transmission of the literary language are universities. Since the time of John Morris-Jones university scholars have been responsible for linguistic publications describing and teaching literary Welsh, such as *Cyflwyno'r iaith lenyddol* [Introducing the literary language] (National Language Unit 1978). Special courses designed to help students recognise forms of the literary language and acknowledge differences between literary and colloquial Welsh have also been established. As for 2016-2018, such courses are offered by all major university in Wales e.g. the module *Cymraeg Llyfr a Chymraeg Llafar* [Literary Welsh and Spoken Welsh] in Aberystwyth, *Cyflwyniad i'r Gymraeg* [Introduction to Welsh] and *Iaith ac Ystyr* [Language and Meaning] in Cardiff, *Defnyddio Cymraeg* [Using Welsh] and *Ymarfer Ysgrifennu* [Writing Practice] in Bangor and *Ymarfer Ysgrifennu: Uwch* [Advanced Writing Practice] at University of Wales Trinity Saint David.

The existence of these courses suggests that compulsory education provides students of Welsh with relatively little access to forms of literary Welsh. For example, according to the current school curriculum for the GCE AS and A level in Welsh as L1, students are obliged to read less than five longer works of fiction in the course of their schooling and the majority of the books on the compulsory reading lists are contemporary

novels written in the spoken, dialectal idiom, such as *Un nos ola leuad* by Caradog Prichard or *Martha, Siac a Sianco* by Caryl Lewis (Welsh Government 2015).

As can be seen, literary Welsh continues to serve as a standard variety in certain contexts, such as religious writing and high-brow literature, in particular poetry associated with the National Eisteddfod. It is also part of the higher education system, taught to students of Welsh and a number of other courses in humanities. This means, however, that access to literary Welsh is confined to a relatively narrow groups of individuals. The affiliation of literary Welsh with high-status institutions might have a twofold effect of making it a prestigious variety, but also an elitist and hermetic one.

In 1988, D.G. Jones wrote that with the death of last monolingual speakers, literary Welsh can serve as the only standard for correctness.

As recently as 60 years ago it was possible to appeal to the authority of the spoken language in order to eradicate some of the corruption which affected the literary medium. Because of the pervading influence of English this is no longer possible. The literary language has to serve as the only standard for correctness. (D. G. Jones 1988: 135)

Now, 30 years later, the influence of English seems ever so strong, while the exposure to the monolingual norm embedded in the traditional literary language appears to be decreasing. It seems that a significant number of Welsh speakers may be little familiar with literary Welsh in its traditional form as two of the main channels of transmission of the literary diction, namely religious writing and fiction have undergone dramatic changes. Question remains whether the weight of tradition and the prestige of academia or literary circles will be enough to maintain this register as the H variety or whether conservative grammatical forms will gradually disappear, giving way to less formal varieties.

Indeed, another crucial change that took place in the last 30 years is the strengthening of the official status of Welsh and developments in semi-formal varieties of the language.

#### **1.2.4.2. Official Welsh and semi-formal varieties**

Semi-formal varieties of Welsh encompass a wide range of registers and thus evade simple description. In the past, the semi-formal varieties have been paid little attention by

linguists, who focused on the presumably clear-cut distinction between literary and colloquial Welsh, with traditional grammar books focusing on the H variety. At present, a third, in-between register of Welsh is acknowledged by most researchers. One of the most recent typologies by Jones and Chapman (2000) distinguishes a variety called Official Welsh (OW) situated between Literary (LW) and Colloquial Welsh (CW) The term “official” may be somewhat misleading as the authors identify it with Lewis’s “contemporary written informal” (Lewis 1995) used not only in strictly administrative contexts but also cultural domains such as literature and press. In such an understanding the term official does not refer only to the political status of a language but denotes “a legally appropriate language for all politically and culturally representative purposes on a nationwide basis” (Stewart 1968: 540).

From a linguistic point of view, Official Welsh is similar to Literary Welsh in most aspects, the main difference being that Official Welsh avoids a number of more conservative grammatical forms. This is visible mostly in the morphology of the verb and the use of pronouns and particles (C. Jones 2013: 179–212).

The emergence of Official Welsh coincides historically with Welsh regaining a certain level of political status and prestige (see 1.1.1). After Wales lost its independence, the development of medieval official Welsh was hindered by the gradual dominance of English in law and administration. The culmination of this process were the so-called Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542 when Wales was formally annexed into England and English was imposed as the only official language necessary for social advancement. The prestige of Welsh was further lowered after the industrial revolution, and in 1870 the Primary Education Act banned Welsh from the compulsory education system, pushing the language to the domains of the chapel and the home while English remained the language of commerce and law (Loffler 2008: 352). Thus “two standard languages were used in Welsh-speaking Wales, endogenous (standard Welsh, used in literature, religion, etc.), and exogenous (standard English, used in public administration)” (Robert 2013: 94).

The Welsh Language Act of 1967 was the first major step in re-introducing Welsh as the official language of Wales and a need emerged to create a register to be used in legal documents. To that purpose a panel of translators within the newly-established Welsh Office was appointed to translate all the necessary documents from English. It was decided at that time that forms of the language used would be based on standard literary

Welsh as the default H variety (B. P. Jones 1988: 174). Thomas (1982: 92) provides examples of extremely conservative grammatical forms used in bank forms and other official documents at that time.

According to B. P. Jones (1988) in the major article written thus far on official Welsh, the new variety generated problems from the beginning of its existence. Welsh speakers had difficulties in acknowledging the official status of Welsh, since English-language documents seemed more authoritative on the one hand, and more authentic and natural than their Welsh translations on the other. What is more, many people found the classical variety of Welsh too demanding. Difficulties stemmed from the use of traditional literary forms and the fact that the texts were an outcome of translating not only English words, but also concepts characteristic of English legislation. All in all the language sounded complicated, unnatural and intimidating to some speakers:

The classical nature of the Welsh used formed another barrier: it was "proper" Welsh, "perfect" Welsh, even "textbook" Welsh, the kind of "pulpit" Welsh many people could understand but were not proficient in its use. The complaint "my Welsh isn't good enough" echoed throughout the land. (B. P. Jones 1988: 174)

Although little research has been conducted on the perception of official Welsh in the 21st century, there is ample evidence to suggest that problems with comprehensibility continue. Robert (2013: 1) claims that the convention of using Welsh in public administration is not very strong and quotes examples of incomprehensible documents. Gruffudd (2015) describes difficulties similar to those listed by B. P. Jones (1988), claiming that the language found in official documents is too complicated, loaded with difficult terms and grammatically considerably different from the spoken varieties. He also draws attention to the fact that official texts are translated from English and the quality of translations is insufficient in some cases, since legal phrases acceptable in English might sound highly unnatural and thus unacceptable in Welsh. However, what exactly is natural and acceptable might be difficult to decide as there are many fields that are discussed in Welsh only through the medium of translation from English (Gruffudd 2015: 118). For that reason the author states that few people choose to fill official documents in Welsh and turn to English, being aware that the original text is more likely to be correct and comprehensible than a translation. Gruffudd's largely intuitive observations were confirmed in a small qualitative study (Bazoli 2015) on the use of Welsh in official service. The Welsh speakers surveyed complained of the fact that documents are translated too literally from

English, producing incomprehensible and unnatural texts. Of the Welsh speakers surveyed in Beaufort's report only 31% admit ever filling a form in the Welsh language (Beaufort Research 2013: 34). Evas and Cunliffe, investigating the use of Welsh e-services, provide evidence on considerably low use of Welsh-language services (Evas and Cunliffe 2016: 63-64).

In light of these problems, tendencies to change the standard official Welsh in a way which would facilitate understanding have been observed in the last 20 years. A notable initiative in that respect is a guidebook *Cymraeg Clir* ["Clear Welsh"] by Cen Williams (1999) which aims at helping users to adopt an appropriate register to their writing, so that the text is understandable, "keeps the honour of the language by maintaining Welsh forms" and avoids Anglicisms (Williams 1999: 22). Courses in *Cymraeg Clir* are offered in some workplaces in Wales (Bryer 2016: 61), and it is described as the Welsh counterpart of plain English in the national standards for adult literacy and numeracy (Basic Skills Agency 2003). However, *Cymraeg Clir* has also met with some criticism for propagating a simplified model of Welsh (e.g. D. G. Jones 2013; Asmus and Williams 2014: 51). In a handbook for Welsh translators (Prys and Trefor eds. 2015), Jones argues that the model requires further development since due to the "unfortunate" use of words such as "simple", the guidelines may indeed be associated with simplifying the language, rather than making it sound natural (Jones 2015: 102). Incidentally, the book in question touches on many similar issues concerning the use of registers in Welsh and illustrates the ongoing discussion within the translators' community on establishing the right balance between maintaining the traditional formal register and ensuring comprehension in the current bilingual society.

At present, the Welsh authorities seem to acknowledge the need to differentiate between different registers depending on the need and receiver. In 2006 the Welsh Government published *Yr Arddulliadur*, translation style guides for translators of Welsh and English. The guidelines are aimed to help achieve consistency in texts produced for the government, based on formality and text type. In the section "*cywair*" ('register') the authors distinguish between four registers, providing examples of texts in which these should be used:

1. Classic register (semi-legal, very formal materials);
2. Formal register (committee and cabinet proceedings, announcements, job advertisements, reports, letters, questionnaires, etc.);



3. Informal register (press statement, other advertisements, public campaigns, materials for schools, leaflets, posters, stickers);
4. Spoken/very informal register (scripts of television campaigns, subtitles for television campaigns, some posters, pamphlets, games and cartoons). (Welsh Government 2006 15-19).

Other than legal documents and public service, another domain where semi-formal registers of Welsh can be found is the press. No daily Welsh newspaper is currently published. However, two national daily newspapers, *The Western Mail* and *The Daily Post* and a number of local ones, contain columns in Welsh. There is also a weekly fully Welsh-language magazine *Golwg*. A weekly newspaper *Y Cymro* was published until June 2017 and relaunched in 2018. A more high-brow opinion magazine, *Barn*, is published once a month. There is also a considerable number of local newspapers, magazines and specialist publications available in Welsh, including the so-called *papurau bro*, monthly community newsletters. Welsh magazines are now available also in digital form for iPhone users via an application *Ap Cylchgronau Cymru*. *Golwg* also runs online news portals *Golwg360*. Another popular Welsh-language news portal is the *BBC Cymru Fyw*.

No linguistic analysis of Welsh press published these days has been found. However, it cannot be doubted that the registers of Welsh used in the press can be placed in the middle of the formality continuum. Conservative literary forms are evidently avoided by journalists and the language used is much closer to the colloquial variety than it was in the past. This “relaxing” of standards was noticed by Davies (1988: 209) who attributes it to the growth of *papurau bro* which made readers more accustomed to seeing colloquial language in print. Obviously, differences in register and style can be observed across various newspapers and magazines. For example, one finds the literary pronoun *ef* [he] in *Barn*, while more popular *Golwg* and *Y Cymro* will prefer the colloquial *e* and *o*, depending on the journalist’s dialect<sup>21</sup>. Similarly, particles with affixed pronouns and impersonal and present/future conjugated forms of the verb, characteristic of literary language are avoided in magazines and newspapers intended for wider audience. In terms of lexicon, the differences are less tangible. They will be discussed in Chapter 3 of the present work (3.2.4.2).

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<sup>21</sup> Presumably with a preference for *e* considered more “standard” being more similar to *ef*.

The third domain of semi-formal Welsh is popular literature, which, as mentioned in the previous section, uses the whole range of available registers in Welsh. The differences here are largely idiosyncratic and particular to a given writer. Some remarks on the lexical norms in selected works of contemporary Welsh authors will be included in Chapter 3 (3.2.4.1).

To summarise, one can observe the development of a semi-formal variety of Welsh which differs from traditional literary Welsh mostly in grammatical aspects but also on the lexical level. This variety is to be found in press and literature and there is a growing tendency to use it in administrative and other official contexts at the cost of ‘conservative’ or ‘traditional’ forms of literary Welsh. Groups of professionals responsible for creating this variety – translators, journalists, writers – are constantly striving to produce a form of language which would be easily accessible to the average speaker, by striking the balance between traditional literary norm and the spoken colloquial of today.

### **1.2.5. Spoken Standard**

In contrast to the written standard of literary Welsh, the spoken standard is a fairly modern concept. Before the 19th century, relatively little attention was paid to the spoken idiom as it was the literary language that was considered the prestigious variety. Consequently, prior to the advent of modern novel and press, spoken varieties were little recorded in writing. Furthermore, as Wales did not have a powerful political centre for centuries, no standard accent similar to English RP emerged (Morris Jones 1993: 177). By the early 20th century, however, a prestigious H register, the so-called “pulpit” Welsh, was used in contexts mainly associated with religion and cultural events. In the second half of the century, with the growing number of L2 speakers, the *Cymraeg Byw* (‘living Welsh’) initiative attempted to establish a spoken standard for educational purposes. Finally, the advent of Welsh-language media and the possibility to use Welsh in jurisdiction and political institutions created a new context for a nationally recognised spoken norm.

With this polycentric notion of the standard language, it is hardly surprising that the spoken linguistic norm in Welsh is not easily definable. In the typologies presented in Table 1, standard spoken varieties were recognised in the middle of the formality continuum (Roberts and Jones 1974; Jones and Thomas 1977). Similarly, in the discussion

of Welsh for Adults courses, Jones and Chapman (2000: 54–55) identified certain forms introduced in classrooms as standard, placing them at the same level as the semi-formal Official Welsh.

R.M. Jones, one of the creators of *Cymraeg Byw*, lists three main issues inherent in any attempts to create a standard spoken variety of Welsh (2011: 85):

- the relation of the standard to the literary written language i.e. degree of formality,
- the relation to dialect i.e. including or rejecting particular elements of dialects,
- the relation to the sub-standard i.e. rejecting elements of learner’s language.

The sections to follow will discuss the conservative H spoken variety (“pulpit” Welsh), *Cymraeg Byw* and mass-media language in relation to these three areas.

### **1.2.5.1. Conservative spoken standard – “pulpit” Welsh**

The first variety to be considered a modern spoken standard in Welsh was the so-called “pulpit” Welsh, the language used by Non-conformist preachers. As can be expected, this register emerged out of literary Welsh – biblical language in particular – and in consequence was characterized by literary conservative grammatical forms and careful, orthographic pronunciation devoid of dialectal features. With the 18th-century religious revival and the unprecedented level of literacy in Wales, the language of the pulpit became the H spoken variety for ordinary people, used in formal discussions or public addresses (Thomas 1987: 102). According to Williams (1994: 86), when the first Welsh-language media were created, this variety was also adopted as the language of formal broadcasts e.g. news bulletins. However, when Welsh became widely used in a less formal context, such as education and popular programmes, the conservative variety did not have enough appeal to ordinary users. As a descendant of literary Welsh, pulpit Welsh remained confined to the domains of religion and literary and musical events, such as the eisteddfod, as many people found it too detached from the colloquial idiom to use it in everyday life (Morris Jones 1993: 193). Obviously, this concerned also the growing number of learners who did not have sufficient social background or confidence to use this variety (Thomas

1987: 102; Williams 1994: 86). On the other hand, it can be argued that pulpit Welsh fulfilled the criteria of authenticity and universality, in that it evolved naturally out of religious writings which were once familiar to the majority of the society, and in that it did not favour any regional variety of the language (cf. Thomas 1982). It carried a weight of tradition and prestige, difficult to achieve by artificially created standard varieties, such as *Cymraeg Byw*.

### 1.2.5.2. *Cymraeg Byw*

Creating a new standard out of vernacular varieties presented considerable difficulties. Firstly, the well-established, conservative register derived from the written language had to be unified with a wide range of its spoken realisations; secondly, a general high regard of Welsh speakers for dialects as forms of ‘pure’, traditional Welsh had to be taken into account (Thomas 1987: 100). Hence there emerged an idea of creating a new variety which would combine elements of different dialects and at the same time bridge the gap between the literary and colloquial. The most influential attempt to achieve this was the *Cymraeg Byw* [Living Welsh] project. It was funded by the government-sponsored Welsh Joint Education Committee and meant to provide guidelines for teaching a standardised form of Welsh in classroom environment. Three booklets of *Cymraeg Byw* were published between 1964 and 1970, although the idea itself emerged earlier (Davies 1988: 200–201).

The Welsh taught to L2 speakers in the post-war period was usually the literary language, quite unlike the colloquial idiom learners heard around them (Davies 1988: 202). For that reason, the new *Cymraeg Byw* approach rejected those grammatical forms and patterns which were claimed to be absent from the spoken language. This led to simplification of certain syntactical and morphological features which were characteristic of literary Welsh, yet often not entirely absent from the colloquial idiom.

This strategy turned out to be the main reason for which *Cymraeg Byw* was widely criticised by teachers (cf. Davies 1988: 204) and linguists (e.g. Thomas 1967, 1982; Fife 1986: 133; D. G. Jones 1988: 148). One objection raised towards the model was that it was too selective and presented a misleading picture of the language spoken. Secondly,

it was criticised for suggesting a clear-cut division between the spoken ‘living’ and literary, ‘dead’ language, although in its creators’ view, it was supposed to serve as a starting point for getting familiar with both registers (Davies 1988: 204).

The envisioned unification of dialect also presented difficulties. Morris Jones (1993: 242) argues that *Cymraeg Byw* in fact allowed for a larger degree of dialectal variation than would have been expected from the original assumptions and thus condoned different dialectal forms, rather than unified them. Nevertheless, it seems that the final product was rejected by many native speakers as artificial, as claimed by Jones, who explains it with the fact that while traditional standard Welsh represented a dialect “common core”, *Cymraeg Byw* is a dialectal fusion, which makes it strange to everyone (Jones 1998: 271–272). Similar opinion was expressed by Fife, who calls *Cymraeg Byw* an artificial blend of dialects with a strong provenance to literary Welsh, which makes it an unnatural “second language” (1986: 144).

All in all, although *Cymraeg Byw* certainly brought a change in classroom strategies of teaching Welsh to L2 speakers, in particular in Welsh courses for adults (Davies 1988: 206), its influence does not appear to be too pervasive in other domains, such as the language of the media (cf. Thomas 1987: 111).

### **1.2.5.3. Broadcast Welsh**

The Welsh-language media BBC Radio Cymru and the television channel S4C, described as “a success story in the world of lesser-used languages” (Löffler 2006: 1102) are one of the most powerful channels through which linguistic norms can be introduced. They constitute a national forum for discussion of a wide variety of subjects, making the audience familiar with modern technical vocabulary as well as a range of dialectal forms and different registers. This may lead to creating a nationally recognised spoken standard:

The language policies and linguistic practices of a television channel can have a far-reaching effect within a minority language community. The fundamental televisual convention of juxtaposing the audio and the visual within the *mise-en-scène* lends itself to the practice of using lesser-known or new forms of speech in a context that is reinforced by paralinguistic elements and the use of images. This can extend the dissemination and comprehension of new or unfamiliar linguistic elements within the language community that in turn may well lead to further dissemination and use by third parties. Similarly, it can promote mutual understanding of different dialects, if it chooses to allow or encourage its presenters and

scriptwriters to use dialect forms of speech in addition to (or instead of) contributing to the development of a 'standard oral language'. (Jones 2007: 194)

Although it cannot be doubted that Welsh language broadcast reaches a significant percentage of Welsh speakers, the viewing figures of recent years show a decrease in the popularity of both the radio and television. In 2014-2015, BBC Radio Cymru reached an average of 119,000 adult listeners per week, a drop by 25,000 in comparison to the previous year (British Broadcasting Corporation 2015: 3)<sup>22</sup>. S4C had an average of 360,000 viewers a week in Wales in 2015, out of whom 173,000 were Welsh-speaking<sup>23</sup>. The decrease is attributed mainly to changing demographics and the falling number of households where everyone speaks Welsh (S4C 2015: 7–13). Another factor might be the number and quality of programmes produced, bearing in mind that funding for the Welsh-language media is constantly being reduced – for instance the cost per hour of S4C broadcast hours has been cut by 35% since 2009 (S4C 2015: 17).

As regards the linguistic norm and standards of the language spoken, the Welsh language media face a number of challenges connected with the three dimensions crucial for a spoken standard mentioned before: the degree of formality, presence of dialects and learners' language. An additional extremely important dimension are the strategies to be employed in a bilingual environment.

As can be expected, the level of formality of broadcast Welsh varies depending on the type of programme. H varieties are bound to be used in factual programmes, such as news or documentaries, while L varieties might be expected in entertainment programmes. This was shown by Ball et al. (1988: 187–190) in their study of BBC Radio Cymru broadcasts. Although originally, as mentioned above, some of the broadcast language was based on the "pulpit" Welsh variety and used the most conservative forms, it was already noticed by C. Thomas (Thomas 1982: 102) that media language was generally less formal than the traditional H variety. This trend continued with the development of Welsh-language television, which introduced a policy of avoiding high-brow language and allowing for the capabilities of the average speaker (Robert 2013: 119). It can be

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<sup>22</sup> The second Welsh-language radio channel, Radio Cymru 2, has been opened in January 2018 and is planned to broadcast two hours a day. The aim of establishing the channel is to attract younger audience (Golwg360 2018).

<sup>23</sup> These figures do not include viewers who used online viewing platforms iPlayer and Clic, which are becoming increasingly popular (S4C 2015: 43).

easily observed that at present the most conservative grammatical forms are generally avoided in media language.

Dialectal diversity is another issue that programme-makers need to cope with. Jones conducted an analysis of dialectal features in the media, concluding that there is an emerging “media dialect” in the speech of media presenters (Jones 1998: 1282). This variety often contains phonological and lexical features of dialects, yet over-use of local vocabulary might be discouraged. On the other hand, it is emphasised that the reporters should use vocabulary which is natural to them. Jones also observed that programmes for L2 speakers presented a simplified, de-dialectalized variety of Welsh, devoid of more complex constructions and idioms (Jones 1998: 275).

Investigating the usage of dialects in fictional programmes, Sayers conducted interviews with the producer of the most popular Welsh soap opera *Pobl y Cwm* (2009: 330–333). The answers suggest that although a number of local dialects are represented in the show, dialectal features which would be incomprehensible to a wider audience are restricted. This illustrates a situation when a balance needs to be found between representing linguistic diversity and accessibility of the speech presented.

These are not the only tensions that S4C has to face being the only Welsh language channel. Yet another challenge are diversified linguistic abilities of bilingual listeners and viewers. This is acknowledged for example in the S4C mission statement:

[w]e will need to continue to deliver content for fluent speakers, for those who are less fluent, for those who are learning as well as those who may not be able to speak Welsh. (S4C 2014: 26–27).

As can be seen, the channel aims to cater for the needs of viewers with little command of Welsh and also those who do not speak it at all. Currently the main strategy applied by S4C is to providing English-langue subtitling. In 2015, subtitles in English were available on 78.05% of Welsh language programmes, whilst Welsh subtitles were available for only 13 hours a week (S4C 2015: 35). This illustrates the imbalance between serving different groups of speakers (in this case non-Welsh speaking viewers, who need English and learners who may prefer Welsh subtitles) and difficult in implementing, presumably due to budget restrictions.

In the public debate over Welsh-language media, the use of English is generally the most controversial issue. To give a recent illustration of this, in 2016, S4C made an

attempt to broaden its audience by further increasing the number of subtitles in English without the option of turning them off. This experiment has caused some public uproar, including an official complaint by Cymdeithas yr Iaith, as many Welsh-speakers believed that an excessive presence of English in the Welsh-language media is threatening for the language's future (Williams 2016). A similar controversy regarding radio arose when BBC Radio Cymru planned to increase the number of English-language songs played (Golwg360: 2014).

It has been observed that, as far as linguistic standards are concerned, programme-makers in Welsh-language media make an effort to maintain the monolingual norm and adhere to standards of correctness and purity. Robert mentions that the S4C guidelines for presenters discourage “needless literary translations from English” and oblige the so-called professional contributors to use “high standard of correctness and articulation”, including correct mutations and noun gender (Robert 2013: 122). No such limitations however, can be put on guests invited to the programmes and the presenters might accommodate to the language of their interlocutors.

All in all, as Robert (2013: 122) claims, S4C guidelines are rather ambiguous. They refer to the notions of standardness and correctness but the meaning of these notions is not specified. On the other hand, they need to face a number of difficulties connected with diglossia, bilingualism and a small number of highly proficient Welsh-speaking contributors. The tensions have been aptly summarised by Uribe-Jongbloed (2015: 7):

Finding Welsh-speaking contributors is more difficult, when not impossible, compared to finding those who can speak English. Also, because they actively try to represent the whole of Wales through their production, they accept varying levels of language ability in Welsh. They find themselves in a quandary. On the one hand, they have to follow strict guidelines defined formally or informally in the production process based on the S4C (2008) language policy guidelines. On the other hand, they strive to produce programmes where people speak the way they normally do, including dialects and English borrowings.

The above evidence illustrates the fact that the Welsh used in the Welsh-language media (in particular television) is far from standardised. The variety of programmes available opens the possibility of portraying Welsh in all its diversity, both as regards dialects and registers and thus, as Ball et al. (1988: 90) suggested, may teach about the appropriateness of a given variety to a given situation. Similarly to the language of the press, broadcast language is in the process of developing a variety that would maintain a degree of ‘correctness’ and ‘standardness’ inherent in the monolingual linguistic norms, at the same



time ensuring inclusion of audience with a limited command of Welsh. With the decline in the number of viewers and listeners of Welsh-language media, pressures to make the language more accessible to learners and attract non-Welsh speaking audience are bound to increase and broadcast Welsh may become increasingly informal, if not simplified.

### **1.2.6. Lexical planning – dictionaries and terminology**

The last area to be described as regards the standardness of Welsh is corpus planning in the context of dictionary-making and terminology planning. As can be seen from previous sections, there is relatively little conscious language-planning in Wales, both as regards grammar and lexicon. As far as grammar is concerned, some norms might be introduced via projects such as *Cymraeg Byw* and *Cymraeg Clir* or the media. Dictionary making is another area where some degree of lexical corpus planning occurs, especially in relation to the expansion of vocabulary through both terminology planning and lexicography (Baker 2010: 108; Robert 2013: 16–17).

General monolingual and bilingual dictionaries play an important role in the process of language standardisation in several respects. They serve as an “arbiter of linguistic standards” (Hartmann and James 2002: 10) and, whether written within a more descriptive or prescriptive approach, are a reliable source of authority for the average user. In consequence, they are an essential reference work for students and professionals dealing with language on everyday basis, such as translators or journalists (see 5.4.1.1). Dictionaries standardise the orthography and, what is of particular significance to the present thesis, recognise certain lexical items as part of the lexicon (Gouws 2009: 266), thus legitimising the usage of a particular word or phrase. This section will present an overview of Welsh dictionaries focusing on the degree of their normativity and descriptiveness.

Welsh lexicography, although lagging somewhat unsurprisingly behind mainstream languages, is at a relatively advanced stage of development, especially in comparison with other Celtic languages (cf. Heinz 2003: 473–486). Despite the fact that some types of dictionaries are still missing, most notably a pronunciation dictionary, an immense progress in Welsh dictionary-making and above all in dictionaries’ accessibility can be observed in recent years, largely due to technological developments.

The current state of Welsh lexicography is of particular relevance for this thesis, which focuses on the lexical aspects of the linguistic norm and analyses the representation of phrasal verbs in Welsh dictionaries (Chapter 4). For this reason, the following sections will describe major lexicographic works currently available. The overview will begin with two largest and most important general-purpose dictionaries of Welsh, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* and *Geiriadur yr Academi* in their online versions. Although originally printed and still available in paper editions, both works have been digitalised and their online versions updated.

#### **1.2.6.1. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru***

*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: a Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (GPC) (Thomas et al. 1967-2002) is a semi-bilingual Welsh-Welsh-English dictionary. This monumental project began in the early 1920s as the first comprehensive historical dictionary of Welsh, a Welsh counterpart of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The first part was published in 1950, but it was not until 2002 that the letter ‘z’ was reached. By that time, however, the first volumes required a thorough revision and the work on the 2nd edition is currently in progress. Since 2014 the dictionary has been available online (University of Wales 2014).

Being the most comprehensive Welsh dictionary, GPC is recommended as serving as the main spelling reference for specialists such as translators (Prys 2015: 42). Other than that, however, as a historical dictionary GPC is of limited use to the average user. GPC is highly descriptive in nature, including obsolete items and coinages, as well as well-established items. The dictionary also contains a great number of colloquial and dialectal items, usually placed at the end of an entry and marked by a label *Ar lafar* (‘spoken’) which suggests their non-standard nature. It can be noticed that the last volumes of the dictionary contain many more of such forms than the first ones, which reflects a change in attitudes towards spoken Welsh which had taken place during the decades of compilation. For the same reason, some modern terms may be absent from the wordlist, which is, however, being updated on a regular basis<sup>24</sup>. All in all, GPC is an immensely important dictionary intended to serve as a standard for orthography, a token of prestige

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<sup>24</sup> For example, the word *e-bost* ‘e-mail’ was added only in 2016.

and an invaluable source on the history of the language. On the other hand, due to the fact that it was practically unavailable to the average user until recently, its popularity might be confined to a narrow circle of specialists. No quantitative studies of GPC's popularity among users have been located, however.

#### **1.2.6.2. *Geiriadur yr Academi***

*Geiriadur yr Academi*, (GA) (Griffiths and Jones 1995) is probably one of the most influential and popular Welsh dictionaries, which is illustrated by the fact it has the colloquial name of “Bruce” after one of its editors. *Geiriadur yr Academi* is a large English-Welsh dictionary based on the *Shorter English and French Dictionary* of 1975. It was published by a society of writers called The Welsh Academy, with the purpose of presenting the Welsh language in all its richness, but also of filling the gaps in Welsh vocabulary (Griffiths and Jones 1995: ix–xi). It offers an extensive coverage of phraseology and comprehensive grammatical information, all of which makes it highly useful in composing texts in Welsh. Since 2012, the dictionary has been available online, but the digitalisation is still in progress, with many incomplete entries marked in pink colour.

The issue of GA's normativity is quite complex. On the one hand the prescriptive approach is reflected in a number of items coined by the authors when an obvious Welsh equivalent was missing. As a consequence, it is not uncommon for the dictionary's user to encounter words which have not been accepted into general use and may appear artificial and obsolete. On the other hand, Prys (2015: 43), describes GA as a descriptive dictionary, in that it does not impose specific terminology, instead recording a range of items that occurred at the time the dictionary was compiled. What is more, the Welsh equivalents encompass a wide variety of registers, including a plethora of dialectal forms. Items belonging to various registers are labelled accordingly, creating a sharp division between standard literary Welsh and local varieties.

As regards standard Welsh, in particular grammar, GA's approach is often strongly prescriptive. This concerns especially patterns that seem to be calqued from English. For example in the entry for *if*, introducing the sense ‘whether’, one can find the following judgemental view:

C. if = whether, introducing indirect questions, after verbs of asking, doubting, wondering, etc.: (the use of *os* in this sense is an Anglicism and a grotesque solecism)<sup>25</sup>

In summary, *Geiriadur yr Academi* attempts to set a strict standard of correctness as regards the “purity” of Welsh grammar and vocabulary, at the same time demonstrating the richness of Welsh in all its dialectal variations. The dictionary has been observed to function as the main authoritative reference work for educated Welsh speakers. For instance, Robert quotes her interviewees, creators of a S4C programme, asking rhetorically “Ble bydden ni heb Bruce?” (‘Where would we be without Bruce?’) (Robert 2013: 179). It was the most popular dictionary included in the quantitative study by Prys et al. with an average of 117,415 searches per month (2015: 356), far outnumbering the other dictionaries investigated. The same was found among speakers interviewed for the present study (5.4.1.1). However, as the editors of the dictionary state in a press interview, the process of updating the online version of the dictionary is at a standstill and it may become outdated in the near future (BBC Cymru Fyw 2015).

### 1.2.6.3. Other online dictionaries

Other online dictionaries that need to be mentioned are Trinity Saint David’s dictionary *geiriadur.net* (TSD) (University of Wales Trinity Saint David 2018), *Geiriadur Bangor* (GB) (Bangor University 2016) and *Gweiadur* (GW).

TSD is an extensive bi-directional bilingual wordlist of over 250,000 headwords based on a *Camu* language course developed at the University of Lampeter, now part of Trinity Saint David University (Campbell 2005). Offering the option of a phrase, as well as word search, the dictionary contains a large number of phrases and example sentences. These are mostly related to official contexts, for example quotations from official documents. The dictionary contains many colloquial items, but few dialectal forms. No labels distinguishing between registers are used. No figures on the popularity of this dictionary are available.

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<sup>25</sup> Since *os* should be used in the sense of conditional *if* only. However, calquing the meaning of this word to the English sense ‘whether’ seems to be very common among the younger generation of Welsh speakers.

*Geiriadur Bangor* (GB) (Bangor University 2016), which replaced the popular BBC Welsh Dictionary in 2014, was developed by Canolfan Bedwyr of Bangor University. It is a bi-directional bilingual aggregate of two dictionaries: a general *Cysgair* dictionary and a terminology dictionary *Y Termiadur Addysg* (see section 1.2.6.5). It is also available as a mobile application *ApGeiriaduron*. This dictionary is an extensive wordlist containing a number of technical terms, targeted primarily at learners of Welsh. It contains few phrases and no example sentences or register labels. As for 2014, the dictionary had an average of over 4,000 searches per month (Prys et al. 2015: 356)

One of the most recent and innovative projects in Welsh lexicography is *Gweiadur* (GWE) by D. Geraint Lewis launched in 2013 (Lewis 2018). It is based on the author's previous works aimed at learners of Welsh, such as *Geiriadur Gomer i'r Ifanc* (1994) dictionary, and a grammar guidebooks *Y Llyfr Berfau* (1995). The core of the project is a large semi-bilingual Welsh-Welsh-English dictionary, accompanied with an English-Welsh index. The entries include definitions in Welsh, English equivalents, examples and usage notes, phrases and idioms, audio pronunciation and links to other dictionaries. The greatest novelty of the dictionary, however, is that it offers full inflection patterns of Welsh verbs, preposition and adjectives in two different varieties: formal and informal. This is an immense step forward in providing learners with easy access to irregular grammatical forms and informs them about differences across registers. In terms of lexicon, GWE generally avoids prescriptive labels, although it does include normative guidelines in usage notes, such as the one in the entry for *os* 'if' related to the calquing phenomenon mentioned before:

peidiwch â defnyddio *os* i gyflwyno cwestiwn anuniongyrchol: 'Gofynnais iddo a oedd yn dod' nid 'os oedd yn dod';

'Do not use *os* to introduce indirect question: "I asked him if he was coming"'

Other features indicating the normative character of the dictionary are a small number of dialectal words and occasional deliberate avoidance of commonly used borrowings from English in favour of native Welsh words. For example, although the word *mwstach* ['moustache'] is to be found in the Welsh-English part, the only equivalent for *moustache* provided by the English-Welsh part is a largely obscure item *trawschw*.

Using GWE requires registration. No figures on the average number of searches of this dictionary have been found; however, as of June 2016, it had over 3,400 registered users.

#### 1.2.6.4. General printed dictionaries

This section will now briefly describe several smaller printed dictionaries of Welsh. The two major volumes, GPC and GA have been described in the section above as they are both available online.

A curious fact about smaller printed dictionaries of Welsh is that, notwithstanding recent developments, the market continues to be dominated by works compiled more than half a century ago. The most popular of those are *Geiriadur Mawr* (Evans and Thomas eds. 1958) and *Geiriadur Bach* (Evans and Thomas eds. 1959), which date back to the 1950s, and *Collins Spurrell* (Amiot-Cadey and Seaton eds. 2009), which is in fact a 1960 revision of *Spurrell's* dictionary first published in 1916<sup>26</sup>. These repeatedly reprinted volumes, whose quality is much below current international standards, offer no more than lists of decontextualized and frequently outdated headwords and equivalents. They tend to misrepresent contemporary Welsh, and are of little use to learners (Campbell 2005; Heinz 2003: 475; Klonowska 2013). Serious deficiencies in currency and good knowledge of Welsh required of the user in order to discriminate between strings of decontextualized equivalents are features that disqualify these dictionaries as useful reference works for purposes other than checking spelling. The deficiencies of *Collins Spurrell* have been at least partly recognised, however, as the latest edition of the dictionary (Beattie ed. 2017) has been extensively updated.

Another, learner-oriented approach to dictionary-compiling is represented by pocket dictionaries written in the 1990s after the introduction of Welsh as a compulsory subject in schools in Wales. *The Welsh Learner's Dictionary* (WLD) (Gruffudd 1998) and *The Pocket Modern Welsh Dictionary* (PMWD) (King 2000), written by experienced teachers of Welsh, were innovative not only in their attempt to include grammatical tips for learners, but also in their focus on a chosen variety of spoken, colloquial Welsh. This

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<sup>26</sup> That is the 1916 J.B. Anwyl's revision of original 19-th century dictionaries by William Spurrell.

approach was much in line with *Cymraeg Byw* and thus is subject to the same critical arguments. A sharp separation of the colloquial from the literary resulted in an underrepresentation of dialectal variations and occasionally inadequate, simplified presentation of the Welsh morphology.

The most recently published dictionary of Welsh is *Geiriadur Cymraeg Gomer* by Geraint and Nudd Lewis (Lewis and Lewis eds. 2016). It is a printed version of *Gweiadur* and as such has the modern features mentioned above, such as comprehensive wordlist and grammatical appendixes acknowledging different registers of Welsh.

#### 1.2.6.5. Terminology dictionaries

The first initiatives of terminology corpus-planning for the Welsh language began in the 1940s (Lewis 1987:20). Over subsequent decades glossaries of specialist terms in various fields were prepared by academic institutions and some basic principles for creating new terms were established:

(...) direct borrowing where the words represented few orthographic problems, the creation of new words using well-established roots and terminations and the resurrection of old words giving them a more technological significance. This procedure was primarily for use in education with Welsh medium education expanding considerably at the time. [following the Welsh Language Act of 1967 - ML] (Williams 1994: 89)

Currently, there is a set of well-developed dictionaries of terminology, the so-called *termiaduron* whose aim is to unify the technical vocabulary (for a list see Prys 2015: 43–45). All major terminology dictionaries, most of which were printed, have been available online since 2010 aggregated on a single website *Porth Termau Cenedlaethol Cymru, The Welsh National Terminology Portal* (Jones et al. 2011). Other popular terminology dictionaries include *Y Termiadur Addysg* (Prys and Prys 2011) and *Geiriadur Termau'r Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol* (Andrews and Prys 2015), intended for pre-university and university students, respectively.

Although terminology planning is an important part of language standardisation, it refers primarily to the concept of unification, rather than prestige or legitimacy (Milroy 2001). However, terminology planning should not be seen as a strictly technical endeavor.

our, since one cannot draw a distinct border between general and technical usage. Technical terms are bound to emerge also in general contexts and consequently terminology planning involves a certain degree of linguistic purism, favouring native terms over borrowings (Robert 2013: 23-24). It is difficult to establish what impact terminology planning has on the average speaker. Robert believes that this may even lead to stigmatisation of speakers who do not conform to the norm (2011: 149), while Baker (2003) claims that

[m]odern Welsh terminological dictionaries, (...) are valuable successes in Welsh corpus (...) language planning. Yet these successes have relatively little impact on the daily language lives of people. None of these are foundational in affecting the everyday language of the vast majority. (Baker 2003: 99)

Such observations are not based on empirical research, though, as no studies of the use of Welsh dictionaries have been conducted, except from some quantitative data on the number of dictionary searches in the study by Prys et al. (2015). This study only concerned online dictionaries developed by Canolfan Bedwyr in Bangor. With so little tangible evidence on the popularity of various dictionaries of Welsh and their actual influence on the Welsh speakers, it can only be supposed that they do play a role in standardising the vocabulary and setting the standards of ‘correct’ Welsh based solely on anecdotal evidence.

### **1.2.7. Standard and non-standard – further remarks**

In comparison to many other minority languages Welsh is in a privileged situation as regards the potential for standardisation. First and foremost, the official status of the language guarantees its functioning in the domain of law, public service and education, creating a range of institutions that may establish a linguistic norm. Welsh-language press and broadcasting media provide every speaker of Welsh with access to the living language used in a wide range of domains, and are potentially a good forum for negotiating linguistic standards between different social groups.

Secondly, Welsh has a long and unbroken literary tradition which formed a basis for a highly standardised and prestigious variety of the language. The centuries-old heritage may be a source of pride to the speakers of Welsh and a socially unifying factor, with cultural events such as eisteddfods ensuring maintenance of literary standards.



Thirdly, modern technology provides ample linguistic resources and favourable conditions for efforts of corpus planners. With the digital revolution, resources which used to be available to narrow circles of specialists, are now to be found online in a matter of seconds. Welsh lexicography, no longer limited by space constraints, enters an era of user-friendly, pedagogically-oriented dictionaries capable of describing the language in all its variety and richness, thus making users familiar with variations across formal and informal registers. The constantly developing corpus of terminology dictionaries also has a standardising potential.

Yet, as has been demonstrated in this overview, multiple and diverse environments that create a linguistic norm translate into several channels of standardisation existing simultaneously and to some extent incompatible with one another. Morris Jones (1993: 171) distinguishes three types of standardisation which are at play in the context of Welsh: imposed, institutional and evolutionary. Characteristically, they are strongly related to formal, semi-formal and informal registers of Welsh, respectively.

The first current of standardisation relates to the imposed norms that are introduced by an authority. These norms are to be found in the H varieties of Welsh which have been labelled here “literary”, “conservative” or “traditional”. Since no language planning institutions like the *Académie Française* or the *Real Academia Española* exist in Wales, a country that until very recently has been devoid of a political centre, the norms are not political in character but associated more with religious and cultural ideas, such as the authority of the Welsh Bible and the centuries-old bardic tradition. Two other manifestations of imposed codification took place in the 20th century. The first is a normative standardisation associated with “Oxford Welsh” and John Morris-Jones’s school of thought, embedded for example in *Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg*. The second is *Cymraeg Byw*, which undoubtedly exercised influence on education. Both of these standards function within a strictly monolingual norm, highlighting the notion of correctness and purity of the language, although *Cymraeg Byw* might not always be consistent with it as it allows for certain degree of dialectal and stylistic variation (Morris Jones 1993: 172). Some dictionaries of Welsh, which are fairly conservative and prescriptive, such as *Geiriadur Mawr* or, to some extent, *Geiriadur yr Academi* might also be seen as belonging to that current.

The second type of standardisation is connected with official institutions, such as press, broadcast, cultural movements, education, administration and business. The varieties of Welsh used there have been hitherto named “semi-formal” or “official”. According to Morris Jones (1993: 172), standards of this variety tend to be based on the notions of correctness and monolingualism along the lines of Morris-Jones’s tradition; the tendency to rely on normative dictionaries has also been indicated in the previous sections. On the other hand, the semi-formal varieties appear to recede from using conservative grammatical patterns or elevated, ‘pure’ lexicon. This is driven by the need to remain comprehensible to contemporary Welsh speakers, the majority of whom will not be familiar with high-brow literary language, viewed by some as elitist or old-fashioned. Indeed, in the Welsh-language Wikipedia article on written Welsh the anonymous author describes this emerging variety using the term “Contemporary Welsh”:

Inspired by *Cymraeg Byw*, a style more informal than traditional literary Welsh was developed for Welsh writing, using grammatical forms of spoken language and standard Welsh vocabulary. It is a compromise between spoken language and formal written Welsh. It was a reaction to the new need for written communication with the public not all of whom were used to reading literary Welsh outside the chapel, following the request for Welsh-language service. This style is called Contemporary Welsh or less formal Welsh. Contemporary Welsh is to be seen in information leaflets, newspaper articles and novels<sup>27</sup>. (“*Cymraeg ysgrifenedig*” 2015)

As can be seen, the new semi-formal standard is expected to draw from resources of both written and spoken language. Gruffudd in fact proposes “careful spoken” as an alternative to conservative H variety used in public communication (2015: 124):

I should claim that what is called “informal” or “careful spoken” is the closest to what might be considered a standard language and also to an acceptable written form. This is the register we should use in materials that will be read by the general public.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> “Yn sgil *Cymraeg Byw* datblygwyd dull mwy anffurfiol na *Chymraeg lenyddol draddodiadol* o ysgrifennu'r *Gymraeg*, mewn arddull a ddefnyddiai ffurfiau gramadegol yr iaith lafar a geirfa *Cymraeg safonol*. Cyfaddawd rhwng iaith lafar a *Chymraeg ysgrifenedig ffurfiol* ydyw. Gelwir yr arddull hon yn *Gymraeg Cyfoes* neu yn *Gymraeg llai ffurfiol*. Ymateb ydoedd i'r angen newydd am gyfathrebu ar bapur â'r cyhoedd nad oeddynt i gyd wedi arfer â darllen *Cymraeg llynyddol* tu allan i'r capel, yn sgil y galw am wasanaeth trwy gyfrwng y *Gymraeg*. Gwelir *Cymraeg Cyfoes* mewn taflenni gwybodaeth, erthyglau papur newydd ac mewn nofelau.”

<sup>28</sup> “Byddwn i'n honni mai'r hyn sydd yma'n 'anffurfiol' neu'n 'llafar gofalus' sydd agosaf at yr hyn y mae modd ei ystyried yn iaith lafar safonol a hefyd at ffurf ysgrifenedig dderbyniol. Dyma'r cywair y byddai'n dda i ni ei ddefnyddio mewn deunydd fydd yn cael ei ddarllen gan y cyhoedd yn gyffredinol.”

Similarly, a recent report commissioned by S4C concludes that media language remains too formal and there is more of a need for “everyday” language that would attract a wider audience, “normalise less perfect Welsh” and “better reflect the way that people often speak”<sup>29</sup>. Such examples show that institutional standards are in the process of development, with a tendency to ever stronger adherence to norms of the colloquial, rather than literary. The phrase “normalise less perfect Welsh” is a good description of this tendency, in view of the growing number of L2 speakers and seemingly decreasing familiarity with literary registers.

Finally, the third type of standardisation distinguished by Morris Jones is evolutionary standardisation, which takes place through the naturally changing habits of speakers, who are not guided by authorities and institutions and who might reject imposed norms. While the previous two types of standardisation rely primarily on the monolingual norm and the language of influential speakers/writers, the same cannot be said of norms emerging among speakers living in bilingual (if not mostly English-speaking) environments. One may refer to the notion of *covert prestige* (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 85) where non-standard forms may be favoured as a sign of one’s identity as a member of a group. According to this concept, it is the colloquial forms that could be seen as more ‘prestigious’ for some Welsh speakers.

The influence of the colloquial language of bilingual speakers, a significant percent of whom are new speakers, is the least tangible and at the same time the most interesting element of the standardisation of Welsh. John Morris-Jones’s criterion of standardness based on intuitions of an educated Welsh monoglot ceased to be valid roughly half a century ago; it is only the bilingual speaker whose intuitions can be taken into account while discussing modern standards. Otherwise one might expect discrepancies between imposed and institutional monolingual norms, which now have only written standards as their basis, and the habits of ordinary speakers. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that evolutionary standardisation cannot be seen as completely natural and “bottom-up”, since speakers’ practices are to some degree affected by institutional linguistic norms introduced for instance by media or educational institutions (Morris Jones 1993: 173).

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<sup>29</sup> “Portreadu Cymraeg anffurfiol mwy 'bob dydd' ar y radio a'r teledu a allai helpu i normaleiddio Cymraeg llai perffaith, ac adlewyrchu'n well y ffordd mae pobl yn siarad yn aml (...)”.

The three types of standardisation form an intricate whole and influence one another. Tensions between the formal norm and the process of creating a “contemporary”, semi-formal register have been indicated by a number of researchers (Fife 1986; B. P. Jones 1988; Gruffudd 1998; Robert 2011), particularly in relation to the written language, for example in the evidence for reluctance in using official documents in Welsh presented above. Similar issues have been observed in the spoken mode. Müller and Ball describe the phenomenon of interlinguistic diglossia (Müller and Ball 2005: 12) where speakers of Welsh who do not have much access to the H variety prefer to switch to English. The same has been observed by Kaufman in her study of public meetings in city councils in North Wales (Kaufmann 2009: 134), where some Welsh speakers preferred using English in situations requiring formal registers.

The present time is one of dynamic changes within the Welsh-speaking community, not only in view of the internal factors, such as mixed abilities of the speakers, low confidence levels and various access to planned language (Robert 2013: 107), but also external ones, such as the Internet culture which has deeply changed the character of written language and the relation between spoken and colloquial. Difference between the written and spoken have been waning due to the variety of social activities pursued with new forms of communication such as e-mail, text messaging and social networking sites (Robert 2013: 26). On the other hand, one should be careful in discarding the most formal H varieties of Welsh and labelling them as ‘dead’, ‘traditional’ and ‘conservative’, as they constitute a vital part of the linguistic landscape. However, there is the need to reconsider a notion of standard based on classical written language, which, as Millar puts it, may “exert such an influence upon the new standard as to stunt its development, or at least divert its development in otherwise unexpected directions, since they do not encourage a close connection between the spoken and written contemporary language” (Millar 2005: 92).

In the context of the present investigation of the standardness of phrasal verbs in Welsh, the focus will therefore be on the developing semi-formal registers of Welsh and the integration and acceptability of phrasal verbs therein. It is notable that in comparing different registers the above discussion of standards has concentrated on the grammatical features rather than lexicon. Indeed, as Jones and Chapman (2000: 53) comment:

The difference between the literary, official and colloquial language is not obvious as regards the vocabulary, but rather in syntax, grammar and morphology. Therefore register is

not particularly important while discussing the subjects of teaching vocabulary to learners<sup>30</sup>.

However, it cannot be doubted that ideologies of lexical purism exist in the minds of many speakers, which is expressed, for example, in using negatively loaded words such as *annerbyniol* (unacceptable), *ansafonol* (non-standard), *anghywir* (incorrect), *amhur* (impure), *llygredig* (corrupted), *dirywiad* (decline) and *bratiaith* ('slang'), while talking about non-standard varieties of Welsh (Morris Jones 1993: 126). Negative valuing of certain lexical items borrowed from English is undoubtedly an element of this ideology. The English elements in Welsh are one of the tokens of the *sub-standard*, defined here "a manner of discourse which deviates in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary from a common standard. As opposed to the neutral term non-standard, sub-standard dialects may carry a social stigma." (Hartmann and James 2002: 225). As the definition indicates, the notion of sub-standardness is inherently connected with value-judgements, measuring speakers' achievement in mastering the language.

It is precisely in the standard written language that language mixing is deemed poor and crude, and at worst proof of a lack of linguistic competence. (...) The written standard thus gains a taken-for-granted status to such an extent that it even regularly serves as a benchmark for "good" spoken language. (Musk 2012: 664)

The negative valuing of borrowing and language-mixing is thus connected with linguistic prescriptivism or purism which stem from cultural and political factors, as well as linguistic discourse within the academia. Such ideas naturally change over time. The next part of the chapter will present an overview of the influence of English on Welsh and changing views on borrowings from English in order to trace the evolution of attitudes towards them observed today.

### **1.3. Welsh and English in contact – the influence of English on Welsh**

Although the contact between Welsh and English began centuries ago, English did not become the major language in Wales until the 20th century (Löffler 2008: 350). While

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<sup>30</sup> "Nid yw'r gwahaniaeth rhwng yr iaith lenyddol, yr iaith swyddogol a'r iaith lafar yn amlygu ei hun yng ngeirfa'r iaith, ond yn hytrach mae'n amlwg o ran cystrawen, gramadeg a morffoleg. Felly, nid yw'r cywair hwn yn arbennig o berthnasol wrth drafod y pwnc o ddysgu geirfa i ddysgwyr."

some parts of Wales were English-speaking already in the early Middle Ages, the two languages remained clearly separated and little bilingualism existed until the 18th century. Anglo-Welsh literature developed only in the 1920s. Filppula et al. (2008: 137) call this “diglossia without bilingualism” as English and Welsh had different social functions and the contact between the two speakers’ communities was limited. The situation changed after the industrial revolution, which marked the beginning of the language shift. The number of Welsh monoglots dropped rapidly; the 1981 National Census was the last one in which they were included. Nonetheless, although English is spoken by nearly all the inhabitants of Wales and is the dominant language in the country, Welsh appears to be a stronger identity marker than English (Löffler 2008: 350).

Changes in Welsh brought by contact with English are easily observable in the presence of numerous lexical borrowings, changes in the language’s morphology and syntax and other mechanisms such as widespread code-switching. Paradoxically, the strong influence of English on Welsh has been given relatively little attention among scholars until recently, be it for ideological reasons or presumed obviousness of the influence. Although in the last two decades the number of publications concerning various aspects of contact-induced language change in Welsh has grown, research on lexical borrowing, particularly multiword items, has been scarce. The following subsections will define and discuss concepts related to language contact and lexical transfer relevant to the thesis, and present an overview of the available literature on the influence of English on Welsh, with focus on phraseology and idioms. The final part will reflect on the standardisation-related ideologies among Welsh speakers regarding the English element in Welsh.

### **1.3.1. Language contact, language change and transfer**

#### **1.3.1.1. Language contact**

Language contact is defined here as the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time (Thomason 2001: 1). The present study falls within the field of contact linguistics, which is a relatively new area of research, embracing various academic fields

such as linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropology, and education (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 5). Systematic studies of language contact began in mid-twentieth century with the ground-breaking works by Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1950, 1953). After the period when relatively little research into contact situations was done due to the rise of generative linguistics and its focus on Universal Grammar, interest in the discipline was re-sparked by an influential publication by Thomason and Kaufman *Language contact, creolization and genetic linguistics* (1988), which set the basis for theoretical and empirical framework for language contact studies, further developed in works such as van Coetsem (2000), Grosjean (2001), Thomason (2001), Myers-Scotton (2002) Winford (2003), Heine and Kuteva (2005) and Hickey (2010). Currently, contact linguistics is concerned with all processes related to language contact, be it socio-political conflicts or language change in terms of lexicon, morphosyntactic aspects of the grammar and phonology (Myers-Scotton 2002: 4).

The present study discusses verb-particle constructions as a case of potential lexical transfer between Welsh and English. The major process involved in lexical transfer between languages is borrowing, which in the case of minority languages as a rule occurs in one direction, that is borrowing words from dominant into minority language (Sankoff 2001: 649). Based on literature in contact linguistics this section will briefly delineate issues and concepts related to contact-induced change valid for this thesis and establish terminology used in the subsequent chapters.

Prior to the publication of Thomason and Kaufman (1988), studies on borrowing within contact linguistics were fairly rare as language change had been most often attributed to internal causes. However, in the last thirty years much research has been done with regard to grammatical constraints on borrowing, phonological, syntactic and morphological integration of borrowed words, the classification of borrowings and distinguishing them from other language contact phenomena e.g. code-switching (Treffers-Daller 2010: 17-18, Winford 2010). While discussing contact-induced mechanisms, it should be noted, however, that the emergence of idiomatic phrasal verbs in Welsh might not be attributable solely to language contact, but also to internal language development or a combination of the two. There are cases when classifying directly translatable items, such as Welsh phrasal verbs, as borrowings or native constructions proves to be an extremely difficult task, not the least because of difficulties in ascertaining what 'native' means. Chronological classification can be made only on the basis of written attestations

(with historical dictionaries as the easiest accessible source of data), thus ignoring the fact that a word might have entered the spoken language a long time before (cf. Flohr 2013:69). This question will be further addressed in Chapters 2 and 3 considering some diachronic aspects of phrasal verbs in Welsh and the potential of the language to create its own idiomatic phrasal verbs without the influence of English. Despite these reservations it cannot be doubted that with regard to the majority of Welsh idiomatic phrasal verbs contact-induced processes are at play.

### **1.3.1.2. Contact-induced change and lexical transfer**

Contact-induced change is defined as “the adoption of a structural feature into a language as a result of some level of bilingualism in the history of the relevant speech community” (Treffers-Daller 2012: 56). A framework for analysing language change has been established by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) who challenged the traditional structuralist view that contact-induced language depends on purely linguistic factors, i.e. the structure of the languages in contact. In these researchers’ view the primary determinant of contact-induced change are social factors, such as prestige, intensity of contact and language attitudes (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 35). According to Backus (2004: 179), the causes of contact-induced change can be further assigned to ultimate causes – social factors, such as dominance and prestige – which find their reflection in proximal causal mechanisms, such as code-switching.

The effects of contact-induced change are commonly referred to as *transfer* of linguistic material (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 4). The term “transfer” has been used interchangeably with “interference”, especially in early studies of language contact, such as Weinreich (1953:1), who defined interference phenomena broadly as “those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of language contact”. However, the present study follows Grosjean (2012), in whose model *transfer* is used in a narrower sense of “static phenomena which reflect permanent traces of one language (La) on the other (Lb) in the bilingual”, distinguished from *interference*, which denotes “the dynamic phenomena which are elements of the other language which slip into the output of the language being spoken (or written) and



hence interfere with it” (Grosjean 2012: 15). Thus in the present context transfer is identified with the process of borrowing. Following Haspelmath (2009: 37) the language from which a borrowing has been transferred is termed the *donor language*, and the language into which it has been transferred is the *recipient language*<sup>31</sup>.

While discussing potential transfer one should also consider the situation of the recipient language, taking into account Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) distinction between two contact situations: language shift and maintenance. Language shift occurs when speakers abandon their native language in favour of the language of the people they are in contact with (target language). The linguistic result has been termed *substratum interference* and involves changes to the target language due to imperfect learning (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:41-42). As described before, language shift from Welsh to English occurred in Wales in the 19th and 20th century (cf. Kandler et al. 2010: 3855) and led to the emergence of Welsh varieties of English. However, nowadays, as described in 1.1., due to revitalisation efforts the situation of Welsh is generally that of stable bilingualism, i.e. language maintenance, the situation when “the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated feature” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 37). It is in this situation that borrowing occurs. Its nature depends on the intensity of contact: when it is casual, changes involve only the lexicon, but as the intensity increases grammatical structures might be affected as well (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 50). According to Sankoff (2001: 642), the situation of stable bilingualism is the one most likely to lead to the acceptance of borrowed structures within the recipient language.

One more concept to be mentioned here is *metatypy*, also called extreme structural borrowing which may take place in long-term bilingualism. This term, introduced by Ross (1996) pertains to a maintenance situation and denotes a thorough restructuring of a language due to influence of another, up to the point when every sentence in the recipient language becomes a calque (Trask 1993: 212). In his revised definition, Ross (2007: 116) distinguishes metatypy from calquing, in that the latter precedes metatypy chronologically. A review of literature on English borrowings in Welsh featuring these concepts will be presented in 1.3.2.

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<sup>31</sup> Several alternative terms are used in the literature, notably those introduced by Weinreich, who distinguished between *source language* and *recipient language* for the transfer of morphemes and *model language* and *replica language* when no morphemes are transferred (Weinreich 1963: 30-31).

It should be also borne in mind while discussing mechanisms of transfer and the extent to which they occur that bilingual societies such as Welsh are characterised by greater inter-individual variation, varying degrees of proficiency and lack of uniformed structural base in comparison with monolingual and majority-language communities (Sankoff 2001: 642). Moreover, individual speakers may switch between different *linguistic modes*. This term has been introduced by Grosjean and is defined as “the state of activation of the bilingual’s languages and language processing mechanisms at a given point in time” (Grosjean 2012: 12). In this view bilingualism is a continuum, where speakers are able to adapt the level of interference in their language to their interlocutor and switch between ‘monolingual’ and ‘bilingual’ modes. The mode modulates the degree of transfer and interference in the speech of an individual, with code switching and borrowing occurring in the bilingual situation and being suppressed in monolingual contexts (Grosjean 2012: 13). This distinction is topical for the thesis which investigates the linguistic norm in Welsh and therefore focuses on the monolingual mode embedded mostly in writing.

The influence of one language on another may manifest itself in the transfer of meaning, form, structure, or various combinations thereof (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 2). Moreover, other than creating new items and structures, contact influence may also lead to changes in the frequency of use of constructions already existing in the language (Pakendorf 2013: 200). As will be discussed in the subsequent chapters, the transfer of phrasal verbs involves several transfer mechanisms, not only on the level of lexicon but also structure and frequency of use. For this reason, further discussion requires the use of some concepts related to borrowing based on structuralist frameworks, which will be now described.

### **1.3.1.3. Borrowing and its integration**

The term *borrowing* has been defined in many different ways. Debates among scholars over the definition concern the question whether and how it should be differentiated from interference as well as transfer of meaning and syntactic relations (cf. Winford 2010). For the purpose of this thesis and concerning the situation of Welsh, *borrowing* is understood as a term for “all kinds of transfer or copying processes, whether they are due to native

speakers adopting elements from other languages into the recipient language, or whether they result from non-native speakers imposing properties of their native language onto a recipient language” (Haspelmath 2009: 36).

A distinction useful for this thesis has been made by Myers-Scotton (2002), who distinguishes between *cultural* and *core* borrowings. Core borrowings are words “that more or less duplicate already existing words in the L1”, while cultural borrowings denote objects and concepts new to the culture. Whilst core borrowings enter the recipient language gradually, cultural borrowings are likely to be quickly integrated (Myers-Scotton 2002: 41). As will be discussed in the analytical chapters of the thesis, although many phrasal verbs in Welsh belong to the first category, competing with native items, cases of cultural borrowings may also be found.

Regarding the competition with native words, Pulcini et al. distinguish the following three effects of a borrowing, based on Haspelmath (2009):

(a) insertion, when the loanword is adopted by the recipient language as a new lexical item;

(b) coexistence, when the loanword is adopted by the recipient language in spite of the existence of a native equivalent;

(c) replacement, when the loanword is adopted by the recipient language replacing an already-existent native equivalent which, as a consequence, falls out of use. (Pulcini et al. 2012: 16).

These possible effects of the emergence of borrowed phrasal verbs on native Welsh vocabulary will be explored in the analytical chapters.

*Integration* is another concept crucial for the discussion of verb-particle constructions in Welsh. It is a process by which bilingual speakers adapt items in the donor language to the phonological, morphological and syntactic patterns of the recipient language (Poplack 2017: 8). In fact, borrowing has been described as the integration of one language into another (Grosjean 2010: 58). Levels of integration of borrowings depend on a great number of both socio-linguistic and structural aspects. Among social factors Winford (2010: 177-178) enumerates the need to express a concept that does not exist in the recipient language (i.e. cultural borrowings), prestige of the dominant language, the degree of bilingualism, the demographics and power relationships, attitudes, language loyalty and language ideologies. Linguistic factors that may also put constraints on borrowing include the word class, degree of typological distance and congruence in structure

across languages (Winford 2010: 177-178). As will be discussed further in the thesis many of these factors might play a role in the integration of borrowed phrasal verbs in Welsh.

A notion closely related to integration is entrenchment, i.e. the degree to which a loanword is known to a speaker, determined by the frequency of use (Backhus 2004:179). Backhus notes that when a borrowing competes with native constructions the degree of entrenchment depends on use of it in both the donor and recipient language: “Therefore, it is not just the importation of L2 patterns into L1 speech that affects language change; fluctuations in language choice, such as the encroachment of the L2 in domains previously reserved for L1, also determine the differential use of these constructs” (Backhus 2004:179). Frequency of use of phrasal verbs in semi-formal written Welsh will be examined in Chapter 3 of the thesis.

Borrowings are often placed in opposition to *native words*, that is words which can be identified in the earliest known stages of a language (Haspelmath 2009: 38). Although this distinction is often recognised by speakers and researchers, from a logical standpoint its validity is somewhat questionable, given that one can hardly ever be certain whether or not a word had been borrowed from another language at some point in history; therefore it may be more valid to talk about the level of integration or entrenchment of borrowed items. According to Grosjean (2001: 335) a borrowing “is finally accepted when it is no longer treated differently from other words in the language and when dictionaries, national academies and influential writers accept it. It is then a loanword only in the historical sense.” Similar criteria in establishing the integration of phrasal verbs in Welsh will be used in the thesis when examining their stylistic markedness (Chapter 3) representation in dictionaries and teaching materials (Chapter 4) and acceptability among professional speakers (Chapter 5).

#### **1.3.1.4. Classification of borrowings**

Borrowings can be further subdivided into several categories depending on the mechanism of the process. The first and most basic type of borrowing is *loanword*, where an item is transferred from one language into another, functioning in the usual grammatical processes of the recipient language (Hoffer 2005: 53).

The Welsh language is abundant in loanwords from English, particularly in its spoken varieties (cf. Parina 2010). In fact, there is a considerable difference in the frequency of use of English loanwords between spoken and written language. According to Thomas (1987: 107), in the second half of the 20th century Welsh underwent massive relexification with a great number of Welsh words introduced into formal language to replace Anglicisms. As a result, many loanwords from English exist along with native terms (see also Morris Jones 1993: 86). Some borrowings seem to be preferred in the spoken register, due to the fact that the ‘proper’ Welsh words, often recent coinages, evoke formality and ‘big Welsh’ (cf. Fife 1986: 147; D. G. Jones 1988: 156). In some cases there seems to be a slight semantic difference when the English item is associated with modern, while the Welsh one with more traditional life. Hincks (2007: 14) provides the example of *cawl* for ‘soup’ vs. *swp* for ‘instant soup’. A. R. Thomas (1987) claims that that native forms are usually associated with standard and formal language, while borrowed items pertain to the casual use, e.g. *cerddoriaeth* and *miwsig* for ‘music’. However, Robert (2013: 81) notes cases when loanwords appear to be less accepted in terms of frequency e.g. *doctor* appears to be less popular than *meddyg* ‘doctor’.

The second type of borrowing, which is of most relevance to the present study is calquing. In fact idiomatic phrasal verbs are one of the most recognised cases of calquing from English into Welsh (cf. Thomas 1987: 107). A *calque*, also called *loan translation*, is “a complex lexical unit (either a single word or a fixed phrasal expression) that was created by an item-by-item translation of the (complex) source unit” (Haspelmath 2009: 39). In contrast to loanwords, calques are often a barely noticeable phenomenon: “it is a form of externally motivated change that can affect both the lexis and the syntax of a language but that appears largely undetectable at first glance due to the fact that it is the meaning rather than the form of the foreign item which is borrowed” (Jones and Singh 2013: 40). With regard to phraseology in particular, establishing whether a unit formally similar to another language is a calque or whether it is an outcome of internal language development is not always easy to make (Fiedler 2012: 248). On the other hand, calques may be also intentional creations motivated by ideologies of purism, where loan translations are introduced as part of official language planning to prevent the usage of loanwords (Görlach 2003: 97).

In Welsh calques from English occur in both single items and phrases. For example, the Welsh *sglefrfwrdd* ‘skateboard’ is a replication of *skateboard* (*sglefrio* ‘to

skate' + *bwrdd* 'board'), while *y Rhyngrwyd* is the equivalent of *the Internet* (*rhwng* 'between' + *rhywd* 'net'). It should be noted that a great number of loan translations in Welsh have been coined by language planners (Musk 2006: 406) to fill the gaps in technological and scientific vocabulary, e.g. *meddalwedd* 'software' (*meddal* 'soft' + *gwedd* 'form'), *plaleiddiad* 'pesticide' (*pla* 'pest' + *lleiddiad* 'killer'). Others are coined by speakers on an everyday basis; a good example is *Gweplyfr*, a recently created Welsh name for Facebook (*gwep* 'face' + *llyfr* 'book')<sup>32</sup>. Welsh has also a great number of idioms and idiomatic phrases which appear to be calqued from English, such as *cwmpo mewn cariad* 'fall in love' (for other examples see Fowkes 1945). As the majority of phrasal verbs can be translated word-for-word into English there is a case to consider them to be calques. This matter will be examined in detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

Other two types of borrowing to be defined are loanblends and semantic loans. A *loanblend* is a form in which one element is a loanword and the other a native element (Hoffer 2005: 54). A common type of loanblends in Welsh are English verbs to which the derivational ending *-o* or *-io* is added, for instance *cicio* 'kick', *paentio* 'paint'. As will be shown in Chapter 2, a considerable number of phrasal verbs in Welsh, such as *ffeindio allan* 'find out' belong to this category.

The last type of borrowing in the classification used here is *semantic loan*, or *loanshift*, which occurs when a meaning of a given item in the donor language has been transferred into the recipient language (Hoffer 2002: 5). An example in Welsh is *llygoden* 'mouse' used for the computer mouse. Cases of the extension of meanings of Welsh transparent phrasal verbs into idiomatic ones will be discussed in the analytical chapters of the thesis.

### 1.3.1.5. Borrowing vs code-switching

A phenomenon closely related to borrowing is *code-switching*. It is worth mentioning in this dissertation in the context of a type of phrasal verbs, called here, after Rottet (2005) "wholesale borrowings" (see 2.4.4.) which are highly integrated loanwords from English

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<sup>32</sup> The name is not widely used, though, and rejected by some speakers (see interviews, 5.4.4.1).

and as such might be difficult to differentiate from code-switching. The term code-switching may be ambiguous due to a multitude of definitions. In the broader sense, it may denote “all phenomena where elements from at least two linguistic systems (separate languages, or distinguishable varieties of one language) are used in the same speech situation” (Müller and Ball 2005: 49). This definition encompasses lexical borrowings, intra- and intersentential code-switching and switching languages between speakers. The present study will follow a narrower definition after Thomason (2001: 132), who understands code-switching as “the use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation”. One may distinguish then between intrasentential and intersentential code-switching, i.e. one that occurs within one sentence or between sentences. Yet another distinction is made between code-switching and code-mixing: the first refers to “the choice of a language on a given occasion, depending on the circumstances or the subject matter”, while code-mixing refers to switching within one sentence or conversation (Trask 1993: 61). This distinction will not be used in this thesis.

As the border between borrowing and code-switching may be blurred, attempts have been made to distinguish between the two using the criteria of long-term establishment, social significance, acceptance into dictionaries and frequency; some researchers distinguish an in-between category of nonce-borrowings (for detailed discussion see Hoffer 2002; Stammers and Deuchar 2012; Poplack and Dion 2012) which will also not be used in this study. The type of phrasal verbs which are not calqued but borrowed directly from English will be distinguished from code-switching in the corpus study in Chapter 3 on the basis of their Welsh spelling in the text, which suggests phonological integration.

Having introduced the key terms and concepts necessary for the discussion of transfer phenomena between Welsh and English, the next section will present an overview of literature on the subject, with focus on studies on lexical borrowing.

### 1.3.2. English borrowings in Welsh – literature review

In the field of investigating lexical borrowings from English into Welsh, T.H. Parry-Williams's (1923) ground-breaking Ph.D. thesis<sup>33</sup> still remains the most comprehensive work on the subject. The study is concerned with single-item loanwords rather than phrases. In the introduction, the author presents an overview of the presence of English loanwords throughout the history of Welsh literature and attitudes of Welsh writers and scholars towards them. This is followed by an extensive analysis of Anglicisms extracted from a corpus of literary texts, focusing on sound-changes and the rules that govern them (see 1.3.3).

Later works have little expanded on Parry-William's thesis. The first modern synchronic study of the English element in Welsh was a series of articles by Fowkes (1945, 1948, 1949, 1954), each of them focusing on a different aspect of the phenomenon: idioms, prosody, initial mutations and gender of the noun. The first of the four articles (Fowkes 1945) devoted to idioms deserves special attention in the context of this thesis. It presents varying degrees of patency of English borrowings, from obvious loanwords to syntactic calques. The article contains a long list of examples of calquing in both written and spoken language, including a considerable number of phrasal verbs (see 2.3.1). Finally, Fowkes points out that similar calques can be found in the literature of past centuries, but hardly any are to be seen in Middle Welsh texts. The conclusion is that transfer processes had begun centuries ago and accelerated in contemporary times (Fowkes 194:247-248).

The subsequent decades of the 20th century witnessed few studies on lexical borrowings, as researches seemed to focus primarily on dialectology (Thomas 1973; Thomas and Thomas 1989; Jones 1998; Thomas ed. 2000). In the last twenty years, the majority of studies on the English influence on Welsh were conducted in areas other than lexicon, such as morphology, syntax and phonology. Jones (1998) investigated two diverse linguistic communities in south-east and north-east Wales in the context of language shift, dialect loss, attitudes to Welsh and the standardising effect of education. She observed a strong tendency among young speakers of Welsh from both communities to use grammatical forms which would be historically considered inappropriate. Phillips (2007) has

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<sup>33</sup> It was preceded by several 19<sup>th</sup> century publications (see Parina 2010: 183–184).



analysed changes of subsystems in the Welsh language and the loss or reduction of certain characteristic, “Celtic” features of Welsh, such as mutations, vigesimal numerals, voiceless nasals and inflected prepositions. Pointing at intergenerational differences, he concludes that these features are “receding or already extinct” in the language of younger speakers (Phillips 2007: 154). Other papers describing changes in Welsh under the English influence are Willis (2008) on new patterns of negation, Davies (2010) on word-order convergence and auxiliary deletion in bilinguals and Nicoladis and Gavrilu (2015) on the production of adjectival constructions in Welsh-English bilingual children. Phonetic aspects of English borrowings in Welsh have been investigated by Buczek-Zawiła (2014) in her study of accent accommodation and Asmus and Anderson (2015) on vowel length. Cross-linguistic variation in the production of consonants in bilingual speech was investigated by Morris (2013) and Morris et al. (2016). Mayr et al. (2017) researched the effects of individual bilingualism and long-term language contact on monophthongal vowel production.

Another language contact phenomenon which has attracted some attention is code-switching (e.g. Deuchar 2006; Deuchar and Davies 2009; Musk 2010; Stammers and Deuchar 2012; Deuchar et al. 2016). Notably, Deuchar and Davies (2009) have researched patterns of code-switching among speakers of Welsh in order to establish the stage of advancement of the language shift. Code-switching occurred mostly in the informal language. The dominant pattern was insertion, a typical case of code-switching, indicating the first stage of bilingualism, characteristic for stable bilingualism. Stammers and Deuchar (2012) analysed patterns of soft mutation in English-origin verbs in Welsh and demonstrated that their integration is related to frequency, thus establishing the difference between borrowing and code-switching in Welsh. Deuchar et al.’s corpus study (2016) found that code-switching was more widespread among young people and those who acquired Welsh and English at the same time.

A small number of publications related to lexical borrowings have appeared in the last ten years. Among them is ‘The English Element of Welsh’ by Grey (2008), which remains unpublished (cited by Parina 2010: 184). Parina’s paper (2010) is one of the first attempts at quantitative analysis of English borrowings in Welsh using the electronic CEG corpus. In the analysis of 1000 most frequent words in the corpus, there were 87 Latin borrowings and 40 English borrowings. Parina sets her research in the context of language

ideology and purism regarding negative stances towards borrowing from English and postulates acceptance of the diversity of Welsh vocabulary.

A notable recent publication concerned with the borrowing of idioms is Flohr's (2013) comparative study of translations of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* into Welsh and Irish. The author of the study calculated the number of borrowings from English in a sample taken from these translations and compared them with translations into other European languages. He concludes that the percentage of loanwords and calques in the Welsh translation is exceptionally high and the English influence is much more profound and extensive than in any other European language (Flohr 2013: 103). Naturally, these results need to be treated with caution, as the conclusions are derived from a single text sample which may reflect the translator's idiolect or her individual translation strategy.

Another study demonstrating the extent of English influence on Welsh phraseology is Woolridge (2011), who investigated the use of the spell-checker tool *Cysill* to recognise English interference in Welsh texts. The author has conducted a study on a parallel corpus in which two professional translators evaluated texts translated from English into Welsh. It emerged that 62% of cases of interference occurred in the field of phraseology, 30% in syntax and 8% in vocabulary (2011: 129).

Some valuable observations regarding borrowings were also made by Robert (2013) in her investigation of the implementation of language planning initiatives in the Welsh-language media and in workplaces. The author places her research in the context of ideologies of purism, concluding that they were rather prevalent in both examined dataset, in that borrowings from English appeared to be avoided in standard language.

The above literature overview demonstrates that lexical borrowings from English into Welsh have not been given much attention until very recently. It has been suggested by Parina (2010: 184) that there were ideological reasons behind this gap and the lack of publications demonstrates deliberate avoidance of the subject as one politically incorrect. It is characteristic that since the times of T.H. Parry-Williams nearly all the scholars publishing on the subject have come from outside Wales. Indeed, discourse on the English element in Welsh does seem to be ideologically biased, as borrowings are frequently seen as a sign of language deterioration. On the other hand, as shown above, more and more arguments proposing the acceptance of the current language change can be heard in recent years.

### 1.3.3. Ideological stances towards borrowing from English – an overview

Ideological stances towards the English element in Welsh have fluctuated over the course of history, from broad acceptance of loanwords to linguistic purism. As T.H. Parry-Williams noted:

Welsh has no doubt been subject to the vagaries of linguistic fashion. There are times when borrowing is popular and is being encouraged, and times when such a practice meets with the condemnation of the literary leaders and scholars of the day. (Parry-Williams 1923: 15)

Several such stages may be distinguished in the history of Welsh. Naturally, before modern times, little is known about the spoken language, therefore one can only discuss the linguistic norm inferred from the available written corpus. According to Parry-Williams (1923: 12 ff.), the first known borrowings from English are to be found in the earliest examples of Welsh literature from the 8th and 9th century, although they might be easily confused with borrowings from Old Norse. A substantial number of Anglicism can be found in the medieval prose of the 13th - 15th centuries and in the late poetry of *Gogynfeirdd* (court poets of the 13th century). The borrowings found at that time appear to be stylistically marked and used primarily for satirical purposes. From the 14th century onwards, the new generation of poets known as *Cywyddwyr*, the most famous of whom was Dafydd ap Gwilym, began to diverge from the diction of their predecessors by seeking inspiration in the satirical language of the lower order of bards (*Clerwyr*), whose language was less formal and probably closer to the spoken idiom. *Cywyddwyr*'s poetry is abundant in Anglicisms, which were, however, still used largely to the effect of satire or caricature. There are even examples of writing *cynganedd* in English dating to the 15th century (Heinz 2010: 26).

These trends belong to the period when Welsh flourished and the threat of English dominance was not significant. With diminishing prestige and position of Welsh after the Acts of Union, one may observe the beginning of resistance to borrowings caused by the strength and conservatism of the literary tradition (Hincks 2007: 16). Bards were supposed to keep the language pure from foreign influence and some authors were critical of using too many loanwords in poetry (Parry-Williams 1923: 6). A fashionable theory among scholars and writers such as Edward Lhwyd (1660-1790) and Theophilus Evans (1693-1767) was that English borrowings are in fact 'native' Welsh words borrowed by

the English before the conquest of Wales. At the same time, the number of loanwords from English continued to grow, especially in free metre poetry and prose, which suggests that the spoken language was already permeated with borrowings. The difference between the standards in spoken and written Welsh became more prominent in the 18th and especially the 19th century, when the climax of linguistic purism occurred. Scholars of the time introduced a plethora of new, often bizarre Welsh coinages into literature and dictionaries in order to avoid Anglicisms at all cost. Strangely enough, this trend was accompanied by artificial Anglicisation of syntax and style. The gap between the highly sophisticated language of a learned purist and the speech of an ordinary man was widening along with growing bilingualism and the decline in the number of Welsh speakers (Hincks 2007: 9). On the other hand, many of the coinages were accepted in everyday language and are used until today (cf. Robert 2013: 91).

A change came at the beginning of the 20th century when a group of prominent scholars, most notably John Morris-Jones and Emrys ap Iwan fiercely opposed the purist tendencies of the previous century, aiming to unite the spoken and written Welsh, while preserving its richness and variety (see 1.2.4.1). However, these scholars were not primarily concerned with lexical borrowings from English as they perceived the influence on syntax as a much more serious threat. Older and established borrowings from English were seen as acceptable as long as they were easily integrated into the Welsh phonetic system and sounded natural (Hincks 2007: 22, 76).

Yet the efforts of the two generations of scholars were confronted with increasing bilingualism, the growing prestige of English and negative attitudes towards Welsh. The 19th century saw a flood of English vocabulary into spoken Welsh; intellectuals of that time complained about people littering their speech with English words they did not even understand (Hincks 2007: 27). The word *bratiaith*, a derogatory term for the ‘debased, adulterated’ Welsh abounding in Anglicisms was first noted in 1858. Yet, despite negative opinions on this kind of language, examples of books written in *bratiaith* can be found towards the end of the 19th century<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> For example in Thomas Thomas’s *Llyfr Ceginio a Chadw Tŷ* [The Book of Cooking and Housekeeping] (Wrexham c. 1880) intended for uneducated women. (Hincks 2007: 61) This may suggest a gender difference in the usage of borrowings. Hincks mentions evidence for the tendency among Welsh women in the 19th century to reject the Welsh language perceiving it as inferior to English. It might have stemmed from the fact that many Welsh women worked as maids for the anglicised gentry (Hincks 2007: 26).

By the second half of the 20th century when the Welsh language became truly endangered, purist tendencies among scholars continued. As an example, one may mention publications such as *Cywiriadur Cymraeg* (Jones 1965), *A guide to correct Welsh* (Jones 1976) or *Cymraeg Idiomatig* (Cule 1971) containing sections on avoiding “erroneous idioms” calqued from English.

At the same time, initiatives such as *Cymraeg Byw* were launched in an attempt to bridge the gap between different registers of Welsh. It is worth pointing out, however, that its creators viewed calquing from English negatively as well (cf. e.g. Jones 2011: 82–84). Moreover, vernacular varieties of the spoken language rich in loanwords from English were embraced by novelists, such as Caradog Prichard in *Un nos ola leuad* (1961), distancing the literary language further from the purism and formality of the previous decades. This initiated the process of informalisation of the written and spoken standard.

However, with regard to the linguistic description of Welsh, an influential grammar by Stephen J. Williams (1980) was based on the traditional monolingual norm, modelled on the Welsh Bible and the standards proposed by John Morris-Jones. A major linguistic work of the 1990s, P.W. Thomas’s *Gramadeg Y Gymraeg* (1996), is also written within the prescriptive approach. Thomas clearly states his principles in the introduction, stressing the need to maintain “correct” Welsh, by which he means a language that develops in a “natural” way, i.e. without the influence of another language. He considers structures which developed due to contact with English to be erroneous. Similarly to Williams, Thomas’s stance clearly derives from the heritage of John Morris-Jones, who is often referred to in the introduction. Consequently, Thomas uses the same criteria that were once applied by Morris-Jones: the authority of scholars and the set of conventions that developed among ordinary speakers of the language. Yet the author has not ignored the fact that reality had changed:

It is relatively safe in a monolingual society to appeal to speakers’ and users’ habits while interpreting the significance of linguistic variance. But in a bilingual society with no monolingual speakers, the number of varying features of the language may increase due to interference from the majority language<sup>35</sup>. (Thomas 1996: 9)

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<sup>35</sup> “Cymharol ddiogel mewn cymdeithas uniaith yw apelio at arferion siaradwyr ac ysgrifenyddwyr yr iaith wrth ddehongli arwyddocâd nodweddion ieithyddol amrywiol. Ond mewn cymdeithas ddwyieithog nad oes ynddi siaradwyr uniaith, gall nodweddion ieithyddol amrywiol godi yn sgîl ymyrraeth o du’r iaith fwyaf-rifol.”

It can be seen that Thomas sees bilingualism as a danger for Welsh in that it introduces undesirable linguistic variations, yet he does not oppose lexical borrowings from English as such; like Morris-Jones before, he is concerned about keeping the structure pure:

The influence of English in Welsh is a fact. Not only today, but for centuries (...) However, vocabulary is just one layer of the language; its structure is a completely different matter. A language may borrow thousands of words from other languages and flourish; you need not look further than English to see an extreme and very successful example of this. However, when one language influences the *structure* of another heavily, and the one affected is an endangered minority language, you need consideration before giving a blessing to any new borrowed structural feature.<sup>36</sup> (Thomas 1996: 11–12)

Another development which triggered discussion on the English element in Welsh was the advent of the Welsh media. Since its beginning, broadcast language was a subject of complaints from purists among the public who felt English vocabulary was overused (Ball et al. 1988: 184). The fiercest arguments appealed to nationalistic sentiment:

A recent development is the sick tendency to use English in news bulletins. (...) One needs to ensure that the Welsh language used in Welsh news bulletins has the same status as English in English news bulletins – it is a matter of national and linguistic pride and honour. (*Y Faner Newydd* 1997 as cited in Ball et al. 1988: 184)

Such attitudes seem to have prevailed in Wales until the end of the 20th century. Also nowadays the use of English on the media gives rise to hot debates. For instance, browsing through the articles on the Welsh media from the last 5 years on the online news portal *Golwg360*, one can see that the majority of discussions on the media revolve around issues connected with the excessive presence of English. Presenters are often accused of using *bratiaith* and overusing English terms. Robert summarises these issues as follows:

In its most intense articulations (...) Welsh standard language ideology is fervently monolingual and protectionist. And despite the difficulties of locating any particular form of standard Welsh (...) the issue of contact phenomena seems to be one where there is little

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<sup>36</sup> “Mae dylanwad y Saesneg ar y Gymraeg yn ffaith. Nid heddiw’n unig ond ers canrifoedd (...) Ond un wedd ar iaith yw ei eirfa; cwbl wahanol yw ei chystrawen. Gall iaith fenthyca miloedd o eiriau oddi wrth ieithoedd eraill a ffynnu; does dim rhaid edrych ymhellach na’r Saesneg ei hun i weld enghraifft eithafol a thra llwyddiannus o hynny. Eithr pan fydd un iaith yn dylanwadu’n drwm ar gystrawen iaith arall, a’r iaith y dylanwedir arni yn un lleiafrifol dan fygythiad, yna mae’n rhaid ymbwyllo cyn rhoi sêl bendith ar unrhyw nodwedd fenthyg newydd yn ei chystrawen”.

disagreement amongst those who concern themselves with language standards. (Robert 2011: 140)

Quite the opposite ideology of accepting language change has emerged as well, both in academic and public discourse in view of poststructuralist approaches to multilingualism (see 1.2.1). Crystal (1999) in his article “Is Welsh safe?” quite fiercely opposes linguistic purism in Welsh as one that discourages speakers from using the language. He quotes an anecdotal piece of evidence of public condemnation of the band Manic Street Preachers who used an ‘incorrect’ i.e. calqued Welsh phrase in their advertising poster. Crystal believes that this kind of purism may have a detrimental effect on the less proficient speakers and “generate (...) an inferiority complex which further harms their motivation to continue with the language. Purists, accordingly, are an endangered language’s worst enemy. (...) Instead of condemning people for failing to use the language more, they [the users, ML] should be praised for whatever language they use” (Crystal 1999: 10).

Similar views are expressed by Robert (2009), who criticises purists’ attitudes for inhibiting the accommodation of L2 speakers into Welsh speech communities, and who postulates accepting the presence of English borrowings into the Welsh language, as purist tendencies might reduce the use of Welsh due to the low confidence of speakers. Some academics have presented similar opinions in the media, for example Margaret Deuchar in an interview for *Golwg*:

Criticising people for using English may discourage them from using Welsh entirely. (...) It harms people when they are corrected all the time. They lose their confidence then and we very quickly fall into the ‘my-Welsh-is-not-good-enough’ attitude. (...).<sup>37</sup> (Gibbard 2010: 14)

The above stances refer more to the spoken than written language. However, changes in attitudes towards ‘pure’ Welsh can be observed also with regard to writing even in the most conservative environments, such as the National Eisteddfod. Traditionally, criteria of language correctness and purity played an important role in evaluations of the works of authors competing in various literary competitions of the festival. It suffices to quote some comments from Emyr Llywelyn’s 2011 adjudication for Daniel Owen Memorial

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<sup>37</sup> „Mae beirniadu pobol am ddefnyddio Saesneg yn gallu eu troi nhw oddi wrth y Gymraeg yn gyfangwbl. (...) Mae yn gwneud niwed i bobol i gael eu cywiro drwy’r amser. Mae pobol yn colli hyder wedyn a rydyn ni’n syrthio’n gyflym iawn i’r agwedd ‘dy’n Nghymraeg i ddim yn ddigon da’ (...).”

Prize for the best novel. The following quotes justify the rejection of two of the novels submitted for the competition:

One of the main weaknesses of this novel is a belief that using English dialogue in a Welsh novel is acceptable. If a Frenchman or German appears in an English novel, he speaks English. Although a character from another country speaks another language, it should be Welsh. English dialogue turns a novel into a bilingual one and it ceases to be a Welsh novel<sup>38</sup>. (Hughes ed. 2011: 115–116)

The novel is full of English phrases and idioms. Actually, it feels as if it was originally written in English and then a literal translation was applied!<sup>39</sup> (Hughes ed. 2011: 116)

These comments clearly demonstrate the traditional norm, according to which a bilingual text “ceases to be Welsh”. It also criticises excessive translation from English. But this standard seems to be at least partly contested by an increasing number of authors playing with bilingualism in their works, including those writing in traditional strict metre. In 2014, a debate arose over the use of English in the winning poems by Ceri Wyn Jones and Guto Dafydd during the National Eisteddfod (in strict metre and free metre respectively) due to the fact that they contained a large number of Anglicisms. The decision of one of the judges to refuse to accept Wyn Jones as the winner of the Chair was criticised in the press (Siencyn 2014) and the general reception of the poetry was positive. Although the extent of changes in perception of borrowings from English in recent years is difficult to establish, the above evidence seems to support the observation made by Robert (2013: 108) that there is a shift towards more tolerance to variable language practices.

#### **1.4. Concluding remarks**

This chapter has aimed to outline the current state of Welsh with a focus on the level of standardisation and the extent of the English influence and establish theoretical background for the analytical chapters to follow. It has been shown that the future of Welsh is

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<sup>38</sup> “Un o brif wendidau’r nofel hon yw credu bod defnyddio deialog Saesneg mewn nofel Gymraeg yn dderbyniol. Pan fydd Ffrancwr neu Almaenwyr yn ymddangos mewn nofel Saesneg, y mae’n siarad Saesneg. Er bod cymeriad o wlad arall ac yn siarad iaith arall, Cymraeg ddylai fod iaith deialog cymeriadau mewn nofel Gymraeg. Mae deialog Saesneg yn troi nofel yn ddwyieithog ac mae’n peidio â bod yn nofel Gymraeg.”

<sup>39</sup> “Mae’r nofel yn llawn ymadroddion ac idiomaau Saesneg. Yn wir, teimlwn wrth ei darllen ei bod wedi ei hysgrifennu’n wreiddiol yn Saesneg, a bod cyfieithu llythrennol o’r Saesneg yn digwydd!”



insecure as revitalisation efforts are faced with a number of challenges related to demographic and social changes, not the least of which is the growing proportion of non-native speakers. Bilingualism and intense contact with English inevitably affect the traditional linguistic norm and standard language. This is accompanied by the contraction of domains responsible for the transmission of standard Welsh in the 20th century, such as literature and religion. In view of the problems in implementing Welsh as the language of administration and law, the main channel of spreading the linguistic norm in today's Wales are the media, who strive to appeal to the largest possible audience by seeking a balance between formal and informal registers. Hence the emergence of new semi-formal varieties of Welsh, which appear to exhibit fewer and fewer features of traditional H varieties.

On the other hand, ideologies of prescriptivism and purism are noticeable both in corpus planning initiatives and in some academic works in the field of Welsh linguistics. The general lack of publications on the influence of English on Welsh is an illustration of a tendency to exclude transfer from English from the description of the language. The weight of literary tradition and also the rising official status of Welsh play an important role in maintaining the traditional monolingual norm, which is supported not only by lexical planning, such as the production of dictionaries, but also by the educational system and cultural initiatives, such as *eisteddfods*. Altogether, one can agree with Robert (2013: 98) that although standard Welsh as a social construct appears to be much less consolidated than standard English the idea of standardness seems to be quite strongly embedded in speakers' perception.

Studies in language contact between Welsh and English and other related disciplines have provided evidence that in view of the bilingualism of speakers the English influence on Welsh is becoming ever more prominent not only in the field of lexicon, but also morphology and structure. This phenomenon can be viewed from various perspectives and there is a disagreement as to how far the contact-induced changes in contemporary Welsh reach. According to a more extreme view, expressed e.g. by Asmus and Williams (2014: 54), the profoundness of change, including not only lexical borrowing but also syntactic calquing, is a symptom of pidginisation and a sign of oncoming language death. Other researchers, such as Phillips (2007) believe that although the modelling of structures after English is considerable, it is not strong enough to speak of metatypy:

Welsh has not yet reached the stage of word-for-word intertranslatability with English which could be called metatypy, but there is certainly widespread calquing, resulting in ever-increasing similarity to English. (Phillips 2007: 178)

Similarly, Flohr (2013) concludes that:

[t]he fact is that the Celtic languages have changed in their essence over the centuries and mainly in the direction of a steady assimilation to English. (...) Regarding phraseology, it has to be said that Welsh (in some other texts more so than in the translation analysed here) sometimes gives the impression of being a sort of hybrid.

The author proposes to talk about “structural interference based on either shift or continued and widespread bilingualism“, rather than metatypy (Flohr 2013: 108).

It cannot be denied that in the current sociolinguistic situation, new generations of bilingual speakers will find it more and more challenging to speak ‘pure’ and ‘idiomatic’ Welsh as long as it means a language devoid of loanwords and calques from English. The question remains how they will respond to the still existing gap between the language they speak and the one presented to them as standard Welsh. Musk’s study of young people’s attitudes seems to confirm that many young people perceive the tension between the externally imposed monolingual norm characteristic for the written language and their conviction that inserting English vocabulary while speaking Welsh is a natural thing (Musk 2012: 664).

Presently, half a century will have passed since the disappearance of Welsh monoglots and this might be the time for monolingual norm to slowly but inevitably retreat. A linguistic change, however, does not need to be a sign of deterioration. Perhaps it is too early to establish the exact character of the change that the Welsh language is undergoing by using labels such as ‘pidginisation’ or ‘hybridisation’. But it is certainly worth investigating and discussing the developments in view of the vulnerable status of Welsh. This thesis, which analyses a single linguistic phenomenon related to language contact hopes to contribute to this debate.

## 1.5. Methodological considerations for the present study

The background knowledge presented in this chapter has implications on the choice of the focus areas of the dissertation and methodology applied in the subsequent analytical chapters. Some of the major issues will be now shortly discussed.

The first issue concerns the investigation of written and spoken language. Bearing in mind the discussion on the standardisation of Welsh presented in this chapter, priority was given to written representations of the language, in particular semi-formal varieties in the press and fiction; these varieties would also, however, include samples of spoken language, be it in press interviews or fictional dialogues. A corpus of c. 1 million words created for the analysis is presented and analysed in Chapter 3. Supplementing it with a corpus of spoken Welsh proved to be a challenging task. The main corpus of spoken Welsh currently available is the Bangor Siarad corpus (Deuchar et al. 2018, <http://www.bangortalk.org.uk>) consisting of c. 460,000 word tokens. This corpus, however, consists of samples in only one register i.e. informal conversations between friends, work colleagues, family members, etc., and is therefore inappropriate for examining the linguistic norm and semi-formal varieties of Welsh. Suitable data could be obtained by recording formal speech situations or broadcast language. The latter would be particularly valuable as the broadcast media undoubtedly play a role in standardisation processes. However, time and funding constraints (especially considering that Welsh-language television is unavailable outside of Wales) made it impossible to include broadcast language in the present dissertation. Creating a second corpus of spoken language comparable in size with the first one with transcription and annotations would require an immense amount of time and was unfeasible within the time available for completing this thesis. Other than these technical difficulties, problems with defining standard spoken language and the level of its standardisation described in 1.2.5. were also considered, in particular the presence of dialects and learners' speech, classifying scripted talk etc. Media language analysed in the thesis will be therefore narrowed to the press. It is hoped that future research in broadcast language in Welsh and the completion of Corpws Cenedlaethol Cymraeg Cyfoes, the National Corpus of Contemporary Welsh (<http://www.corcencc.cymru>), which is currently being created, will provide a sounder basis for corpus studies on spoken norms.

Nevertheless, a sample of literature and press language analysed in Chapter 3 is hoped to provide sufficient amount of data to complete the basic linguistic description of phrasal verbs, which is the main aim of the thesis, and examine their stylistic markedness at least in the written language considering a largely monolingual mode in which such texts are produced as a kind of litmus test for the standardisation of phrasal verbs.

Another question discussed in the thesis are different opinions on phrasal verbs held by Welsh speakers, which are undoubtedly related to both their ideologies and attitudes (1.2.1). While an attitudinal study of phrasal verbs would be another interesting direction of research it was not conducted due to a number of potential difficulties. Firstly, as discussed above, the decision to centre the research around the linguistic norm and narrow corpus study to prose and fiction necessarily shifted the focus to written language which is untypical of studies in language attitudes. More difficulties would arise from the nature of the investigated constructions. First of all, phrasal verbs are generally hard to identify by speakers without specialist linguistic knowledge as a separate object of a positive or negative attitude, due to the multitude of forms and the fact that they are not always identified as calques from English. According to Haspelmath (2009:47) “speakers are not likely to be aware of their attitudes to borrowing, because they rarely have extensive knowledge about other sociolinguistic situations and other possible attitudes”. Therefore a typical attitudinal test, asking the subjects for an evaluation of a given feature on an evaluation scale might be confusing for the participants and yield ambiguous results. Other than that, major problems in measuring language attitudes which have been outlined in 1.2.1.1. had to be considered too. These include differences between covert and overt attitudes, discrepancies between declared attitudes and behaviour and factors influencing speakers’ responses which are difficult to control in direct measurements.

Bearing this in mind, rather than investigating thoughts and emotions of individuals, the present research is concerned with more general, “more constructed” (Myers-Scotton 2006:110) assessments embedded in standardisation-related ideologies and attempts to examine whether and how they might influence the status of phrasal verbs in Welsh. This will be done through an analysis of metalinguistic discourse on phrasal verbs in academic literature (Chapter 2), qualitative analysis of stylistic markedness in a written corpus of press and fiction (Chapter 3), an analysis of metalinguistic discourse in teaching materials and dictionaries (Chapter 4) and a study on acceptability of phrasal verbs among professional speakers of Welsh (Chapter 5). The latter contains an acceptability judgement

test and semi-structured interviews touching on the perceived acceptability of borrowings in general and phrasal verbs in particular.

It should be emphasised that the empirical part of the dissertation is largely exploratory due to the lack of previous studies on the subject. The limited scope of a single thesis does not allow for an in-depth exploration of some important aspects of the issues discussed above. However, the research is hoped to provide evidence which could be used in the future studies on these subjects.

Having presented the sociolinguistic and theoretical background to the analysed issues, the next chapter is going to define and describe phrasal verbs in Welsh on the basis of the available literature as well as establish the scope of research in the chapters to follow.

## **Chapter 2: Phrasal verbs in Welsh – cross-linguistic background and synchronic description**

### **Introduction**

Verb-particle combinations, commonly known as phrasal verbs, appear to be one of the most elusive notions in English linguistics. No single definition of a phrasal verb is universally agreed upon, and nearly all aspects of these multi-word items, such as their status, classification, syntactic properties, and historical origins have been the subject of debates among scholars. In Welsh linguistics, on the other hand, considerably little attention has been paid to phrasal verbs due to the fact they have often been seen as a simple case of calquing from English and consequently excluded from standard language (e.g. Thomas 1996, Asmus and Williams 2014).

This chapter provides the cross-linguistic background for researching the level of standardisation of phrasal verbs in contemporary Welsh. After presenting the current state of research on phrasal verbs in English and Welsh, a working definition of a phrasal verb applicable to the present study is established and selected features of these constructions relevant to the thesis are described. The next section places the phenomenon of calquing phrasal verbs, which is central to the thesis, in a wider context of language contact, presenting evidence for this mechanism occurring between English and other languages, in particular Celtic languages. This is followed by a review of literature on phrasal verbs in Welsh, which identifies gaps in the linguistic description of these constructions and presents different ideological stances of scholars towards them. The final part of the chapter sets the scope of the present study together with my own classification of phrasal verbs

used in the analytical chapters to follow, based on the reviewed literature, including parallel studies on Irish.

Although the study focuses on the synchronic aspect, it also contains some observations on historical development of phrasal verbs in Welsh. This subject, extremely interesting in itself, has not been investigated thus far, except for a short section in Rottet (2005). This chapter represents, therefore, a foray into previously uncharted linguistic territory and seeks to establish a base point from which further discussion among linguists might ensue.

## **2.1. Phrasal verbs in English linguistics – an overview**

The interest in phrasal verbs in English linguistics has been on the rise over the last one hundred years, beginning with a pioneering monograph by Kennedy (1920) on the syntactic behaviour of what he named verb-adverb combinations and their history in the English language. Successive major works on phrasal verbs with focus on syntactic aspects include Bolinger (1971), Sroka (1972) and Fraser (1976). Semantics of phrasal verbs were studied by Lipka (1972) and Pelli (1976), both of whom use the term verb-particle constructions. Phrasal verbs have also been analysed within various grammar models: generative (mentioned by Chomsky 1965; Aarts 1989; Dehé 2002), cognitive (Lindner 1981; Gries 1999; Rudzka-Ostyn 2003) and functional discourse grammar (O’Dowd 1998; Keizer 2009).

Recent works on the history of phrasal verbs include Denison (1981), Hiltunen (1983) and a study of multi-verb items in Early Modern English by Claridge (2000). Another comprehensive monograph on phrasal verbs with a focus on the historical aspects of their development was written by Thim (2012), who also proposed a novel approach of regarding these constructions as a phenomenon of periphrastic word formation.

Last but not least, since phrasal verbs are commonly viewed as one of the most challenging elements of English vocabulary to be acquired by non-native speakers, they have been increasingly studied in the area of language acquisition, teaching and pedagogical lexicography (e.g. Televnaja et al. 2004; Perdek 2010; Wierszycka 2014).

### 2.1.1. Definitions

Phrasal verb is an umbrella term for a range of constructions which, as stated in Keizer (2009: 1187), “though superficially quite similar, form a heterogeneous set, exhibiting subtle differences in meaning and formal behaviour”. As a complex phenomenon on the verge of syntax, phraseology, morphology and word formation they present notorious difficulties for defining and analysing. The ambiguity of the term phrasal verb is acknowledged for instance by dictionaries of linguistics by Crystal (2008) and Trask (1993). Nevertheless, both authors accept the term, defining phrasal verbs as lexical verbs consisting of a sequence of a lexical element and one or more particles. A similar definition is provided by Quirk et al. (1985: 1150–1152) in their *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*; however, they attribute the important notion of idiomaticity to it: “The meaning of the combination manifestly cannot be predicted from the meaning of verb and particle in isolation” (1985: 1152). In *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* Biber et al. (1999: 403) as well acknowledge the “relative idiomaticity” of phrasal verbs, which in their approach belong to one of several subcategories of multi-word items (see 2.4.2).

Idiomaticity is also the main functional criterion for inclusion in general dictionaries of English and specific dictionaries of phrasal verbs (e.g. Sinclair ed. 1991; Courtney ed. 2000; Rundell ed. 2007), which therefore narrow down the definition of a phrasal verb to idiomatic constructions only. This seems to coincide with a common-sense notion of what a phrasal verb is among ordinary users and learners of English.

On the other hand, some authors of grammars, notably Huddleston and Pullum (2000), reject the term phrasal verbs altogether, describing the constructions within a wider context of phraseology. Such an approach is based primarily on syntactic criteria, while the present study focuses on semantic and stylistic properties of verb-particle combinations in Welsh and the question of their standardness in relation to contact with English. As will be seen, the term phrasal verb is applied within the Welsh context to a number of constructions with different syntactic and semantic properties. For that reason, the term *phrasal verb* (henceforth PV) is used here in the most general sense as a *combination of verb and particle which is typically an adverb or preposition*. These verb-particle constructions are studied here as single lexical units in the minds of speakers and focus is placed on their lexical rather than syntactic properties. Similarly to the major works cited



above, this study will concentrate on idiomatic constructions, as it is their status that is debatable in Welsh. However, some attention will be paid also to certain types of non- or semi-idiomatic verb-particle combinations, since idiomaticity of PVs is a complex phenomenon which cannot be reduced to simple binary opposition (see 2.4.2).

### **2.1.2. Popular notions about phrasal verbs**

Recent studies, such as Thim (2012), point to some notions which, despite being generalising and not necessarily true, emerge repeatedly both in academic and popular discourse on PVs. As these ideas appear also in the Welsh context, they require some attention. Three assumed aspects of PVs are of particular importance here: their informality, replaceability by single words and idiosyncrasy, or special “Englishness”. These properties will be described in the subsections to follow.

#### **2.1.2.1. Informality**

The idea that phrasal verbs are stylistically marked and confined to colloquial registers of English dates back to the age of prescriptivism in English linguistics. Some authors of early studies on PVs claimed that they were a feature of the colloquial language “of the uneducated” (Konishi 1958: 119) and as such should be avoided by speakers who want to maintain high standards in their language. However, as Thim (2012: 215) convincingly argues, there is no sound evidence of these constructions being associated with a particular register of the language before the 19th century, when prescriptive approaches gained popularity.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that a large number of commonly used PVs – for instance *cheer up*, *drop off*, *get along* – refer to contexts which are inappropriate in a formal situation. For this reason one may encounter popular reference works, in particular style guides and textbooks for academic writing, which forbid the use of PVs or recommend using single lexical items (e.g. Swales and Feak 2004: 18; Cory 2009: 14; Clark and Pointon 2016: 317). University students around the world are often discouraged from

using PVs in formal language and advised to choose their Latin equivalents instead (Mendis 2010: 20–22).

On the other hand, numerous reference books of more general nature, such as dictionaries, offer a more liberal approach. For instance, the authors of the dictionary *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus* draw attention to variety of registers where PVs are used:

Expert speakers use phrasal verbs in all kinds of contexts – not just in informal situations such as conversations or e-mails, but quite often in formal and technical writing too. There are many contexts where a PV is simply the best, most natural-sounding way of expressing an idea, and so students should be encouraged to use them. (Rundell ed. 2007: vi)

Statements such as this are supported by evidence from corpus studies which have tried to establish the distribution of PVs across registers and styles. The study quoted most frequently in this context is Biber et al. (1999), who concluded that PVs occurred fairly evenly in conversation, fiction and news. The only area where the constructions were underrepresented was academic prose (1999: 408). There were some notable exceptions, however, since expressions such as *carry out* (an analysis) or *point out* (“to conclude”) were more common in academic writing than in other registers (Biber et al. 1999: 412). Quirk et al. (1985: 1152) state that PVs are primarily informal. However, as noticed by Thim (2012:42), some of the examples they provide, such *go astray*, *reel back*, *touch down* (of a plane), or *turn on* (the light) cannot be seen as particularly colloquial. Dempsey et al. (2007) have shown that in computational studies PVs may significantly distinguish between both the spoken/written and formal/informal dimensions. On the other hand, corpus studies (e.g. Campoy Cubillo 2002) have confirmed that PVs are widely used in specialised texts.

All things considered, it can be claimed that although a great number of PVs in English are colloquial in tone and occur more frequently in speech than in writing, they are by no means restricted to colloquial language. As far as Welsh is concerned, there have been no studies devoted to the register distribution of PVs and this issue will be further discussed in the dissertation.

#### **2.1.2.2. Replaceability by a single item**

Another aspect that is frequently mentioned as a distinguishing feature of PVs is their replaceability by a simple synonymous verb. As with the notion of informality discussed above, this idea may derive from prescriptive approaches, which presented Latin-based expressions as superior to combinations of 'native' English words. Such beliefs may evoke the condemnation of stranded prepositions in the 18th century (O'Dowd 1998: 7–8).

Yet even a superficial scrutiny of PVs shows that replaceability with a single item is not achievable in many cases. Studies have demonstrated that this criterion is of little usefulness for defining a PV (e.g. Bolinger 1971; Quirk et al. 1985: 1162; Thim 2012: 40). Dictionaries for a general readership acknowledge the same idea:

It is often said that phrasal verbs tend to be rather 'colloquial' or 'informal' and more appropriate to spoken English than written, and even that it is better to avoid them and choose single-word equivalents or synonyms instead. Yet in many cases phrasal verbs and their synonyms have different ranges of use, meaning and collocation. Single-word synonyms are often much more formal in style than phrasal verbs so that they seem out of place in many contexts. (Sinclair ed. 1991: v)

The question of replaceability is, however, more complicated when it comes to language contact, i.e. a situation when PVs are a borrowed novelty in the recipient language. In this case some speakers feel that the constructions should be avoided, having their 'proper', native equivalents. This issue will be subsequently discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 and section 2.3 of this chapter.

### **2.1.2.3. Idiosyncrasy**

There is no doubt that PVs occur in English in great numbers and, due to their idiomatic properties, may be seen as a highly noticeable aspect of English grammar. In the early 20th century some researchers went as far as to claim that these constructions express the "analytic genius" of the English nation, an approach which from today's perspective contained an element of "cultural and linguistic chauvinism" (Bernstein 1974: 59, 63). Although such discourse has largely disappeared in the second half of the 20th century, the idea of the idiosyncrasy of PVs lingers on.

The linguistic evidence, however, does not support the claim that PVs are unique to English. It is a fact that particle verbs similar to English PVs are to be found in all contemporary Germanic languages, including German, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Faroese, Icelandic, West Frisian and Yiddish (Dehé 2002: 1; Thim 2012: 46). Although “syntactic properties of the English phrasal verbs are in essential aspects identical to those of the particle verbs in the other Germanic languages” (Thim 2012:54), there are major differences as regards word order and the position of particle. Yet what really distinguishes English from other Germanic languages is the immense number of idiomatic constructions that are used. While both idiomatic and literal PVs occur in most Germanic languages, in none of these are idiomatic constructions as widespread and productive as in English. There is also evidence that PVs exist in some non-standard varieties of Romance languages but whether they are the outcome of contact with Germanic languages or internal-language development is debatable (Treffers-Daller 2012: 61–62).

The idiomaticity of English verb-particle constructions makes them particularly difficult to master by second language users. Studies confirm that PVs are one of the most challenging aspects of learning English vocabulary and developing native-like proficiency in both spoken and written language (cf. e.g. Darwin and Grey 1999; Chen 2007; Siyanova and Schmitt 2007). With the dominant position of English as a global language and the ever growing number of learners, the conviction that PVs in English are something special and idiosyncratic has good a chance of spreading.

As discussed in the Introduction and as will be subsequently shown, in the Welsh context PVs are associated with borrowing and calquing from English by commentators who adopt more prescriptive approaches to the language. This conviction may be occasionally seen also in the academic literature of the subject, which will be reviewed in 2.3. First, however, it is worth describing the phenomenon of calquing verb-particle constructions and the presence of idiomatic PVs in languages other than Welsh.

## 2.2. Phrasal verbs in language contact situations – evidence from other languages

### 2.2.1. Phrasal verbs in other languages in contact with English

Welsh is certainly not the only language capable of calquing verb-particle constructions from English. Literature presents examples of borrowing PVs in a situation of intense language contact with English in various languages, including other Germanic languages, for instance Danish (Gottlieb 2004: 46, 2012: 192) and those in which PVs do not usually occur. One example of the latter is Spanish, which normally does not use verb-particle constructions; in translating from English they would be rendered by compound verbs with prefixed roots and other translation techniques (Bernstein 1974). However, it has been observed that Hispanic communities in the United States and other bilingual communities in intense contact with English, e.g. in South America and the Caribbean, use the phrase *para atrás* ‘back’ to form constructions analogical to PVs in English (Lipski 1990: 90–91; Potowski 2010: 39). Similarly, varieties of spoken French spoken in North America, such as Cajun and Acadian French, calque certain types of English PVs, particularly those which contain the particle *back*. Yet another phenomenon is applying French morphology to the English verb while leaving the English adverbial, thus creating hybrid constructions such as *messer up* ‘mess up’. (Rottet 2000: 112-113). Calquing of PVs has been also noted in Ontario French (cf. Treffers-Daller 2012: 63) and Jèrriais, the Norman French dialect spoken on Jersey (M. C. Jones 2006: 562).

Studies in second language learning have demonstrated that acquiring English idiomatic PVs is easier to speakers of those languages which already have verb-particle constructions. For instance, Laufer and Eliasson’s (1993) study showed that learners whose native language did not have idiomatic PVs (Hebrew) avoided these constructions, while learners whose L1 had idiomatic PVs (Swedish) did not. Weibel (2007) compared essays of Italian and German students and showed that while Italians used fewer PVs, the Germans actually overused them. Analogically to the learning process, calquing is expected to be facilitated in languages which already contain PVs and may use existing patterns and productive particles to create new constructions. Such is, for example, the case of American Norwegian (Haugen 1969 [1953]; as cited by Rottet 2000: 111). The phenomenon does not seem to occur in languages which use entirely different patterns to

express motion and location, such as Slavic languages, where prefixes are used as aspectualisers.

### 2.2.2. Phrasal verbs in other Celtic languages

For particular relevance to this thesis is the question of the existence of PVs in Celtic languages as it may provide some valuable insights into the nature of these constructions in Welsh. Rottet points to the fact that transparent PVs expressing spatial relations such as *go up*, *walk down*, *put out*, etc. have been undoubtedly present in all Celtic languages for centuries; they are well-attested in Middle Welsh, dating back to the Black Book of Carmarthen, dated to c. 1200 (Rottet 2005: 44). Consequently, controversies over the status of PVs concern solely idiomatic constructions, which are evidently less frequent than transparent combinations and therefore assumed to be borrowed. Two other major Celtic languages to be considered in this context are Irish, which has been in intense contact with English for centuries, and Breton, which has remained under the influence of French, a language without PVs. While PVs in Irish have been studied in several papers (Stenson 1997; Doyle 2001; Veselinović 2006), no relevant works on Breton have been found. The question of Breton is, however, raised by Rottet (2005).

Contemporary Irish contains a fairly large number of PVs and, analogically to Welsh, many of them have their exact English counterparts. However, there is also a number of PVs without their English analogues, which is also true for Welsh (see 2.4.4).

From the syntactic point of view, Irish has three types of idiomatic phrasal verbs, all of which appear also in Welsh and will be described in detail in 2.4.3:

a) idiomatic prepositional verbs – e.g. *cuir le*, lit. ‘put with’, ‘add to something’, *déan ar*, lit. ‘do on’, ‘move toward’, *déan as*, lit. ‘do from’, ‘get away, escape’, *tabhair as*, lit. ‘give from’, ‘spirit away’, *tar as*, lit. ‘come from’, ‘shrink, expand’ (Stenson 1997: 567);

b) phrasal verbs proper – e.g. *cuir amach*, lit. ‘put out’, ‘spit out, vomit; report’, *cuir síos*, lit. ‘put down’, ‘describe’, including semi-idiomatic, sometimes pleonastic constructions such as *fás aníos /fás suas* ‘to grow up.’ (Stenson 1997: 562; Veselinović 2006: 183)

c) phrasal prepositional verbs, such as *cuir isteach ar*, lit. ‘put in on’, ‘interrupt, disturb’ *cuir suas le* ‘put up with’ (Stenson 1997: 567).

As regards idiomaticity, Irish contains the whole spectrum of verb-particle combinations from transparent to completely idiomatic (Stenson 1997: 562). From the point of view of language contact, it has been observed that Irish has a number of idiomatic PVs, which appear to be native. Some of them are well-attested in older stages of the language, for instance *cuirid suas de* ‘give up, renounce, repudiate’ (Veselinović 2006: 181). Certain Irish verbs, such as *bain* do not have a one-to-one English equivalent and form PVs which do not have English counterparts (Veselinović 2006: 180). Other types of expression, called here loan renditions (see 2.4.4), bear some resemblance to English but are not exact equivalents, for example *leag suas*, lit. ‘lay up’, ‘knock up, make pregnant’ (Stenson 1997: 564). The third type are constructions such as *obair amach* ‘work out’ which may be considered to be calqued from English, although, as Veselinović (2006: 181) claims, it does not necessarily need to be the case.<sup>40</sup> Irish PVs also include loanblends, where a) the verb is a borrowing with a native *-áil* ending, parallel to Welsh *-(i)o*, for example *hintáil thart* ‘hinting around’, b) where the particle is borrowed, for example *tabhair away* ‘give away’ (Stenson 1997: 559) or c) both elements are borrowings, as in *switcháil off* ‘switch off’. This shows the productivity of PVs in Irish in the situation of contact with English. Stenson sees it as a natural process of enhancing the language’s vocabulary: “[m]ost borrowed particles fill lexical gaps or provide specialized meanings distinct from similar native particles in ways typical of languages in contact throughout the world” (Stenson 1997: 576).

Both Stenson and Veselinović claim that PVs are well-rooted in the grammatical system of the Irish language and many of them might have grown independently from English. From the point of view of syntax, they follow Irish rather than English patterns, while the patterns for creating idioms of that type date to the earliest stages of the Irish language, offering a framework for introducing English borrowings (Stenson 1997: 560, 575). Veselinović also suggests that contact with English does not have to be the only source of loans: “the striking similarities between certain idioms probably have to be traced back to contact, but others can be products of an independent but typologically

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<sup>40</sup> For a longer list of suspected calqued PVs in Irish see Veselinović (2006:181-182).

parallel development” (2006: 181). She shows that English and Irish have undergone similar development in that preverbal compounds were replaced with periphrastic constructions, including PVs (Veselinović 2006: 174). Moreover, Irish English has its own peculiar PVs borrowed from Irish, which suggests bidirectionality of contact.

Stenson conducted a study of Irish texts from the 16th–20th centuries and demonstrated that the use of both literal and idiomatic uses of directional adverbs increased steadily throughout that period, with an explosion of new constructions in the 19th and 20th centuries (Stenson 1997: 568), which can be attributed to increased language contact.

The distribution of PVs in Irish across registers has not been well investigated. Veselinović claims that no such relation is to be observed as “it seems as if the particle verbs entered the formal language earlier” (2006: 188). Stenson, however, mentions the prevalence of PVs in modern texts which are more colloquial in character (1997: 570), which would be a usual tendency. Although no separate studies on attitudes of speakers towards such construction have been found, Stenson uses the phrase “sociolinguistic stigmatization of the forms” (Stenson 1997: 576) suggesting that they might be despised by some speakers as calques from English. Veselinović suggests that such constructions are evidently becoming increasingly popular in the language of new speakers but she does not offer any tentative observations of the attitude of native speakers towards them (Veselinović 2006: 183).

As regards PVs in the Breton language, they have been briefly investigated by Rottet (2005: 45-49). He observes that literal verb-adverb combinations occur naturally in the language, similarly to other Celtic languages. However, his comparative analysis of six chapters of Welsh and Breton Bibles showed that the number of literal PVs in Breton was much lower. Literal PVs were also found in Cornish, which demonstrates their common Brythonic origin.

When it comes to idiomatic constructions, it has been claimed that they do not exist in Breton (Stenson 1997: 560). Rottet, however, quotes a number of examples found in a dictionary of contemporary Breton. These include both PVs proper such as *dont 'barzh* ‘to regain consciousness, recover after and illness’ (lit. ‘come in’) and idiomatic prepositional verbs, such as *ober war dro (unnan bennak)* ‘to look after someone’ (lit. ‘to do around sb.’). Although the number of idiomatic PVs in Breton appears to be considerably smaller, according to Rottet it proves the potential of Celtic languages to form non-compositional PVs regardless of English influence.



The available literature on calquing PVs from English shows that the extent of the phenomenon is influenced by the intensity of contact and the existence of syntactic frameworks in recipient languages which facilitate influx of such combinations. Studies on PVs in Celtic languages demonstrate that literal verb-particle constructions have been present in them since the earliest written attestations. The popularity of idiomatic constructions, however, appears to be associated with contact with English. On the other hand, Celtic languages have been found to be capable of forming native idiomatic PVs which allow to form new constructions on the English model. All in all, it can be concluded that the presence of idiomatic PVs in Celtic languages is not always a simple case of calquing. The data on the acceptability and integration of such constructions across registers are very scarce.

Bearing all this in mind, the present study will proceed to investigate verb-particle constructions in Welsh, beginning with a literature review on the subject, which will be followed by my own observations derived from corpus analysis in Chapter 3.

### **2.3. Phrasal verbs in Welsh linguistics**

This section presents an overview of research on PVs in Welsh linguistics from the beginning of the 20th century until today. It aims to identify major gaps in the description of phrasal verbs and look at the metalinguistic discourse on these constructions from the point of language ideologies manifested by scholars. Generally speaking, the body of literature is fairly small as it mostly consists of side notes in papers on other topics.

#### **2.3.1. Fowkes 1945**

One of the first studies which mentioned PVs in Welsh is Fowkes's 1945 paper on the calquing of English idioms. Among 46 examples analysed by the author, there are 10 PVs: *darllen i mewn* 'read into', *gwneud i fyny* 'make up', *pigo allan* 'pick out', *torri i lawr* 'break down', *dwyn i fyny* 'bring up', *edrych ar ôl* 'look after', *rhoi (clociau) yn ôl* 'set (clocks) back', *troi allan* 'turn out', *rhoi i fyny* 'give up', *cau allan* 'shut out', and three idioms containing phrasal verbs: *mynd allan o ffasiwn* 'go out of fashion', *gwneud*

*dy feddwl i fyny* ‘make up your mind’ and *dod ato dy hunan* ‘come to yourself’ (Fowkes 1945: 244–247).

In Fowkes’s view, the idiomaticity of all these constructions is something “entirely foreign” to the Welsh language. He claims that particles such as *i mewn* and *i fyny* normally have only a literal spatial or temporal signification. Using the particles in a metaphorical way is “from a Celtic point of view, sheer nonsense. It is only as an idiomatic borrowing that any meaning can be seen in it” (Fowkes 1945: 244).

Although Fowkes points out that borrowing from English has a long tradition in Welsh, there are no PVs among the historical examples he cites. Yet, although the author describes calquing of PVs as “sheer nonsense”, his final general conclusions are much more positive as the author acknowledges that borrowings generally enrich the language’s vocabulary:

It seems, however, that there can be no objection to this linguistic course of events beyond that of exaggerated sentimentalism. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that Welshmen are found deploring the "corruption" of their language, although this is by no means limited to the Welsh, yet even non-scientific opinion will scarcely deplore the rich results seen as a consequence of the variety of sources which have fed the vocabulary of English. (Fowkes 1945: 248)

Although the author seems to distance himself from ideologies of purism, he presents the rather negative view on idiomatic borrowings in Welsh as “illogical” interference from English. It will be seen in the subsequent analysis how the examples quoted in this early study re-emerge in contemporary metalinguistic discourse.

### **2.3.2. M. Jones (1979) and A. Thomas (1987)**

Between Fowkes’s 1945 article and the 1990s considerably little was written on phrasal verbs in Welsh. They are mentioned in two articles on the standardisation of contemporary Welsh as an example of English influence by M. Jones (1979) and A. Thomas (1987). Both authors generally place phrasal verbs outside the linguistic norm.

In his article on the standardisation of spoken Welsh, Jones (1979:113) refers to PVs as one of the areas in syntax where English influence is noticeable. The author mentions adverbial constructions where the particle is redundant, such as *syrthio i lawr* ‘fall

down' and *marw allan* for 'die out'. He provided examples of idiomatic calques as well (*gwneud i fyny* 'make up', *rhoi i fewn* 'give in', *torri i lawr* 'break down') describing them as "even more striking". The author draws attention to similar, transparent and semi-idiomatic constructions, which already exist in Welsh, for instance *mynd yn ôl*, 'go back', *mynd ymlaen* 'go on', 'continue', concluding that the new development is an extension of the existing pattern.

Similarly, in a discussion on the standard spoken language, A. Thomas (1987:107) mentions PVs as a phenomenon which attracts the most criticism from language purists due to the fact that many of such expressions have indigenous Welsh equivalents. At the same time, the author considers PVs to be one of the most productive sources of extending the lexicon of Welsh and concludes that: "[t]here is no question but that this is an area of productivity which the purist has no choice but to accommodate".

### 2.3.3. P.W. Thomas 1996

Phrasal verbs are not included in major grammars of Welsh available today (Williams 1980; King 1993; Thorne 2000) with the exception of *Gramadeg y Gymraeg* by P.W. Thomas (1996), the most comprehensive grammatical study of Welsh published so far.

The author treats PVs as a marginal issue, placing them in a footnote section to the chapter on prepositional verbs. Prepositional verbs, *berfau arddodiadol*, are understood by the author as combinations of verb + preposition, such as *gofalu am* 'take care of', *angofio am* 'forget about', where the relation between the two lexical elements is particularly close (Thomas 1996: 560). The note on PVs, *berfau ymadroddol*, opens with the statement: "Welsh has a number of phrasal verbs, that is verbs often accompanied with a particular adverbial<sup>41</sup>" (Thomas 1996: 560). The definition is followed by a categorisation of PVs in Welsh into three groups (Thomas 1996:561):

- I. *berfau cyflawn*, 'intransitive verbs'. According to the author, this category includes intransitive sequences of verb + adverbial that do not have single-word

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<sup>41</sup> Mae gan y Gymraeg nifer o ferfau ymadroddol, sef berfau y bydd adferfolion penodol yn cyd-ddigwydd â hwy'n aml.

equivalents and it is unusual to separate their elements. The examples provided are *mynd i ffwrdd* and *mynd ymaith*, both meaning ‘go away’.

II. *'berfau cyflawn ac anghyflawn*, ‘intransitive and transitive verbs’. These include transitive and intransitive verbs that tend to be used only in the informal style and may be replaced with a single verb. The verb and particle can be separated with an object. Additionally, in a very formal, “if not outdated” style the two elements can be separated by an adverbial (see 2.4.2). The following examples are given:

- *mynd yn ôl* ‘go back’, *dod yn ôl* ‘come back’, *rhoi yn ôl* ‘give back’, all of which may be replaced by *dychwelyd* ‘return’;
- *cymryd yn ôl* ‘take back’ to be replaced by *atafaelu* ‘distrain’ or *dychwelyd* ‘return’;
- *dod ymlaen* ‘come on’ to be replaced by *datblygu* ‘develop’ or *cynyddu* ‘increase’.

III. The third category are sequences translated from English, which may include some verbs from the second group. The examples provided are: *llenwi allan* ‘fill out’, *codi i fyny* ‘rise up’, *torri i ffwrdd* ‘break away’, *eistedd i lawr* ‘sit down’, *syrrthio i lawr* ‘fall down’, *ysgrifennu i lawr* ‘write down’. According to Thomas, these verbs also belong to informal registers, particularly the spoken language, as in the formal language the particles would be omitted: “[o]ne would not expect, for example, the Archdruid to ask the awarded bard to ‘sit down in the peace of the Eisteddfod’”<sup>42</sup> (Thomas 1996:561). These verbs can also be complemented with an object inserted between the verb and particle.

Thomas’s categorisation described above raises a number of issues concerning both the criteria for the division and the description of particular categories. First of all, while PVs in Categories 1 and 2 are divided on the basis of a semantic criterion of replaceability by a single-word equivalent, verbs in Category 3 are distinguished by another criterion i.e. their alleged English origin. The latter distinction seems to be troublesome for the author himself, as acknowledged in his comment to Category 3: “it is possible that

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<sup>42</sup> “Ni ddisgwylid, er enghraifft, i’r Archdderwydd wahodd y bardd arobryn i ‘eistedd i lawr yn hedd yr Eisteddfod’”

some of the above [i.e. Categories 1 and 2 – ML] can be attributed to the same process”<sup>43</sup>. Thus the distinction between groups 2 and 3 is blurred and based solely on the linguist’s guess whether an item was borrowed or not.

The criterion distinguishing between 1 and 2 i.e. the existence of one-word equivalents is questionable as well. To begin with Category 1, it can be argued that the examples provided, *mynd ymaith* and *mynd i ffwrdd*, could in fact be replaced with a single verb, such as *gadael* ‘leave’. Indeed, GPC gives *mynd ymaith* as a definition/synonym of *gadael*. The semantic difference between *gadael* and *mynd ymaith* does not seem to be greater than between *dychwelyd* ‘return’ and *dod yn ôl* ‘come back’ attributed to Category 2.

Furthermore, it is arguable whether PVs in Category 2 should be labelled “informal”. For instance, a corpus search shows that *mynd yn ôl* and *dod yn ôl* are used extensively in formal contexts, e.g. in the Welsh National Assembly<sup>44</sup> alongside *dychwelyd*, and therefore might be, at best, described as neutral. At the same time, one of the proposed single-word equivalents *atafaelu* is obsolete and belongs to a highly literary, fossilised style<sup>45</sup>. It should also be noted that despite the statement that these PVs occur *only* informally, Thomas shows examples of the same verbs used in very formal, “if not outdated” contexts. This obvious contradiction supports the claim that the constructions in question are not confined to informal style. On the whole, since items in both Categories 1 and 2 may be replaced by other items and are not confined to a particular register, the proposed categorisation based on replaceability and formality criteria is not valid.

As regards category 3, it is worth noticing that the majority of examples provided belong to the type called here pleonastic PVs (see 2.4.4), that is constructions where the second element may be seen as redundant due to the fact that its meaning is included in the verb. Among the relevant examples given by Thomas are *codi i fyny* ‘rise up’, *eistedd i lawr* ‘sit down’, *syrthio i lawr* ‘fall down’, *ysgrifennu i lawr* ‘write down’. The status of these verbs is not given explicitly, but the author’s tongue-in-cheek comment that they would not be used at the National Eisteddfod suggests their nonstandardness.

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<sup>43</sup> “Y mae’n bosib bod rhai o’r uchod i’w priodoli i’r un broses”

<sup>44</sup> In the CCCC corpus the number of concordances for *dychwelyd* is 167, for *dod yn ôl* – 145, *mynd yn ôl* – 131.

<sup>45</sup> In the CEG and CCCC corpora *atafaelu* is used only in the sense ‘confiscate’ or ‘sequester (carbon)’, never in the sense ‘get back’.

Quite surprisingly, except from *dod ymlaen* ‘develop’, ‘increase’, the footnote does not mention any truly idiomatic PVs, which would be very unusual in any discussion on the subject in English-language context. This suggests that in Thomas’s view idiomatic PVs are outside the scope of description of standard Welsh. However, even if one accepts this approach and limits the occurrence of PVs in Welsh to compositional constructions, Thomas’s description is not devoid of faults, lacking clear and non-arbitrary criteria for the proposed classification.

As described in 1.3.3., P.W. Thomas’s book was written within a prescriptive approach, following the tradition of John Morris-Jones. Since the author believes that Welsh structures which emerged due to contact with English are erroneous, he treats phrasal verbs as nonstandard and restricted to colloquial registers. In doing so, he appears to accept all three popular yet oversimplifying ideas concerning PVs mentioned in 2.1.2.: their replaceability, informality and “Englishness”. As a result, the description of phrasal verbs in a major textbook for anyone studying Welsh grammar is fairly inconsistent and nearly ignores the existence of all idiomatic PVs. One of the primary aims of the present thesis is to provide a more comprehensive description of Welsh phrasal verbs, problematizing their status across different registers of the language.

#### **2.3.4. Heinz 2003 and Asmus and Williams 2014**

Phrasal verbs are also mentioned by Heinz (2003: 57-59) in her study of Welsh lexicography while describing the semantic aspects of the Welsh verb, defined as “verbs which take adverbials as their complement”. The author refers to the section of P.W. Thomas described above and concludes that “there is no reliable definition for phrasal verbs in the Welsh language and their existence is arguable” since “by some academics they would be recognised as being wrong in Welsh” (Heinz 2003:57). The author associates PVs in Welsh with contact with English, mentioning “a tendency to introduce English structures into the Welsh language”.

In her semantic classification of the Welsh verb, Heinz distinguishes four semantic categories. PVs constitute the fourth one, which however, as the author claims, is dubious for inclusion since, firstly their very existence is questionable, secondly, they can

mostly be replaced by other Welsh verbs, and thirdly they behave differently than the other three categories as regards syntax.

Similarly to Thomas, Heinz suggests that PVs should be excluded from the description of standard Welsh as a marginal issue. The reason for exclusion is negative attitudes of Welsh scholars and an underlying claim that they are novel creations, as a rule replaceable by already existing Welsh verbs. Interestingly, the definition of a PV provided does not refer to the question of idiomaticity, implicating that even transparent constructions such as *cymryd yn ôl* ‘take back’ provided as an example are non-existent or non-standard.

The reservations regarding the standardness of PVs are expressed more explicitly in a recent paper co-authored by the same researcher (under the name of Asmus). It is stated that the linguistic description of Welsh is faulty due to the fact that calques from English are favoured over native idiomatic verbs. The only example of a PV given is pleonastic *codi lan*: “[t]here is a focus on phrasal verbs (e.g. *codi (lan)* ‘get up (up)’), which do not really form an essential part of Welsh. (...) Indeed, many of them are loan translations from English” (Asmus and Williams 2014: 53).

The view represented in Heinz (2003) and Asmus and Williams (2014) appears to be ideologically rather than linguistically based, as the authors imply that borrowed constructions are not a part of the Welsh language and therefore should not be included in linguistic descriptions. Lack of a clear definition of a PV or distinction between transparent and idiomatic make this view appear somewhat simplistic. It can be seen as an example of rather purist attitude to language influenced by the prescriptive representation of PVs in Thomas’s grammar.

### **2.3.5. Rottet 2000 and 2005**

The only study devoted solely to phrasal verbs in Welsh is an article by Rottet (2005), preceded by a more general paper by the same author on the calquing of PVs in language contact (2000), which also mentions Welsh. The author uses McArthur’s (1992) definition of a phrasal verb which states that it is a verb which “operates more like a phrase than a word” and comprises of a verb of movement and action and an adverbial particle

of direction and location. This definition narrows the scope of research to adverbial constructions only, excluding prepositional and phrasal-prepositional verbs.

Rottet draws attention to the fact that PVs are rarely acknowledged in descriptive and pedagogical literature and that there are reasons to see them as a phenomenon of language contact, as most Welsh PVs have exact English counterparts (2005: 40–41). However, in the second section of his article, the author challenges this view by pointing to the long history of PVs in Welsh and their presence in other Celtic languages (2005: 42–53), which has been discussed in 2.2.2. He also provides a description of Welsh adverbials, drawing attention to the fact that they are grammaticalised prepositional phrases.

In the third section, Rottet proceeds to establish a typology of Welsh PVs as contact phenomena, distinguishing between pleonastic calquing of particle, calquing of both verb and particle, loanblends and wholesale borrowings (2005: 53–60). These categories will be described in more detail in 2.4.4. as they prove to be very useful when discussing the complexity of the phenomenon.

Importantly, the author also notices the existence of a few Welsh idiomatic PVs which do not have their exact English counterparts, such as *bwrw ymlaen* ‘carry on’, lit. ‘hit on’ and *cael allan* ‘find out’, lit. ‘get out’. This, combined with the evidence from other Celtic languages, leads the author to conclude that Welsh has the capacity of creating idiomatic PVs on its own, which is immensely reinforced by the influence of English. This is in accordance with Stenson’s (1997) and Veselinović’s (2006) observations regarding Irish (2.2.2). However, Rottet’s claims concerning the origins of ‘native’ constructions are largely intuitive and not supported by historical evidence (see 3.3.)

The fourth and final section of the article discusses what the author calls ‘attitudes’ to Welsh phrasal verbs. In this section the author presents a number of examples from metalinguistic discourse and quotes some remarks on the constructions made by language specialists. Next, he analyses a number of dictionary entries from *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* and *Geiriadur yr Academi* to search for evidence for a pedagogical norm against PVs.

Rottet is the first author who problematizes the use of phrasal verbs in different registers. In the first of his two studies (2000), he refers to the replaceability criterion, but notices that PVs are widely accepted by speakers of Welsh:

While most if not all of these phrasal verbs could also be expressed with single word Welsh equivalents, there is little or no stigma attached to using the loan translation variants in



Welsh today. Many such calques are well enough established that they are no longer recognised as tokens of English influence. (Rottet 2000: 115)

In the same paragraph the author also draws attention to differences between the official description of the language and actual usage:

However, not all attested combinations are officially acknowledged in dictionaries (...) Some contemporary Welsh speakers freely calque even the most idiomatic English phrasal verbs spontaneously during conversation, and since all speakers today are also fluent in English, there is little or no danger of not being understood. (Rottet 2000: 115)

In contrast to previous studies, Rottet does not make evaluative judgments, following, as he does, a descriptive approach. Having provided numerous examples from the press and literature, he concludes that idiomatic PVs are a natural feature of contemporary Welsh, largely integrated in the language of bilingual speakers, although there seems to be a prescriptive norm against them, reflected in dictionaries and pedagogical materials.

As a pioneering study, Rottet's article provides a number of important insights into the nature of phrasal verbs in Welsh. Importantly, it is the first study which considers the idiomaticity of phrasal verbs while discussing their status as borrowings from English and offers some information about the evolution of these constructions throughout history. Naturally due to its small scope, Rottet's study has also a number of limitations. The evidence provided by the author is based on examples taken from a small corpus of texts which is not described in detail by the author. Upon closer scrutiny one can see the quoted examples come from two weeklies *Y Cymro* (19 issues from the years 2000-2003) and *Golwg* (two issues 2000 and 2001) and around fifteen literary works, mostly novels, written between 1885 and 2000. The presentation of literary examples is slightly misleading with regard to their chronology as the author provides dates of reprints of some novels. Therefore, for example, by citing Daniel Owen as "Owen 1993" he leads the reader to think that the quotation of this 19th-century author comes from the 1990s. While this does not impede the validity of Rottet's general claims, it leaves room for a more systematic, synchronic study of phrasal verbs in contemporary Welsh. The author also does not give much consideration to differences in acceptability across various registers of Welsh but merely acknowledges their presence in the informal as well as the written language. Furthermore, in describing the "pedagogical" norm he analyses mainly dictionaries and only one strictly pedagogical contemporary book (i.e. Gruffudd 2000). Lastly, without giving

wider consideration to the complexities of defining a phrasal verb, Rottet narrows the scope of research only to constructions with adverbial particles.

### 2.3.6. Hirata 2012

A contribution to the research on syntactic behaviour of transitive PVs in Welsh has been made by Hirata (2012) in his study on preposition stranding in Welsh. He demonstrates that preposition stranding is possible in colloquial Welsh and suggests that it is a recent innovation caused by contact with English. The thesis touches on other issues related to language contact. Following Borsley et al. (2007: 116), the author believes that the appearance of preposition stranding is a twentieth-century innovation modelled on English syntax. Although PVs are not the main subject of Hirata's study, he pays some attention to particle placement in verb-particle constructions. The study involved twelve Welsh native speakers who were given sets of alternative sentences and marked their acceptability on a five-point scale. Six of the 72 sets contained transitive PVs: *troi i lawr*, *sortio allan* (used in two sets), *troi ymlaen*, *troi i ffwrdd*, *torri i lawr*.

The results have demonstrated the acceptability of optional particle placement. It was shown that PVs in Welsh prefer the Verb – Object – Particle order. This order is most acceptable when the PV contains a complex particle, while a Verb – Particle – Object order is more likely to be accepted with single particles. This phenomenon is explained by “the assumption that a single particle is easier to merge in morphology to make a complex verb” (Hirata 2012: 166). Moreover, and importantly for the present study, Hirata's results suggest that PVs were less accepted than their one-word equivalents available to participants in the sentence sets – *gwrthod* for '*troi i lawr* 'turn down, reject', *diffodd* for *troi i ffwrdd* 'turn off', *torri* for *torri i lawr* 'break down' and *trefnu* for *sortio allan* 'sort out' (Hirata 2012: 162–163). Importantly, the fifth studied phrasal verb *rhoi/troi ymlaen* 'turn on', does not have a non-phrasal equivalent.

Without referring to PVs in particular, the author suggests that acceptability of contact-induced constructions may be associated with the participants' exposure to the literary language and also their age:

In my judgement tests, there are some informants consistently disallow [sic] P-stranding sentences and some prefers [sic] them. The amount of exposure to the literary language

seems to be related to the acceptability. However, some other factors such as age might be more relevant (Hirata 2012: 193).

Although the study does not focus on phrasal verbs, it offers some evidence supporting the above claims of nonstandardness of certain PVs among native speakers of Welsh.

### 2.3.7. Other studies

Occasional mention of PVs is to be found in a small number of papers, most of which point to the phenomenon of calquing verb-particle constructions from English. Jones (1998) provides examples of PVs in her study of the Rhosllannerchrugog and Gwenhwyseg dialects. She places them among other constructions calqued from English and proposes their one-word equivalents:

- in Gwenhwyseg dialect: *diffodd* ‘extinguish’ for *troi i ffwrdd* ‘turn off’, *dihuno* ‘wake’ for *dihuno lan* ‘wake up’, *ysgrifennu* ‘write’ for *ysgrifennu i ffwrdd* ‘write away’ (1998: 84);
- in Rhosllannerchrugog dialect: *trwsio* ‘repair’ for *neud fyny* ‘do up’, *profi* ‘test’ for *troi allan* ‘try out’, *ffrwydro* ‘explode’ for *chwythu i fyny* ‘blow up’ *digwydd* ‘happen’ for *mynd ymlaen* ‘go on’, *dweud* ‘say’ for *gwneud allan* ‘make out’, *dosbarthu* ‘distribute’ for *rhoi allan* ‘give out’ (1998: 184–185).

The author believes that calquing is a sign of language obsolescence as the phenomenon is largely unidirectional and PVs are chosen by speakers despite the existence of native terms. In Gwenhwyseg dialect calques were more frequent in the speech of informants aged less than 60, which suggests their prevalence in younger speakers’ speech (1998: 86).

In a study by Woolridge (2011, see 1.3.5.), some PVs have been listed among common examples of word-for-word unconscious translation of English idiomatic phrases and marked by professional translators as incorrect (Woolridge 2011:64). The author noted that this type of interference could be eliminated by making the translation process more conscious. PVs are also mentioned by Deuchar as examples of loan translation (2005: 616), and Ball and Thomas (2012: 120), who say that verb-particle construc-

tions are “relatively rare” in Welsh and become “widespread due to calques from English”. Finally, Robert (2013: 101) presents various types of Welsh loans from English within Winford’s (2003) framework of borrowing. In her classification, constructions such as *setio i fyny* ‘set up’ and *sefyll allan* ‘to stand out’ are loan translations (calques) belonging to the category of loanshifts (loan meanings).

### **2.3.8. Summary of literature on PVs in Welsh**

The above overview shows major gaps in the description of phrasal verbs in contemporary Welsh linguistics and gives grounds to assume that the small amount of research in that area might have been influenced by ideologies of prescriptivism and purism.

Phrasal verbs are absent from all Welsh grammars available to Welsh speakers with the exception of P.W. Thomas’s *Gramadeg y Gymraeg*, which devotes a long footnote to the constructions. It appears that the author has not given the subject much consideration since the description appears somewhat intuitive and lacks coherence. Moreover, the author ignores non-transparent constructions, presumably due to the fact that he considers them calques.

Idiomatic PVs have been occasionally mentioned in academic studies, mostly in the context of borrowing from English. The opinions of researchers on these constructions differ. Some view PVs in a rather negative way, claiming that they are something unnatural to Welsh (Fowkes 1945) or even do not belong to the ‘real’ language (Heinz 2003; Asmus and Williams 2014). Extensive calquing in colloquial speech is seen as a sign of language deterioration (Jones 1998) and pleonastic constructions are considered redundant (Jones 1979, Thomas 1996). Other researchers take a more neutral view, simply acknowledging the existence of PVs (Ball and Thomas 2012; Hirata 2012; Robert 2013). Negative opinions on using verb-particle constructions are based on the idea that Welsh PVs have their indigenous equivalents which may become endangered if replaced with loans from English. However, it has been noticed that not all PVs – such as *troi ymlaen* for ‘turn on’ – have single-word counterparts. As a consequence, they fill lexical gaps and enhance the lexicon of the language (Thomas 1987). Yet, the prevailing notion appears to stress the fact that Welsh should not become too similar to English and lose its native idioms.

The most comprehensive and ground-breaking descriptive study of PVs in Welsh is Rottet (2000, 2005), who points to the complexity of the issue and pays attention to the great number of idiomatic constructions. He also acknowledges different types of PVs, an issue which had been previously neglected. Moreover, he draws attention to some prescriptive stances expressed in Welsh lexicography and concludes that different types of PVs have been fully integrated into Welsh by now, which reflects the bilingual reality in Wales.

Little attention has been paid to the diachronic aspect of PVs in Welsh. Jones (1979:113) and Rottet (2005) put forward the claim that contact with English reinforces the elements inherent to Welsh, extending the patterns already existing in the language to form new idiomatic combinations. The latter author supports it with examples dating back to medieval times.

Altogether, the body of literature on PVs in Welsh is small and, interestingly, a substantial part of research on the subject has been conducted by academics from outside Wales. This reluctance on the part of Welsh linguistics to engage with the subject is perhaps related to the general lack of studies on borrowings from English (see 1.3.1.1).

#### **2.4. Phrasal verbs in the present study**

The present study intends to continue the investigation of the issues outlined in the presented literature. As shown in the above review, one can observe that PVs are generally excluded from the linguistic description of the language, particularly in grammar books and no sufficient in-depth description has been provided so far. This gap is rather curious in view of the prevalence of these constructions and the fact that they have been documented in the Welsh language for centuries. The main aim of the dissertation is to create such description, which will be presented in the Conclusions. With this goal in mind, this section will specify the definitions used in my study, classify the investigated constructions and describe their features relevant to the thesis. I will then review and expand on Rottet's findings, firstly by conducting a larger and more rigorous corpus study offering some quantitative as well as qualitative data. For the reasons discussed in 1.5, the present research will not explore the area of the spoken language to a great extent. It will, however, contribute to the debate on the integration of the constructions in standard Welsh.

Apart from providing a corpus-based analysis of phrasal verbs in the press and fiction (Chapter 3) and metalinguistic discourse in lexicographic and pedagogical materials (Chapter 4), it will measure the stated acceptability of PVs among proficient Welsh speakers, a matter which had not been researched so far, except for Hirata's (2012) suggestion that some professional speakers might prefer one-word equivalents of PVs and that this might be related to their exposure to literary language and age.

Based on this evidence, the final description of PVs will also aim to establish the position of PVs within the Welsh linguistic norm in view of language ideologies. Rottet (2000:115) has claimed that there is generally no stigma attached to PVs, although there might be a pedagogical and linguistic norm against them. In the present dissertation, I would like to verify this claim on the basis of a more structured corpus and field study, hypothesising that, in the last 20 years, certain PVs have become even more established in the Welsh language. Following studies on Irish by Stenson (1997) and Veselinović (2006), this study will not be limited to verb-adverb constructions but include also idiomatic prepositional verbs and phrasal prepositional verbs, which were not previously investigated.

#### **2.4.1. Definition and characteristics of phrasal verbs in Welsh**

Phrasal verbs are defined in this study as *combinations of verb and particle, which form a single unit in the minds of the speakers*. Similarly to English, Welsh phrasal verbs typically include common lexical verbs associated with physical movement. In English nouns or adjectives without a verbalizing suffix may be used as verbs, e.g. *egg on, pile up, dumb down*<sup>46</sup>, while in Welsh they are verbalized by adding a morphological verbal endings, the most frequent of which is *-(i)o*, e.g. *bordio i fyny* 'board up', *arafu i lawr* 'slow down'. Another difference between English and Welsh as regards word formation is that nominalisation of PVs in Welsh is hardly possible, except for wholesale borrowings such as *getawe* 'getaway', *gif-yp* 'giveup', which would be accompanied by a Welsh verb (*cael getawe, rhoi gif-yp*, etc.).

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<sup>46</sup> Thim (2012: 30) distinguishes here between transparent PVs such as *sex up* and lexicalised, semantically opaque constructions termed *cranberry verbs*, such as *eke out*.

The term *particle* is used here to designate prepositions, prepositional adverbs or spatial adverbs which follow the lexical verb and semantically denote location and/or direction in space or time. A prepositional adverb, following Quirk et al. (1985), is an adverb which is formally identical to or related to a preposition but has a different syntactic status and properties:

Thus in the sentence *A car drove past the door*, *past* is a preposition, while in the sentence *A car drove past*, *past* is a prepositional adverb. It is capable of standing alone and in contrast to simple prepositions it normally receives stress (Quirk et al. 1985: 713–714).

A list of particles in Welsh verb-particle constructions was proposed by Rottet (2005: 42). The list will be reviewed in 3.4 in the corpus study. The number of particles which may be used to form idiomatic PVs is more limited than in the case of transparent ones. In contrast to English, Welsh particles are morphologically variable and in that respect can be divided into the following groups:

- a) simple spatial adverbs, such as *allan* ‘outside’<sup>47</sup>, *draw* ‘over’ (there), *ymaith* ‘away’. Some of those, are derived from prepositions, e.g. *drosodd* ‘over’ from *dros* ‘over’ (cf. Thomas 1996: 430);
- b) complex spatial adverbs, which are prepositional phrases consisting of the preposition *i* and a noun referring to a topographical feature “which iconically suggests a direction or a location” (Rottet 2005: 42). Examples include: *i ffwrdd* ‘away’ from *ffordd* ‘road’, *i fyny* ‘up’ from *mynydd* ‘mountain’, *i lan* ‘up’ from *glan* ‘shore’, *i lawr* ‘down’ from *llawr* ‘floor, ground’, *mas (ma’s)* ‘out’ from *maes* ‘field’ and *bant* ‘off, away’ from *pant* ‘valley’. In the latter two cases the preposition ‘i’ has disappeared. These particles may be followed by a noun, but cannot have a pronoun inserted between the components;
- c) simple non-inflected prepositions, such as *â* ‘with’, *gyda* ‘with’; some simple prepositions such as *heibio* ‘past’ may also function as prepositional adverbs;
- d) simple inflected prepositions, such as *am* ‘about, around, for’, *ar* ‘on’, *at* ‘to, towards’, *i* ‘to, for’, *dros* ‘over, across’, *trwy* ‘through’ which take a morphological ending according to the person and number. The ending is added to the preposition

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<sup>47</sup> The English translations of particles in this section are approximate, since most of the Welsh prepositions may have other of English equivalents. Correspondence of meanings is analysed in detail in 3.3.

stem. As shown in Table 2, there is a considerable variation of inflected forms across registers and dialects (cf. Thomas 1996: 343);

Table 2. Morphological variation of the preposition *trwy* ‘through’, after Jones (2013: 210).

	Literary	Official and Colloquial	Northern	Southern
1st. pers. sg.	trwof fi/i	drwyddo i	drwydda i	drwyddo
2nd. pers. sg.	trwot ti	drwyddot ti	drwyddat ti/chdi	drwyddot ti
3rd. pers. sg.	trwyddo ef	drwyddo fe/fo	drwyddo fo	drwyddo fe
	trwyddi hi	drwyddi hi	drwyddi hi	drwyddi hi
1st. pers. pl.	trwom ni	drwyddon ni	drwyddan ni	drwyddon ni
2nd. pers. pl.	trwoch chwi	drwyddoch chi	drwyddach chi	drwyddoch chi
3rd. pers. pl.	trwyddynt hwy	drwyddyn nhw	drwyddan nhw	drwyddon nhw

- e) complex inflected preposition, such as *i mewn i* ‘into’, *oddi wrth* ‘from’, which consist of two elements, only the second of which is inflected;
- f) complex prepositions, such as *ar ôl* ‘after’, *ar draws* ‘across’, *o gwmpas* ‘around’. *yn ôl* ‘back’, *ymlaen* ‘ahead, forward, on’. These are prepositional phrases grammaticalised to form a preposition or an adverbial. If an object of such a phrase is a pronoun, it is inserted between the elements of the phrase. Thus:

(20) *Cer yn dy flaen chydig bach....* (Prysor 2010:52)  
 ‘Go ahead a little bit.’

In the example (20) the particle *ymlaen* is split, and its original component *blaen* ‘front’ undergoes soft mutation as it is preceded by the prefixed pronoun for 2nd pers. sg. *dy*.

Some Welsh particles have dialectal variants. The four most common examples are presented in Table 3. As can be seen, in this case the Northern Welsh variety is considered the standard, except for the preposition *efo*, which is avoided in formal registers, replaced by Southern *gyda* or standard *â*.

Table 3. Dialectal variants of PV particles in Welsh

Standard Welsh	Southern Welsh	Northern Welsh	English equivalent
i ffwrdd/ymaith	bant	i ffwrdd	away/off



i fyny	(i) lan	(i) fyny	up
allan	mas	allan	out
â/gyda	gyda	efo, hefo	with

#### 2.4.2. Semantic classification – Idiomaticity

Idiomaticity, or compositionality of meaning, is a crucial issue in discussing the semantic properties of verb-particle combinations called here phrasal verbs. In the English language, the most basic classification of these verbs as regards idiomaticity is based on the division between *compositional* (*literal, transparent, non-idiomatic*) and *non-compositional* (*idiomatic, opaque*) items. Obviously, no sharp dividing line between the two groups can be drawn; a large proportion of PVs are polysemous and the same combination may appear in different degrees of idiomaticity e.g. *he came in* in the sense of “entered” (transparent), *the tide came in,* “moved higher up the beach” (semi-idiomatic), *short coats are coming in* “are becoming fashionable” (idiomatic). In some cases idiomaticity may be thus regarded not only as continuum but also as a cline related to historical developments of the meaning of a given PV from transparent to idiomatic. A major work presenting the evolution of particle meanings from the cognitive perspective is Rudzka-Ostyn (2003). Her model will be used in the semantic analysis of Welsh particles in 3.3.

Idiomatic combinations of verb and particle occurred already in Old English and had fully developed by the Middle English period (Thim 2012: 182–185). Thus far, researchers have found it difficult to convincingly describe long-term changes in the frequency of occurrence of the English particle verbs, although there is some evidence for the increase of these constructions in the 19th century (for discussion of the issue cf. Thim 2012). In present-day English, PVs appear to be extremely productive, which can be seen for instance in the phenomenon of verbalising nouns and adjectives which serve as the base verb. Researchers have noted that phrases of this type are often strongly culturally bound and related to contemporary issues; for instance, *space out* was used for “taking drugs” in the time of space exploration (Bernstein 1974: 65). In Welsh, however, such productivity is limited (see 2.4.1 above).

There is a lack of agreement among researchers regarding the role of idiomaticity in determining the syntactical and lexical status of PVs (for an overview cf. Cappelle et al.

2010: 190). Many authors regard idiomaticity as a basic criterion for distinguishing PVs from other multi-word items. Quirk et al. (1985:1162) see idiomatic vs. non-idiomatic status as a major distinction between multi-word items and free combinations. Similarly, Biber et al. (1999) define multi-word lexical verbs as “combinations which comprise relatively idiomatic units”.

In contrast, some authors, such as Fraser (1976), believe that transparent and idiomatic combinations are not the same phenomenon in view of structural differences between them, for instance a possibility of coordinating adverbs in transparent constructions (see 2.4.2.1). However, there is also a number of arguments in favour of the opposite view. One of them is that some transparent constructions are among the most widely used multi-word combinations in English, which has been demonstrated by corpus studies e.g. Gardner and Davies (2007). Consequently, these items appear to be retrieved as “ready-made” items in the minds of speakers rather than being constructed anew each time they are used (Cappelle et al. 2010: 190). Moreover, historically speaking, most non-compositional PVs have developed by way of metaphorical extension of meaning of the transparent constructions and it is often impossible to draw a clear-cut line between transparent and idiomatic senses of polysemous combinations. All in all, there is much convincing evidence that transparent and idiomatic PVs are, as concluded by Lindner, manifestations of the same phenomenon differing only in terms of semantic features (Lindner 1981: 31).

In view of the above, in the present work idiomaticity is viewed as a continuum with three main degrees based on Thim’s (2012) classification. These are: 1) compositional phrasal verbs, divided into a) *transparent* and b) *aspectual*, and 2) non-compositional *idiomatic* phrasal verbs.

1) Compositional combinations can be divided into two types:

a) *transparent* - combinations which are semantically compositional, where the verb retains its literal meaning and expresses verbal action, while the particle expresses directionality of the action. Hence, transparent PVs are free in that both the verb and particle are exchangeable, with the verb expressing the kind of action and the particle expressing the direction, as shown in Figure 1.

The above examples have their nearly exact counterparts in Welsh. In this context Welsh expresses the motion-in-space relation in the same way as English, with obvious differences in the SVO – VSO word order between the languages (Figure 2).

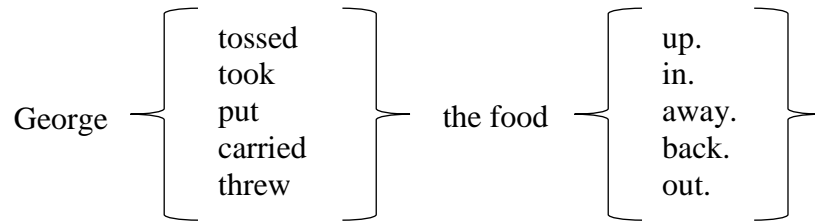
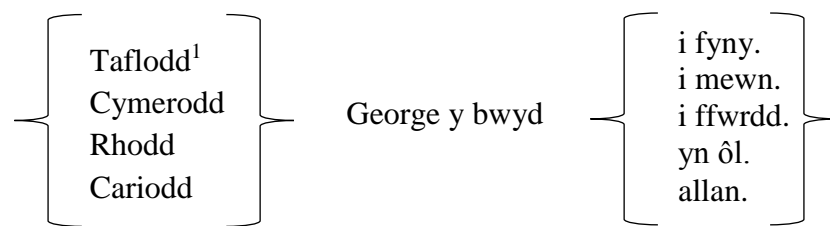


Figure 1. Exchangeability of verb and particle in English PVs (after Thim 2012: 14)



<sup>1</sup>taflu translates as both 'toss' and 'throw'.

Figure 2. Exchangeability of verb and particle in Welsh PVs.

There is no doubt that transparent verb-particle combinations of this type occur naturally in the Welsh language. Some of them, however, appear to function as set phrases in the minds of the speakers and in some cases are replaceable by single items. For that reason, some Welsh authors, e.g. P.W. Thomas (1996), have claimed that single verbs such as *dychwelyd* 'return' are preferred over transparent phrases such as *dod yn ôl* 'come back' (see 2.3.3).

*b) aspectual* – combination of verbs and particle whose meaning is usually fully transparent and readily understandable since the verb retains its literal meaning, while the particle adds an aspectual interpretation of the verb. The most frequent aspectual particle in English is *up*; others include *down*, *over*, *through*, *on*, *along*, *around* and *away*. Characteristically, groups of such PVs show resemblances in particle meaning; for example, *up* may imply completion, as in *drink up*, *break up*, while *away* suggests persistence, as in *work away*, *fire away* (Quirk et al. 1985: 1163)<sup>48</sup>. In quite a few cases, however, the exact meaning of a particle is more difficult to isolate, as in *find out* and in many instances the

<sup>48</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of particle meanings cf. Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) and section 3.3.

aspectual meaning may overlap with directional one (Thim 2012: 19). Aspectual phrasal verbs are free in the sense that ad hoc formations are possible, but since substitution is constrained by limited productivity they can be seen as semi-idiomatic (cf. Thim 2012: 57)

There is a considerable number of aspectual PVs in Welsh, bearing close similarities with English ones, although not all English ones will have their Welsh counterparts. An interesting feature of aspectual PVs is that in some cases the aspectual element is logically redundant, for example *up* in *finish up* or *grow up*. Hence, such constructions might be called *pleonastic*. The “redundancy” is less common with directional particles, although not impossible, for example *return back* (Thim 2012: 17). The Welsh corpus constructed for this study includes similar examples with the particle *yn ôl* ‘back’: *dychwelyd yn ôl* ‘return back’, *bacio yn ôl* ‘back back’, *cilio yn ôl* ‘retreat back’.

It is these two properties of aspectual PVs – their semi-idiomatic status and possible redundancy – that attract the attention of Welsh linguists and teachers. It appears that, being less productive in Welsh, such constructions may sound unnatural to some Welsh speakers and consequently the idiomatic meaning of a particle is seen as being calqued from English. For example, the particle *i fyny* ‘up’ is defined and translated in GPC as

le neu safle uwch, i'r lan, tuag at le neu safle uwch (hefyd gyda bf. fel *gosod, llyncu, rhoddi, torri*, etc., i drosi priod-ddull Saesneg):

*up, upwards (also used with certain verbs to translate English idioms).*

As shown above, aspectual PVs have also been mentioned by Jones (1979), P.W. Thomas (1996) and Asmus and Williams (2014) as examples of incorrect or unnecessary borrowings from English.

2) The second group of PVs are non-compositional, *idiomatic* verb-particle combinations, where the meaning of the phrase is not fully predictable from the meaning of its constituents and there is no possibility of contrastive substitution of the verb or particle, as in: *work out* “solve a problem”, *put something off* “postpone”, *bring someone round* “persuade”, *come across something* “find by chance” or *run out of something* “have nothing left”. However, the metaphorical meaning is not necessarily completely opaque, as in *run into someone* “meet by chance” or *see through* “not be deceived”.

Idiomatic PVs are present in contemporary Welsh and the vast majority of them have exact English counterparts e.g. *gweithio allan* ‘work out’, *gadael i lawr* ‘let down’. For that reason, as in the case of aspectual PVs, it is possible to view them as calques from English.

#### **2.4.2.1. Criteria for distinguishing between compositional and idiomatic phrasal verbs**

There have been numerous attempts within English linguistics to distinguish between compositional and non-compositional verb-particle constructions. In his classic study, Bolinger (1971: 6-22), lists nine tests for exclusion/inclusion of multi-word items as PVs. Some of these criteria were used by Quirk et al. (1985) in their classification, which distinguishes (idiomatic/aspectual) PVs from free combinations (called transparent PVs in this study). Although the semantic criterion of idiomaticity is the main one within Quirk et al.’s approach, they also mention a number of syntactic features distinguishing between the two categories. Claridge (2000: 32) notices that Quirk et al.’s approach has some drawbacks as they apply the semantic-based classification only to some types of multi verb items, which leads to inconsistencies. In the present study, the primary criteria for deciding whether a PV is idiomatic or not is its semantic transparency or opaqueness. There are cases however, where this distinction might be blurred (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1153 and the "metaphorical appropriateness" of verbs such as *bring up*).

Additionally, several syntactic criteria mentioned by Quirk et al. (1985) are, to a certain degree, applicable to the Welsh language as well as English, despite syntactic differences between the two languages.

Firstly, transparent constructions allow inversion of the particle (21), in contrast to idiomatic and aspectual combinations (22), which confirms the latter’s semi-idiomatic status (Quirk et al. 1985: 523).

- (21) a. *out came the spider*  
b. *up went the flag*
- (22) a. *\*out he carried the test.*  
b. *\*up he drank all the water*

Parallel inversion of the particle is possible in Welsh transparent PVs, but impossible with idiomatic ones, as shown in examples (23) and (24).

- (23) a. *bant aeth e yno ei hunan*  
'off he went there on his own'  
b. *ymlaen aeth y car*  
'on went the car'

- (24) a. *\*bant trodd hi'r goleuadau.*  
'off she turned the lights'  
b. *\*ymlaen cariodd e'r prawf.*  
'on he carried the test'

Secondly, in many transparent combinations a modifying adverb *right* or *straight* may be placed between the verb and the particle (Quirk et al. 1985: 1153). This is not possible with idiomatic PVs and the vast majority of aspectual ones. In Welsh, the adverb *yn syth* 'straight' can also be used in the same way as in (25) and (26).

- (25) *Gan ei bod yn hwyrach na hynny, cynigiaf ein bod yn mynd yn syth ymlaen i bleid-leisio.* (CCCC)  
'As it is later than that, I propose that we move straight to voting.'

- (26) *Yna dyma Simon Pedr yn cyrraedd ar ei ôl ac yn mynd yn syth i mewn i'r bedd.*  
(John 20.6, *beibl.net*)  
'Then Simon Peter came along behind him and went straight into the tomb.'

One can also find examples of a similar use of the borrowing *reit* 'right' (27).

- (27) *Rhoddodd ei wynab reit i fyny at y ffenast nes bod ei wynt yn stemio'r gwydr.*  
(Prysor 2006: 70)  
'He put his face right up against the window until his breath steamed the glass.'

According to P. W. Thomas in a very formal, “if not outdated” style, Welsh allows the placement an adverbial between the verb and particle as in the quoted folk song:

(28) *Cyn delwyf i Gymru'n ôl* (Thomas 1996:561)

‘Before I come back to Wales’

The third distinguishing feature of transparent combinations is coordination of particles, as in:

(29) *Maen nhw'n gyrru fel ffyliaid i fyny ac i lawr y lôn yna bob awr o'r dydd a'r nos.*

(CEG)

‘They are driving like fools up and down that lane every hour of day and night.’

Such coordination is not possible with fully idiomatic PVS. However, there are some borderline cases of semi-idiomatic PVs as in (30), where ‘move up’ and ‘move down’ are used metaphorically in the sense ‘climb the social ladder’.

(30) *Am symud lan ydw i, nid lawr.* (Roberts 2013: 169)

‘I’m intending to move up, not down.’

Another commonly used criterion for idiomatic status is replaceability by a single word. As demonstrated in section 2.1.2.2, however, it is not a reliable criterion for several reasons. Firstly, a considerable number of idiomatic PVs cannot be rephrased by a single item, for example *settle down*, *let someone off*, *run out of*. Secondly, it is possible to find one-word equivalents for a number of transparent PVs as well e.g. *come in* – *enter*, *come back* – *return* (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1162). Another crucial aspect are semantic differences between PVs and their one-word equivalents as regards style and register e.g. *throw up* and *vomit*. This makes the criterion of replaceability even more dubious.

Despite a number of useful criteria for establishing the idiomatic or non-idiomatic status of PVs, it can be seen that idiomaticity of PVs in both English and Welsh forms a continuum with plenty of difficult cases. Ultimately, as Claridge (2000: 41) says “It is actually a (vicious?) circle we are moving in: we all know in some way what, e.g. a phrasal

verb is, but a full and theoretically adequate proof of this intuitive knowledge seems impossible”. It seems quite inevitable that in some cases including a particular item may be an arbitrary decision of the researcher.

### **2.4.3. Syntactic classification of phrasal verbs**

The terms regarding syntactic classification of PVs used in this dissertation are based on Quirk et al. (1985). It should be remembered that these authors include only non-compositional constructions in their definition of multi-verb items. Transparent combinations, where the verb and the adverb have distinct meanings, would be termed “free combinations” by the authors, while in PVs “the meaning cannot be predicted from the meaning of verb and particle in isolation.” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1152). Quirk et al. divide multi-word verbs into three categories: *Phrasal Verbs*, *Prepositional Verbs* and *Phrasal-Prepositional Verbs*. This classification will be used in this thesis, since all three categories occur in Welsh and examples of each category are cited in literature, although it is mainly Phrasal Verbs and Phrasal-Prepositional Verbs which have attracted attention. The category Phrasal Verbs will be renamed here *Adverbial Phrasal Verbs* to avoid confusion with the more general term and names of the categories will not be capitalised.

#### **2.4.3.1. Adverbial phrasal verbs**

Adverbial phrasal verbs (APVs) consist of a verb and adverbial particle. In Welsh, as in English, they might be intransitive e.g. *mynd ymlaen* ‘go on’ or transitive *chwythu rhywbeth i fyny* ‘blow something up’. With regard to the syntactic behaviour of transitive phrasal verbs, there are differences between Welsh and English. In English the particle may be placed before or after the direct object e.g. *He switched the lights on/ He switched on the lights*; however, if the object is a pronoun, the particle normally comes after it: *He switched them on*. In Welsh both orders are possible, although placing the object between the verb and particle seems to be more common. Jones (1979), however, claimed that the Verb – Particle – Object order is impossible. Thus:



(31) *Mae John wedi sortio 'r papurau allan*

*\*Mae John wedi sortio allan y papurau* (Jones 1979: 113)

‘John has sorted the papers out’

Rottet (2005) and Hirata (2012) do not support this claim, providing numerous examples of both word orders. The latter’s study showed both orders were judged to be grammatical by native Welsh speakers, although the Verb – Object – Particle order was generally preferred. Moreover, Hirata notices that this order was preferred if the particle was complex, while a single particle was more acceptable in the Verb – Particle – Object order. The issue will be further investigated in the subsequent chapter (3.2.3.3).

When the object in transitive constructions is a pronoun, Welsh uses different syntactic patterns depending on whether the verb is conjugated or a verbal noun is used. The pronoun can be prefixed (32), affixed (33) or suffixed (34) to the verb. Suffixed pronouns may be optionally added when prefixed or affixed pronouns are used as in (35).

(32) *pan fo'r ergyd nesa a'r un nesa a'r un nesa yn fy nharo i lawr*

‘when another and another and another blow strikes me down’

(33) *phob math o bethau i'w hannog ymlaen*

‘all sort of things urging them on’

(34) *cyfra fi mas*

‘count me out’

(35) *dwi'n ei rentu e mas*

‘I rent it out’<sup>49</sup>

#### **2.4.3.2. Phrasal prepositional verbs**

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<sup>49</sup> Examples 33-36 taken from my corpus (see Chapter 3).

Phrasal prepositional verbs (PPVs) contain two particles, the second of which is a preposition. In English they are largely restricted to informal language: *look forward to*, *put up with*, *get away with*, *do away with*. They can be transitive or intransitive (Quirk et al. 1985: 1160) and the majority of them show a degree of idiomaticity (Thim 2012: 28). Common Welsh examples include: *edrych ymlaen at* ‘look forward to’, *bwrw ymlaen â* ‘continue with’, *dal i fyny â* ‘catch up with’, *rhedeg allan o* ‘run out of’. A very limited number of PPVs in Welsh may take a direct object, such as *golchi rhywbeth i lawr â rhywbeth* ‘wash something down with something’.

#### 2.4.3.3. Prepositional verbs

According to Quirk et al., prepositional verbs (PPs) consist of a verb and preposition which is semantically and/or syntactically associated; they may be distinguished from APVs by the inability to move the particle after the following noun phrase (Quirk et al. 1985: 1155–1156). They may or may not have a direct object – cf. *He invested in property* and *He invested his money in property*. Both the verb and particle in PPs can be used quite literally or metaphorically, along the idiomaticity continuum e.g. *look at*, *look into*, *look after*. Of interest to this thesis are only PPs which are idiomatic in meaning and, following Keiser’s framework model, form a semantic whole although syntactically they are marginally separable (Keizer 2009: 1201). While from a purely syntactic point of view constructions such as *come across something*, *look after something* are a different phenomenon to APVs, they are commonly included in dictionaries of PVs due to their idiomatic properties.

Welsh has a number of idiomatic PPs, including phrases which translate directly into English, such as *dod ar draws rhywbeth* ‘come across something’, *dod rownd rhywun* ‘come around someone’, *edrych ar ôl rhywun* ‘look after someone’ and native constructions such as *taro ar rywun* ‘bump into someone’, lit. ‘hit on someone’, *torri ar draws rywun* ‘interrupt someone’, lit. ‘cut across someone’. There is also a type of idiomatic expressions characteristic to Welsh, where the preposition is inflected in the 3rd person singular feminine, but there is no entity to which the prepositional phrase refers, for instance *mynd ati* ‘go into action, set to work’, lit. ‘go at it’, *dal ati* ‘continue, keep up’ lit. ‘keep to it’, *cymryd arni* ‘pretend’, lit. ‘take on it’.

#### 2.4.4. Language contact classification

A further categorisation of PVs, being of crucial importance to this thesis, is related to language contact phenomena. The classification proposed here is based on Rottet (2005:50-60) and Stenson for Irish (1997). Welsh PVs can be divided into:

1. Native Welsh constructions (N). These include all or the majority of transparent PVs since, as explained above (2.4.2), they are a natural way to express motion through location. There is also a relatively small group of idiomatic verbs which can be assumed to be native since they do not have English equivalents. Rottet (2005:50-52) provides a list of such idioms, e.g. *codi allan* ‘get around’, lit. ‘rise out’, *hwyllo i lawr* ‘blow over’, lit. ‘sail down’.
2. Loan renditions (LR). The term originally coined by Weinreich (1953) describes items where the translation diverges from the donor language rather than reproduces it element by element. In other words, a PV might be considered an LR if one of the elements corresponds closely to English. For example, the phrase *dod dros* ‘get over’, ‘overcome’, literally meaning ‘come over’ may be a LR, especially in view of the fact that English *get* is an all-encompassing verb which does not have an obvious Welsh equivalent.
3. Pleonastic PVs (PL). These are semi-idiomatic, aspectual constructions, in which one of the elements is, from a logical standpoint, redundant. Common Welsh examples are *eistedd i lawr* ‘sit down’ and *tyfu i fyny* ‘grow up’. Rottet demonstrates that the use of a particle in many such cases is optional (2005:53) and the version without a particle may be considered more formal.
4. Directly translatable PVs (DT). This category includes idiomatic verb-particle constructions where both the verb and particle are directly translatable into English and may therefore be assumed to have been calqued, for example: *troi lan* ‘turn up’, *chwythu rhywbeth i fyny* ‘blow something up’, *dod ar draws rhywbeth* ‘come across something’, *rhedeg allan o rywbeth* ‘run out of something’. A single Welsh PV may sometimes serve as an equivalent of several English PVs, due to polysemy of verbs such as *torri* ‘break’, ‘cut’; there are also cases when a single English PV may be translated in several different ways e.g. *miss* may be rendered as *methu* or *colli* (Rottet 2005: 56).

5. Loanblends (LB). These are constructions which combine borrowed and native morphemes. Most frequently the borrowed item is a verb, usually with the ending *-(i)o*, for example *cyrlio i fyny* ‘curl up’, *ffeindio allan* ‘find out’. The particle may also be borrowed. In fact, only two particles are used in that respect: *off* and *rownd* e.g. *dod rownd* ‘come round’, *mynd off* ‘go off’. In some cases both elements may be loanwords, as in *hitio off* ‘hit off’.
6. Wholesale borrowings (WH). These are the items where the whole linguistic material is borrowed from English. Such examples may be difficult to distinguish from code-switching. In the present study, which focuses on the written language, an item is considered a WH if the spelling reflects Welsh pronunciation. As observed by Rottet (2005), WH items are very rare in Welsh; examples include only nominalised items such as *cael getawe*. In the present corpus, set phrases, such as *cym on* ‘come on’ and *howld on* ‘hold on’ were found.

#### 2.4.5. Scope and focus of the present study

On the basis of the relatively small body of available literature, this study focuses on the verb-particle constructions in Welsh which arise controversies as regards language contact and standardisation. As shown above, transparent PVs are a natural way of expressing motion through location in the Welsh language: there is hardly a way to replace expressions such as *mynd i fyny* ‘go up’, *dod i mewn* ‘come in, enter’, *neidio allan* ‘jump out’. Nevertheless, replaceability is achievable in some cases such as *dod yn ôl* ‘come back’ – *dychwelyd* ‘return’. This is pointed out by P. W. Thomas, who appears to suggest that replaceability with single items makes certain PVs redundant. For that reason, the case of the transparent PV *dod yn ôl* has been investigated in the field study presented in Chapter 5. Other than this example, the present research will not be concerned with transparent PVs. It does, however, include the semi-idiomatic aspectual phrases, with a focus on constructions called here pleonastic PVs, such as *tyfu i fyny*, *eistedd i lawr*, since these are also mentioned in literature as nonstandard borrowings from English. The main focus of the study are idiomatic PVs, classified syntactically into three categories: APVs, PPs and PPVs (2.4.3). In distinguishing between transparent and idiomatic PVs, the criteria described in section 2.4.2.1 are used. The following chapter presents an analysis of a corpus

of written texts designed for this study. Chapter 4 focuses on the presentation of PVs in Welsh dictionaries and pedagogical materials. Finally, the results of a field study on the acceptability of PVs among professional speakers of Welsh are presented in Chapter 5.

## **Chapter 3: Phrasal verbs in Welsh – a corpus study**

### **3.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, the description of phrasal verbs in Welsh emerging from the literature on the subject reviewed in Chapter 2 is contrasted with findings based on a small sample corpus of written texts and the available lexicographic data. As could be seen, observations regarding PVs made by linguists thus far have been largely intuitive rather than based on a systematic analysis. This study attempts to fill this gap and provide the basis for a detailed linguistic description of the phenomenon of PVs in Welsh, underlining its major complexities. It also aims to validate Rottet's (2005) claim about the widespread usage of PVs in press and fiction.

Despite its small size, the sample of texts analysed can be seen as representative of contemporary Welsh in that it consists of texts with different degrees of formality, from written spoken through semi-formal and formal, thus giving an idea of the language accessed on an everyday basis by literate speakers of Welsh.

The corpus is presented in the first part of the chapter, followed by a quantitative and qualitative analysis based on the categorisations presented in the previous chapter, examining distributions of PVs according to their syntactic properties and status in relation to language contact. Next, the sample is analysed qualitatively with focus on stylistic markedness. The final section investigates correspondence of meanings of Welsh and English particles, attempting to find regularities in transfer phenomena, using a cognitive model of particle semantics based on Rudzka-Ostyn (2003).

### 3.1.1. Aims of the study

The primary aims of building the corpus were to:

1. create a database of examples of idiomatic and semi-idiomatic verb-particle constructions in written Welsh;
2. determine the most prevalent idiomatic PVs and examine their various senses and uses;
3. review the list of particles entering verbal constructions provided by Rottet (2005);
4. examine the productivity of specific verbs and particles with reference to language contact;
5. analyse the syntactic behaviour of idiomatic PVs in Welsh;
6. investigate the status of idiomatic PVs as borrowed or native items;
7. analyse the distribution of various categories of PVs across registers of Welsh regarding their native or non-native status;
8. investigate the markedness of borrowed and non-borrowed PVs.

### 3.1.2. Scope of the research

In view of the aims presented above, two types of constructions were included in the corpus:

- a) idiomatic phrasal verbs, including three syntactic types: adverbial phrasal verbs (APVs), phrasal prepositional verbs (PPVs) and prepositional verbs (PPs) (see 2.4.3);
- b) pleonastic, semi-idiomatic phrasal verbs of all three syntactic types.

Consequently, the following constructions were excluded from the corpus:

- a) any non-compositional PVs other than pleonastic ones;
- b) native idiomatic verb–preposition-verb patterns. There are few such constructions in Welsh, the most common example being *bod am wneud rhywbeth*, lit. ‘be about doing something’, ‘want, intend to do something’;
- c) native idiomatic constructions with a preposition inflected in the 3rd person singular feminine and no entity to which the prepositional phrase refers. These include for example: *bwrw ati (i)* (lit. ‘hit towards it’, ‘continue something, begin’),

- cymryd arni* (lit. ‘take on it’, ‘pretend’), *mynd ati (i)* (lit. ‘go towards it (to)’, ‘go into action, set to work’);
- d) reflexive constructions, such as *dod at ei hunan* ‘come to oneself’, *cadw rhywbeth at ei hunan* ‘keep something to oneself’;
- e) full idioms, such as proverbs, sayings, fixed phrases – constructions in which not only the verb and particle, but also other elements, such as grammatical form or direct object are fixed. Idioms with PVs found in the course of the research were mostly translated directly from English e.g. *gwneud dy feddwl i fyny* ‘make up your mind’, *gallu gwneud gyda rhywbeth* ‘can do with something’, *bod wedi torri allan i wneud rhywbeth* ‘be cut out to do something’, *brathu i ffwrdd mwy nag y gallwch gnoi* ‘bite off more than you can chew’. Some of these calques were mentioned already by Fowkes (1945). The few native idioms found usually contained PPs rather than PVs e.g. *mae hi wedi canu ar rywun*, lit. ‘it has sung on someone’, ‘someone is in trouble’, *mynd o flaen gofid*, lit. ‘go ahead of distress’, ‘to go to meet trouble’;
- f) example of code-switching into English, indicated by italics.

## 3.2. Analysis of the corpus

### 3.2.1. The corpus

Due to lack of digitalised material and easily searchable electronic corpora of Welsh, a corpus was created especially for the purpose of this study. The corpus consists of printed texts: works of fiction and periodicals, which were annotated manually. Automatic extraction of PVs was not feasible or reliable for a number of reasons. First, the vast majority of texts were not available in digital form. Secondly, conducting an automatic corpus search for PVs would require at least a closed list of particles. The only existing list provided by Rottet (2005: 42) cannot be treated as exhaustive due to different categorisation used in the present study, which includes prepositional verbs. Moreover, the great multitude of morphological and dialectal variants of Welsh verbs and particles would make computer extraction extremely challenging. For instance, the most frequent



particle, *ymlaen*, may have a number of reduced and quite unpredictable spellings e.g. *'mlaen*, *'mlân*, *'m'lan* in written colloquial language. The same concerns verbs: for example, the verb *edrych* 'to look', has at least 20 inflected forms which might be reduced to spoken forms such as *'drych*. What is more, in South Welsh dialects the verb can be substituted by another verb, *disgwyl*, which can further be reduced to forms such as *'shgwl*. Finally, bearing in mind the scope of the study has been confined to idiomatic constructions, manual annotation of the whole corpus would be required in any case. For these reasons, this method was decided to be the least time-consuming and most reliable, allowing for an in-depth study of the relatively small sample.

The corpus was aimed at representing the varieties of written language available to ordinary speakers of Welsh. The sample consisted of two subcorpora: works of fiction and press, which represented primarily semi-formal and informal registers of Welsh. Consequently, some formal registers, such as academic and official administrative texts, are underrepresented in the corpus. The motivation behind not including them was the prevalence of English to Welsh translations in the production of such documents (Screen 2016; 1-3) and their little use among speakers of Welsh (see 1.2.4.1, Evas and Cunliffe 2016), therefore their low impact on the perceived linguistic norm. The corpus is a small-sized one, estimated at no more than 1 million words. As the texts were not digitalised due to technological and time limitations, exact word count of the sample has not been performed.

The selected fictional works were five novels awarded Gwobr Goffa Daniel Owen (Daniel Owen Memorial Prize) in the years 2009-2013: *Y Llyfrgell* (2009) by Fflur Dafydd, *Adenydd glöyn byw* (2010) by Grace Roberts, *Tair rheol anhrefn* (2011) by Daniel Davies, *Afallon* (2012) by Robat Gruffudd and *Craciau* (2013) by Bet Jones. The Daniel Owen Memorial Prize is awarded annually at the National Eisteddfod of Wales for a novel of at least 50,000 words. The novels are adjudicated based on the author's language proficiency and skilful use of idiomatic Welsh, which is why they were chosen for the study as representative high-quality texts.

The press corpus consisted of newspapers and magazines published in Wales in a single period, July-August 2014. The sample included the weeklies *Golwg* and *Y Cymro*, 4 issues each, the monthly quality magazine *Barn*, cultural quarterlies *Y Faner Newydd*, *Y Wawr* and *Y Casglwr*, Christian magazines *Cristion Gorff* and *Gwyliedydd*, a satirical magazine *LOL* published annually during the National Eisteddfod and 7 issues

of local newspapers, the so-called *papurau bro* from Mid Wales and Carmarthenshire. The full list is available in Appendix A.

The two subcorpora were of a differing nature in that literary representations are attempts on the part of authors to reproduce what they see as ‘authentic’ language, whereas the press corpus data are more primary in nature. The corpus includes a broad variety of registers, from formal and literary in quality press and narrative parts of novels to written colloquial in dialogues and popular magazines. Texts in the press corpus represent a wide selection of fields and topics, from politics, business and current matters, through art, culture, religion and history, to pastimes, hobbies and humour. Regarding dialectal differences, the corpus contains samples of all major geographical varieties of Welsh, with the limitation that some Northern and Southern Welsh varieties are underrepresented in the sample of local papers due to lack of access to them at the time the material was collected.

### 3.2.2. Methods

All texts in the sample were read twice. Concordances with PVs were extracted and annotated manually in an Excel spreadsheet. If a PV was repeated within one clause in a narrative or two consecutive sentences in a dialogue, it was counted only once.

The spreadsheet created consisted of the following data: a) source code b) page number c) phrasal verb c) dialectal or colloquial variant (if applicable) d) English translation e) concordance f) narration type g) verb h) particle i) second particle (for PPVs) j) syntactic category k) language contact category. A sample of the created spreadsheet is included in Appendix A.

#### *Dialectal or colloquial variants.*

When particles and verbs had their dialectal or colloquial variants, the form considered standard were listed as the cardinal one, while the form occurring in the concordance was placed in the “Variant” column. The variants of particles and their frequencies in the corpus are presented in Table 4.

The variants of verbs constituting PVs listed in the corpus were: *chwara* and *whare* for *chwarae*; *dala* for *dal*; *dwad* and *dŵad* for *dod*; *disgwyl*, *disgwyl*, *dishgwyl*

and *edrach* for *edrych*; *ista* for *eistedd*; *ffindo*, *ffindio* for *ffeindio*, *ffito* for *ffitio*, *gadel* for *gadael*, *llanw* for *llenwi*, *pigo* for *picio*, *raso* for *rasio*, *slammo* for *slamio*, *sorto* for *sortio*, *towlu* for *taflu*, *sgwennu* for *ysgrifennu*.

Table 4. Dialectal or colloquial variants of particles and their frequencies in the corpus.

Standard form	Total no. of tokens	Variants and number of tokens									
		var. 1	no.	var. 2	no.	var. 3	no.	var. 4	no.	var. 5	no.
ymlaen	369	mlân	8	mlaen	5	mla'n	4	'mla'n	2	'mlaen	1
allan	167	mas	61								
i fyny	96	lan	40	fyny	2						
i lawr	75	lawr	10								
â	55*	gyda	6	'da	5	hefo	5	efo	4	da	1
i mewn	49	mewn	9	miwn	1	fewn	1				
ar ôl	48	'rôl	1								
yn ôl	39	'nôl	5								
i ffwrdd	18	bant	10	ymaith	1	i ffwr'	1				
o gwmpas	14	ymbytu	1								
drosodd	11	drosto	1								
trwy	11	drwy	1								

\*the number includes occurrences of *â* as both the first and second particle.

### English translation

English equivalents were provided for each Welsh verb-particle construction. Dictionaries of Welsh: GPC, GA, Gwe were consulted when needed. English dictionaries used to distinguish the senses of borrowed PVs were *Oxford English Dictionary* (3rd. edition, 2017) and *Macmillan Dictionary Online* (Macmillan Dictionary Online 2017).

### Mode of narration

Each PV concordance was assigned to one of two modes: narrative (N) or conversation (C). N examples were those found in the narrative parts of novels and in press. C examples were those occurring in dialogues or internal monologues in the novels and direct quotations or interviews in the press. This distinction allowed to distinguish representations of more informal spoken registers.

### Syntactic category

PVs were tagged according to 4 syntactic categories: prepositional verbs (PP), intransitive adverbial phrasal verbs (APVi), transitive adverbial phrasal verbs (APVt) and phrasal

prepositional verbs (PPV) (see 2.4.3). Similarly to APVs, PPVs could follow two syntactic patterns: Verb + Particle + Preposition + Direct Object, e.g. *rhedeg allan o rywbeth* ‘run out of something’, and Verb + Direct Object + Particle + Preposition + Direct Object, e.g. *cadw rhywun allan o rywbeth* ‘keep someone out of something’. However, as examples of the second pattern were extremely rare in the corpus, this distinction was not taken into consideration.

#### *Language contact category*

PVs were tagged according to 5 language contact categories described in 2.4.4: native constructions or loan renditions (N/LR), pleonastic semi-idiomatic PVs (PL), verb-particle constructions which are directly translatable into English and may often be calques (DT), loanblends (LB) and wholesale borrowings (WH).

### **3.2.3. Quantitative analysis – results**

#### **3.2.3.1. Verbs and particles**

The PVs in the corpus were made up of 127 different verbs, excluding dialectal and colloquial variants. Among those, 45 verbs (35%) were borrowings from English; 37 of them were formed with the *-(i)o* ending, 3 with *-ian* ending (*hongian* ‘hang’, *prowlian* ‘prowl’, *socian* ‘soak’), 2 with *-u* ending *helpu* ‘help’ and *rhentu* ‘rent’ and 3 were phonetic adaptations of English verbs occurring in wholesale borrowings, *cym* ‘come’, *ffyc* ‘fuck’, *howld* ‘hold’. It should be noted that according to GPC the majority of these borrowings were first recorded in Welsh before the 20th century, with some verbs going back to the medieval period (Table 5). Seven items were not found in GPC: these were modern colloquial borrowings, including taboo words. The list of verbs demonstrates the productivity of PVs, which are created with both well-established and recently borrowed items.

Table 5. First recorded uses of borrowed verbs constituting PVs in the corpus according to GPC.

Century of 1 <sup>st</sup> recorded use	No. of borrowed verb in the corpus (types)	Verbs
14th	1	cnocio

15th	6	cyrlio, cario, helpu, pacio, pasio, rhentu
16th	6	gwatsio, picio, pwyntio, setio, socian, sortio
17th	6	clirio, ffeindio, ffitio, hitio, hongian, pigo
18th	8	actio, bacio, bordio, howld, popio, setlo, stretsho, sticio
19th	6	contractio, patsio, prowlian, pwmpio, rasio, snapio
20th	4	ffonio, optio, slamio, teipio
21st	1	logio
not in GPC	7	cashio, copio, cwlio, cym, ffwcio, ffyc, pitsho
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>45</b>	

The most productive verbs in the sample were *mynd* ‘to go’ and *dod* ‘to come’ entering combinations with 22 and 19 different particles, respectively, including various combinations of two particles in PPVs. The verbs combining with 5 or more different particles are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. The most productive verbs in the corpus.

Verb	English translation	Particles	No. of types	No. of types with distinguished senses
mynd	go	â, allan, allan â, allan at, allan o, am, ar ôl, draw, dros, trwodd/drwodd, heibio, heibio i, i ffwrdd, i fyny, i lawr, i mewn, o gwmpas, rhagddo, trwy, ymlaen, ymlaen â, yn erbyn	22	32
dod	come, get	allan, allan â, allan o, ar draws, ar ôl, draw, dros, drosodd, drwodd, i fyny, i fyny â, i lawr, i mewn, i mewn i, oddi ar, rownd, trwy, ymlaen, ymlaen â	19	40
troi	turn	allan, allan am, allan yn, ar, at, drosodd, i ffwrdd, i fyny, i lawr, i mewn, i mewn i, ymlaen, yn ôl ar	13	16
tynnu	pull, draw, drag, take.	allan, allan o, am, ar ôl, at, i fyny, i lawr, i mewn, i mewn i, oddi wrth, yn ôl, yn ôl o	12	18
cadw	keep	allan, allan o, ar, draw, draw o, draw oddi wrth, i ffwrdd, i fyny, i fyny â, i lawr, o gwmpas, ymlaen	12	16
edrych	look	allan, am, ar ôl, trwy, ymlaen, ymlaen am, ymlaen ar, ymlaen at, ymlaen i, yn ôl, yn ôl dros	11	13
rhoi	give/put	allan, ar draws, drosodd, heibio, i ffwrdd, i fyny, i fyny ar, i lawr, i mewn, ymlaen	10	19
torri	break/cut	allan, allan i, allan o, ar draws, i fyny, i lawr, i mewn, yn ôl	8	13
galw	call	â, allan, draw, heibio, i fyny, i mewn	6	8
symud	move	i ffwrdd, i fyny, i lawr, i mewn, ymlaen, ymlaen at	6	10
bod	be	allan o, ar ôl, drosodd, i fyny i, o gwmpas, ymlaen	6	8
cymryd	take	allan, drosodd, drosodd o, i ffwrdd, ymlaen	5	8
gwneud	make/do	â, allan o, heibio, i fyny, i fyny am	5	6

The PVs in the corpus were made up of 28 different particles, excluding dialectal and reduced colloquial variants listed above. The particles and their frequencies are presented in Table 7. Out of these, the following prepositional particles formed PPs: *â* (*gyda/efo*), *am*, *ar*, *ar draws*, *ar ôl*, *at*, *dros*, *heb*, *heibio*, *i mewn*, *o gwmpas*, *oddi ar*, *oddi wrth*, *rownd*, *trwy*, *yn erbyn*. The following adverbial particles combined with prepositions to form PPVs: *allan*, *draw*, *drosodd*, *drwodd*, *heibio*, *i fyny*, *i lawr*, *i mewn*, *o gwmpas*, *ymlaen* and *yn ôl*. Among those *allan* (*mas*) was the most productive particle, forming 30 out of 73 PPV types. The prepositions used as the second particle in PPVs were: *â* (*gyda/efo*), *am*, *ar*, *at*, *dros*, *i*, *o*, *oddi wrth* and *yn*.

Table 7. Particles constituting PVs in the corpus and their frequencies.

	<b>Particle*</b>	<b>No. of types</b>	<b>No. of tokens</b>
1	allan (mas)	100	167
2	i fyny (fyny/lan)	54	96
3	ymlaen	49	369
4	i lawr (lawr)	34	75
5	i mewn	28	49
6	yn ôl	16	39
7	i ffwrdd (ymaith, bant)	13	19
8	heibio	12	50
9	o gwmpas (ymbytu)	11	14
10	ar ôl	9	48
11	drosodd	9	11
12	draw	7	32
13	trwy	7	11
14	ar draws	6	68
15	ar	6	16
16	dros	6	15
17	drwodd	6	7
18	am	5	9
19	â (gyda, efo)	4	7
20	at	3	7
21	off	3	7
22	on	2	10
23	rhagddo	2	2
24	yn erbyn	2	2
25	heb	1	1
26	oddi ar	1	1
27	oddi wrth	1	1
28	rownd	1	1
	TOTAL	398	1134

\*excluding the second particle in PPVs.

### 3.2.3.2. Frequency count

A total of 1134 concordances with verb-particle constructions of interest were found in the corpus. Among those, there were 271 PV types, taken as a combination of a given verb and particle, and 332, if counting syntactic variants of the same PV separately (transitive/intransitive, with or without a second particle). Within these, 398 different senses of PVs were distinguished. This is the number which will be taken into consideration henceforth in discussing PV types, unless marked otherwise.

A list of 23 most frequent PVs in the corpus, occurring more than 10 times, is presented in Table 8. The left-hand side of the table presents PV cardinal forms (verb + particle), with the number of tokens including all its syntactic variants, with transitive/intransitive distinction and variants with different prepositions. For instance, the most frequent PV, *edrych ymlaen* usually appears as a PPV with the preposition *at* (125 tokens). However, three other prepositions which combine with this verb were found: *i* (14), *am* (7) and *ar* (1). The verb occurred 14 times as an APVi without a second particle. This produces 161 concordances altogether. On the right-hand side of the table, different forms of the same PV are counted separately – thus *edrych ymlaen at*, *edrych ymlaen* and *edrych ymlaen i* occupy three positions on the list.

Table 8. The 23 most frequent PVs in the corpus.

with syntactic variants included			syntactic variants separately		
no.	phrasal verb	no. of tokens	no.	phrasal verb	no. of tokens
1	<b>edrych ymlaen</b>	<b>161</b>	1	edrych ymlaen at	125
2	<b>mynd ymlaen</b>	<b>94</b>	2	mynd ymlaen	86
3	<b>edrych ar ôl</b>	<b>35</b>	3	edrych ar ôl	35
4	<b>torri ar draws</b>	<b>35</b>	4	torri ar draws	35
5	<b>dod ar draws</b>	<b>30</b>	5	dod ar draws	30
6	<b>mynd heibio</b>	<b>30</b>	6	mynd heibio	29
7	<b>cario ymlaen</b>	<b>20</b>	7	dod draw	18
8	<b>dod draw</b>	<b>18</b>	8	cario ymlaen	17
9	<b>edrych yn ôl</b>	<b>17</b>	9	edrych yn ôl	16
10	<b>symud ymlaen</b>	<b>16</b>	10	eistedd i lawr	15
11	<b>mynd allan</b>	<b>16</b>	11	edrych ymlaen	14
12	<b>eistedd i lawr</b>	<b>15</b>	12	edrych ymlaen i	14
13	<b>dod ymlaen</b>	<b>15</b>	13	symud ymlaen	14
14	<b>troi i fyny</b>	<b>14</b>	14	troi i fyny	14
15	<b>torri i lawr</b>	<b>13</b>	15	dod ymlaen	13

16	<b>torri i mewn</b>	<b>12</b>	16	torri i mewn	12
17	<b>bod ymlaen</b>	<b>12</b>	17	bod ymlaen	12
18	<b>bwrw ymlaen</b>	<b>12</b>	18	rhoi ymlaen	11
19	<b>rhoi ymlaen</b>	<b>11</b>	19	sortio allan	11
20	<b>sortio allan</b>	<b>11</b>	20	torri i lawr	11
21	<b>tyfu i fyny</b>	<b>11</b>	21	tyfu i fyny	11
22	<b>ffeindio allan</b>	<b>11</b>	22	ffeindio allan	11
23	<b>taro ar</b>	<b>10</b>	23	taro ar	10

The most frequent PVs will be analysed in more detail in 4.5, with regards to their semantic properties and their presence in dictionaries of Welsh.

### 3.2.3.3. Syntactic categories

The distribution of syntactic categories of PVs in the corpus is presented in Table 9.

Table 9. The syntactic distribution of verb-particle constructions.

	<b>Adverbial phrasal verbs</b>	Intransitive	Transitive	<b>Phrasal prep. verbs</b>	<b>Prep. verbs</b>	Total
<b>Tokens</b>	676	511	165	269	189	<b>1134</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>60%</b>	45%	15%	<b>24%</b>	<b>17%</b>	100%
<b>Types</b>	271	171	100	73	54	<b>398</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>68%</b>	43%	25%	<b>18%</b>	<b>14%</b>	100%

The most frequent type of constructions were APVs, constituting about two thirds of both tokens and types. The most frequent of those were: *mynd ymlaen* ‘go on’, ‘continue’, ‘happen’, ‘play’ (86 tokens), *mynd heibio* ‘go by’, ‘pass’ (30), *dod draw* ‘come over’, ‘visit’ (29), *cario ymlaen* ‘carry on’, ‘continue’(17), *edrych yn ôl* ‘look back’, ‘review’ (16), *eistedd i lawr* ‘sit down’ (15), *edrych ymlaen* ‘look forward’ (14), *symud ymlaen* ‘move on’, ‘make progress’, ‘keep living’, ‘start something new’ (14), *troi i fyny* ‘turn up’, ‘come’, ‘appear’ (14), *dod ymlaen* ‘come on’, ‘hurry’, ‘progress’, ‘improve’, ‘get on’, ‘have a good relationship’ (13), *torri i mewn* ‘break in’, ‘commit robbery’, ‘appear’ (12), *bod ymlaen* ‘be on’, ‘happen’, ‘be switched on’, ‘be scheduled’(12), *rhoi ymlaen* ‘put on’, ‘switch on’ (11), *sortio allan* ‘sort out’, ‘solve a problem’ (11), *torri i lawr* ‘break down’, ‘stop working’, ‘have a nervous breakdown’(11), *tyfu i fyny* ‘grow up’(11).



*Transitive APVs – the position of the object*

Verb + adverbial particle constructions were additionally divided into intransitive and transitive. The purpose of this distinction was to examine the position of noun object in transitive constructions due to inconsistencies in the literature described in 2.4.3.1.

The instances with pronominal direct object were excluded, since only the Verb-Object-Particle is possible in such cases. Out of 114 concordances which contained transitive APVs with a direct object which was not a pronoun, 101 (89%) – followed the Verb-Object-Particle order. Only in 14 sentences (11%) did the object follow the particle.

Three of these exceptional cases, shown in (36) - (38), represented archaic, literary style: a quotation from the Bible, a quotation from a 19th century author and an archaically stylised satirical poem by a contemporary author. Noticeably, all three examples are native PVs with the highly productive particle *allan*.

- (36) *a bwriodd allan bawb oedd yn prynu a gwerthu yn y deml* (CRAC, 13)  
‘and he drove out all those who were buying and selling in the temple’
- (37) *sgrech annaeacol pan yn gosod allan arswyd y disgyblion* (FN H/2014, 22)  
‘unearthly scream while showing the fear of the disciples’
- (38) *estynnaf allan iddynt ffrwyth fy nghywilydd* (LOL 46/2014, 6)  
‘I extend to them the fruit of my shame’

Another three examples of Verb-Particle-Object order shown in (39)-(41) contained the PV *gosod allan* ‘set forth, ‘display’, which appears to be centuries old; GPC gives 1585 as the date of its first recorded use and the phrase is used in Morgan’s Bible. This might be the reason for the fossilised Verb-Particle-Object order used with this particular construction.

- (39) *tipyn o gamp wrth osod allan yr holl egwyddorion* (Cas113/2015, 35)  
‘a bit of a feat to set forth all the principles’
- (40) *i geisio gosod allan holl ffenomenau* (Cas113/2015, 26)  
‘trying to show all the phenomena’
- (41) *crynodeb o'n hadroddiad ymchwiliad (sydd yn gosod allan sylwedd y gŵyn)*  
(G 44/2014, 4)  
‘a summary of our research report (which sets forth the basis of the complaint)’

Changes in the word order can indeed be demonstrated by comparing three versions of the Welsh Bible. The classic William Morgan's version and 1988 *Beibl Cymraeg Newydd* appear to prefer the object after the particle while the most recent *beibl.net* uses the other order. The examples in (42) are translations of the sentence "Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world" (J 1, 29):

- (42) a. *Wele Oen Duw, yr hwn sydd yn tynnu ymaith bechodau'r byd.* (Beibl William Morgan)  
 b. *Dyma Oen Duw, sy'n cymryd ymaith bechod y byd!* (Beibl Cymraeg Newydd)  
 c. *Dacw Oen Duw, yr un sy'n cymryd pechod y byd i ffwrdd.* (beibl.net)

In two cases, (43) and (44), the moving of the object after the particle could be motivated by the fact that the object is long.

- (43) *os ydi hynny'n amod i gadw allan y "Trydydd Rhyfel Byd" a oedd yn cael ei fygwth yn y 1950au* (G 45/2014, 21)  
 'if this is the condition to keep away the "Third World War" that we were threatened with in the 1950s'

- (44) *rhoes heibio bob gobaith o gyfansoddi ei darn cerddoriaeth* (AGB, 109)  
 'she gave up all hope of composing her piece of music'

Four other examples of Verb-Particle-Object order came from dialogues in the novel *Afallon*. They might be characteristic of the dialect used in the novel:

- (45) *allan ni adel mas y politics?* (AFALL, 306)  
 'can we leave the politics out?'
- (46) *rwyn pigo lan camera rhif tri* (AFALL, 30)  
 'I'm picking up camera number three'
- (47) *ro'n i wedi rhoi heibio bethau bachgennaidd* (AFALL, 309)  
 'I have put aside childish things'
- (48) *rwyn i wedi rhoi lan syniade eraill* (AFALL, 194)

‘I have given up other ideas’

The remaining two examples from press were also colloquial in tone:

(49) *gwyliwch allan siopa* (YD396, 9)

‘watch out for shops’

(50) *wrth imi ddisgwyl ymhlith y cefnogwyr ffyddlon (hen ac ifanc) a socian i fyny'r awyrgylch hafaid* (C 11.07.14, 17)

‘while I was waiting among the faithful supporters (old and young) and sucking up the summer atmosphere’

In one odd case the Welsh PV, although directly translatable into English, followed different word order than the English phrase (51).

(51) *gwylio'r teledu, talu'r morgais, newid y car lan, mynd am wyliau....* (AFALL, 288)

‘watch TV, pay the mortgage, change up the car, go on holidays...’

Altogether, the Verb-Particle-Object appeared in two types of registers: archaic and contemporary colloquial, mostly with multi-word object.

### PPVs

There were 73 types of phrasal prepositional verbs in the corpus, constituting 18% of all types (269 tokens – 24%). Out of these, 31 types were variants of APVs, e.g. *rhedeg allan o* ‘run out of’ as a variant of *rhedeg allan*, *cario ymlaen â* ‘carry on with’ as a variant of *cario ymlaen*. The other types had independent meanings.

The most frequent PPVs, with more than 5 tokens, were *edrych ymlaen at* ‘look forward to’ (125 tokens<sup>50</sup>), *edrych ymlaen i* ‘look forward to’ (14), *bwrw ymlaen â* ‘continue with’ (8), *dal i fyny â* ‘catch up with’ (7), *mynd ymlaen â* ‘go on with’ (7), *edrych ymlaen am* ‘look forward to’ (6).

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<sup>50</sup> The extremely high frequency of this PV should be attributed to the presence of many local newspapers in the sample where the PV is used as a stock phrase (see 3.2.4.2).

The vast majority of PPVs in the sample (92%) were intransitive, with only 6 transitive constructions: *cadw rhywbeth/rhywun allan o rywbeth* ‘keep something/someone out of something’, *cael rhywbeth allan o rywbeth* ‘get something out of something’, *golchi rhywbeth i lawr â rhywbeth* ‘wash something down with something’, *gwneud rhywbeth allan o rhywbeth* ‘make something out of something’, *setio rhywun i fyny â rhywun* ‘set someone up with someone’, *tynnu rhywun i mewn i rywbeth* ‘pull someone into something’.

### PPs

Idiomatic prepositional verbs constituted 17% of tokens (189) and 14% of types (54). This category was characterised by higher than average proportion of native constructions/loan renditions (see next section) in comparison with other syntactic types. The most frequent PPs were *edrych ar ôl* ‘look after’ (35 tokens), *torri ar draws*<sup>51</sup> ‘interrupt’ (35), *dod ar draws* ‘come across’ (30), *taro ar* ‘hit upon, bump into’ (10), *dod dros* ‘come over’ (of an emotion) (9).

### 3.2.3.4. Language contact categories and mode of narration

Table 10 presents the distribution of PVs in the corpus (distinguishing between different senses of the same item) according to their status as borrowings. It can be seen that the percentages of respective categories are comparable for tokens and types.

Table 10. The distribution of PVs in the corpus according to language contact categorisation.

Status	Directly translatable	Native/loan renditions	Loanblends	Pleonastic	Wholesale borrowings	Total
Tokens	830	129	105	59	11	1134
% of tokens	73%	11%	9%	5%	1%	100%
Types	263	61	45	26	3	398
% of types	66%	15%	11%	7%	1%	100%

<sup>51</sup> Similarly, it should be noted that high frequency of *torri ar draws* is due to the fact the expression was often used in dialogues in novels after the words quoted.

The majority of PVs in the sample, 263 types (66%), were attributed to the directly translatable (DT) category as they have their exact English equivalents. The second most frequent category were loan renditions or items which are not directly translatable (N/LR), with 61 types (15%). Loanblends (LB) constituted about one tenth of PVs, with 45 different types. Pleonastic items (PL) were less frequent, with 26 types (7%). Wholesale borrowings (WH) were a marginal phenomenon, with only 3 types found (1%).

The distribution of items depending on the mode of narration was fairly even, with 666 (59%) tokens used in narrative mode and 468 (41%) in conversation<sup>52</sup>. The differences were more marked within language contact categories. Native PVs and loan renditions were more prevalent in N<sup>53</sup>, whilst wholesale borrowings occurred almost exclusively in C (see below). In the other three categories there were no marked differences in the distribution (Table 11).

Table 11. The distribution of PVs in narrative and conversation, according to language contact categories.

Mode	No. of tokens	% of tokens	N/LR	%	PL	%	CL	%	LB	%	WH	%
Narrative	666	59%	94	74%	34	58%	491	59%	46	44%	1	9%
Conversation	468	41%	35	26%	25	42%	339	41%	59	56%	10	91%
Total	1134		129		59		830		105		11	

#### *Native PVs and loan renditions*

Verb-particle constructions which did not have their one-to-one English equivalents were attributed to the category native items/loan renditions (N/LR). Historical dictionaries, GPC and OED were consulted in each case to check for obsolete English donor constructions. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that a Welsh PV might have been calqued from an English item which is not recorded in dictionaries, for example due to geographically restricted usage. Therefore, the observations presented below should be treated with some caution.

In total, the sample contained 129 N/LR tokens and 61 types. There were several cases of polysemous PVs with one calqued and one non-calqued meaning. For example

<sup>52</sup> If one considered the narrative parts in the novel *Afallon*, written in a rather informal register, as C the distribution would be exactly 50% (with 567 tokens in each category).

<sup>53</sup> This figure should be treated as biased, however, due to the prevalence of native PP *torri ar draws* in narrative parts of novels (see footnote 51).

*dod ar draws* was considered DT when meaning ‘come across’, ‘to find’, however in one case it meant ‘get in someone’s way’ and thus was counted as N/LR.

There were relative few examples of APVs and PPVs likely to be native rather than loan renditions. The most frequent of them (12 tokens) was *bwrw ymlaen (â)*, already mentioned by Rottet (2005:51). Five PVs contained the particle *draw* which is variously translated into English and emerged to function as a native Welsh particle in non-calqued PVs. The particle and its English equivalents will be described in detail in 3.3.2.10. Other examples of native items are presented in Table 12.

Table 12. Examples of native APVs and PPVs in the corpus.

PV	Literal English translation	Meaning
brasgamu ymlaen	stride/lope forwards	develop rapidly
bwrw ymlaen (â)	throw/ hit/spend (time) on	continue, carry on (with)
codi allan	rise out	stir out of doors, be out and about
diferu heibio	drop by	flow by (about time)
estyn allan (at)	stretch/extend out (towards)	extend/reach out for
lledaenu i lawr	spread down	extend
mynd heibio i	go past	exceed, go beyond
picio draw	pick over (there)	pop over, visit briefly
rhygnu ymlaen	rub/grate on	harp on
taro i mewn	hit in	call in, pop in

The degree of idiomaticity of these items varies. Among more idiomatic expressions were *bwrw ymlaen*, *codi allan*, *rhygnu ymlaen*. Semi-idiomatic items include: *brasgamu ymlaen*, *llaedanu i lawr*, *diferu heibio*, *taro i mewn*. Some of these constructions appear to be original metaphors created by individual authors, rather than set phrases, which confirms the naturalness of such expressions in Welsh (52).

(52) *bod agweddau tuag at bobl hoyw wedi brasgamu ymlaen dros y blynyddoedd diwethaf* (Gwyl189/2014, 4)

‘that the attitudes towards gay people have loped/stridden forward in recent years’

(53) *yn gwyllo amser yn diferu heibio* (LLYFR, 46)

‘watching the time dropping by’

Distinguishing between native PVs and loan renditions was a challenging task. Some constructions might be classified as LR due to the fact they contain the same particle as the English equivalent. The similarity might be coincidental, however, when the metaphorical meaning of the particle is salient (see 3.3). More obvious candidates for loan renditions are constructions with *dod* ‘come’, which regularly replaces the English ‘get’ in cases where the verb indicates movement, while the usual Welsh equivalent of ‘get’, *cael*, does not have this connotation<sup>54</sup>. Thus, PVs such as *dod dros* ‘get over’, *dod drwodd* ‘get through’, *dod rownd rhywun* ‘get around someone’, *dod trwy* ‘get through’, *dod ymlaen â* ‘get on with, get along’ may be considered loan renditions. This phenomenon has been observed also by Rottet (2005: 52). The same concerns cases where *dod* corresponds to English *go*: *dod allan â* ‘go out with someone’, ‘have a relationship’, *dod drwodd* ‘go through something’, ‘examine something carefully’.

An evident loan rendition in the sample was *llwytho i fyny*, lit. ‘load something up’, an equivalent of English ‘upload’. This recent coinage competes with calqued compounds such as *lanlwytho*, *uwchlwytho*<sup>55</sup>.

One outlying case was *gwylio allan* ‘watch out’, meaning “watch out for”. Here the Welsh PV was classified as LR since it was identical with PPV English equivalent, save from the fact that the Welsh construction did not use the second particle.

In some cases N/LR items appear to compete with calqued PVS. For example, the sample contained an even number of tokens of *bwrw ymlaen* (32) and *cario ymlaen* (32) (cf. Rottet 2005: 52), both meaning ‘carry on’. Similar examples were native PVs with *draw*: *cadw draw* ‘keep away’ (3) vs. *cadw i ffwrdd* (1); *galw draw* ‘call in’, ‘visit’ (3) vs. *galw heibio* (5) or *galw i mewn* (5), where in the second variant the particle is likely to be calqued from English.

Considering the distribution of syntactic types in the N/LR category, out of the 61 types found, there were 32 PVs (52%), 19 PPs (31%) and 10 PPVs (16%). Noticeably, the proportion of PPs within this category was almost two times higher than in general distribution (see 3.2.3.3). The N/LR PPs are listed in Table 13.

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<sup>54</sup> The verb *cael* was found to be unproductive in forming PVs, since only three types with this verbs were found: two PPVs with the particle *allan*: *cael allan o* ‘get out of’ (trouble), *cael rhywbeth allan o rywbeth* ‘get something out of something’, ‘benefit’ and *cael rhywun yn ôl*, get someone back’, ‘revenge’.

<sup>55</sup> An entry for *upload* is not to be found in GPC, GA or GWE. *Uwchlwytho* is proposed by TSD, *Terwiadur Addysg* suggests *llwytho i fyny*, while *Geiriadur Termau'r Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol* gives *llwytho i fyny*, and also optional *uwchlwytho*; the entry also contains *fynylwytho* and *lanlwytho* crossed out as unacceptable.

Table 13. Prepositional PVs (PPs) in the corpus classified as native items or loan renditions.

PP	Literal English translation	Meaning	Possible loan rendition (*)
cadw ar	keep on (someone)	defend	
colli ar	lose on (someone)	lose your senses	
crafu â	scrape with (someone)	butter someone up	
dod ar draws	come across (someone)	cross, get in someone's way	
dod dros	come over (something)	get over, overcome	*
dod trwy	come through (something)	get through, analyse	*
galw â	call with (someone)	call in, come round, visit	*
gwneud â	do with (someone)	get on with, have a good relationship	
llefaru ar draws	utter across (someone)	interrupt	
mynd ar ôl	go after (someone)	talk about	
taro ar	hit on (something)	hit upon, stumble upon, find	*
taro ar	hit on (someone)	bump into	*
taro ar draws	hit across (something)	hit upon, stumble upon, find	*
torri ar draws	break/cut across (someone)	interrupt	
tynnu am	pull on (something)	get on for (about time or age)	
tynnu at	pull towards (something)	turn (a certain age)	
tynnu ar ôl	pull after	take after, resemble a family member	*

#### *Directly translatable items – calques and loanblends*

The largest group of PVs – 830 tokens, 263 types – were assigned to the category directly translatable (DT), while 105 items, with 45 types, belonged to the category loanblends (LB). Items of both categories occurred with equal frequency in narrative and conversation mode. They constitute the majority of all PVs found (82%).

It should be emphasised that, despite the fact that items in the DT category can be translated word for word into English retaining the same meaning, they are not necessarily calques, especially in the case of semi-idiomatic PVs. Obviously, deciding whether an item is a borrowing or whether the similarity is coincidental is a difficult, if not an impossible task, which would require extensive diachronic research going beyond the scope of this thesis. However, some issues connected with transfer will be analysed in detail in 3.3, regarding the semantics of PV particles in order to shed light on the calquing phenomenon.

#### *Wholesale borrowings*

As mentioned above, wholesale borrowings were a marginal phenomenon in the sample. Only 11 tokens of WH items were found, with 3 types: *cym on* ‘come on’, *howld on* ‘hold on’ and *ffyc off* ‘fuck off’. All three are well-established set phrases, which is indicated



by their Welsh spelling. All WH tokens were used in the conversation mode, safe from one example from the satirical paper LOL, which used slang in narrative.

### *Pleonastic PVs*

Finally, there were 59 PVs identified as pleonastic constructions, with 26 types. There were no major differences in distribution of these items between N and C modes. The list of PL items is presented in Table 14. It contains two types of constructions: spatial, such as *cilio yn ôl* ‘retreat back’ and aspectual, such as *chwarae o gwmpas* ‘play around’. Transfer of meanings of aspectual particles will be described in more detail in section 3.3.

Table 14. Pleonastic PVs in the corpus.

PV	English translation
bacio yn ôl	back 'back'
chwarae o gwmpas	play around (play, have fun)
cilio yn ôl	retreat back
clirio allan	clear away
cloi i lawr	lock down
cychwyn allan	start out
dadlau ymlaen	argue on
danfon allan	send out
darllen allan	read out
disgyn i lawr	fall down
dod i fyny	come up (come)
dod i lawr	come down
dringo i fyny	climb up
dychwelyd yn ôl	return back
eistedd i lawr	sit down
esgyn i fyny	rise up
glanhau allan	clean out
helpu allan	help out
pasio heibio	pass by
picio i fyny	pick up (lift)
pori i lawr	graze down
torri i fyny	break up
tyfu i fyny	grow up
ymchwilio i mewn	research into
ysgrifennu i lawr	write down
ysgubo ymaith	sweep away

### 3.2.4. Stylistic markedness

The above results have presented largely quantitative data on the form and syntactic properties of PVs. This section will focus on the stylistics of Welsh PVs, offering a qualitative analysis of the examples of their stylistic markedness in the corpus. The aim is to identify constructions which are considered nonstandard and search for evidence of a norm against PVs in fiction and the print media.

Following Zwicky's (1978) definition, the term *stylistic markedness* is used here to denote a way in which an element of a language can stand out or be remarkable by being associated with a particular register, style, social dialect or regional variety of the language; in other words a stylistically marked item is not usable by all speakers in all contexts (Zwicky 1978: 29). Before examples of such items are presented, some remarks will be made on the differences in frequencies of the PVs in the texts and their stylistic feature in order to provide an appropriate context for the investigation.

#### 3.2.4.1. Fiction

In the course of analysing the fiction sample, differences between the authors' idiolects have been observed as regards the number of verb-particle constructions used. The intuitive observations have been confirmed by a frequency count presented in Table 15. The mean number of pages in each of the novels was estimated based on the number of words in four randomly selected pages. The number was then multiplied by the number of pages in the novel to estimate the total number of words. Next, the mean number of PV tokens per 1000 words was calculated.

Table 15. Number of PVs per 1000 words in novels.

Title	Pages	Mean no. of words/page	Words	PV tokens	PVs/1000 words
<b>Afallon</b>	327	318	103,986	210	<b>2.02</b>
<b>Adenydd glöyn byw</b>	343	335	114,905	207	<b>1.80</b>
<b>Craciau</b>	182	330	60,060	82	<b>1.37</b>
<b>Tair rheol anhrefn</b>	258	277	71,466	71	<b>0.99</b>
<b>Y Llyfrgell</b>	246	319	78,474	75	<b>0.96</b>

The results show significant differences in the number of PVs used by different authors: Davies (2011) and Dafydd (2009) use approximately 1 PV per 1000 words, while in Gruffydd (2012) and Roberts (2010) the number is twice as high. Differences were also observed in the proportion of PVs used in dialogues (Table 16).

Table 16. Proportion of PVs used in dialogues in the analysed novels.

Title	No. of PV tokens	No. of PV types	No. of PVs in dialogues	% of PVs in dialogues
<b>Afallon</b>	210	77	111	<b>53%</b>
<b>Adenydd glöyn byw</b>	207	73	144	<b>70%</b>
<b>Craciau</b>	82	29	30	<b>37%</b>
<b>Y Llyfrgell</b>	75	34	26	<b>35%</b>
<b>Tair rheol anhrefn</b>	71	12	40	<b>56%</b>

A closer scrutiny of the language and lexicon used by the authors may provide some interesting observations regarding PVs.

The highest number of PVs occurred in *Afallon* (Gruffydd 2012), the only novel in the corpus written in the first person. The novel's narrator, Rhys, is a middle aged Welshman who settles in Swansea after years of living abroad. The novel's plot revolves around his unsuccessful attempts to run a restaurant and unravel a murder mystery connected with the presence of American soldiers in Wales. The language of the narrative as well as the dialogues is highly colloquial with frequent instances of code-switching and numerous lexical borrowings. This may be seen as an intentional strategy of the author as the novel is a political satire criticising the inertia and inability of Welsh people to deal with various social and political problems. Rhys is an anti-hero criticising the decline of traditional Welsh values, yet himself contributing to the situation. The character's language "reflects the language of everyone around him" (personal correspondence with the author), however the author intended to make the narrative parts "a bit more neutral in comparison to dialogue" (personal correspondence).

With regard to PVs, the novel contains a relatively low number of N/LR items and a high number of recent calques and loanblends. Characteristically, the latter are used both in narrative (e.g. *cario ymlaen*, *setlo lawr*, *pigo lan*, *pasio heibio*, *snapio mas*) and dialogue (*cario 'mlaen*, *cwlio lawr*, *ffeindio mas*, *ffwcio lan*, *gwatsio ar ôl*, *pitsho i mewn*, *pwmpio lan ar*, *sortio allan/mas*). It should be noted that some of these items appear in

conversations which “really” are held in English, since many characters in the novel do not speak Welsh. The author seems to indicate this fact by extended use of borrowings, calques and code-switching, but also by reducing dialectal elements in the speech of non-Welsh-speaking characters. All in all, the author’s lexical choices and the high number of PVs might be influenced by factors such as: a) informality of the language b) use of Swansea dialect in the narrative c) intentional or unintentional calquing from English in dialogues featuring English-speaking characters c) intentional nonstandardness of the language related to the novel’s main theme of decline.

The other novel which made abundant use of PVs was *Adenydd glöyn byw* (Roberts 2010). The novel is set in rural North Wales and tells a story of a family of three women: a grandmother, a mother, and a teenage granddaughter, Eira. The plot revolves around Eira’s love affair with her young teacher, and the novel’s main theme are changing attitudes toward gender roles, female sexuality and moral values. From the linguistic point of view, the novel is characteristic for its rich dialogue and use of highly individualised language, reflecting the dialect (with some protagonists coming from South Wales) and the age of characters (a portrayal of three different generations).

As can be seen in Table 16 above, a significant proportion of PVs used in the novel (70%) occurred in conversation mode. This is not only due to abundance of dialogue but also stylistic features of the author’s language, in particular the use of teenage slang. Teenagers play an important role in the novel and the author strives to realistically portray their speech. The author indicates that teenagers’ Welsh is heavily influenced by English although they can “speak it properly” if they make an effort. In the following excerpt Eira is first scolded by her mother for calquing the expression *get some gen* and then self-corrects a grammatical mistake of omitting a prefixed pronoun and mutation to indicate possession.

‘Adag honno dda’th o at Mrs Peters i ga’l dipyn o gen arna fi!’

‘Eira!’ ochneidiodd Rhiannon. ‘Dw i’n gwybod bod y stoncar ‘ma wedi dy gynhyrfu di’n lân, ond tria gofio sut ma siarad Cymraeg, nei di?’

‘Sorri, Mam. Dw i’n sgwennu fo’n iawn ‘sti. Tafod fi... fy nhafod i sy’n rhedag o flaen... fy mhen i, ‘gorffennodd Eira’n ofalus. (AGB, 13)

[‘At that time he came to Mrs Peters to get some gen about me!’

‘Eira!’ sighed Rhiannon. “I know you are totally excited over this stonker, but try to remember how to speak good Welsh, will you?”

‘Sorry, mam. I write it well, you know. It’s my tongue...my tongue running ahead...of my head,’ finished Eira carefully.]

As a rule, the author portrays the language of teenagers by using stylistically marked lexicon, of which PVs are an important part. The markedness is clearly visible in the following fragment, in which the grandmother does not understand a calque used by Eira:

‘Naethoch chi gopio off noson honno, Nain?’

‘Nes i be?’

‘Ca’l cariad.’ (AGB, 22)

[‘Did you cop off that night, grandma?’

‘Did I do what?’

‘Make love.’]

Although PVs are used extensively by characters of all age groups in the novel, members of the older generation are shown to use more N/LR items, such as *cadw draw* ‘stay away from’, *dod allan â* ‘go out’, ‘have a date’, *mynd drwodd* ‘get through’, ‘finish’, while young people use noticeably more loanblends (*hitio off*, *patsio i fyny*, *setio rhywun i fyny*). There are also instances of wholesale borrowings and code-switching in their speech:

Cym on, Mam, *spill the beans!* (AGB, 167)

[Come on, mam, spill the beans!]

A rwan, Mam, *chill out* am sbel, a wedyn newidia i fynd allan. (AGB,56)

[And now, mam, chill out for a while and then change to go out.]

Nominalisation of PV in the form of wholesale borrowings such as *getawê* (see 2.4.1) or code-switching occurs as well, e.g.:

‘Be? Ti’n ffansio *fo rwan*?’

‘Mond i lais o, siwr dduw! Mae o’n ditsiyr, ‘tydi? Complete blydi *turn-off!*’ (AGB, 305)

[‘What? You fancy him now?’

‘Only his voice, surely! He is a teacher, isn’t he? Complete bloody *turn-off!*’]

‘Dan ni wedi ca’l gormod o *getawê*’n barod. Neith ‘yn lwc ni byth ddal.’ (AGB, 300)

[‘We’ve got away too many times [lit. We’ve had too much getaway] already. Our luck can’t hold forever.’]

In contrast to the dialogues, the narrative contains only a small number of common PVs, with no loanblends (except for *setlo i lawr* ‘settle down’, ‘sit comfortably’) or wholesale borrowings. The author has a tendency to use pleonastic constructions with *back* in the narrative, such as *bacio yn ôl* ‘back’ and *cilio yn ôl* ‘retreat back’.

Markedness of teenage language is also visible in the novel *Craciau* (B. Jones 2013), which follows about a dozen characters during a couple of dramatic days when an earthquake takes place on the Isle of Anglesey. The novel has a dynamic plot and contains much dialogue. The characters represent different ages and social classes and nearly all of them speak the Anglesey dialect. Similarly to *Adenydd glöyn byw*, the differences in the use of PVs by different characters are related to age: loanblends and wholesale borrowings are used by teenage characters (e.g. *cnocio allan*, *sortio allan*, *ffyc off*) while N/LR items (e.g. *dod draw*) are characteristic of the speech of elderly people. The author uses numerous PVs in the narrative as well, including loanblends such as *cyrlio i fyny*, *bordio i fyny*, but mostly well-established constructions such as *torri ar draws*, *mynd ymlaen*.

The two novels where noticeably fewer PVs were found are *Y Llyfrgell* (Dafydd 2009) and *Tair rheol anhrefn* (Davies 2011). Both novels are thrillers with elements of a political satire, filled with action and humour. While *Tair rheol anhrefn* features plenty of conversation, *Y Llyfrgell* uses relatively little dialogue in comparison to the other novels. In both books the majority of characters speak the Ceredigion dialect. Both authors use a relatively small set of PVs and avoid loanblends. The only two LB items in *Tair Rheol* occur in the speech of a bus driver, e.g.:

Sortiwch e i gyd mas ymysg eich gilydd. (TAIR, 38)

[Sort it all out among yourselves.]

In fact, the very short scene with the bus driver contains 4 out of 12 PV types used in the whole novel. This may suggest that for the author calqued PVs are stylistically marked as belonging to the language of uneducated people (in contrast to most characters in the book who hold a university degree). Similarly, in *Y Llyfrgell* the majority of LBs and evident calques occur in dialogues between a porter and canteen staff in the library, once

again associating this type of language with the working class. *Tair rheol anhrefn* features a number of characters who are not Welsh-speaking, but in contrast to *Afallon*, their language is not marked with contact-induced elements.

In the narrative, both authors appear to avoid loanblends and obvious calques from English. The narration in *Y Llyfrgell* is characteristic for using original metaphorical PVs, such as *diferu heibio* ‘drip by’ or *llosgi i mewn* ‘burn in’.

### 3.2.4.2. Press

Similarly to the novels, differences in distribution of PVs and their categories were observed across magazines and newspapers in the sample. Table 17 presents the number of tokens in each issue and the number of PVs per page. These numbers should be treated with caution since the average amount of text per page varied in each source. For the same reason, it is extremely difficult to calculate the number of words in the sample without digitalising the whole corpus. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the available data demonstrate some general tendencies, confirmed by qualitative analysis presented below.

Table 17. Frequency and distribution of PVs in the press sample.

Title code	Tokens	C tokens	Pages	PVs/page	DT	N/LR	LB	WH	PL
Weekly magazines/newspapers									
C 18/7	29	6	20	1.5	18	4	2	0	5
C 8/8	25	8	20	1.3	20	5	0	0	0
G 45	33	21	27	1.2	23	4	0	0	6
C 25/7	24	1	20	1.2	19	3	2	0	0
G 46	39	23	35	1.1	32	1	4	0	2
G 44	30	18	27	1.1	21	2	6	0	1
G 47	34	21	35	1.0	28	1	1	0	4
C 11/7	14	3	20	0.7	10	2	1	0	1
total <i>Golwg</i>	136	83	124	1.1	104	8	11	0	13
total <i>Y Cymro</i>	92	18	80	1.2	67	14	5	0	6
Local bulletins (papurau bro)									
YD	35	1	28	1.3	26	4	3	0	2
YA	16	1	16	1.0	11	2	3	0	0
CL	25	1	28	0.9	22	1	0	0	2
CW	15	0	20	0.8	13	2	0	0	0
BG	20	1	28	0.7	19	0	1	0	0

LLA	<b>10</b>	0	16	<b>0.6</b>	10	0	0	0	0
T	<b>12</b>	0	24	<b>0.5</b>	9	1	1	0	1
Monthlies, quarterlies, yearlies									
LOL	<b>37</b>	4	24	<b>1.5</b>	23	3	7	2	2
Gwyl	<b>20</b>	0	16	<b>1.3</b>	16	3	0	0	1
W	<b>26</b>	7	42	<b>0.6</b>	18	4	2	0	2
Cas	<b>13</b>	0	28	<b>0.5</b>	10	3	0	0	0
FN	<b>15</b>	0	60	<b>0.3</b>	12	3	0	0	0
CR	<b>6</b>	0	24	<b>0.3</b>	4	2	0	0	0
BARN	<b>11</b>	1	50	<b>0.2</b>	11	0	0	0	0

The table presents the total number of tokens found in each issue as well as the number of tokens used in conversation, i.e. direct quotations or interviews. The right-hand side of the table demonstrates the distribution of PVs across language contact categories.

The first part of the table compares the use of PVs in two Welsh weeklies – the magazine *Golwg* and the newspaper *Y Cymro*. Both media use the semi-formal register of Welsh; the level of formality depends also on the type of texts, with sport news and individual columns tending to use more colloquial language. PVs also appeared more frequently in this type of texts. The language of *Golwg* appears to be more informal than that of *Y Cymro* as regards grammatical forms, however when it comes to lexicon, major differences are not visible. The mean number of PVs per page was almost even in the two publications. As can be seen from the second column of the table, the proportion of PVs used in conversation was much higher in *Golwg*. This is due to the fact that the popular magazine contains plenty of interviews in contrast to *Y Cymro*, which as a quality newspaper focuses on facts and opinions. Many instances of calqued PVs found in *Golwg* seem to stem from word-for-word translations of interviews conducted in English, as in:

(...) does dim angen i fusnesau lleol gredu bod y "dref yn colli mas" G 46, 5  
 [there is no need for local businesses to believe that the "town is missing out"]

The second group of publications were local community bulletins, known as *pa-purau bro*. The style used in this type of publication varies from semi-formal to informal, with a tendency to use traditional literary verb forms, such as impersonal and conjugated past habitual. This may be attributed to the fact that authors of articles often belong to the older generation. A slightly more conservative approach can be seen in the vocabulary



although it should be remembered that since the bulletins generally contain few interviews, most of the items occurred in the N mode. Most PVs found in *papurau bro* were directly translatable into English and practically no LB or WH items were used. Out of 133 tokens in all *papurau bro*, there were 48 PV types. Curiously, 55 tokens (over 40%) were instances of *edrych ymlaen* due to the fact that “looking forward” to future events is a conventional phrase used in most reports about local community life.

Much variation can be seen in the Welsh magazines analysed. Three of them: quality opinion magazines *Barn* and *Y Faner Newydd*, and the religious bulletin *Cristion* contained the lowest numbers of PVs, 0.2-0.3 per page, with no LB or WH items. The register used of these publications was found to be quite formal both in terms of grammatical forms and lexicon, which may explain the avoidance of calques from English. The PVs used were mostly well-established inconspicuous items, many of them semi-idiomatic. Evidence for a prescriptive norm against the English element was found particularly in *Y Faner Newydd*. In contrast to other Welsh periodicals, the magazine appears to have a policy of avoiding citing in English as in the following example:

Y geiriau 'Croeso i bawb o bob oed' (yn Saesneg wrth gwrs) wnaeth ein denu yno mae'n debyg. (FN, 19)

[What probably attracted us to come there were the words “Welcome to every one of all ages” (in English of course).]

One of the articles contained a strong-worded passage against using Welsh “corrupted” by English words and phrases:

It is irresponsible and inexcusable to allow using corrupted language – language of errors, full of English words and phrases (...) Children and young people will accept *bratiaith* as standard and consider it a pattern (...) Like other languages, Welsh has different registers but *bratiaith* is not one of them, (...) by allowing to use *bratiaith*, the service contributes to the process of undermining Welsh words and phrases with English words and phrases.<sup>56</sup> (FN, 3)

Only 15 PV tokens were found in the 60 pages of dense text in this magazine, two of them being quotations from a 19th-century book. The avoidance of constructions

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<sup>56</sup> Gweithred anghyfrifol ac anesgusodol yw caniatáu defnyddio iaith lygredig - iaith wallus ac iaith sy'n frith o eiriau ac ymadroddion Saesneg (...) Byddai plant a phobl ifanc yn derbyn y fratiaith fel safon, ac yn ei hystyried yn batrwm. (...) Fel ieithoedd eraill, mae gan y Gymraeg wahanol gyweiriau, ond nid yw bratiaith yn un ohonynt. (...) Drwy ganiatáu defnyddio bratiaith mae'r gwasanaeth yn cyfrannu i'r broses o ddisodli geiriau ac ymadroddion Cymraeg gyda geiriau ac ymadroddion Saesneg.

coming from English is associated with the character of the magazine who is highly supportive of Welsh-language activism and thus in general manifests a purist language ideology.

A moderate number of PVs was used in organisation bulletins *Y Wawr* and *Casglwr*. Similarly to *papurau bro*, the language used in these magazines was quite formal in terms of grammar. As a literary magazine, *Casglwr* used also more formal vocabulary and appeared to avoid PVs in general and loanblends in particular (0 tokens). Avoidance of direct calquing can be seen in the following example, in which the phrase “tocking away” used by Dylan Thomas is translated with an idiomatic Welsh expression rather than a calqued PV:

Yn y cyswllt hwn mae'r ymadrodd 'tocio'r byd i'r byw' ('tocking the earth away') yn arwyddocaol iawn. (Cas, 4)

[In this context the phrase 'tocking the earth away' is very significant.]

A slightly higher number of PVs was found in the magazine *Y Wawr*, the bulletin of *Merched y Wawr* ('Women of the Dawn'), a women's movement which promotes the Welsh language as well as doing charity work and organising social events in local clubs across Wales. Due to its educational role, the organisation's magazine uses semi-formal language with numerous traditional literary forms. As far as the PVs are concerned, most items which could be seen as calques from English occurred in interviews. In one of them, a member of *Merched y Wawr* made a comment about the need to accept changes which take place in the language:

How can the Welsh language be made 'cool'?

You have to understand that language is not a static thing. It's alive and it changes all the time. So we have to accept the changes and the way young people use it. In the end it's the use of language that keeps it alive. (W, 31)<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Sut mae gwneud yr iaith Gymraeg yn 'cool'?

Ma raid deall nad yw iaith yn beth statig. Mae'n fyw ac yn newid a thyfu o hyd. Felly ma' rhaid i ni dderbyn y newidiau yn y defnydd ohoni gan bobl ifanc. Y defnydd o i'r iaith gydd yn ei chadw'n fyw yn y pen draw.

The highest number of PVs occurred in the satirical magazine LOL. This was the only magazine with a significant number of loanblends and the only one in which wholesale borrowings occurred. This is hardly surprising, bearing in mind the character of the publication and the fact that it makes extensive use of slang. The magazine is an illustrative example of stylistic markedness of certain PVs. The most striking text in that respect is a fake diary of Prime Minister Carwyn Jones, who is criticised by some for his reluctance for speaking Welsh and lack of support for the language. As the text mocks the politician, the diary is intended to be written in very “bad” Welsh. Alongside numerous borrowings and calqued idioms, the one-page-long text contains as many as 10 PVs, which are evident calques from English or loanblends, e.g.

er i fi sefyll lan dros y diawl (LOL, 8)

[although I stood up for the bastard]

nyttyr llwyr sy'n ffwcio addysg lan ar draws y wlad (LOL, 8)

[total nutter who fucks education up across the country]

o'n i'n ishws yn dishgwl mlân at rownd neu ddou o golf (LOL, 9)

[I used to look forward for a round or two of golf]

mae'n rhaid i fi sorto hwnna mas (LOL, 8)

[I've got to sort that one out]

A similar text in LOL mocks the Welsh language commissioner Meri Huws, whose “letters” also contain plenty of calqued constructions such as *sorto pethe fel hyn mas* ‘sort things like that out’, *chi'n gwybod sut i sretsho pethe mas* ‘you know how to stretch things out’. (LOL, 7)

One more example of humorous criticism towards calquing was found in one of the issues of *Golwg*, in a column which presents examples of bad translation of public signs into Welsh (known as “Sgymraeg”). The column shows a picture of a poster with the sentence “Mae Mehefin yn archebu allan bob dros!”, a word-for-word translation of “June is booking out all over”.

In two cases, PVs were marked with inverted commas. In the first example, the phrase *come out* in the context of sexual orientation is relatively new, which can explain its markedness in Welsh.

a'i longyfarch am ei ddwerder yn 'dod mas' a datgelu ei wir rywioldeb (G 46, 10)  
[and congratulate him on his courage to 'come out' and reveal his true sexuality]

In the second example, the author of an article about a horse exhibition seems to ironically underline the phrase *dod ymlaen*, which is one of the most polysemous PVs in the corpus. In this instance it is probably a loan rendition of *get on* or *come along* in the sense 'succeed'. For the author, the item appears to be a token of 'bad' Welsh.

(...) gerddodd gŵr ifanc heibio ac mi ofynnwyd iddo sut yr oedd wedi 'dod ymlaen' gyda'i geffyl. Atebodd yntau yn ei Gymraeg gorau "Seventeenth", a oedd yn ddarlun yn ei hunan o safon a dyfnder y sioe. (C 8/8, 18)

[a young man walked by and he was asked how he was 'getting on' with his horse. He answered in his best Welsh "Seventeenth", which was in itself a picture of the standard and deepness of the show]

The above data demonstrate that the vast majority of PVs are well-established in semi-formal varieties of Welsh. The cases of stylistic markedness were rare and concerned those PVs which were associated with slang, in particular teenage speech. There was little evidence of prescriptive norm against these constructions in press, but they were sometimes seen as tokens of 'bad' Welsh if seen as careless and purposeless calquing from English.

### 3.3. Correspondence of meanings – a comparative analysis of particle semantics

The corpus analysis has provided evidence for different levels of correspondence in meaning between Welsh and English phrasal verbs. The vast majority of items were directly translatable into English. However, the role of contact-induced mechanisms in the emergence of these constructions cannot be always taken for granted. Only in the case of loanblends and wholesale borrowings does the form of the PV evidently point to transfer from English. For other categories, correspondence with English does not necessarily prove direct influence of language contact. On the one hand, it is possible that an idiomatic extension of particle meanings might have occurred in Welsh independently of English. As claimed by Rottet, idiomatic uses of phrasal verbs can be found as early on as in medieval texts (2005:44) and he has assumed that the presence of untranslatable items such as *bwrw ymlaen* indicated that they developed independently from English

(2005:50-51). Although the claim seems logical, it could just as well be assumed that such constructions were modelled on the basis of those already borrowed from English. This question is very difficult to resolve for the lack of diachronic data and theoretical frameworks for examining correspondences of meaning in cases of loan translations. Diachronic cognitive linguistics are a relatively new field of research focusing around prototype theory and directionality of semantic extension and change (see Winters 2010) and methods for comparative studies dealing with the emergence of loan translations have not been developed so far. An in-depth diachronic analysis is certainly beyond the scope of this study.

However, what is of some interest here are the mechanisms of transfer involved in the emergence of Welsh idiomatic PVs and the stylistic markedness of these items. The level of one-to-one correspondence between Welsh and English PVs can hardly be coincidental. Moreover, the above analysis has shown that some directly translatable items with native Welsh verbs, (e.g. *sefyll i fyny dros rywun* ‘stand up for someone’, *archebu allan* ‘book out’) can be stylistically marked in the Welsh written language as calques from English, while others with the same particles (e.g. *darllen allan* ‘read out’, *dal i fyny* ‘catch up’) are not. Therefore, one can assume that the meaning of the particle is a potential factor at play regarding the integration of Welsh PVs. It can be hypothesised that some particle senses are considerably better integrated in Welsh than others as this has a bearing on the markedness of a given PV. Therefore an analysis of semantic correspondence of particles between Welsh and English might provide valuable information on the nature of PVs in Welsh relevant for the planned general description of this linguistic phenomenon.

Hence, in this section I would like to examine the meaning of the 28 PV particles identified in the corpus study and compare them with their English equivalents. The particles will be examined one by one using a cognitive model of particle semantics based on Rudzka Ostyn (2003). The analysis will pay attention to the frequency of different particle senses in the corpus and their earliest attestation in the historical dictionary of Welsh *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*. Additional examples of PVs attested in the dictionary will be also sought as they could provide more evidence for the evolution of particle meanings. Of course such an approach has its limitation. For one thing, as often noted

(e.g. by Poplack 2017: 43) borrowed items may exist for a long time without being attested in a dictionary. This is especially true of phrasal verbs, which might be omitted on purpose because of the authors' prescriptive approach.

Notwithstanding these limitations, there are a few issues the analysis may help to investigate. Firstly, there is the question of the capability of Welsh to create idiomatic PVs on its own. It would be useful to look beyond single items and search for particle senses which do not have their English counterparts. The presence of such senses would provide stronger evidence that Welsh can develop idiomatic PVs independently from English. Secondly, comparative data can be used to examine the integration of some PVs in the linguistic norm. One can assume that if a given sense appears only in constructions which are directly translatable into English and additionally are not attested in the historical dictionary, there are grounds to assume that this sense is new and has been transferred from English. This will help identify the most marked particle senses and those which are unique for Welsh. It will be interesting to compare the results of the analysis with the representation of phrasal verbs in general dictionaries and teaching materials analysed in the next chapter.

### **3.3.1. A cognitive model for analysing the semantics of PV particles**

The cognitive semantic model used for the analysis takes a 'meaningful particle' approach which stands in opposition to the common perception of PVs as highly idiomatic items in which the choice of particle is arbitrary and the meaning unpredictable. Particles, semantically derived from prepositions, have been studied within Cognitive Linguistics for several decades (Lindner 1981; Lakoff 1987; Zelinsky-Wibbelt ed. 1993; Boers 1996; Navarro i Ferrando 1998; Tyler and Evans 2003; Rudzka-Ostyn 2003). Within the cognitive model, prepositions are understood as semantic networks of related senses with a core, or basic, meaning which is related to the cognitive domain of physical space. This lexical meaning is then extended towards more and more abstract, metaphorical senses (Porto Requejo and Pena Díaz 2008: 113). Therefore, at the conceptual level the form of a particle does not represent a single meaning, but a set of different but related meanings, which together form a semantic network (Tyler and Evans 2003: 7).

A major work on the semantics of particles in English PVs is Rudzka-Ostyn (2003). Untypically, the book is practical rather than theory-oriented, as it is intended to serve as a textbook for students of English. Despite being written in a simple manner, the work contains a comprehensive list of English PV particles, with a network of meanings assigned to each of them and each sense being illustrated by a large number of examples of commonly used PVs. This work has been chosen as the basis for the analysis of possible transfer or extension of senses in Welsh PVs.

The basic cognitive grammar terminology used in the following section is based on Langacker (1991), Navarro i Ferrando (1998) and Rudzka-Ostyn (2003). A particle is a *linguistic unit*, that is “a thoroughly mastered structure, i.e. one that a speaker can activate as a preassembled whole without attending to the specifics of its internal composition” (Langacker 1991: 15). Every unit consists of a phonological and semantic pole. The semantic pole of a unit is *the semantic structure* or *predication* (Langacker 1991: 553) and it is represented in capital letters. Thus, for example, the lexical unit *allan* corresponds to the semantic structure ALLAN. In the case of PVs, the predications are relational, which means that they require two *entities*. An entity is “a maximally general term for anything one might conceive of or refer to for analytical purposes” (Langacker 1991:548). The two relational entities are called the *trajector* and the *landmark*. The trajector is the entity which is foregrounded or focused on, while the landmark is the container or surface providing the frame of reference or background to the trajector (Navarro i Ferrando 1998: 19; Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 9).

The subsequent sections of this chapter will examine semantic structures of the 28 Welsh particles found in the corpus study, comparing them with the corresponding English structures described on the basis of the respective sections in Rudzka-Ostyn (2003). Examples of PVs relevant for each sense will be drawn from the corpus and also from the historical dictionary of Welsh, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, online version (GPC). Each item from the corpus will be also cross-checked with GPC, in an attempt to trace the evolution of various meanings. The date of the earliest recorded use of an item will be given in brackets with the abbreviation “GPC”. Occasionally, the dictionary includes an item without a date, but a label *Ar lafar*, ‘spoken’. This will be indicated by: (GPC, “spoken”). Lack of the label next to a PV indicates that the construction is not included in GPC. The particles will be analysed in the order of their frequency in the corpus (cf. Table 7, 3.2.3.1).

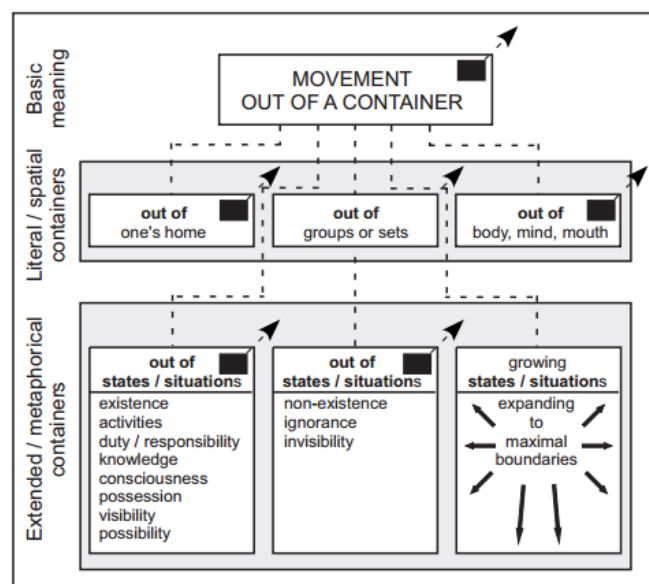
### 3.3.2. The particles

#### 3.3.2.1. ALLAN and OUT

The Welsh adverbial particle *allan* (*mas* in southern dialects of Welsh) corresponds to English *out*. *Allan* was the most frequent particle in terms of the number of PV types. Out of 100 types containing this particle, 80 were identified as DT or LB, 6 as PL and 14 as N/LR items. Concerning the number of tokens, *allan* was the second most frequent particle after *ymlaen*, with 167 tokens.

Rudzka-Ostyn distinguishes 6 meanings within the predication OUT. They are summarised in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Network of meanings of OUT according to Rudzka-Ostyn (2003:41).



The basic meaning of OUT is spatial and includes the concept of an entity moving out of a container (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 14). This corresponds to sense 1b. of *allan* in GPC: “indicating movement, direction or extension to the point beyond an external border of a place, building etc. (...) also figuratively” [translations of all definitions from GPC mine – ML]. Idiomatic Welsh PVs conveying this meaning found in the corpus were numerous, for example: *gadael allan* ‘leave out’, ‘omit’ (GPC 1595), *troi allan* ‘turn out’, ‘expel’ (GPC 1604-07), *tynnu allan* ‘take out’, ‘withdraw money’, *agor allan* ‘open out’,



*bwrw allan* ‘cast out’, ‘expel’ (GPC 1551). They could also be formed with borrowed verbs, e.g. *sticio allan* ‘stick out’ (GPC 20th c.). All these items translate directly into English, but some PVs without English word-for-word equivalents were found as well: *codi allan* lit. ‘rise out’, ‘stir out of doors’, ‘be out and about’ (GPC “spoken Northern”) and *gosod allan* ‘set out or forth’ (GPC 16th c.). GPC contains more relevant examples, with the earliest, *sefyll allan* ‘stand (up) and come out’, dated to the 13th century. Others include: *mynnu allan*, lit. ‘insist out’, ‘draw out’ – c. 1400, *taflu allan* ‘throw out’ – c. 1400, *cau allan* ‘close out’ – 1651, *camosod allan*, ‘misrepresent’ – 1688. The most recent items are *logio allan* ‘log out’ (GPC 1999) and *clocio allan* ‘clock out’ (GPC 2003).

Within the second meaning of OUT the landmark is home or social space (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 18): it occurs in the context of leaving home to see other people (e.g. *go out*) or social exclusion (e.g. *throw someone out*). PVs with *allan* conveying the socialising aspect were for instance *mynd allan* and *dod allan*, both meaning ‘go out’ (to see someone). The sense of social exclusion can be attributed to phrases such as *troi allan* ‘turn (someone) out’, ‘expel’ (GPC 17th c.), *chwmpo allan* ‘fall out (with someone)’, ‘argue’ (GPC 17th c.).

The third meaning involves choosing something out of a group or set of things (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 19). Items belonging to this category found in the corpus were: *cyfrif allan* ‘count out’, *ffeindio allan* ‘find out’ (GPC 18th c.), *pwyntio allan* ‘point out’ (GPC 18th c.), *sefyll allan* ‘stand out’ (GPC 16th c.), *sortio allan* (GPC “spoken”). Other GPC examples not present in the corpus are: *pennu allan*, lit. ‘appoint, determine out’, ‘single out’ (GPC 1733), *penodi allan* ‘point out’ (GPC 1759), *pigo allan* ‘pick out’ (GPC 1604), *sawru allan* ‘sniff out’ (GPC 1815).

In the fourth sense, bodies, minds and mouths are viewed as containers (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 19) out of which something, e.g. sound, is released. Welsh examples from the corpus include: *darllen allan* ‘read out’, *cadw allan o* ‘keep out of’, *estyn allan* ‘reach out’, *galw allan* ‘call out’, *gweddi allan* ‘shout out’, *llenwi (llanw) allan* ‘fill out’, ‘put on weight’. Although none of these PVs has been found in GPC, the dictionary contains at least two examples of similar constructions: *saethu allan* ‘to ejaculate (of prayer)’ (GPC 1599) and *dysgu allan* ‘learn off, learn by heart’ (GPC 1913, “spoken Northern”).

In the fifth meaning the landmark is a state or situation (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 22) and the particle may convey change of state, e.g. from possession to lack of possession

(*be out of something*), from consciousness to non-consciousness (*knock out*). Welsh examples found in the corpus include: *dod allan* ‘come out (of trouble)’, *bod allan o* ‘be out of (something)’, *cnocio allan* ‘knock out’, ‘make unconscious’, *rhedeg allan* ‘run out (of something)’ (GPC “spoken”), *tynnu allan* ‘withdraw’, *optio allan* ‘opt out’. Apart from *rhedeg allan*, none of these items is found in GPC. However, the dictionary contains at least two PVs expressing this sense: *chwythu allan* ‘blow out’, ‘extinguish’ (GPC 1606) and *taeru allan* lit. ‘claim out’, ‘refute, argue against’ (GPC 1716). “Being out” in the sense of “being extinguished” (of fire, light) is distinguished as sense 5. of *out* in GPC (1790, “spoken”).

The sixth meaning is related to states of non-existence, ignorance or invisibility, which metaphorically function as containers i.e. the particle conveys the sense of something starting to exist, appearing, becoming known (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 25). The examples in the corpus include: *dod allan* ‘come out’, ‘emerge’, *gweithio allan* ‘work out’ (GPC 17th c.), *gwneud allan* ‘make out’, *helpu allan* ‘help out’, *rhoi allan* ‘publish’ (GPC 16th c.), *torri allan* ‘break out’, ‘start’ (GPC “spoken”), *troi allan* ‘turn out’ (GPC 19th c.). These examples correspond to sense 2. of *out* according to GPC: “out (of story, etc.), abroad, in (to) the public arena, in public, publicly, openly.” Quotations of this sense of *out* cited span from the 14th century to modern spoken “coming out” referring to homosexuals.

The final, seventh meaning is related to an increase to maximal boundaries i.e. it conveys a sense of completeness of an action (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 32). Only four examples of this sense were found in the corpus: *clirio allan* ‘clear out’, *glanhau allan* ‘clean out’, *archebu allan* ‘book out’, *stretcho allan* ‘stretch out’. Characteristically, three of them were stylistically marked, belonging to teenage language or used for the purpose of satire (see 3.2.4 above). None of these examples can be found in GPC. The only item with a similar sense of the particle found in the dictionary was *golchi allan* ‘purge soluble matter away, wash out’ (GPC 20th c.)

The above data show that *allan* is a highly productive particle in Welsh as it occurs in evidently native constructions recorded many centuries ago as well as very recent expressions, in many cases calqued from English. The extension of meaning of ALLAN from spatial containers to social, physical and abstract dimension appears to historically follow the same path in Welsh as it does in English. However, the most metaphorical

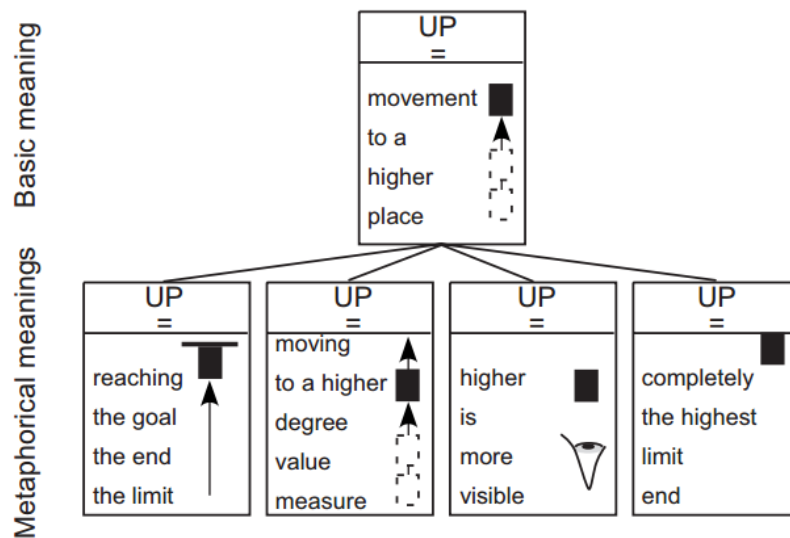
meaning of completeness appears to be recently borrowed and consequently is still quite strongly marked.

### 3.3.2.2. I FYNY and UP

The adverbial particle *i fyny* corresponds to English *up*, with the basic meaning “indicating movement to a higher place or position” (GPC). *I fyny* was the second most frequent particle in the corpus as regards the number of types (54), with 6 PL constructions, 11 LBs, 35 DTs and 2 N/LR items. With regard to token number, *i fyny* was the third most frequent particle (96 tokens).

Rudzka-Ostyn distinguishes 5 meanings of the predication UP, summarised in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Network of meanings of UP according to Rudzka-Ostyn (2003: 103).



The basic, spatial meaning of UP/I FYNY, related to movement to a higher position or being in a higher position occurs usually in non-compositional constructions, however some metaphorical uses of the particle in this sense were found in the corpus e.g. *golchi i fyny* ‘wash up (about sea)’. Other examples of figurative PVs within this sense found in GPC are *bwrw i fyny* (1588) ‘throw up’, ‘vomit’, *eistedd i fyny* ‘sit up’ (1588), *taflu i fyny* ‘throw up’, ‘vomit’ (1849).

The sample also contained pleonastic constructions such as: *dringo i fyny* ‘climb up’, *esgyn i fyny* ‘rise up’, *picio i fyny* ‘pick up’ (GPC 18th c.), *tyfu i fyny* ‘grow up’ (GPC 1691). Out of these only *tyfu i fyny* appeared more than once (11 tokens). Like English UP, I FYNY may also indicate moving in the northern direction (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 80), as in *dod i fyny*, ‘come up’, ‘come to the North’.

The first non-spatial meaning of UP described by Rudzka-Ostyn (2003:77) is connected with the trajector aiming at or reaching a goal, an end or a limit. Examples from the corpus were mostly directly translatable items: *galw i fyny* ‘call (someone) up’, *dal i fyny* ‘catch up’, *rhoi i fyny* ‘give something up’, ‘resign’ (GPC 16th c.), *cadw i fyny* ‘keep up’, *cwrdd i fyny* ‘meet up’, including loanblends *setio i fyny â* ‘set (someone) up with (someone else)’, *picio i fyny* ‘pick (someone) up’. There was also one loan rendition: *llwytho i fyny* ‘upload’ (see 3.2.3.4). Another recently coined PV of this type found in GPC is *bacio i fyny* ‘back up (a computer file)’ (20th c.). Altogether, this sense of *i fyny* appears to be recent.

The second meaning involves an entity moving to a higher degree, value or measure (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 80). Examples of Welsh PVs conveying this sense from the corpus are: *chwythu i fyny* ‘blow something up’, ‘exaggerate’, *dal i fyny â* ‘catch up with’, ‘reach the same standard’, *newid i fyny* ‘change up’, *gwisgo i fyny* ‘dress up’ *mynd i fyny* ‘go up’, ‘progress’, *symud i fyny* ‘move up’, ‘make progress’, *camu i fyny* ‘step up’, ‘progress’. None of these are to be found in GPC, however the dictionary contains several other examples: *cymryd i fyny* ‘take up’, ‘assume’ (GPC 1658), *dwyn i fyny* ‘bring up’ (GPC 1588), *traenio i fyny* ‘train up’ (GPC 1696), and also *troi i fyny* ‘turn up (sound) (GPC “spoken”).

Next, akin to English UP, I FYNY may indicate that an entity becomes more visible, accessible or known (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 85). This sense was found in the following Welsh PVs: *sefyll i fyny dros* ‘stand up for’ (GPC 1783), *siarad i fyny* ‘speak up’, ‘make your point’, *dod i fyny* ‘come up’, ‘appear’, *rhoi i fyny* ‘put up’, ‘raise to make more visible’, *picio i fyny (pigo lan)* ‘pick up’, ‘learn’, *popio i fyny* ‘pop up’, ‘appear’, *troi i fyny* ‘turn up’, ‘come, appear’ (GPC 1858, “spoken”). The PV *dod i fyny* was stylistically marked in satire (see 3.2.4.2).

The final meaning distinguished conveys the sense of completeness, reaching the highest limit of something or covering an area completely (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 86). Welsh PVs expressing this sense are *gwneud i fyny am* ‘make up for’, ‘compensate’,

*torri i fyny* ‘break up’, ‘break into pieces’, *chwythu i fyny* ‘blow up’ (GPC 1675), *rhoi i fyny â* ‘put up with’, ‘tolerate’ (GPC 1855), and a number of loanblends: *boardio i fyny* ‘board up’, *cyrlïo i fyny* ‘curl up’, *ffwccio i fyny* ‘fuck up’, *pacio i fyny* ‘pack up’, *patsio i fyny* ‘patch up’, *pwmpio i fyny ar* ‘pump up on’, *socian i fyny* ‘soak up’. Many of these examples belonged to the informal registers, they were found in teenage speech or dialect. Other examples from GPC are: *cau i fyny* ‘close up’ (GPC 1588), *cloi i fyny* ‘lock up’ GPC 1658, *llosgi i fyny* ‘burn up’ (GPC 1658), *llyncu i fyny* ‘swallow up’ (GPC 1744), *nyddu i fyny* lit. ‘spin up’, ‘draw to an end’ (GPC 18th c.), *pacio i fyny* ‘pack up’, ‘finish’ (GPC 1853), *torri i fyny* ‘go bankrupt’ (GPC 1743) and also *topio i fyny* ‘top up’ (GPC “spoken”).

In contrast to *out*, there are no examples of idiomatic usages of *i fyny* recorded before 1588. The role of English interference in the development of these items seems probable although most metaphorical senses of the particle are not recent, with single examples dating back to 17th and 18th centuries. GPC mentions this aspect in the definition of *i fyny*: ‘also used with certain verbs to translate English idioms’.

### 3.3.2.3. YMLAEN, RHAGDDO, AR and ON

In the majority of cases, the English adverbial particle *on* corresponded to Welsh adverb *ymlaen*, denoting “forward, on(ward), ahead, in (the) front; on(ward) (of time), in the future; on (denoting continuation of action, etc.); also fig.” (sense a. adv. of *ymlaen*, GPC). *Ymlaen* was the most frequently used particle in the corpus with regard to number of tokens (369) and third with regard to number of types. There were 49 PV types with *ymlaen* in the corpus, with 24 different verbs. 7 types were identified as N/LR items, one as PL, 37 as DTs and 4 as LBs. Only one PV type with a particle corresponding to the adverbial *on* contained a different particle, *rhagddo*. *Rhagddo* is the 3rd pers. sing. masc. inflected form of the preposition *rhag*. It may be synonymous to *ymlaen*, indicating progress in time. The item found in the corpus was *mynd rhagddo* ‘go on’ (GPC 1772<sup>58</sup>), a variant of *mynd ymlaen*.

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<sup>58</sup> Not in a separate entry, but under *rhag*.

PVs with *ymlaen* in the corpus represented three meanings of ON distinguished by Rudzka-Ostyn. The first one refers to contact or getting closer to make contact (2003: 149). This basic sense of *on* usually occurs in non-idiomatic constructions, however it can also refer to starting a device or switching something on. As could be expected, most Welsh PVs expressing this meaning appeared to be recent: *dod ymlaen* ‘put on’, *troi ymlaen* ‘turn on’ (GPC 20 c.), *rhoi ymlaen* ‘put on’ (GPC “spoken”). Another example found in GPC, but not in the corpus is *logio ymlaen* ‘log on’ (GPC 2000). The PV *rhoi ymlaen* was also used once in the context of putting on weight, a probable calque from English<sup>59</sup>.

The second meaning of YMLAEN/ON is temporal and implies progress in time (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 152). This sense occurred only in the exceptionally frequent PV *edrych ymlaen* ‘look forward (to)’, which curiously, is not to be found in GPC. However, other PVs of this type are in the dictionary, all marked as spoken and not directly translatable into English: *gweithio ymlaen*, lit. ‘work on’, ‘work overtime’ (GPC “spoken”), *tynnu ymlaen* lit. ‘pull on’, ‘be getting on (of time, age)’ (GPC 1893, “spoken”), *wado ymlaen*, lit. ‘beat on’, ‘grow old, persevere’ (20th c., “spoken”). As for *edrych ymlaen* ‘look forward’, it should be noted that it usually occurs as a PPV with a second particle equivalent to English ‘to’. The unmarked, most frequent second particle in the corpus was *at* ‘to, towards’, competing with *i* ‘to’ (see 3.2.3.2, 3.2.3.3), which appears to be calqued from English. The slight difference in the semantics of the second particles and the presence of a calqued variant might suggest that the PV is a loan rendition or a native idiom rather than a direct loan translation.

The most frequent idiomatic meaning of *ymlaen* refers to continuation of an action or situation. Among numerous examples from the corpus directly translatable into English are: *annog ymlaen* ‘urge on’, *bod ymlaen* ‘be on’, *cadw ymlaen* ‘keep on’, *dod ymlaen* ‘come on’ (GPC 1735), *gyrru ymlaen* lit. ‘drive on’, ‘carry on’ (GPC 1632), *llusgo ymlaen* ‘drag on’, *mynd ymlaen* ‘continue, proceed’, *palu ymlaen* ‘dig on’, *symud ymlaen* ‘move on’ and loanblends: *cario ymlaen* ‘carry on’ (GPC 1793), *pasio ymlaen* ‘pass on’. Other examples found in GPC are not directly translatable into English: *dwyn ymlaen*, lit. ‘bring on’, ‘further promote’ (GPC 1658), *hwylio ymlaen*, lit. ‘sail on’, ‘promote, further, advance’ (GPC 1677).

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<sup>59</sup> According to Rudzka-Ostyn (2003: 150) *put on weight* also belongs to the “contact” category as ON implies “getting closer” to an entity, which in this case is particular weight.

English *on* may also be a preposition occurring in prepositional verbs. The usual Welsh equivalent, as far as literal, spatial meaning is concerned, is the preposition *ar*. With regard to idiomatic PVs there were only 6 types with the preposition *ar*. Three of them had direct English equivalents: *taro ar* ‘hit on’, ‘discover’ (GPC 1603), *troi ar* ‘turn on someone’ ‘attack’ (GPC c. 1400), *tyfu ar* ‘grow on someone’. *Taro ar* could also mean ‘bump into someone’, a possible loan rendition or native idiom, especially that it had a variant *taro ar draws*, lit. ‘hit across’.

The remaining two idioms were not directly translatable into English: *cadw ar*, lit. ‘keep on’, ‘defend’ (GPC c.1330), *colli ar*, lit. ‘lose on’, ‘lose your senses’. In all these items, AR, like ON, seems to involve two entities in contact (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 149-154). GPC contains a large number of other idiomatic PPs with *ar*, first recorded in the medieval period, e.g. *dal ar*, lit. ‘hold on’, ‘to affect; be affected with’ (GPC 13th c.), *syrthio ar*, lit. ‘fall on’, ‘to affect gradually, overtake, possess’ (GPC 1346) *dodi ar*, lit. ‘put on’, ‘to name’ (GPC 13th c.), *medru ar*, lit. ‘can on’, ‘to come upon, come across, light upon; find (out)’ (GPC 1346), *gyrru ar*, lit. ‘drive on’, ‘to accuse, charge, prosecute, convict’ (GPC 13th c.). The dictionary provides plenty of similar examples, spanning through many centuries<sup>60</sup>.

GPC also contains one example in which *ar* is used instead of *ymlaen* to calque the English *on*: *troi ar* ‘to switch or turn on’ (light, radio, etc.); ‘arouse’ (sexually), ‘turn on’ (GPC 20th c., “spoken”). Such an example was not found in the corpus, as it belongs to highly informal language.

All in all, idiomatic PPs with *ar* are well-established in the Welsh language and few phrases are borrowed in that respect; many idiomatic English PPs with *on* such as *act on*, *chew on*, *draw on*, *wait on* do not have their direct equivalents in Welsh.

Finally, the particle *on* was borrowed directly as *on* in 2 wholesale borrowings: *cym on* and *howld on*, which are colloquial set phrases strongly marked in terms of style. The particle should be therefore considered unproductive.

To summarise, it can be seen that the predications YMLAEN and AR have several salient meanings in Welsh. Instances of transfer occur within these senses and new ones have been added as well in order to convey modern concepts, such as switching on devices.

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<sup>60</sup> *Cario ar*, *cyfyngu ar*: *cynyddu ar*, *darfod ar*, *dyrnu ar*, *golchi ar*, *gosod ar*, *lladd ar*, *rhedeg ar*, etc.

### 3.3.2.4. I LAWR and DOWN

The Welsh adverbial particle *i lawr* corresponds to English *down*, implying negative verticality (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 104). *I lawr* occurred in 34 PV types in the corpus, with 1 probable N item, 7 PLs, 22 DTs and 5 LBs. It was the fourth most frequent particle concerning the number of types and the fourth concerning the number of tokens (75).

The basic meaning of I LAWR, as in English DOWN, involves the trajector moving from a higher to a lower place (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 104). Semi-idiomatic pleonastic constructions found in the corpus were *disgyn i lawr* ‘fall down’ and *eistedd i lawr* ‘sit down’ (GPC 1567). Similar examples found in GPC are *syर्थio i lawr* ‘fall down’ (GPC 12th c.) and *gorwedd i lawr* ‘lie down’ (GPC 1759). GPC contains several other examples of transparent PVs with *i lawr*: *dodi i lawr* ‘sit down, relax for a while’ (GPC 1632), *dod i lawr* ‘come down’, ‘descend’ (GPC 1797), *cloddio i lawr* ‘dig down’ (GPC 1567), *gosod i lawr* ‘lay, put or set down’ (GPC 1632).

The second meaning according to Rudzka-Ostyn is related to time and geographically orientated motion (2003: 106), e.g. *go down* (in history), *go down* (south). No similar examples were found in the corpus or GPC, although the spatial meaning of going south has been undoubtedly present in Welsh for decades, as in the following example:

(54) *ac yn mynd i lawr i'r Sowth am bythefnos o holidays* (Griffith 1975:4).

‘and going down to the South for two weeks of holidays.’

Yet another sense of I LAWR/DOWN is associated with a decrease in intensity, quality, quantity, size, degree, value, activity, status, strength etc. (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 107). Examples found in the corpus were: *symud i lawr* ‘move down’, ‘lose status’, *mynd i lawr* ‘go down’, ‘go to prison’, *taro i lawr* ‘strike/knock down’, ‘make weak’, *torri i lawr* ‘break down’, ‘have a nervous breakdown’ or ‘destroy’ (GPC “spoken”), *troi i lawr* ‘turn down (of sound)’ (GPC 1935 “spoken”), *tynnu i lawr* ‘pull down’, ‘corrupt’, *gollwng i lawr* ‘let down’, ‘betray’, and a loanblend *cwllo i lawr* ‘cool down’. Other examples from GPC are *torri i lawr ar* ‘cut down on’ (GPC 20th c., “spoken”), *hwylio i lawr* ‘to fall (of wind)’ (GPC 1913 “spoken”), *edrych i lawr ar* ‘look down on’, ‘despise’ (1632), *pwyso i lawr* ‘weigh down, oppress’ (GPC 1588), *rhedeg i lawr* ‘run down’,



‘criticise’ (GPC 1740), *sefyll i lawr* ‘stand down (e.g. in an election)’ (GPC “spoken”), *troi i lawr* ‘turn down’, ‘reject’, (GPC “spoken”).

The fourth meaning is connected with the entity reaching a goal, completion or extreme limit down the scale (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 111). Examples in the corpus were: *pori i lawr* ‘graze down’, *torri i lawr* ‘break down’, *taro i lawr* ‘knock down’ and *cloi i lawr* ‘lock down’. Other examples from GPC are: *berwi i lawr* ‘boil down’ (GPC 1938), *llosgi i lawr* ‘burn down’ (GPC 1764), *talw i lawr* ‘pay down (cash)’ (GPC 1778), *setlo i lawr* ‘settle down’ (1921, “spoken”).

Finally, Rudzka-Ostyn (2003: 112) distinguishes the sense of DOWN related to downward movement associated with eating or writing. For I LAWR this was expressed in PVs such as *golchi i lawr* ‘wash something down’ (e.g. with wine), *ysgrifennu i lawr* ‘write down’. These items were not found in GPC, but the dictionary contains another PV connected with writing, *taro i lawr* lit. ‘strike down’, ‘jot down’ (1742).

The above data indicate that figurative meanings of I LAWR are not well-established and belong to more informal registers of the language, however examples of figurative senses in the particle are found already in the 16th-18th centuries. On the basis of the available data it is problematic to decide whether contact with English triggered or merely reinforced the process of meaning extension.

### 3.3.2.5. I MEWN, I MEWN I and IN, INTO

The English *in* is rendered in Welsh as *mewn* or *yn* if it is a preposition, and as *i mewn* when it is an adverb. The particle *i mewn* and, more frequently, *i mewn i* corresponds to English *into*. Like *in* and *into*, *i mewn* and *i mewn i* are closely related and sometimes interchangeable, with IN/I MEWN related to entering or being inside a container (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 48) and INTO/I MEWN I conveying the idea of motion into a container (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 69). No idiomatic PPs with *yn* or *mewn* were found in the corpus, while there were 19 types of PVs with *i mewn*, 8 types with *i mewn i* and one PPV with *i mewn* and *ar* as the second particle (*cashio i mewn ar* ‘cash in on’). In total, there were 28 PV types with *i mewn* (*i*) in the corpus, with 4 N/LR items, one PL, 18 DTs and 5 LBs. Taken together, *i mewn* and *i mewn i* ranked fifth in frequency count concerning the number of types and seventh concerning the number of tokens (49).

Parallel to English IN, the basic and most frequent meaning of I MEWN relates to entities being inside or entering a container (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 48). Examples of idiomatic PVs in the corpus conveying this sense were: *camu i mewn* ‘step in’, *ffitio i mewn* ‘fit in’, *ffonio i mewn* ‘phone in’, *galw i mewn* ‘call in’, *llosgi i mewn* ‘burn in’, *pitsho i mewn* ‘pitch in’ (GPC “spoken”), *symud i mewn* ‘move in’, *taro i mewn* ‘pop in’ (GPC 1886, “spoken”), *teipio i mewn* ‘type in’, *torri i mewn* ‘break in’ (GPC 1567), *troi i mewn* ‘drive in (of cattle)’, *tynnu i mewn* ‘pull in (of vehicle)’. Other examples from GPC include: *cau i mewn* (GPC 1588), *cymryd i mewn* ‘take in’ (GPC 1632), *edrych i mewn* ‘look into’, ‘inspect’ (GPC 1632), *gollwng i mewn* ‘let in’, ‘inject’ (GPC 1740), *gorwedd i mewn* ‘lie in’, ‘lie in childbed’ (GPC 1771). More recent examples from the dictionary are: *popio i mewn* ‘pop in’ (GPC 1936), *cloccio i mewn* ‘clock in’, (GPC 1995), *gwrando i mewn* ‘listen in (to the radio)’ (GPC 20th c.) and *logio i mewn* ‘log in’ (GPC 1999).

The remaining PVs with I MEWN (I) in the corpus referred to situations, circumstances viewed as containers (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 55): *cashio i mewn ar* ‘cash in on’, *llusgo i mewn* ‘drag into’, *dod i mewn i* ‘come into’, *rhoi i mewn* ‘put in’, ‘invest’ or ‘submit’, *tynnu i mewn i* ‘pull (someone) into something’. Most of these items appeared in dialogues in the novel *Afallon* or in the satirical magazine *LOL* and therefore can be considered non-standard. Another example, *ymchwilio i mewn* ‘research into’, was included as a pleonastic construction. Two other examples were found in GPC: *cymryd i mewn* ‘take in, ‘involve’ (1775), *rhedeg i mewn* ‘run in’, ‘shrink’ (1730).

The sense of IN related to psychological or physical states viewed as containers, distinguished by Rudzka-Ostyn (2003: 57), expressed in PVs such as *cram in*, *take something in*, was not found in the Welsh corpus.

The metaphorical sense of INTO, implying change, motion from one state into another (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 70) was not found in the corpus save from one PPV, in which *yn* was the second particle: *troi mas yn* ‘turn into’. The example came from the novel *Afallon* and was used in conversation by a character who “really” spoke English, therefore intentional calquing might be possible. Generally speaking I MEWN I was not used to refer to states such as habits or emotions – Welsh equivalents of constructions such as *break into* (tears), *fall into* (disgrace) were not found. The phrase *bump into* has its Welsh equivalent in a phrase with a different particle, *taro ar*.

All in all, particles *i mewn* and *i mewn i* were less productive in Welsh than in English. The spatial meanings of the particle are relatively rarely extended to the abstract and appear to be non-standard. However, the earliest examples of metaphorical extension found in GPC date to the 16th century.

### 3.3.2.6. YN ÔL and BACK

The Welsh particle *yn ôl* corresponds to English *back*. YN ÔL/BACK mostly occurs in transparent constructions, conveying the sense of “returning to or staying at an earlier location”. Such items were excluded from the corpus, apart from 3 pleonastic constructions: *bacio yn ôl*, *cilio yn ôl* and *dychwelyd yn ôl*. The sample contained 13 other types of PVs (39 tokens) where the particle conveys the metaphorical sense of returning to an earlier state, time or situation (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 174). Among these were: *tynnu yn ôl (o)* ‘pull back’, ‘not engage’, *eistedd yn ôl* ‘sit back’, *torri yn ôl* ‘cut back’, ‘make savings’, *meddwl yn ôl (dros)* ‘think back (over)’, *edrych yn ôl* ‘look back’, *dal yn ôl* ‘hold back’ ‘stop progress’ or ‘hide’ (e.g. feelings), *cael yn ôl* ‘get (someone) back’, ‘revenge’.

Only three PVs with *yn ôl* are recorded in GPC, presumably due to the transparency of such constructions. These are: *dwyn yn ôl* ‘bring back’ (1620), *galw yn ôl* ‘recall, call back’ (1632), *rhoi yn ôl* ‘return, replace’ (1632)<sup>61</sup>.

### 3.3.2.7. I FFWRDD, YMAITH, OFF, ODDI AR and AWAY, OFF

The Welsh particles *i ffwrdd* and *ymaith*, used interchangeably, and *bant*, a variant of *i ffwrdd* used mostly in southern dialects of Welsh, are equivalent to two English particles: *away* and *off*. There were 13 types of PVs containing *i ffwrdd* and its variants, 19 tokens in total, including 10 tokens with *bant*, 7 with *i ffwrdd* and 2 with *ymaith*. All of these were directly translatable into English. There was also one pleonastic construction

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<sup>61</sup> All three recorded in John Davies’s *Dictionarium Duplex*, 1632; *dwyn yn ôl* recorded earlier in a translation of the Old Testament.

*ysgubo ymaith* ‘sweep away’. In 10 PV types the particle was translated as *away* and in 4 as *off*.

What is more, in informal speech the particle *off* is occasionally borrowed directly from English. Three PV types with this particle were found in the corpus: LBs *copio off* ‘cop off’ and *hitio off* ‘hit off’, and one wholesale borrowing *ffyc off* ‘fuck off’. All of these were stylistically marked as teenagers’ slang.

Rudzka-Ostyn distinguishes three main meanings of AWAY. The first and basic one refers to the entity leaving a place and not being in it (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 139). A relatively high number of such non-idiomatic or semi-idiomatic constructions with *i ffwrdd* and *ymaith* can be found in GPC, with the earliest dating back to the medieval period: *gyrru ymaith* ‘send away’, ‘drive out’ (GPC c.1300), *bwrw ymaith* ‘cast away’ (GPC 14th c.), *dyrru ymaith* (GPC 14th c.) ‘drive or send away’, *torri ymaith* ‘cut away’ (GPC 15-16 c.), *troi i ffwrdd* ‘turn away’ (GPC 1567), *dyrru i ffwrdd* ‘drive or send away’ (GPC 1568), *dwyn ymaith* ‘take away’ (GPC 1588), *gollwng ymaith* ‘dismiss, send away’ (GPC 1588), *gyrru i ffwrdd* ‘send away’ (GPC 1604-7), *rhoddi ymaith* ‘put away’, ‘cast off, store’ (GPC 1604-7), *galw ymaith* ‘call away’ (GPC 1632), *pacio i ffwrdd* ‘pack away’, ‘send packing’ (GPC 17th c.), *pechu ymaith* ‘drive away by sin’ (GPC 1730), *taflu ymaith* ‘throw away’ (GPC 1595). Examples found in the corpus, but not in GPC were: *symud i ffwrdd* ‘move away’, ‘withdraw’, *cymryd i ffwrdd* ‘take away’, ‘deprive’, *cadw i ffwrdd* ‘keep away’, ‘avoid’.

The second meaning of English AWAY, associated with gradual and continuously growing distance – in constructions such as *drink away*, *fade away*, *rot away*, *work away*, *wash away* (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 141) – could not be attributed to any of the Welsh PVs. The only relevant example found in GPC was the colloquial *wado bant*, lit. ‘thrash away’, ‘work hard, work like fury’ (GPC 1929, “spoken”).

The third meaning of AWAY implies complete disappearance of an entity (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 143). PVs conveying this sense found in the corpus were: *ysgubo ymaith* ‘sweep away’, *chwysu ymaith* ‘sweat away’, *rhoi bant* ‘give away’. Items found in GPC conveying the latter sense of the particle are: *chwarae ymaith*, lit. ‘play away’ ‘squander, fritter away’ (1713), *chwmpo ymaith* ‘fall away’, ‘fail’ (GPC 1567), *golchi ymaith* ‘wash away’ (1588), *gwisgo ymaith* ‘wear away’ (GPC 1595), *ynfydu ymaith*, lit. ‘fool away’, ‘squander’ (GPC 1727). It appears that in the past the particle *ymaith* used to be the productive particle to convey this sense, while currently *i ffwrdd* is preferred for

calquing English idioms. This is confirmed by the presence of one more recent entry conveying the sense of disappearance: *gwneud i ffwrdd â* ‘do away with’ (GPC 20th c.).

The English particle *off* does not seem to have an obvious Welsh equivalent, which explains the above mentioned direct borrowing in PVs such as *hitio off*. The basic spatial meaning of OFF, “loss of contact and separation” (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 121) can be rendered by DRAW or I FFWRDD/YMAITH. GPC contains an example of recent PV conveying this sense *logio i ffwrdd* ‘log off’ (GPC 1999).

Moving on to figurative senses, the English OFF expressing separation as interruption of flow or supply (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003:125) was conveyed in Welsh with I FFWRDD (BANT): *troi i ffwrdd* ‘turn off’, ‘switch off’ (GPC 20th c., “spoken”), *mynd i ffwrdd* ‘go off’, ‘stop working’. Another sense – separation due to motion away from its former state, condition or point of reference (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 126) was identified in only one PV in the corpus: *mynd i ffwrdd* ‘go off’, ‘explode’. Calquing of this sense appears to be very rare, with no direct Welsh equivalents such as *spark off*, *ease off*, *bit off*, *write off*, *buy off*, *pay off*, *show off*.

*Off* as a preposition can be equivalent to Welsh *oddi ar* (for basic spatial meanings cf. e.g. GA entry for *off*). Only one such example of an idiomatic PV was found in the corpus: *dod oddi ar* ‘come off’ (e.g. drugs) in a dialogue from the novel *Afallon*.

The above evidence suggests that the particles *ymaith* and *i ffwrdd* have been used in Welsh since medieval times in semi-idiomatic context. Few figurative meanings corresponding to English AWAY emerged over the centuries probably due to partial extension through contact with English. Similarly, there are relatively few cases of calquing English *off*. The only well-established calqued sense of I FFWRDD is that of “switching off”, parallel to the extension of meaning of YMLAEN for ON. Cases of direct borrowing of *off* were rare and stylistically marked as slang. Rottet (2005: 59) suggests that the borrowing of *off* could be seen as freeing up *i ffwrdd* and *bant* to function as equivalents of *away*. However, in my corpus *i ffwrdd* and *bant* prevailed in translating English *off*.

### 3.3.2.8. HEIBIO and BY, ASIDE

*Heibio* is an adverbial particle meaning “along some point or specific place (in time or space) and beyond it, out and forwards after passing closely” (GPC). The particle *heibio*

occurred in 12 PV types in the corpus (51 tokens). In the vast majority of the cases it corresponded to English *by*. The PV *galw heibio* ‘call by’ (GPC; “common spoken”) was the only idiomatic PV in the corpus expressing the core sense of BY/HEIBIO “location or motion near or at the side of an entity” (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 200). With 10 tokens in the sample, *galw heibio* competed with *galw draw*, which occurred 3 times. A similar PV is recorded in GPC: *taro heibio* ‘drop in’ (GPC 20th c.).

More often, the meaning of HEIBIO in Welsh PVs corresponded to the second meaning of BY – closeness or location in time and measurement units (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 201). The PVs expressing the temporal sense of passing were: *mynd heibio* ‘go by’<sup>62</sup>, and related *hedfan heibio* ‘fly by’, *diferu heibio* ‘drop by’, *pasio heibio* ‘pass by’ (GPC 1615), *rasio heibio* ‘race by’. Similar PVs recorded in GPC are: *bwrw’r amser heibio* ‘while away the time’ (1562), *gollwng heibio* ‘let pass, let slip, pass by’ (16th c.).

In one case *heibio* combined with preposition *i* to express the sense of “beyond” – *mynd heibio i’r targed ariannol* ‘go beyond the financial target’. The particle also occurred in the PV *rhoi heibio* which had three senses: ‘put aside, away’ (GPC 16th c.), ‘give up’ and ‘put on, entrust’. Similar meaning can be found in the following PVs recorded in GPC: *gadael heibio* ‘leave off, lay aside’ (15th c.), *bwrw heibio* ‘cast away, lay aside’ (1655), *adaw heibio* ‘leave off, cease, omit’ (1659), *troi heibio* ‘give up’ (1604-7), ‘leave off’ and ‘save up money’ (1768).

It can be seen that the particle *heibio* has been forming PVs expressing notion of passing in both special and temporal aspect, parallel to English *by*. There is little evidence for direct calquing in this respect. Moreover, the meaning was extended in Welsh into “putting aside” or “getting rid of something”, which is absent from English BY.

### 3.3.2.9. O GWMPAS, ROWND and (A)ROUND

The particle *o gwmpas* corresponding to English *around* (or *round*) occurred in 11 PV types (14 tokens). Idiomatic PVs with *o gwmpas* appear to be rare. In most instances O GWMPAS expresses primarily the basic spatial meaning of AROUND “location or motion (in different direction) often viewed from a central point” (Rudzka-Ostyn

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<sup>62</sup> Although *mynd heibio* is not recorded in GPC, the dictionary contains a phrase *wrth fynd heibio* ‘in passing (of comment)’ (20th c., “spoken”).

2003: 184). Most PVs in the corpus conveyed the largely figurative sense of something being or happening “nearby”, “suggesting vague but close whereabouts” (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 185): *bod o gwmpas* ‘be around’, *cadw o gwmpas* ‘keep (someone) around’. PVs suggesting “motion in no particular direction” or being “engaged in a continued or repetitive activity in different directions which is furthermore directed to no one or nothing in particular” (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 188-189) were: *hongian o gwmpas* ‘hang around’, *llusgo o gwmpas* ‘drag around’, *mynd o gwmpas* ‘go or set about something’ (GPC 1793), *prowlian o gwmpas* ‘prowl around’ and possibly *chwarae o gwmpas* ‘play around’. There was one example of PPV containing *o gwmpas*: *chwarae o gwmpas â* ‘play around with someone’, ‘have a sexual relationship’, used in teenage slang. Except for *mynd o gwmpas*, GPC contains only one PV with *o gwmpas*: *troi o gwmpas* ‘revolve around, be mainly concerned with’ (GPC 20th c.),

Figurative PVs with *o gwmpas* generally appear to be calqued from English, which is confirmed by the presence of directly transferred particle *rownd*. In the corpus it occurred only once in a fictional dialogue: *dod rownd* ‘get around (someone)’, ‘persuade’. There is also only one PV with *rownd* in GPC: *troi rownd* ‘turn (a)round, revolve around, be mainly concerned with’ (GPC “spoken”).

It is notable that all the items with *o gwmpas* in the corpus appeared in the conversation mode, mostly in novel dialogues and occasionally in press interviews. This indicates that PVs with *o gwmpas* are a fairly recent case of calquing and belong to colloquial registers of the language.

### 3.3.2.10. DRAW, DROS, DROSODD, and OVER, FOR, AWAY

*Draw* is an adverb, which according to various Welsh dictionaries can be translated into English as: ‘yonder, there, beyond’ (GPC), ‘there, yonder’ (GWE), ‘over (there)’ (TSD), ‘yonder, off, beyond’ (GB). *Draw* has not been previously mentioned in the literature as a particle in Welsh PVs. However in the corpus it occurred in 32 tokens with 7 types (including 3 syntactic variants of *cadw draw (o/oddi wrth)*).

Only one PV with *draw* was directly translatable into English *over*: *dod draw* ‘come over’, ‘visit’. Although the item was classified as DT, it could as well be attributed to the N category due to the fact that three other PVs in the corpus *galw draw*, lit. ‘call

over there’, *mynd draw* ‘go over there’<sup>63</sup> and *picio draw*, lit. ‘pick over there’ all convey the meaning of visiting someone for a short time, calling by, popping over. *Picio draw* is a particularly interesting case, in which an original Welsh PV is created with a verb borrowed from English. The remaining PV with *draw* was *cadw draw (o/oddi wrth)* ‘keep away (from)’.

None of these items can be found in GPC. However, the dictionary contains the following two examples: *closio draw* ‘move away’ (GPC “spoken Northern”) and *sefyll draw*, ‘stand back, aside, or off, also fig.’ (GPC 1923), indicating the spoken character of the PVs containing this particle. A brief search through historical corpora of Welsh available (Willis 2004; Luft et al. eds. 2013) has demonstrated, however, that the particle was used in figurative PVs centuries ago. An interlude based on the story of King Lear, *Y Brenin Llur*, dated to the first half of the 18th century, contains an example of *sefyll draw*, two centuries earlier than the date provided by GPC for the first recorded use of the item:

sa [~ saf] di draw fy merch Cordila  
tra bwi 'n galw dy chwaer rodia<sup>64</sup>

‘stand aside my daughter Cordila  
while I call your sister walking’

Although the meaning of *sefyll draw* here is transparent, the same text contains another PV, *dal draw* lit. ‘hold there’, ‘keep away’, which is clearly figurative:

wel wel pa beth dybygwn  
troi doe yn ol nis gallwn  
ni godwn armi deg os daw  
i 'w dal nhw draw os gallwn<sup>65</sup>

[well well, how could we suppose  
we cannot turn yesterday back

<sup>63</sup> *mynd draw* was included in the corpus due to the fact it preceded the adverb *yno* ‘there’ and therefore was considered pleonastic.

<sup>64</sup> *Y Brenin Llur*, Cwrtmawr ms. 212, p. 11, (Willis 2004).

<sup>65</sup> *Y Brenin Llur*, Cwrtmawr ms. 212, p. 59 (Willis 2004).



we will not raise a fair army if he comes  
to keep them away if we can]

It should be noted, that the text originates from North Wales. Most examples in the corpus also occurred in Northern dialects.

In conclusion, the above evidence supports a claim that DRAW has evolved from a spatial adverb indicating that an entity is “over there” to a native Welsh particle without an English equivalent, used in PVs to indicate that an entity is away from sight, as in *sefyll draw*, *dal draw*. The other figurative meaning of DRAW is connected with visiting, going “there”; this meaning appears to be more recent. Constructions with *draw* may have emerged from Northern dialects of Welsh.

*Dros* (or *tros*) is a simple inflected preposition with multiple meanings. *Drosodd* (*trosodd*) is a form of *dros* which functions as an adverb. Both particles are used to form PVs in Welsh and in most contexts are equivalent to English *over*, indicating “movement, position, direction, etc., above or across, on (covering), across and down (over a border or from direct position), also figuratively)” (GPC, “tros” sense 1.) In the corpus there were 6 types of PVs with *dros* (15 tokens) and 9 types with *drosodd* (11 tokens).

According to Rudzka-Ostyn in its basic literal sense, OVER implies “being or moving higher than and close to something or from one side to the other” (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 160). This meaning can be extended figuratively e.g. to communication, passing knowledge or skipping, avoiding something. In the Welsh corpus, the meaning was contained in the PVs: *rhoi drosodd* ‘put over’, ‘make understand’ and *dod dros rhywun* ‘get over (someone/something)’, ‘forget’. A similar PV found in GPC are *edrych dros* ‘overlook, fail to observe, pass over’ (1677). *Gwyllo dros* ‘watch over, guard’ (1567) would also belong to this network.

Another meaning of OVER implies that “an entity has to cover some distance – spatial or mental – to get closer to another object or goal” (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 162). This is the case with visits, lending money temporarily to somebody, getting to know a person, replacing a person in a certain job, etc. Examples with DROS found in the sample are: *dod drosodd* ‘come over’, ‘visit’, *cymryd dros/drosodd (o)* ‘take over’, ‘replace’, *cymryd drosodd* ‘take over’ ‘take control’, *troi drosodd* ‘turn over’, ‘start’ (of an engine). As mentioned above, the meaning of visiting someone, implying “going there” was also expressed in 3 PVs with DRAW: *mynd draw*, *dod draw* and *picio draw*.

The third meaning of OVER refers to “motion viewed as covering completely or even in excess” (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 162). Three Welsh constructions in the corpus covered this meaning: *bod drosodd* ‘be over’, (GPC 1758), *dod dros* ‘come over someone (an emotion)’, *golchi dros* ‘wash over someone (feeling)’. One more example found in GPC is *rhedeg drosodd* lit. ‘run over’, ‘overflow’ (1604).

Next, OVER may imply “examining thoroughly from all sides” (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 167). This sense also occurred in the corpus in two PVs with DROS: *meddwl dros* ‘think (something) over’ and *mynd dros* ‘go over (something), ‘check, practice’. Although these items are not in GPC, the dictionary contains three other examples: *rhedeg drosodd* ‘run over, study’ (1604-7), *darllen trosodd* ‘read through’ (GPC 1767) and *edrych dros* ‘look over’, ‘survey’ (1778) and puts this sense under sense b.: “all over, throughout, through, also fig.”

The final meaning of OVER distinguished by Rudzka-Ostyn is connected with “reflexive motion or being completely bent” (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 168). None such examples were found in the corpus, while GPC contains only an example of a transparent PV of this type with DROSODD: *troi drosodd* ‘turn over, overturn, upset’ (1632).

There was one PV with *dros* when the particle was not equivalent to English *over*, but *for*, meaning ‘for the sake of someone’: *sefyll dros* ‘stand up for, defend’ (GPC 16th c., but meaning ‘stand in for, take the place of, deputize’ – 14th c.). This is connected with sense 3a of *tros* distinguished in GPC: “for the sake of, on behalf of, in support of”.

As shown above, many, but not all concepts inherent to the English particle *over* are present in Welsh *dros* and *drosodd*. The figurative meanings appear to be fairly well-established in the language and should not necessarily be considered calques, despite being directly translatable into English in most cases. In particular, the case of *draw* demonstrate the ability of Welsh to form its own PVs.

### 3.3.2.11. DRWODD, TRWY and THROUGH

The English *through* occurring in PVs corresponds to two Welsh particles: the preposition *trwy* and adverb *drwodd* (*trwodd*), with *trwy* forming transitive APVs and *drwodd* intransitive ones. There were 6 types of PVs with *drwodd*, with only 2 verbs, *mynd* and *dod* (7 tokens) and 7 types with the preposition *trwy* (11 tokens).

According to GPC, *drwodd* (or *trwodd*) is an impersonal form of the preposition *trwy* functioning as an adverb. Out of the 7 tokens with *drwodd*, 6 appeared in the novel *Adenydd glöyn byw*, mostly in dialogues, and 1 in a press interview translated from English. This might indicate that PVs with *drwodd* belong to dialectal spoken register, however the sample is too small to make general conclusions.

The PVs which were identified all expressed the main figurative meaning of THROUGH, referring to “activities viewed as complete(d) motions” (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 195-196): *dod trwy/drwodd* 1) ‘get through’, ‘pass’ 2) ‘go through’, ‘endure’, or 3) ‘get through’, ‘analyse’; *edrych trwy* ‘look through’, ‘search’; *gweld trwy* ‘see through’; *mynd trwy/drwodd* 1) ‘get through’, ‘finish’, 2) ‘go through’, ‘experience’ and 3) ‘go through’, ‘search’.

GPC contains no examples of PVs with *trwy* or *drwodd*, except for *gweld trwy* ‘see through’ (GPC “common spoken”).

### 3.3.2.12. AR DRAWS and ACROSS

The particle *ar draws* corresponds to English *across*. 6 types of PVs with *ar draws* were found in the corpus, with 68 tokens in total. The high number of tokens stemmed from high frequency of two PVs: *dod ar draws* ‘come across’ and *torri ar draws* ‘interrupt’ (30 and 36 items, respectively).

In 4 PV types, AR DRAWS expressed a sense which does not occur in English ACROSS and is related to interruption. Thus, the most frequent of these PVs, *torri ar draws* lit. ‘break across’, ‘interrupt’ (GPC 1788), conveys the sense of “breaking into” someone’s speech<sup>66</sup>. The other two PVs with this meaning in the sample were *siarad ar draws* ‘interrupt’ (GPC “spoken”) and *llefaru ar draws*. In one case, *dod ar draws* also expressed the concept of interrupting, something “coming in our way”. GPC gives a 14th-

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<sup>66</sup> GPC mentions also another, older meaning of *torri ar draws* (1567), ‘split open’, ‘burst’, probably conveying the idea of metaphorically “cutting across”.

century manuscript *Ystoria de Carolo Magno* as the source of the first recorded use of *dod ar draws*. The dictionary does not provide a citation but the example has been found in a historical corpus of Welsh. Although the item is rather transparent, it already contains the idea of interruption, as the knight metaphorically “breaks” into the flow of enemies, literally: “ac y deuth Rolant ar draws yn y erbyn”<sup>67</sup> [and Rolant came across against them].

One more expression of this type found in the dictionary is *taro ar draws meddwl*, lit. ‘hit across thoughts’, ‘occur to one, strike one’ (GPC 1811).

The other 3 types of PVs corresponded to the meaning of English *across* formulated by Rudzka-Ostyn as “figurative motion crossing to a human receiver” (2003:193). The meaning was found in two Welsh PVs: *dod ar draws* ‘come across’, ‘find’, *rhoi ar draws* ‘put (something) across’, ‘communicate something’. It is not impossible that this network of senses of *ar draws* is calqued from English.

All in all, AR DRAWS appears to convey two metaphorical senses, one of which is native to the Welsh language, while the other may be attributed to calquing.

### 3.3.2.13. AR ÔL and AFTER

*Ar ôl* is a complex preposition corresponding to English *after*. The sample contained 9 PV types with *ar ôl* and 48 tokens. The semantic structure of AFTER has not been included in Rudzka-Ostyn (2003), however it has been described by Boers (1996: 184–187), whose model will be used here. According to this author, the first figurative meaning of AFTER in PVs is related to following or pursuing an entity. This fairly transparent metaphor occurred also in PVs with AR ÔL: *bod ar ôl* ‘be after’, *dod ar ôl* ‘come after’, *mynd ar ôl* ‘go after’, *rhedeg ar ôl* ‘run after’. These items are not in GPC, but the sense can be found in *cerdded ar ôl* ‘walk after’ (GPC 1588).

Within the next figurative meaning of AR ÔL, an entity moves along a path to the purpose which is the destination. Within this metaphor a caretaker is viewed as a guide along the path, which gives rise to expressions such as *look after* (Boers 1996:186). GPC mentions this sense under sense 4 of *ar ôl* “after, about (used with words expressing care,

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<sup>67</sup> *Ystoria Carolo Magno: Rhamant Otfel*, NLW MS. Peniarth 5 (The White Book of Rhydderch, part 1), p. 87 (Luft et al. eds. 2013)

concern, etc.)”. The date of the earliest recorded use given is 1672. This sense was contained in the most frequent PV type with *ar ôl* (35 tokens), *edrych ar ôl* ‘look after’ (GPC 1853) and its variant *gwatsio ar ôl* ‘watch after’, which occurred only once and is a loanblend. One more example found in the corpus was *mynd ar ôl* lit. ‘go after something’, ‘talk about’, ‘be concerned’, which is not directly translatable into English.

Finally, AFTER may involve a metaphor of the guide being an example (Boers 1996: 187). The PVs with AR ÔL expressing this sense were *enwi ar ôl* ‘name after’ and *tynnu ar ôl*, lit. ‘pull after’, ‘take after’ (in appearance or temperament) (GPC “spoken”).

As can be seen, there is close correspondence between the semantic structures AR ÔL and AFTER but the parallels may be at least partly coincidental due to the transparency of metaphors.

#### 3.3.2.14. Other prepositional particles

The remaining particles in the corpus were single instances of other prepositions in idiomatic PPs: *â* (*gyda*, *efo*), *am*, *at*, *yn erbyn*, *heb* and *oddi wrth*.

*Am* is an inflected preposition with multiple meanings, one of which is equivalent to English *for* (cf. sense 1d and 1e of “am”, GPC). There were 5 types and 9 tokens of PPs with *am* in the corpus. The only one which was not directly translatable into English was *tynnu am*, lit. ‘pull for’, ‘get on for, turn (a particular age)’. In the remaining examples, *am* corresponded to English *for*: *edrych am* ‘look for something’, *mynd am* ‘go for something’, *cwympo/syrthio am* ‘fall for someone (in love)’. All of these examples occurred in fiction and the latter 3 examples belonged to teenage language in the novel *Adenydd glöyn byw*, which indicates that they are recent calques from English.

The preposition *â* and its variants *gyda* and *efo*, corresponding to English *with*, occurred in 4 PV types, with 7 tokens. Only one of the types was directly translatable into English: *mynd â* ‘go with someone, ‘have a relationship’. The other examples appeared to be native Welsh constructions: *galw gyda*, lit. ‘call with’, ‘call someone’, *gwneud â*, lit. ‘do with’, ‘get on with someone, ‘have a good relationship’ and *crafu efo*, lit. ‘scratch with’, ‘flatter someone and try to get something from them’. The latter PP, not registered in dictionaries, seems to be a dialectal expression from the Isle of Anglesey. Two common

native PPs: *mynd â*, lit. ‘go with’, ‘take’ and *dod â*, lit. ‘come with’, ‘bring’ were also considered non-compositional and not included in the corpus.

The preposition *at* occurred in only two idiomatic PV (7 tokens): *troi at* (6 tokens), with two senses: ‘turn to (something)’, ‘change’ or ‘turn to someone for help’ (GPC 13th c.) and *tynnu at* lit. ‘pull towards’, ‘turn (a particular age)’. It should be noted that *at* is also used in the constructions with *ati*, which were excluded from the corpus, such as: *mynd ati*, *dal ati*, *gwneud ati* (see 2.4.3.3).

The preposition *yn erbyn* ‘against’ occurred in only two idiomatic PVs (2 types and tokens): *dal yn erbyn* ‘hold something against someone’, *mynd yn erbyn* ‘go against someone (of facts)’. Finally, two prepositions occurred in the corpus only once: *heb* ‘without’ in *gwneud heb* ‘do without’ and *oddi wrth* ‘from’ in *tynnu rhywun oddi wrth*, ‘pull someone away from’, ‘distract’. These items appear to be relatively transparent metaphors and therefore were not necessarily calqued.

### 3.4. Corpus study – summary of the findings and discussion

The analysed data have shown that idiomatic phrasal verbs are a widespread phenomenon in standard Welsh, not confined to the spoken language. Idiomatic PVs are used extensively in semi-formal varieties of Welsh, including quality press and narrative parts of award-winning novels. The proportion of items used in narrative and conversation modes was almost even and only a small number of PVs was stylistically marked.

The corpus contained a total of 1134 PV tokens with 271 types conveying 398 different senses. Due to lack of digitalised data, a rough frequency count was performed only for the fiction subcorpus, where the amount of PVs per 1000 words varied from 0.9 to 2, depending on the style of the novel, in particular the amount of colloquial language used. This can be compared to some extent with findings of Bieber et al. (1999: 408), whose subcorpus of English fiction contained 2 PVs per 1000 words. It should be remembered, however, that the authors’ analysis did not include prepositional verbs. If one excluded PPs from the present corpus the number of PVs per 1000 words would be between 0.7-1.8<sup>68</sup> that is the mean of 1.1. Although the size of the sample is

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<sup>68</sup> *Afallon* – 1.80, *Adenydd glöyn byw* – 1.39, *Craciau* – 0.92, *Y Llyfrgell* – 0.74 *Tair rheol anhrefn* – 0.67.

insufficient to make definite or general conclusions, it could be hypothesised that at least in fiction PVs in Welsh are less frequently used in comparison with English. Further studies on larger corpora would be required to confirm these observations.

The productivity of PVs in Welsh has been found to be high. New constructions are constantly formed, and the existing ones contain not only basic verbs of movement but also borrowings from English, both recent and well-established. The most productive verbs in the corpus were *mynd* and *dod*. They were also the most frequent ones, after *edrych*, which had an exceptionally high number of tokens due to popularity of a single expression *edrych ymlaen*. The analogous English verbs *go* and *come* have also been found to be the most frequent ones in English corpus studies (Gardner and Davies 2007: 349). The third and fourth position in the Welsh corpus were occupied by *troi* ‘turn’ and *tynnu* ‘pull, draw, drag, take’, while on Gardner and Davies’s list, it was *take* and *get*, which do not have obvious Welsh equivalents.

A total of 28 particles – 15 adverbial and 13 prepositional ones – forming PVs was found in the corpus, excluding 25 dialectal and colloquial variants. The list contains all the adverbial particles mentioned by Rottet (2005) and three additional ones: *drwodd*, *draw* and *on*. *Drwodd* corresponds to adverbial *through* and was used mostly in conversation. It combined with only two verbs: *mynd* and *dod*. *Draw* was found to be a well-established and productive ‘native’ Welsh particle (see below). *On* occurred only in two set phrases and can hardly be seen as productive. The particle *rownd* in the present corpus occurred only once, as a preposition, and was classified as such, while Rottet provides examples of the particle being used as an adverb (Rottet 2005:54).

The most frequent and productive particles in the corpus were *allan*, *i fyny* and *ymlaen*. According to Bieber et al. (1999:413) in English the most productive adverbial particles forming PVs are: *up*, *out* and *on*. The parallel sets of most productive/frequent particles as well as verbs in Welsh and English may point out to the role of language contact, but they also could be attributed to high salience of these verbs and particles in the two languages.

The most frequent syntactic type of PVs, constituting around two thirds of the items in the sample, were APVs, consisting of a verb and an adverbial particle. Intransitive constructions were much more frequent than transitive ones, with 511 and 165 tokens, respectively. PPVs, constructions with two particles, were mostly intransitive and half of them were variants of APVs.

As regards the word order in transitive APVs, the usual pattern observed in the corpus was Verb-Object-Particle. This agrees with the results of Hirata's study (2012:166), in which this order was generally preferred by speakers of Welsh. The unusual Verb-Particle-Object order appears to be archaic and therefore stylistically marked in contemporary texts. On the other hand, it seems that the Verb-Particle-Object order has re-emerged recently in less formal registers of Welsh, probably due to contact with English. However, examples of this were rare in the sample.

Although the majority of items in the corpus were directly translatable into English, the study has demonstrated that the phenomenon of PVs in Welsh cannot be attributed solely to language contact, confirming Rottet's (2005:50-52) observations that Welsh is capable of forming its own idiomatic PVs. A number of PVs in the sample were not directly translatable, with at least 20 APV or PPV types and 15 PP types. A cross-check with the historical dictionary of Welsh, GPC, has shown that some of these items are centuries old (*taro ar*, *gosod allan*); others were dialectal expressions (*crafu â*, *codi allan*) and semi-idiomatic, ad hoc metaphors (*brasgamu ymlaen*, *diferu heibio*). Moreover, the analysis of the semantics of Welsh particles revealed cognitive senses unique to Welsh, for example AR DRAWS conveying the sense of interruption which is not found in English ACROSS, and HEIBIO used in the sense of "putting aside", "getting rid of something", absent from English BY.

Another important example is the adverbial particle *draw* '(over) there', which has been overlooked by researchers thus far. It is claimed here that *draw* should be considered a "native" Welsh particle as most items containing it are not directly translatable into English and in some cases compete with other directly calqued variants. Available diachronic corpus data show semantic extension of this adverb into a productive particle with two figurative senses of DRAW: "moving away" and "visiting" someone, which emerged over the centuries. The particle is productive in that it combines with the most frequent verbs, such as *mynd* and *dod*, but may also enter new constructions with borrowed verbs such as *picio*.

The naturalness of PVs in Welsh is also proven by the presence of ad hoc metaphorical constructions, containing particles such as *ymlaen*, *allan*, *heibio* and *i ffwrdd/ymaith*, whose figurative senses have been present in the Welsh language for centuries. Therefore, the correspondence between some of the most salient particle senses



between Welsh and English, e.g. ALLAN/OUT for exclusion, YMLAEN/ON for continuation or progress, may not necessarily result from language contact. It might as well be attributed to cognitive mechanisms of metaphorical extension of meaning from spatial to abstract common to the cultural zone. The answer to this question would require further studies.

Still, despite the fact that PVs are deeply rooted in the Welsh language, there can be no doubt that mechanisms of transfer play a crucial role in the widespread use of these constructions. The degree of direct word-to-word correspondence between Welsh and English PVs cannot be coincidental. Thus, the present study confirms Jones's (1979:113) and Rottet's (2005) assumptions that contact with English reinforces the elements already present in Welsh due to extensive calquing and other mechanisms of transfer.

The mechanisms enumerated by Rottet (2005:52-60) have all been found in the corpus. The first of them was loan rendition, visible e.g. in the pattern of calquing English *get* as *dod* or rendering prefixed verbs with a verb-particle construction as in the case of *upload* translated as *llwytho i fyny*. Pleonastic calquing occurred as well, both in spatial and aspectual constructions.

The most frequent phenomenon was word-for-word calquing, the mechanisms of which is fairly complex and by no means random. The semantic analysis has demonstrated that the naturalness of certain particle senses in Welsh greatly facilitates borrowing. On the other hand, restrictions on calquing have been noticed as well, regarding both verbs and particles. English verbs which do not have simple Welsh equivalents are transferred to a limited degree. The most obvious example is the verb *have* which does not have a Welsh equivalent as the concept of possession is expressed by prepositional constructions. Consequently, none of the English PVs with *have* occurs in Welsh. Some English particles, such as *about* and *along*, are also not calqued.

The analysis of transfer of meanings for each of the particles found in the corpus has identified a group of particle senses which can be assumed to be calqued from English due to their absence in the historical dictionary, low frequencies and/or markedness. The most important of these calqued senses are:

- ALLAN indicating maximum boundaries, completeness of an action;

- I FYNY in most of its figurative senses: reaching a goal, an end or a limit; becoming more visible, accessible or known; completeness, reaching the highest limit of something or covering an area completely;
- I MEWN (I) in its figurative senses, where situations and circumstances are viewed as containers;
- I LAWR in most of its figurative senses: decrease in intensity, quality, quantity, etc.; reaching a goal, completion, extreme limit down the scale;
- O GWMPAS in figurative senses of: nearby, suggesting vague but close whereabouts; motion in no particular direction; being engaged in a continued or repetitious activity in different directions which is furthermore directed to no one or nothing in particular;
- AM in prepositional verbs rendering English FOR;
- AR for translating the adverbial ON;
- OFF used in loanblends and wholesale borrowings.

Characteristically, three of the particles in the above list: ALLAN, I FYNY and I LAWR may convey the sense of completeness. The fact that this notion can be expressed in a variety of ways in Welsh, PVs of this type may be viewed as pleonastic. Similarly, O GWMPAS in many figurative senses may appear redundant and in some cases as almost semantically empty.

The above findings agree with the dispersed, mostly intuitive opinions of researchers, such as Fowkes's (1945: 244) view that particles such as *i mewn* and *i fyny* are "entirely foreign" to the Welsh language, the "striking" items mentioned by Jones (1979) or examples of particles "to be omitted" mentioned by P.W. Thomas (1996:561).

It has been stated by Rottet (2000: 115) that in contemporary Welsh a large proportion of calqued PVs is well-established and the items are no longer seen as tokens of English influence. The analysis of the stylistic markedness has confirmed this observation. Spatial pleonastic constructions seem to occur naturally in Welsh and, in contradiction of P. W. Thomas's claims (1996:561), they did not appear to be marked as informal in the sample.

A few observations can be made about the motivations behind the calquing phenomenon. One of them is to fill lexical gaps and name new concepts, for instance in the context of technological developments. Such is the case with the extension of meaning of the particles *ymlaen* 'on' and *iffwrdd* 'off' in PVs related to switching mechanical devices

or light. Other examples included the loan rendition *llwytho i fyny*, ‘upload’ or calques *logio/optio/clocio i mewn/allan* ‘log/opt/clock in’. Such items seem to blend very naturally into Welsh as they convey figurative meanings which are fairly transparent and well-established in the language. On the other hand, as already mentioned by Rottet (2005:61), some recent constructions are occasionally flagged with quotation marks, which indicates that they are still not well-established. Such was for example the case of *dod allan* ‘come out’ in the context of revealing homosexuality.

The phenomenon of calquing certainly goes beyond the need to fill lexical gaps and stems from the bilingual reality in contemporary Wales. Translation between Welsh and English may certainly affect the amount of calquing occurring in written texts. For instance, the present study has indicated that journalists translating interviews with speakers of English or authors who try to portray English-speaking characters in Welsh prose may tend to use more PVs alongside other borrowed constructions. The results also suggest that calquing is, or at least is thought to be, more widespread among members of the young generation, who have less control over calquing. In her study of two language communities, Jones has noticed the prevalence of PVs in younger speakers’ speech (1998: 86). Similarly, many calques and especially loanblends in the corpus were associated with teenage language.

There is also some evidence of connecting PVs with nonstandard varieties of Welsh. Such was the case of the novel *Afallon* which uses heavily Anglicised dialect to portray a deteriorating urban community. Calqued PVs were also used as tokens of ‘bad’ Welsh in magazines for the purpose of satire or drawing attention to lazy, incorrect translations.

In general, however, there are few instances of a prescriptive norm against verb-particle constructions. The less marked PVs are freely used in press and fiction. Their number depends on the level of formality – quality magazines and *papurau bro* were more conservative in that respect than the popular magazine *Golwg* or the newspaper *Y Cymro*. It should also be remembered, however, that journalists working in weeklies as a rule work under a greater pressure of time while prepare texts than authors writing for magazines. This, rather than a deliberate policy, may account for more instances of direct translation. Only one magazine, *Y Faner Newydd* appeared to follow a policy of avoiding PVs. This rather purist approach can be explained by a rather strongly nationalist character of the publication.

### 3.5. Conclusions

This corpus study presented in this chapter study attempted to fill the gap in the literature on phrasal verbs by providing a basis for a detailed linguistic description of the phenomenon. The study has a number of limitations, such as the small size of the sample, underrepresentation of some registers and dialects and manual annotation of the corpus which is naturally subject to errors and omissions. Moreover, the manual method of analysis did not allow the detection of a possible thematic bias.

This corpus study has provided abundant data for a detailed description of verb-particle constructions in Welsh, regarding their productivity and frequency of verbs and particles, the syntax of transitive construction and stylistic markedness. In general, the analysis has confirmed the findings of Rottet (2005), the only paper written specifically on the subject thus far. It has been demonstrated that PVs are extensively used in semi-formal varieties of Welsh and their presence cannot be explained solely by language contact. Idiomatic phrasal verbs, including prepositional verbs, have been present in Welsh for many centuries and new items which are not directly translatable into English still emerge.

The findings of the corpus study provide strong evidence to refute the claim that PVs belong only to informal or non-standard registers of Welsh. It has been shown that PVs are by no means a marginal phenomenon in contemporary Welsh. By metaphorical extension of particle meanings, idiomatic phrasal verbs blend naturally into the language's vocabulary, enriching it with new concepts. On the other hand, some of the novel particle senses may be perceived as redundant and consequently certain PVs might become tokens of careless direct translation from English. However, there was little evidence of a prescriptive norm against phrasal verbs in the corpus.

The results of the study call for including verb-particle constructions in future grammars of Welsh, as well as dictionaries and pedagogical materials. As noticed by Rottet (2005: 62-66), the latter tend to be fairly inconsistent in the representation of PVs or simply ignore them. Dictionaries and teaching materials will be investigated in more detail in the next chapter of the thesis.

## **Chapter 4: Phrasal verbs in Welsh dictionaries and teaching materials**

### **4.1. Introduction**

The findings presented in Chapter 3 suggest that phrasal verbs are extensively used in contemporary written Welsh and although there is little evidence of a prescriptive norm against them, some constructions are stylistically marked and may be perceived as non-standard. This chapter aims to answer the question whether such norms can be observed in metalinguistic contexts, primarily in textbooks, guidebooks and dictionaries of Welsh. The question is crucial in the light of issues concerning learners and new speakers (see 1.1.2, 1.2.7), who are likely to use such materials to make conclusions about what is correct and acceptable in the Welsh language. It is worth exploring whether and to what degree the two dimensions, namely the linguistic description and the corpus findings, correspond.

A brief investigation of selected dictionaries has been conducted by Rottet (2005: 60-67), who analysed a number of printed dictionaries, a reference book (Jones 1976) and a book for learners (Gruffudd 2000), concluding that the presentation of PVs tends to be ambiguous and often put within the wider context of transfer from English. This chapter will expand on and update Rottet's findings, by investigating available course books, teaching materials, printed and online dictionaries and other online resources. The final section draws from the corpus study described in the previous chapter by discussing the representation of the most frequent PVs in contemporary dictionaries of Welsh.

## 4.2. Teaching materials and courses

### 4.2.1. Analysis

For the purpose of the present study, an investigation of textbooks and teaching materials for learning Welsh has been undertaken. The sample consisted of the following materials available to me at the time the study was conducted:

- a) course books and guidebooks, currently in sale or available in the National Library and the Town Library in Aberystwyth;
- b) free courses and materials for students and teachers of Welsh available online;
- c) teaching materials obtained from Welsh for Adults Centre in Bangor, Canolfan Bedwyr in Bangor and the National Centre for Teaching Welsh.

The texts were analysed for the presence of phrasal verbs and the way they are described. Attention has also been paid to extracts concerning the phenomenon of calquing. Although the sample is not exhaustive, it contains a number of illustrative examples which may serve as the basis for making general observations regarding the standardness of PVs in Welsh pedagogy. The examples are described according to the type of text they represent.

In contrast to English-language teaching, the term *phrasal verb/berf ymadroddol* is rarely, if ever, used in Welsh teaching materials. PVs are usually contained in sections related to idioms and described accordingly as idioms or simply phrases. Since idioms are as a rule introduced at more advanced stages of language learning, there were few PVs encountered in textbooks for beginners and intermediate students. The books investigated were the popular 3-level WJEC (Welsh Joint Education Committee) series for adults: *Cwrs Mynediad* [Entry course] (Meek 2005), *Cwrs Sylfaen* [Basic course] (Stonelake and Davies 2006) and *Cwrs Canolradd* [Intermediate course] (Davies and Conlon 2007) (South Wales version), and two textbooks created by Heini Gruffudd: *Welcome to Welsh – A Complete Welsh Course for Beginners* (Gruffudd 2006) and intermediate *Cymraeg Da* (Gruffudd 2000) and two parts of yet unpublished books prepared by National Centre for Teaching Welsh which will be introduced into Welsh for Adults courses starting from September 2018: *Mynediad A1* [Entry A1] (Y Ganolfan Dysgu

Cymraeg Genedlaethol 2018a) and *Uwch B2* [Upper B2] (Y Ganolfan Dysgu Cymraeg Genedlaethol 2018b).

The WJEC series used in Welsh for Adults courses contain only a small number of PVs. The first part of the course introduces only two rather transparent items *bwyta ma's* 'eat out' and *mynd ma's* 'go out'. The second textbooks adds two idiomatic PVs: *galw heibio* 'call by' and *torri lawr* 'break down', while the intermediate level presents several other idiomatic PVS: *dod ymlaen* 'come on' (about lights), *dod draw* 'come over', *edrych ar ôl* 'look after', *dod ymlaen* 'get on' (with someone), *torri ar draws* 'interrupt' and *edrych ymlaen at* 'look forward to'. The last PV appears most frequently in the book as the phrase is recommended to be used in correspondence ("I am looking forward to your reply"). *Torri ar draws* 'interrupt' is presented as a model phrase to explain complex prepositions.

Gruffudd's books (2000, 2006) do not have a separate section on PVs. However, several idiomatic PPs are included in chapters on prepositions in *Cymraeg Da: tynnu at* 'to get on for', *lladd ar* 'criticise', *torri ar*, 'interrupt' (2000: 96, 98). *Ymlaen* is also mentioned as an adverbial used in phrases: "we can use to translate *on* in some phrases, especially in speech"<sup>69</sup> (2000:103). The given examples are: *bod ymlaen* 'be on', *troi ymlaen* 'turn on' (lights) and *mynd ymlaen* 'go on'.

The unpublished books prepared by the National Centre for Teaching Welsh represent PVs in a similar way. The first part of the course, intended for beginners, contains only two PVs: the quite transparent *bwyta allan* 'eat out' and '*mynd allan*' 'go out' (for entertainment), and also pleonastic *torri i lawr* 'break down'. The upper intermediate introduces more idiomatic phrases: *torri i mewn* 'break into', *enwi ar ôl* 'name after', *dod ar draws* 'come across', *torri ar draws* 'interrupt' and *siarad i lawr* 'talk down'. The latter is put in inverted commas, which may signal it is calqued from English<sup>70</sup>.

The analysed textbooks for beginner and intermediate learners did not include any comments on Anglicisms in general and presented some frequently occurring PVs as elements of the spoken language, but also, in case of *edrych ymlaen*, used in writing. This stands in rather sharp contrast to the remaining textbooks analysed, which were aimed at students at the advanced level.

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<sup>69</sup> "Rydyn ni'n gallu defnyddio 'ymlaen' i gyfieithu *on* mewn rhai ymadroddion, yn enwedig ar lafar."

<sup>70</sup> "Mae pobl weithiau'n osgoi defnyddio 'ti' rhag ofn iddyn nhw 'siarad i lawr' â rhywun." 'People sometimes avoid using [informal] 'you' not to 'talk someone down' (Y Ganolfan Dysgu Cymraeg Genedlaethol 2018b: 34).

The overview of these works will begin with a rather outdated but interesting example of a textbook *Gloywi Iaith 3* (Department of Welsh Language and Literature, University of Wales 1988), a course for students who wish to improve their knowledge of the literary language. The book contains three exercises with idioms “translated literally” from English and the student is asked to provide a “proper” way to say them in Welsh (1988: 36-38). Among them are the following PVs: *dod i fyny* ‘come up’ (of time), *gwneud allan* ‘make out’, ‘invent’, *mynd allan* ‘go out’ (of fire), *sefyll allan* ‘stand out’ (be special), *dwyn i fyny* ‘bring up’, *ffeindio allan* ‘find out’, *mynd ymlaen* ‘continue’. The third exercise puts PVs in the context of traditional prescriptive norms, referring to the authority of the 19th-century author Emrys ap Iwan and his article “*Plicio gwallt yr hanner Cymry*” (1939 [1889]) (see Introduction and 1.2.4.1). Students are asked to analyse examples of calqued idioms “condemned” by ap Iwan and match them with the equivalents he proposed (1988:38). Among the examples are the following PVs: *rhedeg i lawr* ‘run down’, *llosgi i fyny*, ‘burn up’ and *gwneud am* ‘make for something’, ‘go in a particular direction’.

Similar judgements are to be seen in more recent publications. To begin with books used in schools, many examples of PVs have been found in *Seren iaith* (Breese and Clement 2011), a revision exercise book for young people studying Welsh to GCSE or Advanced level. PVs are contained in two sections of the book: “Idioms and direct translation” (2011:78-83) and “Common mistakes” (2011:98). The first one opens with the statement “Sometimes we translate English phrases into Welsh and forget the correct way to say them in Welsh.” In the accompanying exercises students have to replace a number of PVs with one-word equivalents or other phrases. Among these are: *gwneud feddwl lan/i fyny* ‘make up one’s mind’, *dwyn i fyny* ‘bring up’, *rhedeg allan/mas* ‘run out of’, *troi golau bant/i ffwrdd* ‘turn the lights off’, *ffeindio allan/mas* ‘find out’, *rhedeg rhywun i lawr* ‘run someone down’, *sefyll allan* ‘stand out’, and *dod ar draws* ‘come across’. The latter three are to be replaced not with single words but native idiomatic PPs or idioms: *lladd ar*, *ben ac ysgwydd yn well na’r gweddill*, *taro ar*. The exercises in the book feature imaginary characters such as a teenage girl Lisa “who is strongly influenced by English” and her mother who tries to convince the girl that the Welsh she uses is wrong. Another exercise mentions a teacher who “doesn’t have a good grasp on Welsh” using phrases



such as *amser wedi dod i fyny* ‘time has come’, lit. ‘time has come up’<sup>71</sup> instead of *mae’n bryd* ‘it’s time’ or *ffeindio allan* instead of *darganfod*. The second section containing PVs is called “Common mistakes”. The introduction states: “Many English phrases contain the words ‘up’, ‘down’, ‘out’, ‘in’ ‘off’. Do not translate them literally. Use Welsh phrases e.g. *troi i fyny > dod/ymddangos*” (2011:98). The exercise contains the following PVs and their equivalents: *troi lawr*, *troi i ffwrdd*, *gwneud feddwl i fyny*, *cario ymlaen*, *pigo lan*, *edrych i fyny*, *helpu allan* and *ysgrifennu i lawr*.

Another set of PVs was found among resources for the Welsh Language Skills Certificate prepared by Welsh National College (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol 2013). The online course contains five sets of exercises in which students are asked to fill gaps in a Welsh text by replacing English PVs with “correct” Welsh words. PVs are grouped according to prepositions: *off*, *on*, *over*, *in*, *out*, *up* and *down*. In each exercise there is a clickable explanation box informing about a tendency to translate English PVs into Welsh word-for-word rather than use native vocabulary. The box on *up* and *down* additionally draws attention to pleonastic constructions, stating that it is unnecessary to use prepositions in phrases such as *eistedd i lawr*, *ysgrifennu i lawr*, *ffonio i fyny*, *torri i fyny*. Among the examples of PVs in this course are loanblends: *ffeindio allan*, *sortio allan*, *setlo mewn*, *cario ymlaen*, pleonastic constructions such as *helpu allan*, and direct translations: *rhoi mewn* ‘give in’ and *cymryd drosodd* ‘take over’. In a text-correction exercise, PVs are described as mistakes and placed along spelling and grammar errors such as wrong mutations.

Similarly, a grammar course for teachers of Welsh available on the digital learning platform *Hwb* (Roberts 2011) contains a section called “direct translation” in which students are to correct phrases containing PVs. These are also grouped according to particles: *i fyny* (with verbs *rhoi*, *mynd*, *troi*, *edrych*, *dwyn*, *goleuo*, *golchi*, *gwneud*), *allan* (*mynd*, *rhedeg*, *darllen*, *gweithio*, *helpu*, *colli*), *i lawr* (*ysgrifennu*, *troi*, *gadael*) and *i mewn* (*edrych*, *rhoi*). Other two phrases to be replaced are directly translatable *rhoi’r golau i ffwrdd* ‘put the lights out’ and *rhoi dillad ymlaen* ‘put clothes on’. The exercise also includes examples of preposition stranding and direct translation of English verbs *have* and *go*.

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<sup>71</sup> This appears to be a rather unusual example of a loan rendition and could, in fact, be influenced by the expression in English “time’s up”.

Another type of resource referring to PVs are proficiency courses for native speakers and advanced learners known as *Gloywi Iaith* [Polishing the language]. *Llawlyfr gloywi iaith*, textbook for the course issued by Bangor University, devotes one of its six chapters, “Writing English in Welsh”, to the issue of translating from English (Bangor University 2008: 44):

With so much English around us everywhere it is natural that it influences the kind of Welsh we use. It is easy to hear English words used instead of Welsh words but we do not always notice how English changes the patterns of speaking and writing in Welsh. These days we translate directly from English without noticing. (...) Below we will focus on weaknesses which are fairly easy to find and that you can try to avoid.<sup>72</sup>

The above passage presents the inconspicuous influence of English as an undesirable phenomenon, which can be deliberately avoided. The authors proceed to enlist major “weaknesses” stemming from unconscious translation. The first section “translating idioms” is fully devoted to PVs. It mentions the tendency to translate phrases with English adverbs *up, down, out, in, off, on* and *around* literally into Welsh. According to the authors, idiomatic PVs, although natural in English, are something “unwelsh”: “Unwelsh sentences like the ones below have become considerably popular by now (...) Yet, it is possible to make them Welsh in a completely natural way with a smallest amount of effort” (2008: 45)<sup>73</sup>. The examples provided of PVs and their equivalents are: *edrych fyny – chwilio, rhoi fyny – ildio, dwyn i fyny – magu, troi i lawr – gwrthod, dod allan – cael ei gyhoeddi, edrych i mewn – ymchwilio, galw i ffwrdd – gohirio, cario ymlaen – parhau*. There is also an example of an expression *mae si o gwmpas* ‘rumour is around’ that should be replaced with *mae si ar led*. The rest of the chapter refers to other contact-related phenomena in Welsh, such as preposition stranding, translating English prepositions and using conditional *os* instead of the relative particle *a*.

Another course for adults of the *Gloywi Iaith* type has been found on an online platform, *Y Bont* (Davies 2016). It contains a section on “English idioms in Welsh”, consisting of tasks where students have to replace PVs with other phrases. Among the PVs

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<sup>72</sup> “Gyda chymaint o Saesneg o’n cwmpas ym mhob man, mae’n naturiol bod hynny yn dylanwadu ar y math o Gymraeg yr ydym yn ei defnyddio. Mae’n hawdd clywed geiriau Saesneg yn cael eu defnyddio yn lle geiriau Cymraeg, ond nid yr ydym bob amser yn sylwi sut mae’r Saesneg yn newid patrymau siarad ac ysgrifennu Cymraeg. Erbyn hyn, byddwn yn cyfieithu’n syth o’r Saesneg heb sylweddoli hynny. (...) Isod, byddwn yn canolbwyntio ar y gwendidau sy’n weddol hawdd eu canfod ac y gallwch chi geisio eu hosgoi.”

<sup>73</sup> “Bellach, mae brawddegau anghymreig fel y rhain yn ddigon cyffredin (...) Eto, mae’n bosib Cymreigio’r brawddegau hyn yn gwbl naturiol gyda’r mymryn lleiaf o ymdrech.”

and their equivalents are: *gwneud ei feddwl i fyny – penderfynu; dal i fyny – rhwystro, rhedeg lawr – lladd ar, dwyn i fyny – magu, mynd i lawr – gostwng, troi off – diffodd*. The section also mentions direct translation of English idioms (*dros y lleuad – wrth ei fodd, allan o wynt – a'i wynt yn ei ddwrn*) and two other cases of calquing (*mae gen i ofn – mae arna i ofn, eistedd yr arholiad – sefyll yr arholiad*).

*Cymraeg Clir* (Williams 1999: 49), a textbook helping users to become familiar with different registers of Welsh (see 1.2.4.2) also recommends sensitivity to borrowings:

One of the biggest problems in the Welsh language is that everyone who speaks it is bilingual. A further problem is that the second language of most of us happens to be one of the strongest languages in the world, that is English. In consequence English has an effect on the way we think and the way we write. Although we do not translate sentences from English all the time, we often think in English and then make the same mistakes some people make while translating.<sup>74</sup>

This is exemplified by a sentence containing *tyfu i fyny* ‘grow up’, where, according to the author, the preposition is unnecessary. He proceeds to take special notice of PVs, suggesting that it is only the non-idiomatic ones that are correct:

You need to be careful with any phrase which contains the English *up* e.g. *look up, grow up, wash up, put up* etc. the only time we will use *i fyny* in Welsh is when we can do the same thing *i lawr* too, e.g. we can *look up* at the moon or *look down* at our feet, so it is acceptable in this sense. (...) Be careful with *down, out, in, off, on* and *around* as well when they occur in English phrases which are translated. Ask yourself if you need a Welsh word to render them.<sup>75</sup>

The use of PVs is advised against in other guides to writing as well. In *Ymarfer ysgrifennu Cymraeg* [Written Welsh practice] (Thomas 2012) the chapter on idioms discusses a number of native Welsh expressions, showing their richness and explaining their origins. This is followed by a section on “Translating” which consists of a table showing

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<sup>74</sup> Un o broblemau mwyaf yr iaith Gymraeg yw bod pawb sy'n ei siarad yn ddwyieithog. Problem bellach yw bod ail iaith y rhan fwyaf ohonom yn digwydd bod yn un o'r ieithoedd cryfaf yn y byd, sef y Saesneg. Mae'r Saesneg wedyn yn cael effaith ar y ffordd yr ydym yn meddwl a'r ffordd yr ydym yn ysgrifennu. Er nad ydym bob tro yn cyfieithu brawddeg Saesneg, rydym yn aml yn meddwl yn Saesneg ac wedyn yn gwneud yr un camgymeriadau ag y bydd rhai'n eu gwneud wrth gyfieithu.

<sup>75</sup> Rhaid bod yn ofalus gydag unrhyw ymadrodd sy'n cynnwys yr *up* Saesneg e.e. *look up, grow up, wash up, put up, a.y.y.b.* Yr unig amser y byddwn yn defnyddio *i fyny* yn Gymraeg yw pan fyddwn yn gallu ei wneud *i lawr* hefyd, e.e. *gallwn edrych i fyny ar y lleuad neu edrych i lawr ar ein traed, felly mae'n dderbyniol yn yr ystyr yma. Yma, gwell fyddai ysgrifennu...wedi iddyn nhw dyfu... Byddwch yn ofalus gyda *down, out, in, off, on* ac *around* hefyd pan fyddant mewn ymadroddion Saesneg sy'n cael eu cyfieithu. Gofynnwch i chi'ch hun a oes angen unrhyw air Cymraeg i gyfateb iddyn nhw.*

“acceptable” and “unacceptable” phrases with the introductory statement: “It is important that we do not translate English idioms or expressions translated literally into Welsh since we have our own way of saying them”<sup>76</sup> (2012: 162). Out of 15 examples in the table, there are 8 PVs: *ffeindio allan, gweithio allan, rhoi ar, troi i lawr, mynd i fyny, gwneud ei feddwl i fyny, edrych i fyny, ysgrifennu i lawr*.

One of the most recent publications mentioning PVs is *Iawn bob tro* [Right every time] (Jones 2016), another guidebook for writing in Welsh. The author’s attitude towards borrowings is balanced:

It is easy to become neurotic about idioms. The truth is that there are enough sayings and phrases which are word-for word identical in Welsh and English, and surely in other languages. The borrowing pattern settles in a language gradually so that we do not worry too much about it; on the other hand, there are patterns to be heard that are second-hand and still unnatural. It is probable that ‘rhoi i fyny smocio’ will not be eliminated anytime, although ‘rhoi’r gorau’ is still equally useful and familiar. But it is still clumsy to say ‘rhoi rhywun i fyny dros nos’ [put someone up for the night] where it means give bed or accommodation to someone.<sup>77</sup> (Jones 2016: 82)

The author does not prescribe against PVs as such but draws attention to those that, in his view, are less well-established and natural. He proceeds to give more examples which “have been with us for long and are probably to stay. They are not very painful, but undoubtedly one can offer more Welsh things” (2016: 83), among them *dwyn i fyny* (instead of *magu*), *cario ymlaen* (instead of *dal ati*), *gwnaeth ei feddwl i fyny* (instead of *penderfynu*), *dangos rhywun o gwmpas* (instead of *dangos*). However, in the author’s opinion, the most “painful” token of calquing is translating full idioms.

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<sup>76</sup> “Y mae’n bwysig nad ydym ni ddim yn defnyddio idiomau Saesneg, na dulliau Saesneg o fynegi wedi eu cyfieithu’n llythrennol i’r Gymraeg gan fod gennym ni ein ffordd ni ein hunain o ddweud.”

<sup>77</sup> Hawdd yw mynd yn niwrotig ynghylch priod-ddulliau. Y gwir yw fod digon o ddywediadau ac ymadroddion air-am-air yr un fath yn Gymraeg ac yn Saesneg, ac mewn ieithoedd eraill hefyd mae’n bur sicr. Mae patrwm benthyg yn cartrefu mewn iaith o dipyn i beth fel nad ydym yn poeni rhyw lawer yn eu gylch; ar y llaw arall mae patrymau sydd i’w clywed yn ail-law ac yn annaturiol o hyd. Tebyg na ddisodlir ‘rhoi i fyny smocio’ bellach, er bod ‘rhoi’r gorau...’ yn dal mor hwylus a chyfarwydd. Ond chwithig o hyd yw ‘rhoi rhywun i fyny dros nos’[, lle golygir rhoi gwely neu lety iddo.

#### 4.2.2. Summary of findings

The above overview demonstrates that, as far as Welsh pedagogical materials are concerned, idiomatic PVs are not presented as a distinctive class of verbs in the Welsh language or discussed in great detail. Popular courses for less advanced learners include single examples of PVs which are in common use without distinguishing between native constructions and loan translations. In contrast, when it comes to sources for advanced learners and/or native speakers, they place much focus on selected idiomatic PVs, presenting them as undesirable calques from English alongside other transfer phenomena, such as preposition stranding. Since transfer phenomena are prevalent in the speech of young people, it is unsurprising that the strictest guidelines against PVs have been found in a textbook for schools, *Seren iaith*. It can be assumed that authors of such books see a need to set clear rules of what is correct or not for the sake of young people. The analysed materials for teachers were less condemning in their approach, presumably aiming to make teachers more language-conscious and sensitive to potential calquing. Similar tendency can be seen in *Gloywi Iaith*-type courses, where authors endeavour to promote natural, idiomatic Welsh, rather than forbid specific words.

The underlying idea behind the representation of PVs in Welsh teaching materials is that transferred constructions pose a potential threat to native idiomatic items. The analysis has demonstrated that many Welsh-language courses for proficient speakers aim to retain native idiomaticity of Welsh, encouraging users to invest effort to identify calques from English in their language, a task more difficult than avoiding code-switching or using English vocabulary. The vast majority of “condemned” PVs are recommended to be replaced with either one-word equivalents (*mynd ymlaen – parhau*) or in some cases native PPs (*taro ar* preferred over *dod ar draws*, *lladd ar* over *rhedeg i lawr*), while in the case of pleonastic PVs (*tyfu i fyny*, *ysgrifennu i lawr*) students are advised to drop the “unnecessary” particle.

The PVs mentioned in the studied sources were often described in negative terms, such as “incorrect”, “unnatural” and “unwelsh” or less negatively as “weaknesses”. The main division line is drawn between the concept of a “Welsh” and “unwelsh word”, equating correctness with lack of English influence. Proficiency in the Welsh language is thus associated with the ability to keep the two languages apart, according to the traditional

monolingual norm. According to Robert (2011:140) this is the currently the most prevalent standard language ideology in relation to Welsh. The tradition of condemning particular PVs appears to be rooted in norms dating back to the late 19th century, with the same examples being passed from generation to generation of scholars.

Among the PVs prescribed against in the teaching materials the vast majority were APVs. By comparing them with the findings of the previous chapter (see 3.4), which identified marked particle senses, it can be seen that the two lists largely coincide. The essential items occurring in teaching materials include the following particles:

- *allan* indicating maximum boundaries, completeness of an action (see 3.3.2.1). The particle was considered redundant (*helpu allan – helpu*) or equivalents of PVs were proposed (*ffeindio allan – darganfod, rhedeg allan – gorffen*);
- *i fyny* in most of its figurative senses (see 3.3.2.2). The particle was considered redundant (*tyfu i fyny – tyfu*) or equivalents of PVs were proposed (*dwyn i fyny– magu, edrych i fyny – chwilio*);
- *(i) mewn (i)* in its figurative senses, e.g. *setlo mewn* (see 3.3.2.5);
- *i lawr* in most of its figurative senses (see 3.3.2.4). The particle may be considered redundant (*ysgrifennu i lawr – ysgrifennu*) or equivalents of the PV are proposed (*troi i lawr – gwrthod*);
- *o gwmpas* (see 3.3.2.9) in its figurative senses e.g. *dangos o gwmpas*;
- *off*, as in *troi off*. (see 3.3.2.7).

A few other examples could not be assigned to the above categories. Among them were *rhoi i ffwrdd* and *troi i ffwrdd*, both referring to the concept of 'switching something off, to be replaced with *diffodd*. There were very few cases of PVs containing *ymlaen*, the most productive and frequent particle forming PVs. The most notable of those was *cario ymlaen*; the fact that the PV is a loanblend with borrowed *cario* may possibly explain why it has been seen as unacceptable.

A final point to be made is that most of the investigated materials do not explicitly mention register variation or distinguish between written/spoken or formal/colloquial Welsh. Authors of teaching materials and guidebooks do not make allowances for what is acceptable in casual, informal speech. This partly stems from the fact that the majority of the investigated sources are specifically concerned with standard language and aimed

at professionals, illustrating the existence of a linguistic norm which encourages the avoidance of translation of English idioms. There is evidence that similar norm is introduced in schools, at the advanced stages of language teaching. The observed difference between spoken-orientated and written-orientated materials illustrates the extent of diglossia in Welsh.

### 4.3. Books and dictionaries of idioms

A special type of reference book relevant for this chapter are dictionaries of idioms. Rottet (2005: 62-63) has investigated two of them, by Cownie (2001) and Jones (2013 [2001]) and noticed that both authors overtly state in their introductions that they had intentionally omitted idioms directly translatable into English. Jones justifies it by the fact that their meaning is immediately clear to any Welsh speaker (2013: ix), while Cownie states that many idioms borrowed from English are either unnecessary or “on the vague border between acceptable and unacceptable” (2001: viii). The latter author refers directly to PVs:

Welsh has taken over many English idiomatic phrases, often to the enrichment of the Welsh language when the borrowed phrase extends the range of ideas that can be expressed succinctly, and sometimes to its detriment when the borrowed phrase does nothing more than supplant or distort a perfectly good Welsh word or phrase. The phrases *gwneud eich ffordd* (to make your way to) and *gwneud i ffwrdd â* (to do away with) are just two examples of many English idiomatic phrases expressed in Welsh with words that, while not importing an alien construction into Welsh, are at present on the vague border between acceptable and unacceptable Welsh”. (Cownie 2001: viii)

By stating that the constructions are “not alien”, Cownie suggests that Welsh has its own PVs. Indeed, although the dictionary generally omits PVs, a fairly large number of them was included: *bwrw allan*, *bwrw ymlaen*, *cadw draw*, *canu allan ohoni*, *codi allan*, *cymryd at*, *dal allan*, *dal at/wrth*, *dod ar draws*, *dod draw*, *dod dros*, *dod ymlaen*, *edrych ymlaen*, *gafael allan*, *galw heibio*, *gyrru ymlaen*, *lladd ar*, *mynd ymlaen*, *palu ymlaen*, *rhedeg ar*, *rhoi heibio*, *sefyll draw*, *sefyll dros*, *taro i mewn*, *torri ar draws*, *torri i ffwrdd*, *torri i lawr*, *troi heibio*, *troi lan*, *tynnu ar ôl*, and a few others. The vast majority of those items belong to N/LR category, in particular items with the very productive particles *ymlaen* and *allan*, as well as native *draw* and PPs. However, there is also a small number of DT constructions, some of which are marked as dialectal e.g. “troi lan (S)/i fyny (N)”.

A similar representation of PVs is found in Jones's *Dweud eich dweud: A guide to colloquial and idiomatic Welsh* (2013). The small number of PVs included are mostly N/LR items, among them constructions with: *bwrw* (*ymaith, ymlaen*), *dod* (*â, at rywun, ymlaen â*), *rhoi* (*am, heibio*), *mynd* (*â, ar, rhagddo, ymlaen, yn, yn ôl*), *torri* (*ar draws*) and *troi* (*ar, heibio*). Despite the focus on the colloquial spoken idiom, common PVs such as *edrych ymlaen, gweithio allan, ffeindio allan* are not included. This policy has been aptly summarised by Rottet (2005:63): "These sources on Welsh idioms were intended by their authors (according to their prefaces) to help preserve authentic Welsh idioms. This documentation is intended, it is said, to help counter a (perceived) modern tendency in which Welsh speakers today, particularly young ones, increasingly dress English idioms in Welsh words and use few authentic Welsh idioms in their speech."

Another reason might be the tradition behind compiling these dictionaries and the sources the authors used. Both refer in their introductions to previous works, notably dictionaries of idioms by Cule (1971) and Jones (1975, 1987) and a book on prepositions *Y geiriau bach* (Davies 1994). These works also tended to exclude PVs, except for those which are not translatable into English. Jones's books of idioms (1975, 1987) contain a small number of native PV, such as *torri ar* (1975), *codi allan, dal allan, darfod am, dod ymlaen* (1987). The entries are accompanied with examples from works such as the Four Branches of the Mabinogi (*codi allan*), the Bible (*darfod ar*) and *Gweledigaethau y bardd cwsg* (1703) (*dal allan*)<sup>78</sup>, thus proving the native status of the constructions. Regarding the book on prepositions by Davies (1994), it includes a small number of idiomatic PPs, among them *tynnu at, mynd rhagddo, dod trwyddi*. In one section, the author warns against translating English prepositions (1994:160), which would justify the omission of presumably calqued PPs.

One more publication worth mentioning is a recent collection of idioms and phrases *Ar flaen fy nhafod* (Lewis 2012). The PVs included in the book are: *bwrw ymlaen, cadw draw, dal ar, dod dros, dweud ar, dwyn i fyny, galw heibio, gyrru ar, lladd ar, mynd rhagddo, mynd ymlaen, rhedeg ar, rhoi i fyny, sefyll allan, sefyll i fyny, sefyll dros, sefyll i lawr, taro ar, taro i mewn, torri allan/mas, torri i mewn, troi heibio, tynnu ar ôl, tynnu ymlaen*. Similarly to the books mentioned above, these are mostly N/LR items. However,

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<sup>78</sup> The author cites *Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi* edited by Ifor William, William Morgan's Bible and *Gweledigaethau y bardd cwsg* edited by J. Morris Jones. Other bibliographical details are not provided.



some of them: *dwyn i fyny*, *rhoi i fyny*, *sefyll allan/dros/i fyny/i lawr* are directly translatable.

To sum up, those Welsh dictionaries of idioms which are currently available contain a relatively small number of PVs. The authors focus on native constructions, aiming to preserve and popularise native Welsh idioms<sup>79</sup>. Cownie (2001) is the only author who directly refers to PVs, recommending being sensitive to them and the few DT items in his dictionary are marked as belonging to the spoken register. The most recent book of idioms (Lewis 2012) appears to present a slightly more liberal approach, as it contains a couple of PVs which, as shown above, are commonly ‘condemned’ in Welsh teaching materials, e.g. *dwyn i fyny* ‘bring up’, *sefyll allan* ‘stand out’. Generally speaking, however, dictionaries of idioms are written within the normative rather than descriptive approach, trying to encourage the users to draw from the richness of Welsh vocabulary to convey notions that must not necessarily be expressed with constructions borrowed from English.

#### 4.4. *Cysill*

Some restrictions against using PVs have been introduced into the spelling and grammar checking tool *Cysill*. It is part of the *Cysgliad* software package with a compendium of electronic dictionaries, which is purchased by numerous institutions in Wales (Prys 2016: 3261). Since 2009, the tool has been available online for free (Wooldridge 2011: 20) as *Cysill ar-lein* (Bangor University 2018). It is one the most popular of the electronic resources produced by the Language Technologies Unit at Bangor University and as of September 2015 the online version had over 600 daily users (Prys et al. 2016: 3263), while over 10 000 licences of *Cysgliad* had been sold by 2008 (Prys 2009: 39).

In her thesis, Woolridge (2011) has investigated the possibilities of developing *Cysill* to correct cases of interference from English which are particularly likely to occur in translated texts. Referring to idiomatic phrases, she has found that the tool already marks selected constructions as incorrect. As can be expected, among those are PVs, such as *rhoi lan* and *dwyn i fyny*, to be replaced with *rhoi'r gorau i* and *magu*, or pleonastic

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<sup>79</sup> It is worth mentioning that, apart from the constructions listed above, all three dictionaries contain plenty of Welsh prepositional constructions of the types which were excluded from this analysis (e.g. *dal ati*, *wedi canu arno*, *dod ato ei hun*, see 3.1.1).

*codi lan/i fyny* to be replaced with *codi* (Woolridge 2011:18-19). In the course of the present research, only one other example has been found: *cario ymlaen* to be replaced with *parhau*; the checker will also not accept the borrowed particle *off*. None of the PVs mentioned as ‘incorrect’ in the previous section is being marked by *Cysill*. Possible reasons for this are potential difficulties in distinguishing between idiomatic PVs and non-idiomatic items or free combinations by the programme. What is more, *Cysill* might not be able to extract transitive PVs when the verb and particle are separated by an object. On the whole, however, the choice of only a handful of PVs is rather inconsistent in view of the fact that other evident loanblends such as *sortio allan*, *ffeindio allan* are accepted by the checker.

#### 4.5. Dictionaries – case studies

As discussed in 1.2.5., dictionaries play an important role in language standardisation on the lexical level, first and foremost by including or excluding lexical items, tagging them according to register, style and providing notes on usage.

Due to the bilingualism of Welsh speakers, Welsh-English and English-Welsh dictionaries are characterised by asymmetry regarding their function. While Welsh-English dictionaries are used for both production and comprehension, the primary function of English-Welsh ones is encoding rather than decoding, as they can be of assistance only in composition and communication. In the context of PVs, these differences have been pointed out by Rottet (2005:63) in his investigation of PVs in Welsh dictionaries:

Terms included in English-Welsh dictionaries inevitably reflect, to one degree or another, the lexicographer’s views on what constitutes “good” or “appropriate” Welsh for the dictionary user to produce, whereas inclusion of a term in a Welsh-English dictionary simply reflects the lexicographer’s views on the likelihood that the dictionary user will encounter the term in question and will need information about it.

This policy seems to be true concerning most medium-sized dictionaries of Welsh, aimed at learners. Regarding *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, the large historical dictionary of Welsh, Rottet (2005: 64-65) has suggested that the policy towards less standard lexical items has changed during decades of the dictionary’s compilation: early volumes of GPC

are more likely to omit PVs, while the last instalments reflect the idea that PVs are acceptable in spoken styles or informal registers, which is marked with the label ‘spoken’. The same phenomenon has been observed in the course of analysis in 3.3. Similarly, Rottet has also investigated the English-Welsh *Geiriadur yr Academi* and concluded that there is no consistent policy towards PVs. When translating English verb-particle constructions, the dictionary might offer only non-PV Welsh equivalents, flag PVs with register tags, put the particle in brackets as optional or give a PV without any comment or tag (2005: 63). Rottet notices that the criterion of how long a given item has been used in Welsh may play a role in its inclusion or exclusion, but no consistent rule can be found. He also pays attention to the fact that Welsh lexicographers might have not included these PVs which are easily comprehensible due to space limitations (2005:67). Regarding the last point, it should be noted that the economy criterion lost importance as the last decade has brought an abundance of online Welsh dictionaries and digitalisation of the two largest printed ones. This is one of the reasons why it was considered worthwhile to reinvestigate Rottet’s observations on the lexicographic representation of Welsh PVs.

The investigation has been carried out in the form of case studies of selected PVs. The analysis was concerned with the most frequent PVs in the corpus, i.e. occurring in more than 10 concordances, counting syntactic and dialectal variants of the same construction. There were 23 such PVs, with 30 senses distinguished. The PVs have been searched for in all major dictionaries of Welsh currently available: the historical semi-bilingual Welsh-Welsh-English *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (GPC) – online version; English-Welsh *Geiriadur yr Academi* (GA) – online version, large bilingual *Geiriadur Cymraeg Gomer* and its online counterpart *Gweiadur* (Gwe/Gom); online dictionaries *geiriadur.net* of University of Wales Trinity Saint David (TSD) and *Geiriadur Bangor* (GB); printed medium-sized *Geiriadur Mawr* and its concise version *Geiriadur Bach* (GM); small printed dictionaries for learners *Collins Spurrell* (CS), *Welsh Learner’s Dictionary* (WLD) and *Pocket Modern Welsh Dictionary* (PMWD); *Geiriadur Idiomau* by Cownie (2001) (GI). For a detailed description of the dictionaries see 1.2.6.

Table 18 gives the number of PVs found in each dictionary. As can be seen, three of the investigated printed dictionaries *Geiriadur Mawr*, *Geiriadur Bach* and *Collins Spurrell* do not include any of the selected PVs which is unsurprising as these dictionaries generally do not contain phrases. This was also observed by Rottet (2005:63). The same policy is followed by the online GB which had only 6 PVs from the list. The highest

number of PVs was found in the English-Welsh GA; it included 19 out of 23 selected PVs and 21 out of 30 distinguished senses. The monumental GPC fared slightly worse as it included approximately half of the items. Other, small or medium sized dictionaries contained around one third of the studied PVs.

Table 18. Number and percentage of the most frequent PV in the corpus included in Welsh dictionaries.

Total no. of PVs	With senses distinguished		Main sense only	
	30	%	23	%
GA	21	70%	19	83%
GPC	17	57%	15	65%
Gwe/Gom	12	40%	10	43%
TSD	11	37%	11	48%
GI	11	37%	10	43%
PMWD	10	33%	8	35%
WLD	9	30%	7	30%
GB	6	20%	6	26%
GM	0	0%	0	0%
CS	0	0%	0	0%

Table 19 presents the selected PVs and their representation in dictionaries, excluding those which did not contain any PVs (GM, CS). The five most frequent PVs were included in the majority of dictionaries, except for sense (2) of *mynd ymlaen*. However, no PV was included in all dictionaries and only two, *torri i lawr* and *torri ar draws*, were found in 7 out of 8 dictionaries. The majority of other PVs (20) were included in half or less of the dictionaries.

Table 19. The representation of selected PVs in dictionaries of Welsh.

Phrasal verb	English translation	Dictionary							
		GPC	GA	Gwe/ Gom	TSD	GB	WLD	PMWD	GI
edrych ymlaen	look forward		x	x	x		x	x	x
mynd ymlaen (1)	continue, progress		x		x	x		x	x
mynd ymlaen (2)	go on, happen								
edrych ar ôl	look after	x	x	x			x	x	x
torri ar draws	interrupt	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
dod ar draws	come across, find	x	x	x	x			x	x
mynd heibio	go by, pass (of time)		x			x			
cario ymlaen	carry on	x			x				
dod draw	come round, over		x		x		x		
edrych yn ôl	look back		x						

symud ymlaen	move on, progress		x			x			
mynd allan	go out (for enjoyment)		x		x		x	x	
mynd allan (2)	go out (date someone)			x					
eistedd i lawr	sit down	x	x						
dod ymlaen (1)	come on (progress, improve), get on (do well),	x	x	x	x				x
dod ymlaen (2)	hurry		x				x	x	
dod ymlaen (3)	get on (have a good relationship)								
dod ymlaen (4)	come on (start working)								
troi i fyny/lan	turn up	x		x	x			x	x
torri i lawr	break down of machine	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
torri i lawr	break down, lose control	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
torri i mewn	break in(to)	x	x			x	x		
bod ymlaen	be on	x	x						
bwrw ymlaen	continue, make progress		x	x	x				x
rhoi ymlaen (1)	put on (start machine, lights)	x	x						
rhoi ymlaen (2)	put on weight	x							
sortio allan	sort out	x							
tyfu i fyny	grow up	x	x	x					
ffeindio allan	find out	x							
taro ar	come across, bump into	x	x	x	x				x
<b>TOTAL/30</b>		<b>17</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>

In order to disambiguate the above data, the studied PVs will be now described separately to investigate their representation in the dictionaries in more detail, comparing it with the data from the corpus study.

#### 4.5.1. *Edrych ymlaen*

*Edrych ymlaen* ‘look forward’ was the most frequent PV in the corpus occurring in 161 concordances, usually as a PPV with *at* as the second preposition (125 tokens). It occurred 14 times as an APV without the second preposition and 22 times as a PPV with other prepositions: *i* (14), *am* (7) and *ar* (1). With regard to mode, 120 tokens occurred in narrative and 41 in conversation.

The verb appeared in various registers, from dialectal informal variants such as *edrych 'mlaen*, *edrach ymlaen*, *dishgwl mla'n* to literary conjugated forms such as *edrychaf ymlaen*. The high frequency of this verb in the corpus should be attributed to the fact that it was used as a stock phrase in *papurau bro* while reporting about local events.

The variant *edrych ymlaen i* appeared only in press, with 13 out of 14 examples coming from local bulletins and 1 example of a tweet quoted in a magazine. This points to the informal, non-standard character of the variant, which may be a case of calquing English *to* as *i* rather than standard *at*. The other non-standard variant with the particle *am* is a more ambiguous case as it was used in a variety of texts: local papers, fiction – both narrative and dialogues – and a newspaper interview translated from English.

The treatment of this most frequent PV by Welsh dictionaries shows considerable differences. Quite surprisingly, there is no entry for *edrych ymlaen* in GPC, which may be explained by the fact that the entry for *edrych* is rather old, dated to 1965. However, the phrase *edrych ymlaen (at)* is used as a definition of synonymous verbs: *gwrthrychu* ‘look forward, hope’ (1975 entry), *rhagdremio* ‘look forward’ (1998), *rhagsyllu* ‘look forward’ (1998) and *ysbïo* ‘look (forward)’ (2002).

However, *edrych ymlaen* is included in most of the other dictionaries: GA, Gom/GW, TSD, WLD and PMWD. The latter two contain example sentences with the verb in formal registers, for instance “*Edrychaf ymlaen at glywed gennyh*” ‘I look forward to hearing from you’ used in correspondence (PMWD). GA gives *edrych ymlaen* as a translation of *look forward* but proposes it as second after the phrase *disgwyl yn eiddgar* ‘ardently expect’.

#### 4.5.2. PVs with *ymlaen* conveying progress

The second most frequent PV in the corpus was *mynd ymlaen*, with 94 concordances. Out of 4 senses of the PV distinguished: 1) ‘continue, proceed’ (69 tokens), 2) ‘happen’ (23), 3) ‘play’ (of music) (1), 4) ‘pass, advance’ (1), only sense 1) and 2) were included in the analysis. The PV occurred 7 times as a PPV with the preposition *â* and, similarly to *edrych ymlaen*, verb and particle forms and grammatical forms used varied depending on the register, e.g. formal *aethpwyd ymlaen*, dialectal *mynd mlân*, *mynd mla’n*.

*Mynd ymlaen* in sense 1) was found in TSD (‘proceed’, phrase “*sy’n mynd ymlaen*” – ‘ongoing’), GB (‘proceed’) and PMWD (‘carry on’, ‘progress’). It is noticeable that the dictionaries do not translate the item directly into English as ‘go on’. In GA *mynd ymlaen* is given as the translation of *carry on, go ahead/along/before/forward/on, proceed* and *progress*. The construction was not included in GPC or Gom/GW. However,

in Gom/GWE the PV is used in the definition of the verb *parhau* ‘continue’ and GPC contains an idiom *mynd ymlaen yn wndwn* ‘to get on extremely well’ (first recorded use 1761) in the entry for *gwyndwn*.

As regards sense 2) of *mynd ymlaen* ‘go on, happen’ (23 tokens), it occurred primarily in conversation in fiction, mostly in the context of a question “what’s going on?” In several cases, the characters speaking were teenagers or members of the working class. None of the dictionaries studied included this sense of *mynd ymlaen*. This points to the nonstandardness of this PV in relation to standard *digwydd* ‘happen’. Indeed, GA proposes *digwydd* as the translation of the sentence “what's going on here?” – “be sy'n digwydd yma?”.

Sense 1) of *mynd ymlaen* competes with other PVs, *cario ymlaen* and *bwrw ymlaen*. *Cario ymlaen* occurred 17 times in the corpus with 8 C and 9 N tokens. However, it should be noted that two of the N tokens referred to a title of a popular novel *Cario 'Mlaen*, and 3 were part of the colloquial narrative of *Afallon*. This suggests that *cario ymlaen* is generally associated with the informal spoken. The PV has been found in GPC (‘carry on’) and TSD (‘carry on, carry forwards’), however it is not quite clear whether the entry in GPC with the date 1793 refers to the idiomatic or transparent sense of the PV. Other dictionaries propose alternative translations for *carry on*, including other PVs: GA – *parhau, dal ati, canlyn arni, mynd ymlaen*, GWE/Gom – *bwrw ymlaen, gyrru ymlaen*, PMWD – *mynd ymlaen, parhau*. GA includes *cario ymlaen* only in its more transparent meanings, as one of the options for translating *carry along, carry forward, carry across*.

*Bwrw ymlaen*, probably a native Welsh PV, occurred in 12 concordances, 8 times as a PPV with the second particle *â*. Ten out of 12 tokens were used in narrative and the PV occurred in various registers. It is not included in the GPC entry for *bwrw* dated 1953. It is included in GA under the phrase “continue to work” in the entry for *continue*, alongside other equivalents (*parhau, dal i, mynd/dal ymlaen â*). It is also to be found in Gwe/Gom (‘carry on’) and TSD (‘knock on, forge ahead, go ahead, proceed with’). GI marks *bwrw ymlaen* as dialectal Southern and translates it as “to be getting on a bit in age; to make progress”.

Another PV with the particle, *symud ymlaen*, was found in 14 concordances (6N and 7C items). Although the PV is directly translatable into English *move on*, this translation was not included in the dictionaries: in GA and GB it was found in the entry

for ‘progress’ (in GA together with *mynd ymlaen*). In GB the entry *symud ymlaen* is linked to a dictionary of terminology (*Termiadur Addysg*), treated as a specialist term.

Out of the three PVs with *ymlaen* suggesting progress, *mynd ymlaen* in sense 1) and *bwrw ymlaen* were the ones most accepted by the dictionaries. Although *cario ymlaen* was more frequent in the corpus than *bwrw ymlaen*, the latter was found in a larger number of dictionaries. This can be explained by the native status of *bwrw ymlaen* in comparison to *cario ymlaen*, which, as a loanblend, appears to be discouraged, despite the fact that it is not a recent construction. Curiously, none of the 3 PVs is present in GPC as a separate entry, although *mynd ymlaen* was found as part of an idiom. *Mynd ymlaen* in sense 2) appears to be marked and was not included in dictionaries presumably as a calque.

#### 4.5.3. Other construction with *ymlaen*: *dod ymlaen*, *bod ymlaen*, *rhoi ymlaen*

*Ymlaen* was the most productive particle in the corpus, and several other PVs containing this particle ranked high on the frequency list. To begin with *dod ymlaen*, it appeared in 13 concordances (7 N, 8 C) primarily in fiction and informal contexts, with colloquial variants such as *dod 'mlaen*, *dwad/dwâd ymlaen*, *dod mlân*. The PV is highly polysemous; the following main senses were distinguished within the sample: 1) ‘get on (do well)’, ‘come on (progress, improve)’ 2) ‘come on (hurry)’, 3) ‘get on (have a good relationship)’, 4) ‘come on (start working)’. Sense 1) of the PV is recorded in GPC (‘make progress, get on’ 1735), GA (‘get along’, ‘progress’), Gwe/Gom (‘to get on, develop, succeed’), TSD (‘make progress’) and GI ‘get on, to do well, to succeed’. The examples in GA include both informal and formal registers: “*dw i ’n dod ymlaen*” (‘I’m getting along’), “*mae'r claf yn dod yn ei flaen yn dda*” (‘the patient is progressing favourably’). Sense 2) of the verb – the phrase “come on” used to tell someone to hurry has been found in Gwe/Gom, GA, WLD, and also PMWD in the entry for *ymlaen*. The less frequent senses 3) and 4) are not recognised by dictionaries.

*Ymlaen* was also used with the verb *bod* to indicate the state of something being “on”, “happening”, “working”. This construction has been found only in GPC entry for *ymlaen* ‘be on, of clothes, switch, light, event’ (marked as spoken, entry dated 2002) and,



less directly, in GA, which gives *bod ymlaen* as an option to translate *come on*: “the film comes on at eight o clock” – “*mae'r ffilm [ymlaen] am wyth o'r gloch*”.

*Rhoi ymlaen* ‘put on’ was found in 11 concordances, primarily in conversation (10 tokens). The main sense of the PV was to ‘switch on a device’ (10 tokens); once it was used in the sense of ‘put on weight’. Both senses are included in GPC (entry dated 1998), marked as spoken: ‘put light, television, kettle on’, ‘put on weight’. GA contains only sense 1) (translating the phrase ‘put the light on’). Interestingly, the entry contains a note prescribing against using preposition *ar* or *arno* to convey *on*. It also proposes *cynnau'r golau* as the second equivalent. This is an interesting case of the dictionary recommending a directly translatable PV (*rhoi ymlaen*) over another one which is an evident calque (*rhoi ar*). Other dictionaries do not contain *rhoi ymlaen*; however, WLD has a similar PV *troi ymlaen* ‘turn on’, which is also in GA together with other equivalents. TSD and Gwe/Gom suggest *cynnau* to translate English *turn on*.

As for sense 2), it is absent from the vast majority of dictionaries; Gwe/Gom and GI suggest a number of other equivalents for *put on weight* (*enill/magu pwysau, magu bloneg/bol, rhoi pwysau, dodi pwysau ymlaen*).

#### 4.5.4. *Edrych ar ôl*

The third most frequent PV, *edrych ar ôl* presents an interesting case. There were 35 concordances of the PV, about two third of which (22) appeared in conversation, with dialectal variants of *edrych* such as: *edrach, 'drych, disgwyl, shgwyl*. In narrative, it appeared in novels, *papurau bro* and the satirical magazine LOL, but not in quality press. This evidence from the corpus would put *edrych ar ôl* in the middle of the formality continuum.

The GPC entry dated 1965 contains *edrych ar ôl*: “to look after, mind, keep an eye on”, giving 1853 as the date of the first recorded use. WSD and Gom/Gwe give *edrych ar ôl* to translate *look after*, the latter along with *gofalu am* and *gwarchod*. However, two other dictionaries advise against using the PV. The entry in GA proposes a set of other expressions: *gofalu, ymorol am rywun, gwarchod rhywbeth, cymryd gofal o rywbeth* and dialectal Southern *carco*, and ends with a note: “the Anglicism *edrych ar ôl* rhth is in common use but not recommended”. Similarly, PMWD has no entry for *edrych ar ôl* in

the Welsh-English part and suggests *gofalu am* as the equivalent of *look after* with a note: “edrych ar ôl is used but some consider it wrong”. Also TSD and GB translate *look after* only as *gwarchod* and/or *gofalu am*.

It appears that despite high frequency of *edrych ar ôl* there exists a prescriptive norm against it visible in some dictionaries. There is no such prescription, however, in the most recent GI and Gom/Gwe.

#### 4.5.5. Native PPs: *torri ar draws*, *dod ar draws* and *taro ar*

Two PVs with the particle *ar draws*: *torri ar draws* and *ddod ar draws* ranked fifth and sixth in terms of frequency in the corpus. *Torri ar draws*, ‘interrupt’, lit. ‘cut across’ had 35 concordances in the corpus. Being a stock phrase used in novel dialogues (“he interrupted”, etc.), it appeared almost exclusively in narrative (34 concordances). This native PP occurred in all the studied dictionaries except for GB. GPC dates its first recorded use to 1788, but also marks it as “spoken”. GA gives *torri ar draws* as the first translation of *interrupt*, next to *ymyrryd*, *siarad ar draws*; TSD contains an example phrase in a considerably formal register. This evidence suggest that the dictionaries consider the phrase well-established and accepted.

*Dod ar draws* ‘come across’ occurred 30 times in the corpus, primarily in narrative (24 tokens). In one case it conveyed the sense of ‘cross’ rather than ‘find’. The item is included in GPC, with its semi-idiomatic sense going back to the 14th century (see 3.3.2.12). GWE/Gom contains the PV in its English-Welsh part together with other equivalents of ‘come across’: *dod ar warthaf*, *darganfod*, *cael hyd i*, *taro ar*. The PV is also included in TSD, GI and the English-Welsh part of PMWD. This demonstrates that although *dod ar draws* is directly translatable into English it is not regarded as an Anglicism, which proves the aforementioned native status of PVs with *ar draws* (see 3.3.2.12).

The PP *taro ar* conveying a similar sense of ‘finding’, coming across’ had 11 concordances in the corpus, mostly in conversation in the sense of ‘bump into someone’. In narrative, the PV usually referred to inanimate objects. The PV occurred in both formal and informal registers. It is included in GPC (first recorded use 1603, date of entry 2001), translated as ‘come across, chance upon, meet with, hit upon, find’ and marked as ‘spoken’. It has also been found in GA (‘come across’, ‘chance upon’, ‘bump into’, ‘meet’),

TSD (‘come across’, ‘chance upon’), Gwe/Gom (‘come across’, ‘hit upon’) and GI (‘bump into’, ‘meet by chance’).

#### 4.5.6. *Mynd heibio*

As can be seen, the three PPs – *torri ar draws*, *dod ar draws* and *taro ar* – were included in the majority of Welsh dictionaries, presumably due to their native status. Another item that can be considered native despite being directly translatable is *mynd heibio* ‘go by’, ‘pass’. There were 29 tokens of *mynd heibio*, with 26 used in narration. The PV was always used in the context of time and occurred in both higher and lower registers. Despite relatively high frequency, the PV has been found in only two dictionaries: GB (‘elapse’, ‘pass’) and GA (‘go (of time)’). PMWD and TSD included the PV only in its transparent sense of ‘go past’(someone).

#### 4.5.7. Semi-idiomatic PVs: *dod draw*, *edrych yn ôl*, *mynd allan gyda*, *torri i mewn*

Four other PVs on the list: *dod draw*, *edrych yn ôl*, *mynd allan gyda* and *torri i mewn* are also rather transparent, semi-idiomatic constructions. This probably accounts for the fact that all four were generally absent from dictionaries. *Dod draw* is mentioned only in TSD (‘come across’) and GA (‘come round’). In the latter it is placed alongside *dod heibio* to translate an informal sentence “come round and see me” (“*tyrd (dewch) draw/heibio i'm gweld*”). *Edrych yn ôl*, occurring 16 times in the corpus (9 N and 5 C tokens), was found only in GA under ‘look back’. The next PV, *mynd allan*, appeared in 16 concordances in the corpus with two senses: ‘go out’ (for enjoyment) and *mynd allan (â)* ‘go out (with), ‘date, have a relationship’. The first sense was not explicitly recorded in any dictionary, although GA, WLD and TSD translate *mynd allan* as *go out* without specifying the meaning. The second sense was found only in Gwe/Gom, together with *canlyn*, *bod yn gariad i*. Both TSD and GA contain the phrase ‘go out with someone’, but suggest *canlyn* as the Welsh equivalent. Finally, *torri i mewn* ‘break into’ was found in 12 concordances (5 C and 7 N), with 11 referring to robbery and 1 in the sense of appearing (“*heddwch yn torri i mewn i'r presennol*” – ‘peace breaking into the present’). The main

sense of the PV was included only in the two large dictionaries: GPC ('break or burst in(to)', first recorded use 1567, entry dated 2000) and GA 'break into a house'. The item has not been found in GWE, TSD, PMWD or GI, but it is included in GB as a verbal noun 'housebreaking' and in WLD as the equivalent of *break in*, without specifying the meaning.

#### 4.5.8. Pleonastic PVs: *eistedd i lawr*, *tyfu i fyny* and *torri i lawr*

There were 15 tokens of *eistedd i lawr* 'sit down', in the corpus, occurring in both conversation and narrative modes (7 and 8 tokens, respectively) and in various degrees of formality. In the dictionaries, however, there is evidence of prescriptive norm against the PV. GPC gives 1567 as the first recorded use of the item, but also tags it as "common spoken". In GA, in turn, *eistedd i lawr* is marked as informal and an example sentence in higher register "please sit [yourself] down" is translated as "*eisteddwch os gwelwch yn dda; a wnewch chi eistedd?; dewch i eistedd*", omitting the particle. Similarly, WLD and the English-Welsh side of PMWD proposes *eistedd* as the equivalent of *sit down*. These dictionaries suggest that the use of *i lawr* is informal and pleonastic.

*Tyfu i fyny* 'grow up' presents a similar case. There were 11 concordances of the verb in the corpus. The dialectal variant of the particle, *lan*, occurred 7 times. The PV was used mostly in conversation (8 tokens), in informal contexts. The PV is included in the largest dictionaries, GPC, GA and Gwe/Gom. The historical dictionary gives 1691 as the date of the first recorded use (entry dated 2002) and also provides spoken informal examples. In GA the PV is also marked as informal and *dod i oed* 'come to age' is chosen as the main translation of *grow*. Gwe/Gom gives both dialectal variants of the PV (*i fyny/lan*). The PV is absent from TSD, GB and GI in both Welsh-English and English-Welsh parts, while PMWD and WLD propose *tyfu*, without the particle, as the equivalent of *grow up*.

Another supposedly pleonastic PV in the corpus was *torri i lawr*, which occurred in 11 concordances in two senses: 'break down (of a machine)' and 'have a nervous breakdown'. It occurred only in fiction, in informal contexts. The informality is also acknowledged by GPC, in which these senses of *torri i lawr* are marked as spoken without the date of the first attestation; other more transparent senses date back to the 17th and

18th centuries. The PV is also included in GA, Gwe/Gom, GB and in the English-Welsh parts of WLD and PMWD. WLD, however marks the particle as optional. Only TSD avoids the PV, suggesting other equivalents of *break down*: *datgymalu*, *diffygio*, *methu'n llwyr*, *mynd i'r gwellt*. The PV also appeared twice as a transitive construction conveying the sense of 'destroying something completely'. This sense was not recorded in any dictionary.

#### 4.5.9. Calques and loanblends: *troi i fyny*, *sortio allan*, *ffeindio allan*

Finally, the list of most frequent PVs contains 3 constructions which are evident calques from English: *troi i fyny* 'turn up', *sortio allan* 'sort out', *ffeindio allan* 'find out'. *Troi i fyny* 'turn up', 'appear' occurred in 14 concordances, 8 C and 6 N, mostly in informal context, similarly to its English counterpart. The PV, together with its dialectal variant *troi lan*, is to be found in GPC, marked as spoken (first recorded use 1858, entry dated 2001). In the entry *turn up* in GA the PV is evidently avoided and a number of other equivalents is proposed (*dangos eich wyneb*, *ydddangos*, *cyrraedd*). Two dictionaries include only a dialectal variant, *troi lan*: TSD – 'to appear on the scene' and Gwe/Gom – 'turn up'. However, both indicate the informality of the construction – Gwe/Gom tags it as "mainly informal", while TSD suggests the verb *cyrraedd* to translate the more formal sentence "he turned up ten minutes late" – "*cyrrhaeddodd ddeng munud yn hwyr*". GI and PMWD include both variants of the verb.

There were 11 concordances *sortio allan* 'sort out' in the corpus, with variants *sortio mas*, *sorto mas*. The PV appeared almost exclusively in conversation and in several instances was stylistically marked, used by teenagers and members of the working class in novels as well as in parody in the satirical LOL. The PV is included in GPC, marked as spoken (entry dated 1999), but it is absent from all other dictionaries. GA and PMWD give *datrys* 'solve' as the equivalent of *sort out*.

*Ffeindio allan*, 'find out' present a very similar case. All the 11 tokens of this PV were used in conversation, mostly in fiction in the speech of teenagers or characters 'really' speaking English. Dialectal variants in the sample were *ffeindio mas*, *ffindo mas*, *ffindio mas*. As with *sortio allan*, *ffeindio allan* is recorded only in GPC (entry dated 1967), which distinguishes two senses of the verb: 1) 'find out', 2) 'discover', both first

recorded in the 18th century. Other dictionaries propose other equivalents of English *find out*: *darganfod* (GA, WLD, PMWD) and *datgel*, *datrys* (GA).

#### 4.5.10. Summary of the findings

The above findings allow to make some general conclusions regarding the representation of PVs in dictionaries of Welsh. The majority of Welsh dictionaries contain a relatively small number of frequently used PV, due to a small number of phrases in general. Older printed dictionaries, such as *Geiriadur Mawr* and *Collins Spurrell* do not include any phrasal verbs at all. The more transparent verb-particle constructions are likely to be excluded apart from the largest dictionary, GA and GPC. This can be explained by the fact that such items are easily comprehensible for dictionary users.

The historical dictionary GPC recorded about two third of the selected PVs. The criteria for the inclusion of PVs in this dictionary have been found to be unclear. The date of compiling the entry may play a role, such as in the case of excluding native *bwrw ymlaen*, but there were cases which suggest otherwise, for instance quite inexplicable exclusion of *edrych ymlaen* and *mynd ymlaen*, the two most frequent PVs in the corpus.

The dictionary that included an exceptionally high number of PVs was GA. This stems from the dictionary's policy of representing a wide spectrum of registers and styles. On the other hand, the same dictionary occasionally marks PVs as incorrect. Such instances were rare, however. The policy followed more often by GA and other English-Welsh dictionaries (WLD, PMWD, TSD) is that of exclusion or proposing other equivalents. This happened mainly in the case of loanblends and pleonastic constructions. In some instances, such PVs were included in the wordlist but marked as informal. This agrees with the findings of the previous chapter regarding stylistic markedness of certain items. Another group of constructions which may be excluded from dictionaries are semantic loans, i.e. new senses of well-established PVs which appear to be modelled on English, such as *mynd ymlaen* 'happen', *mynd allan gyda* 'go out with'. The above case studies suggest that the main criterion of exclusion of a PV from dictionaries is the existence of an alternative Welsh phrase to express the same concept. The case of *edrych ar ôl* shows that even a well-established and immensely popular phrase can be prescribed

against in order to retain native Welsh expressions, such as *gofalu am*, *gwarchod*. Similarly, extended senses of the very productive particle *ymlaen*, such as *rhoi ymlaen*, are discouraged due to the fact that they can be expressed in another way.

The study has also revealed a group of well-established items. A number of native PVs, such as *mynd ymlaen*, *torri ar draws* are generally accepted by the dictionaries, which coincides with the findings of the corpus study. With regard to registers, although many PVs are rather informal in character, some constructions, in particular those with the most productive particle *ymlaen* (*symud* and *edrych ymlaen*) were shown to belong to formal contexts (official correspondence, specialist vocabulary), similarly to English.

#### **4.6. Conclusions**

The investigation presented in this chapter has demonstrated a twofold approach to idiomatic phrasal verbs reflected in Welsh pedagogy and lexicography. On the one hand, it is clear that idiomatic phrasal verbs as a class are not entirely outside the linguistic norm and standard vocabulary of Welsh. The study has indicated that certain frequent constructions, such as *edrych ymlaen at*, *symud ymlaen* are shown to occur in formal and official as well as informal registers of Welsh. Moreover, a number of native PVs – in particular PPs, but also APVs – were accepted in the investigated sources, although occasionally marked as informal. The analysis has thus confirmed the observations made in Chapter 3 in that the investigated materials contained a meaningful number of accepted, well-established PVs, including both native and borrowed constructions. The latter are most often accepted in the cases when they enrich Welsh vocabulary with new concepts, especially when the meaning of the particle is natural to the Welsh language. Moreover, teaching materials for beginners which concentrated on spoken Welsh contained a small number of popular PVs and in general did not include any prescriptive comments regarding transfer from English. It can be assumed that authors of these sources strive to avoid manifesting ideologies which could discourage non-native speakers from learning the Welsh language.

On the other hand, sections on translation from English with particular focus on PVs were found in a considerable number of sources which focus on standard written language, created for proficient users, such as tutors and native speakers or advanced

learners who want to improve their Welsh. Many of the analysed pedagogical materials manifested an approach which could be described as protectionist. Calqued PVs are described as lexical errors or tokens of ‘bad’ Welsh, associated with the language of teenagers and learners. Consequently, authors of the studied sources strive to make Welsh speakers more aware of the influence English might have on their speech and present expressions alternative to the borrowed ones. These recommendations generally do not take a form of negative, forbidding prescriptions, but rather positive encouragement to draw from the richness of Welsh vocabulary.

This tendency of presenting PVs as the most prevalent case of transfer phenomena and warning against them is visible also in Welsh lexicography, in both general dictionaries and dictionaries of idioms. It has been found that major Welsh dictionaries attempt to preserve native Welsh idioms by suggesting alternative ways of expressing English PVs in Welsh. This policy can be described as normative rather than prescriptive as there were few instances of dictionaries explicitly forbidding the use of PVs. They occurred in dictionaries for learners and *Geiriadur yr Academi*, which have a clearly educational purpose. Similar was the case of dictionaries of idioms, which deliberately exclude many common PVs if the authors consider them to be calqued from English. It is slightly more surprising that omissions of very frequent PVs were also found in the historical GPC, which could be expected to record all Welsh phrases in use. It has also been noted that works compiled recently by the lexicographer G. Lewis (*Gwe, Gom, Ar flaen fy nhafod*) appear to be more liberal towards borrowed constructions than other investigated dictionaries. Similarly, the attitude to PVs in guidebooks for writers varied depending on individual attitudes of authors, from deeming some constructions “unacceptable” (Thomas 2012) to advising against being oversensitive to borrowings (Jones 2016).

These differences show that many directly translatable items are, to quote Cownie (2001: viii) “on the vague border of acceptable and unacceptable”, which in some cases gives rise to discrepancies between norm and usage. Generally, however, such cases were relatively rare as many items discouraged in the analysed materials, such as loanblends, were also stylistically marked in the corpus. The greatest difference between the findings of the corpus study and the analysis of lexicographic and pedagogical materials occurred with constructions such as *tyfu i fyny* ‘grow up’, *torri i lawr* ‘break down’ and *eistedd i lawr* ‘sit down’. While in the corpus these PVs were among the most frequently used



and not stylistically marked phrases, they were often deemed incorrect in teaching materials and dictionaries as pleonasm. It can be assumed that while such constructions may appear illogical to lexicographers and teachers with high metalinguistic awareness, ordinary users do not perceive them as anything striking. All in all, in spite of some attempts to discourage the use of certain PVs in Welsh, the findings of this chapter confirm Rottet's conclusion that the phenomenon of PVs is "clearly too well entrenched at present for anyone to realistically think of eradicating it altogether from the language" and therefore "the policy (...) of accepting PVs as part of Welsh speech but urging that people strive for better Welsh idiom in writing is a level-headed approach" (Rottet 2005:66).

The analysis presented in this chapter has demonstrated that despite some differences in attitudes of different authors, there exists a rather consistent linguistic norm regarding the status of PVs in standard written Welsh to which speakers are exposed throughout educational process (school and higher education) and also in their professional lives (proficiency courses, dictionaries and other language tools, guidebooks of style). The question that arises is whether professional users of semi-formal varieties of Welsh find it manageable to adhere to these standards in the present bilingual reality and the growing influence of English. This issue will be investigated in the empirical study presented in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 5: The acceptability of phrasal verbs among professional speakers of Welsh – a field study**

### **5.1. Introduction**

One of the primary aims of this dissertation is to investigate the integration of idiomatic phrasal verbs within the linguistic norm in Welsh, considering various registers of the language with focus on the semi-formal varieties, which, as shown in Chapter 1, appear to be the most salient source of the current linguistic norm. Chapter 2 has presented the current state of research on PVs in Welsh, demonstrating that these constructions have been largely absent from any linguistic description of the language or treated as a marginal phenomenon, with some scholars describing PVs as redundant borrowings from English or nonstandard elements of colloquial varieties. These claims were verified in the course of a corpus study in Chapter 3, which showed that numerous idiomatic PVs are common also in semi-formal varieties of Welsh and stylistically unmarked. Furthermore, the analysis of transfer mechanisms based on the cognitive model showed that Welsh possesses a number of native verb-particle constructions. Moreover, there are grounds to believe that a substantial number of PVs have emerged as a result of natural processes of metaphorical extension of particle meanings. Nevertheless, contact with English, in particular direct calquing, has been found to significantly reinforce the usage and productivity of verb-particle construction. As demonstrated by the semantic analysis, these mechanisms are clearly not random – while some particle senses are highly productive, others appear to be marked as calques from English. It is the latter constructions that are associated with non-standard varieties of Welsh, as proven by their stylistic markedness in the corpus.

Chapter 4 has examined the representation of PVs in teaching materials and dictionaries. The study has revealed that numerous teaching materials aimed at advanced users of Welsh strive to sensitise Welsh native speakers and learners to the phenomenon

of calquing, presenting many PVs as incorrect, careless translations from English. This prescriptive norm was less visible in Welsh dictionaries, which in most cases simply avoided PVs by excluding them from wordlists and – in case of English-Welsh dictionaries – by proposing alternative equivalents. In fact, the existence of another Welsh phrase which could express the same concept appeared to be the main criterion for exclusion of a PV, reflecting lexicographers' endeavours to retain native expressions. Verb-particle constructions were usually accepted when they enriched Welsh vocabulary with new concepts, whilst loanblends and pleonastic constructions were most frequently avoided or prescribed against. In the case of pleonastic constructions in particular, the lexicographic norm disagreed with the observed usage. It has been suggested that this is due to high language awareness of specialists who perceive such constructions as 'illogical'.

Despite the incongruities, Chapters 3 and 4 have demonstrated a relative consistency of the linguistic norm regarding the status of PVs in standard written Welsh, to which speakers are exposed in the process of education and possibly later on in their professional lives. However, the question whether proficient speakers of today are aware of such norms remains open. The study presented in this chapter endeavoured to investigate the homogeneity of the linguistic norm in Welsh among its recipients and encoders to see how deeply monolingual-oriented ideologies permeate. Measuring speakers' awareness concerning borrowings is a way of investigating the effects of contact processes such as calquing (Nelde and Weber 2000: 188). Bearing in mind that direct translations of PVs occur at a deeper level of transfer than obvious lexical borrowings, it was considered worthwhile investigating whether proficient users of Welsh do indeed perceive PVs as non-standard tokens of interference from English, as would be suggested by the resources analysed in Chapter 4.

This chapter, therefore, aims to investigate the matter drawing from the results of a field study conducted in Wales in the years 2015-2016, which comprised 55 interviews with professional speakers of Welsh, accompanied by questionnaires on the acceptability of verb-particle constructions.

## **5.2. Study background**

### **5.2.1. Lexical acceptability**

The study presented in this chapter is mainly concerned with the integration of verb-particle constructions in Welsh by investigating the declared acceptability of selected phrasal verbs among language-aware speakers. *Acceptability*, is understood here as “the extent to which linguistic data would be judged by native-speakers to be possible in their language” (Crystal 2008:4). Due to the fact that informants’ judgements can be influenced by a number of factors, such as linguistic intuitions, differences between dialects and the degree of prescriptivism they have been exposed to, one can expect lack of agreement among speakers regarding the acceptability of given items (Crystal 2008:4). In the study presented in this chapter the participants were asked to assess the acceptability of selected PVs in a two-part questionnaire in 1) semi-formal writing when compared to their equivalents and 2) across different registers of the language.

Language awareness is defined here as “informed, sensitive and critical response to the use of language by oneself and others, including the awareness of relevant terminology (metalinguistic awareness)” (Crystal 2008: 266). The term, used primarily in educational linguistics, in the present context will denote linguistic sensitivity of speakers who may or may not accept Welsh verb-particle constructions in a given context. Linguistic awareness of the speakers regarding the use of borrowings in Welsh has been investigated in semi-structured interviews in order to draw a profile of the investigated group and identify speakers’ beliefs which might influence their lexical choices.

### **5.2.2. Previous research**

Studies of acceptability have been conducted in fields such as theoretical linguistics, L1 and L2 acquisition, communicative disorders and L1 attrition (Altenberg and Vago 2004: 105) and have been mostly concerned with grammaticality judgements and syntax. Such studies generally do not investigate speaker’s conformity to prescriptive norms, but their linguistic competence; grammaticality is commonly measured with scales of acceptability

, as (Bard et al. 1996). Research on lexical acceptability is much scarcer, although the last decade saw a number of corpus-based studies on the integration of lexical borrowings from English in various European languages, which extended the scope of investigation from single items to phraseology (Furiassi et al. 2012). As well as emphasising the quantitative, corpus-based analysis, recent studies on lexical borrowing gathered in Zenner and Kristiansen (2014) have adopted an onomasiological, concept-based approach. In contrast to traditional semasiology, which takes the borrowed word as point of departure, the onomasiological approach focuses on alternative lexicalisations of a particular concept; in other words not only the loanword but also possible recipient language equivalents are taken into consideration, which allows for more in-depth, variationist analysis (Zenner and Kristiansen 2014: 5-6). Qualitative empirical studies on the acceptability of lexical borrowings are extremely rare (Zenner and Kristiansen 2014: 10) and, as in the present research, have been used to supplement corpus-based studies (e.g. survey on borrowings by Soares da Silva (2014) comparing Standard and Brazilian Portuguese).

The acceptability of borrowings in relation to linguistic norms and ideologies has been little investigated in Welsh linguistics. As described in 1.3.3, research on lexical borrowings in Welsh has been generally very scarce, with few empirical studies touching on the subject. A major study related to the issue of ideological stances behind the use of borrowings is Robert's (2013) thesis on the implementation of lexical planning initiatives for Welsh, i.e. attempts to codify and standardise Welsh vocabulary. As part of her research, the author investigated naturally-occurring talk in a media institution (the S4C television channel) and a workplace (a Housing Association), observing the linguistic ideologies manifested by speakers. The results in both places were mixed: purism was a prevalent ideology in the television channel, only inasmuch as it did not "clash with other institutional priorities, such as the need to inform and entertain" (Robert 2013:190); in the investigated workplace borrowings were seen as appropriate to some extent and used alongside 'pure', codified vocabulary, which the author attributes to intense language contact and the functional differentiation of Welsh and English. Thus, as the author claims, the ideology of purism was in competition with other priorities stemming from everyday needs and interactions (2013: 242). Drawing from her own observations, Robert also states that recent demographic and social developments in Wales might not only have brought changes in speakers' linguistic resources, but also "challenged the norms and authority that had previously upheld the authority of the standard register" (2013: 255).

This, in the author's opinion, may result in increasing tolerance towards variable language practices, since purism and standard language ideology are bound to exercise much less influence in vernacular practice outside of institutional settings. These observations are relevant to the present thesis, which has demonstrated tensions between normative practices, in which purism plays an important role, and the practice of speakers reflected in the investigated corpus.

Robert's investigation on the issue of planned language concerned mainly speakers' choices between loanwords and native Welsh terminology, including coinages. The phenomenon of calquing has been paid much less attention in the literature (see 1.3.2). Specifically with regard to calquing PVs, the issue of acceptability has been only briefly mentioned in two recent theses by Woolridge (2011) and Hirata (2012).

Woolridge (2011), who investigated the use of the spell-checker *Cysill* to recognise English interference in Welsh texts, has conducted a study on a parallel corpus in which two professional translators evaluated texts translated from English into Welsh. Some PVs have been mentioned as a salient token of word-for-word unconscious translation of English idiomatic phrases and marked as incorrect (2011: 64). The author has also shown that the process of translation is a multi-layered one and the emergence of Welsh PVs might not necessarily be a result of direct calquing<sup>80</sup>.

Hirata (2012) is the only study found which has directly referred to the subject of the acceptability of PVs. While investigating preposition stranding, the author checked the acceptability of a small number of PVs among native speakers of Welsh. He concluded that the speakers were inclined to accept one-word equivalents rather than PVs and this might be correlated with their exposure to literary language (2.3.6).

### 5.2.3. Ideologies of standardisation

This scattered evidence found in a small number of studies suggests that standardisation-related ideologies play an important role in creating and maintaining the linguistic norm

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<sup>80</sup> For example, the PV *diweddu i fyny* 'end up with' appeared as a translation of *eventually*, which means that the translator incapable of finding a Welsh equivalent, first "turned" *eventually* into alternative expression 'end up with' and then calqued it into Welsh (Woolridge 2011:65).

concerning English borrowings in Welsh, including verb-particle constructions. However, one should not expect consistency in speakers' views on this subject as they are influenced by conflicting ideologies. As described in Chapter 1, the ongoing process of standardisation of Welsh is a very complex one, due to the multitude and diversity of environments that create the linguistic norm. This is not an unusual situation for a minority language, where, as stated by Costa et al. (2017: 12), standards are “subject to negotiation, debate, contestation and appropriation by various types of social actors in very diverse circumstances.” In the case of Welsh, a pivotal role is played by universal bilingualism and the resulting change of the traditional monolingual norm. The latter is still embodied in prescriptive or purist ideologies permeating different channels of language transmission, such as education, despite the fact that on average speakers of Welsh seemingly have less and less contact with the traditional standard literary language (see 1.2.4.1). On the other hand, popular media appear to emerge as the most powerful source of the current standards and their inclusive policy of “normalising less perfect Welsh” (see 1.2.7) can be expected to increase tolerance for the growing amount of interference from English in Welsh. As noticed by Costa et al. (2017: 12), “desire for a pure, monoglossic norm may emerge in minoritised language communities as it has in national ones, but it does not (or cannot) translate into the same monolingual outcome.” The emerging Welsh standard, in particular the written standard, appears to be in the process of negotiation between maintaining purist ideologies and catering for needs of speakers who view bilingualism as a natural thing (cf. Musk 2012) and who may have little confidence regarding their proficiency in Welsh.

As a result, phrasal verbs in Welsh may be considered a case of contact-induced variation, where the calqued constructions exist alongside native items, a common phenomenon in the Welsh lexicon (1.3.1.3). Thomas states that calqued constructions are less likely to be noticed as borrowings and in some cases can even be preferred as an alternative to a loanword; however, for some purists they might be seen as a violation of the native grammar, restructuring the linguistic system on the level of word formation, phraseology, syntax or semantics; for this reason, Thomas sees them as a useful test of the level of purism (Thomas 1991: 70-72).

The study presented in this chapter, although focusing on the perceived acceptability of verb-particle constructions themselves, aims to explore this linguistic feature within the wider context of the ongoing language standardisation process and competing

norms pertaining to different domains of social life. The question is whether the monolingual norm prescribing against the use of some PVs is prevalent among language-aware professionals or whether they are bound to accept loan elements as part of the standard. As discussed in 1.5. the investigation is not designed as a full-fledged study of individual attitudes but endeavours to identify some ideological stances which might influence speakers' lexical choices stemming from ideologies of standardisation presented in 1.2.

### **5.3. Study design**

The choice of methodology of the study was dictated by several factors, related to the complex nature of verb-particle constructions. Firstly, as previously mentioned, the main focus of the study is on the status of the linguistic feature within a constructed linguistic norm rather than social aspects of its usage. The chief problem in investigating phrasal verbs in natural production – be it speech or writing – is that they are extremely difficult to elicit from speakers, in contrast to, for example, concrete nouns, verbs or adjectives, especially due to the existence of alternative equivalents. Therefore, a study measuring actual linguistic behaviour of speakers with regard to the use of PVs in standard written or spoken Welsh would require large samples of material obtained through participant observation, which was unfeasible for the researcher. However, bearing in mind that the focus of the study is on the linguistic norm, it was decided that a direct approach may yield valuable results with regard to the degree of standardisation of PVs and proficient speakers' awareness of the linguistic norm. Some methodological difficulties regarding measuring linguistic attitudes towards phrasal verbs have been already discussed in 1.5. Especially in view of the fact that phrasal verbs are not easily identifiable objects in the minds of the speakers, it was considered appropriate to investigate the acceptability of PVs along a simpler, binary criterion of acceptable/inacceptable. This also allowed to investigate a larger number of constructions within available time limits.

An attempt to identify the prevalent linguistic ideologies among the interview groups was made based on the speakers' explicit statements as well as data from questionnaires. This necessarily means that the results do not reflect speakers' behaviour in real life, but merely their declared lexical choices. The fact that Welsh speakers' actual behaviour might not match their grammaticality judgments was observed for example by



Parafita Couto et al. (2015) in their study on code-switching. However, what is of interest to the thesis, is the awareness of the monolingual norm identified in previous chapters and speakers' conscious decisions rather than covert attitudes and beliefs. Therefore, the applied methodology is believed to bring some valuable and valid data.

### **5.3.1. Aims of the study**

The present study was intended to complement the analysis regarding the integration of PVs in standard Welsh conducted in Chapters 3 and 4. The study has the following specific aims:

- AIM 1: to measure the acceptability of selected PVs in semi-formal registers of Welsh against alternative expressions, making use of the onomasiological approach described in 5.2.2.;
- AIM 2: to measure the declared acceptability of selected PVs in semi-formal registers compared with the spoken informal;
- AIM 3: to identify some possible motivations for accepting or rejecting phrasal verbs and tie them to standardisation-related ideologies and other extralinguistic factors.

### **5.3.2. Research hypotheses**

Based on the findings presented in the previous analytical chapters of the thesis, the following research hypotheses were formulated for this study:

Hypothesis 1 (Aim 1)

According to the current linguistic norm, native lexical items synonymous to PVs will be more accepted than PVs in general. However, with regard to individual PVs the degree of acceptability will depend on their status in relation to contact with English:

- native phrasal verbs, in particular PPs, semantic extensions of well-established items and calques which fill a semantic gap will be the most accepted ones;
- pleonastic items are expected to be in the middle of acceptability continuum;
- replaceable direct calques will be generally avoided;
- loanblends and dialectal variants of common PVs will be rejected in the semi-formal register.

#### Hypothesis 2 (Aim 2)

Selected high-frequency PVs will be widely accepted in informal conversation and their acceptability will diminish the more formal the register. Acceptability levels will be also modulated by the type of PV in relation to English, as in Hypothesis 1.

#### Hypothesis 3 (Aim 3)

Professional speakers will be aware of the linguistic norm prescribing the use of PVs, however, they will not perceive such a norm to be valid in speech. Speakers' linguistic choices might be tied to multiple, often conflicting ideologies.

### **5.3.3. The sample**

In view of the aims outlined above, the study focused on linguistic norms in standard varieties of Welsh. Due to the fact that these are associated primarily with semi-formal registers and rooted in the written language, investigation of the acceptability of verb-particle constructions required finding participants who would be familiar with the written language. As shown by statistical data, this is not the case for all Welsh speakers (1.1.1). Moreover, it was considered worthwhile searching for informants who, as well as being the users of standard language, contribute to encoding the linguistic norm themselves. Such speakers' judgements would be valuable markers of the norm and standardisation-related ideologies due to the fact that one may expect them to display high levels of linguistic awareness and sensitivity to language contact.

Bearing in mind the current sociolinguistic situation in Wales, the growing number of L2 Welsh speakers and complex environments of acquiring or learning the language (1.1.2), it was considered important not to restrict the choice of participants according to a “native” or “new” speaker criterion. Therefore, the sampling of participants involved selecting groups working through the medium of Welsh in fields such as education, art, academic research, politics and media. Such informants will be named here “professional speakers”. The term is adapted after McEwan-Fujita (2008) who applied it in her study to describe middle-class, white-collar workers using Scottish Gaelic in their professional environment. The linguistic practice in the two languages is, of course, very different since, in contrast to speakers of Gaelic, professional Welsh speakers are more likely to be first-language speakers and live in a Welsh-speaking environment, using the language also outside the workplace. Notwithstanding this difference, using the term “professional speaker” emphasises the fact that the participants of the study were chosen on the basis of their expected high level of linguistic awareness and contact with standard varieties of Welsh on an everyday basis.

Altogether, seven groups were recruited, with a total of 55 speakers. Each group was assigned a letter code: A, B, C, G, L, O and Y, and members of each group were numbered consecutively in the order they were interviewed. Research was carried out in two periods: 32 interviews were conducted in July and August 2016 in Ceredigion, and during the National Eisteddfod in Abergavenny, Monmouthshire; the remaining 22 interviews took place in March 2017 in Gwynedd and Denbighshire.

Group A (*Athrawon* ‘teachers’) consisted of 8 teachers employed in a secondary school in Denbighshire. The school is a Welsh-medium one, where all subjects are taught through the medium of Welsh. However, the students’ command of Welsh can vary due to the fact that a significant proportion of them come from English-speaking families. Group A was the most homogenous one in terms of linguistic background in that all the teachers were first-language speakers of Welsh living in North Wales. This group was selected with the purpose of examining issues related to standards in teaching in a bilingual educational environment.

Group B (*Bedwyr*) consisted of 8 staff members of Canolfan Bedwyr, a centre for Welsh language services, research and technology located in Bangor. The centre is a key Welsh institution responsible for standardising terminology and developing digital tools,

such as the spellchecker *Cysill*, dictionaries and mobile applications. It also offers translation services, language courses and engages in the *Cymraeg Clir* project, which encourages public institutions to use simple, natural language (see 1.2.4.2). Members of group B who took part in the study were professional translators and/or teachers conducting language skill courses for improving written and spoken Welsh. For this reason the group was expected to be highly sensitive to issues of language contact.

Group C (*Cymdeithas*) were 9 members of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith*, an activist group campaigning for the rights of the Welsh language (see 1.1.1.). As well as engaging in language activism, the participants in this group dealt with Welsh in their professional lives, for example by teaching, creating public websites and engaging in creative and journalistic writing. Group C was the most diversified with regard to the speakers' place of residence, due to the fact that members from different parts of Wales were interviewed during the National Eisteddfod. Group C was also the most varied when it came to linguistic background as had the highest proportion of new speakers or speakers coming from bilingual families. The purpose of selecting this group was to discuss issues related to language policy and the official status of Welsh.

Group G (*Golwg*) were 11 journalists and staff members of *Golwg*, a company which publishes the Welsh-language weekly *Golwg*, a magazine for learners *Lingo Newydd* and children's magazine *Wcw a'i ffrindiau*; it also runs an on-line news platform *Golwg360*. The interviews were conducted at the company's offices in Lampeter and Caernarfon and at its stand at the National Eisteddfod. The purpose of selecting this group was to discuss issues related to journalism and media language.

Group L (*Llyfrgellwyr* 'librarians') consisted of 10 librarians working in two libraries in Aberystwyth: the National Library (L1-L6) and Town Library (L7-L10). The National Library sponsored by the Welsh government is the largest library in Wales and a key centre for research and education, whose staff are expected to have a good command of Welsh. The Town Library located in Alun R. Edwards Centre is a lending library financed by the county council and an important location for the local community life. At the time the research was conducted, not all of the employees in the institution were able to communicate in Welsh. However, in my own experience, a Welsh-speaking member of the staff was always available. Nearly all participants of Group L were native speakers of Welsh. Some of them worked in the library part-time and engaged in other professional activities, including academic research, translation and work at local government bodies.

The group was expected to give insight into bilingual community life in the area of Ceredigion, where Welsh-speakers constitute around half of the population.

Group O (*Oedolion* ‘adults’) consisted of 6 teachers working at Welsh for Adults (Cymraeg i Oedolion) centre in Bangor, which offers Welsh courses at different levels of proficiency in Gwynedd, Conwy and Anglesey. Most members of group O came from North Wales and were native Welsh speakers. Due to the first-hand contact with learners of Welsh and linguistic resources used for teaching, the group was expected to be able to discuss matters related to bilingualism and the use of standard language in teaching.

Group Y (*Ysgrifennwyr* ‘writers’) were members of an informal creative writing club in Aberystwyth. The club consists of about a dozen writers who produce prose and poetry in the Welsh language and meet irregularly to present and discuss the outcomes of their work. The group was expected to inform about their views on using standard language in fiction. Unfortunately, due to practical difficulties, only 3 members of the club were able to take part in the interviews. Nevertheless, it was considered worthwhile to include the elicited data in the study.

The groups were recruited in several ways, following the triangulation of data approach for qualitative studies, i.e. the application of more than one sampling method for data collection (Angouri 2010: 34). Group L was recruited using simple random sample i.e. approaching librarians directly at their workplace. Groups A, B and O were recruited via a group member or leader by contacting heads of the institutions who prepared lists of staff willing to take part in the study on a given date. Finally, groups G, C and Y were contacted via my private networks as a previous trainee at *Golwg* and a member of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith*, whose members introduced me to the writing club. This allowed for a relatively wide range of professional speakers, from language specialists to lay people who are actively engaged in language maintenance.

#### **5.3.4. Methods**

The method chosen for examining speakers’ preferences and conscious lexical choices was a judgement test in the form of a questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of two parts, A and B, corresponding with Aims 1 and 2 of the study (5.3.1.), respectively. In

addition, the participants also filled a personal questionnaire and were interviewed in order to investigate their linguistic habits and awareness and identify extralinguistic factors which may influence their lexical choices (Aim 3).

#### **5.3.4.1. The procedure**

Prior to the study, each participant signed two copies of a written consent in which they were informed that the interview would be recorded and that they were entitled to keep their anonymity and withdraw from the research at any time (see Appendix B). The interviews were conducted in various environments: institutions, offices, private homes and at the National Eisteddfod. As the intention was to interview the speakers in a possibly monolingual environment, all the instructions in the questionnaires were in Welsh and the researcher spoke only Welsh during the interviews. None of the speakers attempted to switch to English during the conversation. A single study, including the interview and filling the questionnaire, took approximately 20-30 minutes and consisted of four stages. In the first stage, the participants were asked to fill a personal questionnaire (Appendix B). The second part of the study was a one-to-one semi-structured interview (Appendix C). Following the interview, the participants were given a two-part questionnaire evaluating the acceptability of selected PVs (Appendix B). The procedure was concluded with a follow-up interview, in which participants were asked to share their thoughts and comments on the questionnaire (Appendix C).

The whole procedure was recorded. The data from the questionnaires were transported into Excel sheets and analysed. The interviews preceding and following the filling of questionnaire were transcribed using the VOICE Transcription Conventions (VOICE Project 2007), while oral comments to questionnaires were noted down and inserted in the datasheets. The interview transcriptions were analysed and organised around themes, following the topic-oriented approach to analysing metalinguistic discourse (cf. Rodgers 2017: 84).

## **Questionnaire A (Aim 1)**

In order to measure the acceptability of selected PVs in semi-formal registers of Welsh against alternative expressions (Aim 1), Part A of the questionnaire approached the standardness of PVs from an onomasiological perspective, checking the speakers' preferences for PV or non-PV items to express a given concept. The task consisted of 12 gapped sentences extracted from printed and online press articles or websites of public institutions and organisations written in semi-formal registers. Every sentence originally contained a PV. Some sentences were slightly modified by abbreviation or replacing proper names with general nouns. The informants were given between 2 and 4 expressions – at least one of them being a PV – to fill a gap in a sentence and were asked to tick all the expressions they would find appropriate in the context. It was explained that 'appropriate' meant what they would expect to see in press or on official websites. The participants were informed that there were no 'correct' answers and that they could choose any number of phrases or none at all. Since the task was to establish whether the selected PVs are seen as part of the standard language, speakers were given a binary choice between appropriate/inappropriate, yet were not restricted to choosing a single item to fill the gap. They were encouraged to propose alternative expressions or share any comments either by writing them in a "Comment" box below each sentence or orally as the whole procedure was recorded.

The aim of Part A was to draw individual onomasiological profiles for each concept expressed by a PV (cf. Speelman et al. 2003: 319) and determine the acceptability and stylistic markedness of a selected item against semantically equivalent expressions. It should be emphasised that one cannot consider the selected expressions to be true synonyms as such synonymy hardly ever exists in natural language. Following Zenner et al.'s methodology (2012: 760) in their study of Anglicisms in Dutch, the questionnaire contained near-synonyms which are maximally equivalent with a selected PV on four levels: denotational, stylistic, expressive and structural; the authors made use of Edmonds and Hirst's (2002) theoretical model of granularity of meaning according to which "at the conceptual, coarse-grained level, near-synonyms have the same meaning, and are hence clustered under one shared concept." The non-PV items in the present study were chosen

on the basis of equivalents of the selected PVs proposed by dictionaries, primarily *Geiriadur yr Academi*. The sentences in the questionnaire contained the following PVs and their equivalents:

- Sentence 1 – *dod yn ôl* ‘come back’ against *dychwelyd* ‘return’. As discussed in section 2.4.5 although the present study generally focuses on idiomatic constructions, the transparent PV *dod yn ôl* was considered worth investigating as it is given as an example of “replaceable” PV by P. W. Thomas (see 2.3.3);
- Sentences 2, 6 and 10 – *tyfu i fyny* ‘grow up’ against *tyfu* ‘grow’; *helpu allan* and dialectal *helpu mas* ‘help out’ against *cynorthwyo* ‘help’ and *helpu* ‘help’; *eistedd i lawr* ‘sit down’ against *eistedd* ‘sit’; these PVs are common examples of pleonastic calques;
- Sentence 4, 7 and 11 – idiomatic PVs directly translatable into English which appear to be stylistically marked – *gweithio allan* and dialectal *gweithio mas* ‘work out’ against *darganfod* ‘discover’; *pigo i fyny* and dialectal *pigo lan* ‘pick up’ against *dysgu* ‘learn’ and *cael crap ar* ‘get a grasp on’; *troi i ffwrdd* ‘turn off’, *troi bant* ‘turn off’, *troi off* ‘turn off’ against *diffodd* ‘turn off’;
- Sentence 5 – *edrych ymlaen at* ‘look forward to’ against non-standard variant *edrych ymlaen i* and *disgwyl yn eiddgar am* ‘expect ardently’; this sentence examined the case of a very frequent PV which does not have an obvious one-word equivalent;
- Sentence 12 – *eistedd yn ôl* ‘sit back’, ‘make no effort to do something’, against *sefyll o’r neilltu* ‘stand aside’; this sentence examined the case of a relatively rare PV, which does not have an obvious one-word equivalent and whose English equivalent is also less frequently used;
- Sentence 3 – *mynd ymlaen* ‘go on’ against *digwydd* ‘happen’, a case of semantic extension of a well-established item (see 4.5.2);
- Sentence 9 – *bwrw ymlaen* ‘continue’, ‘carry on’ against *cario ymlaen* ‘carry on’ and *parhau* ‘continue’; this sentence examined the acceptability of competing native and borrowed PVs (see 4.5.2);
- Sentence 8 – *dod ar draws* ‘come across’ and *taro ar* ‘hit on, come across’; this sentence checked the acceptability of two frequent and well-established idiomatic PPs one of which is directly translatable into English (see 4.5.5). Both items are proposed



by *Geiriadur yr Academi* as equivalents of *come across* (something), with *taro ar* given as the first option.

As the informants were allowed to suggest their own words or phrases to express a given concept, data from Part A of the questionnaire were analysed in the form of case studies for each of the selected PVs (5.4.2.).

#### **5.3.4.2. Questionnaire part B (Aim 2)**

In order to measure the declared acceptability of selected PVs in semi-formal registers compared with the spoken informal, in Part B of the questionnaire the speakers were asked to judge the appropriateness of using selected PVs in four different situations. The participants were given four sets of sentences. The sets were introduced by putting them in the context of four imaginary situations, representing different registers and levels of formality:

- Situation 1 – a conversation with a friend on everyday matters;
- Situation 2 – a public meeting with a politician discussing local issues;
- Situation 3 – writing a popular book about environmental issues;
- Situation 4 – preparing a leaflet on local health service.

Situation 1 was intended to represent an informal, spoken mode, while Situation 2 represented careful, formal speech. Situation 3 was to direct participants' attention towards written semi-formal variety by emphasising that the book they are writing is targeted towards larger audience yet touches on serious, sometimes quite technical subjects. Finally, Situation 4 pertained to the official variety of Welsh, which could be expected to be more formal than popular literature yet understandable to the public (see 1.2.4.2).

Each set contained six sentences with the same six PVs marked in bold font (Appendix B). The six selected PVs represented the following types of verb-particle constructions:

- *edrych ar ôl* ‘look after’ – a commonly used prepositional verb, discouraged by some dictionaries and pedagogical materials (see 3.3.2.13);
- *ffeindio allan* (dial. *ffeindio mas*) ‘find out’ – a frequently occurring loanblend excluded from dictionaries and prescribed against in many teaching materials (see 4.5.4). It was also found to be stylistically marked in the corpus (see 3.3.2.13);
- *rhedeg allan o* (dial. *rhedeg mas o*) ‘run out of’ – a phrasal prepositional verb probably directly calqued from English (see 3.3.2.1) and generally excluded from Welsh dictionaries, apart from GPC which tags it as “spoken”;
- *torri i lawr* ‘break down’ – a common pleonastic calque, which is included in most Welsh dictionaries but marked as informal (see 4.5.8);
- *troi i fyny* (dial. *troi lan*) ‘turn up, come’ – a direct calque from English, considered to be rather informal if not dialectal (cf. Cownie 2000);
- *troi ymlaen* ‘turn on’, ‘switch on’ – a recent calque from English which does not have an obvious Welsh equivalent and hence fills a lexical gap; it is not commonly found in dictionaries, it was included, however, in a teaching book by Gruffudd (2000) (see 4.2.1.).

The sentences in the questionnaire were modelled on authentic sentences containing the selected PVs found in printed texts or online, including tweets and Internet forums. The participants were asked to imagine themselves in the situation described before each set of sentences and tick a box next to the sentence if they would use a PV in the context. If a PV had a dialectal variant, both were given and the participants could choose the option they would use by underlining it (see Appendix B). The participants were not obliged to propose alternative expression if they would not use a PV; however, many of them did so of their own accord.

It should be noted that several of the selected PVs were polysemous and in two cases – *torri i lawr* and *troi i fyny* – the PVs were used in two different senses. In Situations 1, 2 and 4 they were used in their most frequent senses: ‘stop working’ for *torri i lawr* and ‘arrive, appear’ for *troi i fyny*, while in Situation 3 they were used in more technical senses of ‘separating into parts’ and ‘increase power’ respectively. Similarly, *rhedeg allan o* was used in an idiomatic phrase ‘run out of steam’, ‘losing energy’ in Situation 2, while in the other three situations it referred to lacking something material (battery, oil, medicines). This was done at the cost of quantitative reliability of the data in order to ensure the

naturalness of a PV in a given context and to investigate whether a need to use the item in a sense which is more technical will be reflected in marked differences between the acceptability of these PVs across registers due to the fact that the speakers will find it more difficult to replace the PV by another item.

#### **5.3.4.3. Personal questionnaire and interviews (Aim 3)**

Other than filling the judgement test questionnaires, the speakers filled a personal survey and took part in a one-to-one semi-structured interview. This was done in order to gather information about the speakers, considering the following aspects:

- Demographical factors – sex, age, education, place of residence, the age of acquiring/learning Welsh;
- Use of Welsh in various spheres of everyday life;
- Use of written Welsh;
- Exposure to Welsh-language literature and media;
- Confidence in using Welsh vocabulary;
- Use of lexicographic resources;
- Use of borrowings in speech and writing.

This data were considered useful for investigating speakers' linguistic habits and awareness and identifying factors which may influence their linguistic choices in order to list possible motivations for accepting or rejecting phrasal verbs and tie them to standardisation-related ideologies (Aim 3). The interviews were semi-structured in that they included a number of regular questions asked to every participant as well as questions adapted to a given group and individual speakers. The regular questions were:

- a) Are you aware of using English words or English borrowings when you speak Welsh?
- b) Do you speak Welsh in formal/official situations? Do you try to avoid borrowings in such situations?
- c) Do you write in Welsh? If so, how often?
- d) Do you try to avoid borrowings in writing?

- e) When you write, does it happen that you cannot think of a Welsh word you need? Do you search for it then? If so, where?
- f) Have you done the following in the last month: 1) Read a book in Welsh, 2) Read a Welsh-language newspaper or magazine, 3) Listen to a Welsh-language radio 4) Watch Welsh-language television, 5) Use Welsh-language software (Microsoft Office, *Cysill*, *Cysgeir*), 6) Watch an online video in Welsh (YouTube, S4C Clic, BBC iPlayer, 7) Used a dictionary of Welsh – if so, which one?

The original questions in Welsh are shown in Appendix C. Additional questions were asked in the course of the conversation depending on the profession of the participant; for instance, teachers were asked about the use of borrowings in classroom, journalists about the influence of English on their writing, writers about the use of borrowed words in prose.

In a follow-up interview the participants were asked to share their thoughts and comments about the questionnaire. If time allowed, they were also asked about their views on standard language and the influence of English on Welsh. Questions in the interview were adapted to the group and the speaker (Appendix C). Unfortunately, due to time constraints, it was not always feasible to cover all the themes with each of the participants.

The loose structure of interviews was aimed to encourage the participants to freely express their beliefs in order to identify recurring themes in the discourse about phrasal verbs and, more broadly speaking, issues of borrowing, calquing and the influence of English on Welsh. These results, organised around themes are presented in section 5.4.4.

### **5.3.5. Qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study**

While the study combines qualitative and quantitative aspects, its nature is primarily qualitative. The results of Part A of the questionnaire are presented in the form of percentages, however the analysis examines each PV qualitatively, taking the onomasiological perspective. This approach was adopted due to the complex nature of the constructions described in previous chapters and the fact that the participants could propose their own

alternative expressions, which makes the number of native equivalents of PVs non-defined. Therefore, the analysis of the results is oriented towards the description of individual constructions, highlighting the differences in their acceptability.

Part B of the questionnaire relies more on quantitative data as the participants were offered a binary choice of accepting/not accepting the item in a given register. Therefore an attempt was made to examine several extralinguistic variables derived from the collected data on the speakers against the results using statistical analysis. It should be stressed that these results should not be generalised as the selected group is definitely not representative of the whole population of Welsh speakers, but was aimed to represent language-aware influentials.

Generally speaking, quantitative data from the study should be treated with caution since the issues studied are bound to be related to speakers' attitudes and ideologies (see 1.5.). Bearing this in mind, the data from the questionnaire will be set against the data retrieved from the interviews regarding the speakers' linguistic awareness, perceived competence, use of borrowings and opinions on various aspects of language contact and standardisation.

## **5.4. Results**

### **5.4.1. The profile of the professional speakers**

The data from the survey and interviews allow to draw a profile of the speakers, providing evidence for their status as professional users of Welsh. Demographical information regarding the linguistic background of the sample and some possible extralinguistic variables to be examined will be now described.

#### **5.4.1.1. Extralinguistic data**

*Sex and age*

A total of 55 professional speakers of Welsh took part in the study, 19 men (35%) and 36 women (65%). The imbalance between sexes was caused by the fact that the two teacher groups, A and O were strongly feminised (only one man in each) and the Y group (writers) consisted of females only.

With regard to age, the questionnaire assigned subjects to one of six age groups: 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64 and 65+. Speaker L9, a part-time library worker just under the age of 18 was included in the first group. The age distribution of the speakers is shown in Figure 5.

Sex and age were considered as variables in the statistical analysis of the results of Part B. Correlation between age and the acceptability of PVs had been suggested by Hirata (2012).

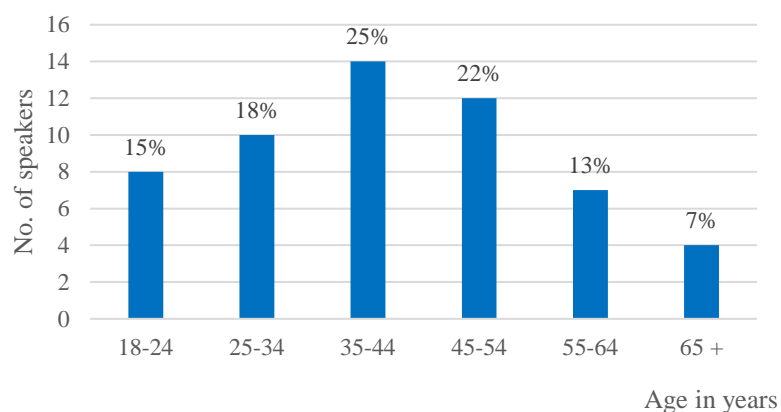


Figure 5. Age of the speakers.

### *Place of residence*

The geographical distribution of speakers is presented in Figure 6. Due to the location of the institutions where the interviews were conducted, the majority of speakers lived in North Wales (25 speakers – 45%) and Mid Wales (22 speakers – 40%). Speakers living in South Wales constituted 15% of the informants (8 speakers). With regard to counties, the highest number of participants lived in Ceredigion (19), Gwynedd (13) and Carmarthenshire (6) (had moved between North and South Wales, 9 speakers had moved within different regions of North Wales, 1 speaker had moved within different regions of Mid Wales, 1 speaker had moved within different regions of South Wales, and 2 speakers had spent their childhood in England.

The above data show that the geographical distribution of speakers was uneven and their mobility made it difficult to assign each participant to a particular area of Wales. For this reason, geographical factors were not considered a variable in the analysis. Table 20).

The speakers also indicated the area in which they lived at the time they had acquired or learned Welsh. More than half of the speakers, 27, learned Welsh in the same area as their current place of residence, 7 speakers had moved between Mid Wales and North Wales, 4 speakers had moved between Mid Wales and South Wales, 4 speakers

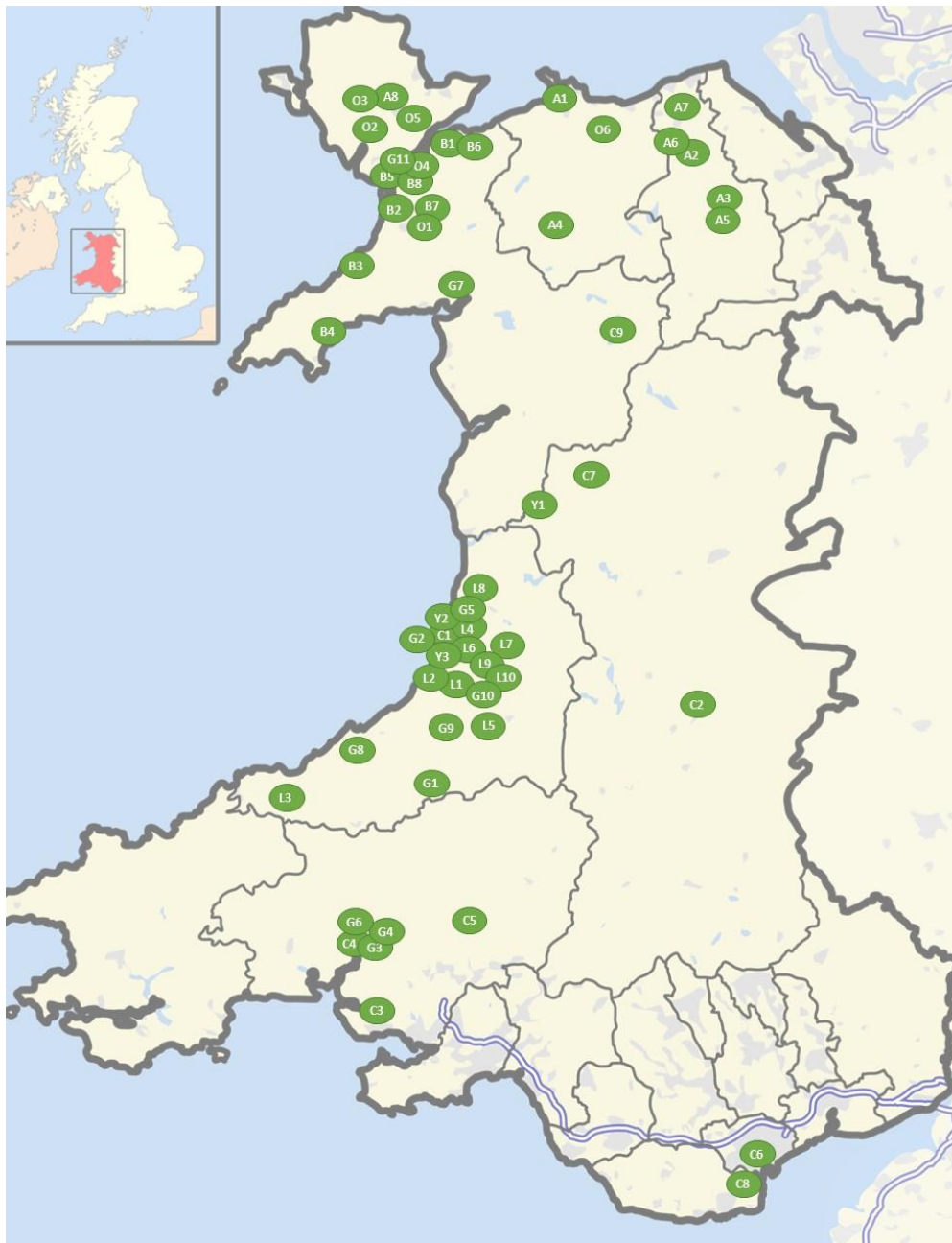


Figure 6. Geographical distribution of the participants according to their place of residence.

had moved between North and South Wales, 9 speakers had moved within different regions of North Wales, 1 speaker had moved within different regions of Mid Wales, 1 speaker had moved within different regions of South Wales, and 2 speakers had spent their childhood in England.

The above data show that the geographical distribution of speakers was uneven and their mobility made it difficult to assign each participant to a particular area of Wales. For this reason, geographical factors were not considered a variable in the analysis.

Table 20. Geographical distribution of speakers according to their place of residence.

<b>County</b>	<b>No. of speakers</b>
Ceredigion	19
Gwynedd	13
Carmarthenshire	6
Denbighshire	5
Anglesey	4
Conwy	3
Powys	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>55</b>

### *Linguistic background*

The personal questionnaire asked about the age of acquiring or learning Welsh and the researcher asked a follow-up question about the first language of the speaker's parents. The majority of participants, 85% (47) acquired Welsh from their parents at home, with 41 having two L1 Welsh-speaking parents, 1 having two L2 Welsh-speaking parents, 3 having one L1 parent and 2 having one L2 parent. One speaker learned Welsh as a child older than 4 years, coming from an English-speaking family, but acquiring Welsh in the neighbourhood. Two informants learned Welsh as teenagers and 4 as adults. One speaker said she learned some Welsh as a child but due to a period spent abroad, she only mastered it as an adult. This shows that within the studied sample, most professional users of Welsh were L1 speakers who acquired Welsh at home. For this reason linguistic background was not considered a variable in the statistical analysis.

### *Education*

As regards the level of education, the vast majority of speakers in the sample, 44 (80%), attended higher education, with 11 speakers holding a master's degree or higher. Three



speakers (5%) had attended upper secondary and 5 (9%) lower secondary education. Groups A, B, O and Y consisted only of speakers with higher education. The group with the highest average level of education was Y, as all three speakers held master’s degree or higher. The group with the lowest average level of education was L – it consisted of 4 speakers with lower secondary and 6 speakers with higher education (3 of them with master’s degree or higher).

Whilst the majority of the sample had attended higher education, it was considered worthwhile to consider university education or lack of it as a variable when analysing the results of Part B since education is one of the major channels of transmission of the linguistic norm (1.2.4.1.).

#### *Professional status*

To confirm their status as professional speakers the participants were asked about their professional status. The vast majority of the participants (51), including all speakers in Groups A, B, G and O, were full or part-time employed. In Group Y (writers) one participant was retired and in group C (Cymdeithas yr Iaith) one participant was retired, one was a full-time student and one was temporarily unemployed.

#### **5.4.1.2. Use of Welsh in daily life**

Regarding the use of Welsh on a daily basis, the participants were asked to determine the amount of Welsh they spoke in four spheres of life: at home, at work, in the neighbourhood and with close friends, choosing from five options: “only Welsh”, “mostly Welsh”, “Welsh and English equally”, “mostly English” and “only English”. The answers in each component were then transposed into a 0-4 scale so that each speakers could score a maximum of 16 points. Each speaker was than assigned to one of five categories according to the scale presented in Table 21.

Table 21. Speakers’ use of Welsh and English in daily life.

	<b>Use of Welsh</b>	<b>No. of speakers</b>	<b>% of speakers</b>
<b>0-2</b>	(almost) only English	1	2%
<b>3-6</b>	mostly English	2	4%

<b>7-10</b>	Welsh and English equally	13	24%
<b>11-14</b>	mostly Welsh	29	53%
<b>15-16</b>	(almost) only Welsh	10	18%

Welsh was the main language used in everyday life for the majority of speakers (71%), while only 6% reported English to be the main language they used. It is also worth noting that the scores for the component “in the neighbourhood” were markedly lower than for the other three components, which probably illustrates the diminishing use of Welsh as a community language.

Since the number of speakers who used mostly or only English in their daily life was marginal (3 speakers), this variable could not be considered for a statistical test to be valid.

#### **5.4.1.3. Reading, writing and use of Welsh-language media**

In order to examine the participants’ exposure to standard written Welsh, they were asked about the frequency of reading and writing in Welsh in their everyday life. Questions on readership concerned reading books and newspapers and/or magazines. Reading books in Welsh was less common than reading the press: 38 (69%) speakers said they had read a book and 49 speakers (87%) said they had read Welsh press in the last month. Only 5 speakers (9%) had not read either books or the press in Welsh.

With regard to writing, 40 (73%) speakers said they used written Welsh every day and 9 (16%) said they did so often. The majority of speakers said they used written Welsh at work and in personal correspondence. Five speakers (9%) declared writing in Welsh only occasionally, mostly at school or work. One speaker said that, being unfamiliar with formal Welsh, he avoided writing in the language altogether, as it was difficult and time-consuming for him (C5). Two speakers declared that they felt they did not write enough in Welsh (L8, C9). Three participants in Group B were professional translators, and another three speakers mentioned that their jobs involved plenty of translation between Welsh and English (A2, L1, G2). Five speakers wrote creatively (A1, G1 – poetry and group Y – prose). All in all, the exposure to written language was generally high,

confirming the professional status of the speakers and their expected familiarity with standards in writing.

Another set of questions in the interview concerned the use of Welsh-language broadcast media, BBC Radio Cymru and the television channel S4C, in the previous month. The participants were also asked about watching online video clips on websites such as Youtube and using S4C video on demand service, Clic. This was considered important due to the fact that media appear to be one of the major sources of linguistic standards as discussed in 1.2.

Radio and television were very popular among the participants, with 91% listening to Radio Cymru and 88% watching S4C; video clips were also popular, with 79% watching them regularly (participants who said they did not use a given medium at all were not taken into account). By adding up the number of positive answers to the questions on readership and use of Welsh-language media, it was established that 85% of speakers declared they used all or most of the Welsh media and read books (score 4 or 5 on a 1-5 scale). Detailed results are presented in Table 22. Similarly as with language use, the homogeneity of the group made this variable invalid for statistical analysis.

Table 22. Declared readership and the use of Welsh media among the participants.

Score	Readership and the use of Welsh-language media	No. of Speakers	% of Speakers
1	no contact with Welsh-language media/books	1	2%
2	little contact with Welsh-language media/books	1	2%
3	some contact with Welsh-language media/books	6	11%
4	using most Welsh-language media and reading books	20	36%
5	using all Welsh-language media and reading books	27	49%

#### 5.4.1.4. Speakers' perceived competence and confidence

It is worth noting that although the informants were not asked directly about their perceived competence in Welsh, one fifth of the speakers expressed a lack of confidence in their command of Welsh in the course of the interview of their own accord, in some cases tracing this to the extensive influence of English in their area.

As the majority of participants in the study were native speakers living their lives entirely or mostly through the medium of Welsh, they generally showed confidence about their command of the language. Five speakers mentioned having a grade in Welsh and four stated that their Welsh was quite pure/correct. On the other hand, 8 speakers suggested in the interview that their Welsh was not quite correct; half of this group were new speakers of Welsh. Only one speaker, however, said explicitly that she did not feel confident in speaking Welsh (C3). This participant had learned Welsh recently and was also the only speaker using almost only English in her everyday life. The speaker used “Wenglish” as a derogatory term for her language which, as she believed, had too many English words in it.

Two other speakers used the term “Wenglish” in the interviews to describe one of the languages they speak in everyday life. For these participants Wenglish was not a derogatory term, however, but a name for a mixture of Welsh and English. L9, a high school student, said he spoke Wenglish with his friends at school, where it is common for young people to mix the two languages and code-switch (for a different understanding of Wenglish see 1.1.2). The speaker said he usually did not think about which language he was speaking at any given moment:

L9: yn enwedig yn yr ysgol (.) wi'n siarad lot o WENGLISH mae nhw'n galw e (...) [so cymysgiad] o Gymraeg a Saesneg gyda ffrindiau (...) [achos] weithiau mae (.) geiriau sy'n esceipo (...) a does dim (.) a mae rhaid defnyddio gair Saesneg wedyn (...)

R: [pawb yn siarad cymysgedd]

L9: [cymysgedd]

R: ie

L9: ond dw i ddim yn sylweddoli bodd i'n wneud e fi'n meddwl (...) achos dw i'n siarad yn y ddau (.) (fi)'n jyst yn (.) yn newid rhwng y ddau yn hawdd a does neb yn sylweddoli rili

‘L9: Especially at school I speak a lot of WENGLISH they call it (...) so a mixture of Welsh and English with friends (...) because sometimes there are words which escape (...) a there is no... you have to use an English word then (...)

R: Everyone speaking a mixture.

L9: Mixture.

R: Yeah.

L9: But I don't realise I'm doing it I think (...) because I speak in the two (.) I just change between the two easily and nobody realises really.’<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> All translations of quotations from interviews in this chapter are given in the form of a narrative, while original transcripts follow the VOICE conventions. Bracket ellipses indicate the omitted parts of the interview, usually irrelevant noises or meaningless interruptions of the researcher; capital letters denote words pronounced with emphasis; in translations italics are used for Welsh phrases which need not be translated or indicate that the participant used an English word; pauses marked by (1) are replaced in translations with ellipsis.

Speaker O2 said she used this kind of language with her family who “throw Wenglish in all the time” (*taflu Wenglish i mewn trwy’r amser*). The participant referred to ideologies of purism, saying that mixing languages is something frowned upon by some people, but it did not matter to her.

Some speakers indicated that their Welsh was not quite correct due to the fact they lived in an area heavily influenced by English. Two of these speakers lived in Ceredigion (L2, Y2) and three in North Wales (A1, B6, C9). L2, an elderly speaker coming originally from Merionethshire but living in Ceredigion, believed that people in the North use “perfect” Welsh, devoid of any English borrowings.

An additional question concerning speakers’ competence was whether they experienced a situation when they could not think of a Welsh word they needed. Answers to this question are presented in Figure 7. The majority of speakers, 39 (75%), said they sometimes had trouble finding a Welsh word, while 13 speakers (24%) said they did not experience such problems. In the latter group, eight speakers added they sometimes found it difficult to think of an English word. The same was admitted by eight speakers in the first group.

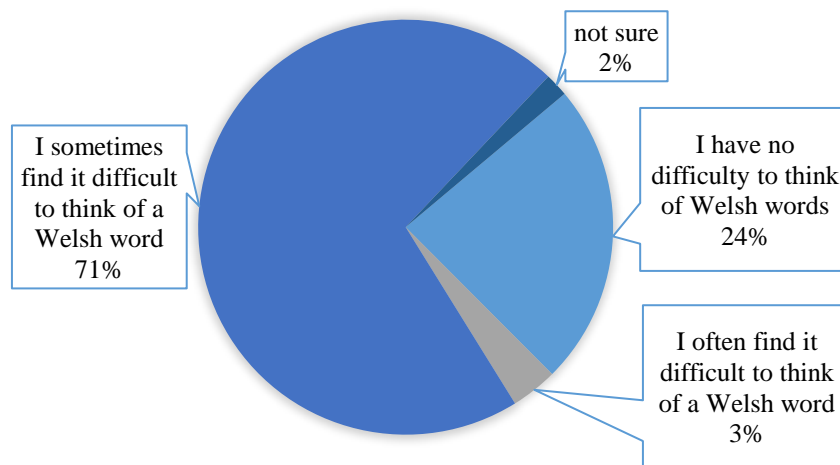


Figure 7. Answers to the question “Does it happen that you cannot think of a Welsh word you need?”

#### 5.4.1.1. Use of dictionaries and software

Following the latter question, the informants were asked what they did in a situation when they were unable to find a Welsh word. In most cases the speakers thought the question referred to writing and declared that they used a dictionary. All the participants were asked whether they used dictionaries of Welsh and computer tools or software which can be of help in writing in Welsh in the last month. This information was considered potentially relevant for investigating participants' knowledge of the standards derived from lexicographic resources.

Over 90% of speakers declared they used dictionaries of Welsh on a regular basis. The majority of speakers (67%) said they used dictionaries when they could not remember a Welsh word. Many speakers noted that this happened not only in writing, but also while speaking, as mobile applications make it possible to look up a word at any time. Less than 10% of speakers did not use dictionaries or used them very rarely, although some of those speakers admitted 'googling' words occasionally. Seven persons declared they used dictionaries only to check technical terms – most of these informants were professional translators. Two participants (both aged over 65) used dictionaries for other purposes: the pleasure of discovering Welsh vocabulary or for solving crosswords.

In a follow-up question, the participants were asked to name the dictionaries they used. The results are presented in Table 23. The most popular dictionary by far was *Geiriadur yr Academi*, in most cases its on-line version. The two other most popular dictionaries were online *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (15), *Cysgair* (13) and mobile application *apGeiriaduron* (9) based on the latter. The most popular printed dictionary was *Geiriadur Mawr*, used mostly for checking spelling. As regards other tools, the spell-checker *Cysill* was mentioned by over a half of the speakers. Four speakers also mentioned using Google Translate.

Table 23. Dictionaries of Welsh and other tools used by the informants.

<b>General dictionaries of Welsh</b>	No. of speakers
Geiriadur y Academi	28
Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru	15
Cysgair	13
apGeiriaduron	9
Geiriadur Mawr	8
Trinity Saint David	6
Geiriadur Newydd/Cyfoes	3
Geiriadur Bangor	2

Gweiadur	1
Geiriadur Gomer	1
Collins Spurrell	1
Geiriadur Gomer i'r Ifanc	1
<b>Other tools</b>	
Cysill	29
GoogleTranslate	4

#### 5.4.1.2. Use of borrowings

It is rather striking that all speakers gave an immediate positive answer to the first question of the interview “Do you use English borrowings in your Welsh?” Forty-five speakers (81%) declared using some borrowings, while the remaining 10 said they used many borrowings. Sometimes speakers gave specific examples of loanwords or specified the type of borrowings they used: for instance well-established vocabulary items, phrases, proverbs, interjections, borrowed verbs with *-io* ending. It should be noted at this point that some of the participants occasionally seemed to refer to instances of code-switching rather than using loanwords. As described in 1.3.1, the distinction between the two phenomena is a difficult one to establish. Therefore it should be born in mind that some of the speakers’ statements might refer to situations of interference in general rather than borrowings specifically.

The second question concerned using borrowings in formal context. Ten speakers declared they did not use Welsh outside informal conversations. Only one speaker said that he would not avoid borrowings in formal situations, as he believes that one should speak naturally in every situation and his Welsh is “rather more informal”. The remaining 44 participants (80%) said they avoided using borrowings from English in formal situations. Examples of such situations given by the speakers were: at work (library, meetings with colleagues in Canolfan Bedwyr, teacher’s meetings, classroom, trainings, meetings of the local council), at school or university, during lectures, presentations, job interviews and when appearing in the media (radio, television).

In the third question, the speakers were asked whether they avoided borrowings in writing. Except for two participants who said they did not write much in Welsh, all of the speakers answered positively. While 41 informants (75%) said they avoided borrowings in writing, 5 speakers specified that they avoided borrowings only in formal writing, while 7 avoided only some borrowings. In answering this question speakers were generally much quicker and more confident in comparison with the previous question about formal speech. Many indicated that monitoring one's Welsh is much easier in the written mode as there is more time to think, correct and polish. Moreover, one can rely on reference materials such as dictionaries.

G5: yn bendant. osgoi benthyciade wrth ysgrifennu bob amser a dweud y gwir. y:m yn fwy na na mewn iaith lafar achos (.) chi'n gallu rheoli beth dych chi'n ysgrifennu (.) chi'n gallu (.) mireinio (.) gwneud yn siŵr ei bod hi'n iaith lan o gymharu falle wrth sgwrsio.

'Definitely. Avoid borrowings while writing every time to tell the truth. More than in the spoken language because you can control what you write you can polish make sure it is a clean language in comparison with maybe what is said.'

G6: 'swn i'n byth yn sgwennu fel 'swn i'n siarad ym 'swn i ddim yn dweud SO (.) 'swn i ddim yn (2) ie (.) 'sa'r ffordd dw i'n sgwennu yn hollol wahanol i'r ffordd dw i'n siarad (...) os dw i ddim yn cofio gair faswn i'n sbio fo i fyny a (.) 'swn i ddim y dweud so: ac petha sy'n hawdd i slipio fewn yn Saesneg.

'I'd never write the way I speak, I wouldn't say *SO*, I wouldn't... yeah, the way I write would be totally different from how I speak (...) if I don't remember a word I would look it up, I would say *so* and things which are easy to slip in in English.'

A couple of speakers mentioned using informal Welsh in the social media. For instance, speaker G3 emphasised that she used more English words on social networking sites; in contrast, B7 prided herself on avoiding loanwords in writing every time:

G3: os ydw i'n sgwennu'n ffurfiol (.) mae e'n bur. ond os ydw i'n sgwennu ar gyfryngau cymdeithasol (1) <smile> (...) siwr bod ti'n clywed hyn (.) t'mod os wyt ti'n neud rhywbeth facebook neu (.) y: rywbeth bach mwy ANffurfiol (.) mae'na fwy o eiriau Saesneg (.)

'If I write formally, it's pure. But if write on social media... (*smile*). Surely you've heard it, you know if you do something, Facebook or something more INformal, there are more English words.'

B7: bydda i'n edrych ar Facebook weithiau bydda i'n gwa gweld rhai pobol mae (.) mae'n boitsh o Saesneg a Chymraeg a fydda i (.) ceisio sgwennu yn gywir (.) ar Facebook. mae rhywun yn gallu sgwennu yn anffurfiol mewn cywair anffurfiol (.) ond defnyddio geiriau Cymraeg.



‘I sometimes look on Facebook and I see some people who... it’s a hotchpotch of English and Welsh and I try to write correctly on Facebook. One can write informally in the informal register but use Welsh words.’

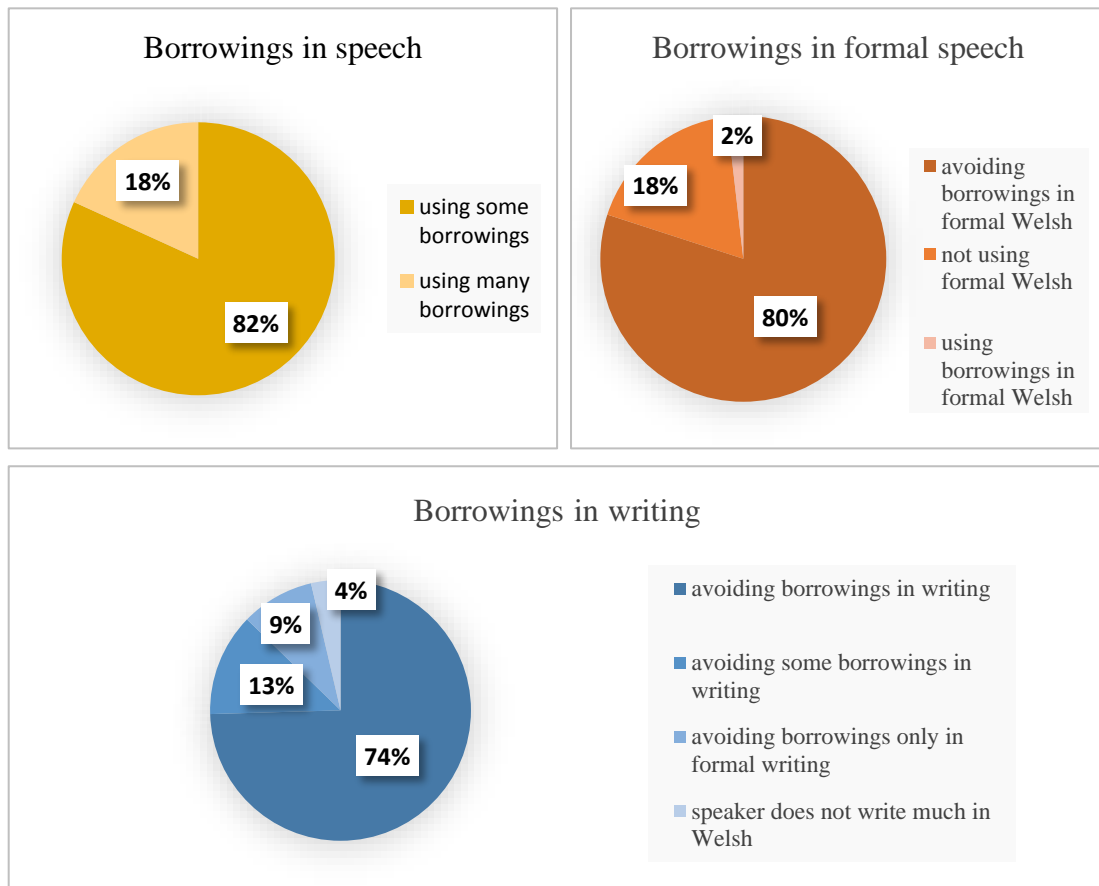


Figure 8. Declared use of borrowings in speech and writing.

G1, a young poet, made an interesting comment about using borrowings in poetry. Although he avoids them in traditional strict-metre poetry, they can occasionally embellish the verse with a dialectal flavour:

G1: (...) dw i'n sgwennu yn bennaf trwy gyfrwng y gynghanedd (.) y:m felly (.) bydden ni'n defnyddio iaith eitha ffurfiol a cheisio osgoi y: geiriau (.) benthyciadau o Saesneg a geiriau tafodieithol (.) ond mae'n dibynnu ar y cyd-destun (.) byddwn i'n ambell waith fel sgwennu cerddi (.) sy'n cynnwys tipyn o dafodiaith oherwydd mae rai stamp unigryw arno fe (...)

‘I write mostly through the medium of cynghanedd, so we would use quite formal language and try to avoid words... borrowings from English and dialectal words, but it depends on the context, sometimes I would, like, write poems which contain a bit of dialect because it has some unique stamp (...)

The answers to the questions regarding the use of borrowings are summarised in Figure 8. On the whole, speakers in all groups showed a high awareness of differences between various registers of Welsh. The perceived diglossia between spoken and written language was evident in that all speakers admitted using English vocabulary in speech and at the same time avoiding it in writing.

#### **5.4.1.3. Summary of data**

The data from the personal questionnaire and interviews provide some interesting insights into the linguistic background, practices and awareness of the professional speakers of Welsh who took part in the study. Most informants were native speakers with higher education, who declared they used Welsh on a daily basis both at work and privately, but were less likely to use it in the neighbourhood. The majority of speakers declared that they used Welsh in formal as well as informal situations. What is more, the speakers declared being highly exposed to the standard by regular reading and contact with the Welsh-language media.

Despite that, one fifth of the speakers felt the need to share their lack of confidence regarding their command of Welsh. Except for a few cases of new speakers, the majority of these participants pointed to language contact as a motivation of their perceived lack of competence. Most of the speakers stated that they experience difficulties in finding Welsh vocabulary and a high percentage of the informants stated that they regularly use dictionaries for help. Other than illustrating the influence of English on the language of professional speakers, this demonstrates their linguistic awareness in that many of them declared striving to look for Welsh words rather than code-switch. Interestingly, a meaningful percentage of speakers mentioned *Geiriadur yr Academi* as the major authority when it comes to Welsh lexicon, which confirms the popularity and importance of this dictionary.

### 5.4.2. Questionnaire Part A

This section presents the results of Part A of the questionnaire, in which the participants were asked to indicate the expressions they found appropriate in order to fill a gapped sentence. The percentages of positive answers for each PV or alternative expression are summarised in Table 24.

Table 24. Percentage of speakers accepting the selected lexical items in Part A of the questionnaire.

Concept	PV	% of positive answers	Alternative item	% of positive answers
come back, return	dod yn ôl	40%	dychwelyd	89%
grow up	tyfu i fyny	24%	tyfu	84%
go on, happen	mynd ymlaen	15%	digwydd	96%
work out, discover	gweithio allan	6%	darganfod	98%
	gweithio mas	4%		
look forward to, eagerly await	edrych ymlaen at	62%	disgwyl yn eiddgar	73%
	edrych ymlaen i	4%		
help out	helpu allan	7%	cynorthwyo	69%
	helpu mas	10%	helpu	53%
pick up, learn	pigo lan	9%	dysgu	95%
	pigo i fyny	15%	cael crap ar	11%
encounter, come across	dod ar draws	76%		
	taro ar	44%		
continue, carry on	bwrw ymlaen	62%	parhau	44%
	cario ymlaen	20%		
sit down	eistedd i lawr	44%	eistedd	64%
switch off, turn off	troi i ffwrdd	15%	diffodd	93%
	troi bant	7%		
	troi off	0%		
sit back	eistedd yn ôl	38%	sefyll o'r neilltu	67%

The results of the study have confirmed Research Hypothesis 1 (5.3.2.), in that non-PV equivalents were more accepted than PVs in general, while the degree of acceptability varied depending on their status in relation to contact with English. A cursory look at the table demonstrates that the informants expressed preference for non-PV items over PVs in all the investigated cases, except for the native PV *bwrw ymlaen* which was preferred over single-word *parhau*. Dialectal variants of PVs: *gweithio mas*, *troi bant*, *helpu mas*

and *edrych ymlaen i* were rejected by the vast majority of speakers, and none of the informants accepted the loanblend *troi off*. The results of Part A will be now presented in more detail, considering additional comments made by the informants and patterns in the acceptability of PVs depending on their category.

In Sentence 1, the speakers were to complete a sentence about a dead soldier's body "returning" to Britain. The choice offered was between a PV *dod yn ôl* and single verb *dychwelyd*. As discussed in 2.4.5, although the present study generally focuses on idiomatic constructions, the case of *dod yn ôl* was considered worth investigating as it is given as an example of "replaceable" PV by P. W. Thomas (2.3.3).

**Sentence 1.** Mae corff swyddog diogelwch o Gymru gafodd ei ladd yn Irac wedi \_\_\_\_\_ i wledydd Prydain.

'The body of a security officer from Wales that was killed in Iraq \_\_\_\_\_ to the British Isles.'

Answers to Sentence 1 are presented in Figure 9. The majority of participants, 60%, chose *dychwelyd* as the best and only option for filling the sentence, while 29% chose both the PV and non-PV. The remaining 11% thought that *dod yn ôl* was the only suitable phrase. Four speakers pointed out directly that *dychwelyd* was more formal or indicated the formality of the item by saying they would expect to see it in the news. For others, however, the preferred option was *dod yn ôl* as the "more common, like *Cymraeg Clir*" (B8), "more natural" (C1), "more homely" (G9) or the one they would use it in speech (A6, C9). Three speakers commented there was no difference between the two verbs. The context of the sentence played a role as well. Some speakers believed that it is illogical to talk about a dead body "returning" anywhere, therefore the verb would be suitable only in the passive voice and *dod yn ôl* was preferred (4<sup>82</sup>).

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<sup>82</sup> Throughout the chapter numbers in brackets indicate the number of speakers who chose a given option or expressed the same opinion.

## SENTENCE 1

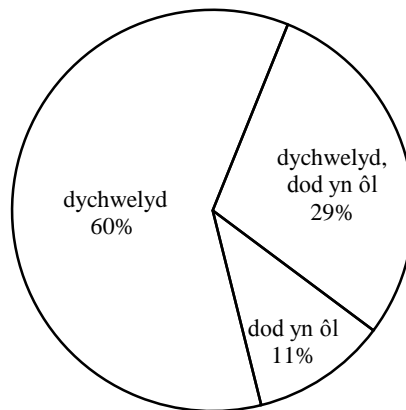


Figure 9. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 1 (*dod yn ôl/dychwelyd*).

All in all, the PV was accepted by 40% of the speakers, which does not suggest a strong prescriptive norm against using it. The speakers generally indicated that the choice of the verb would depend on the level of formality. However, some informants perceived a semantic difference, in that the PV was more passive than *dychwelyd*, which for these speakers required an agent. There were no comments pointing out that *dod yn ôl* might be borrowed from English, which confirms the naturalness of transparent PVs of this type in Welsh.

All the other sentences in Part A focused on idiomatic PVs which might be seen as influenced by contact with English. The first group – Sentences 2, 6 and 10 – were PVs of the pleonastic type: *tyfu i fyny* ‘grow up’, *eistedd i lawr* ‘sit down’ and *helpu allan* ‘help out’. The first two occurred very frequently in the corpus, yet, as shown in 4.5.8 are also frequently prescribed against. *Helpu allan* is a less well-established example of an extended meaning of the particle *allan* (see 3.3.2.1). The results of the survey for these constructions are presented in Figures 10-12.

The most accepted of the three pleonastic PVs was *eistedd i lawr*. It was chosen by 44% of participants, compared with 23% for *tyfu i fyny* and 17% for *helpu allan/mas*.

**Sentence 10.** Nid yw'r ateb mor syml â dweud wrth y ddwy ochr i \_\_\_\_\_ a thrafod y sefyllfa.

‘The answer is not as simple as to tell both sides to \_\_\_\_\_ and discuss the situation.’

## SENTENCE 10

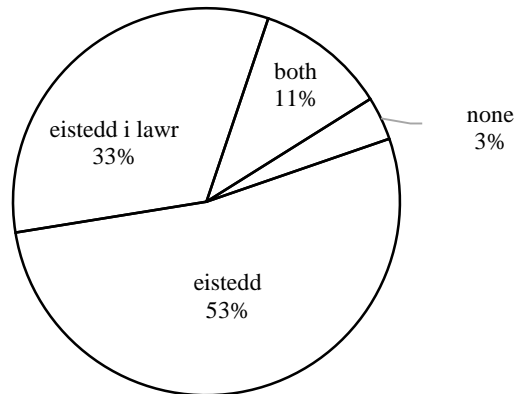


Figure 10. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 10 (*eistedd/eistedd i lawr*).

As seen in Figure 10, more than half of the speakers chose *eistedd* as the only acceptable option, while one third accepted only *eistedd i lawr*. Two speakers did not choose any option as they believed it would be better to use other expressions in the context (*sefyll* ‘stand’ or omit the phrase altogether). Four speakers, who preferred the non-PV item, commented that *eistedd i lawr* is a borrowing from English. Others, however, preferred *eistedd i lawr* as common in speech (C9, O5), “better” (L1), “making more sense” (Y2), “natural although it comes from English” (G11). The answers indicate that *eistedd i lawr* is a relatively well-established PV, which did not strike the speakers as a borrowing.

A much stronger prescriptive norm was suggested by the answers to Sentence 2 concerning the concept of growing, getting older, expressed with *tyfu* ‘grow’ or *tyfu i fyny* ‘grow up’.

**Sentence 2.** Er gwaethaf y llawdriniaeth brys i'w wyneb bydd rhaid i'r bachgen gael sawl llawdriniaeth arall, er mwyn ychwanegu croen newydd at ei wyneb wrth iddo \_\_\_\_\_.

‘Despite emergency face surgery the boy will need several other surgeries to add new skin to his face as he will \_\_\_\_\_.’

## SENTENCE 2

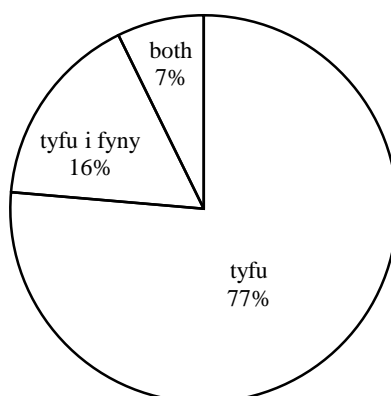


Figure 11. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 2 (*tyfu/tyfu i fyny*).

As shown in Figure 11, the vast majority of participants (77%) chose *tyfu* as the verb they would expect to see in the context. As many as 10 speakers pointed out that *tyfu i fyny* comes from English and is therefore incorrect. One speaker said she had been taught that *tyfu i fyny* is “wrong” (B4). Some speakers did not mention the English influence directly but said that the particle was unnecessary as it did not add anything to the sentence (3). On the other hand, 16% of speakers considered *tyfu i fyny* to be the only appropriate option to fill the sentence. Two speakers noticed that the PV is very common and fully accepted and one speaker commented that “although it is possibly translated from English”, it “makes sense” (Y2).

The least popular pleonastic construction was *helpu allan*. The participants had four options to choose from: *cynorthwyo* and *helpu*, both meaning ‘to help’, and PVs *helpu allan* and *helpu mas* ‘help out’ to fill the following sentence:

**Sentence 6.** Os oes rhieni ar gael i \_\_\_\_\_ yng ngardd yr ysgol ar brynhawn dydd Iau, Mawrth 17eg, byddwn yn ddiolchgar iawn.

‘If there are parents available to \_\_\_\_\_ in the school garden on Thursday afternoon, 17 March, we will be very grateful.’

The participants’ answers are presented in Figure 12. All in all, 84% of speakers chose a non-PV option with *cynorthwyo* or *helpu*; many speakers said the choice between the two would depend on the level of formality, *cynorthwyo* being more formal. Four persons emphasised that *helpu allan* and *mas* were translations from English and one said

the particle was unnecessary. *Helpu mas* was accepted by only 10% of speakers, usually together with other forms, as the particle *mas* is used dialectally rather than in standard Welsh.

## SENTENCE 6

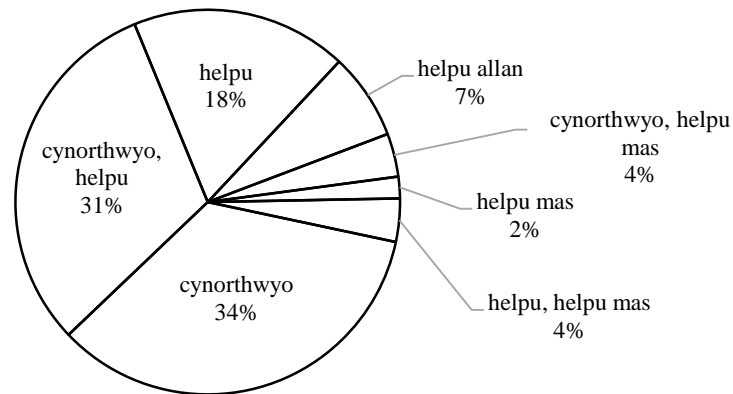


Figure 12. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 6 (*helpu/ helpu allan/ helpu mas/ cynorthwyo*).

Generally speaking, as far as pleonastic constructions are concerned, speakers evidently preferred non-PV options to PVs. Speakers who justified their choice often claimed that in their view the particle was unnecessary. It was particularly noticeable with *helpu allan*, where the particle carries relatively little meaning and, what is more, the verb is already a borrowing from English. *Eistedd i lawr*, however, appears to be quite acceptable in semi-formal Welsh and for some speakers it carried an additional meaning in comparison with the verb *eistedd* on its own.

Sentence 3 presented the case of a well-established PV *mynd ymlaen* whose basic idiomatic meaning of ‘progressing’, ‘continuing’ was extended to ‘happening’, presumably under the influence of English *go on*. In the sentence, the participants were offered two verbs to fill the gap: *mynd ymlaen* or *digwydd* ‘happen’:

**Sentence 3.** Nid pawb, am wahanol resymau, sydd yn gwybod beth yn union yw eisteddfod a beth sydd yn \_\_\_\_\_ mewn eisteddfod.

‘Not everybody, for different reasons, knows what exactly eisteddfod is and what \_\_\_\_\_ in an eisteddfod.’



Answers to the question are presented in Figure 13. The vast majority of informants, 85%, chose *digwydd* as the only appropriate option, while only 2 participants chose *mynd ymlaen*. One of them justified the choice by saying that it meant something else than *digwydd*, referring to many things happening at the same time (O6). Only six participants accepted both verbs; B7 commented that the choice would depend on the register and C8 said there was no difference in meaning; B3 said that both were acceptable, but *digwydd* was better. While justifying the choice of *digwydd* over *mynd ymlaen*, the participants would either deem *mynd ymlaen* too informal and spoken (4) or a borrowing from English (3). L3 commented at this point that *digwydd* was perhaps not used often enough and “we should speak more standard”. Similarly, O5 commented that he would expect to see *digwydd* but had certainly seen the other option in print.

The low acceptability of *mynd ymlaen* meaning ‘to happen’ points to the fact that the semantic extension of the meaning of this PV is not well-established in written semi-formal Welsh. The PV was generally viewed as colloquial and non-standard. However, some speakers indicated that the PV is used in semi-formal registers as well.

### SENTENCE 3

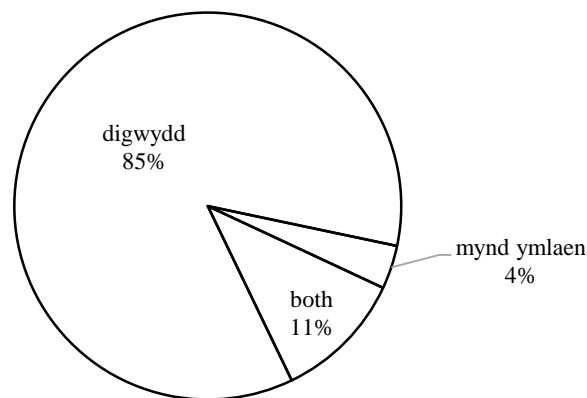


Figure 13. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 3 (*digwydd/mynd ymlaen*).

Sentences 4, 7 and 11 concerned more striking cases of idiomatic PVs directly translatable into English, *gweithio allan* ‘work out’, ‘discover’, *pigo i fyny* ‘pick up’, ‘learn’ and *troi i ffwrdd/bant/off* ‘switch off’, ‘turn off’.

In sentence 4 the speakers were given a choice between *gweithio allan*, dialectal *gweithio mas* and *darganfod* ‘discover’.

**Sentence 4.** Chafodd neb ei anafu yn y digwyddiad, ac mae ymchwilyr yn ceisio \_\_\_\_\_ sut yn union y dechreuodd y tân.

‘Nobody was injured in the incident but investigators try to \_\_\_\_\_ how exactly the fire began.’

Answers to the question are shown in Figure 14. This sentence presented one of the cases when the highest percentage of speakers preferred a non-PV over PV, with over 90% choosing *darganfod* as the only option. In justifying their choice some participants said they rejected *gweithio allan/mas* as a calque from English (3). However, more often, the PV was considered inappropriate only in the written mode as spoken and dialectal (6). What is more, several speakers proposed alternative expressions to fill the gap: *dyfalu*, *canfod*, *dod o hyd i achos y tân*. Similarly to English *work out*, *gweithio allan* appears to belong to the spoken register, which is one possible reason for its rejection by so many speakers. Moreover, with many other Welsh expressions to convey the idea of “working something out” the PV does not fill a semantic gap.

#### SENTENCE 4

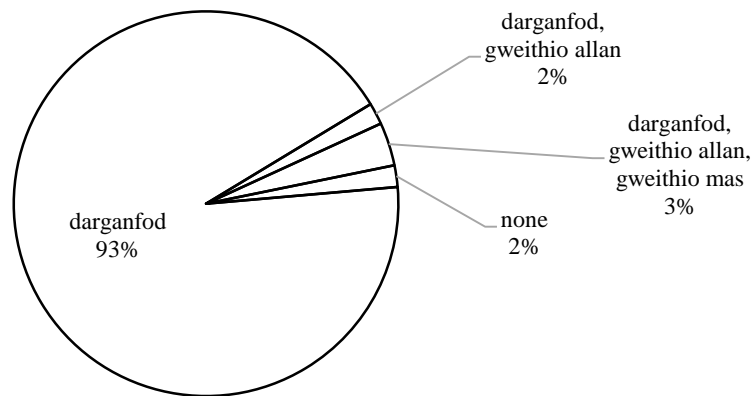


Figure 14. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 4 (*darganfod/gweithio allan/gweithio mas*).

A similar preference for a non-PV item was observed in Sentence 11 which examined verbs conveying the idea of switching off the lights: *diffodd* ‘switch off, extinguish’ and PVs *troi i ffwrdd*, *troi bant*, *troi off*:

**Sentence 11.** Caiff 6,185 o oleuadau eu \_\_\_\_\_ o ganol nos tan y wawr.

‘6,185 lights were \_\_\_\_\_ from midnight to the dawn.’

## SENTENCE 11

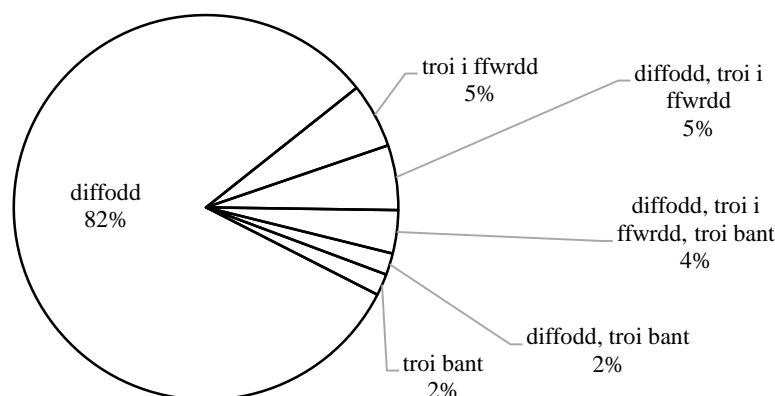


Figure 15. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 11 (*diffodd*/ *troi i ffwrdd*/*troi bant*/*troi off*).

The vast majority of speakers preferred *diffodd* to the proposed PVs *troi i ffwrdd*, while only 10% of speakers chose both the non-PV and PV options. Some speakers emphasised that *diffodd* is suitable in the written mode being more formal (4). The dialectal *troi bant* was accepted by only 4 participants, three of whom were new speakers, while the fourth commented that the form was “on the verge” of being acceptable. None of the participants chose the option *troi off*, which confirms that the particle *off* is highly marked and colloquial (see 3.3.2.7). The participants also drew attention to other PVs conveying the same sense: *rhoi off* and *switsho off*. The latter was mentioned by O1 who said she tried to persuade her little daughter to use *diffodd*, however the girl “brings” the loan *switsho off* from nursery school. The case of *diffodd* and *troi i ffwrdd* exemplifies a situation when the PV clearly belongs to spoken register and is considered too informal for writing.

The next case of a calqued PV gave similar results. In Sentence 7 the participants were supposed to choose the verb conveying the idea of ‘picking something up’, ‘learning’:

**Sentence 7.** Does dim ots a ydych chi'n siarad Cymraeg neu beidio, mae'r dosbarthiadau yn ddwyieithog a byddwch yn \_\_\_\_\_ yn sydyn yn y ddwy iaith.

‘It does not matter whether you speak Welsh or not, the classes are bilingual and you will \_\_\_\_\_ the songs quickly in the two languages.’

The participants were offered the following options to complete the sentence: *dysgu'r caneuon* 'learn songs', *pigo'r caneuon i fyny* 'pick up the songs', a dialectal variant of the PV *pigo'r caneuon lan* and another idiomatic expression *cael crap ar y caneuon* 'get a grasp of the songs', which is suggested as an equivalent of *pick up* by *Geiriadur yr Academi*. The phrasal verb *pigo i fyny* was rejected by over 70% of the speakers, three of whom commented that it was a borrowing from English. Only two participants chose *pigo i fyny* as the only acceptable option; one of them stated that the PV had a different meaning than *dysgu*. *Pigo lan* was chosen by 3 speakers, all of whom came from Carmarthenshire, which reflects the local dialect. Only one speaker marked all 4 options, commenting however that the PVs were "on the border" of being acceptable.

### SENTENCE 7

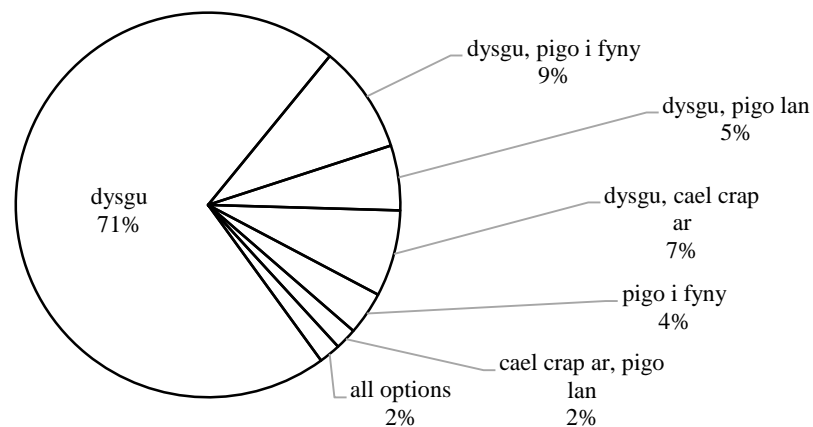


Figure 16. The verbs chosen by the speakers in Sentence 7 (*dysgu/pigo i fyny/pigo lan/cael crap ar*).

The most commented on element of this example was the proposed idiom *cael crap ar* 'get a grasp on'. It was accepted by only 6 speakers, always together with other options. Some speakers were entirely unfamiliar with the idiom and found it amusing (5) because of the word *crap* 'grasp', evoking English *crap*. Others said that they knew the idiom and heard it used but would avoid it themselves as it meant something else in English (3), was not understandable to everyone (4), or not suitable in the context (2). The example provides interesting evidence of the influence of English on the use of Welsh idioms by native speakers. It shows that alongside rejecting idioms that are borrowed from English, speakers may also choose not to use a native Welsh idiom in the bilingual environment because it may sound inappropriate due to the fact it is homogenous with a

negatively loaded English word. As regards the PVs *pigo i fyny/lan*, they can be regarded as non-standard due to their English-looking form (loanblends) and the existence of a simple equivalent *dysgu*.

Such equivalence is difficult to find for *edrych ymlaen* ‘look forward’, which was the most frequent PV in the corpus. Sentence 5 examined the case of this PV, proposing an alternative phrase *disgwyl yn eiddgar* ‘ardently expect’, given by GA as the equivalent of *look forward*. The dictionary overtly discouraged the use of *edrych ymlaen* (see 4.5.1). Speakers could also choose a variant of the PV with *i* as the second particle, which appeared frequently in the corpus (see 3.2.3.2)

**Sentence 5.** Yn dilyn ymateb gwych i'w nofel gyntaf, mae sawl un wedi bod yn \_\_\_\_\_ nofel nesaf.

‘Following the great response to the first novel, some people have been \_\_\_\_\_ (his) next one.’

As shown in Figure 17, the answers for this PV were much more varied than in the sentences previously described. Altogether, 62% of speakers accepted *edrych ymlaen* at either as the only option (27%) or together with other verbs (35%). Some commented that the expression *disgwyl yn eiddgar* sounded “unnatural” (O1), “too formal” (G9) or “forced” (L3). On the other hand, a relatively high percentage, 38%, chose only *disgwyl yn eiddgar*. Three speakers indicated that they liked the expression as a sophisticated one, but appropriate only for writing; one of the speakers admitted he would never think of using it himself. Another speaker noticed that although she did not mark *edrych ymlaen*, she thought it was quite acceptable, despite it being a borrowing.

The variant *edrych ymlaen i* was accepted by only two speakers, one of whom was a new speaker and expressed his lack of certainty over the choice. This points to the non-standardness of this variant, which is supposedly a recent calque from English.

## SENTENCE 5

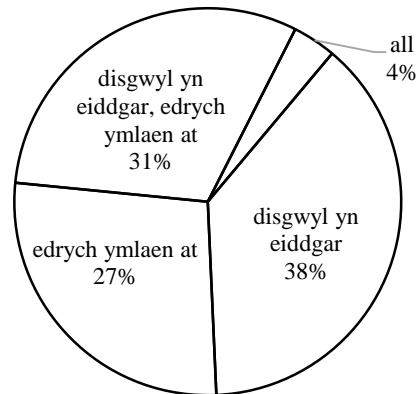


Figure 17. The verbs chosen in Sentence 5 (*disgwyl yn eiddgar, edrych ymlaen at, edrych ymlaen i*).

All in all, it can be seen that in the case of a PV which cannot be replaced by a one-word equivalent, the acceptability of PV was much higher. A similar case was investigated in Sentence 12, in which the concept of “keeping away and doing nothing” could be expressed with two verbs: a PV *eistedd yn ôl* ‘sit back’ and *sefyll o’r neilltu* ‘stand aside’ proposed by GA as the equivalent of *sit back*.

**Sentence 12.** Mae angen cynnal mwy o ymarferiadau milwrol i roi neges glir nad ydym yn \_\_\_\_\_.

‘One has to hold more military manoeuvres to give a clear message that we do not \_\_\_\_\_.’

## SENTENCE 12

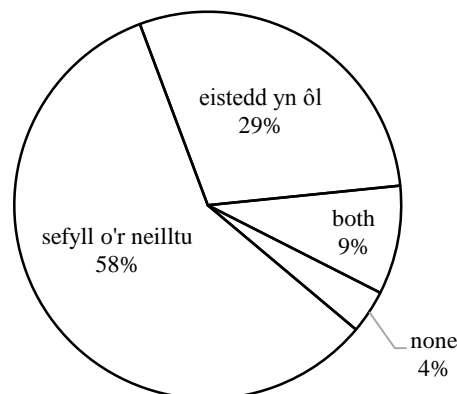


Figure 18. The verbs chosen in Sentence 12 (*sefyll o’r neilltu, eistedd yn ôl*).

As seen in Figure 18, the majority of speakers also in this case chose the non-PV option, which was described by some as “more correct” (A7), or “more formal” (C5, O5). One speaker rejected the PV *eistedd yn ôl* saying “it makes no sense” in Welsh (C1). The PV was accepted by 38% of the speakers; two of them, however, pointed out that it is borrowed from English. Four speakers stated that none of the options sounded well to them and proposed alternative expressions: *llaesu dwylo* ‘stay indifferent’, lit. ‘relax hands’, *gwneud dim* ‘do nothing’, *gorffwys ar ein rhwyfau* ‘be complacent’, lit. ‘rest on our oars’, *cadw draw* ‘keep away’. Some speakers pondered whether *eistedd yn ôl* was calqued from English as in this context it sounded like a translation of *stand back* rather than *sit back*, parallel to other expressions, such as *sit an exam*, which in Welsh is *sefyll arholiad* lit. ‘stand an exam’. These speakers perceived *eistedd yn ôl* as a kind of loan rendition, which shows their sensitivity to contact phenomena. To the majority, however, the phrase did not seem to be strongly associated with English. Despite the fact that the usage of the particle *yn ôl* in an idiomatic sense is quite rare, as shown in 3.3.2.6, the PV was not identified as an obvious calque.

Sentence 9 examined the acceptability of competing native and borrowed PVs conveying the notion of “continuing” something: *bwrw ymlaen* and *cario ymlaen* alongside the single verb *parhau*.

**Sentence 9.** Er i'r cyhoeddwr gael cynnig grant gan y Cyngor Llyfrau ar gyfer cyhoeddi, penderfynodd \_\_\_\_\_ â'r fenter heb y grant.

‘Although the publisher received an offer for a grant from the Book Council for publishing, they decided to \_\_\_\_\_ with the project without the grant.’

As shown in Figure 16, the native PV *bwrw ymlaen* was chosen by nearly two thirds of the speakers, usually together with other options, while one third of the speakers accepted only *parhau*. *Cario ymlaen* was chosen by 21% of the informants, but only to speakers who marked it as the only option. One speaker who marked all three options commented that although *cario ymlaen* is acceptable, the other two would be her first choice. Another speaker believed that both PVs are “very deeply rooted in the language”. On the other hand *cario ymlaen* was rejected by 6 speakers due to the fact that it was a borrowing. Five speakers said they liked *bwrw ymlaen* as the most natural expression, while one speaker believed that it is also a borrowing like *cario ymlaen*.

## SENTENCE 9

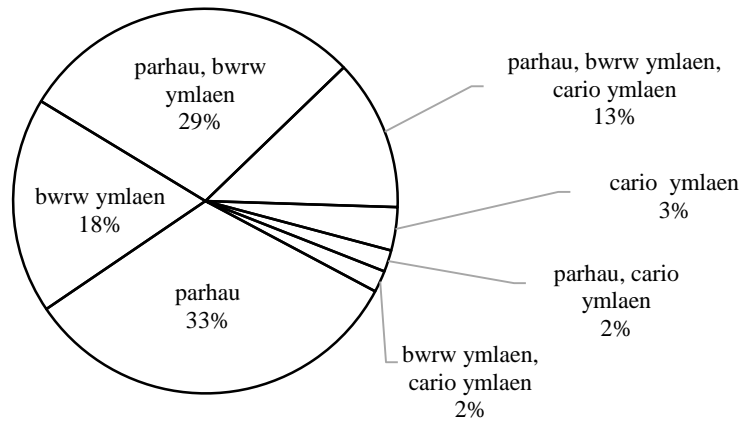


Figure 19. The verbs chosen in Sentence 9 (*parhau/bwrw ymlaen/cario ymlaen*).

Finally, Sentence 8 checked the acceptability of two PPs, both conveying the sense of ‘encountering something suddenly’, one of which is directly translatable into English: *dod ar draws* ‘come across’ and *taro ar* ‘strike, hit on’.

**Sentence 8.** Mae’n rhaid i ni herio peryglon gwahaniaethu ac eithafiaeth o bob math a pheidio byth â sefyll o’r neilltu pan fyddwn yn \_\_\_\_\_ a chasineb.

‘We have to challenge the dangers of discrimination and extremism of any kind and never stand aside when we \_\_\_\_\_ hatred.’

## SENTENCE 8

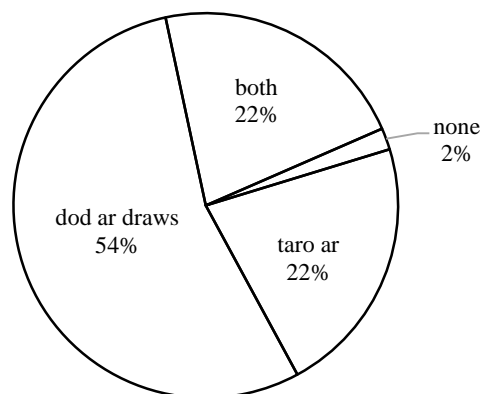


Figure 20. The verbs chosen in Sentence 8 (*dod ar draws/ taro ar*).

The PV *dod ar draws* was accepted by the majority of speakers (76%), with 54% selecting it as the only option. Some speakers stated that *dod ar draws* was more natural



and understandable “even though it is influenced by English” (4), while for B3 it was more natural than “awkward” *taro ar*. For one speaker *taro ar* was more formal (C5) and appropriate in the context, while for O6 it was too formal. B7 found it inappropriate in the context, and C4 (a new speaker) said she had never heard *taro ar*. A few speakers proposed alternative expressions: *wynebu* ‘face’ (C7, B8), *gweld* ‘see’ (B3), *dod wyneb yn wyneb â* ‘come face to face’ (G11). Only one speaker (B8) rejected both items and proposed *wynebu* as an appropriate choice. A summary of the results for Part A is presented in Table 26.

Table 25. Percentage of speakers accepting PVs and alternative expressions in Part A of the questionnaire in descending order.

<b>PVs</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>non-PVs</b>	<b>%</b>
dod ar draws	76%	darganfod	98%
edrych ymlaen at	62%	digwydd	96%
bwrw ymlaen	62%	dysgu	95%
taro ar	44%	diffodd	93%
eistedd i lawr	44%	dychwelyd	89%
dod yn ôl	40%	tyfu	84%
eistedd yn ôl	38%	disgwyl yn eiddgar	73%
tyfu i fyny	24%	cynorthwyo	69%
cario ymlaen	20%	sefyll o'r neilltu	67%
mynd ymlaen	15%	eistedd	64%
pigo i fyny	15%	helpu	53%
troi i ffwrdd	15%	parhau	44%
helpu mas	9%	cael crap ar	11%
pigo lan	9%		
helpu allan	7%		
troi bant	7%		
gweithio allan	6%		
gweithio mas	4%		
edrych ymlaen i	4%		
troi off	0%		

The results have confirmed the research hypothesis that the degree of acceptability would depend on the PV’s status with regard to contact with English. The most acceptable constructions were PVs which are well-established and frequent, despite being directly translatable into English and where the particle sense is natural for the Welsh-language. The

third most acceptable PV was native *bwrw ymlaen*, the only PV which was chosen by more speakers than the one-word equivalent *parhau*.

The three examples of pleonastic PVs in the questionnaire have confirmed Thomas's (1996) and Rottet's (2005) observations that in more formal registers the equivalents without the aspectual particle, such as *eistedd*, *tyfu*, *helpu*, will be preferred over pleonastic PVs. The degree of acceptability varied, however, in the three examined cases. *Eistedd i lawr* was identified as a borrowing by fewer participants than *tyfu i fyny* and as a consequence was accepted by a higher percentage of speakers; the much less well-established *helpu allan/mas*, which contains a borrowed verb and where the particle is almost semantically empty, scored much lower. The degree of acceptability of pleonastic PVs may therefore depend on their perceived status as calqued constructions.

The questionnaire revealed a strong prescriptive norm against other calqued constructions examined. As expected, the most rejected PVs were dialectal variants of idiomatic PVs and a loanblend *troi off* with the particle borrowed directly from English. The loanblend *cario ymlaen* was accepted by one fifth of the speakers, scoring much lower than native *bwrw ymlaen*, although in the corpus the two items appeared with equal frequency. Noticeably, this loanblend was more accepted than calqued *troi i ffwrdd/bant*, *pigo i fyny/lan* and *gweithio allan/mas*, which were considered inappropriate in the contexts by the vast majority of speakers. This is slightly surprising, bearing in mind the high frequency of these items in the corpus. However, the PVs appear to be identifiable as calques from English due to the fact that their particle senses are relatively new and not well-established; moreover, there is a strong prescriptive norm against these specific construction, especially *troi i ffwrdd* (e.g. Thomas 2012:162). What is perhaps more surprising is the low acceptability of the calque *mynd ymlaen* 'happen', which is a semantic extension of a well-established *mynd ymlaen* 'to continue'. This can be attributed to close synonymy with a simple equivalent *digwydd* 'happen' and also the more informal character of the PV.

Contrary to expectation, the PV *edrych ymlaen at* was less accepted than the rather sophisticated equivalent *disgwyl yn eiddgar* 'ardently expect', despite the high frequency of the PV in the corpus and the fact it does not have a close native Welsh equivalent. Nevertheless, the PV was the most acceptable one among all the directly translatable constructions, which demonstrates that it has its place in standard written Welsh. When

speakers had no choice of a single-word item, the more frequent and well-established PP *dod ar draws* was preferred over native *taro ar*.

The PV *eistedd yn ôl* seemed to be somewhat perplexing for the participants. It appears to be a little established item as for some informants it was unclear whether the PV is a loan rendition of *stand back* or direct translation of *sit back*.

### 5.4.3. Questionnaire Part B

#### 5.4.3.1. Results

In part B of the questionnaire the participants were given four sets of sentences. The sets were introduced by putting them in the context of four imagined situations, representing different registers and levels of formality: spoken informal (R1), spoken formal (R2), written semi-formal (R3) and written official (R4).

Figure 21 and Table 26 present an overview of the results of Part B of the questionnaire, by giving the percentage of the participants who chose a PV in a given situation. As expected, the perceived acceptability varied considerably not only across registers, but also across the selected PVs, depending on their status and meaning.

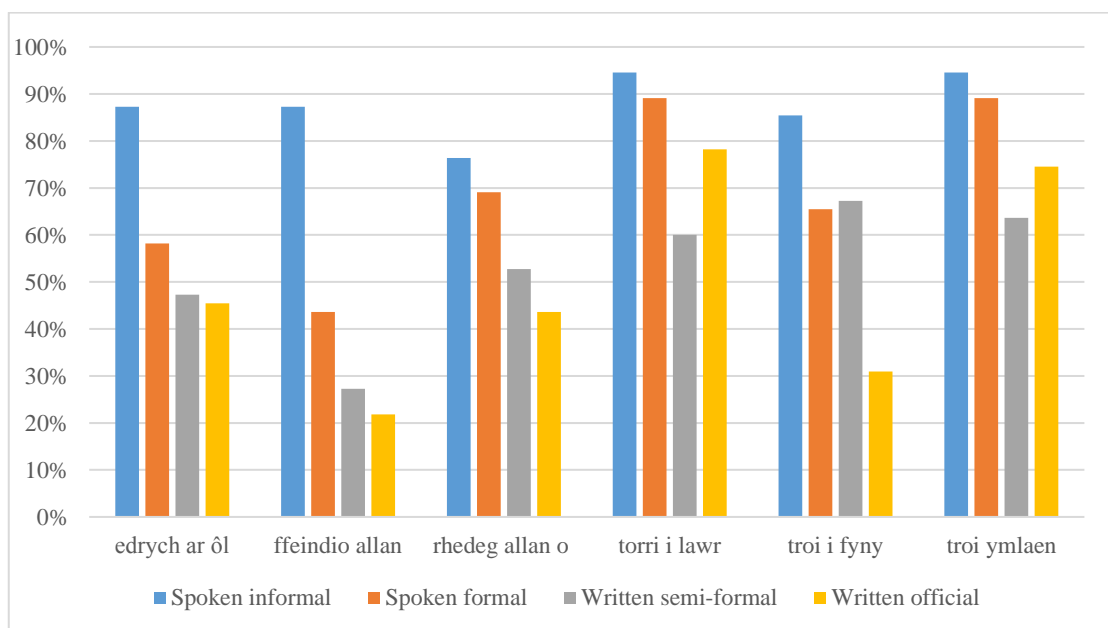


Figure 21. Part B – perceived acceptability of selected PVs in different registers.

Table 26. Part B – perceived acceptability of selected PVs in different registers

PV	Spoken informal	Spoken formal	Written semi-formal	Written official
torri i lawr	95%	89%	60%	78%
troi ymlaen	95%	89%	64%	75%
troi i fyny	85%	65%	67%	31%
edrych ar ôl	87%	58%	47%	45%
rhedeg allan o	76%	69%	53%	44%
ffeindio allan	87%	44%	27%	22%

The results of the study confirmed Research Hypothesis 2 (5.3.2.). All of the selected verb-particle constructions were declared as being used in informal conversation by the vast majority of speakers. The results for spoken formal register were more mixed and depended on the type of the PV. As had been predicted, in formal and semi-formal registers the most accepted PVs were *torri i lawr* and *troi ymlaen*, a pleonastic construction and a PV filling a lexical gap. Similarly, *troi i fyny* in its technical sense was also markedly more accepted than in the sense of ‘arriving, showing up’ (67% and 31%, respectively). However, the technical meaning of *torri i lawr* was less accepted than the more popular sense of ‘stop working’ (see below). Relatively well-established calques of three syntactic types (PP, APV, PPV) *edrych ar ôl*, *troi i fyny* and *rhedeg allan o*, while highly accepted in speech, were avoided in writing by the majority of speakers. The loanblend *ffeindio allan*, was accepted only by a small proportion of speakers in writing, however, it was highly accepted in speech. A more detailed look at the results concerning the six selected PVs provides some valuable data on their integration.

Table 27. Sentences in the questionnaire containing *torri i lawr* ‘break down’.

Register	Welsh sentence	English translation	Acceptability
R1	<b>Torrodd</b> y car <b>i lawr</b> <sup>83</sup> a doedd hi ddim yn gallu fforddio'r costau cynnal.	The car broke down and she could not afford maintenance costs.	95%
R2	Mae cerbydau yn <b>torri i lawr</b> a dydy casgliadau gwastraff bwyd ddim yn digwydd.	Vehicles break down and the food waste collection doesn't take place.	89%

<sup>83</sup> This is the only sentence in Part B that contains a synthetic rather than periphrastic form of the verb as it was considered the most natural form in this context. Despite the fact that synthetic forms may be perceived as more formal, in this case it has clearly not affected the speakers' choices since the degree of acceptability for this sentence was 95%.

R3	Mae sylweddau nad yw'n bosibl eu <b>torri i lawr</b> yn cael eu galw'n sylweddau hirbarhaus.	Substances which are impossible to be broken down are called highly persistent substances.	60%
R4	Mae gan staff yr ysbyty bŵer i symud cerbydau sydd wedi'u gadael neu sydd wedi <b>torri i lawr</b> .	The hospital staff have the power to move vehicles which were left or broke down.	78%

Table 27 presents the sentences containing *torri i lawr* 'break down'. The vast majority of speakers (95%) declared that they would use the phrase in speech in the context of vehicles breaking down. The construction was also accepted by the majority of speakers in spoken formal and written official registers (89% and 78%, respectively). Speakers who rejected the PV in these contexts often proposed the verb without the particle, *torri*, as the expression they would use (6). One speaker accepted the PV on the grounds that, since "so many people say it", it could be used in a leaflet, although she herself disapproved of it. Generally speaking, however, the vast majority of participants did not see the PV as inappropriate. Markedly fewer speakers, 60%, accepted the PV in situation 3, in which it was used in the sense of 'separating into parts'. The sentence referred to "breaking elements down" and was originally taken from an educational website for young people studying biology. It was observed that some speakers found it difficult to propose an equivalent for the PV in this sentence; some of them admitted they could not think of anything (2) or stated that it should be "something technical" (2). The proposed alternatives to the PV were *dadelfenni* 'analyse' (G11), *datgymalu* 'disjoint' (C1), *pydru* 'decompose' (C1, C6) and *daddansoddi* 'analyse' (A3, Y1). This untypical example may be considered to illustrate lack of confidence of professional speakers with regard to technical vocabulary.

Table 28. Sentences in the questionnaire containing *troi ymlaen* 'turn on'.

Register	Welsh sentence	English translation	Acceptability
R1	Bob tro wyt ti'n <b>troi</b> 'r teledu <b>ym-laen</b> , maen nhw'n siarad am y gemau.	Every time I switch on the TV they are talking about the games.	95%
R2	Pan wnes i <b>droi</b> y radio lleol <b>ym-laen</b> , roedd pob cân yn Saesneg a'r unig Gymraeg a glywais mewn mwy na hanner awr oedd un llinell mewn newyddion	When I turned the local radio on every song was in English and the only Welsh I heard in more than half an hour was a single line in the news.	89%
R3	Os bydd ffermwyr yn <b>troi</b> 'r dŵr <b>ym-laen</b> heb angen gwneud hynny, gall y tir wynebu syched.	If farmers unnecessarily turn the water on, the land may face drought.	64%
R4	Gall cleifion <b>droi</b> 'r larwm <b>ym-laen</b> pan fo angen.	Patients can turn the alarm on if need arises.	75%

Very similar results were obtained for the PV *troi ymlaen*. The sentences containing this PV referred to the concept of switching/turning on electric devices: television, radio, alarm or, in R3, water (Table 28). Also in this case the PV was markedly less accepted in a popular book than in an official leaflet, while being almost universally accepted in speech. One possible reason for the lower acceptability in R3 might be attributed to the less common context of turning on water, rather than a device. Another explanation was given by speaker Y2, who said the PV would be appropriate in the official register because it is very common, in a book however she would avoid it by using the phrase *defnyddio dŵr* ‘use water’. Several other speakers proposed this and other verbs to be used in Situation 3: *defnyddio* ‘use’ (C1, G9, G11, A5, Y1, Y2), *dyfrio* ‘water’ (G5), *gwastraffu* ‘waste’ (A7). Noticeably, in the spoken informal register, speakers also proposed alternative expressions they would use in everyday life: a dialectal variant *rhoi ymlaen* (A4, A5, B3, B5 – all these speakers came from North Wales), *troi ar* (G6), *troi arnodd* (O6) and *troi on* (C6, O6). All these speakers stated, however, that they would use the more standard *troi ymlaen* in the formal situation. Some speakers who rejected the PV in R4 proposed *canu* ‘ring’ (L6, Y1), *tanio* ‘ignite’ (G6) and *defnyddio* ‘use’ (L8, B8, Y1) as alternatives.

Table 29. Sentences in the questionnaire containing *troi i fyny* ‘turn up’.

Register	Welsh sentence	English translation	Acceptability
R1	Faint o bobol wnaeth <b>droi i fyny/ droi lan</b> i'r cyfarfod?	How many people turned up to the meeting?	85%
R2	Dyw hi ddim yn anarferol i bedair neu bump ambiwlans <b>droi i fyny/ droi lan</b> â chleifion o fewn hanner awr.	It is not unusual for four or five ambulances to turn up with patients within half an hour.	65%
R3	Mae'n werth cadw rheiddiuron yn isel am gyfnodau hirach yn hytrach na'u <b>troi i fyny/ troi lan</b> am rai oriau.	It's a good idea to keep radiators low for longer periods rather than turn them up for some hours.	67%
R4	Rydym yn chwilio am wirfoddolwyr ag egni a syniadau – croeso mawr i bobl o bob oed ac o bob rhan o'r ardal <b>droi i fyny/ droi lan</b> .	We are looking for volunteers with energy and ideas – people of all ages and from every part of the region are warmly welcome to turn up.	31%

In the case of *troi i fyny* there was a meaningful difference between the acceptability of the PV in a book and a leaflet – 67% and 31%, respectively. In Situation 3 the verb referred to turning up a radiator, while in R4 it denoted arriving at a place (Table 29). This discrepancy may, as previously, be explained by the fact that in R3 the verb was

used in a technical sense difficult to replace. Three speakers admitted they struggled with finding an equivalent and could not think of anything else. In fact, only one speaker proposed an alternative phrase for this sentence: *defnyddio ar wres uchel* ‘use at high heat’ (G6). In contrast, in R4 the majority of participants could immediately find an acceptable word or expression to replace *troi i fyny* in the sense of arriving: *dod* ‘come’ (9), *dyfod* ‘come’ (1), *ymuno* ‘join’ (4), *cyfrannu* ‘contribute’ (1), *mynychu* ‘attend’ (3), *bod yn bresennol* ‘be present’ (1), *cymryd rhan* ‘take part’ (1), *dod draw* ‘come over’ (1), *galw heibio* ‘call by’ (1) – the latter two being native PVs. Two speakers believed that the phrase should be deleted from the sentence altogether. Although the PV was much more accepted in informal speech (85%), 6 speakers said they would rather use the verb *dod* ‘come’. In formal speech, where the verb was less preferred (65%) the most common proposed alternative was more formal *cyrraedd* ‘arrive’ (7); other options mentioned were *mynychu* ‘attend’ (1) and *ymddangos* ‘appear’ (2). The dialectal variant *troi lan* was usually chosen only in the spoken informal (10) or in both spoken registers (8) by speakers from South or Mid Wales. Only two speakers chose *troi lan* in every context.

In general, the verb *troi i fyny* in its main sense was associated with the informal register, with speakers being sensitive to differences between spoken and written mode. However, only one speaker indicated directly that the PV was “incorrect” on paper.

Table 30. Sentences in the questionnaire containing *edrych ar ôl* ‘look after’.

Register	Welsh sentence	English translation	Acceptability
R1	All dy chwaer <b>edrych ar ôl</b> Mabon benwythnos yma?	Can your sister look after Mabon this weekend?	87%
R2	Mae henoed sy'n <b>edrych ar ôl</b> plant yn dioddef yn ariannol	Elderly people who look after children suffer financially.	58%
R3	Mae ffermio coco yn golygu <b>edrych ar ôl</b> y coed coco a chynaeafu'r codau, eplesu a sychu'r ffa a'u pacio mewn sachau yn barod i gael eu troi yn eich hoff far o siocled.	Farming cocoa involves looking after cocoa trees and harvesting the pouches, fermenting and drying the beans and packing them in sacks ready to be turned into your favourite bar of chocolate.	47%
R4	Os ydych chi'n <b>edrych ar ôl</b> rhywun ag anghenion gofal a chymorth a fyddai'n methu ymdopi heb eich help chi, rydych yn ofalwr.	If you look after someone who needs care and assistance and who could not cope without your help, you are a caretaker.	45%

The case of the prepositional verb *edrych ar ôl* also demonstrated the difference between spoken and written language. The verb was used in the same sense in all situations, referring to taking care of children, plants or sick patients (Table 30). The PV was

highly accepted only in informal speech (87%), while in formal speech the percentage dropped to 58% and in written registers it oscillated around 45%. This is explained by the existence of several Welsh verbs which could replace *edrych ar ôl*. The number of speakers proposing alternative verbs reflected the proportion of acceptability: only 5 speakers suggested equivalents for R1, while it was 20 for R2 and 19 for R3 and 4. The most popular alternatives suggested were *gofalu* ‘look after’ (R1– 2; R2 – 6; R3 – 11; R4 – 16) and *gwarchod* ‘look after’ (R1– 3; R2 - 14; R3 – 5; R4 - 1). Other verbs proposed were *cynnal* ‘support’ or *meithrin* ‘nourish’ (1), *trin* ‘cultivate’, ‘treat’ (R3 – 2, R4 – 1) and *amdiffyn* ‘protect’ (R3 – 1). Although the PV was highly accepted in the informal spoken register, in more formal contexts half of the speakers expressed preference for one-word equivalents.

Table 31. Sentences in the questionnaire containing *rhedeg allan o* ‘run out of’.

Register	Welsh sentence	English translation	Acceptability
R1	Mae’r ffôn wedi <b>rhedeg allan o / rhedeg mas o</b> fatri eto.	The phone has run out of battery again.	76%
R2	Mae’r llywodraeth wedi colli ysbrydoliaeth a <b>rhedeg allan o/rhedeg mas o</b> stem.	The government has lost inspiration and run out of steam.	69%
R3	Mae llawer un yn pryderu byddwn yn <b>rhedeg allan o/ rhedeg mas o</b> r olew.	Many people worry that we will run out of oil.	53%
R4	Os ydych wedi <b>rhedeg allan o/rhedeg mas o</b> r feddyginiaeth, ewch i fferyllfa sydd cymryd rhan yn y rhaglen.	If you have run out of medicine, go to the pharmacy which takes part in the programme.	44%

The phrasal prepositional verb *rhedeg allan o* ‘run out of’ was the least accepted of the six PVs examined in informal speech (see Table 26), yet its acceptability was still rather high, at 76%. Notably, there was no large difference between the acceptability of this PV in informal and formal speech (69%). This may be explained by the fact that in R2 the verb was used in an idiomatic expression *rhedeg allan o stêm*, ‘run out of steam, energy’ (Table 31). The speakers found it difficult to find an alternative and only few of them proposed equivalents: *colli stêm* ‘lose steam’ (4), *dim stêm* ‘no steam’ (1), *diffyg stêm* ‘lack of steam’ (1). In R1 the proposed equivalents for “running out of battery” were: *mynd yn fflat* ‘go flat’ (2), *wedi mynd* ‘gone’ (1), *darfod* ‘finish’ (2), *mynd yn marw* ‘go dead’ (1), *gorffen* ‘finish’ (1). In R3 speakers proposed *dim ar ôl* ‘no left’ (1), *dod i ben* ‘finish’ (2), *dirwyn i ben* ‘finish’ (1), *na fydd digon ar gael* ‘there won’t be enough available’ (1), *gorffen* ‘finish’ (1), while in R4 the suggested options were: *gorffen* ‘finish’



(10), *nad oes ar ôl* ‘that there is no left’(4), *os nad oes* ‘if there is no’ (1) and *dod i ben* ‘finish’ (3). Speakers from South and Mid Wales chose the dialectal variant *rhedeg mas* in speech (10) or only in informal speech (3). Only two speakers chose this variant also in informal writing, and one speaker in all four situations.

Generally speaking, the participants considered this PV to belong to the informal registers of Welsh. One speaker openly stated that it is too informal for writing (O4). Speaker A1, a teacher of Welsh, mentioned the PV of his own accord in the opening interview as an example of a calque from English. Upon seeing it in the questionnaire he added that the expression did not make sense and that he would try to draw the attention of his students to the “mistake” by asking “run where?” if they use it. However, curiously, the speaker accepted the PV in R4.

Table 32. Sentences in the questionnaire containing *ffeindio allan* ‘find out’.

Register	Welsh sentence	English translation	Acceptability
R1	Wnaeth rhywun <b>ffeindio allan/ ffeindio mas</b> bod nhw’n gwerthu tocynau o hyd.	Someone found out that they are still selling tickets.	87%
R2	Rwyf wedi siarad â’r staff Gwasanaethau Ambiwlans, ac wedi <b>ffeindio allan/ ffeindio mas</b> byddai’n haws iddyn nhw ddefnyddio’r wybodaeth pe bai GPS ar gael.	I have spoken with the staff of Ambulance Services and found out that it would be easier for them to use the information if GPS was available.	44%
R3	Pe gallwn <b>ffeindio allan/ffeindio mas</b> mwy am effaith y cemegyn, byddwn ni’n gwybod sut i ymdopi â’r broblem.	If we could find out more about the effect of the chemical we would know how to cope with the problem.	27%
R4	Gallwch <b>ffeindio allan/ ffeindio mas</b> rhagor am hyfforddiant a gweithgareddau dan y ddolen isod.	You can find out more about the training and activities under the link below.	22%

Finally, the PVs *ffeindio allan* (Table 32) was the least accepted one in registers other than informal speech, where it was chosen by a very high proportion of the speakers (87%). Only two speakers suggested an alternative in this register: *canfod* ‘find’ (1) and *ffeindio* ‘find’ (1). In contrast, in formal registers, the majority of speakers rejected the PV. The most common alternative proposed was *darganfod* ‘find’, ‘discover’ (R2 – 10; R3 – 14; R4 – 17). Other equivalents were: *canfod* ‘find’ (R2 – 2; R3 – 6; R4 – 1), *cael gwybod* ‘get to know’(R2 – 1), *cael rhagor am* ‘get more about’ (R2 – 1), *dysgu* ‘learn’ (R2 – 1, R4 – 1), *deall* ‘understand’ (R2– 1), *cael mwy o wybodaeth* ‘get more information’ (R4 – 5), *dod o hyd i wybodaeth* ‘find information’ (R4 – 1), *cael hyd i wybodaeth*

'find information' (R4 – 1), *darllen rhagor* 'read more' (R4 – 1). Many speakers from South and Mid Wales chose the dialectal variant *ffeindio mas* in speech (13). Only 5 speakers accepted *ffeindio allan* in all registers and there was an exceptional case of a speaker who accepted the PV only in R4 (L9).

#### 5.4.3.2. Extralinguistic variables – statistical analysis

The results of Questionnaire B were analysed statistically with respect to three extralinguistic variables which were considered potentially valid regarding the homogenous character of the sample: sex, age and education (see 5.4.1.) Participants' answers were transposed into scores 0-6 for each PV in each of the four registers (R1, R2, R3, R4). The total score was also calculated for each participant. The data was analysed in SPSS and R statistical software.

Prior to verifying each hypothesis the distributions of variables were tested for their conformance with the normal distribution. If the distribution was normal the hypotheses were verified using parametric student's t-test; otherwise, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test was applied. The equality of variance was assessed with Levene's test for each t-test and each time the null hypothesis of equal variances was not rejected. In the analysis of correlation regarding the variable age, the distribution of all variables was non-normal, therefore non-parametric Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was used.

##### *Sex*

Firstly, the distributions for all four registers and the total scores of the sample divided by sex were checked for the normality of distribution. A Shapiro-Wilk test of normality found significant departures from the normal distribution in scores R1, R2, and R3, and no significant departure from normality in the R4 score and total score.

Student's t-test analysis showed that there were no significant differences between sexes in R4 and the total score (Table 33).

Table 33. The results of student's t-test for differences between sexes in Register 4 and total score with normal distribution.

Sex of the speaker		N	M	SD	t	df	p
R4	male	19	2.79	1.40	-0.65	53	0.52
	female	36	3.08	1.68			
total	male	19	16.05	4.21	0.29	53	0.77
	female	36	15.67	4.96			

The analysis with Mann-Whitney U test showed no statistically significant differences between sexes for R1, R2 and R3 (Table 34). This means that there is no evidence of male - female differences with respect to the acceptability of phrasal verbs.

Table 34. The results of the Mann-Whitney U test for differences between sexes for Registers 1, 2 and 3 with non-normal distribution

Sex of the speaker	N	MR	Percentile			Z	p	
			25	50	75			
R1	male	19	27.97	5	6	6	-0.01	0.99
	female	36	28.01	5	6	6		
R2	male	19	29.76	4	4	6	-0.61	0.54
	female	36	27.07	3	4	6		
R3	male	19	29.71	1	3	5	-0.58	0.56
	female	36	27.10	2	3	5		

MR- Mean Rank

### Age

The second variable tested was age. The participants were assigned to six age groups which were then transposed into ranks for calculations. A Shapiro-Wilk test of normality found significant departures from the normal distribution in all questionnaire scores except for the total score. Therefore, non-parametric Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was used to verify the correlation hypothesis. The analysis did not show any significant correlations between age of the participants and the score obtained in the questionnaire (Table 35). Thus the analysis provided no evidence for participants' age influencing the acceptability of phrasal verbs.

Table 35. The results of Spearman's test for correlation between age and Questionnaire B scores for Registers 1-4 and the total score.

	age		N
	$\rho$	p	
R1	-0.03	0.82	55
R2	-0.14	0.30	55
R3	-0.09	0.50	55
R4	-0.24	0.08	55
Total score	-0.20	0.14	55

### *Education*

The third variable examined was the level of education of the participants. The majority of the studied speakers (47) had received university education, while only 8 participants had been through secondary education. A Shapiro-Wilk test of normality found significant departures from the normal distribution in all scores except for the total score of the two groups distinguished according to the level of education.

Student's t-test found a significant difference in the total score between speakers with secondary and higher education  $t(53) = 2.35, p < .05$  (Table 36). Speakers with higher education had significantly lower scores in the total sum of accepted PVs ( $M = 15.21, SD = 4.43$ ) in comparison with speakers with secondary education ( $M = 19.25, SD = 4.92$ ) (Figure 22).

Table 36. The results of student's t-test for differences between speakers with secondary and higher education in the total score.

	Education	N	M	SD	t	df	p
Total score	secondary	8	19.25	4.92	2.35	53	<.05
	higher	47	15.21	4.43			

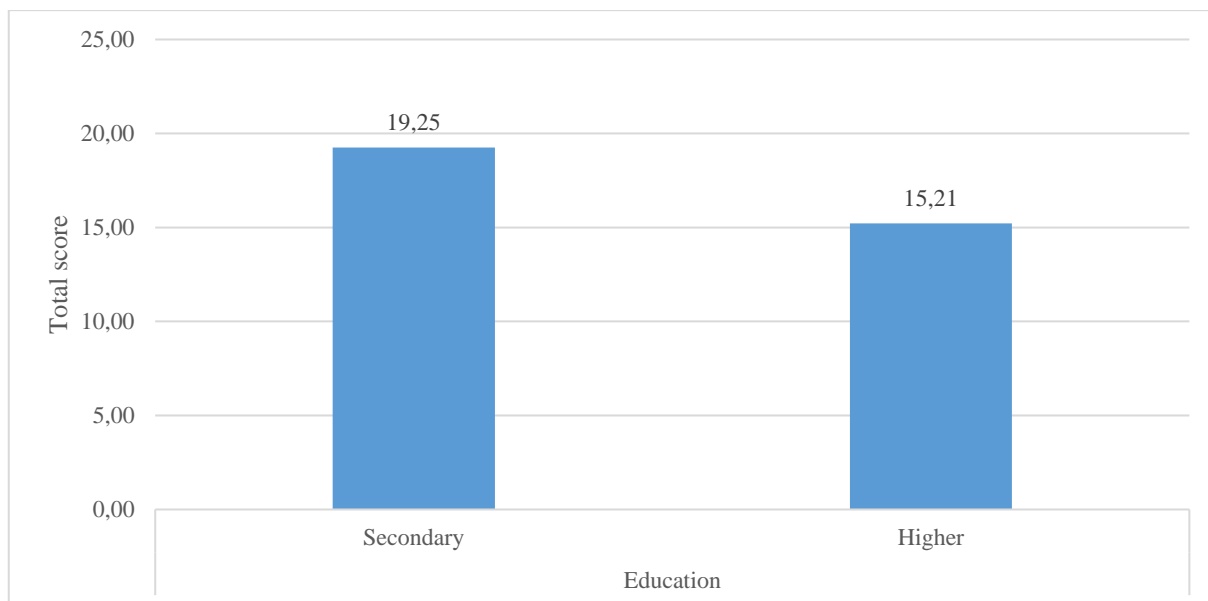


Figure 22. Mean results for the total score according to education.

The analysis with the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test (Table 37) showed a significant difference between speakers in R3, the semi-formal written register,  $Z = 2.69$ ,  $p < .01$ . Speakers with higher education had a significantly lower score in R3 ( $Mdn = 3.00$ ) than speakers with secondary education ( $Mdn = 6.00$ ) (Figure 23).

Table 37. The results of the Mann-Whitney U test for differences between speakers with secondary and higher education in Registers 1-4.

	Education	N	MR	Percentile			Z	p
				25	50	75		
R1	secondary	8	31.25	5.25	6.00	6.00	0.72	0.55
	higher	47	27.45	5.00	6.00	6.00		
R2	secondary	8	31.00	3.25	5.00	6.00	0.59	0.58
	higher	47	27.49	3.00	4.00	6.00		
R3	secondary	8	41.88	5.00	6.00	6.00	2.69	<.01
	higher	47	25.64	2.00	3.00	4.00		
R4	secondary	8	37.56	2.25	5.00	6.00	1.88	0.07
	higher	47	26.37	2.00	3.00	4.00		

MR- Mean Rank

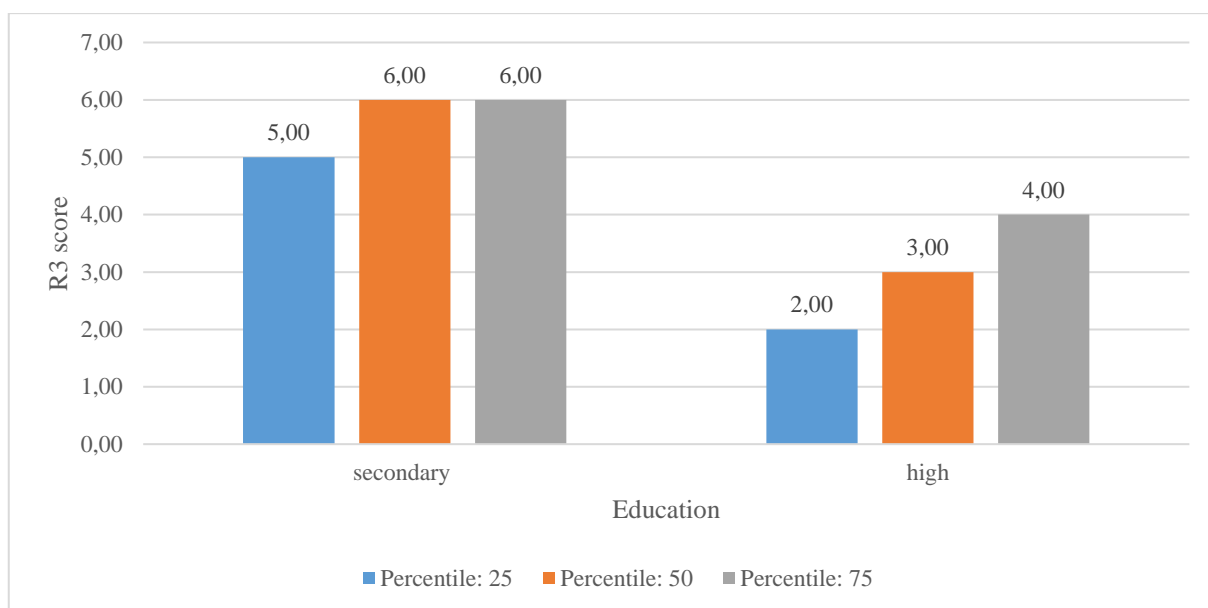


Figure 23. Mean results for R3 scores according to education.

The statistical analysis showed that within the studied group of professional speakers there were significant differences with regard to the level of education in the written formal register and in the total score. To scrutinise the matter it is worth presenting acceptability percentage results for the two groups compared with the mean score of all the participants of the study. The results for the spoken register are presented in Table 38, while Table 39 shows the results for the written mode. Characteristic differences between the two groups are marked in bold.

Table 38. Acceptability of PVs in Part B in spoken registers with regard to speakers' level of education.

PV	Secondary education	Higher education	All speakers	Secondary education	Higher education	All speakers
	R1 - Spoken informal			R2 - Spoken formal		
torri i lawr	88%	98%	95%	88%	94%	89%
troi ymlaen	100%	96%	95%	100%	91%	89%
troi i fyny	100%	85%	85%	75%	68%	65%
edrych ar ôl	100%	87%	87%	75%	57%	58%
rhedeg allan o	88%	77%	76%	<b>100%</b>	68%	69%
ffeindio allan	88%	89%	87%	<b>75%</b>	43%	44%

Table 39. Acceptability of PVs in Part B in written registers with regard to speakers' level of education.

PV	Secondary education	Higher education	All speakers	Secondary education	Higher education	All speakers
	R3 - Written semi-formal			R4- Written official		
torri i lawr	<b>88%</b>	55%	60%	<b>88%</b>	79%	78%
troi ymlaen	<b>88%</b>	60%	64%	75%	77%	75%
troi i fyny	<b>88%</b>	66%	67%	<b>63%</b>	26%	31%
edrych ar ôl	<b>88%</b>	43%	47%	<b>75%</b>	40%	45%
rhedeg allan o	<b>88%</b>	47%	53%	<b>63%</b>	40%	44%
ffeindio allan	<b>63%</b>	21%	27%	<b>50%</b>	17%	22%

The above results point to the following observations:

1. The acceptability of phrasal verbs was generally negatively correlated with the level of education.
2. In the spoken registers there were no statistically significant differences between speakers with secondary and higher education regarding the acceptability of PVs.
3. However, it should be noted that in the spoken formal register acceptability scores for *rhedeg allan o* and *ffeindio allan* were markedly higher among speakers who had received no higher education.
4. In the written semi-formal register there were statistically significant differences between speakers with secondary and higher education. All the PVs had significantly higher scores of acceptability among speakers with no higher education.
5. There were no statistically significant differences in the written official register; however, a trend of higher acceptability among less educated speakers was observed in all cases except for *troi ymlaen*.
6. Among speakers educated at secondary level the acceptability of PVs was lower in the written official compared with the written semi-formal register.

#### *Comparison of Groups B and L*

In view of the above findings, it was considered worthwhile investigating differences between the two groups which had the highest and the lowest percentage of speakers having been through higher education (100% Groups B and 60%, in Group L<sup>84</sup>). Since

<sup>84</sup> It can be noted that the participants in Group L with no higher education (4 speakers) comprised half of the whole group in the sample (8 speakers).

this factor proved to be important, the two groups might be expected to have markedly different results which might point to other extralinguistic factors influencing their judgements. The answers of these participants are presented in Table 40.

Table 40. The results of Part B for Groups B and L compared with the mean.

PV	Group	Spoken informal	Spoken formal	Written semi-formal	Written official
torri i lawr	all	95%	89%	60%	78%
	B	100%	88%	<b>38%</b>	88%
	L	90%	90%	<b>100%</b>	80%
troi ymlaen	all	95%	89%	64%	75%
	B	100%	100%	<b>25%</b>	63%
	L	100%	100%	<b>100%</b>	80%
troi i fyny	all	85%	65%	67%	31%
	B	88%	<b>25%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>13%</b>
	L	100%	80%	<b>100%</b>	<b>60%</b>
edrych ar ôl	all	87%	58%	47%	45%
	B	100%	63%	<b>63%</b>	<b>75%</b>
	L	100%	50%	<b>80%</b>	60%
rhedeg allan o	all	76%	69%	53%	44%
	B	<b>38%</b>	75%	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>
	L	<b>100%</b>	80%	<b>90%</b>	<b>70%</b>
ffeindio allan	all	87%	44%	27%	22%
	B	88%	50%	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>
	L	90%	60%	<b>50%</b>	30%

The differences between the two groups were further examined with statistical analysis. Comparing Groups B and L, a Shapiro-Wilk test found significant departures from the normal distribution in scores R1, R3 and R4 and no significant departure from normality in the R2 score and total score.

Student's t-test showed a significant difference in the total score between speakers in the analysed groups,  $t(16) = 3.87, p < .001$  (Table 41). Speakers in Group L had a significantly higher total score ( $M = 19.30, SD = 3.40$ ) in comparison with Group B ( $M = 13.13, SD = 3.31$ ) (Figure 24).

Table 41. The results of student's t-test for differences between Groups B and L for the total score and R2.

group	N	M	SD	t	df	p
total	L	10	19.30	3.87	16	<.001



	B	8	13.13	3.31			
R2.	L	10	4.60	1.43	0.89	16	0.39
	B	8	4.00	1.41			

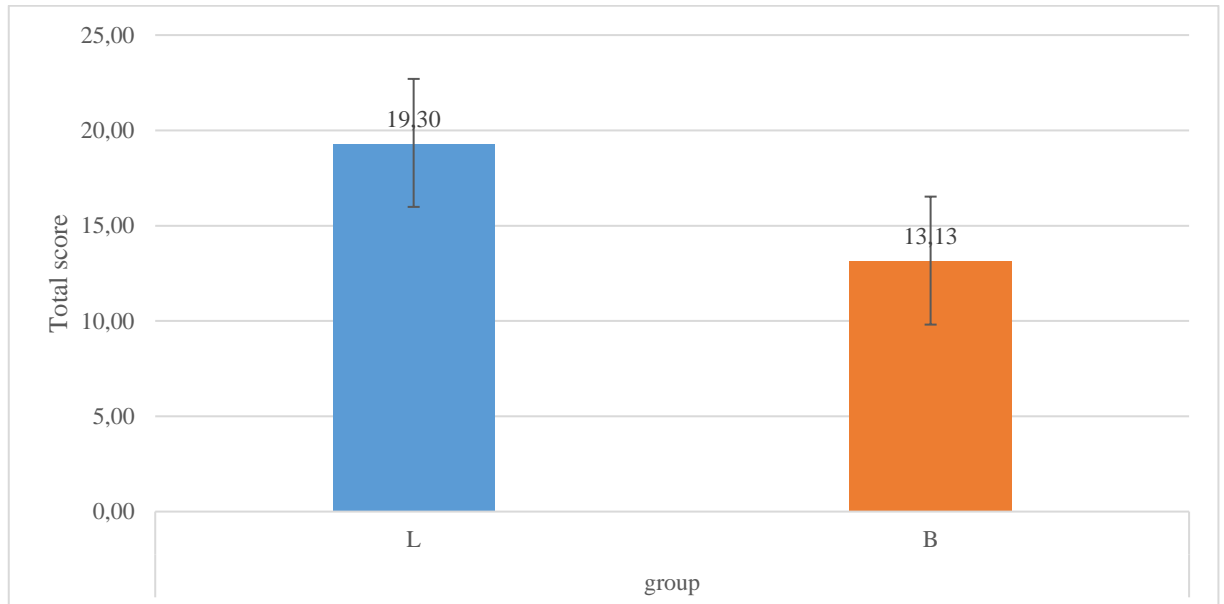


Figure 24. Mean total score in Groups L and B.

The Mann-Whitney U test showed a significant difference between speakers in Groups B and L in R1, the spoken informal register,  $Z = 2.08$ ,  $p < .05$  (Table 42). Speakers in Group L had significantly higher acceptability scores in R1 ( $Mdn = 6.00$ ) compared with Group B ( $Mdn = 5.00$ ) (Figure 25). The analysis also showed significant differences in R3, the written semi-formal,  $Z = 3.45$ ,  $p < .001$ . In this register speakers in Group L had significantly higher scores ( $Mdn = 5.50$ ) compared with Group B ( $Mdn = 1.50$ ) (Figure 26).

Table 42. The results of the Mann-Whitney U test for differences between Groups B and L for R1, R3 and R4 with non-normal distribution.

	group	N	MR	Percentile			Z	p
				25	50	75		
R1	L	10	11.45	6.00	6.00	6.00	-2.08	<.05
	B	8	7.06	4.25	5.00	6.00		
R3.	L	10	13.30	4.50	5.50	6.00	-3.45	<.001
	B	8	4.75	1.00	1.50	2.75		
R4	L	10	11.20	2.00	3.50	6.00	-1.57	0.12
	B	8	7.38	1.25	3.00	3.00		

MR- Mean Rank

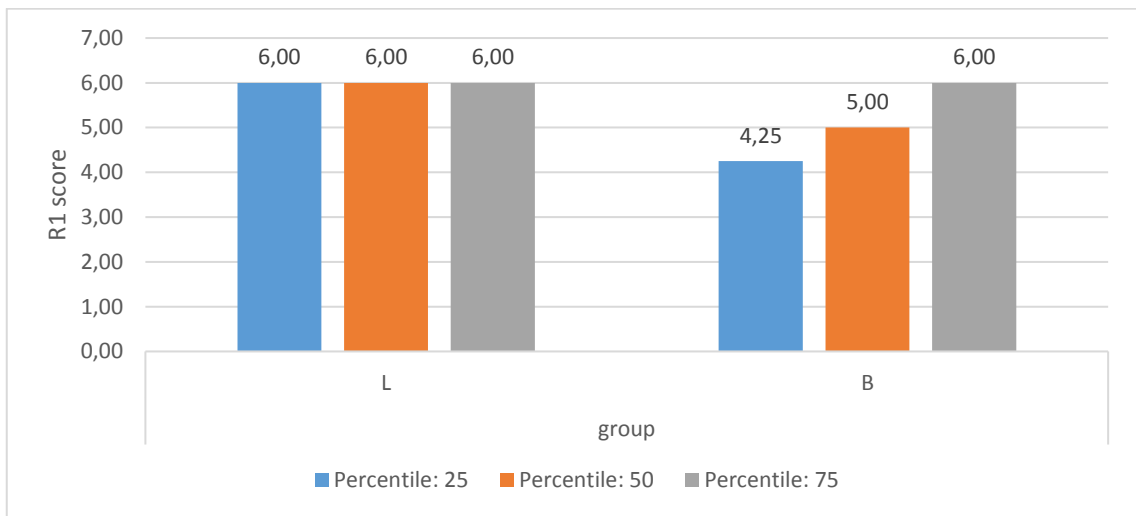


Figure 25. Percentile distribution of R1 scores for Groups B and L,

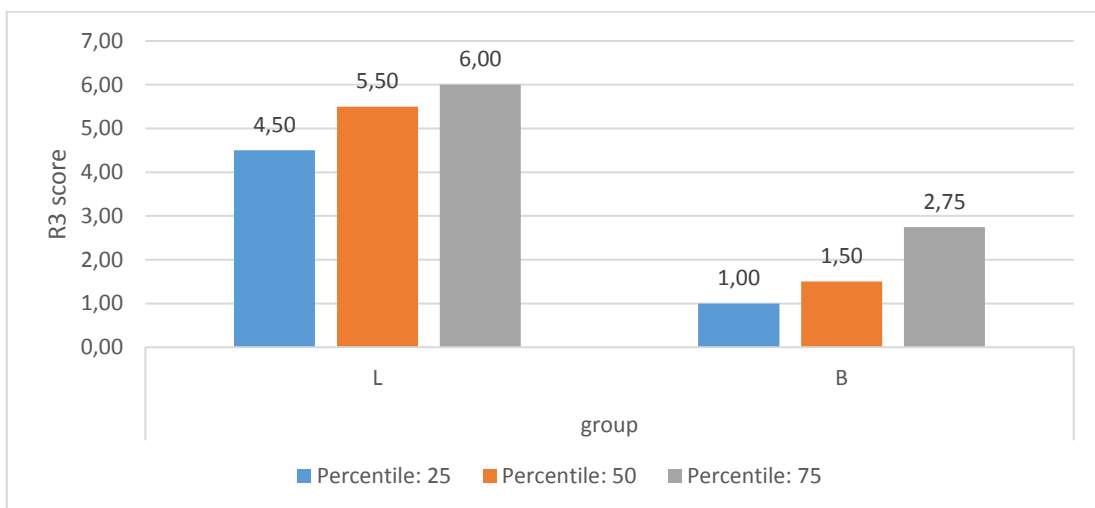


Figure 26. Percentile distribution of R3 scores for Groups B and L.

Altogether, statistical analysis pointed to significant differences between members of Groups B and L in R1, R3 and the total score. Looking at the percentages of acceptability one can see that the most striking differences between the two groups were observed in the acceptability of directly calqued PVs *troi i fyny*, *rhedeg allan o* and *ffeindio allan* in the written registers. The PVs were almost universally rejected (0%-13%) by members of Group B, except for *troi i fyny* in the written semi-formal register, which was accepted by a higher proportion of speakers (38%) presumably due to the fact that it was used in the more technical sense of ‘increasing the heat’. In R3 (writing a popular book) the majority

of speakers in Group B rejected also other calqued PVs, *torri i lawr* and *troi ymlaen*, although they accepted them in the written official register. The only PV accepted by the majority of Group B was *edrych ar ôl* and in R4 it was selected by as many as 75% of the speakers. With regard to spoken registers, members of Group B declared high acceptability of all PVs in the spoken informal, except for *rhedeg allan o* which was rejected by the majority of speakers. In the spoken formal, however, the same PV was accepted by 75% of the informants, probably due to its use in a more idiomatic context (“running out of steam”), while the acceptability of other PVs did not deviate significantly from the mean score except for *troi i fyny*, accepted by only 25% of speakers.

In contrast, members of Group L declared high acceptability (70%-100%) of all the PVs in all registers, except for *edrych ar ôl* and *ffeindio allan*. *Ffeindio allan* was recognised as unacceptable by half of the speakers in R3 and over two thirds in R4. Both verbs were also rejected by about half of the speakers in the spoken formal register. The low acceptability of *ffeindio allan* can be attributed to its status of a loanblend associated with borrowing from English.

The most noticeable difference between the two groups can be seen in comparing the levels of acceptability between the two written registers: members of Group B were more tolerant of PVs in the official document than a popular book, as opposed to Group L, who were more reluctant to use PVs in the official context. This may be partly explained with the comments given by some of the employees of Canolfan Bedwyr, who advocated the *Cymraeg Clir* approach, namely using simple, understandable language in official communication with the public. In turn, Group L appeared to associate the official register with more formal, standard language. The significant difference between the groups in the acceptability of *rhedeg allan o* and *ffeindio allan* may point to a strong prescriptive norm against such constructions among members of Canolfan Bedwyr staff. However, what should also be noticed is that both groups almost universally accepted the PVs in the spoken informal register.

The results of examining Questionnaire B scores against three extralinguistic variables showed that while sex and age did not seem to play a role in influencing the speakers' judgment, the level of education might have been a significant factor, especially in the written semi-formal register. In informal speech, however, levels of acceptability were

high regardless of the participants' education. The comparison of Groups B and L suggests that employees of Canolfan Bedwyr much more aware of a norm against phrasal verbs in writing and more sensitive to calquing phenomena.

#### **5.4.4. Interview data**

The following sections present the data obtained from the interviews accompanying the questionnaire. The data are organised around major topics and themes which emerged in the course of the conversations.

##### **5.4.4.1. Acceptability and usefulness of borrowings**

While the majority of the informants appeared to feel comfortable with the fact that they used English vocabulary in their speech, some expressed concern about using too many loanwords or, on the contrary, emphasised that they made a conscious effort to avoid them.

A quarter of the speakers (14), most of them from groups A and B, manifested a rather purist approach, saying that they try to avoid borrowings in general. From among those, A1, A3, B5 and B6, four teachers of Welsh, stated that they were very conscious about the use of borrowings and tried to avoid them as a rule. For example, A1 made a decision after graduating from high school to eliminate English words from his vocabulary.

A1: beth nes i o'dd (.) jyst penderfynu yn fy meddwl i raddau reit dw i'n mynd i stopio bod yn ddiog (...) yn hytrach na defnyddio gair Saesneg lle o'n i'n arfer gwneud yn yr ysgol (.) iawn be ydy'r gair Cymraeg am (.) o hyn allan dw i'n mynd i ddefnyddio hwnna (.) a bob tro dw i'n dweud rhywbeth Saesneg o'n i'n y n STOPIO be fydda yn Gymraeg sut i ddweud yn Gymraeg yn gywir a (.) (...) dros tair blynedd (.) nes i lwyddo (1) i gael gwared o ran fwya yno.

'What I did was, just decide in my mind to some degree "right I'm going to stop being lazy" (...) rather than using an English word as I used to do in school, "right, what is the Welsh word for.. from now on I'm going to use that" (...) and every time I say something English I STOPPED, what would it be in Welsh, how to say it in Welsh correctly and (...) in three years, I managed ... to get rid of most of them.'

Two speakers said that they would like to use fewer English words and borrowings. Similarly to A1, G11 associated using English vocabulary with a kind of “laziness”; Y2 said that using too much English causes her to feel embarrassed with some people.

G11: llawer gormod. (...) a dwi ddim yn gwbod pam (...) be sydd yn dylanwadu ar hynny achos (.) fel fi'n gweud bo fi'n siarad Cymraeg yn rhan fwyaf o'r amser ond (.) weithia mae meddwl yn mynd yn diog a chi'n gweld y gair cynta sy'n dod i'r pen a mae hwnnw yn weithia yn Saesneg (.) yn anffodus.

‘Much too many (...) and I don't know why (...) what influences it because, as I say, I speak Welsh most of the time but sometimes the mind goes lazy and you see the first word that comes to your head and sometimes unfortunately it is in English.’

Y2: hoffwn i defnyddio llai o Saesneg a weithiau a: yn enwedig efo rhai pobol wi'n ymwybodol bo fi'n defnyddio gormod o Saesneg t'mod bron yn embaras (..)

‘I'd like to use less English and sometimes, especially with some people, I am aware I use too much English you know, rather embarrassing.’

Some speakers noticed that they had become more aware of the English element in their speech over the course of time. For example, the bilingual school environment and contact with L2 speakers made A4 realise that her Welsh is heavily influenced by English. O6 made a similar discovery after a monthly trip to Vietnam, when she realised that local people could pick up many English words in the Welsh she spoke with her companions.

All of the interviewees indicated that the amount of English used varied depended on the situation and the register they used. Although a question about adapting one's language to the interlocutor was not asked by the researcher, nearly half of the speakers (21) made this point themselves. “It depends with whom I speak” was by far the most common reaction to the first question about borrowings.

Examples of adapting one's language to the speaker were varied. Some informants simply acknowledged that they imitated the habits of others. Speaker A4 noticed that her Welsh has changed due to contact with L2 speakers.

A4: achos bod na blant o gefndiroedd Saesneg yn yr ysgol maen nhw yn amlwg yn defnyddio geirfa Saesneg. a wedyn dwi'n mynd adre (.) a ma' mhartner i'n fath o dweud fath o mae'n tynnu arna fi fath o bo fi'n dweud petha fel na fath o geiriau Saesneg dw i ddim yn sylweddoli bo fi'n neud o yn aml iawn.

R: felly maen nhw'n dylanwadu [eich Cymraeg chi]

A4: [yndi o yndi] mae'r plant bod nhw â'r acen mor rhyfedd ond ydy (.) dych chi'n picio pethau fyny (...)

‘A4: Because there are children from English backgrounds in the school, they obviously use English vocabulary and then I go home and my partner sort of, says, sort of, he teases me, sort of, that I say things like that, sort of English words sometimes I don’t realise I’m doing it.

R: So they influence your Welsh.

A4: Yes, oh, yes, the children, that they have such a strange accent, but yes, you pick things up.’

Adaptation may also mean purposefully simplifying one’s language while talking with people who are less confident about their Welsh, such as learners (A2, A6, B1, B7, B8, C7, O1, O2). This was mentioned primarily by teachers of adults:

C7: achos bo fi’n diwtor Cymraeg (...) mae Nghymraeg fi wedi symleiddio (.)

‘Because I’m a Welsh teacher (...) my Welsh has become simpler.’

O1: ond wedyn pan dw i ella yn siarad efo rhywun sydd ddim CWEIT mor hyderus (.) wrth siarad Cymraeg dw i’n gwybod mod i’n defnyddio mwy o eiriau Saesneg (...) yng nghanol brawddegau Cymraeg.

R: mhm er mwyn swnio’n fwy naturiol falle? neu =

O1: = naturiol [dw i yn]

R: [neu jyst] i roi hyder i bobol?

O1: hyder i bobol yn benna dw i’n meddwl ym ma’ pobol yn dweud yn aml iawn mod i’n siarad fel athrawes Cymraeg (...) <imitate> o’n i’n meddwl mai <en> teacher </en> oedd-ech chi. <imitate>(...) felly mae defnyddio ychydig bach mwy o eiriau Saesneg dw i’n meddwl yn gwneud pobol sy ddim yn hyderus i deimlo yn llai ymwybodol (.) o unrhyw camgymeriadau sgynnon nhw yn y Gymraeg.

‘O1: And then when I maybe speak with someone who is not QUITE so confident while speaking Welsh, I know I use more English words in the middle of Welsh sentences.

R: Mhm, in order to sound natural maybe, or...?

O1: Natural, I...

R: Or maybe make people confident?

O1: Confidence, mostly, I think, people very often say I speak like a teacher of Welsh. “I thought you were a *teacher*”. So using a bit more English words I think makes people that aren’t confident feel less aware of any mistakes they make in their Welsh.’

O2 believed that using some “Wenglish” might help learners to gain confidence and fluency.

O2: dw i’n defnyddio tipyn bach efo dysgwyr (1) o Saesneg neu Wenglish (...) os ydw i’n canolbwyntio ar batrwm (.) a dw i ddim isio i nhw colli rhedeg neu rhediad y peth (.) dw i’m taflu geiriau Saesneg i mewn (.) jyst i helpu efo’r dealltwriaeth

‘While speaking to learners I use a bit more... of English or Wenglish (...) If I focus on a pattern I don’t want them to lose the flow of things, I throw in English words just to help with understanding.’

B1 described the situation at Bangor University where, according to the speaker, many native speakers are intimidated by the academic environment, being afraid that the Welsh they use is not good enough. The speaker said he tried to simplify his language to give them confidence.

B1: (.) be sy'n rhyfedd yn yr ardal yma ydy cymaint o siaradwyr Cymraeg mamiaith sydd yn swil o defnyddio eu Cymraeg. (...) yn enwedig (.) gan bod nhw'n gweithio mewn prifysgol (.) maen nhw'n poeni (...) felly pan mae rhywun yn siarad efo pobol fel hynna mae rhywun yn trio (.) addasu cywair yr iaith

R: mhm felly defnyddio mwy o eiriau Saesneg ?

B1: ie (.) wel efalle peidio defnyddio holl ystod yr eirfa Gymraeg sydd gen i felly.

'B1: What is strange in this area is that there are so many native Welsh speakers who are shy in using their Welsh (...) especially since they work at the university, they worry (...) so if you speak with people like that you try to adapt the register of the language

R: Mhm, so using more English words?

B1: Yes, well, maybe not using the whole range of the Welsh vocabulary I have.'

A reverse situation was mentioned by other participants, who make their Welsh more "pure" and sophisticated while talking to people who they believe have better command of the language. These would be, for example, friends who received good education in Welsh (A8), scholars (Y2), or in the case of a journalist, interviewees of the older generation whom she respects (G11).

Another factor influencing the use of accommodation techniques would be the interlocutor's education. Institutional rules may also play a role. B2, for example, describes a "hierarchy" of his friends and colleagues with respect to the kind of Welsh he would speak.

B2: ella 'swn i'n siarad efo (.) cydweithwyr yng Nghanolfan Bedwyr ella 'swn i'n (...) fwy ie parod i ddefnyddio geiriau Cymraeg lle os ydw i'n siarad efo (.) ffrindiau coleg lle 'swn i'n defnyddio mymryn bach mwy o eiriau Saesneg ond ffrindiau ysgol lle byddwn i'n defnyddio LOT mwy o eiriau Saesneg

'Maybe if I talked with colleagues in Canolfan Bedwyr maybe I would be yeah ready maybe to use Welsh words if I talk with friends from college I would maybe use a little bit more of English words but with friends from school I would maybe use a LOT more of English words'

Speaker B7 noticed that adapting to the perceived needs of other might be quite misleading as one may label people according to their social status. She quoted a situation of using English vocabulary purposefully while talking with workers who, surprisingly for the speaker, answered back with Welsh words.

B7: os dw i'n siarad efo rhywun tu allan i'r gwaith (.) bydda i'n ofalus i beidio defnyddio (.) geiriau (.) sy'n ym (.) ddiarth oherwydd mae mae'n gallu (.) neud rhywun yn teimlo'n chwithig (...) dw i di cael yn nal allan (.) wedi siarad efo (.) er enghraifft efo trydanwr neu plymar adra (.) a defnyddio rhyw air Saesneg am feddwl na fydden nhw'n deall y gair Cymraeg ac wedyn maen nhw'n defnyddio y gair Cymraeg cywir yn ôl [arna fi] (...) ie ch'mod dyn ni'n weithia gallu bod yn nawddoglyd efo pobol

'If I speak with someone outside work I'll be careful not to use words which are strange, because they can make someone feel awkward (...) I have been caught out having spoken with for example an electrician or a plumber at home and using some English word thinking they wouldn't understand the Welsh word, and then they use the correct Welsh word back on me (...) yes, you know, we can sometimes be patronising with people'

Finally, five speakers mentioned that they try to speak more correctly to their own children. They indicated that having children made them more sensitive to their own vocabulary and that avoiding English vocabulary in their Welsh for the sake of children may develop into a habit. Some of these speakers referred to PVs in particular:

O4: ers cael plant falle mod i'n defnyddio mwy o eiriau Cymraeg fel (.) e: peiriant golchi peiriant sychu pan o'n i'n blentyn 'swn i'n dweud <en> washing machine tumble dryer hairdryer </en> ond dwi'n cofio ers cael plant dw i'n cofio TRIO defnyddio y geiriau Cymraeg. (...) a dw i wedi cario ymlaen i ddefnyddio geiriau Cymraeg.

'Since having children maybe I'm using more Welsh words like... *peiriant golchi* [washing machine], *peiriant sychu* [tumble dryer]. When I was a child I would say *washing machine*, *tumble dryer*, *hairdryer*, but I remember since having children, I remember TRYING to use the Welsh words (...) and I have carried on using Welsh words.'

G2: wel (.) diffodd faswn i'n dweud (.) ond (1) rhywbeth mwy diweddar ydy hynny (...) lle (.) rhai blynyddoedd yn ôl dw i'n siŵr (.) fyswn i'n dweud troi i ffwrdd neu troi ymlaen (...) yn enwedig t'mod gyda plant (.) dw i'n meddwl (...) 'chos bod isio i'r iaith bod yn (1) fwy (.) fwy cywir (.) o bosib

'Well, I would say *diffodd* [turn off] but... this is something more recent (...) while some years ago I'm sure I would say *troi i ffwrdd* [turn off] or *troi ymlaen* [turn on] (...) especially you know with children, I think (...) because you want the language to be... more, more correct possibly'

Five other speakers paid attention to the fact that their own parents used to correct them and that is why they are more sensitive to certain words.

O6: dw i wedi cael ffræe (.) gan mam dros y blynyddoedd am ddweud droi off.

'I would have a row with mum over the years for saying *troi off* [turn off]'



During the initial and follow-up interviews the majority of informants shared their opinions about the place of English borrowings in Welsh. The prevailing attitude towards them was positive. The most popular stance was that English loanwords are a natural element of the language (15) and that some of them are well-established, sometimes very old (8). Speakers viewed borrowings as something “inevitable, a part of the way everyone speaks” (B2), something that comes along with bilingual upbringing and bilingual society (B5). Fourteen interviewees emphasised that specific borrowings are an inherent part of their idiolect. As stated by C5: “If you just talk from your heart... if you just talk naturally... English words just come out”. C6, a young speaker living in Cardiff, mentioned playing a kind of game with herself once, when she tried to speak Welsh without using any English words. The “pure” language she produced sounded awkward and it made her feel somewhat guilty:

yn y car unwaith (.) hanner fel jôc (.) nath fi benderfynu baswn i ddim yn deud unrhyw eiriau Saesneg (.) ac o’dd o’n rîli anodd (.) a pan o’n i’n siarad o’n i’n teimlo mod i’n swnio’n annaturiol a cweit gwirion a ddylwn i ddim teimlo fel ‘na (.) ond fel ‘na o’dd o.

‘Once in a car, half as a joke, I decided I wouldn’t say any English word and it was really difficult, and when I was speaking I felt that I sound unnatural and quite silly and I shouldn’t feel like that...but so it was.’

The speaker seemed to be at loss why she used so much English vocabulary despite knowing Welsh vocabulary:

dw i’n trio defnyddio llai. a dw i yn gwbod (.) dw i yn gwbod y geiriau Cymraeg (.) jyst am ryw reswm ma’ y geiriau benthyciada yn teimlo mwy naturiol.

‘I try to use fewer and I do know, I do know the Welsh words, it’s just that for some reason the borrowed words feel more natural.’

Many informants suggested that speaking “purer” Welsh involves conscious effort and can be quite difficult:

B4: ie mae dylanwad Saesneg mae’n anodd (2) (dwyn i gof) petha mwy Cymreig weithia er bod nhw’n swnio’n lot gwell ‘lle. (...) a dim yn rhy anodd chwaith.

‘Yes, there is English influence, sometimes it’s difficult... to remember more Welsh things although they sound much better maybe (...) and not too difficult either.’

The awareness of the foreign element in one's language and an effort to speak "properly" to the researcher could be observed in the way the participants self-monitored themselves during the interview. It was not uncommon for them to notice borrowings in their speech and correct themselves by supplying a Welsh word.

A8: dw i'n trio peidio ond dw i newydd dweud dw i newydd dweud trio [peidio] (...) mae'r hwnna'n air Saesneg.

'I try (*trio*) not to [use borrowings – ML] but I've just said I've just said *trio* not to... that's an English word.'

C5: [mae'n jyst digwydd]. so mae'n rhaid ichi meddwl am y peth (.) rili (.) y:m. (.) o ie (.) dw i'n trio (.) o dw i jyst wedi gweud dw i'n trio (.) a t'mod gair ceisio (.) [ceisio yw'r gair ffurfiol

'It just happens so you have to think about it, really, um, o yes, I try [*trio*]... oh, I've just said *trio*, and you know *ceisio*, *ceisio* is the formal word.'

B4: ti ddim isio rhoi pobol (.) off fel dwi'n dweud @ <@>ddim eisio off<@>

'You don't want to put people off, as I say (*laughter*) don't want off.'

Some speakers explained that, in certain contexts, English borrowings sound more natural than Welsh coinages, especially with regard to modern terminology (A4, G5). Speakers A5 and L3 referred to calquing English proper names such as Facebook and Power Point (*Gweplyfr*, *Pwerbwynt*) and considered such translations rather unnecessary. L8 believed that Welsh lacks certain specialist terms due to the fact it is "older than English" and a "spoken" language. These deficiencies in vocabulary, in the speaker's opinion, make it more difficult to avoid English words

Another point in favour of using borrowings was made by journalists G2 and G9, who believed that, since some Welsh words are unknown to general public or sound unnatural, using borrowings may facilitate communication with a wider audience. Thus the speakers stated they would use loanwords on purpose:

G2: os ydw i'n sgwennu erthygl neu rywbeth (.) bydda i'n tueddu i beidio ysgrifennu sgwennu'n rhy ffurfiol (.) ac yn or-ffurfiol (...) er enghraifft os dw i'n y:m (1)sgwennu am gerddoriaeth y:m (.) a sôn am gig neu (.) y lluosog gig felly (.) yn well imi ddefnyddio GIGS (.) yn hytrach na GIGIAU (...) mae na rei mae na rei geiriau (.) os na (.) dw i'n meddwl (.) fydda pobol sy'n darllen yn deall y gair y: (.) y gair ffurfiol Gymraeg (.) felly (.) bydda i'n tueddu defnyddio y:m gair Saesneg neu yn sicr gair sy'n sy'n deillio o o gair Saesneg mewn ffordd.

‘If I write an article or something I’d rather not write too formal and “overformal” (...) for example if I write about music and mention a gig or... so the plural of gig... I’d prefer to use *gigs* rather than *gigiau* (...) there are some words, if I think people who read would not understand the word, the formal Welsh word, I would tend to use an English word or surely a word that comes from an English word in a way.’

G9: dw i’n trio osgoi y:m cystrawennau Saesneg (.) pan dw i’n sgwennu yn Gymraeg (.) weithia fydda i’n defnyddio ambell air (.) Saesneg WEDI GYMREIGIO (...) yn fwiadol yn enwedig os ydw i’n y:m anelu at gyrraedd cynulleidfa (.) hh hynny yw dw i’n trio defnyddio iaith faswn i’n tybio mae’r gynulleidfa yn gyfforddus efo hi

‘I try to avoid English constructions when I write in Welsh, sometimes I would use some Wallicized English word (...) on purpose especially if I aim to reach an audience... that is I try to use a language that I suppose the audience is familiar with.’

Another recurring theme was associating borrowings with one’s dialect. This was mentioned by 10 speakers (B2, B6, B8, G9 – from Caernarfon; G7 – Gwynedd; C5, G1, G4 – Carmarthenshire; L3, Y3 – border of Pembrokeshire and Ceredigion). Speakers from Caernarfon in particular mentioned the large amount of English vocabulary in their dialect. Two speakers pointed out, however, that the Welsh used in Caernarfon is “naturally Welsh” as it retains Welsh structures even though much of the vocabulary is borrowed:

B2: yndi (.) em yndi. se sech chi’n t’od i’n cerdded (i lawr) (.) ar y stryd yng Nghaernarfon (...) felly bod na cymaint o eiriau benthg (.) Saesneg yn y frawddeg (1) na t’od falle tasech chi’n deud nid Cymraeg ydy o ond Cymraeg ydy o achos mae na gystrawen yn Gymraeg

‘There are, yes, there are if you, you know, walk down the street in Caernarfon (...) so there are so many English borrowings in the sentence... you know maybe you’d say it isn’t Welsh but it is Welsh because the structure is Welsh.’

B6: ces i fy magu yn rhannol yng Nghaernarfon (.) ac yn fan ‘ma mae pobol yn gollwng geiriau Saesneg bron pob yr ail air yn aml iawn. ond mae patrymau @ <@>Cymraeg</@>

‘I was partly raised in Caernarfon and people there drop in English words almost every second word very often. But the patterns are Welsh.’

Using borrowings might form part of one’s class identity as well, as mentioned by speaker O3, who said she preferred to use borrowed vocabulary while talking to members of her family who belong to the working class. She considered using loanwords natural in this environment.

Altogether, information obtained in the interviews suggests that speakers tend to prefer borrowings to native Welsh words which are not well-established in everyday language and/or which belong to the formal register. Consequently, speakers have difficulties using them or might be afraid of social rejection.

On the whole, participants made considerably few explicitly negative comments on borrowings from English. Four speakers – all of them teaching Welsh to adults – gave examples of loanwords which sound “ugly” (C7), “hurt the ear” (O1), “get under the skin” (O6), they “don’t like them” (O3). These comments concerned only specific examples of loanwords, however. Most speakers believed that borrowings from English have their place in the Welsh language. Three participants noticed that borrowings of vocabulary, and even calquing idioms, are not as problematic for the language as changes in structure. This is consistent with B2’s previously mentioned comment about the Caernarfon dialect – as long as the structure remains Welsh, the language is Welsh. The same view was expressed by G8:

G8: tra bod ti’n wedi ymlacio a siarad bod dydd wyt ti YN iwso geirie Saesneg ond ar ddiwedd y dydd ma’ (.) ma’ gwraidd yn Gymraeg

‘When you are relaxed and speak everyday you DO use English words but at the end of the day the root is Welsh.’

Only a relatively small group expressed concern about overusing borrowings in their speech. Sometimes borrowings were viewed as a valuable, distinguishing element of one’s dialect, sometimes they were seen as useful with regard to specialist terminology. Borrowings were also said to help in bridging the gap between native speakers and learners, making the latter more confident. On the other hand, some speakers stated that they thought it important to keep their Welsh devoid of a strongly English element out of a sense of responsibility for younger people, be it students or their own children. Another factor that reinforced monitoring the purity of one’s vocabulary was pressure from the professional environment, such as university. Above all, however, speakers drew attention to the necessity to adapt to needs and abilities of other people to ensure communication in a bilingual society.

#### **5.4.4.2. Ideologies of purism**

Since the participants generally considered English influence as natural in the bilingual context, none of them outwardly supported ideologies of purism. Nevertheless, six in-

formants expressed the opinion that although changes in the Welsh language are inevitable, speakers of Welsh should do their best to keep the language “pure and idiomatic”. Such a stance was often associated with the policy of the institution where the speakers worked. For example, A6 said that unless the purity of Welsh is retained, the language might be lost and it is the mission of the school to help young people learn to speak Welsh as a natural, community language. Similarly, B1 and B6 stated that it is the mission of Canolfan Bedwyr to help people speak better Welsh, namely a language in which “English patterns” are avoided. On the other hand, the same speakers admitted that it is extremely challenging to try and stop the growing influence of English, particularly among young people, who develop the “bad habit” of speaking English with their peers. B6 noticed that the changes are profound, affecting the structure of the language and expressed hope that the structure will not “change too much”.

A more common opinion expressed by speakers was that the most important thing for the future of Welsh is that it is spoken, while its “correctness” and “purity” is less crucial (10). Two participants illustrated this with a popular saying *gwell Cymraeg slac na Saesneg slic* ‘slack Welsh is better than slick English’. This view was particularly common among teachers from group A, who function in a bilingual school environment where Welsh is the second language for many students. The teachers pointed out that students should speak a language which they find natural (A1) and be confident in speaking Welsh even if it is imperfect (A6). A7 emphasised the need of young people to be able to communicate and “have fun” in Welsh rather than worry about correctness. A8 referred to her experience of teaching French and Spanish to claim that confidence is the crucial aspect in gaining the ability to communicate. A4 noticed that being able to communicate in Welsh is very important for maintaining it as a community language, and stated that it is essential to have Welsh speakers working in areas such as health service. The speaker acknowledged the need to write correctly, but believed it is not necessary for communication in everyday life of the community:

(.) maen nhw'n meddwl bod o'n (.) bod angen bod yn IAWN bod yn GYWIR. dw i'n meddwl os dyn nhw'n gallu siarad yn gymdeithasol (.) a jyst fath o ar lefel ar lefel cymdeithasol dw i'n meddwl dyna peth sy'n bwysig wrth mynd i byd gwaith yn yr ardal yn enwedig achos (.) oce dw i'n meddwl mae na le lle mae nhw angen gallu ysgrifennu'n gywir efalle ond (.) hynna sen nhw'n mynd i weithio lle bynnag maen nhw'n mynd i weithio (...) felly os maen nhw'n gallu siarad yn Gymraeg a hynny'n doctoriaid nyrsys (.) mae'r henoed yn enwedig yn licio clywed nhw'n siarad Cymraeg

‘They think there is a need to be RIGHT, to be CORRECT. I think that if they can speak socially and just sort of on the social level I think this is what is important while entering the professional sphere in the area because, ok, I think there is space where they need an ability to write correctly maybe, but if they are going to work wherever they’re going to work (...) so if they can speak Welsh as doctors, nurses... elderly people especially like to hear them speak Welsh.’

Several members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith also saw purism as dangerous for maintaining the language. For example, speaker C1 believed that puristic tendencies may discourage Welsh speakers to share their language due to lack of confidence and that revitalisation efforts should focus on other aspects of language maintenance.

‘sw'n i ddim yn dueddol i godi y fath yma o bwnc y dyddiau ‘ma (...) mae cwestiynau llawer iawn mwy pwysig ynglŷn a FAINT o Gymraeg y:m (.) dyn ni’n defnyddio (.) pa mor HYD-ERUS dyn ni wrth (.) a (‘na fel) defnydd o Gymraeg mewn gwahanol feysydd (.) gwahanol sefyllfaedd (.) hwn ydy’r peth pwysig i mi sw'n i’n dweud.

‘I wouldn’t raise this type of subject these days (...) there are much more important questions regarding HOW MUCH Welsh we use, how CONFIDENT we are while... and then like the use of Welsh in different fields, different situations, this is what is important to me I would say.’

Nine participants expressed the opinion that people should not be criticised for using English words. Similarly, speakers C8 and L3 remarked that everyone is entitled to use the language they like. L3 noticed that some people might consciously choose to speak “Wenglish”. G8 believed that correcting children is the best way to make them switch to English:

G8: cer ti i gywiro plant ifenc yma (...) maen nhw’n gweud stwffo (.) byddech chi’n cael Saesneg (.) na (.) ti’n mynd i ladd e (.) yndwyt ti?

‘You go correcting these young children (...) they will say stuff you, you’ll get English, no, you’re going to kill it [Welsh – ML], right?’

Upon mentioning the issue of language devoid of an English element, several speakers talked about the so-called “language police” (*plismon iaith, heddlu iaith*), a name commonly attributed in Wales to language purists. A vivid picture of such people was drawn by C5:

C5: ni’n cael rhyw fath o heddlu’r iaith (...) achos maen nhw’n y: (.) gobeithio (.) mae’n swnio’n yn ofnadw (.) ond gobeithio maen nhw’n marw mas nawr  
R: mhm

C5: y:m mae na <en> sort of </en> rhai hen bobol sy'n meddwl galle pawb jyst yn siarad Cymraeg pur heb dim gair o Saesneg o gwbl (.) jyst Cymraeg pur a mae 'na pobol fel fi sy'n sy'n siarad Cymraeg naturiol (.) e: defnyddio geiriau Saesneg (.) ni yw'r rhan o broblem achos ni'n newid yr iaith?

R: ie

C5: <en> so </en> (.) maen nhw'n gweud (1) pan o'n i'n gweud pethau fel o'n i'n trio achub yr iaith Cymraeg (.) maen nhw'n gweud (.) wel pwy iaith dych chi'n achub? Dych chi'n achub y iaith Cymraeg go iawn neu (.) dych chi'n achub (.) jyst unrhyw beth sy'n swnio fel Cymraeg? <en> so </en> (.) ie (.) imi mae'n agwedd ofnadw achos (1) mae lot o bobol gyda diffyg hyder (...) dylwn ni annog y bobol na i siarad Cymrâg (...)

'C5: We have a kind of language police (...) because they, I hope...it sounds terrible but I hope they are dying out by now...

R: Mhm.

C5: There are *sort of* some old people who think that everyone can just speak pure Welsh without a word of English, just pure Welsh, and there are people like me who speak natural Welsh, use English words. We are part of the problem, because we are changing the language?

R: Yeah.

C5: *So*, they say... when I was saying things like "I'm trying to save the Welsh language", they say, well, whose language are you saving? Are you saving the real Welsh or, are you saving just anything that sounds like Welsh? *So*, for me this is a terrible attitude because... there are many people who lack confidence (...) we should encourage these people to speak Welsh (...)

C5 comes from a bilingual family and speaks Welsh with a pronounced accent. He describes himself as "someone who speaks natural Welsh", which in his view is a language which contains English words. The purists whom he encountered, on the other hand, did not consider his language to be "real" Welsh and criticised him for changing the language, associating the English element with deterioration. The speaker feels the injustice of such claims as someone actively engaged in language revitalisation efforts as a member of Cymdeithas yr Iaith. He expresses his bitterness in the wish that purists, whom he identifies with the older generation, "die out" (incidentally, he uses a calqued PV *marw mas*).

Similarly, speaker B5 remarked that purism can be detrimental for learners, in that it might discourage them from studying. The speaker referred to her experience as a teacher in beginner courses of Welsh and told the anecdote of learners being criticised for using colloquial forms of the verb such as *r'on i* 'I was' instead of the full literary form of the verb *yr oeddwn i*.

Speaker Y3 recollected that purist attitudes were common among some students of Welsh in her university days. A5 called herself a "language policeman", but only in correcting her own daughter rather than students at school. The speaker felt that this was a natural thing to do, as it had been done by her own parents.

Five speakers, all of them teachers, mentioned that speaking Welsh devoid of borrowings and using less familiar Welsh words may cause people to view one as “posh” (A1, O1, O3), “weird” (C5, O6), “speaking like a teacher”, “a snob” (O1). A1, who had previously described his efforts to de-anglicise his Welsh, admitted that he tended to simplify his language and use some English vocabulary to avoid being seen as “posh”.

A1: dw i ddim isio dod draws yn yn BUR ac yn ac yn GYWIR (...) felly dwi'n fwy debygol i symleiddio'r iaith a i ychwanegu ambell air Saesneg achos (.) mi fedri di gael rhai pobol sy'n jyst yn mynd o wyt ti'n siarad Cymraeg <en> posh <en>

‘I don’t want to come across as PURE and CORRECT (...) so I’m more likely to simplify the language and add an occasional English word because you can have some people who just go “oh, you speak *posh* Welsh.”

C5 emphasised that it is important to teach people colloquial, dialectal vocabulary in order to accommodate them in the local community.

C5: os dw i'n dysgu dosbarth yn Sir Gâr (.) ni'n trio dysgu y: iddyn nhw y tafodiaith? achos os maen nhw'n mynd mas o ddosbarth a siarad i bobol ar y stryd (.) os maen maen nhw'n siarad <en> like </en> rili gogleddol a rili ffurfiol bydd pobol yn jyst troi mas a gweud be? (...) a edrych arnyn nhw fel maen nhw'n math o (.) <en> like weirdos so </en>(...)

‘If I’m teaching a class in Carmarthenshire, we try to teach them the dialect. Because if they go out of the class and talk to people on the street if they talk *like* really North and really formal people will just turn out and say “what”? (...) and look at them as if they were sort of, *like weirdos*, so (...)

The same opinion was given by three teachers from group O. O1 pointed to the dangers of teaching people non-integrated words, telling a story about a group of learners who attended a Welsh course to re-learn the language because the variety they had been initially taught in language courses was too formal. As a result, native speakers were reluctant to speak with these learners because they sounded “perfect and posh”.

O1: dw i'n swnio'n POSH. meddai un ddynes. a dw i ddim yn posh yn Saesneg felly dw i isio siarad yr iaith sy'n adlewyrchu (.) pwy ydw i (.) y:m <whisper> roedd hi'n defnyddio geiriau od </whisper> @

‘I sound POSH’, said one woman. ‘And I am not posh in English so I want to speak a language which reflects who I am’. (*whisper*) She used weird words (*laughs*).

On the other hand, some informants, mostly teachers, pointed out that it is the new speakers who can be a bit “purist” when it comes to the choice of vocabulary (5) in that they



feel disappointed to hear Welsh words similar to English. For example, O1 said that in the courses she conducts students often dislike being taught the word *licio* ‘like’ which is a centuries old borrowing, preferring *hoffi*, which they consider “real Welsh”. Speaker B2 believed that lack of English vocabulary can be a distinguishing feature of a learner’s language.

B2: ti’n gallu sbotio dysgwyr yn aml iawn oherwydd bod nhw’n siarad yn fwy pur a hefyd ‘chos (.) maen nhw’n defnyddio geiriau Cymraeg go iawn

‘You can spot a learner very often because they speak more purely and also because they use real Welsh words.’

Following this line of thinking, L1 expressed the belief that the researcher’s language is more “correct” than the language of native speakers.

L1: ar hyd y blynydde dw i wedi pigo’r hynny i fyny a dw i’n eu defnyddio nhw heb feddwl lle mae na rhywun fel ti wedi dysgu Cymraeg a wedi dysgu y Gymraeg yn GYWIR, yn hytrach na fenthygau ac dw i’n meddwl bod dy Gymraeg di yn fwy cywir

‘In the course of years I have picked them up [borrowings – ML] and I use them without thinking while there is someone like you who has learned Welsh and learned Welsh CORRECTLY rather than borrowings and I think your Welsh is more correct’.

An important point was made by B6, who noticed that the purist tendencies among learners concern only loanwords from English and not calquing, which is often done unconsciously.

Overall, the attitude of the participants towards ideologies of purism was negative as they were associated with criticism, discouragement and stigmatisation. Most of the speakers who expressed their opinion on the subject believed that maintaining Welsh requires accommodating all Welsh speakers, including learners and those who choose to speak “Wenglish”. This may mean adapting one’s language to the needs of the interlocutor and using more English vocabulary. Several speakers indicated that it is better to correct other people in a more indirect way, for instance “by giving a good example” (C1). Referring to school practice, many teachers said they usually corrected students by repeating what they say using a Welsh word (A1, A2, A3, A5, A6, A7, A8, B6, C7). They commented that such indirect correction should be done in a delicate, constructive or joking manner.

#### 5.4.4.3. The influence of English on Welsh vocabulary and structures

Conversations on the purity of Welsh and the presence of borrowings encouraged many speakers to make general observations regarding the influence of English on Welsh and the change that the language is currently undergoing. Eleven participants emphasised that the influence of English on Welsh changes the language of ordinary speakers. They noticed that not only English vocabulary but also English patterns are overwhelming due to the ubiquity of English-language media, in particular the Internet and social media.

B3: oherwydd mae grym y Saesneg (.) mor hollbresennol mae o ym mhob man. (...) a mae o'n cynyddu wrth gwrs mae wedi cynyddu yn ofnadwy efo cyfryngau cymdeithasol (...) ac efo'r we a datblygiada diweddar ynde.

'Because the strength of English is so omnipresent, it is everywhere (...) and of course it is increasing, it has increased terribly with social media (...) and with the Internet and recent developments.'

B1: er bod gynnon ni sianel teledu a'n sianel radio (...) maen nhw'n gwranddo'n llawer mwy ar batryma Saesneg ac yn clywed llawer iawn mwy o Saesneg felly jyst hynny ydy o. dim unrhyw (.) YMDRECH i osgoi patrymau Cymraeg (.) ond jyst (.) yn cael ei (.) bentyrru arnon ni o bob cyfeiriad.

'Although we have a television and radio channel (...) they [Welsh speakers – ML] listen much more to English patterns and hear much more English so it's just that, no EFFORT to avoid Welsh patterns but just, it is piled upon us from each direction.'

Education in English was mentioned as another factor contributing to the Anglicisation of Welsh. For example, speaker O6 said that she has trouble communicating with a family member who used many “annoying” calques from English after a period of studying at a university in England.

Many speakers of group B, linguists and teachers, were sensitive to the widespread phenomenon of calquing in Welsh. B1, who had taken part in advanced language skills courses for many years, noticed that currently what the participants struggle with most is the use of English patterns in their Welsh, while in the past the most problematic areas were strictly grammatical, such as the use of mutations. Speakers B3 and B5 gave examples of preposition stranding in Welsh, an evident example of calquing English structures. Speakers B6 and B7 believed that Welsh is changing syntactically, and that translating English idioms is particularly prevalent. B8 noticed that calquing was very common in written work of students due to the fact that the majority of sources they read is in English.

The speaker was able to quote many examples of structural calquing, such as preposition stranding or double definite article in noun phrases. B2 noticed that calquing is widespread among inexperienced translators, as observed during examinations:

ti ddim yn gwbod be sy'n mynd trw' feddwl yr @ creaduriaid @ bach yn yr arholiad (1)  
dan bwysau ac ati ac yn aml iawn ella bod na gystrawen Saesneg neu ella jyst diffyg cyst-  
rawen @ yn gyfan gwbl weithiau (...)

'You don't know what is going through the minds of these poor creatures during the exam... stressed and so on and very often there can be English structure or sometimes just (*laughter*) total lack of structure (...)'

Two experienced journalists, G9 and G11, noticed that written Welsh has undergone deep changes in the last few decades. G9 stated that the written language has become much more colloquial and some native Welsh words had become strange to ordinary speakers. G11 believed that many idioms were being lost as people think more and more in English. While writing, the speaker often tries to think what her grandparents would say and is worried about the next generations, considering that people of her age seem to struggle with natural Welsh language. She also believed that losing natural idiomaticity is damaging for the richness of cultural heritage:

G11: yr un peth â cholli alawon gwerin (...) mae rhywun yn poeni am yr AMRYWIAETH hynod hynod arbennig sy di (1) bwydo'r iaith.

'The same as losing folk melodies (...) you worry about the remarkably, remarkably special VARIETY which has... fed the language.'

On the other hand, a number of speakers saw the English influence as a natural part of language development (8). G1 and O1 pointed out that every language evolves and is influenced by other languages, while A5 noticed that the influence is more overwhelming in the case of a minority language. Speaker O1 seemed to be in two minds, accepting borrowing English vocabulary, but worrying about calquing and losing native idioms:

O1: mae pob iaith yn benthg (.) o ieithoedd eraill mae'n datblygu mae na eiriau newydd (.) ma be sy'n iawn i mi o ran (.) licio e:m a geiriau tebyg felly (.) maen nhw'n dod yn eiriau gwahanol i'm merch i (.) pan fydd hi yn tyfu (.) <@>i fyny</@>.

R: @@

O1: a'r hi'n hÿn mi fydd gynni hi ei ei chorpws bach ei hun byth [o eiriau} Saesneg

R: [ie}}

O1: sy'n iawn i ddefnyddio yn y Gymraeg.

R: mhm

O1: <whisper> felly dw i ddim yn gwybod. </whisper> mae'n bechod (.) ie. cyfieithu'n slafaidd o'r Saesneg. a cholli ymadroddion a idiomaau Cymraeg. mae hynny'n biti.

'O1: Every language borrows from other languages, it develops, there are new words, what is ok for me when it comes to *licio* and words like that, they will become different words to my daughter when she grows (*laughter*) up.

R: (*laughter*)

O1: And when she is older she'll have her own little corpus of English words.

R: Yeah.

O1: That are ok to use in Welsh.

R: Mhm.

O1: (*whisper*) So I don't know. (*loud*) It's a shame, yes, slavish translation from English, and losing Welsh phrases and idioms. That's a pity.'

Even though the participants were professional speakers, some of them admitted that they struggle with the omnipresent influence of English in everyday life:

A4: er bo fi'n iaith gynta (.) fath o dw i wedi dysgu Cymraeg a adre o rieni bob dim. ond dw i dal i feddwl o be di gair yn Gymraeg achos ma' rhywun weithia. mae Saesneg yn dod mor hawdd mae o gwmpas ni.

'Even though I am first language sort of I learned Welsh at home from my parents and all, but I still think, oh, what some word is in Welsh, because sometimes you... sometimes English comes so easily, it surrounds us.'

A theme which emerged in several interviews was that the influence of English is so strong it becomes the language in which Welsh speakers think. Some participants claimed this about themselves: for example L5, a middle-aged native speaker, admitted that she always thinks in English while speaking Welsh. In the interview, the speaker used a large amount of English vocabulary and, outside the interview with the researcher, code-switched to a great extent. Another native speaker, L8, said he found it difficult to establish which language is the "first" one he used in his mind as he thinks in both. He attributed his trouble with finding Welsh vocabulary to lack of readership.

L8: un o gwestiynau mae pawb yn gofyn ydy be 'di'r iaith cynta sy'n dod i'ch pen (.) [pryd dach chi'n meddwl?] (...) a dw i'n <en> probably </en> dweud mai Cymraeg ydy o (.) ond bo' fi yn defnyddio Saesneg lawer so weithiau dw i yn (.) mae o'n gallu mynd y ffordd arall (.) ie (.) dw i'n (.) <en> probably </en> yn fwy aml 'wrach (.) meddwl am y gair Cymraeg? achos dw i'm yn (...) <en> probably </en> ddim yn darllen digon o Gymraeg

'One of the questions everybody asks me is "which language is the first that comes into your head when you think" (...) And I *probably* say it is Welsh but I am using English a lot so sometimes I... it can go the other way, yes, I probably more often maybe think about the Welsh word? Because I don't (...) *probably* I don't read enough Welsh.'

Two of the speakers who work as interpreters said that this work had made them notice that some people evidently think in English when they speak Welsh due to the fact it is exceedingly easy to translate their Welsh into English.

B2: y yn aml iawn dyn ni'n mynd i gyfarfodydd (2) a ti'n ffindio rhai pobol yn eitha HAWDD i gyfieithu (.) pan maen nhw'n siarad Cymraeg ti'n gallu cyfieithu fo i'r Saesneg (.) ar y pryd yn eitha hawdd. a ti'n sylweddoli pam (.) achos maen nhw yn eu pennau (.) yn cyfieithu o'r Saesneg (.) i'r Gymraeg (.) ac yn cadw at gystrawen y frawddeg Saesneg (.) ac felly mae'n hawdd iawn newid hwnna'n ôl (.) wrth gyfieithu

'Very often I go to meetings... and I find some people quite EASY to translate, when they speak Welsh you can interpret it into English quite easily. And you notice why – because they translate from English into Welsh in their heads and hold to the English sentence structure and so it's very easy to turn it back while interpreting'

G11: a dw i'n weithia (.) be ydw i i dechra neud (.) gwrando rhai adrodd y: gohebwyr ar Radio Cymru ac fi'n cyfieithu ar y pryd (.) ti'n gwobod mewn cyfarfodydd (...) ar fy liwt fy hun (1) a dw i wedi dechra cyfieithu nhw'n ôl i Saesneg (.) a maen nhw'n siarad yn UNION (.) mae'r strwythur y frawddeg cystrawen yn swnio y geiriau I GYD (1) dim yn Saesneg mae'n swnio'n fel Cymraeg DA (.) safonol (...) ond (.) mae pobol wedi dechra cystrawennu (.) yn yn Saesneg.

R: mae pobol yn meddwl yn Saesneg te.

G11: ie.

'And sometimes what I start doing is to listen to some reports on Radio Cymru and I interpret, you know during meetings as a freelancer... and I've started translating them back to English, and they speak EXACTLY, the structure of the sentence, syntax, it sounds, ALL the words... not in English, it sounds like GOOD, standard Welsh but people have started structuring in English.

R: So people think in English.

G11: Yes.'

On the other hand, a group of speakers emphasised that they always thought in Welsh (8). Speaker L6, who learned Welsh as a teenager, draws a sharp distinction between two languages and is unable to switch easily from one to another.

All in all, a number of speakers expressed concern over the way Welsh is changing under the influence of English. However, it should be noticed that none of the speakers expressed negative views on English itself, but worried about losing the “native”, “natural”, “idiomatic” elements in Welsh. The next section will examine whether PVs were viewed as part of this threat.

#### 5.4.4.4. Speakers' views on phrasal verbs in Welsh

As seen above, the phenomenon of structural calquing was rarely mentioned by the informants in the preliminary interviews due to the fact that they associated borrowing primarily with loanwords. While some speakers appeared to monitor themselves to avoid English loanwords in the interview, they freely used calqued PVs. Only in the short extracts cited in this chapter one may find a number of idiomatic PVs, such as: *picio/pigo i fyny* ‘pick up’, (A4, L1), *dal allan* ‘catch out’ (B7), *cario ymlaen* (O4), *sbïo i fyny* ‘look up’ (C6), *rhoi off* ‘put off’ (B4), *marw mas* ‘die out’ (C5), *dod draws* ‘come across’ (A1). Other examples of PVs used include: *ysgrifennu i lawr* ‘write down’ (B2), *pigo lan* ‘pick up’ (G8, G10), *edrych i fyny* (L2), *cadw i ffwrdd* ‘keep away’ (L8), *bod ymlaen* ‘be on’ (G8, L10), *dod allan* ‘come out, be published’ (O1), *taflu i mewn* ‘throw in’ (O2), *gweithio allan/mas* ‘work out’ (O2, Y2), *dod i fyny* ‘come up’, ‘appear’ (O4), *tynnu i lawr* ‘pull down’, ‘make simpler’ (O6), *mynd ymlaen* ‘go on’ (Y1), *ffonio lan* ‘phone up’ (C2), *troi off* ‘turn off’ (B4). This is unsurprising bearing in mind the results of Part B of the Questionnaire where the acceptability of PVs in spoken informal register was very high regardless of the PV type.

Accordingly, a large group of speakers (14) said that all PVs in the questionnaire appear natural to them while other 8 participants believed that only some PVs are natural. One speaker considered the constructions very common and found it surprising that they can be classified as borrowings. Three other participants specified that PVs are natural in speech (G6, Y2, O3) and three speakers associated PVs with dialect and slang (G4, G6, G8).

Some speakers drew attention to the gap between the spoken and the written language. Y2 emphasised the difference between the two and claimed that it does not depend so much on external standards but the fact that writing gives one more time to think.

Y2: dw i’n credu bodd hi’n ffordd eitha da o destio fe oherwydd mae’n neud ichi sylweddoli ma’ da chi safonau gwahanol i’r ysgrifennu a’r siarad. dyw e dim cweit SAFONAU mae e jyst mater o amser (...)

‘I believe that this [the questionnaire – ML] is quite a good way to test it because it makes you realise you have different standards for writing and speaking. It’s not quite STANDARDS, it’s a matter of time (...)’

Similarly, for speaker G4, PVs were tokens of “lazy” Welsh spoken on everyday basis.

G4: (rhywbeth) DIOG yw e (.) ond mae'n jyst swno'n (.) y:m dyw e ddim yn swno (1) mae fel (.) dw i'n trio meddwl am enghraifft o beth dw i wedi gweud (1) digon posib dw i wedi gweud llwyth ohonyn nhw ond dw i ddim yn cofio (.) mae jyst mae bron fel rhan o (1) o'ch sgwrs pob dydd. erbyn hyn (.)

'It's something LAZY but it just sounds, it doesn't sound... it's like.. I'm trying to think of an example of what I've said... It's quite possible I've said a load of them but I don't remember, it's just almost like part of your everyday conversation by now.'

C6 said that although she would avoid PVs in formal writing, she would use them in official communication, such as composing a leaflet about the health service, where there is a need to be “clear” and use natural, widely-used expressions:

C6: (...) achos mae yn cael ei ddefnyddio lot mwy (.) a dw i'n meddwl i bobol sy ddim yn darllen lot o (.) Gymraeg ella bod ymadroddion 'ynna yn haws i'w deall.

'(...) because they are used a lot more and I think to the people who don't read much Welsh, maybe such phrases will be easier to understand.'

While these participants emphasised the naturalness of PVs in Welsh, another group of speakers highlighted their non-standardness and the influence of English on them. Ten speakers considered PVs to be calques. Eight speakers stated that they tried to avoid calqued PVs, while six other participants specified that PVs should be avoided in standard formal writing. However, only two speakers described such constructions negatively as “incorrect” and four declared that some PVs sound wrong. O1 stressed, however, that the examples in the questionnaire are well-established and it is mostly new calques from English that she found unacceptable.

Some members of Group G commented on the presence of PVs in the press. Two experienced journalists (G7, G9) said that the use of PVs in the press had increased over the years as they appear in quotations from interviews. G11 showed a letter to the press, in which a reader complained about the use of PVs as “horrible” calques from English. The letter was kept on the board in the magazine's office to remind the journalists to avoid word-for-word translation.

Other six speakers expressed a view that some PVs are unnecessary. B3 paid attention to pleonasm such as *torri i lawr*, where the particle does not add any meaning, but admitted that the PV is “well-rooted”. Speakers B1 and C7 believed that there is no

need to use calqued English idioms if there are simple and effective Welsh words to express the same concept. B1 referred to the concept of *Cymraeg Clir*, which teaches people to use simple Welsh words rather than calqued idioms.

Three speakers reacted to seeing phrasal verbs by referring to the prescriptive rules introduced in advanced language courses. B1 noticed that these are precisely the constructions he would teach people to avoid in *Gloywi Iaith* courses, while L8 recollected being taught not to use PVs in such a course he had himself attended. B1 explained that once people uncover the pattern of calquing they might decide to eliminate this type of constructions from their language. Another teacher from Canolfan Bedwyr, B8, was more sceptical in this respect, suggesting that the norm against some PVs introduced in the courses does not have much effect on the way people speak. However, the speaker did not find the phenomenon as something particularly threatening for the language.

B8: dw i'n meddwl bod hi'n bwysig bod ni'n cadw (.) y patryma a cystrawena naturiol yn y Gymraeg (.) ond efo petha fel na (.) dydy hi ddim yn mhoeni fi cymaint (.) defnyddio idioma fel na (...)

'I think it is important that we keep the patterns and natural constructions in Welsh but with things like that [phrasal verbs – ML] it doesn't worry me that much, using such idioms (...)

Two speakers, G9 and C1, talked about phrasal verbs of their own accord before seeing them in the questionnaire. G9 mentioned the PV *syर्थio allan* 'fall out', 'argue' as an example of a structure he would correct while proofreading other people's texts. C1 mentioned calqued PVs with *up* as an example of constructions he was "proud of" avoiding in writing:

C1: mae na lot o idiomau Saesneg yn defnyddio'r gair <en> up </en> (...) t'mod (.) y:m <en> tidying up (.) washing up (...) growing up (.) </en> (.) y:m a wedyn m- m- mae rhai o hynny ar lafar yn tueddol o gyfieithu eu hunan'n llythrennol (.) mae mae patrymau Saesneg yn effeithio ar y Gymraeg. ond yn y gwaith ysgrifenedig dw i'n cymryd rhywfaint o falchder yn osgoi y math yna o (.) droada lle mae natur amlwg Saesneg ar frawddeg.

'There are many English idioms using the word *up*, you know, *tidying up*, *washing up*, *growing up* and then there's a tendency to translate those literally, English patterns influence Welsh, but in writing I take some pride of the fact I avoid this kind of translations where the nature of the sentence is obviously English.'

This example illustrates that some of the informants were highly sensitive to word-for-word translation from English. A3, a teacher of Welsh, said in the follow-up interview



that she had often thought about the constructions in the questionnaire as obvious tokens of the widespread phenomenon of calquing that may result in losing Welsh vocabulary:

A3: o mae pethau ydw i'n meddwl amdanyn drwy'r amser @@ (...)

R: pam? @

A3: oherwydd (.) y:m dw i yn teimlo dan ni'n cyfieithu'n llythrennol o'r Saesneg DRWY'R AMSER (...) a dan ni'n neud o ar lafar heb inni sylwi bod ni yn ei wneud o. y:m ond 'chod dan ni'n mynd i golli'r geiria (.) dw i'n meddwl (.)

'A3: Oh, these are things I'm thinking about all the time (*laughter*) (...)

R: Why?

A3: Because I feel that we translate from English ALL THE TIME (...) and we do it in speech without realising but, you know, we are going to lose words, I think.'

Noticeably, A3 says "we", admitting that she used the calqued constructions herself. Similarly, other speakers who viewed PVs as calques also indicated that despite the existence of a prescriptive norm, they do not adhere to it every time, particularly in speech. For instance, B8 that she would use a PV *torri i lawr* herself even though she would encourage her students not to do it.

Moreover, six participants (A6, A8, B4, B6, C8, G9) pointed out that some PVs are difficult to replace. They referred especially to the case of *troi ymlaen* 'switch on' whose one-word equivalents such as *tanio* 'ignite' or *galluogi* 'enable' sound awkward.

Finally, four speakers (B3, C1, G2, G9) declared that the questionnaire made them realise they were inconsistent in what is acceptable and what is not:

B3: a dydi'r linydd ddim yn gyson bob tro chwaith dw i'n teimlo mae rhywun yn hwyrach yn defnyddio rhyw ymadrodd a ryw air (1) mewn un sefyllfa neu ar un adag (.) a (.) ddim yn ei ddefnyddio yr adag arall mae'r (.) dw i'n teimlo bod fi'n beth bynnag yn reit (.) yn reit ANWADAL i ddeud a (mympwyol) weithiau e e yn fy nefnydd.

'The borderline is not consistent every time either, I feel you sometimes maybe use some expression and some word... in one situation or at one time... and not use it in another, it's... I feel that at least I'm pretty, pretty FICKLE to say, and sometimes capricious in my usage.'

C1: dw i'n licio meddwl mod i'n trio osgoi rhai ymadroddion Saesneg (.) ond ond neud imi gwestiynu (.) pa idiomau yn union ydy hynny (.) mae'n bosib bod'na rai (.) llai amlwg imi efallai y sy'n rhan o ddull ysgrifenedig (.) dw i ddim wedi meddwl amdano cymaint (.) mae'n diddorol.

'I like to think that I try to avoid some English phrases but this made me wonder which idioms are those exactly, it's possible that there are some less obvious for me maybe that are a part of the written style, I haven't thought about this that much, it's interesting.'

To summarise, the informants who commented on Welsh generally agreed that they were a natural part of the spoken language. Little more than half of the speakers felt that at least some PVs are constructions calqued from English, but very few viewed it as a negative thing. Several informants referred to the norm prescribing the use of PVs, which they encountered in proficiency courses, but some of them indicated such prescriptions are somewhat ineffective.

#### **5.4.4.5. Views on standard Welsh**

In the follow-up interviews, a number of speakers were willing to engage in a conversation about standards in Welsh and attempted to identify sources of the linguistic norm. In discussing standards, many informants stressed the difference between spoken and written language. The notion of standard was generally associated with writing, with 13 speakers saying that standards should be maintained in written language. Two speakers believed that there is no need for a spoken standard because Welsh people understand each other (L5) and one should maintain the variation in dialects (G1). C8 emphasised that the need to maintain standard Welsh is a responsibility of the intellectual elite, who function in institutionalised environment when norms can be retained. In the case of “ordinary” speakers, however, it is impossible to exercise any pressure to speak more formal Welsh. Similarly, C2 stated that the majority of Welsh speakers are entirely unfamiliar with the concept of standard Welsh because they do not use it in their professional lives.

Many speakers identified the standard with the language of the media. Eight informants expressed the opinion that broadcast Welsh is important for developing standards and that it is the mission of the Welsh media to give good example of language use. Speakers also evaluated the broadcast language they heard. Five speakers, most of them teachers from Group A, said that standards are generally high and the media manage to keep the right balance between formal and informal language. However the informants also shared some critical remarks. For example, A8 believed that the language of some radio speakers is not natural enough due to the fact they make too much effort to use only Welsh vocabulary.

A8: dw i'n mwynhau gwrandio arnyn nhw (.) ond weithiau dw i'n teimlo bod un neu ddau ohonyn nhw (.) mae nhw'n (.) maen nhw'n trio mor galed yn yn defnyddio Cymraeg geiriau Cymraeg a dydy o ddim yn swnio'n naturiol iawn weithiau (...)

'I enjoy listening to them but sometimes I feel that one or two of them, they try too hard to use Welsh, Welsh words and they sometimes don't sound very natural (...)

Similar points were raised by B2, B6 and O6. B2 criticised radio journalists who read pre-prepared text, which sounded too formal and unnatural. O6 said that the media should use more natural spoken language, except for news items and programmes about poetry, which are formal in nature. The speaker added, however, that in her opinion the media were already making attempts to make the language more colloquial. According to B6 the language of television news was too difficult and for that reason discouraging for many people. The speaker believed that the situation could improve if there were more than one channel, claiming that when two Welsh-language news programmes existed in the past, there was more variation in the style they used.

On the other hand, several speakers believed that media standards were too lax as regards formality and correctness (6). For A1 and O3 this concerned especially online news portals. B7 complained about excessive colloquialisms and careless translations from English in Welsh press. Having a member of the family working in a Welsh magazine, the speaker explained that the deteriorating standards are caused by a hurry in preparing articles and lack of supervision over young people who are strongly influenced by English.

maen nhw'n gweithio dan bwysa (.) bwysa amser wedyn (.) ychydig iawn o bobol lot o waith (.) ychydig iawn o amser. mae pethau fel na yn llithro i fewn (.) a mae lot o bobol sy'n gweithio yn y cyfryngau yn bobol iau (.) a wedyn mae gynnon nhw dw i'n meddwl (.) mae mwy o ddylanwad Saesneg ar eu hiaith nhw.

'They work under pressure, the pressure of time, and then very few people, a lot of work, very little time. Things like that [calqued idioms – ML] slip in, and lots of people working in the media are young people and then they have, I think, their language is more influenced by English.'

Similarly, B8 claimed that the younger generation of journalists working in Radio Cymru seem to have problems with using natural Welsh, including structures and correct mutations. The station was also mentioned by O4, who believed that for some journalists the wish to appeal to popular taste takes precedence over correctness – as an example she

quoted a popular programme which had been using an incorrect phrase as a running joke, which in the speakers opinion might spread the mistake. The speaker said that the problem of calquing and incorrectness was to be seen in other Welsh media as well. She believed that the media should strive to find a balance between making the audience confident and maintaining high standards

Five speakers pointed to the impact of social media on changing the standards due to the fact that people become accustomed to writing down spoken language and mixing Welsh and English. On the other hand, one of the young participants, G5, said that she used only Welsh in social media with her close circle of friends. This makes her feel that she lives her life entirely in Welsh and it gives her more confidence in using it.

Another domain that the speakers associated with standard Welsh was the language found in official documents. The comments on that subject illustrated some burning issues in that respect. Four speakers said that many Welsh people have trouble understanding official Welsh. Speaker A5 admitted having problems with understanding some documents herself, despite having a degree in Welsh; she also quoted examples of official forms issued by the local council of Gwynedd, full of errors and “slavish” translations from English. O5 also mentioned difficulties in using Welsh forms due to lack of familiarity with the “jargon”. Speakers O2, A7 and C3 admitted that they never used official forms in Welsh as they were too difficult. Other speakers indicated that official Welsh was too formal (Y3, O4, O6), “posh” (L10) and “stiff” (A5).

Over one fifth of the speakers highlighted that official Welsh should be simple and clear (14). In some cases, this statement referred to the questionnaire as the speakers justified why they would accept some PVs in an official leaflet but not in a book. In many cases they referred to the *Cymraeg Clir* approach.

Several speakers mentioned the role of literature in maintaining standard Welsh. All the three interviewed writers (Group Y) said they believed the language of novels should reflect the reality and the vocabulary people use. At the same time, Y2 and Y3 believed that the narrative parts of the novels should be written in standard language with fewer English elements. Speaker B7 commented on fiction from a reader’s perspective, claiming that there was a growing tendency in novels to use colloquial idioms even in the narrative parts. In the speakers’ opinion such a technique was unnecessary and made books difficult to understand for speakers from different regions of Wales; she also believed that since written language never reflects the way people speak in reality, writers

should attempt to find the balance between sounding “real” and maintaining literary standards. Characteristically, only one speaker (A1) referred to the most traditional literary norm, mentioning the Welsh Bible as the source of “the best” Welsh.

For two speakers the best standard Welsh was the natural idiomatic language used by public persons (A8, G11). Journalist G11 listed several names of her linguistic “role models” and described the language they used as “rich”, “robust” and difficult to translate in that it does not copy English constructions.

Education was another domain the participants associated with maintaining standards. For speakers B7 and C8 the educational system was the most important channel, alongside the media, of introducing standard language. B7 expressed hope that there would be more Welsh-medium schools which might improve the language of young people. Speaker C9 complained about the level of education and the training of teachers in his area, expressing worry about the future of Welsh. The participants who were teachers themselves, particularly from Group A stressed their responsibility for introducing standard Welsh to the younger generation. Teachers of Welsh in particular (A1 and A3) said that they saw themselves as models of good language and described their attempts to sensitise students to differences between spoken and written idiom. This may be a difficult task, however, as students tend to be entirely unfamiliar with higher registers of the language. A3 noticed that young people are often afraid to speak standard Welsh and sound “like a book”. She described a situation in which she tried to encourage students to use a literary form *es i* ‘I went’ by suggesting a colloquial pronunciation “*esh i*”, rather than using dialectal *aru fi fynd* ‘I went’.

A3: maen nhw’n dweud <imitate.> ie mae’n iawn i chi miss <imitate> dych chi’n siarad am tecstio a bethe a nhw’n dweud <imitate> ie swm ni’n ddim dweud hynny pan dyn ni’n siarad efo’n gilydd <imitate> a nes i ddeud reit trŵch pan ydych chi’n siarad efo’i gilydd yn lle mynd <imitate> o aru fi fynd <imitate> trŵch ddweud o ES I I. <imitate> ond dyn ni ddim isio swnio fel llyfr <imitate> ES I I. dych chi ddim gorfod dweud na fel llyfr trŵch i ddweud o <pvc> ESH I I </pvc> siopa

‘They say “yeah, it’s fine for you, miss”, you talk about texting and so on, and they say “yeah, we wouldn’t say that when we talk to each other” and I said right, try, when you talk with each other, instead of going *aru fi fynd*, try saying oh ES I I [I went (to)]. “But we don’t want to sound like a book”. ES I I, you don’t have to say it like a book, try to say “ESH I I” shopping.

A6 stated that despite all the problems with persuading the younger generation to use “good” Welsh (or any Welsh at all), the education system should continue trying to maintain Welsh as young people are really proud of it as part of their Welsh identity.

A6: mae'n RHAID inni gario ymlaen i i gwffio (.) mae rhaid iddy- (.) MAEN nhw'n falch o'u hiaith (...)dyna beth sydd yn od maen nhw'n falch bod nhw'n Gymry maen nhw'n falch o'u hiaith (1) ond wedyn ma' nhw mewn (1) <en>habit</en> ydy o <en>habit</en> drwg (.) sydd yn gair Saesneg (...) A6: <en>habit</en> drwg o (.) defnyddio Saesneg efo ffrindia. (...)ond allwn ni'n allwn ni'n (.) stopio. (...)mae rhaid inni gario ymlaen.

‘We HAVE TO carry on fighting, they have to... they ARE proud of their language (...) this is what is strange, they are proud to be Welsh, they're proud of their language, but then they have a... *habit*, it is a bad *habit*, which is an English word, of using English with friends (...) but we can't, we can't stop (...) we have to carry on.’

On a more optimistic note, several teachers defended students, stating that they are able to speak “good” Welsh if only they make an effort (A2, A3, A5). B7 and A6 also noticed that careless calquing and code-switching is a natural thing for teenagers and it had been done in their own time alike. B5 claimed that the problem of “bad” language did not concern only Welsh, because teenagers may also struggle with speaking correct English.

Deterioration of standards regarding language correctness was another theme which emerged in several conversations. Participants gave different reasons for what they saw as falling standards, such as lack of readership (B6, C9):

B6: mae na lot o anwybodaeth am beth sydd yn gywir (...) OHERWYDD (...) dydyn nhw ddim yn darllen (.) dim yn t'mod achos dyna'r ffordd (.) naturiol ora o weld o ddysgu'r Cymraeg o safbwynt cywirdeb.

‘There is a lot of ignorance about what is correct (,,,) BECAUSE (...) they don't read, you know, because this is the best natural way of seeing, of learning Welsh as far as correctness goes.’

C9: hefyd mae o'n diffyg (1) darllen (...) ma' 'na wahaniaeth rhwng darllen (.) ar gyfer arholiad (.) a darllen cymdeithasol (.) darllen adref. yn bendant mae'na ddiffyg o hynny hefyd.

‘There is also lack of reading, there is a difference between reading for exams and social reading, reading at home. Definitely, there is a lack of that too.’

Other speakers said that standards in Welsh deteriorate due to the fact that people do not have enough contact with natural language (6). For B2, one reason for this was the decline in chapel attendance, where people used to be exposed to standard Welsh:

B2: mae'r oes lle oedd (2) pobol yn gallu dibynnu ar (1) cystrawenna mae nhw wedi dysgu i co (.) mewn capeli ac yn y blaen wedi mynd (...) pan o'n i'n (.) blentyn deg mlynedd ar hugain yn ôl (.) dw i'n siŵr bod na llawer iawn mwy o bobol yn dod ar draws i bobol hŷn wedi mynd i gapel ac roedd eu Cymraeg yn fwy graenus ac yn [fwy cadarn] na (...) mae hyn yn cael ei golli a does dim byd yn dod yn lle yr agwedd (.) yna oedd yn rhoi addysg neu'n dysgu pobol ynglŷn â chystrawenna (.) Cymreig t'od (.) y patryma Cymreig da t'mod (...) dw i'm yn gwybod be dy'r ateb (.) ond hyn ydy mae'r (.) ma'r patryma DA (.) yn fwy prin. (.)

'The age when... people could depend on... the constructions they had learnt by heart in chapels and so on is gone (...) when I was a child thirty years ago, I'm sure there were a lot more people who came across older people who had gone to the chapel and their Welsh was more polished and stronger than... (...) this is lost and nothing comes to replace that attitude which would give education or teach people about Welsh construction, you know, patterns of good Welsh (...) I don't know what the answer is but the thing is the GOOD patterns are rarer.'

Speaker G11 stated that it is difficult to write good Welsh because there is so little of it around, especially on the Internet. The speaker also believed that receiving education in Welsh is not enough to provide people with the ability to speak good Welsh if they do not have enough contact with proficient speakers, particularly from the older generation. Another problem which the informant identified was the excessive translation from English and insufficient use of Welsh in the government bodies:

G11: [y problem yw] bod fi'n meddwl (...) bod na lawer gormod o gyfieithu yn cael ei wneud yng Nghymru. (...) yn hytrach na annog (1) e:m (.) pobol i gwella a defnyddio eu Cymraeg yn fwy. mewn awdurdoda lleol mewn (...) cynghorau lleol (...) mae'r system gyfieithu mor gryf mae cymaint o gyfieithu mae p'pethe yn (.) cael eu sgwennu yn Saesneg a s'dim angen iddyn nhw.

'The problem is I think that there is too much translation done in Wales (...) rather than urging people to improve and use their Welsh more, in the local authorities, in the local council, the translation system is so strong, things are written in English and they don't need to be.'

Lack of prestige associated with political power was also mentioned by C1, who believed that using more Welsh in the National Assembly would help to create a new standard.

C1: dw i'n meddwl bod YN drueni mawr t'mod fod na ddim o ddefnydd o Gymraeg yn y Cynulliad er enghraifft. (...) achos mae hwnna'n (.) y:m (.) (mwy na'r) math o sefydliad y bysa YN creu ac ac yn safoni defnydd o'r Gymraeg ella mewn ffordd sydd yn esblygu (.) ella mewn ffordd sydd ddim yn draddodiadol (.) mi fasa fo yn creu y:m y:m ac yn gwneud pobol yn fwy gyfarwydd efo efo efo'r Gymraeg mewn cyd-destun deddfwriaeth basa hwnna (.) t'm- helpu i bobol ddod yn fwy cyfarwydd efo cywair mwy (.) t'mod safonol (.) o'r iaith

'I think this IS a great pity, you know, that Welsh is not used for example in the Assembly (...) because that is a type of institution that WOULD create and standardise the use of Welsh maybe in a way that evolves, maybe in a way that is not traditional, that would create, um, and make people more familiar with Welsh in the context of legislation, it would help people to become more familiar with the more, you know, formal register of the language.'

## 5.5. Summary and discussion of the results

The study aimed to investigate the homogeneity of the linguistic norm in Welsh among professional speakers by examining the level of integration of the selected PVs and the presence of monolingual-oriented ideologies in the speakers' judgements.

The first aim of the study was to measure the acceptability of selected PVs in semi-formal registers of Welsh against alternative expressions. The analysis of 12 onomasiological profiles in Part A of the questionnaire confirmed Hypothesis 1 stating that, given a choice between PVs and their native equivalents, the participants preferred non-PV constructions, with one exception of *bwrw ymlaen* 'carry on'. The findings of the questionnaire have demonstrated that, at least in the investigated cases of frequently occurring PVs, they are not likely to replace alternative native items in written language. It can be seen that, in the investigated cases, the vast majority of items coexisted with native equivalents in the minds of the speakers. Insertion pertained mostly only to the case of *troi ymlaen*, which is difficult to express by other phrases. The only non-PV item that has been seen to fall into disuse was *cael crap ar* 'get a grasp on'. However, the low acceptability of this item did not stem from the fact that it competed with the PV *pigo i fyny* 'pick up', but rather from the homogeneity of the impolite English word *crap*.

The second aim concerned the integration of idiomatic PVs in the standard written language in comparison with the spoken mode. The results of Part B of the questionnaire and data from interviews have confirmed Hypothesis 2 that the selected PVs were con-



siderably well-integrated in informal spoken Welsh and seen by the informants as an entirely natural part of their spoken idiom. A fairly large number of idiomatic PVs occurred naturally in the participants' speech, despite the fact that most of them used a rather formal register of Welsh in the situation of a recorded interview, avoided code-switching and monitored themselves with regard to using English loanwords. This observation agreed with the results of the questionnaire, where a high proportion of the speakers declared they accepted the use of PVs also in formal spoken register. This indicates congruity between speakers' declared and real lexical choices.

The study results have also confirmed the hypothesis that differences in the degree of acceptability would be associated with the status of a PV with regard to contact with English. The high acceptability of *bwrw ymlaen* which is, to all probability, a native Welsh PV, as well as *dod ar draws* 'come across' and *edrych ymlaen at* 'look forward to', which also might have emerged naturally in Welsh rather than be directly borrowed from English (3.3.2.3, 4.5.5), leads to the conclusion that the small number of native PVs in Welsh are well-established in the written language. In contrast, as was expected, loanblends such as *cario ymlaen*, *ffeindio allan*, *troi off*, whose form evokes the English influence, were rejected in the semi-formal written register by the vast majority of speakers. The degree of acceptability of pleonastic and directly translatable calques varied considerably and appeared to depend on a number of linguistic and extralinguistic factors.

The final aim of the study was to identify some possible motivations for accepting or rejecting phrasal verbs and tie them to standardisation-related ideologies. As had been stated in Hypothesis 3, the results demonstrated a lack of universally accepted norms and a variety of approaches to the issues of language contact.

The analysis has identified several possible motivations for rejecting a PV which combined to form the speakers' judgement:

- perceived effectiveness of non-PV equivalents;
- perceived degree of formality of a PV;
- perceived English origin of a PV;
- knowledge about a rule prescribing the use of a PV.

The first and probably most important motivation for rejecting PVs was the existence of another Welsh phrase which could express the same concept and its perceived effectiveness related to qualities such as simplicity, naturalness and intelligibility. For instance, simple verbs *dysgu* 'learn', and *digwydd* 'happen', corresponding to *ffeindio*

*allan* ‘find out’ and *mynd ymlaen* ‘go on’, were chosen by a higher proportion of speakers than the more formal and sophisticated phrase *disgwyl yn eiddgar* ‘ardently expect’ corresponding to *edrych ymlaen at* ‘look forward to’. The most frequently rejected non-PV item was the rather obsolete idiom *cael crap ar* ‘get a grasp on’, presumably falling out of use due to its connotation with the English word *crap*. Similarly, the participants preferred to dispose of the particle in the case of pleonastic *eistedd i lawr* ‘sit down’ and *tyfu i fyny* ‘grow up’, for the sake of linguistic economy and simplicity. There is also an interesting comparison to be made between two PVs expressing the concept of switching mechanical devices “on” and “off”: *troi ymlaen* and *troi i ffwrdd (off/bant)*. While the speakers tended to acknowledge the need to accept *troi ymlaen* ‘turn on’ for lack of a better expression, *troi i ffwrdd* ‘turn off’ was largely rejected due to the fact that there exists a simple and well-established equivalent *diffodd* ‘turn off’, ‘extinguish’. A similar phenomenon was observed with *troi i fyny*, used in two different senses, where the more technical and transparent sense of “turning up the heat” was more accepted in the written mode than the idiomatic sense of “coming, appearing”, which can be expressed in Welsh by a number of non-PVs. The observation that certain PVs may be considered unnecessary in view of the existence of an effective alternative item corresponds to the findings of Chapter 4 concerning the choices of lexicographers in excluding some verb-particle constructions when another equivalent can be proposed.

Secondly, both the interviews and questionnaires showed that the informants were highly aware of differences between the formal and informal registers of Welsh. For this reason some PVs, such as *rhedeg allan o* ‘run out of’, *gweithio allan* ‘work out’, *troi i fyny* ‘turn up’, ‘arrive’ were considered inappropriate in semi-formal contexts. This is unsurprising, given the similar stylistic properties of their English counterparts. On the other hand, some of the proposed Welsh equivalents, such as *dychwelyd* ‘return’, were occasionally rejected due to their excessive formality. What is more, the speakers universally rejected dialectal forms of PVs (*gweithio mas*, *pigo lan*) and the PV *troi off* with the stylistically marked particle directly borrowed from English.

The third motivation expressed directly by some informants was the fact that a PV was a calque from English. Around half of the speakers expressed awareness regarding the influence of English on Welsh PVs. However, very few speakers perceived the calquing of PVs as something to be avoided as a general rule, but rejected mostly the less well-

established items in more formal registers. Several speakers acknowledged their inconsistency as to which borrowings they found appropriate.

Finally, participants occasionally declared that the rejection of PVs was motivated by prescriptive rules, which the speakers encountered at language courses or that had been taught to them by members of older generation e.g. parents.

With regard to extralinguistic factors, the results of Part B were analysed against three variables: age, sex and level of education. No significant differences between men and women or between different age groups were confirmed in the statistical analysis. The latter finding does not confirm Hirata's (2012) suggestion that age might play a role in the acceptability of calques.

However, the statistical analysis showed that education is a factor that might significantly influence speakers' lexical choices. It seems logical to assume that highly educated speakers are more likely to have been taught about prescriptive rules or sensitised to the phenomenon of calquing during their education process. On the other hand, no significant differences in acceptability between speakers with secondary or higher education were found in the spoken formal or written official registers. A possible reason for that emerging from interviews with the participants is the belief that these registers should be closer to the informal spoken language given the need to communicate with the public in a simple and effective way.

Other than education, there are certainly numerous other factors which empower prescriptive ideologies among speakers. One of them might be family background. Data from interviews has indicated that linguistic rules are transmitted across generations: several speakers recollected their own parents correcting them, while other speakers mentioned monitoring the way their children speak. Moreover, a lack of contact with older generations was mentioned as one of the factors behind the perceived deterioration of standards observed by some of the participants.

One more aspect that needs to be considered are institutional norms in a given workplace. Following Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992), workplaces can be described as *communities of practice* that is aggregates of people "who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavour" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 95)<sup>85</sup>. It could be argued that at least one of the investigated workplaces, Canolfan Bedwyr,

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<sup>85</sup> The notion of community of practice is derived from an older concept of a speech community, understood as a group of people who share the same norms in regard to language (Labov 1972: 158).

could be viewed as a community of practice sharing some norms regarding the avoidance of English influence on Welsh. As this institution is responsible for a variety of codification and standardisation projects in fields such as lexicography, translation and teaching it is unsurprising that the centre's staff were the only group who manifested stronger support for prescriptive norms in the interviews. This was also the best educated group in the sample. A comparison of the scores of Group B with Group L showed significant differences in acceptability in informal spoken and written semi-formal register as well as in the total score. On the other side of the spectrum, teachers in Group A and O showed an approach of tolerance towards language variation due to their experience with new speakers of Welsh.

Finally, regarding the standardisation- related ideologies (Aim 3), the interviews have provided some valuable information on proficient speakers' views on phrasal verbs in the context of language contact. The calquing of PVs was rarely recognised as an important issue in view of the linguistic norm. Bearing in mind Thomas's (1991: 74) claim that tolerance towards calquing is negatively correlated with the degree of purism, the speakers' opinions indicate that ideologies of purism were not very strong among the interviewed groups. The calquing of PVs was placed in a wider context of the overwhelming influence of English on Welsh chiefly by those speakers who exhibited high linguistic awareness due to their profession of teachers, researchers and translators. These informants were able to supply plenty of examples of calquing phenomena, stemming from their contact with teenage Welsh speakers and new speakers. A few participants expressed concern that Welsh might lose its native idiomaticity in the future and become "translated English". However, PVs were generally not seen as part of this trend. The reasons for that were twofold: firstly, the speakers perceived the phenomenon of PVs as purely lexical, not affecting the structure of the language. Secondly, phrasal verbs were not seen as substitutes for native words and idioms

The findings of the study are in accordance with Robert's (2013) claims about the general tolerance of Welsh speakers towards borrowings and language variation in vernacular practice. Data from the interviews indicate that prescriptive ideologies are in constant competition with other priorities, such as accommodating non-native speakers of Welsh in school or the classroom environment or the need to communicate with wide audience. In the present study, the majority of participants saw language practice and effective communication as crucial for maintaining the Welsh language, even at the cost

of changing the traditional monolingual norm. The most common opinion on borrowings from English given by the participants was that they are a natural element of their language. Speaking Welsh devoid of any English element was seen by some speakers as awkward, associated with middle-class elitism and negative ideologies of purism.

Indeed, attitudes of the speakers towards purism were invariably negative as the ideology was associated with criticism and stigmatisation. Anecdotal evidence provided by the speakers regarding purists who criticise the Welsh of new speakers deemed such ideology as detrimental for maintaining and revitalising Welsh, dividing society and discouraging people from using the language. Instead, participants of the study advocated other methods of preventing the deterioration of Welsh, primarily the practice of “giving good examples” themselves. Teachers in particular saw it as their mission to encourage students to use “good” Welsh, which would at the same time be “natural” and that students would feel comfortable to use. In doing that, teachers need to regard not only abstract norms of “correctness” but also the conditions of the environment in which they function and the abilities of students. On the other hand, it was also mentioned that new speakers may desire to hear Welsh which is more “pure” at the lexical level as they expect it to be “different” from English and are more conscious in separating the two languages. Thus the emerging picture is that of a constant negotiation of standards between more and less proficient speakers of Welsh, where lack of confidence in speaking is seen as a much greater problem than lack of “correctness” or using Anglicised vocabulary and structures.

All in all, the interviewed speakers manifested support for diglossia, but at the same time were aware of what Musk called the “dichotomy between the everyday practice of bilingualism and the ideal” (Musk 2006: 405) embedded in the monolingual norm. In his study of a bilingual school community, the author mentioned that members of a Welsh-dominant group did not contest ideologies based on the monolingual norm. Similarly, the professional speakers in the present study, most of whom were native speakers of Welsh, were supportive of the existence of the monolingual norm at least in writing as an instrument of maintenance and transmission of the language (cf. Schiffman 1998: 211). However, the majority of speakers indicated that implementing such norms in real life was a challenging task.

Nearly all the speakers admitted having difficulties in recalling Welsh vocabulary on an everyday basis and the majority declared that they regularly used dictionaries, primarily in writing, but sometimes also during conversation. This shows the importance of

dictionaries in maintaining the linguistic norm among professional speakers, in particular *Geiriadur yr Academy*, which was seen as the main authority on Welsh vocabulary, confirming Prys et al.'s findings (Prys et al. 2015, see 1.2.6.2). However, only about a quarter of the informants stated that they strove to make their Welsh better by suppressing the ubiquitous English influence, avoiding borrowings and code-switching. This approach was particularly strong among teachers, who perceived themselves as linguistic models for students. In most cases, the research had shown a tendency towards increased informality of the semi-formal registers and accommodating English vocabulary in them. The idea of rigid separation between the two languages was not popular among the speakers (cf. Selleck 2013 and the idea of “flexible bilingualism” 1.2.1). Overall, the informants expressed acceptance for English borrowings motivating it with various factors: for instance, they saw borrowings as tokens of their dialect, and a universal means of communication with learners or people with perceived weaker command of Welsh. Adaptation to the speaker or audience was seen as a crucial criterion for the level of adherence to monolingual norms. Prescriptive ideologies were most prominent in writing, where the vast majority of the informants declared they would avoid using borrowings from English.

The final issue addressed in the study was the notion of standard Welsh. The study has confirmed observations presented in Chapter 1 according to which modern standard Welsh is a rather vague concept even in the minds of proficient Welsh speakers, owing to multiple channels of its transmission in the space left after the decline of the traditional norm connected with the chapel and literary language. The opinions gathered in the interviews show that the interviewed professional speakers associated the standard primarily with writing and its different nature from the spoken idiom. With regard to spoken standard, the speakers were evidently less confident in talking about spoken formal variety than written one due to the fact that in general they declared having fewer opportunities to use it on everyday basis. Moreover, using the spoken standard was sometimes seen as more demanding since speaking gives little time to monitor one's language.

However, despite the fact that standards were mostly associated with written language, it was the broadcast media rather than literature or press that was mentioned more often by the speakers while specifying the domain of the standard language. This demonstrates something of a clash between the traditional monolingual norms rooted in written language and new standards introduced through the spoken language of the media where

the bilingual element is evidently stronger. For this reason, a number of speakers believed the media language to be too informal and advocating “bad” Welsh influenced by English. For others, however, the Welsh they heard on the radio or on television were still too rigid and artificial.

Several speakers pointed to the increasing informality of the written language. Writers of the Y group did not believe in maintaining traditional forms in fiction as it should reflect the real language. Similarly, journalists of group G have given evidence of how the norm in press has adapted to the changing needs of the bilingual audience over the years. Another factor mentioned by several speakers was the influence of social media where code-switching is widespread. Having been asked in the questionnaire to indicate what they would expect in standard language used in the press, some informants drew attention to the fact that their expectations were in contrast to what they saw in actual usage.

The official variety of Welsh was most often discussed in a negative context during the interviews as one that fails to serve as the source of linguistic norm. Several of the professional speakers interviewed admitted that they did not use the official language or had problems in understanding this register. Many speakers recognised the need to advocate the *Cymraeg Clir* approach, especially in Group B, whose members worked in the institution promoting the initiative. Consequently, members of this group were more tolerant of calqued PVs in official writing in comparison with semi-formal written register (writing a book) as they acknowledged the need for effective communication with the public. Several members of Group C who were sensitive to the presence of Welsh in official bodies also commented on the need to increase the accessibility of Welsh documents and the presence of Welsh in politics.

## **5.6. Limitations of the study**

The study presented in this chapter has a number of limitations which will be now addressed:

- As discussed in 1.5., the obtained data contain a number of self-reported claims, which should be treated with caution as they do not provide information about the actual

behaviour of participants. Nevertheless, such information is valuable regarding speakers' perception of their language and their ideologies, which were the main subject of the analysis. Moreover, it has been observed that the results of Questionnaire B regarding the informal register were generally in congruence with actual use of PVs in the participants' natural speech.

- Regarding the acceptability of PVs it should be noticed that the format of Questionnaire A where participants had a choice between PV and non-PV items might have compelled some speakers to choose the one "right" option despite having been told about the possibility to mark as many phrases as they saw appropriate. This might have resulted in a bias towards non-PV items.
- Statistical results of the analysis of extralinguistic factors in relation to Questionnaire B scores should not be generalised as they are representative only for the selected small sample of speakers.
- Choosing the method of semi-structured interviews allowed for freedom of expression but made it impossible to touch upon the same themes with all the participants. Moreover, due to time constraints (many of the participants were interviewed during their working hours and some of them needed more time than usual to fill the questionnaire) it was not always possible to cover all the intended topics in the interview. As a result, the data collected in the interviews are unsystematic and cannot be measured quantitatively but rather show trends in speakers' judgements.

As the first field study devoted to the subject of phrasal verbs, the investigation has outlined major themes related to the research questions, which may be the basis for future studies of Welsh PVs using wider samples of Welsh speakers and comprising not only self-reported use but also investigating actual usage and language attitudes.

## **5.7. Conclusions**

The main aim of this chapter was to investigate the level of integration of phrasal verbs in Welsh, using the judgements of language-aware professional speakers as a litmus test for the strength of the linguistic norm. The study revealed the speakers' strong attachment to diglossic character of Welsh: whilst in the informal spoken PVs of all categories were



found to be extremely well-integrated, in the written language a prescriptive norm against them was manifested in the informants' judgement, although levels of acceptability varied considerably across the investigated cases. There was a negative correlation between the level of education and acceptability of PVs in the written language, but only in a situation involving writing a book, not in public communication. The acceptability of idiomatic PVs in writing depended on their stylistic formality, semantic functionality and their status with regard to contact with English. The naturalness of non-PV equivalents in a given context also played a major role in the speakers' judgement. In nearly all the investigated cases, the speakers declared their preference for native Welsh equivalents to PVs with the exception of the selected native verb-particle construction *bwrw ymlaen*. The acceptability of loanblends was markedly lower than PVs of other language contact categories. The results showed a high linguistic awareness of the speakers and their sensitivity to differences in register and style.

Within the wider context of language ideologies, it can be concluded that prescriptive ideas were manifested primarily in the domain of writing, but even there the norm against using PVs was not particularly strong. Although a group of speakers expressed concern over the phenomenon of calquing from English, they did not perceive PVs as a major threat to the Welsh language, viewing them as constructions belonging mainly to colloquial speech that are not likely to replace native items entirely. The prevailing ideology among the interviewed speakers was that of tolerance towards PVs specifically and borrowings in general. The speakers did not expect themselves or others to be "double monolinguals" according to the traditional normative definition of bilingualism (Clyne 1998: 311) and considered the calqued verb-particle constructions as a natural and sometimes useful element of their vocabulary. Ideologies of purism were seen as detrimental by a number of speakers, who believed that prescriptive rules should be introduced in a positive, encouraging way. Effective communication and accommodating new speakers of Welsh were seen as crucial for maintaining the language.

Moreover, the data gathered in the interviews have shown that the professional speakers perceived tension between the "ideal" monolingual norm and the bilingual reality which requires a constant negotiation of standards. Many of the informants saw it as their duty to keep the norm in the written language, given their position as teachers, translators, journalists etc., but believed it neither possible nor necessary to adhere to such norms in speech. Thus the influence of English on spoken Welsh was seen as a natural

and inevitable thing. However, a number of speakers have indicated that the written language is subject to change as well, becoming increasingly informal and anglicised. The discrepancy between the expectations of the professional speakers regarding the written norm and actual practice is shown in the fact that while the speakers generally rejected verb-particle constructions given a choice between PV and non-PV items, the questionnaire contained authentic sentences which originally did contain phrasal verbs.

In view of the complex picture emerging from the results presented in this chapter, the conclusions drawn from the empirical study are by necessity generalising. The multitude of opinion on the standardisation of Welsh and issues of language contact expressed by the participants points to the phenomenon acknowledged in recent studies on minority languages standardisation, that is the “acceptance of pluralism and/or ambiguity by actors participating in minority standardisation projects which embrace the diversity of speakers” (Costa et al. 2017: 13–14). Future linguistic norms in Welsh and new semi-formal registers are bound to arise out of an amalgam of monolingual-oriented normative practices and everyday communication in a bilingual environment, which currently are in the process of emerging. The degree of uncertainty and variation in the acceptability of phrasal verbs in standard Welsh is part of this phenomenon.

## Conclusion

Phrasal verbs have been a largely neglected subject in Welsh linguistics, except for the pioneering article by Rottet (2005), which has provided a solid basis for the present work. In my dissertation I have strived to expand on Rottet's findings by conducting a larger and more in-depth study using a variety of methodologies. First, by conducting a thorough literature review and analysing my own corpus of the press and fiction I identified and investigated major features of phrasal verbs in Welsh. This builds on Rottet's (2005) findings in a more systematic way and amends a simplified and erroneous description of these constructions found in Thomas (1996). Secondly, as idiomatic phrasal verbs in Welsh are primarily, though not solely, a phenomenon of language contact, I have focused my study on the level of their integration in the standard written language, which, as explained in the Introduction, is not only of theoretical but also practical importance. Special attention has been paid to idiomatic constructions and their status in relation to the linguistic norm in order to put the phenomenon within the broader context of language standardisation processes and changes which take place in Welsh bilingual society of today.

The changing situation of the Welsh language and the processes influencing the linguistic norm were described in Chapter 1, providing a background for discussing issues of language contact and standardisation. Chapter 2 presented the definition and classification of Welsh phrasal verbs on the basis of literature on the subject in English and Welsh. The subsequent analytic chapters investigated the constructions from several complementing perspectives: Chapter 3 presented a corpus study of phrasal verbs occurring in the press and fiction, accompanied with a cognitive analysis of particle semantics, which identified marked particle senses; Chapter 4 investigated the representation of phrasal verbs in Welsh pedagogical resources and dictionaries; finally, Chapter 5 presented the results of a field study among professional speakers of Welsh, assessing the

acceptability of idiomatic phrasal verbs in various registers of the language, with focus on standard written varieties. The studies presented in Chapters 3-5 allowed for an in-depth analysis of numerous issues outlined by Rottet (2005). I have broadened the scope of his research by redefining the concept of phrasal verb, including idiomatic phrasal prepositional verbs and prepositional verbs. Based on systematic corpus data, I have analysed different categories of phrasal verbs, providing new data on their frequency, productivity, transitivity and stylistic properties. I have also conducted a systematic analysis of a representative sample of lexicographic and pedagogical materials containing the most up-to-date materials and conducted the first field study on the acceptability of phrasal verbs in various registers of Welsh. The gathered data and findings provide a firm basis for answering the main research questions posed in the Introduction:

1. What are the major characteristics of phrasal verbs in Welsh?
2. Are Welsh phrasal verbs integrated in the standard written language of today?
3. How are Welsh phrasal verbs represented in contemporary grammars, teaching materials and dictionaries?
4. What ideologies towards phrasal verbs are manifested by proficient speakers of Welsh?

The results of the study have provided answers to these questions which, taken together, form a comprehensive description of phrasal verbs in Welsh in relation to the Welsh linguistic norm. Rather than answering the questions one by one, the collected observations are summarised below in one section, offering a foray into further studies and a potential source of data for linguists, lexicographers and authors of teaching materials.

## **Welsh phrasal verbs – general characteristics**

### *Definition and categorisation*

Phrasal verbs (*berfau ymadroddol*) in Welsh can be defined as highly lexical syntactic combinations of a verb followed by a particle: preposition, prepositional adverb or spatial adverb (2.4.1). Syntactically, phrasal verbs can be categorised into *adverbial phrasal*

*verbs* consisting of a verb and an adverbial particle (e.g. *dod ymlaen*), *prepositional verbs* consisting of a verb and a preposition (e.g. *dod ar draws*) and *phrasal prepositional verbs* consisting of a verb and two particles, the second of which is a preposition (e.g. *edrych ymlaen at*) (2.4.3). Phrasal verbs can be also divided along the continuum of idiomaticity into *transparent*, *semi-idiomatic* and *idiomatic* constructions (2.4.2).

#### *Transparent vs. idiomatic*

In *transparent* phrasal verbs the verb retains its literal meaning and expresses verbal action, while the particle expresses directionality of the action, e.g. *dod i mewn* ‘come in’, *taflu i ffwrdd* ‘throw away’. Transparent phrasal verbs are natural to Welsh, meaning that they have been attested in the earliest written accounts of the language and there is rarely an alternative way to express the same concept (2.2.2, 2.4.2, 4.3). As both the verb and the particle are exchangeable, transparent constructions are relatively free and only a limited number of them can be replaced with a single word e.g. *dod yn ôl* ‘come back’ with *dychwelyd* ‘return’, *mynd i ffwrdd* ‘go away’ with *gadael* ‘leave’. Thus, many transparent phrasal verbs may be perceived by speakers as free combinations of verb and particle rather than single units. For this reason, it is the idiomatic constructions which are most often associated with the term phrasal verb.

In *idiomatic* phrasal verbs the meaning of the phrase is not fully predictable from the meaning of its constituents and there is no possibility of contrastive substitution of the verb or particle, e.g. *dal i fyny* ‘catch up’, *torri ar draws* ‘interrupt’. *Semi-idiomatic* phrasal verbs are those in which the verb retains its literal meaning, while the particle adds an aspectual interpretation of the verb e.g. *tyfu i fyny* ‘grow up’.

#### *Native vs. borrowed idiomatic phrasal verbs*

Idiomatic and semi-idiomatic phrasal verbs in Welsh have emerged as an outcome of two independent yet intertwining linguistic phenomena: 1) historical extension of particle meaning from transparent to idiomatic and 2) transfer from English. It has been observed that Welsh is capable of forming its native idiomatic phrasal verbs: prepositional verbs, such as *torri ar draws* ‘interrupt’, lit. ‘break across’, *colli ar* ‘lose your senses’, lit. ‘lose on’, as well as adverbial phrasal verbs, such as *bwrw ymlaen* ‘continue’, lit.

‘throw/hit/spend on’, *codi allan*. ‘stir out of doors’, lit. ‘rise out’ (3.2.3.4). The corpus data suggest that native prepositional phrasal verbs outnumber native adverbial phrasal verbs. The very rare native phrasal prepositional verbs are usually variants of adverbial constructions e.g. *bwrw ymlaen â* ‘continue with’. There is evidence to claim that extension of particle meaning from transparent to idiomatic is a natural process in the Welsh language. The study based on the cognitive model of particle semantics (3.3) has identified particle senses which do not occur in English e.g. *ar draws* conveying an idea of interruption, as in *torri ar draws* ‘interrupt’, *siarad ar draws* ‘interrupt’, and one Welsh particle which is not directly translatable into English, *draw*, used in constructions such as *galw draw* ‘call by’ to express the concept of visiting for a short time (3.3.2.10, 3.3.2.12). The naturalness of idiomatic phrasal verbs in Welsh is also proven by the presence of ad hoc metaphorical constructions found for instance in creative writing, such as *diferu heibio* ‘flow by’ (about time), lit. ‘drop by’ (3.2.3.4).

Notwithstanding the potential of the Welsh language to form idiomatic verb-particle constructions, it cannot be doubted that this tendency has been immensely reinforced by contact with English. A cross-examination of corpus findings with the historical dictionary of Welsh *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* has demonstrated that this process is not recent given that a great number of constructions which are directly translatable into English entered the language centuries ago (3.3). However, further research on historical corpora is needed to provide more detailed observations. As far as the contemporary language is concerned, idiomatic phrasal verbs are a widespread phenomenon: the study on a small corpus of less than 1 million words has identified 271 types of idiomatic phrasal verbs with 398 different senses, which sample is by no means exhaustive. A rough frequency count performed for the fiction subcorpus showed that the amount of idiomatic phrasal verbs per 1000 words varied from 0.9 to 2, depending on the author (3.4).

#### *Classification of transferred phrasal verbs*

Around 90% of the items in the corpus had their exact English counterparts. Although in some cases the similarity of idiomatic phrasal verbs in Welsh and English may be coincidental (3.3), the fact that the vast majority are directly translatable into English must be attributed to language contact. Consequently, most idiomatic phrasal verbs in Welsh can

be classified into the following categories according to the mechanisms of transfer from English (3.2.3.4):

1. *calques*, that is word-for-word translations of English verb-particle constructions consisting of native Welsh morphemes, for instance *mynd ymlaen* ‘go on’, ‘happen’, *troi i fyny* ‘turn up’, ‘arrive’. They constituted around two thirds of idiomatic phrasal verbs in the corpus.
2. *loanblends*, that is calques which combine borrowed and native morphemes. They are most frequently formed with a borrowed English verb with the ending *-(i)o*, e.g. *ffeindio allan* ‘find out’, *cario ymlaen* ‘carry on’; in some cases the particle or both elements may be borrowed, as in *troi off* ‘turn off’, *switcho off* ‘switch off’. Loanblends constituted about one tenth of phrasal verbs in the corpus.
3. *pleonastic calques*, that is semi-idiomatic calques in which the particle is, from a logical standpoint, redundant. These are usually formed with prepositions *i lawr*, *i fyny*, *o gwmpas* and *allan*, e.g. *eistedd i lawr* ‘sit down’, *tyfu i fyny* ‘grow up’, *chwarae o gwmpas* ‘play around’, *helpu allan* ‘help out’. Pleonastic calques constituted less than a tenth of phrasal verbs in the corpus.
4. *loan renditions*, that is constructions in which the translation diverges from the English model rather than reproduces it element by element. A common type of loan renditions are those rendering English phrasal verbs containing *get* with the verb *dod* ‘come’, e.g. *dod ymlaen* ‘get on’ (with someone). This type of transfer is relatively rare.
5. *wholesale borrowings*, that is constructions in which the whole linguistic material is borrowed from English. They are a marginal phenomenon occurring in a couple of stock phrases such as *cym on* ‘come on’, *howld on* ‘hold on’. While in written texts these items can be distinguished by a Welsh spelling, in speech they might be difficult to differentiate from code-switching.

### *Productivity*

Welsh phrasal verbs are typically formed with common lexical verbs associated with physical movement. The corpus study has identified over 120 verbs which enter idiomatic verb-particle combinations. The most productive verbs were *mynd* ‘to go’ and *dod* ‘to

come'. Noticeably, over one third of phrasal verbs in the corpus were formed with verbs borrowed from English (3.2.3.1). As for the particles, the study has identified 28 particles – 15 adverbial and 13 prepositional – which can be used to form idiomatic phrasal verbs, excluding numerous dialectal and colloquial variants. The most productive particles were *allan*, *i fyny* and *ymlaen* (3.2.3.1, 3.4). *Allan* was the most frequent particle in the corpus, forming a quarter of all phrasal verb types. It occurred in items recorded centuries ago as well as recent calques from English. Generally speaking, it has been observed that phrasal verbs are highly productive constructions as one can identify a number of new phrases expressing modern concepts. Among these are mostly direct calques from English, e.g. *optio allan* 'opt out', *logio i mewn* 'log in' but also cases of loan renditions such as *llwytho i fyny* 'upload'. It has been shown that a considerable number of calqued phrasal verbs blend naturally into Welsh due to the fact that the particles convey figurative senses that are relatively transparent and well-established in the language (3.3).

With regard to syntactic classification, the most frequent type of Welsh phrasal verbs are those formed with an adverbial particle. They constituted around two thirds of phrasal verbs in the sample. Phrasal prepositional verbs constituted less than 20% of the types and half of them were variants of adverbial phrasal verbs. Prepositional verbs constituted around 15% of the items. The fact that the proportion of native constructions and/or loan renditions was the highest in this syntactic category suggests that idiomatic prepositional verbs are better established in Welsh than adverbial constructions.

### *Transitivity*

Depending on the syntactic category, Welsh phrasal verbs have different properties regarding transitivity. Prepositional phrasal verbs always take a direct object. Adverbial phrasal verbs may be intransitive or transitive, while phrasal prepositional verbs with two particles are mostly intransitive; only a very limited number may take a direct object (2.4.3).

There has been some inconsistency in the literature regarding the position of the direct object in transitive adverbial phrasal verbs (2.4.3.1). The corpus study has shown that although both Verb-Object-Particle and Verb-Particle-Object orders are possible, the Verb-Object-Particle is the prevalent one. The rare Verb-Particle-Object order appears to be archaic and therefore stylistically marked in contemporary texts. However, it is also



occasionally encountered in informal spoken language, and also with multi-word objects. The re-emergence of this word order can be attributed to the influence of English and exemplify a case of lexico-syntactic rather than purely lexical calquing.

### *Stylistic properties and acceptability*

The corpus study and field study data have shown that idiomatic phrasal verbs are widely used in both spoken and written language. Although the corpus contained only samples of written texts, the analysis acknowledged a division between narrative and conversation modes, with the latter reproducing spoken Welsh in dialogues or interviews. The distribution of items depending on the mode of narration was almost equal and there were very few marked differences between them with regard to language contact categories: native phrasal verbs and loan renditions were slightly more prevalent in narrative, whilst wholesale borrowings occurred almost exclusively in conversation (3.2.5.4). Only a small number of items in the corpus were stylistically marked and non-standard in that they were associated with slang used by teenagers, members of the working class and learners. The majority of phrasal verbs in the corpus were unmarked and used in semi-formal as well as informal contexts (3.2.6).

Questionnaire results and data gathered in interviews with professional speakers (for this definition see 5.3.3.1) have confirmed that phrasal verbs are highly integrated into informal spoken language. In a judgement test, all of the investigated phrasal verbs were highly accepted by the speakers in the context of informal conversation. In the formal spoken register the acceptability of some highly idiomatic phrasal verbs was markedly lower. In the written registers there was a considerable decrease of acceptability of loanblends whose form evokes the English influence. In contrast, native phrasal verbs were accepted in every register investigated. Overall, the participants' stated choices revealed a tendency to avoid calqued phrasal verbs in more formal context, in particular in the written language (5.4.3).

A similar dichotomy has been noted in the representation of phrasal verbs in lexicography and pedagogical materials (4.2, 4.5). On the one hand, Welsh dictionaries contain a meaningful number of accepted, well-established PVs, including both native and borrowed constructions, while teaching materials for less advanced users, focusing on everyday communication introduce a small number of most common phrasal verbs. At

the same time, it has been found that there exists a rather consistent linguistic norm prescribing the use of phrasal verbs. Most Welsh dictionaries have a tendency to exclude calqued phrasal verbs and occasionally warn against them (4.3, 4.5), while a considerable number of teaching materials contain sections on translation from English with particular focus on phrasal verbs (4.2.1). These materials usually concentrate on the standard written language and are targeted at proficient users who are bound to use Welsh in formal situations and in writing. Within this norm, phrasal verbs are generally associated with informal speech and/or seen as tokens of careless calquing from English.

All in all, the degree of acceptability and markedness of idiomatic phrasal verbs varies considerably depending on a number of factors. The study has identified several major motivations for accepting or rejecting a phrasal verb, which combine to form the linguistic norm:

- *The existence of an alternative Welsh item.* Many of the calqued phrasal verbs are core borrowings, duplicating native items. In the questionnaire, the participants showed strong preference for single-word items over calqued phrasal verbs (5.4.2.). In contrast, the speakers acknowledged the need to embrace a small number of phrasal verbs which fill a lexical gap. Thus, for example, *troi ymlaen* ‘turn on’ was generally accepted due to the lack of a well-established Welsh expression for the same concept, while *troi i ffwrdd* ‘turn off’ was often rejected due to the fact that there exists a simple equivalent *diffodd* ‘turn off’, ‘extinguish’. The same sense of commitment to native Welsh vocabulary was found in lexicography and teaching materials which occasionally underlined the superiority of native items over calqued ones (4.2, 4.3, 4.5).
- *Perceived degree of formality of a phrasal verb and alternative Welsh items.* As the majority of idiomatic phrasal verbs in Welsh are calqued, there is a case for suggesting that the perception of informality of phrasal verbs in English influences their status in Welsh. In consequence, a decision to use a phrasal verb or an alternative item may depend on the formality of a situation. In the questionnaire, participants occasionally rejected alternative items due to their excessive formality in comparison with a well-integrated phrasal verb (e.g. *dychwelyd* ‘return’ vs. *dod yn ôl* ‘come back’, *disgwyl yn eiddgar* ‘ardently expect’ vs. *edrych ymlaen at* ‘look forward to’) (5.4.2). This might indicate increasing informalisation of the written language. On the other hand, many

phrasal verbs are strongly associated with informal spoken idiom and therefore rejected in writing (e.g. *mynd ymlaen* ‘go on’, ‘happen’). The research highlighted that the boundaries between spoken and written idiom were not clear-cut and speakers were aware of a wide range of registers with different degrees of formality. For example, some phrasal verbs were seen as inappropriate in a non-fiction book but effective for official communication in a leaflet (5.4.3).

- *Perceived English origin of a phrasal verb.* This criterion is connected with the feeling of ‘naturalness’ of a metaphorical meaning of the particle in the Welsh language. A comparison of the cognitive analysis of particle semantics in 3.3 with the study in 4.5 has revealed which particles are less integrated in Welsh and therefore rejected by some speakers. The most important of these are:
  - *allan* indicating maximum boundaries, completeness of an action (3.3.2.1);
  - *i fyny* and *i lawr* in most of their figurative senses (3.3.2.2 and 3.3.2.4);
  - *i mewn (i)* in its figurative senses (3.3.2.5);
  - *off* (see 3.3.2.7);
  - *o gwmpas* (see 3.3.2.9) in its figurative senses.
- *Knowledge about a prescriptive rule.* Prescriptive rules against the use of some calqued phrasal verbs have been observed to be passed from generation to generation: authors of dictionaries and teaching materials occasionally refer to authorities from the past (4.2.1, 4.3); similarly, some of the interviewed speakers declared they had learnt about forbidding rules from their parents or teachers (5.4.1.5, 5.4.4.2). Higher educational institutions certainly play a role in maintaining linguistic norms; in the study on professional speakers, university education was found to negatively correlate with the acceptability of phrasal verbs in the semi-formal written registers (5.4.3.2.). Moreover, prescriptive rules might be introduced at other institutions and workplaces, such as Canolfan Bedwyr, via language courses and trainings advocating sensitivity to the use of calques constructions.

#### *Phrasal verbs and linguistic norms and ideologies*

The latter motivation behind the acceptability of Welsh phrasal verbs leads to the question of underlying linguistic ideologies. The study presented in Chapter 5 has revealed a number of dynamic processes shaping the current linguistic norm in Welsh that is constantly

negotiated between different groups of speakers. At the risk of making some generalisations, it is worth outlining the prevailing stances towards the phenomenon of phrasal verbs which emerged in the course of the research.

The speakers recruited for the field study acting in the selected groups were mostly language influentials (see 1.2.1), that is members of society who contribute to the emergence of the linguistic norm (teachers, translators, journalists, writers, language activists, etc.). It has been suggested by Robert (2013), who investigated the use of loanwords among similar groups of Welsh speakers, that the prevailing ideology was tolerance towards borrowings and language variation in the spoken language, coexisting with what the author calls “purism” at the institutional level. My study, focusing on calquing, has confirmed this twofold approach to the English element in Welsh, expressed in the vast difference of acceptability of phrasal verbs across various registers.

However, I would like to problematize the term purism here. For those of my participants who discussed the subject, the term purism had invariably very negative connotations. It was associated with condemnation and stigmatisation and seen as detrimental for language revitalisation. In discussing the future of Welsh, speakers perceived a lack of ‘correctness’ or ‘purity’ as a less serious problem than a lack of confidence in using Welsh, as it is the latter that might result in abandoning the language. Language practice and effective communication were seen as crucial for maintaining the Welsh language even at the cost of changing the traditional norms. The participants often emphasised that prescriptive rules should be introduced in a positive, encouraging way, bearing in mind the abilities of Welsh speakers at various levels of proficiency (5.4.4).

For this reason, in describing the ideologies manifested by the speakers, I would avoid the term *purism*. Purism, especially in the context of minority languages, involves negative discourse of rejecting language change and creating boundaries between speakers who use the ‘correct’ or ‘corrupted’ varieties of language (cf. Dorian 1994). Instead, I would employ the term *protectionism*, which I understand as an ideology that involves a sense of responsibility toward the Welsh language and in the context of calquing is manifested by the wish to protect Welsh from the inconspicuous influence of English. Since calquing is associated with low awareness and lack of control, protectionism implies monitoring one’s language and raising the linguistic awareness of others. At the same time, advocates of protectionism do not want to force others to monitor themselves

in their use of calqued structures. The interviewed speakers generally believed that education should not take the form of criticism and imposing prescriptive rules but rather provide people with the ability to switch from a bilingual mode involving transfer phenomena, such as calquing, to a monolingual mode whenever they see fit. The speakers' notion of proficiency in the language was thus rooted in the traditional, structuralist approach in that it was identified with the ability to control and monitor one's language, separating the Welsh and English elements. This agrees with the findings of Musk (2006) and Selleck (2013) who investigated linguistic ideologies in a bilingual school environment.

As the interviewed speakers were generally inclusive and tolerant towards linguistic variation, there were considerably few voices expressing concern over the Anglicisation of Welsh lexicon or calquing (5.4.4.). The presence of English vocabulary in spoken Welsh was generally accepted as an inevitable outcome of bilingualism. The calquing of phrasal verbs in everyday conversation was seen as natural and largely unnoticed by the vast majority of participants. However, with regard to writing, a much higher proportion of speakers were cautious about transfer from English. In general, the speakers were supportive of the existence of a monolingual norm in writing and saw it as their duty to maintain standards in more formal contexts. Yet, calquing of phrasal verbs was not seen as a major threat due to the fact that it was less noticeable or seen as a lexical, not structural phenomenon. Many of the participants believed that as long as the structure of the language remained Welsh, lexical transfer was not a serious issue (5.4.4.3).

On the other hand, many speakers indicated that maintaining monolingual norms in real life was a challenging task, given the strong influence of English. The participants also manifested a degree of uncertainty and insecurity with regard to linguistic norms which are in the process of change. It has been demonstrated that standard Welsh was a rather vague concept in the participants' minds, associated mostly with two domains: formal writing and broadcast language (5.4.4.5). In consequence, the new emerging standard appears to amalgamate traditional monolingual-oriented written language with spoken idiom used in the media, where the bilingual element is more prominent. The emergence of new media, such as social networks and problems with normalising Welsh as the language of law and administration also contribute to the uncertainty regarding future direction of standardisation. Many of the speakers acknowledged a discrepancy between their

expectations regarding written language and actual practice, indicating that writing is becoming increasingly informal and anglicised. Stories of personal experience reported by the speakers showed that prescriptive ideologies are in constant competition with other priorities, such as accommodating speakers with different linguistic backgrounds. This was visible in the study of the acceptability of calqued phrasal verbs which were seen as more effective than native vocabulary items in situations such as writing for a general audience (5.4.3).

In conclusion, it appears that in view of the current processes of standardisation, phrasal verbs are bound to become increasingly integrated in the semi-formal varieties of Welsh. This is also confirmed by their prevalence and unmarkedness in the corpus. This can be seen as a token of the growing Anglicisation of Welsh lexicon. On the other hand, it can be argued that the presence of phrasal verbs doubling native items creates stylistic variation which indicates the healthy status of the language.

### **Limitations of the study**

The multi-perspective approach adopted in this study aimed at providing a comprehensive description of phrasal verbs in Welsh. I have used a mixed methodology, focusing on qualitative research, which allowed for an in-depth study of issues related to the complex phenomenon investigated. However, the present study had a number of limitations, in particular with regard to its quantitative aspect:

1. Firstly, one should acknowledge a multitude of possible definitions of phrasal verbs. It should, for example, be noted that the definition adopted in this study has included prepositional verbs, which are often treated as a separate category, especially in studies focusing on syntactic properties of verb-particle constructions (2.1.1). Another debatable issue are the criteria for deciding about the level of idiomaticity of a phrasal verb as in some borderline cases the ultimate decision rests on the researcher's intuition (2.4.2.1). In consequence, the present findings may be inappropriate to use in comparative studies with other languages or incompatible with other research on the subject. This is a common and unresolved issue in studies of phrasal verbs in English linguistics.

2. The analysis in Chapter 3 presented a corpus created specifically for the purpose of the dissertation. Several limitations of this study have been presented in 1.5. and 3.2.

The most important ones are:

- 1) the small size of the sample,
- 2) underrepresentation of some registers and dialects, in particular the spoken and administrative language,
- 3) possible thematic bias,
- 4) possible errors due to manual annotation.

For this reason, although the study has brought a number of valuable observations, the quantitative values presented in Chapter 3 should be treated with caution.

3. The field study presented in Chapter 5 consisted of semi-structured interviews and judgement test questionnaires. A number of limitations of this study was addressed in 5.6. Semi-structured interviews, which allowed for a degree of flexibility, made the data unsystematic, outlining general trends and a variety of opinions rather than providing consistent statistical data. It should also be borne in mind that, while the chosen method of judgement test investigated the perception of phrasal verbs among professional speakers of Welsh and the stated acceptability, it did not examine the participants' actual linguistic behaviour. The choice of a judgement test might have also resulted in a bias towards non-PV items.

4. Although it can be argued that the sample of speakers participating in the study was representative of professional speakers of Welsh, it should be noted that the geographical distribution of speakers was uneven, with the majority coming from Gwynedd, Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire. The research would have certainly benefited from including other groups located in South Wales. It would be particularly interesting to investigate groups working in central authority institutions in Cardiff, which is a rapidly growing Welsh-speaking community and one with considerable intra-dialect contact. Unfortunately, speakers from this area were not consulted due to time constraints.

## **Recommendations for future research**

In my thesis I have attempted to study the phenomenon of phrasal verbs from several perspectives relevant to the research questions. Yet, the description of phrasal verbs produced is by no means exhaustive. Possible directions for future research include:

- diachronic studies on the development of verb-particle constructions. The present dissertation touched very briefly on the subject drawing mainly from lexicographic data. Studies on historical corpora would certainly yield more in-depth results;
- the presence of phrasal verbs in the Patagonian variety of Welsh which has, for a relatively long time, developed independently from English influence;
- studies on the use of phrasal verbs in the Welsh broadcast media, which have been found to significantly influence the current linguistic norm;
- corpus-based studies on larger samples of texts encompassing a wider variety of registers with a focus on quantitative data, measuring the degree of ‘success’ (cf. Zenner et al. 2012) of calqued phrasal verbs in comparison with native items. Such studies could be of particular use for lexicographers;
- comparative studies on the use of phrasal verbs in natural occurring and monitored speech, using the technique of participant observation for generating the most effective naturalistic data;
- as the study has identified some possible motivations for accepting or rejecting phrasal verbs, the data could be used in future studies of attitudes towards phrasal verbs in order to prepare rankings of motivations and investigate covert and overt attitudes of speakers and their linguistic behaviour;
- bearing in mind that the groups investigated in Chapter 5 of the present study were selected on the basis of specific criteria of their language awareness and for that reason are certainly not representative of the whole population of Welsh speakers, studies on larger samples of speakers regarding the acceptability and/or attitudes of speakers would prove an interesting direction of study;
- finally, a comparative study analysing differences between Welsh and English would be a valuable contribution to Welsh translation studies. Incidentally, as I have been informed, a book on comparative stylistics of Welsh and English by Rottet and Morris



(in preparation) to be published a month after this thesis is submitted (September 2018), is going to contain a chapter on phrasal verbs which does exactly that.

### **Practical implementation of the findings**

As mentioned in the Introduction, this thesis arose from my personal experience as a student of Welsh and the tensions I perceived between the norm and usage. Therefore, to conclude this study, I would like to put forward some recommendations for a practical implementation of my findings.

- I. It has been shown that phrasal verbs are generally omitted in grammars of Welsh. This does not seem to be justified, given that these constructions are not only extremely widespread in the spoken colloquial language but also that a number of them also belong to formal registers of Welsh. What is more, they do not represent a simple case of calquing, but a complex phenomenon which occurs natively in the Welsh language. This calls for the inclusion of sections on phrasal verbs in future grammar books.
- II. It has also been demonstrated that some of the well-established, frequent and accepted phrasal verbs are missing from major dictionaries of Welsh. For instance, the major historical dictionary *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* does not include 6 out of the 10 most frequent idiomatic phrasal verbs in the corpus, such as *edrych ymlaen at* or *mynd ymlaen*. Therefore, a revision of the dictionary's wordlist should be considered and relevant items added. It would be worthwhile defining a set of clear criteria for including phrasal verbs in Welsh dictionaries, pursuant to a chosen normative or descriptive approach; such criteria could be stated in the dictionary's preface.
- III. Incidentally, the questionnaire has revealed that *Geiriadur yr Academi* was the most widely used dictionary among the interviewed professional speakers of Welsh and it was perceived as the main authority on the language. The same has been noticed by other researchers (Robert 2013:179, Prys 2015:358). In view of

the importance of this work, it is highly recommended that the digitalisation process of its online version be completed. Moreover, as the dictionary was published over twenty years ago, a revision should be considered as well.

IV. Insights from linguistic research on phrasal verbs may be used in preparing Welsh courses for young and adult speakers. It would be beneficial for teaching materials to acknowledge the differences between various categories of phrasal verbs in relation to contact with English. Authors should be careful not to oversimplify the issue by introducing general prescriptive norms, but rather draw students' attention to the stylistic, semantic and dialectal variation in these constructions.

I hope that this thesis has laid the foundation for an accurate and systematic description of verb-particle constructions in modern Welsh and contributed to the discussion about future linguistic norms. It has been shown that phrasal verbs are an essential element of the Welsh language and may be analysed from a variety of perspectives, with many unanswered research questions left to pursue. Since this was the first more extensive investigation of the subject, the research may not be devoid of shortcomings characteristic of a little investigated field. Critical appraisal and further research are to be welcomed in order to provide more insights, spark debate and help transform scholarly work into practical measures and output.

## ABSTRACT

The dissertation is a comprehensive study of verb-particle constructions known as phrasal verbs (PVs) in the Welsh language in relation to linguistic norm and contact with English. Despite their widespread use, PVs in Welsh have not been studied in detail thus far, except for pioneering articles by Rottet (2000, 2005). The few other sources that mention these constructions treat them as borrowings from English situated outside the linguistic norm. The aim of my thesis was to provide a comprehensive albeit still preliminary description of PVs in Welsh and revise some oversimplifying statements regarding these constructions by investigating the degree of their standardisation.

In the first chapter of the thesis, I present the situation of Welsh as a minority language and attempt to define the sources of the current linguistic norm and standards. I describe the decline of the so-called literary standard and the emergence of a new norm, the so-called official or semi-formal register. The second part of the chapter discussed relevant issues connected with English influence on Welsh with focus on lexical transfer.

Chapter 2 begins with a review of literature on PVs in English and Welsh. By analysing contemporary grammars of Welsh, I demonstrate that the constructions are most often excluded or erroneously described. The number of sources on Welsh PVs is very limited as they are usually considered a priori to be calques from English. On the basis of studies by Rottet (2000, 2005) and a comparative analysis of papers on PVs in Irish (Stenson 1997, Veselinović 2000) it is shown that the issue of origins of these constructions in Celtic languages is much more complex. The key element is the division between transparent and idiomatic PVs: while verbs from the first group occur naturally in Celtic languages, the others are generally borrowed, although native constructions exist as well. This implies that idiomatic PVs in Welsh are not only the outcome of direct translation from English and in some cases may originate in natural processes of language evolution, i.e. the semantic extension of transparent constructions towards idiomaticity. In the second part of the chapter, I present a definition and classification of idiomatic PVs used in the subsequent chapters.

In the third chapter I present a corpus of written Welsh created for the purpose of the dissertation, comprised of works of fiction and periodicals which are aimed to be a representative sample of semi-formal registers of Welsh. The results of the corpus analysis show the frequencies of PVs according to text type, syntactic categories and classification related to language contact. The corpus data are then used to compare the grammatical description of the constructions found in literature with my own observations. The next part of the chapter is a qualitative analysis of corpus texts focusing on the examples of stylistic markedness of PVs, which indicates their acceptability in the linguistic norm. In the final sections I analyse the meaning of phrasal particles found in the corpus using Rudzka-Ostyn's (2003) cognitive model of the semantics of particles. By comparing the obtained data with lexicographic materials I identify semantic extensions which are most likely to have emerged due to contact with English.

Chapter 4 discusses the description of PVs in Welsh teaching materials and dictionaries. The analysis of numerous sources demonstrates the existence of a norm which prescribes or discourages the use of some PVs as borrowing from English. However, the norm can be observed primarily in materials aimed at native speakers or advanced learners, while resources used at the early stages of learning the language generally avoid statements against borrowings. In the second subsection of the chapter I analyse dictionary entries for 25 most frequent PVs in the corpus, showing lack of consistency in accepting PVs as part of the linguistic norm.

Chapter 5 presents the results of a field study conducted in 2016 and 2017 on 55 professional speakers of Welsh in seven groups. The study consisted of an interview and a questionnaire. The questionnaire checked the standardness and acceptability of PVs, while the interviews touched on more general issues related to borrowing and standardisation. The results show variation in acceptability of PVs depending on the type of verb and the used register. They also illustrate the complexity of attitudes related to the changing linguistic norm and point to potential factors which shape speakers' beliefs on that matter.

In the conclusions I propose a general description of the phenomenon of PVs in Welsh and offer recommendations for including the constructions in grammars, dictionaries and pedagogical materials.

## STRESZCZENIE

Niniejsza praca doktorska jest szerokim opracowaniem zagadnienia obecności konstrukcji czasownikowo-partykułowych zwanych czasownikami frazowymi w języku walijskim w kontekście normy językowej i kontaktu z językiem angielskim. Pomimo ich powszechności w uzusie czasowniki frazowe w języku walijskim nie doczekały się dotychczas obszerniejszego opisu za wyjątkiem prekursorskich artykułów Rotteta (2000, 2005). Pozostałe rzadkie wzmianki w literaturze prezentują omawiane konstrukcje jako zapożyczenia z języka angielskiego, a tym samym zjawisko spoza normy językowej. Niniejsza praca ma na celu dokonanie szeroko zakrojonej, aczkolwiek wciąż wstępnej, charakterystyki czasowników frazowych w walijskim oraz zrewidowanie nieraz upraszczających stwierdzeń na temat tych konstrukcji poprzez zbadanie stopnia ich ustandaryzowania.

Rozdział pierwszy pracy przedstawia sytuację walijskiego jako języka mniejszości oraz stanowi próbę zdefiniowania źródeł normy językowej i standardów funkcjonujących w tym języku. Opisuję zanik tradycyjnej tzw. normy oraz wytworzenie nowej normy, tzw. odmiany oficjalnej lub półformalnej. Druga część rozdziału porusza istotne dla rozprawy kwestie związane z wpływem angielskiego na język walijski ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem transferu na poziomie leksykalnym.

Rozdział drugi rozpoczynam przeglądem literatury na temat czasowników frazowych w języku angielskim oraz walijskim. Analizując współczesne gramatyki walijskiego, wykazuję, że czasowniki te są w nich najczęściej pomijane lub też opis ich zawiera błędy. Liczba źródeł na temat omawianych konstrukcji w języku walijskim jest stosunkowo uboga, gdyż najczęściej uznawane są a priori za kalki z języka angielskiego. Na podstawie artykułów Rotteta (2000, 2005) oraz porównawczej analizy prac dotyczących języka irlandzkiego (Stenson 1997, Veselinović 2000) wykazuję, że zagadnienie genezy czasowników frazowych w językach celtyckich jest znacznie bardziej złożone. Kluczowy jest tutaj podział na czasowniki transparentne oraz idiomatyczne, gdyż pierwsze występują naturalnie w językach celtyckich, drugie zaś są w znacznej mierze zapożyczone, choć istnieją również konstrukcje rodzime. Wynika z tego, iż istnienie idiomatycznych czasowników frazowych w walijskim nie polega jedynie na bezpośrednim

zapożyczaniu angielskich konstrukcji i w niektórych przypadkach może stanowić element naturalnego rozwoju języka, polegającego na semantycznej ewolucji konstrukcji transparentnych w kierunku idiomatyczności. W drugiej części rozdziału prezentuję definicję oraz klasyfikacje idiomatycznych czasowników frazowych wykorzystane w kolejnych rozdziałach pracy.

W rozdziale trzecim przedstawiam stworzony na użytek pracy korpus języka pisanego, złożony z dzieł literackich oraz materiałów prasowych, które w założeniu stanowią reprezentatywną próbkę tzw. półformalnych rejestrów języka walijskiego. Wyniki analizy korpusu ukazują częstotliwości występowania czasowników frazowych w poszczególnych rodzajach tekstów, jak również według występowania poszczególnych kategorii syntaktycznych oraz klasyfikacji odnoszącej się do kontaktu językowego. Ponadto na podstawie korpusu zestawiam gramatyczny opis tych konstrukcji w dostępnej literaturze z własnymi obserwacjami. W drugiej części rozdziału przeprowadzam analizę jakościową tekstów korpusowych, koncentrując się na przykładach stylistycznego nacechowania czasowników frazowych, badając tym samym ich akceptowalność w normie językowej. W trzecim podrozdziale przy pomocy kognitywnego modelu semantycznego autorstwa Rudzkiej-Ostyn (2003) analizuję znaczenia poszczególnych partykuł w korpusie. Porównując uzyskane dane z materiałem leksykograficznym, identyfikuję rozszerzenia semantyczne, które powstały najprawdopodobniej na skutek kontaktu z językiem angielskim.

Rozdział czwarty omawia obecność czasowników frazowych w walijskich materiałach dydaktycznych oraz słownikach. Omawiając szereg źródeł, wskazuję na obecność normy zakazującej lub zniechęcającej do używania niektórych z omawianych konstrukcji ze względu na ich status zapożyczeń z języka angielskiego. Norma ta obecna jest jednak przede wszystkim w materiałach skierowanych do użytkowników rodzimych bądź o zaawansowanej znajomości języka, podczas gdy materiały dla uczniów na początkowych etapach nauki z reguły unikają stwierdzeń skierowanych przeciwko zapożyczeniom. Następnie na podstawie analizy haseł słownikowych dla 25 najczęściej występujących w korpusie czasowników ukazuję brak jednorodności w akceptowaniu czasowników frazowych w ramach normy językowej.

Rozdział piąty prezentuje wyniki badania terenowego przeprowadzonego w 2016 oraz 2017 r. na 55 profesjonalnych użytkownikach języka walijskiego zebranych w siedmiu grupach. Badanie składało się z wywiadu oraz ankiety. Ankieta sprawdzała stopień

ustandaryzowania wybranych czasowników walijskich oraz to, w jakim stopniu są one akceptowane przez użytkowników, natomiast w wywiadach poruszane były bardziej ogólne kwestie związane z zapożyczeniami i standaryzacją. Wyniki ukazują zróżnicowany stopień akceptacji czasowników frazowych w zależności od ich typu oraz używanego rejestru języka, jak również złożoność postaw wobec zmieniającej się normy językowej. Wskazują też na potencjalne czynniki wpływające na przekonania użytkowników w tej kwestii.

W konkluzjach pracy przedstawiam propozycję ogólnej charakterystyki zjawiska czasowników frazowych w języku walijskim oraz rekomendacje dotyczące uwzględnienia opisywanych konstrukcji w gramatykach, słownikach i materiałach dydaktycznych.

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## Appendix A – The corpus

### Corpus texts

<b>Novels</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>
<i>Y Llyfrgell</i>	LLYFR
<i>Adenydd glöyn byw</i>	AGB
<i>Afallon</i>	AFALL
<i>Tair rheol anhrefn</i>	TR
<i>Craciau</i>	CRAC
<b>Periodicals</b>	
Weekly magazines/newspapers	
<i>Golwg</i> 44/2014	G 44
<i>Golwg</i> 45/2014	G 45
<i>Golwg</i> 46/2014	G 46
<i>Golwg</i> 47/2014	G 47
<i>Y Cymro</i> 11.07.2014	C 11/ 7
<i>Y Cymro</i> 18.07.2014	C 18/7
<i>Y Cymro</i> 25.07.2014	C 25/7
<i>Y Cymro</i> 8.08.2014	C 8/8
Monthlies, quarterlies, yearlies	
<i>Barn</i> , 617/2014	BARN
<i>Y Wawr</i> , summer 2014	W
<i>Y Faner Newydd</i> , summer 2014	FN
<i>Y Casglwr</i> , 113/2014	Cas
<i>LOL</i> 46/2014	LOL
<i>Cristion Gorff</i> 185, August 2014	CR
<i>Gwyliedydd</i> 189, June/July 2014	Gwyl
Local bulletins (papurau bro)	
<i>Clonc</i> 325, 2014(Ceredigion)	CL
<i>Cwlwm</i> 364, 2014 (Carmarthenshire)	CW
<i>Yr Angor</i> 369, 2014 (Ceredigion)	YA
<i>Y Ddolen</i> 396, 2014 (Ceredigion)	YD
<i>Llais Aeron</i> 371, 2014 (Ceredigion)	LLA
<i>Blewyn Glas</i> 405, 2014 (Powys)	BG
<i>Y Tincer</i> 370, 2014 (Ceredigion)	T

## Sample of the corpus

Source	Page	PV	Variant	English equivalent	Concordance	Mode	Verb	Particle	Partic. II	Syntactic Category	Language contact category
G 44	6	actio allan	mas	act out	ac actio mas	C	actio	allan		APVi	LB
AGB	296	agor allan		open out (become wider)	ma hi'n agor allan fyfryn wedyn	C	agor	allan		APVi	DT
TAIR	154	anfon rhb ymlaen		send sth forward	cyn eu hanfon ymlaen i'r derbynydd gwreiddiol	N	anfon	ymlaen		APVt	DT
C 25/7	15	annog rhn ymlaen		urge sb on	gyda phob math o bethau i'w hannog ymlaen	N	annog	ymlaen		APVt	DT
AFALL	291	annog rhn ymlaen		urge sb on	ond triais beidio â'i hannog ymlaen achos fe wyddwn gystal â hi fod ein carwraeth	N	annog	ymlaen		APVt	DT
AFALL	297	annog rhn ymlaen		urge sb on	rhyw llais bach yn fy annog ymlaen	N	annog	ymlaen		APVt	DT
G 45	23	archebu allan		book out	mae Mehefn yn archebu allan bob dros!	N	archebu	allan		APVi	DT
CRAC	35	aros i fyny	fyny	stay up (be awake)	paid aros fyny	C	aros	i fyny		APVi	DT
AGB	230	bacio yn ôl		back 'back'	clywodd y car yn bacio'n ôl i'r stryd	N	bacio	yn ôl		APVi	PL
AGB	276	bacio yn ôl		back 'back'	stopiodd y car, ei facio'n ôl	N	bacio	yn ôl		APVi	PL
AFALL	20	bod allan o		be out of sth	dw i allan o puree tomato a phowdwr chilli.	C	bod	allan	o	PPV	DT
CRAC	43	bod allan o		be out of sth	gwyrbod ei bod allan o'i phoen	N	bod	allan	o	PPV	DT
AGB	141	bod ar ôl rhn		be after sb (follow)	oedd yr ast ar ei ôl o?	C	bod	ar ôl		PP	DI
TAIR	115	bod ar ôl rhn		be after sb (follow)	neu mae Mistar Big ar eich ôl chi	C	bod	ar ôl		PP	DT
TAIR	216	bod ar ôl rhn		be after sb (follow)	bod M15 ar ein holau ni	C	bod	ar ôl		PP	DT
LLYFR	161	bod drosodd		be over	pan fydd hyn i gyd drosodd	C	bod	drosodd		APVi	DT
LLYFR	232	bod drosodd		be over	fydd e byth drosodd i fi	C	bod	drosodd		APVi	DT
AFALL	211	bod i fyny i rhn	lan	be up to someone	Wel, mae e lan i chi	D	bod	i fyny	i	PPV	CL
AFALL	187	bod o gwmpas		be around (have experience)	chi wedi bod o gwmpas	D	bod	o gwmpas		PVi	CL
BARN 617/2014	47	bod ymlaen		be on (happen)	Mae Stwush 'mlaen yn tŷ ni bob bore Sadwrn	N	bod	ymlaen		PVi	CL
CL 325/2014	3	bod ymlaen	'mlaen	be on (happen)	Dyma beth sy' mlaen yn y Theatr nesaf	N	bod	ymlaen		PVi	CL
LLA371	8	bod ymlaen		be on (happen)	Beth sy' Mlaen yn y Theatr	N	bod	ymlaen		PVi	CL
LOL 46/2014	3	bod ymlaen		be on (switched on)	pan oedd y camera ymlaen	N	bod	ymlaen		PVi	CL
T 370	19	bod ymlaen		be on (happen)	bydd Diwrnod Gala Amgueddfa y Borth ymlaen	N	bod	ymlaen		PVi	CL

## Appendix B – The questionnaire

### FFURFLEN GANIATÂD CYFRANOGWR

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**Ymchwilydd:** Marta Listewnik  
Canolfan Astudiaethau Celtaidd,  
Prifysgol Adam Mickiewicz yn Poznań, Gwlad Pwyl,  
mlistewnik@wa.amu.edu.pl

**Enw'r cyfranogwr:**.....

Mae'r ymchwilydd a enwir uchod wedi rhoi gwybodaeth ddigonol i mi am yr ymchwil rwyf wedi gwirfoddoli i gymryd rhan ynddi. Rwy'n deall bod hawl gennyf i dynnu'n ôl o'r ymchwil unrhyw bryd. Rwy'n deall hefyd y perchir fy hawliau o ran peidio â datgelu pwy ydwyf a chyfrinachedd.

Rwy'n cytuno i'r cyfweiliad/trafodaeth gael ei recordio.

Llofnod y sawl sy'n cymryd rhan:

.....

.....

Dyddiad

.....

Gwneir copi deublyg o'r ffurflen hon. Dylai'r sawl sy'n cymryd rhan gadw un copi a'r ymchwilydd y llall.



## HOLIADUR

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Enw.....

Dyddiad.....

### **RHAN A**

**Dyma 12 brawddeg wedi'u tynnu o bapurau newydd neu wefannau cyhoeddus. Cylch-wch bob gair/ymadrodd rydych chi'n ystyried yn addas i lenwi'r bwlch. Croeso i chi rannu unrhyw sylwadau (e.e. opsiynau arall, gwahaniaethau yn yr ystyr).**

1 Mae corff swyddog diogelwch o Gymru gafodd ei ladd yn Irac wedi \_\_\_\_\_ i wledydd Prydain.

- dychwelyd                       dod yn ôl

SYLWADAU:.....

2 Er gwaethaf y llawdriniaeth brys i'w wyneb bydd rhaid i'r bachgen gael sawl llawdriniaeth arall, er mwyn ychwanegu croen newydd at ei wyneb wrth iddo \_\_\_\_\_.

- dyfu i fyny                       dyfu

SYLWADAU:.....

3 Nid pawb, am wahanol resymau, sydd yn gwybod beth yn union yw eisteddfod a beth sydd yn \_\_\_\_\_ mewn eisteddfod.

- mynd ymlaen                       digwydd

SYLWADAU:.....

4 Chafodd neb ei anafu yn y digwyddiad, ac mae ymchwilwyr yn ceisio \_\_\_\_\_ sut yn union y dechreuodd y tân.

- darganfod                       gweithio allan                       gweithio mas

SYLWADAU:.....

5 Yn dilyn ymateb gwych i'w nofel gyntaf, mae sawl un wedi bod yn \_\_\_\_\_ nofel nesaf.

- edrych ymlaen at ei     edrych ymlaen i'w     disgwyl yn eiddgar am ei

SYLWADAU:.....

6 Os oes rhieni ar gael i \_\_\_\_\_ yng ngardd yr ysgol ar brynhawn dydd Iau, Mawrth 17eg, byddwn yn ddiolchgar iawn.

- helpu allan                       helpu mas                       helpu                       gynorthwyo



SYLWADAU:.....

7 Does dim ots a ydych chi'n siarad Cymraeg neu beidio, mae'r dosbarthiadau yn ddwyieithog a byddwch yn \_\_\_\_\_ yn sydyn yn y ddwy iaith.

dysgu'r caneuon  pigo'r caneuon i fyny  pigo'r caneuon lan  cael crap ar y caneuon

SYLWADAU:.....

8 Mae'n rhaid i ni herio peryglon gwahaniaethu ac eithafiaeth o bob math a pheidio byth â sefyll o'r neilltu pan fyddwn yn \_\_\_\_\_ a chasineb.

dod ar draws rhagfarn  taro ar ragfarn

SYLWADAU:.....

9 Er i'r cyhoeddwr gael cynnig grant gan y Cyngor Llyfrau ar gyfer cyhoeddi, penderfynodd \_\_\_\_\_ â'r fenter heb y grant.

fwrw ymlaen  gario ymlaen  barhau

SYLWADAU:.....

10 Nid yw'r ateb mor syml â dweud wrth y ddwy ochr i \_\_\_\_\_ a thrafod y sefyllfa.

eistedd  eistedd i lawr

SYLWADAU:.....

11 Caiff 6,185 o oleuadau eu \_\_\_\_\_ o ganol nos tan y wawr.

troi i ffwrdd  diffodd  troi bant  troi off

SYLWADAU:.....

12 Mae angen cynnal mwy o ymarferiadau milwrol i roi neges glir nad ydym yn \_\_\_\_\_.

sefyll o'r neilltu  eistedd yn ôl

SYLWADAU:.....

## **RHAN B**

**Dyma setiau o frawddegau yn perthyn i bedair sefyllfa wahanol. Dychmygwch eich bod yn y sefyllfa. A fyddech chi'n defnyddio'r ymadroddion mewn trwm yn y cyddestun?**

**Ticiwch y blwch pe byddech.**

**Wedyn, os ceir dau opsiwn tafodieithol, tanlinellwch yr hwn byddech chi'n ei ddewis.**

**SEFYLLFA 1.** *Rydych chi'n cael sgwrs â'ch ffrind am faterion pob dydd.*

- Faint o bobol wnaeth **droi i fyny/ droi lan** i'r cyfarfod?
- Mae'r ffôn wedi *rhedeg allan o / rhedeg mas o* fatri eto.
- Wnaeth rhywun **ffeindio allan/ ffeindio mas** bod nhw'n gwerthu tocynnau o hyd.
- Bob tro wyt ti'n **troi**'r teledu **ymlaen**, maen nhw'n siarad am y gemau.
- Torrodd** y car **i lawr** a doedd hi ddim yn gallu fforddio'r costau cynnal.
- All dy chwaer *edrych ar ôl* Mabon benwythnos yma?

**SEFYLLFA 2.** *Rydych chi'n mewn cyfarfod cyhoeddus gydag aelod o Gynulliad yn trafod problemau eich ardal.*

- Rwyf wedi siarad â'r staff Gwasanaethau Ambiwlans, ac wedi **ffeindio allan/ ffeindio mas** byddai'n haws iddyn nhw ddefnyddio'r wybodaeth pe bai GPS ar gael.
- Mae henoed sy'n **edrych ar ôl** plant yn dioddef yn ariannol.
- Dyw hi ddim yn anarferol i bedair neu bump ambiwlans **droi i fyny/ droi lan** â chleifion o fewn hanner awr.
- Mae'r llywodraeth wedi colli ysbrydoliaeth a **rhedeg allan o/ rhedeg mas o** stem.
- Pan wnes i **droi** y radio lleol **ymlaen**, roedd pob cân yn Saesneg a'r unig Gymraeg a glywais mewn mwy na hanner awr oedd un llinell mewn newyddion.
- Mae cerbydau yn **torri i lawr** a dydy casgliadau gwastraff bwyd ddim yn digwydd.

**SEFYLLFA 3.** *Rydych chi'n ysgrifennu llyfr ffeithiol poblogaidd sy'n cyflwyno gwybodaeth am yr amgylchedd.*

- Mae llawer un yn pryderu byddwn yn **rhedeg allan o/ rhedeg mas o'r** olew.
- Pe gallwn **ffeindio allan/ffeindio mas** mwy am effaith y cemegyn, byddwn ni'n gwybod sut i ymdopi â'r broblem.

- Os bydd ffermwyr yn **troi'r dŵr ymlaen** heb angen gwneud hynny, gall y tir wynebu syched.
- Mae ffermio coco yn golygu **edrych ar ôl** y coed coco a chynaeafu'r codau, eplesu a sychu'r ffa a'u pacio mewn sachau yn barod i gael eu troi yn eich hoff far o siocled.
- Mae'n werth cadw rheiddiaduron yn isel am gyfnodau hirach yn hytrach na'u **troi i fyny/ troi lan** am rai oriau.
- Mae sylweddau nad yw'n bosibl eu **torri i lawr** yn cael eu galw'n sylweddau hirbarhaus.

**SEFYLLFA 4.** *Rydych chi'n paratoi taflen wybodaeth am wasanaeth iechyd yn y sir.*

- Os ydych chi'n **edrych ar ôl** rhywun ag anghenion gofal a chymorth a fyddai'n methu ymdopi heb eich help chi, rydych yn ofalwr.
- Gallwch **ffeindio allan/ ffeindio mas** rhagor am hyfforddiant a gweithgareddau dan y ddolen isod.
- Rydym yn chwilio am wirfoddolwyr ag egni a syniadau – croeso mawr i bobl o bob oed ac o bob rhan o'r ardal **droi i fyny/ droi lan**.
- Os ydych wedi **rhedeg allan o/rhedeg mas o'r** feddyginiaeth, ewch i fferyllfa sydd cymryd rhan yn y rhaglen.
- Gall cleifion **droi'r larwm ymlaen** pan fo angen.
- Mae gan staff yr ysbyty bŵer i symud cerbydau sydd wedi'u gadael neu sydd wedi **torri i lawr**.

## Appendix C – Interview Schedule

### Regular questions

1. Ydych chi'n ymwybodol o ddefnyddio geiriau Saesneg neu fenthyciadau Saesneg yn eich Cymraeg llafar?
2. Ydych chi'n siarad Cymraeg mewn sefyllfaoedd ffurfiol? (*os yn berthnasol:*) Oes geiriau fyddech chi'n eu hosgoi wrth siarad yn ffurfiol?
3. Ydych chi'n ysgrifennu yn Gymraeg? (*os yn berthnasol:*) Pa mor aml?
4. Fyddech chi'n ceisio osgoi benthyciadau wrth ysgrifennu?
5. Pan ydych chi'n ysgrifennu, ydy hi'n digwydd eich bod chi'n methu meddwl am air Cymraeg dych chi angen? (*os yn berthnasol:*) Ydych chi'n chwilio amdano? (*os yn berthnasol:*) Ble ydych chi'n chwilio?
6. Ydych chi wedi gwneud y canlynol o fewn y mis diwethaf?
  - Darllen llyfr yn Gymraeg
  - Darllen cylchgronau neu bapurau newydd yn Gymraeg
  - Gwranddo ar y radio yn Gymraeg
  - Gwylio'r teledu yn Gymraeg
  - Defnyddio meddalwedd Gymraeg ar y cyfrifiadur (e.e. Microsoft Office Cymraeg, Cysill neu Cysgeir)
  - Gwylio fideo yn Gymraeg ar-lein (e.e. YouTube, S4C Clic, BBC iPlayer)
  - Defnyddio Geiriadur Cymraeg (os ydych – pa un?)

## **Follow-up interview**

1. Oes gynnoch chi unrhyw sylwadau ynglŷn â'r ymadroddion yn yr holiadur?

*Other questions in the follow-up interview – themes*

2. *Asking participants to justify their lexical choices. The form of the question depended on the overall results of the questionnaire e.g. “Ydy’r ymadroddion fel ‘na yn swnio’n naturiol yn gyffredinol?”, “Felly, mae rhai o’r ymadroddion yn ymddangos yn anaddas i chi yn y cywair mwy ffurfiol?”*

3. *Group-specific questions regarding:*

- use of borrowings from English in classroom (teachers);*
- use of borrowings from English in journalistic writing (journalists);*
- use of borrowings from English in creative writing (writers);*
- use of borrowings from English in in public space (social activists).*

4. *Asking about the speakers’ opinion on whether Welsh speakers should avoid the influence of English in their language or accept it.*

5. *Asking about the personal experience of the speakers as learners (L2 speakers) or students at school/university.*

6. *Questions on standard Welsh. “Oes angen Cymraeg safonol?”?, “O ble mae Cymraeg safonol yn dod?”*

*Note that due to time constraints it was not possible to cover all the themes with each of the participants or in some cases the participants did not offer any opinions.*