Complex Sentences in the Welsh of Young Children: A Descriptive Account

Bob Morris Jones

bmj@aber.ac.uk

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This study gives a detailed descriptive account of complex sentences in the Welsh of children between three to seven years of age and for whom Welsh is their first language. The account also provides statistical frequencies and percentages which are laid out in tables and charts.

All observations about complex sentences in this study are based on a database of the converstaions of young children in the age range given above, unless otherwise indicated. Details about the database are available at https://users.aber.ac.uk/bmj/abercld/cronfa3_7/sae/intro.html. On this basis, the study is an account of performance.

The spellings of the words in the examples retain those used in the database, which are determined by (i) pronunciations in spontaneous spoken Welsh e.g. *ma'* for *mae*, and *gwbod* for *gwybod* and (ii) the need to distinguish homonyms e.g. aspect marker *yn*, preposition *yn1* 'in' and predicatival particle *yn2*. The examples also contain conventions which indicate various phenomena found in spontaneous spoken interactive discourse (such as repetition or overlapping speech).

An account of complex sentences in adult formal Welsh is available in Thomas (1996: 466-494) and Borsley, Tallerman and Willis (2007: 75-81) provide a more formal account of aspects of the matters described in this study. There is extensive discussion of the acquisition and development of complex sentences in the academic literature (see Bavin and Naigles (2015).

1 Introduction: Types of Complex Sentences

An analysis of the data shows that complex sentences in the database can be divided into the following types.

1 matrix phrase and complement clause: a. 'noun-clause' complement — declarative or interrogative
b. *wh*-word clause complement (or simply *wh*-clause)
2 matrix phrase and *wh*-word clauses which are not complements
3 matrix phrase and conjunction clause (that is, adverbial or adjunct clause)

The account also considers parenthetical phrases, that is, phrases which are similar to phrases which are found in noun-clause and *wh*-clause complex sentences. This study does not consider relative clauses.

In discussions of complex sentences, it is common to refer to a matrix (or main) clause and a subordinate clause of some sort. In the database, the matrix clause is not always a finite clause but can be a variety of

other phrases. Hence, it is more appropriate to speak of a matrix phrase rather than a matrix clause. In the case of conjunction clauses, the matrix phrase is not always present.

For convenience of presentation, the traditional label noun-clause is used and is applied to both declarative and interrogative clauses. This allows a clear terminological contrast of noun-clause complement and *wh*-word clause complenent. Further, where it is necessary to talk about noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences together, the expression complementation complex sentence can be used. This can then be compared with conjunction complex sentences or with parenthetical phrases. All these are simply labelling devices.

2 Complex Sentences with noun-clause complements

Examples of complex sentences which contain a noun-clause complement are given in examples (1) onwards in this section. The complement clause can be declarative or interrogative (see 2.2.3 for the latter).

We first consider the properties of the matrix phrase in 2.1 and then go on to examine the properties of the complement clause in 2.2.

2.1 Matrix phrases

We can describe matrix phrases in terms of (i) the categories which can select a noun-clause complement, (ii) the lexemes which realize these categories and (iii) aspects of the syntax of the matrix phrase.

42.1.1 Heads to noun-clause complements: categories

There are four categories which occur as the heads to noun-clause complements. They are listed in table 1 along with the numbers of lexemes which realize these categories and their frequencies.

Table 1. Categories which can select noun-clause complements

Categories	Number of lexemes	Frequencies
Verbs	25	499
Adjectives	4	33
Nouns	8	20
Modal forms	4	87
English expressions	2	2
	43	641
Missing data	1	1

Including English expressions, there is a total of 43 lexemes which can select a noun-clause. Verbs occur in the greatest number, amounting to 58.14% of the total number of lexemes and 77.85% of the total number of

frequencies. The selections by these categories produce verb phrases (VPs), adjective phrases (APs), noun phrases (NPs) and (we shall say) modal form phrases, (MOP, we shall say) all of which contain clauses as their complements.

2.1.2 Verbs and verb phrases

2.1.2.1 Lexemes

Table 2 lists the lexemes which occur as verbs which can select a noun-clause complement, organized alphabetically on the left and by descending frequency order on the right.

Table 2. Verb lexemes which select noun-clause complements

addo ‘promise’	1	*meddwl* ‘think, mean’	94
anghofio ‘forget’	1	*gwybod* ‘know’	88
becso ‘worry’	1	*dweud* ‘say, tell’	50
betio ‘bet’	1	*jocan* ‘pretend’	47
clywed ‘hear’	1	*esgus* ‘pretend’	43
cofio ‘remember’	9	*gweld* ‘see’	40
cogio ‘pretend’	21	*credu* ‘believe’	25
credu ‘believe’	25	*gweud* ‘say, tell’	23
dangos ‘show’	1	*cogio* ‘pretend’	21
dweud ‘say, tell’	50	*smalio* ‘pretend’	15
edrych ‘look’	4	*gofyn* ‘ask’	14
esgus ‘pretend’	43	*cofio* ‘remember’	9
gobeithio ‘hope’	7	*watsio* ‘watch’	8
gofyn ‘ask’	14	*gobeithio* ‘hope’	7
gweld ‘see’	40	*edrych* ‘look’	4
gweud ‘say, tell’	23	*synnu* ‘surprise’	2
gwybod ‘know’	88	*addo* ‘promise’	1
jocan ‘pretend’	47	*anghofio* ‘forget’	1
meddwl ‘think, mean’	94	*becso* ‘worry’	1
pretend	1	*betio* ‘bet’	1
sbio ‘look’	1	*clywed* ‘hear’	1
smalio ‘pretend’	15	*dangos* ‘show’	1
synnu ‘surprise’	2	*pretend*	1
tybed ‘conjecture, wonder’	1	*sbio* ‘look’	1
watsio ‘watch’	8	*tybed* ‘conjecture, wonder’	1
	499		499

Generalizations can be made.

First there are synonyms which are based on dialect equivalents, included in table 3.

Table 3. Verb lexemes with dialect synonyms

cogio, *esgus*, *jocan*, *smalio* ‘pretend’	126
meddwl ‘think, mean’	94
gwybod ‘know’	88
dweud ‘say, tell’, *gweud*	73
gweld ‘see’	40
credu ‘believe’	25
gofyn ‘ask’	14
cofio ‘remember’	9
watsio ‘watch’	8
gobeithio ‘hope’	7
edrych ‘look’	4
synnu ‘surprise’	2
addo ‘promise’	1
anghofio ‘forget’	1
becso ‘worry’	1
betio ‘bet’	1
clywed ‘hear’	1
dangos ‘show’	1
pretend	1
sbio ‘look’	1
tybed ‘conjecture, wonder’	1
	499

The *cogio*, *esgus*, *jocan*, *smalio* ‘pretend’ group of lexemes is now the most frequent which can select a noun-clause and *dweud* ‘say, tell’ and *gweud* ‘say, tell’ together occupy the fourth position.

Second, groups can be established on the basis of the semantics of the lexemes, given in tables 4 to 8.

Table 4. Verb lexemes: cognition

meddwl ‘think, mean’	94
gwybod ‘know’	88
credu ‘believe’	25
cofio ‘remember’	9
gobeithtio ‘hope’	7
synnu ‘surprise’	2
anghofio ‘forget’	1
tybed ‘conjecture, wonder’	1
becso ‘worry’	1
	228

Table 5. Verb lexemes: pretence

cogio, esgus, jocan, smalio ‘pretend’	126
pretend	1
	127

Table 6. Verb lexemes: locution

dweud ‘say, tell’, *gweud* ‘say, tell’	73
gofyn ‘ask’	14
addo ‘promise’	1
	88

Table 7. Verb lexemes: perception

gweld ‘see’	40
watsio ‘watch’	8
edrych ‘look’	4
sbio ‘look’	1
clywed ‘hear’	1
	54

Table 8. Verb lexemes: ‘others’

betio ‘bet’	1
dangos ‘show’	1
	2

The frequencies show that there are three major semantic groups and of these the cognition group is the most frequent group, with *meddwl* ‘think, mean’ and *gwybod* ‘know’ being the most frequent members of this group. It can be noted that there can be semantic equivalence between *meddwl* ‘think, mean’ and *credu* ‘believe’: *meddwl* ‘think, mean’ is used in northern dialects where *credu* ‘believe’ is used in southern dialects, although it needs to be added that *meddwl* ‘think, mean’ is also used in southern dialects.

2.1.2.2 Syntax of the matrix phrase

In discussions of complex sentences, it is common to refer to a matrix clause, which approach indicates that the matrix is a finite clause. The matrix phrase can be finite in two ways: (i) the finite element is realized by the verb lexeme, which can occur as an inflected finite form and (ii) the finite element is realized by an auxiliary verb and the verb lexeme occurs as a non-finite verb, specifically, its infinitive form (or verbnoun, to use its traditional label in Welsh reference grammars) which heads the verb phrase which contains the noun-clause complement.

First, then, verbs can occur as inflected finite forms and, given that Welsh is a VSO language, we have the configuration [Finite Verb + Subject + Complement Clause]. With this configuration, the matrix is a finite clause. The inflected forms include indicative forms which can occur with tense distinctions and imperative forms. The latter are discussed separately in section 2.1.2.3. Six verbs occur as tensed forms: *betio* ‘bet’, *dweud* ‘say, tell’, *gofyn* ‘ask’, *gweld* ‘see’, *gweud* ‘say, tell’ and *gwybod* ‘know’.

1 a. betia' i di fydd genna chdi llond hwnna o xxx,, [= 2 sill] ia.
bet.FUT.1SG I you.SG be.FUT.3SG with.2SG you.SG full that of xxx yes
‘I bet you that you will have that full of xxx, yes.’

b. mi1 'ydodd Mrs+williams wbath bod ni 'n gorod dod.
PT say.PERF.3SG Mrs+Williams something be we PROG have+to come
‘Mrs Williams said something that we have to come.’

c. gofynnodd Mami os oes burum gyda fe.
ask.PERF.3SG Mother if be.PERS yeast with he
‘Mum asked if he has yeast.’

d. a gwelest ti o'n1 i 'n baco'n+o:l.
and see.PERF.2SG you.SG be.IMPF.1SG I PROG back back
‘and you saw that I was backing back.’

e. pwy wedodd ti' 'n cal lle fi?
who say.PERF.3SG you.SG PROG have place I
‘who said that you have my place?’

f. <'s9 gwn1 i> [?] os <'dy nw> [/] 'dy dosbarth ni yn gneud 'o.
PT know.PERS.1SG I if be.PERS.3SG class we PROG do it
‘I wonder if our class does it.’

The expression *‘s9 gwn i* ‘I wonder’ in example (1f) is common in northern dialects. Although the occurrence of *‘s9* gives it the appearance of a conjunction clause its distribution suggests that it is best regarded as a distinctive phrase which occurs as a matrix phrase.

Second, then, the finite element is realized by an auxiliary verb and the verb lexeme occur as a non-finite verb (infinitive) as the head of a verb phrase in which the complement is a noun-clause: VP[Verb + Complement Clause]. The verb phrase is the predicate phrase of the clause.

2 a. dw i 'n credu coeden nadolig ti yw e.
bod.PERS.1SG I PROG believe tree christmas you.SG bod.PERS.3SG it
‘I believe it is your christmas tree.’

b. mae Mam yn deud bo' fi 'n dod yn2 well o lawer nawr.
be.PERS.3SG Mother PROG say be I PROG come PRED better of much now
‘Mum says I getting much better now.’

c. ne'sh i ddeud fysa fo 'n2 dda 'yfyd,, do?
do.PERF.1SG I say be.count.3SG he PRED good also yes
‘I said he would be good also, didn’t I?’

d. gewn ni weld os galla ni ffindo fe.
have.PRES.1PL we see if can.PRES.1PL we find it
‘we’ll see if we can find it.’

However, it is not the case that the matrix phrase is always a finite clause.

Third (to continue the numbering), the matrix phrase is a subject-predicate phrase in which the verb phrase again occurs as the predicate phrase.

3 a. ond mam ti yn # feddwl bo' xxx [= I sill] isie dod +...
but mother you.SG PROG think be xx want come
‘but your mother thinking xx wants to come +…’

b. <a ci> [>] fi 'n gweld o' fi 'n mynd.
and dog I PROG see be.IMPF1SG I PROG go
‘and my dog seeing I was going.’

c. Ceri [!] meddwl bod fi 'n dod i' edrych yn1 y droriau 'na.
Ceri think be I PROG come to look in the drawers there
'Ceri think(ing) I am coming to look in those drawers.'

d. yn3 sydyn reit dyma 'r lleidr yn gweud <oo mae 'n2 ddigon nawr> ["].
ADV sudden right here+is the thief PROG say oh be.PERS.3SG PRED enough big
'right sudden here's the thief saying oh it's big enough.'

e. dyma 'Ad deu' <dw i 'n gwbo' bo' dan ni 'di bod yn1 sioe> ["].
here+is Dad say be.PERS.1SG I PROG know be be.PERS.1PL we PERF`be in show
'here's Dad say(ing) I know we have been in the show.'

In examples (3d) and (3e) the subject-predicate phrase is within a predicative demonstrative clause (see also section 3.1.4).

Fourth, the verb phrase is co-ordinated with another verb phrase in a finite clause.

4 na'th rhyw ddy:n ffonio a deud bod y ceffyl 'di [/] 'di dengid.
do.PERF.3SG some man phone and say be the horse PERF escape
'some man phoned and said the horse had escaped.'

Fifth, the verb phrase is the complement of another verb (the latter may be an auxiliary verb or a lexical verb).

5 a. gallu gweld bod y teirw yn2 olreit.
can see be the bulls PRED alright
'can see the bulls are alright.'

b. dw i 'n goro sbio os 'dy car yn dod.
be.PERS.1SG I PROG have+to see if be.PERS.3SG car PROG come
'I have to see if a car is coming.'

c. fi' 'n lico meddwl bod e 'n myn' fel 'a.
be.PERS.1SG PROG like think be he PROG go like that
'I like to think he goes like that.'

We can include the following example in the fifth group.

6 <ma' rhaid> [/] ma' rhaid esgus bod rhain wedi mynd ar goll.
be.PERS.3SG necessity pretend be these PERF go on lost
'you must pretend these have become lost.'

In this example the complement clause is the complement of *esgus*, which is the complement of *rhaid*.

Sixth, the verb phrase occurs as the complement of *eisiau* 'want, need'.

7 a. <ma' isio gwatsia1> [>] os neith hon golli 'wan.
be.PERS.3SG want watch if do.FUT.3SG this.F lose now
'you want to watch if this will lose now.'

b. dw i 'sio gweld os o's 'na 'wbath 'di mynd i+mewn fo gynta
be.PERS.1SG I want see if be.PERS there something PERF go into it first
$'li$.
see.IMPV.2SG
'I want to see if something has gone into it first see.'

c. ma' isio edrych os ma' rywbeth ar+o:l.
be.PERS.3SG want look if be.PERS.3SG something after
'you want to look if there is something left over.'

Seventh, the verb phrase occurs in an *i'* 'to' verb phrase

8 a. dos i' ofyn dan ni 'n mynd at y ddynas wedyn.
go.IMPV.2SG to ask be.PERS.1PL we PROG go to the woman after
'go and ask if we go to the woman after.'

b. fi' 'n myn' i' weud bod ti gyda ddau yna.
be.PERS.1SG PROG go to say be you.SG with two there
'I'm going to tell you've got those two.'

c. i' weld os wyt ti 'n gallu teimlo fe.
to see if be.PERS.2SG you.SG PROG can feel it
'to see if you can feel it.'

Eighth, the verb phrase occurs as the complement of a negative imperative.

9 a. oo paida deud socsan ydw i.
oh stop.IMPV.2SG say socsan be.PERS.1SG I
'oh don't say I'm a socsan.'

b. oo paid a: edrych fi' 'n neud tumble.
oh stop.IMPV.2SG with look be.PERS.1SG PROG do tumble
'oh don't look I'm doing a tumble.'

The two examples in (8) illustrate a transcriptional problem. There are two inflected forms of the singular negative imperative in spontaneous speech: *paid* as in (8a) and *paida* as in (8b). The negative imperative can be followed by the preposition *a:* 'with'. The problem is whether we have *paida* as adopted in (8a) or *paid a:* as in (8b).

Ninth, the verb phrase stands alone.

10 a. oo gobeithio fod 'o heb dorri.
oh hope be it without break
‘oh hope it has not broken.’

b. esgus bod hwn yn1 top 'na.
pretend be this.m in top there
‘pretend this is in the top there.’

c. gweld os nei di dal2 nw,, ia
see if do.FUT.2SG you.SG catch they yes
‘see if you (will) catch them, yes.’

There are examples which are unclear because of missing data in the context, illustrated as follows.

11 xxx [= 1 sill] gweud y' ti ddim yn gorffen.
xxx do be.PRES.2SG you.SG NEG PROG finish
‘xxx do you do not finish.’

There is then considerable variety in the syntactic realization of the matrix phrase and table 9 gives the frequencies for the various patterns.

Table 9. Syntactic contexts of verb lexemes with noun-clause complements

Finite verbs indicative			23	4.62%
Finite verbs imperative			21	4.22%
Non-finite verbs	finite clause	264		
	standing alone	142		
	in a *i-* verb phrase	19		
	complement of another verb	9		
	complement of *eisiau*	6		
	predicate in subject-predicate phrase	5		
	missing data	5		
	co-ordination	3		
	negative imperative	2		
			455	91.16%
			499	

The most frequent type of matrix phrase is a finite clause in which the verb phrase is the predicate but verb phrases which stand alone are the next most frequent.

This latter context is noteable for the fact that the vast majority of verb lexemes in them belong to the pretence group of lexemes, illustrated in example (9b). Of the total frequencies of 142 in the stand-alone group, the pretence verbs (including the English lexeme *pretend*) together occur 115 times, accounting for

80.38% of the total (142). The remaining frequencies of 27 are produced by 10 other verb lexemes (which group includes the dialect synonyms *dweud* / *gweud* ‘say, tell’ as one lexeme). In spontaneous speech, a non-finite verb can convey imperative force and examples of a pretence verb in the interactive discourse in a play situation can be interpreted as imperatives.

2.1.2.3 Imperative verbs

The point has already been made at the end of the previous section that in spontaneous speech the non-finite forms of verbs can convey imperative force. In this section, we are concerned with verbs which have an imperative form.

There are imperative verbs whose complements have the syntax of a noun-clause. They are given in table 10.

Table 10. Imperative verbs and noun-clause complements

smalio ‘pretend’	9
watsio ‘watch’	6
cofio ‘remember’	4
cogio ‘pretend’	1
dweud ‘say, tell’	1
	21

There are different semantic types in this table: pretence (*smalio* ‘pretend’ and *cogio* ‘pretend’), cognition (*cofio* ‘remember’), locution (*dweud* ‘say, tell’) and perception (*watsio* ‘watch’).

Threse verbs can clearly select noun-clause complements when they are used as imperative verbs, especially indicated by the occurrence of the non-finite copular form *bod* (see section 2.2.3).

12 a. sma:ll bo' xxx [= 4 sill].
pretend.IMPV.2SG be xxx
‘pretend that xxx.’

b. ia,,, so dyda bo' ni 'n mynd +...
yes so say.IMPV.2SG be we PROG go
‘yes, so say that we go +…’

c. a [/] a chofia w i +...
and remember.IMPV.2SG be.PRES.1SG I
‘and remember (that) I +…’

d. reit,,, cogia 'ddan' nw 'di neud y mynydd yma iddyn' nw ca'2
right pretend.IMPV.2SG be.IMPF. 3PL they PERF make the mountain here for. 3PL they have
lo:n ychal.
road high
'right, remember they had made the mountain for them to have a high road.'

Smalio and *cogio* 'pretend' also have fronted clauses as their complements and a significant point for the discussion of imperative verbs in *wh*-clause complex sentences in section 3.2.3 is that a fronting particle can occur.

13 a. cofia na3 dw:r' dy hwn 'wan,, iawn?
remember.IMPV.2SG PT water be.PRES.3SG this.M now right
'remember water this is, right?'

b. oo ond [!] cofia di taw un y sheriff o'dd y
oh but remember.IMPV.2SG you.SG PT one the sheriff be.IMPF.3SG the
bye+bye+bubbly+bye+bye+bye+bye+bye+bye@i.
'but remember you the sheriff's was the bye+bye+bubbly+bye+bye+bye+bye+bye+bye@i.'

c. smalia na3 fi 'dd 'di disgyn.
pretend.IMPV.2SG PT I be.IMPF.1SG PERF fall
'pretend that it was me who had fallen.'

d. sma:ll na3 heina o'dd efo +//.
pretend.IMPV.2SG PT those be.IMPF.3SG with
'pretend it was those that were with +//.'

Watsio 'watch' also selects a noun-clause.

14 a. watsia bo' rhywbeth yn myn' miwn1 fanna.
watch.IMPV.SG be something PROG go into there
'watch something goes into there.'

b. gwatsia bod 'o>[<] 'di marw a mynd tu+o:l i' 'r +...
watch.IMPV.SG be he PERF die and go back to the
'watch that he had died and go back to the +...'

c. watsia na6 'dy 'o 'm yn neidio allan.
watch.IMPV.SG NEG be.PRES.3SG he NEG PROG jump out
'watch that it does not jump out.'

d. watsiwch na6 bydd &lo [/] lori wedi dod lan fanna i' bloco fe.
watch.IMPV.SG NEG be.FUT.3SG lorry PERF come up there to block it
'watch that the lorry will not have come up there to block it.'

In such examples the listener is urged not solely to witness the noun-clause situation but they can also be warned.

2.1.3 Nouns and adjectives

2.1.3.1 Lexemes

The adjective lexemes which can select a noun-clause are given in table 11.

Table 11. Adjective lexemes

siwr ‘sure’	21
lwcus ‘lucky’	7
da ‘good’	3
balch ‘proud, pleased’	2
	33

The table shows that *siwr* ‘sure’ is the most frequent of the adjectives.

Examples of each adjective are as follows.

15 a. dw i 'm yn2 siwr os 'dy 'o 'di mynd lawr fanne.
be.PRES.3SG I NEG PRED sure if be.PRES.3SG he PERF go down there
‘I’m not sure if it has gone down there.’

b. lwcus mae e wedi gal 'i bigo lan.
lucky be.PRES.3SG he PERF have CL.3SG.M pick up
‘lucky it has been picked up.’

c. dda bod y mynydd ar+bwys yr # ymm +...
good be the mountain near the uhm
‘good that the mountain is near the uhm +...’

d. wyt ti yn2 falch bo' ni yn1 dosbarth ni?
be.PRES.3SG you.SG PRED pleased be we in class we
‘are you pleased that we are in our class?’

The nouns which select a noun-clause are given in table 12.

Table 12. Noun lexemes

rhaid ‘necessity’	5
piti ‘pity’	4
ods ‘odds’	3
trueni ‘pity’	3
rhyfedd ‘strange’	2
agwedd ‘aspect’	1
bai ‘blame’	1
ofn ‘fear’	1
	20

An example of each lexeme is given in the following.

16 a. ma' raid bod 'i1 'n2 sa:l.
be.PRES.3SG necessity be she PRED ill
‘she must be ill.’

b. piti na3 ddim castell 'dy 'o rwan,, nage.
pity PT NEG castle be.PRES.3SG he now no
‘a pity that it is not a castle now, no.’

c. 'dy 'o 'm ots bo' neb 'di dwad yma,, na 'dy> [?]?
be.PRES.3SG he NEG odds be nobody PERF come here NEG be.PRES.3SG
‘it is no odds that nobody has come here, isn’t it?

d. tr'eni neith yr+hwn ddod yn2 nes2.
pity do.FUT.3SG this.M come PRED nearer
‘pity this will come nearer.’

e. ‘s dim rhyfedd bod hwn yn cwmpo.
be.PRES.3SG NEG strange be this PROG fall
‘there’s no wonder that this is falling.’

f. a ti' 'n agwedd [?] bod fe <wedi torri> [>].
and be.PRES.2SG PROG attitude be he PERF break
‘and you attitude (?) that it has broken.’

g. dim bai ni [!] bo' ni lan fan+'yn,, yfe +!?
NEG blame we be we up here Q
‘not our fault that we are up here, is it?’

h. o'n1 i 'n2 ofan bydden i 'n cwmpo lawr y cliff.
be.IMPF.1SG I PRED fright be.CNTF.3SG I PROG fall down the cliff
‘I was afraid that I would fall down the cliff.’

There are two lexemes in table 12 and in the examples which deserve individual comment. The lexeme *rhyfedd* ‘strange’ can occur as an adjective but in example (16e) it occurs in the syntactic context of a noun. The lexeme *agwedd* ‘attitude’ is unfamiliar in this context (and is questioned by the transcriber). It can occur in the expression *agwedd meddwl* ‘think, mean’ and it can be speculated that this expression may be behind its use in (16f). However, whatever its sense in (16f) it is being used to select a noun-clause.

2.1.3.2 Syntax of the matrix phrase

As already indicated in section 2.1.1. when an adjective selects a finite clause as its complement it forms an adjective phrase, AP[Adjective + Complement Clause] and when a noun selects a finite clause it forms a noun phrase, NP[Noun + Complement Clause]. Such adjective phrases and noun phrases mainly occur in the same syntactic contexts and can be discussed together.

First, we can distinguish between those matrix phrases which are finite clauses and those which are made up of an adjective phrase or noun phrase alone. Examples of finite and stand-alone matrix phrases are given in (17) and (18) for adjectives and (19) and (20) for nouns.

17 a. mae 'n2 siwr bod 'o 'n1 fama.
be.PRES.3SG PRED sure be he in there
‘it’s sure that he is in there.’

b. wyt ti yn2 falch bo' ni yn1 dosbarth ni?
be.PRES.2SG you.SG PRED pleased be we in class we
‘are you pleased that we are in our class?’

18 a. wel lwcus bod Nerys ddim 'ma heddi.
well lucky be Nerys NEG here today
‘well lucky that Nerys is not here today.’

b. well 'sat ti 'n gwrando arna' fi $'s' ti$.
better be.CNTF.2SG you.SG PROG listen on.1SG I know.PRES.2SG you.SG
‘better that you listened to me, you know.’

19 a. ma' raid bod 'i1 'n2 sa:l.
be.PRES.3SG necessity be she PRED ill
‘she must be ill.’

b. ma' 'n2 trueni bod e ' nx xxx [= 3 sill].
be.PRES.3SG PRED pity be he QQ xxx
‘it’s a pity that he xxx.’

20 a. rhai' bod 'o 'n gneu' hwyl am benna ni.
necessity be he PROG make fun about heads we
‘he must be making fun of us.’

b. tr'eni neith yr+hwn ddod yn2 nes2.
pity do.FUT.3SG this.M come PRED nearer
'pity this will come nearer.'

Table 13 gives the frequencies for finite and stand-alone contexts for both adjectives and nouns.

Table 13. Finite and stand-alone matrix phrases

	Finite	Alone	Totals
Adjectives	22	11	33
Nouns	12	8	20
Totals	34	19	53

The table shows that the number of finite matrix phrases is greater than the number of stand-alone matrix phrases in the case of both adjectives and nouns but especially in the case of adjectives.

There is more to be said about the finite matrix phrases. First, three types of matrix phrases can be distinguished: (i) ascriptive copular (ii) existential copular and (iii) imperative. Examples are given respectively in (21) to (23).

21 a. o'n1 i 'n2 ofan bydden i 'n cwmpo lawr y cliff.
be.IMPF.1SG I PRED fear be.CNTF.1SG I PROG fall down the cliff
'I was afraid that I would fall down the cliff.'

b. mae 'n2 siwr bod 'o 'n1 fama.
be.PRES.3SG PRED sure be he in there
'it's sure that he is in there.'

22 a. 's dim rhyfedd bod hwn yn cwympo.
be.PRES.3SG NEG strange be this.M PROG fall
'there's no wonder that this is falling.'

b. 's 'im ots tasen i 'nx xxx [= 3 sill]?
be.PRES.3SG NEG odds be.CNTF.1SG I QQ xxx
'there's no odds that I would QQ xxx.'

23 gna 'n2 siwr bod y xxx [= 2 sill] 'nx xxx [= 2 sill].
make.IMPV.2SG PRED sure be the xxx QQ xxx
'make certain that the QQ xxx.'

Table 14 gives the frequencies for these types of finite clauses for both adjectives and nouns.

Table 14. Types of finite matrix phrases

	Ascriptive	Existential	Imperative	Totals
Adjectives	21	0	1	22
Nouns	7	5	0	12
Totals	28	5	1	34

The table shows that there are more ascriptive finite clauses than other types, especially in the case of the adjectives. Only nouns occur in an existential copular clause and only adjectives occur in imperative matrix phrases, of which there is only one example in the database. As already mentioned, *rhyfedd* is an adjective but occurs in an existential copular clause and is listed along with the nouns in table 12.

The noun *ots* 'odds' occurs in existential sentences but there is one example which has the syntax of an ascriptive.

24 'dy 'o 'm ots bo' neb 'di dwad yma,, na 'dy> [?]?
be.PRES.3SG he NEG odds be nobody PERF come here NEG be.PRES.3SG
'it isn't any odds that nobody has come here, is it?'

Other distinctions can be made about the ascriptive copular clauses. The adjective or noun occurs within a phrase which is headed by the predicatival particle *yn* or the particle is omitted leaving an adjective phrase or a noun phrase. Examples are given in (25) to (26) for adjectives and (27) to (28) for nouns.

25 a. mae 'n2 siwr bod 'o 'n1 fama.
be.PRES.3SG PRED sure be he in here
'it's sure that he is in here.'

b. ni' 'n2 lwcus bo' ni 'n x xxx [= 4 sill].
be.PRES.1PL PRED lucky be we QQ xxx
'we are lucky that we QQ xxx.'

26 a. ma' siwr nei di ddod efo fi $'s' ti$.
be.PRES.3SG sure do. FUT.2SG you.SG come with I know,PRES.2SG you.SG
'it's sure that you will come with me, you know.'

b. ma' well fod 'o 'n cal xxx [= 2 sill].
be.PRES.3SG better be he PROG have xxx
'it's better that he has xxx.'

27 a. ma' 'n2 trueni bod e 'nx xxx [= 3 sill].
be.PRES.3SG PRED pity be he QQ xxx
'it's a pity that he QQ xxx.'

b. o'n1 i 'n2 ofan bydden i 'n cwmpo lawr y cliff.
be.IMPF.1SG I PRED fear be.CNTF.1SG I PROG fall down the cliff
'I was afraid that I would fall down the cliff.'

28 a. ma' rai' 'i bod 'o 'di cal 'i malu.
be.PRES.3SG necessity CL.3SG.M be he PERF have CL.3SG.M break
'it must have been broken.'

b. ma' raid bod 'i1 'n2 sa:l.
be.PRES.3SG necessity be she PRED ill
'she must be ill.'

Table 15 gives the frequencies for these distinctions.

Table 15. Ascriptive copular in clauses with or without predicatival *yn*

	With *yn*	Without *yn*	Totals
Adjectives	14	7	21
Nouns	2	5	7
Totals	16	12	28

The table shows that adjectives and nouns are different: the former occur more with the predicatival particle while the latter occur more without the predicatival particle. However, there are two problems of interpretation with the nouns. One is that all the examples without *yn* contain the noun *rhaid* 'necessity', as in the examples (28). In spontaneous spoken Welsh, *rhaid* can occur in an ascriptive copular clause or in an existential copular clause. Consequently, it is not possible to distinguish whether we have an ascriptive copular without the predicatival particle or an existential copular whose structure does not allow the predicatival particle. It is possible that examples like those in (28) are existential copulars. The other is that one of the examples with *yn* contains *agwedd*.

29 a ti' 'n agwedd [?] bod fe <wedi torri> [>].
and be.PRES.2SG PROG attitude be he PERF break
'and you ?? it has broken.'

It is currently unclear how to interpret this example, including how to interpret the form *yn* in this example (currently glossed as PROG(ESSIVE)).

There is one other matter relating to ascriptive copulars: they can contain an expletive subject or a personal subject. Illustrations are given in (30) and (31), and (32) and (33).

30 a. mae 'n2 siwr bod 'o 'n1 fama.
be.PRES.3SG PRED sure be he in there
'it's sure that he is in there.'

b. ma' well fod 'o 'n cal xxx [= 2 sill].
be.PRES.3SG better be he PROG have xxx
'it's better he gets xxx.'

31 a. w i 'n2 siwr bod dy dad di 'di mynd.
be.PRES.1SG I PRED sure be CL.2SG father you.SG PERF go
'I'm sure that your father has gone.'

b. wyt ti 'n2 falch bo' ni yn1 dosbarth ni?
be.PRES.2SG you.SG PRED pleased be we in class we
'are you pleased that we are in our class?'

32 a. ma' 'n2 trueni bod e ' nx xxx [= 3 sill].
be.PRES.3SG PRED pity be he QQ xxx
'It's a pity that he xxx.'

b. ma' rai' 'i bod 'o 'di cal 'i malu.
be.PRES.3SG necessity CL.3SG.M be he PERF have CL.3SG break
'it must have been broken.'

33 a. o'n1 i 'n2 ofan bydden i 'n cwmpo lawr y cliff.
be.IMPF.1SG I PRED fright be.CNTF.3SG I PROG fall down the cliff
'I was afraid that I would fall down the cliff.'

b. a ti' 'n agwedd [?] bod fe <wedi torri> [>].
and be.PRES.2SG PROG attitude be he PERF break
'and you attitude (?) that it has broken.'

Example (33) contains the problematic *agwedd* 'aspect', previously mentioned. Table 16 gives the frequencies for expletive and personal subjects in ascriptives.

Table 16. Personal or expletive subjects in finite ascriptive copular matrix phrases

	Personal	Expletive	Totals
Adjectives	7	14	21
Nouns	2	5	7
Totals	9	19	28

The table shows that expletive subjects are in the majority, especially in the case of nouns. Table 17 gives the adjective lexemes and noun lexemes which can occur with expletive and / or personal subjects.

Table 17. Adjectives and nouns and personal and expletive subjects

	Personal	Expletive	Totals
Adjectives			
siwr 'sure'	4	15	19
gwell (da) 'better'	0	1	1
lwcus lucky'	1	0	1
balch 'proud, pleased'	2	0	2
	7	16	23
Nouns			
rhaid 'necessity'	0	5	5
trueni 'pity'	0	1	1
ofn 'fear'	1	0	1
agwedd 'aspect'	1	0	1
	2	6	8

Only *siwr* occurs with both types of subjects. The other adjectives and nouns occur with either a personal subject or an expletive subject. We have already mentioned the problem of interpreting the *rhaid* 'necessary' examples, which can be borne in mind when considering its place in this table.

The imperative example in (23) has no overt subject but this is due to pro-drop in imperatives.

2.1.4 Epistemic modal forms

2.1.4.1 Lexemes

The lexemes which occur as modal forms which can select a noun-clause are given in table 18.

Table 18. Epistemic modal lexemes

efallai 'perhaps'	79
wrth+gwrs 'of course'	4
hwyrach 'perhaps'	3
maybe	1
	87

The table shows that *efallai* is the most frequent modal form. There are other lexemes which have been previously listed which can be said to have an epistemic modal function, namely, *siwr* 'sure' and *rhaid* 'necessity' (see section 1.3). But it is syntax which is being considered here.

2.1.4.2 Syntax of the matrix phrase

Modal forms are positioned before a finite clause and appear to be in pre-clausal position something similar to an adjunct. However, the syntax of the sentences in which they occur — especially the occurrence of the form *bod* ‘be’ in the noun-clause complement as in (34b) and fronting particles as in (35c) — indicate that they are heads which select a noun-clause complement to form a phrase which we can label as a modal phrase (MOP).

34 a. falle by' ni 'n # neud rhywbeth arall ar+o:l cinio.
perhaps be.FUT.1PL we PROG do something other after dinner
‘perhaps we’ll be doing something else after dinner.’

b. falle bod yr eira yn cwmpo.
perhaps be the snow PROG fall
‘perhaps the snow is falling.’

c. alle pen yr un1 drwg yw hwn!
perhaps head the one bad be.PRES.3SG this.M
‘perhaps this is the head of the bad one.’

35 a. hwyrach neith 'o fynd # heb i' chdi neud 'o fel 'a.
perhaps do.FUT.3SG he go without for you.SG do he like that
‘perhaps it will go without doing it like that.’

b. 'w'rach fydda ni 'n mynd 'r ha' yma 'fyd.
perhaos be.FUT.2PL we PROG go the summer here also
‘perhaps we will be going this summer also.’

c. na,,, wyrach ma'l off ydy 'o.
no perhaps PT off be.PRES.3SG it
‘no, perhaps it’s off.’

36 a. wrs+gwrs dan ni 'n cal.
of+course be.PRES.1PL we PROG have
‘of course we may / can.’

b. wrth+gwrs bod hi.
of+course be she
‘of course she is.’

c. wrth+gwrs bod 'o ddim!
of+course be he NEG
‘of course he isn’t.’

37 maybe w i 'n gallu neud sandcastle.
maybe be.PRES.1SG I PROG can make sandcastle
'maybe I can make a sandcastle.'

The lexeme *wrth+gwrs* 'of course' exhibits the sane syntax as, for instance, *efallai* 'perhaps' in that a *bod* clause can occur as its complement (see section 2.2.3). Hence, there are grounds for treating *wrth+gwrs* in such sentences as a modal matrix phrase.

2.1.5 English expressions

Two English words have already been listed or illustrated, *pretend* and *maybe*. We can also note the following more complex English expressions,

38 a. <pretend ambulance boat> [% Saesneg] yw hwn.
be.PRES.3SG this.M
'pretend this is an ambulace boat.'

b. <well see>[% Saesneg] ymm ma' 'na betha i+fewn yn'o fo.
uhm be.PRES.3SG there things in in.3SG.M it
'well see uhm there are things inside it.'

2.1.6 Missing data

There is one example which contains a noun-clause but one in which missing data makes it difficult to account for the syntax of the main clause.

39 xxx [= 2 sill] ma' 'na xxx [= 2 sill] <bod hi> [/] bod digger yno 'wan.
xxx be.PRES.3SG there xxx be digger there now
'xxx there is xxx that a digger is there now.

2.2 Complement Clauses

2.2.1 Overall syntax

We have seen that the syntax of matrix phrases varies considerably. This is not so of noun-clause complements which are overwhelmingly finite clauses and which are copiously illustrated in previous examples, However, there is some very limited variety which is illustrated by the examples in (40).

40 a. a dos i' ofyn os yy mynd at y ddynas wedyn.
and go.IMPV.2SG to ask if uh go to the woman after
'and go and ask if (we) go to the woman after.'

b. oo dw i 'n credu na3 rhai' chi gadel e cwmpo lawr.
oh be.PRES.1SG I PROG believe PT necessity you.PL leave it fall down
'oh I think you must let it fall down.'

c. yy <dw i> [/] dw i 'n meddwl na3 yn1 Stead+and+simpson.
uh be.PRES.1SG I PROG think PT in Stead+and+simpson
'I think (it was) in Stead and Simpson.'

d. o'n1 i 'n meddwl ta4 sleisio tatws.
be.IMPF.1SG I PROG think PT slice potatoes
'I think slice potatoes'

e. mae 'n2 siwr na3 'i ben 'o 'n mynd trwy 'r ffenest.
be.PRES.3SG PRED sure PT CL.3SG.M head he PROG go through the window
'it's sure his head (was) going through the window.'

None of the immediately above examples contain a finite verb form in the noun-clause. However they all contain an initial word which occurs in noun-clauses complements: *os* 'if, whether' (see section 2.2.4) and a fronting particle *na4*, *taw* and *mai* (see section 2.2.5). Table 19 gives the frequencies for noun-clause complements which are finite clauses and those which are not.

Table 19. Syntactic Types of Noun-clause complements

Syntactic types			Totals	
Finite clauses			630	99.21%
Not finite	interrogative particle	1		
	fronting particle	4		
			5	0.79%
			635	
Unfinished			4	
Missing data			3	
Totals			642	

Of the known data, finite clauses make up 99.21%. These frequencies show that noun-clause complements are canonically finite clauses. Those that are not finite are distinguished as being complement phrases through the use of particles.

There are three other matters relating to the syntax of noun-clause complements which are of interest: i) the occurrence of mutation of the finite verb, ii) finite and non-finite forms of the copula and iii) the use of pre-sentential particles in fronted clauses. We also consider a fourth matter relating to an additional use of the non-finite form *bod*.

2.2.2 Mutation: finite verbs in noun-clause complement

In a positive noun-clause complement, the finite verb does not occur in a mutateable context, that is, there is no preceding trigger which can cause mutation. In the formal written language, the particle *y* occurs before the finite verb, but it is not a mutation trigger and the radical (that is, the unmutated form) occurs. In the spontaneous speech of adults, this particle does not occur. Some adult speakers maintain the context as a non-mutateable one but other adult speakers mutate a mutateable verb (and there may be variation within the usage of the same speaker).

The following examples show finite verbs that are not mutated (they begin with a consonant which can be mutated but has not).

41 a. a ti' 'n cofio de's i ho:ll ti nawr?
and be.PRES.2SG PROG remember come.PERF.1SG I fetch you.SG now
'and do you remember that I came to fetch you now?'

b. jocan da'th 'wn a: ryw gar i' fi.
joking come.PERF.3SG this.M with some car for I
'joking that this (one) brought some car for me.'

c. dw i 'n meddwl dyla ni blanu hwnna 'n1 fanna [?].
be.PRES.1SG I PROG think should.1PL we plant that.M in there
'I think that we should plant that in there.'

d. i' me'wl dylia chdi xxx [= 3 sill].
to think should.2SG you.SG xxx
'to think that you should xxx.'

In contrast, the following examples show mutated finite verbs even though there is no trigger for the mutation.

42 a. oo w i 'n credu dynnon ni rhein allan.
oh be.PRES.1SG I PROG believe pull.PERF.1PL we these out
'oh I believe that we pulled these out.'

b. cofio gwrddon ni chi yn1 y tra'th.
remember meet.PERF.2PL we you.PL in `the beach
'remember that we met you on the beach.'

c. ma' siwr nei di ddod efo fi $'s' ti$.
be.PRES.3SG sure do. FUT.2SG you.SG come with I know.PRES.2SG you.SG
'it's sure that you will come with me, you know.'

d. oo e'lla ga'n ni weld 'o yn1 ty: ni,, Harri?
oh perhaps have. FUT.1PL we see it in house we Harry
'oh perhaps we'll see it in our house, Harry.'

Table 20 gives the frequencies for both possibilities.

Table 20. Mutation of finite verbs in noun-clause complements

Radical	24	39.34%
Mutated	37	60.66%
	61	

The frequencies in table 20 show that most finite verbs (in noun-clause complements) which are mutateable are mutated, amounting to 60.66% of the total. This study does not present details of the mutation system in the database overall. However, a general point can be made that in spontaneous adult Welsh finite verbs in other contexts are mutated even where there is no overt trigger. Examples like those in (48) can be seen as the result of general usage that in spontaneous speech finite verbs in all contexts occur as soft-mutated forms irrespective of the presence of a trigger (see Jones (2024) and the references given there for more details).

2.2.3 The copula as the finite verb

This section discusses matters which are also described in the discussion of conjunction clauses in section 5.2.4.

When the tense of the copula is either the present or the past imperfect, the copula can occur in its non-finite form, namely, *bod* ‘be’. There are examples in the Welsh of the children.

43 a. ma' hwnna 'n meddwl bod nhw wedi mynd dros y mo:r.
be.PRES.3SG that.M PROG mean be they PERF go over the sea
‘that means that they have gone over the sea.’

b. esgus bod dy car di 'di torri lawr.
pretend be CL.2SG car you.SG PERF break down
‘pretend that your car has broken down.’

b. dw i 'n gwbod bod dywod yna.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG know be sand there
I know that there is sand there.’

In spontaneous speech, this can also be the case when the subordinate clause is negative and such examples are found in the children’s Welsh.

44 a. 'dy plant erill ddim yn gwbod bo' ni ddim yn1 fanna.
be.PRES.3SG children others NEG PROG know be we NEG in there
‘the other children do not know that we are not there.’

b. falla bo' rheina ddim 'na.
perhaps be those NEG there
'perhaps those are not there.'

c. dw i 'n meddwl bod 'o 'm yn mynd.
be.PRES.3SG I PROG think be he NEG PROG go
'I think that he is not going.'

There are also examples in which the copula in the noun-clause complement occurs as a finite verb.

45 a. e'lla mae Tomos isio fo.
perhaps be.PRES.3SG Tomos want it
'perhaps Tomos wants it.'

b. mae 'na neb yn gwbod dan ni 'n1 fama.
be.PRES.3SG there nobody PROG know be.PRES.1PL we in here
'nobody knows that we are in here.'

c. o' ni 'n gwbod o'dd y tractor yn1 fflyds.
be.IMPF.1PL we PROG know be.IMPF.3SG the tractor in floods.'
'we knew that the tractor was in floods.'

Where the subject is a personal pronoun, the copular form is often omitted, leaving the pronoun as the only indication of finiteness (for convenience of presentation, such pronouns are referred to as copular pronouns). In the database, such pronouns are transcribed with a final apostrophe and this convention is retained in the examples in this study.

46 a. wedo' Mami ni' 'n moyn crwt arall.
say.PERF.3SG Mammy be.PRES.1PL PROG want boy other
'Mammy said that we want another boy (son).

b. fi' 'n gwbod ti' yn2.
be.PRES.1SG PROG know be.PRES.2SG PRED
'I know that you are.'

c. a ddydist ti ti' 'n dallt.
and say.PERF.2SG you.SG be.PRES.2SG PROG understand
'and you said that you understand.'

Table 21 gives the statistics for the occurrence of the non-finite form *bod* and the occurrences of the present and imperfect past tense forms, including copular pronouns as indications of the present tense.

Table 21. Finite and non-finite forms of the copular in noun-clause complements

Bod 'be'		227	55.10%
Finite copular	154		
Pronominal finite copular	31		
		185	44.90%
		412	

The table shows that the non-finite copulars with *bod* are in the majority but there are also a considerable number of the finite forms.

2.2.4 Interrogative noun-clause complements

There are 52 examples of interrogative noun-clause complements in the database, which amounts to 8.04% of the total of 647 examples of noun-clause complements.

Another issue in respect of noun-clause complements relates to the preverbal particle which is used in interrogative noun-clause complements. The form *os* 'if, whether', which can be used as a conditional subordinate conjunction, is also used in interrogative noun-clause complements in spoken Welsh where *a* 'whether' would be used in formal written Welsh. This use of *os* is found in the children's Welsh.

47 a. ma' isio edrych os ma' rywbeth ar+o:l.
be.PRES.3SG want look if be.PRES.3SG something after
'you want to look if there is something left.'

b. <dybad os gallan ni> [?] +...
wonder if can.FUT.1PL we
'I wonder/suppose if we can +...'

c. dw i 'm yn2 siwr os 'dy 'o 'di mynd lawr fanne.
be.PRES.1SG I NEG PRED sure if be.PRES.3SG he PERF go down there
'I'm not sure if it has gone down there.'

There are two examples of the formal interrogative subordinator but one is somewhat uncertain.

48 a. lawr i' weld a1 yw enjin nw wedi mynd.
down to see whether be.PRES.3SG engine they PERF go
'down to see whether their engine has gone.'

b. wel jocan a1 [% aoriginally] neith e ddim fforc.
well joking whether make.FUT.3SG he NEG fork
'well pretend whether he will not make a fork.'

The occurrence of the form *os* can influence the forms of the third persons of the present tense of the copula. If the subject is definite, the presence of *os* can select *y*-forms, namely, *ydy*, *'dy*, *yw*, *ydyn* or *'dyn*. If the subject is indefinite, it can select *o*-forms, namely, *oes*, *o's* or *'s*. (All this also applies to *a* in formal Welsh.) Otherwise, *m*-forms occur irrespective of the definitemess of the subject, namely, *mae*, *ma'* or *ma'n*. Examples in the database show that children do not always follow these conventions

48A a. <gofynnodd Mami> [<] os oes burum gyda fe.
ask.PERF.3SG Mammy if be.PRES.3SG yeast with he
'Mammy asked if he has yeast.'

b. dw i 'm yn2 siwr os 'dy 'o 'di mynd lawr fanne.
be.PRES.1SG I neg PRED sure if be.PRES.3SG he PERF go down there
'I'm not sure if he has gone down thetre.'

c. ma' isio edrych os ma' rywbeth ar+o:l.
be.PRES.3SG want look if be.PRES.3SG something after
'I'm not sure if anything is left.'

The frequencies of the choices which are made in the database are given in table 21A.

Table 21A The selection of *m*-, *y*- or *o*- forms of the copula after the interrogative complementizer *os*

m-form		3
y-form	3	
o-form	6	
		9
		12

The table shows that there are only a small number of examples of the interrogative complementizer but a *y*- or *o*-form is selected in75% of the examples.

The interrogative particle can be omitted, as the following examples illustrate.

49 a. i' gweld <ydy amser i' &my'> [/] # ymm # ydy amser i' ni mynd.
to see uhm be.PRES.3SG time for we go
'to see if it is time for us to go.'

b. dos i' ofyn dan ni 'n mynd at y ddynas wedyn.
go.IMPV.2SG to ask be.PRES.1PL we PROG go to the woman after
'go and ask if we go to the woman after.'

c. 's9 gwn1 i ydy rhai ni i+miwn 'na.
PT know.PRES.1SG I be.PRES.3SG ones we in there
'I wonder if ours are in there.'

There are eight such examples in the database. The relevant copular forms also occur when the interrogative particle is omitted as the examples in (49a) and (49c) indicate.

2.2.5 Fronted order and pre-sentential particles

The noun-clause complement can have normal word order (that is, finite verb + subject + remainder) or fronted order (that is, a constituent is moved form its normal position to initial position preceding the verb). Table 22 gives the frequencies for both types of word-order.

Table 22. Noun-clause complements of normal and fronted order

Normal	545	84.89%
Fronted	97	15.11 %
	642	

The table shows that normal word-order is very much in the majority.

In the case of a fronted noun-clause complement, a fronting particle can precede the fronted phrase. There are different lexemes for this particle in the dialects: *mai* (which occurs as *ma'l* in spontaneous spoken Welsh), *taw* (southern areas, which also occurs as *ta4*) and *na4* (northern areas).

50 a. a dw i 'n meddwl ma'l cy'neithar fi sy 'n dysgu fo.
and be.PRES.1SG I PROG think PT cousin.F I be.PRES.3SG PROG teach he
'and I think that it is my cousin who teaches him.'

b. o'n1 i 'n meddwl taw 'wnna o'dd un o traed fe.
be.IMPF.1SG I PROG think PT that.M be.IMPF.3SG one of feet he
'I thought that it was that that was one of his feet.'

c. a o'ch chdi 'm yn gwbod na3 sand ydy 'o,, 'de.
and be.IMPF.2SG you.SG NEG PROG know PT sand be.PRES.3S it then
'and you didn't know that it was sand then.'

However, there are examples of fronted noun-clause complements which occur without a fronting particle.

51 a. jocan fanna o'dd y mountain bach.
joking there be.IMPF.3SG the mountain small
'joking that the small mountain was there.'

b. fi' 'n meddwl yn1 y fflat oedd e [=!chwerthin].
be.PRES.1SG PROG think in the flat be.IMPF.3SG he
'I thought that he was in the flat.'

d. dw i 'n credu coeden nadolig ti yw e.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG believe tree christmas you.SG be.PRES.3SG it
'I believe it is your christmas tree.'

Table 23 provides the frequencies of these two possibilities.

Table 23. Fronted noun-clause complements and fronting particles

With fronting particle	*mai*	14	
	*na*4	34	
	taw	9	
		57	59.76%
Without fronting particle		40	41.24%
		97	

The table shows that fronting particles occur more often than they are absent. In the case of the forms of the particles, *na4* is much more frequent than the others, which provides reasonable grounds for concluding that a fronting particle is more frequent in northern areas.

2.2.6 Long distance fronting

The previous section 2.2.5 looks at fronting within the noun-clause complement. There are also a small number of examples in which the fronted constituent occurs at the beginning of the matrix clause. They are all listed in the examples in (52).

52 a. gwithio 'n1 'r ar' dw i 'n meddwl mae 'o 'n neud.
work in the garden be.PRES.1SG I PROG think be.PRES.3SG he PROG do
'working in the garden I think he is doing.'

b. na,,, Menai ne'sh i ddeud sy 'na.
no Menai do.PERF.1SG I say be.PRES.3SG there
'no, Menai I said is there.'

c. Dalfan [?] ma' 'i1 'n deud ydy enw hi.
Dalfan be.PRES.3SG she PROG say be.PRES.3SG name she
Dalfan she says is her name.'

d. dim+ond dysgu w i 'n credu mae e 'n neud.
only teach be.PRES.1SG I PROG believe be.PRES.3SG he PROG do
'only teaching I believe he is doing.'

e. indian ti' 'n feddwl 'dy 'wnna.
indian you.SG PROG meddwl be.PRES.3SG that.m
'indian you think is that.'

f. hwnna dw i 'n meddwl sydd i' fod yna.
that.M be.PRES.1SG I PROG think be.PRES.3SG to be there
'that I think is supposed to be there.'

Such examples can be compared with fronting within the noun-clause complement as in (50) and (51) and also as in the following devised examples which are based on those in (53).

53 a. dw i 'n meddwl gwithio 'n1 'r ar' mae 'o 'n neud.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG think work in the garden be.PRES.3SG he PROG do
'I think working in the garden he is doing.' [Devised example]

b. na,,, ne'sh i ddeud Menai sy 'na. [Devised example]
no do.PERF.1SG I say Menai be.PRES.3SG there
'no, I said it is Menai who is there.'

c. ma' 'i1 'n deud Dalfan [?] ydy enw hi. [Devised example]
be.PRES.3SG she PROG say Dalfan be.PRES.3SG name she
'she says Dalfan is his name.'

d. w i 'n credu dim+ond dysgu mae e 'n neud. [Devised example]
be.PRES.1SG I PROG believe only teach be.PRES.3SG he PROG do
'I believe it is teaching that he is doing.'

e. ti' 'n meddwl indian 'dy 'wnna. [Devised example]
you.SG PROG think indian be.PRES.3SG that.M
'you think it is an indian.'

f. dw i 'n meddwl hwnna sydd i' fod yna. [Devised example]
be.PRES.3SG I PROG think that.M be.PRES.3SG to be there
'I think that that is supposed to be there.'

However, there is the possibility that the matrix phrases in (52) are examples of parenthetical phrases (see section 6).

See also the discussion of *wh*-clause complex sentences in section 3.2.2.

2.2.7 The copula again

We see in section 2.2.3 that the non-finite form of the copula can indicate finiteness in noun-clause complements. There are a small number of examples which also show the non-finite form preceding finite forms of the copula in noun-clause complements.

54 a. biti bo' ma' 'r rhaw 'im yna.
pity be be.PRES.3SG the spade NEG there
'pity that the spade is not yhere.'

b. dw i 'n meddwl bod <'ydad> [/] 'dy dad fi 'm yn no:l # petha
be.PRES.1SG I PROG think be be.PRES.3SG father I NEG PROG fetch things
i' mam.
for mother
'I think that my dad doesn't fetch things for mum.'

c. ond mi1 ddydodd dy:n fod y' ni aros yn1 tywod am chydig bach.
but PT say.PERF.3SG man be be.PRES.1PL we stay in sand for few small
'but the man said that we stay in the sand for a little bit.'

d. o'ddach chi 'm yn gwbo' bod o'dd nw 'di gneu' trap,, 'de.
be.IMPF.2PL you.PL NEG PROG know be be.IMPF.3SG they PERF make trap then
'you didn't know that they had made a trap, then.'

e. a dach chi 'n gwbod bo' dan ni 'n dwa' ffor 'ma,, 'de.
and be.PRES.2PL you.PL PROG know be be.PRES.1PL we PROG come road here then
'and you know that we come this way, then.'

f. smalio bod mae 'o 'n2 dy:n drwg,, 'de.
pretend be be.PRES.3SG he PRED man bad then
'pretend that he is a bad man, then.'

One possible explanation for this use of the non-finite form of *bod* is that the children who use it in this way have re-interpreted it as a form of a complementizer. But there are only five examples in the database (all given above) and the empirical grounds for this speculation are sparse.

3 Complex Sentences with *Wh*-clause Complements

The organization of the description of *wh*-clause complex sentences mainly follows that of the description of noun-clause complex sentence: the matrix phrase is described in 3.1 and the *wh*-clause is described in 3.2. However, we shall see differences.

3.1 Matrix phrases

3.1.1 Heads to *wh*-clause complements: categories

There are five categories which occur as the heads to *wh*-clause complements. They are listed in table 24 along with the numbers of lexemes which realize these categories and their frequencies.

Table 24. Categories which can select *wh*-word complements

Categories	Number of lexemes	Total frequencies
Verbs	30	640
Predicative demonstratives	3	236
Adjectives	1	3
Nouns	1	1
English expressions	1	3
	36	883
Missing data	-	26
		909

Including English expressions, there is a total of 36 lexemes which occur as heads which can select a *wh*-clause complement (this total does not include the unknown data). Verbs occur in the greatest number, amounting to 83.33% of the total number of lexemes and 72.48% of the total number of the known frequencies. The predicative demonstratives form a closed class of three lexemes (*dyma*, *dyna* and *dacw*) but they are the second most frequent (26.73%). The remaining categories are both very low in terms of the numbers of lexemes and their frequencies. As with the description of complex sentences in section 2.1.1 we can again say that the selections by these categories produce verb phrases, adjective phrases, and noun phrases and (we shall say) predicative demonstrative phrases (PREDDP), all of which contain *wh*-clauses as their complements.

A comparison of table 24 with table 1 which gives the details about noun-clause complex sentences shows that (i) verbs are again the main category; (ii) adjectives and nouns and are less frequent; (iii) predicative demonstratives occur in *wh*-clause complex sentences but do not occur in noun-clause complex sentence.; and (iv) modal forms select noun-clause complements as their complements but not *wh*-clauses as their complements.

3.1.2 Verbs and verb phrases

3.1.2.1 Lexemes

The verb lexemes which occur as heads are listed in table 25, ordered alphabetically on the left and by descending frequency on the right. This table excludes missing data.

Table 25. Verb lexemes in *wh*- complex sentences

anghofio ‘forget’	3	*gwybod* ‘know’	350
busnesu ‘interfere’	1	*gweld* ‘see’	100
cadw ‘keep’	1	*edrych* ‘look’	76
chwarae ‘play’	1	*sbio* ‘look’	22
chwilio ‘search’	1	*gesio* ‘guess’	16
clywed ‘hear’	1	*gweud* ‘say, tell’	15
cofio ‘remember’	4	*dweud* ‘say, tell’	15
cuddio ‘hide’	1	*watsio* ‘watch’	7
dangos ‘show’	1	*gofyn* ‘ask’	5
dewis ‘choose’	1	*gwneud* ‘do, make’	5
disgwyl ‘expect, look’	1	*meddwl* ‘think, mean’	5
dweud ‘say, tell’	15	*cofio* ‘remember’	4
edrych ‘look’	76	*anghofio* ‘forget’	3
estyn ‘reach’	1	*busnesu* ‘interfere’	1
gadael ‘leave’	1	*cadw* ‘keep’	1
gesio ‘guess’	16	*chwarae* ‘play’	1
gofyn ‘ask’	5	*chwilio* ‘search	1
gorffen ‘finish’	1	*clywed* ‘hear’	1
gweiddi ‘shout’	1	*cuddio* ‘hide’	1
gweld ‘see’	100	*dangos* ‘show’	1
gweud ‘say, tell’	15	*dewis* ‘choose’	1
gwneud ‘do, make,	5	*disgwyl* ‘expect, look’	1
gwybod ‘know’	350	*estyn* ‘reach’	1
licio ‘like’	1	*gadael* ‘leave’	1
meddwl ‘think, mean’	5	*gorffen* ‘finish’	1
recordio ‘record’	1	*gweiddi* ‘shout’	1
rhifo ‘count’	1	*licio* ‘like’	1
sbio ‘look’	22	*recordio* ‘record’	1
watsio ‘watch’	7	*rhifo* ‘count’	1
ysgrifennu ‘write’	1	*ysgrifennu* ‘write’	1
	640		640

As in table 2 which gives the verb lexemes in noun-clause complex sentences, table 25 lists dialect synonyms separately. They are brought together in tables 26 to 29.

Tables 26 to 29 give a semantic classification of the verb lexemes which occur in *wh*-clause complex sentences. Table 5 in section 2.1.2.1 shows that the pretence group of lexemes occur frequently in noun-clause complex sentences. But there are no examples of these lexemes in *wh*-clause complex sentences.

Details of the cognition group are given in table 26.

Table 26. Verb lexemes: cognition

gwybod 'know'	350
gesio 'guess'	16
cofio 'remember'	4
anghofio 'forget'	3
meddwl 'think, mean'	5
	378

Compared with table 4 in section 2.1.2.1, there are fewer verb cognition lexemes in *wh*-clause complex sentences. However, in total, cognition lexemes are more frequent in *wh*-clause complex sentences. But this is due to the high frequency of *gwybod* 'know' which accounts for 92.59% of the total frequencies in table 26. Table 4 shows that in noun-clause complex sentences, *meddwl* 'think, mean' is the most frequent lexeme and *gwybod* 'know' accounts for a much lower 38.60% of the total frequencies.

Table 27 gives the locution verbs.

Table 27. Verb lexemes: locution

gweud 'say, tell' (15), d*weud* 'say, tell' (15)	30
gofyn 'ask'	5
gweiddi 'shout'	1
	36

The dialect synonyms *dweud* 'say, tell' and *gweud* 'say, tell' are the main lexemes and their frequencies are lower than their occurrences in noun-clause complex sentences as a comparison with table 6 in section 2.1.2.1 shows.

Table 28 gives the verbs of perception which occur in *wh*-clause complex sentences.

Table 28. Verb lexemes: perception

gweld ‘see’	100
edrych ‘look’	76
sbio ‘look’	22
watsio ‘watch’	7
clywed ‘hear’	1
	206

There are far more examples of the perception group of verb lexemes in *wh*-clause complex sentences than in noun-clause complex sentences as a comparison with table 7 in section 2.1.2.1 shows. The two verbs of vision *gweld* ‘see’ and *edrych* ‘look’ are the two most frequent. However, there is more to be said about perception when we consider the predicative demonstratives in section 3.1.4.

Table 29 lists the ‘other’ verbs (possibly *licio* ‘like’ has a cognition nature).

Table 29. Verb lexemes: ‘others’

gwneud ‘do, make’	5
gadael ‘leave’	1
busnesu ‘interfere’	1
cadw ‘keep’	1
chwarae ‘play’	1
chwilio ‘search’	1
cuddio ‘hide’	1
dangos ‘show’	1
dewis ‘choose’	1
disgwyl ‘look’	1
estyn ‘reach’	1
gorffen ‘finish’	1
licio ‘like’	1
recordio ‘record’	1
rhifo ‘count’	1
ysgrifennu ‘write’	1
	20

There are more lexemes in the ‘other’ semantic group of verb lexemes than the cognition, locution and perception groups in *wh*-clause complex sentences but the frequencies of the verbs in the ‘other’ group are very low. Further, the ‘other’ semantic group in *wh*-clause complex sentences is different to the same

semantic group in noun-clause complex sentence, given in table 8: a comparison with table 29 shows that there are far more verbs in this group in *wh*-clause complex sentences.

3.1.2.2 Syntax of the matrix phrase

We can again use finiteness to distinguish between those examples in which the verbs occur as inflected forms either indicative or imperative and those in which they occur as non-finite forms.

The verbs which occur as indicative tensed forms are *dweud* ‘say, tell’ and *gweud* ‘say, tell’, *gweld* ‘see’ and *gwybod* ‘know’.

55 a. wn1 i be na' i neu'.
know.PRES.1SG I what do.FUT.1SG I do
‘I know what I’ll do.’

b. welest ti be fi' 'n neud?
see.PERF.2SG you.SG what be.PRES.1SG PROG do
‘did you see what I’m doing?’

c. hei 'udist ti be o'n1 i 'n gneud drw' fanna,, do?
hey say.PERF.2SG you.SG what be.IMPF.1SG I PROG do over there yes
‘hey did you say what I was doing over there?’

d. wedodd ti ble mae +..?
say.PERF.3SG you.SG where be.PRES.3SG
‘did you say where is +..?’

Verbs which occur as imperatives are *cadw* (1), *disgwyl* (3), *edrych* ‘look’ (70), *gesio* (16), *gofyn* ‘ask’ (1), *gweld* ‘see’ (44), *sbio* ‘look’ (20), and examples of some are given in (56).

56 a. shgwla be ti' 'di neud.
look.IMPV.2SG what be.PRES.2SG PERF do
‘look what you’ve done.’

b. drycha be sy 'da fi.
look.IMPV.2SG what be.PRES.3SG with I
‘look what I’ve got.’

c. gesha lle ma' 'n mynd.
guess.IMPV.2SG where be.PRES.3SG PROG go
guess where it’s going.’

d. yli faint dw i 'di gal.
see.IMPV.2SG how+much be.PRES.1SG I PERF have
‘look how much I’ve had.’

Most of the imperative verbs are verbs of perception and it is worth noting the use of *disgwyl* in southern dialects being used like *edrych* ‘look’, *gweld* ‘see’, and *sbio* ‘look’. The form *disgwyl* is also used meaning ‘expect’.

The vast majority of verbs occur as non-finite forms as heads of verb phrases. As with examples of noun-clause complex sentences, the verb phrases occur in matrix phrases which have a variety of syntactic structures.

They can occur as the head of a predicate phrase in a finite clause or in a subject-predicate clause.

57 a. w i 'n gwbod sut mae hware hwnna.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG know how be.PRES.3SG play that.M
‘I know how to play that.’

b. dach chi 'n gwbo' be 'dy hwnna fanna?
be.PRES.2PL you.PL PROG know what be.PRES.3SG that.M there
‘I know what that is there.’

58 a. y dy:n yn gweud # ymm # <ble ma' tylwyth teg>.
the man PROG say uhm where be.PRES.3SG tribe fair
‘the man saying where the fairies are.’

b. neb yn gwbo' lle oedd y double+decker.
nobody PROG know where be.IMPF.3SG the double-decker
‘nobody knowing where the double-decker was.’

We can again include here subject-predicate phrases in demonstrative predicate clauses.

59 a dyna 'r fuwch ddim wedi gweld # le ma' 'n mynd.
and there+is the cow NEG PERF see where be.PRES.3SG PROG go
‘and there’s the cow not having seen where it’s going.’

There are examples in which the verb phrase is co-ordinated with another verb phrase in a finite clause (including when the co-ordinator is omitted as in (60a)).

60 a. a fi' 'n mynd lan gweud pwy sy isio mynd i' xxx [= 2 sill].
and be.PRES.1SG PROG go up say who be.PRES.3SG want go to xxx
‘and I go up and say who wants to go to xxx.’

b. a ni' 'n digo a gweld beth o'n1 ni 'n ffindo.
and be.PRES.1PL PROG dig and see what be.IMPF.1PL we PROG find
‘and we dig and see what we found.’

There are examples in which the verb phrase is the complement of another verb.

61 a. cal gweld shwt neud e.
have see how make it
'get to see how to make it.'

b. ond dw i 'n methu trial [//] # cofio beth yw e!
but be.PRES.3SG I PROG fail remember what be.PRES.3SG it
'but I can't remember what it is.'

There are examples in which the verb phrase occurs within an *i* 'to' verb phrase (including where *i* is omitted or elided).

62 a. dach chi 'sio ni fynd i' weld pwy sy 'na?
be.PRES.2PL you.PL want we go to see who be.PRES.3SG there
'do you want us to go to see who is there.'

b. a e's i weld beth o'dd e.
and go.PERF.1SG I see beth be.IMPF.3SG it
'and I went to see what it was.'

There are examples in which the verb phrase occurs as the complement of *eisiau* 'want, need'.

63 a. fi' isio weud pryd ti' 'n cal dod.
be.PRES.1SG want say when be.PRES.2SG PROG have come
'I want to say when you can/may come.'

b. 'sio gwbo' faint sy 'na 'wan.
want know how+much be.PRES.3SG there now
'want to know how much is there now.'

There are examples in which the verb phrase stands alone.

64 a. gweld pwy sy wedi cwpla cynta.
see who be.PRES.3SG PERF finish first
'see who has finished first.'

b. cuddiad be na's di.
hide what do.PERF.2SG you.SG
'hide what you did.'

There are also examples in which the syntax is missing data or is unclear.

Table 30 gives the frequencies for all these possibilities.

Table 30. Syntactic contexts of verb lexemes which select *wh*-clauses

Tensed indicative verbs			26	4.06%
Imperative verbs			170	26.56%
Non-finite verbs	Predicate phrase of finite clause	359		
	Standing alone	42		
	I-verb phrase	20		
	Co-ordinated phrase	6		
	Embedded in another verb phrase	6		
	Embedded in *eisiau* phrase	4		
	Predicate phrase of subject-predicate phrase	3		
	I-clause	2		
	Predicative demonstrative	1		
	Missing data	1		
		444	444	69.38%
			640	

The most frequent matrix phrase is a finite clause in which the verb phrase which contains the *wh*-clause occurs as the predicate, which is also the case with noun-clause complex sentences, as table 9 shows. The frequencies of tensed verbs in *wh*-clause complex are similar to noun-clause complex sentences but imperative verbs are more frequent in *wh*-clause complex sentences (compare again table 9).

3.1.3 Nouns and adjectives

Table 24 in section 3.1.1 shows that there are very few nouns and adjectives which select a *wh*-clause complement, both in terms of numbers of lexemes and frequencies (one adjective occurring three times and one noun occurring once). We can present the lexemes and the syntax together. All examples are given in examples (65) and (66).

65 a. gofalus be ti' 'n neud,, Alan.
careful what be.PRES.2SG PROG do Alan
'careful what you do, Alan.'

b. bydd yn2 ofalus be ti' 'n neud,,<Alan>[>][= llais gwichlyd].
be.IMPV.3SG PRED careful what be.PRES.2SG PROG do Alan
'be careful what you do, Alan.'

c. bydda3 di 'n2 ofalus be ti' 'n neud [= llais gwichlyd].
be.IMPV.2SG you.SG PRED careful what be.PRES.2SG PROG do
'be careful what you are doing.'

66 's dim ots lle eith e.
be.PRES.3SG NEG odds where go. FUT.3SG it
'there's no odds / it doesn't matter where it will go.'

The only adjective *gofalus* 'careful' occurs in phrases which have overt or covert imperative force. The adjective specifically occurs within predicatival phrase in a copular clause or it stands alone. The only noun is *ods* 'odds', which occurs within an existential copular clause (which is negative).

3.1.4 Predicative demonstratives

The predicative demonstratives are *dyma* 'here / this is', *dyna* 'there / that is' and *dacw* 'yonder is'. A detailed description of these lexemes is available in Jones (2024).

Their frequencies are given in table 31.

Table 31. Predicative demonstratives in *wh*- complex sentences

dyna 'there is'	155	65.68%
dacw 'yonder \ there is'	69	29.24%
dyma 'here is'	12	5.08%
	236	

The most frequent of these by far is *dyna*, which accounts for 65.68% of the total frequencies. Occurrences of *dyma* as head of a phrase which contains a *wh*-clause complement are relatively infrequent (5.08%).

Examples of *dyma* and *dyna* are given in (67) and (68).

67 a. dyma be dw i 'n neud.
here+is what be.PRES.1SG I PROG do
'this is what I am doing.'

b. dyma lle mae 'o.
here+is where be.PRES.3SG it
this is where it is.'

68 a. 'na2 pam by' nw 'n cwmpo.
that+is why be. FUT. 3PL they PROG fall
'that's why they will be falling.'

b. 'na2 beth yw enw fe.
that+is what be.PRES.3SG name he
'that's what his name is.'

The predicative demonstrative *dacw* merits particular attention. All the examples of *dacw* are realized by the form '*co*, which occurs in southern dialects. There are no examples of the northern forms *dacw* or '*cw*. The southern form *'co* is used with imperative force which directs the addressee to look at some entity or activity.

69 a. co beth fi' 'n neud.
there+is what be.PRES.1SG PROG do
'look at what I'm doing.'

b. co faint sy 'na.
there+is how+much be.PRES.3SG there
'look how much there is.'

c. co shwt yf fi 'n dala1 spade.
there+is how be.PRES.1SG I PROG hold spade
'look how I hold a spade.'

As such, its semantics are similar to verbs of vision in the perception group, as illustrated in (55a), (55b) and (55d).

3.1.5 English expressions

There is only one English expression, namely, *look*, which occurs only three times. It has imperative force.

70 a. <hei look> [% SaesNEG] beth fi' 'n neud.
hey look what be.PRES.1SG PROG do
'hey look a what I'm doing.'

b. <look> [% SaesNEG] le ma'n nw 'n cwato.
look where be.PRES.3PL they PROG hide
'look where they are hiding.'

c. <look> [% SaesNEG] beth # n'ethodd <y &ga> [//]y oen [?].
look what do.PERF.3SG the lamb
'look what the lamb did.'

Its semantics place it in the perception group.

3.1.6 Missing data

There are 34 examples of *wh*-clauses in which the preceding phrases are missing data, typified by the following examples.

71 a. xxx [= 3 sill] be dach chi neud?
xxxx what be.PRES.2PL you.PL do
'xxx what you are doing?'

b. xxx [= 1 sill] pwy sy 'n chwythu fewn1.
xxx who be.PRES.3SG PROG blow in
'xxx who is blowing in.'

c. dw i 'm yn gwbod xxx [= 2 sill] sut ma' 'n mynd.
be.PRES.1SG I NEG PROG know xxx how be.PRES.3SG PROG go
'I don't know xxx how it is going.'

In a few cases, it is possible to guess what the phrase which precedes the *wh*- clause may be. But no attempt has been made to seriously pursue this approach. We have then data which identifies the *wh*-clause but not the head which selects the clause.

3.2 *Wh*-clause complements

3.2.1 Overall matters

There is no variety in terms of syntactic types of *wh*-clause complements: they are all finite clauses.

The *wh*-clause complements can be classified by the type of *wh*-word which heads the clauses. The details are given in table 32, along with frequencies.

Table 32. Types of *wh*-words in *wh*-complement clauses

beth 'what'	530	*beth* 'what'	530
faint' how much'	45	*lle* 'where'	147
fel 'like, so, as'	2	*pam* 'why'	49
ffordd 'way, road'	3	*faint* 'how much'	45
lle 'where'	147	*pwy* 'who'	33
pa 'which'	13	*sut* 'how'	28
pam 'why'	49	*pryd* 'when'	17
pryd 'when'	17	*pa* 'which'	13
pwy 'who'	33	*ffordd* 'way, road'	3
sut how'	28	*fel* 'like, so, as'	2
	867		867

The most frequent by far is *beth* 'what', which accounts for 60.14% of the total frequencies. In some instances, the *wh*-word is omitted, as illustrated in sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4.

The lexemes *fel* 'like, as' and *ffordd* 'way, road' are used like *sut* 'how'.

72 a. sbia sut dw i 'n isda?
spy.IMPV.2SG how be.PRES.1SG I PROG sit
'look how I'm sitting.'

b. co fel ti' 'n neud e.
yonder+is like be.PRES.2SG PROG do it
'look how you are doing it.'

c. watsia ffor w i neud e.
watch.IMPV.2SG way be.PRES.1SG I do it
'watch how I'm doing it.'

The lexeme *pwy* 'who' can also be used like *pa* 'which'.

73 a. chi' 'n gwbod pa dosbarth ma' chwaer 'di mynd?
be.PRES.2PL PROG know which class be.PRES.3SG sister PERF go
'do you know which class (my) sister has one.'

b. ti' 'n gwbod pwy amser fi' 'n mynd?
be.PRES.2SG PROG know which time be.PRES.1SG PROG go
'do you know what time I'm going.'

The *wh*-words can be cross-tabulated with the categories which select them. This will reveal any possible particular relationships between categories and *wh*- words. The details are given in table 33.

Table 33. *Wh*-words and the categories which select them

	beth	*lle*	*pam*	*faint*	*sut*	*fel*	*ffordd*	*pwy*	*pryd*	*pa*	Totals
Verbs	389	107	10	32	22	0	2	29	13	11	615
Predicative demonstratives	119	34	39	12	5	2	1	3	1	0	216
Adjectives	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Nouns	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
English expressions	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	513	143	49	44	27	2	3	32	14	11	838
Unknown	16	4	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	25
	529	147	49	44	28	2	3	33	17	11	863

Concentrating on the two high frequency categories — verbs and predicative demonstratives — it can be seen that the *wh*-words are widely distributed over the categories. But in the database, the predicative demonstratives do not select the *wh*-word *pa*. All *wh*-word lexemes occur with verbs rather than predicative demonstratives with one exception — *pam* 'why occurs with a predicative demonstarive more times than it occurs with a verb (this also applies to *fel* but this lexeme is a low-frequency lexeme).

The *wh*-words can be grouped into semantic classes, given in table 34, ordered in terms of descending frequency

Table 34. Semantic types of *wh*-words in *wh*-clause complements

Nominal	*beth* ‘what’ (530), *pwy* ‘who’ (29)	559	64.47%
Place	*lle* ‘where’	147	16.96%
Reason	*pam* ‘why’	49	5.65%
Quantity	*faint* ‘how much’	45	5.19%
Manner	*sut* ‘how’ (28), *fel* ‘like’ (2), *ffordd* ‘way’ (3)	33	3.81%
Determinative	*pa* ‘which’ (13), *pwy* ‘which, who’ (4)	17	1.96%
Time	*pryd* ‘when’	17	1.96%
		867	

The nominal group is by far the most frequent but this is largely due to the very frequent occurrences of *beth* ‘what’.

3.2.2 Long distance *wh*-word

The examples in (74) contain an initial *wh*-word which precedes a phrase which has the lexemes and syntax of a matrix phrase. The matrix phrase is followed by a finite clause but it is a finite clause which lacks an overt constituent or, in other words, there is a gap. The *wh*-word relates to this gap.

74 a. be ti' 'n meddwl 'dy 'wnna?
what you.SG PROG think be.PRES.3SG that.M
‘what do you think that is?’

b. <p' un> [/] p' un1 ti' 'n meddwl o rheina yw ' i1,, Steve?
which one you.SG PROG think of these be.PRES.3SG it Steve
‘which one do you think of these it is, Steve?’

c. pa un1 o'ch chi 'n gweud oedd gyda mwy?
which one be.IMPF.2PL you.PL PROG say be.IMPF.3SG with more
‘which one did you say had more?’

d. faint ti' 'n feddwl o dywod sy fanna?
how+much you.SG PROG think of sand be.PRES.3SG there
‘how much do you think of sand is there?’

Compare the examples in (74) with the *wh*-questions in (75), which are devised examples.

75 a. be 'dy 'wnna? [Devised example]
what be.PRES.3SG that.M
‘what is that?’

b. p' un1 o rheina yw ' i1,, Steve? [Devised example]
which one of these be.PRES.3SG it Steve
'which one of the is it, Steve?'

c. pa un1 oedd gyda mwy? [Devised example]
which one be.IMPF.3SG with more
'which one had more?'

d. faint o dywod sy fanna? [Devised example]
how+much of sand be.PRES.3SG there
'how much sand is there?'

In the devised examples, the *wh*-words fill the gaps in (74). However, unlike the examples of long-distance fronting which occurs in examples (52) in section 2.2.6, such *wh*-questions cannot occur as complements in a matrix phrase.

76 a. * ti' 'n meddwl be 'dy 'wnna? [Devised example]
you.SG PROG think what be.PRES.3SG that.M
'do you think what that is?'

b. * ti' 'n meddwl p' un1 o rheina yw 'i1,, Steve? [Devised example]
you.SG PROG think which one of these be.PRES.3SG it Steve
'do you think which one of these it is?'

c. * o'ch chi 'n gweud pa un oedd gyda mwy? [Devised example]
be.IMPF.2PL you.PL PROG say which one be.IMPF.3SG with more
'did you say which one had more?'

d. * ti' 'n meddwl faint o dywod sy f anna? [Devised example]
you.SG PROG think how+much of sand be.PRES.3SG there
'do you think how much sand there is there.'

It is thus the case that long-distance fronting is obligatory in the case of *wh*-words and expressions but not in the case of other phrases, which are illustrated in 2.2.6.

There are only four examples of long distance *wh*-word fronting in the database and they are all given in (74).

However, there is the possibility that the matrix phrases in (74) are examples of parenthetical phrases (see section 6).

See also the discussion of noun-clause complex sentences in section 2.2.6. Borsley, Tallerman and Willis (2007: 141-151) give more formal discussion of long distance fronting.

3.2.3 Imperative verbs and their complements

Examples in the database show that the verbs *gweld* ‘see’, *edrych* ‘look’ and *sbio* ‘look’ appear to occur with fronted noun-clause complements — all with what appears to be a fronted adjective phrase or a fronted noun phrase.

77 a. yli ffast ma' hwn yn troi.
see.IMPV.2SG fast be.PRES.3SG this.M PROG turn
‘look how fast this is turning.’

b. drycha fflat1 dw i 'di neud hwnna.
look.IMPV.2SG flat be.PRES.1SG I PERF do that.M
‘look how flat I’ve made that.’

c. sbia mawr 'dy 'o.
spy.IMPV.2SG big be.PRES.3SG it
‘look how big it is.’

78 a. yli petha ti' 'n gal.
see.IMPV.2SG things be.PRES.2SG PROG have
‘look at the things you’re getting.’

b. 'chwch lot o betha dan ni 'di gal.
look.IMPV.2PL lot of things be.PRES.1PL we PERF have
‘look at lot of things that we have had.’

c. oo sbia mess ti' neud.
oh spy.IMPV.2SG mess be.PRES.2SG do
‘oh look at the mess you are making.’

There are no examples of these verbs with normal-order noun-clause complements in the database. If the examples in (77) and (78) were fronted noun-clause complements then it would be possible to insert a fronting particle. Examples in (13) in section 2.1.2.3 show that fronting particles occur with verbs given in table 10 in the same section. But in the case of the perception verbs the resulting clauses (which are devised for the purposes of argument) are odd.

79 a. ?? yli ma’1 ffast ma' hwn yn troi. [Devised example]
see.IMPV.2SG PT fast be.PRES.3SG this.M PROG turn
‘look it is fast this is turning.’

b. ?? drycha ma’1 fflat1 dw i 'di neud hwnna. [Devised example]
look.IMPV.2SG PT flat be.PRES.1SG I PERF do that.M
‘look it is flat I’ve made that.’

c. ?? sbia ma'1 mawr 'dy 'o. [Devised example]
spy.IMPV.2SG PT big be.PRES.3SG it
'look how big it is.'

80 a. ?? yli ma'1 petha ti' 'n gal. [Devised example]
see.IMPV.2SG PT things be.PRES.2SG PROG have
'look at it is the things you're getting.'

b. ?? 'chwch ma'1 lot o betha dan ni 'di gal. [Devised example]
look.IMPV.2PL PT lot of things be.PRES.1PL we PERF have
'look at it is a lot of things that we have had.'

c. ?? oo sbia ma'1 mess ti' neud. [Devised example]
oh spy.IMPV.2SG PT mess be.PRES.2SG do
'oh look at the mess you are making.'

In contrast is possible to insert the degree *wh*-expression *pa mor* 'how' in the case of the adjective phrases, as in the following devised examples.

81 a. yli pa mor ffast ma' hwn yn troi. [Devised example]
see.IMPV.2SG which so fast be.PRES.3SG this.M PROG turn
'look how fast this is turning.'

b. drycha pa mor fflat1 dw i 'di neud hwnna. [Devised example]
look.IMPV.2SG which so flat be.PRES.1SG I PERF do that.M
'look how flat I've made that

c. sbia pa mor fawr 'dy 'o. [Devised example]
spy.IMPV.2SG which so big be.PRES.3SG it
'look how big it is.'

There is one actual example in the database in which *mor* occurs.

82 drycha mor dda ma' 'n mynd.
look.IMPV.2SG so good be.PRES.3SG PROG go
'look how good / so fast it's going.'

Consequently it is claimed that the embedded clauses in the case of the adjective examples in (77) are like *wh*-clauses. In the case of the examples in (78) it is claimed that they are not fronted noun-clause complements but are noun phrases which contain relative clauses. Overall, then, the examples of the perception verbs in the imperative mood in examples like those in (77) and (78) are not examples of noun-clause complements.

Table 35 gives the frequencies for the syntactic configurations described immediately above.

Table 35. Imperative verbs and ‘false’ noun-clause complements

	Fronted adjective	Relative clause
edrych ‘look’	2	6
gweld ‘see’	12	10
sbio ‘see’	4	5
watsio ‘watch’	0	1
	18	22

In the database these examples involve only four verb lexemes, and they are all verbs of perception involving vision. Examples like these are typical of northern dialects.

We see in section 2.1.2.3 that *watsio* ‘watch’ can select a noun-clause, as shown there by the examples in (14). This lexeme can also occur with an apparent fronted clause in which a noun phrase is the fronted phrase.

83 watsia lot ti' 'di gymyd 'wan.
watch.IMPV.2SG lot be.PRES.2SG PERF take now
‘watch lot that you have taken now.’

In such examples *watsio* ‘watch’ is behaving like the perception verbs in examples (78). *Watsio* ‘watch’, then, can occur like a perception verb like *gweld* ‘see’ or it can be like *smalio* ‘pretend’ etc .

3.2.4 Absence of *wh*-word

The complement clauses in the previous section (3.2.3) lack a *wh*-word. If one is present it would be *pa mor*, which measures extent or degree.

Other *wh*-words can also be omitted, as the following examples show.

84 a. co sy gyda fi,, 'de.
yonder+is be.PRES.2SG with I then
‘look what I’ve got then.’

b. sbia dw i 'n neud.
spy.IMPV.2SG be.PRES.1SG I PROG do
‘look what I’m doing.’

c. dyna 'swn inna 'n neu'.
there/that+is be.CNTF.1SG I.CONJ PROG do
‘that’s what I (too) would do.’

A limited number of head lexemes allow the omission of the *wh*-word and they are given in table 36.

Table 36. Head lexemes which allow omission of the *wh*-word.

dyma	3
dyna	14
dacw (as *co*)	3
sbio	2
gweld (as *yli*|)	1
	23

The most frequent head lexemes are members of the class of predicatve demonsratives, especially *dyna* ‘that/there is’. Two perceptive verbs of vision also occur and they are used as imeratives, namely, *sbio* ‘look’ and *gweld* ‘see’. The *co* form of the predicative demonstrative *dacw* is also used with imerative force, as has been remarked on elsewhere in this work.

4 *Wh*-clauses as other clause constituents

Previous examples show that a *wh*-clause can occur as a complement to a range of lexemes. *Wh*-clauses can also occur as other constituents in a sentence, as the following examples show.

85 a. fanna 'dy lle ma' 'na xxx [= 2 sill] tywod i+gyd.
there be.PRES.3SG where be.PRES.3SG there xxx sand all
‘there is where there is xxx all sand.’

b. na' i roid 'o lle o'dd 'o $'li$.
do.FUT.1SG I put it where be.imof.3SG it see.IMPV.2SG
‘I’ll put it where it was, look.’

c. a wanna1 [=? fanna] ble ma' 'r pengwins yn byw.
and there where be.PRES.3SG the penguins PROG live
‘and there where the penguins live.’

d. falle beth [/] beth y' ni 'n gweud nawr yn dod ar y meicroffon.
perhaps what be.PRES.1PL we PROG say now PROG come on the microphone
‘perhaps what we say now comes on the microphone.’

In (85a) a *wh*-clause occurs as the subject in a fronted copular clause. In (85b) a *wh*-clause occurs as an adverbial constituent. In (85c), a *wh*-clause occurs as a relative clause. In (85d), a *wh*-clause occurs as a subject (a finite copula *mae* is omitted, compare *alle mae beth [/] beth y' ni 'n gweud nawr yn dod ar y meicroffon*.). Table 37 gives the frequencies of the various contexts, although it is not always clear what the context is, especially the difference if any between an adverbial clause and a relative clause (this area of complex sentences deserves further investigation).

Table 37. *Wh*-clauses as other constituents

Relative clauses	5
Adverbial clauses	16
Subjects	2
Uncertain	3
	26

A comparison of this table with table 24 shows that *wh*-clauses are very infrequent as other constituents. Table 37 shows that, of the other constituents, adverbial clauses are the most frequent.

5 Conjunction Clauses

The term conjunction is a traditional label which refers to words such as *os* 'if', *pan* 'when' or *oherwydd* 'because' which can precede finite clauses. It will be retained in this study for convenience of presentation although it can be asked whether such words belong to another category, in particular preposition. Also for convenience of presentation we shall refer to clauses which are preceded by a conjunction as conjunction clauses (a traditional label is adverbial clause or more recently adjunct clause).

Table 40 in section 5.2.1 shows that many examples of conjunction clauses in the database stand alone without a matrix phrase. The matrix phrase or equivalent of the matrix phrase is available either in the preceding textual context or in the pragmatic context (essentially what the interlocutors know about the world in which they live).

For ease of presentation we shall use the term situation to refer to actions, events or states. We can therefore talk more succinctly about the matrix situation and the conjunction-clause situation.

5.1 Lexemes

Table 38 lists all the lexemes which occur as conjunctions in the database, ordered alphabetically on the left-hand side and by descending frequency of occurrence on the right-hand side.

Table 38. Conjunction lexemes

achos 'because'	351	*achos* 'because'	351
after	1	*pan* 'when'	310
am 'because'	28	*os* 'if'	291
amser 'time, when'	48	*amser* 'time, when'	48
ar+o:l 'after'	38	*fel 'like, so, as'*	42
because	6	*ar+o:l* 'after'	38
bob amser 'every time'	1	*rhag+ofn* 'in case'	37
bob tro 'every time'	11	*am* 'because'	28
cyn 'before'	19	*nes* 'until'	20
efo 'with'	1	*cyn* 'before'	19
er 'though'	2	*tan* 'until'	16
er+mwyn 'in order'	2	*tra* 'while'	13
fel 'like, so, as'	42	*bob tro* 'every time'	11
gan 'because'	5	*heb* 'without'	8
gyda 'with'	1	*pryd* 'when'	8
heb 'without'	8	*because*	6
heblaw 'besides'	4	*yn+lle* 'instaed'	6
math+a: 'like'	4	*gan* 'because'	5
nes 'until'	20	*heblaw* 'besides'	4
os 'if'	291	*math+a*: 'like'	4
pan 'when'	310	*rhag* 'in case'	3
pe 'if'	1	*wedi1* 'after'	3
pryd 'when'	8	*er* 'though'	2
rhag 'in case'	3	*er+mwyn* 'in order'	2
rhag+ofn 'in case'	37	*after*	1
tan 'until'	16	*bob amser* 'every time'	1
tra 'while'	13	*efo* 'with'	1
until	1	*gyda* 'with'	1
unwaith 'once'	1	*pe* 'if'	1
wedi1 'after'	3	*until*	1
yn+lle 'instead'	6	*unwaith* 'once'	1
	1282		1282

This table shows that three lexemes are far more frequent than the others, namely, *achos* 'because', *os* 'if' and *pan* 'when'. Together they account for 74.26% of the total frequencies of all conjunctions.

We can attempt to organize all the lexemes into semantic groups. It is challenging to give a precise explanation of the meanings of the conjunctions and a more detailed and focussed analysis can improve on that which is provided here. See also Thomas (1996: 472-494).

5.1.1 Time

There are lexemes which convey time in some way, and the function of the conjunction clause is to provide the temporal location of the matrix situation. Within this general group further distinctions can be made.

First, *pan* 'when' conveys a period or point of time in relation to which the matrix situation occurs, overlaps, or closely follows.

86 a. a pan ma' 'n cysgu ma' rwbeth yn 'i ddihuno fe.
and when be.PRES.3SG PROG sleep be.PRES.3SG something PROG CL.3SG wake he
'and when he's sleeping some thing wakes him.'

b. chi' 'n neud rywbeth pan mae fe 'n gweithio.
be.PRES.2PL PROG do something when be.PRES.3SG he PROG work
'he does something when he works.'

c. pan fi' 'n gwasgu botwm ma' fe 'n canu.
when be.PRES.1SG PROG press button be.PRES.3SG it PROG sing
'when I press a button it sings.'

Two other lexemes are used like *pan* 'when', namely, the noun *amser* 'when' and *pryd* 'when' (which is also used as a *wh*-word).

87 a. amser o'dd hwnna i+mewn fynna, o'dd hwnna 'n troi.
time be.IMPF.3SG that.M into there be.IMPF.3SG that.M PROG turn
'when that was in there, that was turning.'

b. fi' 'n mynd i' bod yn2 nyrs # amser bydd fi 'n2 mami.
be.PRES.1SG PROG go to be PRED nurse time be. FUT.1SG I PRED mammy
'I'm going to be a nurse when I am a mammy.'

c. amser o'dd fi 'n2 sa:l.
time be.IMPF.3SG I PRED ill
'when I was ill.'

88 a. pryd mae gloch yn canu ni' mynd i' 'r dosbarth neu dod +/.
when be.PRES.3SG bell PROG sing be.PRES.1PL go to the class or come
'when the bell rings we go to the class or come +/.'

b. o'n1 ni wedi dod yma pryd o'dd Miss+jones isie papur.
be.IMPF.1PL we PERF come here when be.IMPF.3SG Miss+jones want paper
'we had come here when Miss Jones wants paper.'

We can also include here the two prepositions *efo* 'with' and *gyda* 'with' (which are dialect synonyms). As conjunctions they occur in small clauses which can also convey a co-occurring situation.

89 a. o'n1 i 'n gallu dwad <efo 'im> [?] ceffyl yn rhedag.
be.IMPF.1SG I PROG can come with NEG horse PROG run
'I could come with no horse running.'

b. rhoi e ar fan+hyn nawr gyda un yn dod ffor 'na.
put it on here now with one PROG come way there
'put it on here now with one coming that way.'

Second, there are lexemes which can sequence in time the matrix situation in relation to the conjunction clause situation, as either previous or subsequent. Previous time is conveyed by *cyn* 'before' and subsequent time is conveyed by *ar+o:l* 'after', *wedi1* 'after' and the English word *after*.

90 a. ma'n nw 'n dreifo rown' fan+hyn cyn i' nw dod o fanna,, reit?
be.PRES. 3PL they PROG drive round here before for they come from there right
'they're driving round here before they come from there, right?'

b. fi' wedi dechre cyn bod Anwen yn dod.
be.PRES.1SG PERF start before be Anwen PROG come
'I have started before Anwen comes.'

91 a. ma' 'wn wedi cwmpo mas # ar+o:l i' fi gal e.
be.PRES.3SG this.M PERF fall out after for I have it
'this has fallen out before I got it.'

b. ar+o:l ni cwpla ni' 'di dodi rein lan 'na,, reit?
after we finish be.PRES.1PL PERF put these up there right
'after we finish we have put these up there, right?

92 a wedi1 i' ni dod i' fanna, ma'n nhw wedi mynd yn+o:l i' castell nhw[!].
and after for we come to there be.PRES. 3PL they PERF go back to castle they
'and after they come here, they have gone back toto their castle.'

93 after ti' neud e eto.
after be.PRES.2SG do it again
'after you do it again.'

The form *wedi* is also used as a perfect aspect marker.

Third, the lexeme *tan* 'until' is used to convey a period of time which leads up to a reference point which is conveyed in the conjunction clause. The English word *until* also occurs with this meaning in the database.

94 a. w i 'n aros yma tan dw i 'n mynd adre.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG stay here until be.PRES.1SG I PROG go home
'I stay here until I go home.'

b. witsiad tan ma' 'r dy:n yn deud.
wait until be.PRES.3SG the man PROG say
'wait until the man says.'

95 ond # s'o fi 'n cal e 'til[= until] bo' fi 'n2 four.
but be.PRES.3SG I PROG have it until be I PRED four
'but I don't get it until I'm four.'

The lexeme *nes* 'until' has a similar meaning.

96 a. dw i 'n mynd i' weithio nes bo' 'wnna ar+lawr.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG go to work until be that.M down
'I'm not going to work until that is down.'

b. dw i 'n neidio nes mae 'y nghalon i 'n mynd bwm@i.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG jump until be.PRES.3SG CL.1SG heart I PROG go boom
'I jump until my heart goes boom.'

Fourth, the lexeme *tra* 'while' conveys an enduring period of time in which the matrix situation is located.

97 a. $wn1 i$ rho di ymm peth fanna tra bo' fi 'n dal2 y
know.PRES.1SG I put.IMPV.2SG you.SG uhm thing there while be I PROG hold the
peth 'ma.
thing here
'I know, you put uhm a thing there while I hold this thing.'

b. dw i mynd i' ddechra llanw hwn lan tra bod y wheel yn troi.
be.PRES.3SG I go to begin fill this.M up while be the wheel PROG turn
'I'm going to begin to fill this up while the wheel is turning.'

The conjunction *pan* 'when' can be used in such examples but *tra* 'while' specifically conveys endurance.

Fifth, there are phrases which begin with *bob* 'every' and nouns which convey time, namely, *bob amser* 'every time' and *bob tro* 'every time'. These phrases indicate that the matrix situation occurs with regular frequency.

98 a bob amser ma' 'n dod lan, ma' fe 'n dod jwmpo mas.
and every time be.PRES.3SG PROG come up be.PRES.3SG it PROG come jump out
'and every time it comes up it comes jumping out.'

99 a. bob tro ti' 'n troi hwnna, mae ' o 'n mynd dy+di+dy+dy@i
every turn be.PRES.2SG PROG turn that.M be.PRES.3SG it PROG goes dy+di+dy+dy@i
'every time you turn that, it goes dy+di+dy+dy@i.'

b. ond bob tro ma' Dad yn dod adra, mae 'o 'n2 ddu.
but every turn be.PRES.3SG Dad PROG come home be.PRES.3SG he PRED black
'but every time Dad comes home, he's black.'

Sixth, the lexeme *unwaith* 'once' is used to convey the single occurrence of a situation or possibly to convey the next available occasion or possibly promptness

100 na' i symu' 'mla'n 'nwaith fy'a' i 'di bennu.
do. FUT.1SG I move forwards once be. FUT.1SG I PERF finish
'I'll move on once / as soon as I have finished.'

The lexeme *pan* 'when' can be used in such examples but *unwaith* 'once' specifically conveys the role of a particular situation or promptness.

5.1.2 Logical role of a situation

In this section we consider lexemes which broadly indicate why the matrix situation occurs. The meanings concerned can be quite subtle.

First, the lexeme *achos* 'because' conveys the reason why another situation occurs. The English word *because* also occurs.

101 a. a ma' 'n2 rhaid i' fi dyfu [!] achos bod <fi 'n2 rhy> [>] fach[!].
and be.PRES.3SG PRED necessity for I grow because be I PRED too small
'and I must grow because I am too small.'

b. s'a i moyn achos [/] achos fi' moyn mynd mas i' hware.
be.PRES.NEG I want because be.PRES.1SG want go out to play
'I don't want because I want to go out to play.'

c. s'o ti 'n gallu wythnos yma achos w i 'n dod i' ware
be.PRES.NEG you.SG PROG can week here because be.PRES.1SG I PROG come to play
gyda ti.
with you.SG
'I can't this week because I'm coming to play with you.'

102 a. because # oedd Mrs+jones yn dweud dan ni ddim yn mynd i'
because be.IMPF.3SG Mrs+jones PROG say be.PRES.1PL we NEG PROG go to
'r neuadd heddiw.
the hall today
'because Mrs Jones said that we don't go to the hall today.'

b. because dw i ddim yn byta llawer.
because be.PRES.1SG I NEG PROG eat much
'because we don't eat much.'

Two other lexemes can also convey the same meaning, namely, *am* ‘for, because’ and *gan* ‘with, because’.

103 a. am i’ moch yn gu’ad ‘o?
for to pigs PROG close it
‘because pigs closed it.’

b. am bo’ ginna fo ‘m PRES.
for be with.3SG he NEG money
‘because he has got no money.’

104 a. gan bod ni ‘sio.
because be we want
‘because we want to.’

b. <gan bod> [?] hwn yn dechre sinco.
because be this.M PROG begin sink
‘because this begins to sink.’

It is possible to provide a more detailed account of what is meant by reason (as in Quirk *et al* 1985) but this will not be attempted in this study.

Second, the lexemes *rhag* ‘in case’ and *rhag+ofn* ‘in case’ are used to indicate that the matrix situation occurs in order to avoid the conjunction phrase situation. This is the reason of avoidance or precaution.

105 a. rhag i’ neb gal ‘o.
lest for nobody have it
‘lest nobody has it.’

b. ma’ ‘n jympio odd’+w’th y fan1 rhag i’ indians gwel’ ni.
be.PRES.3SG PROG jump from the place lest for indians see we
‘he jumps from here in case indians see us.’

106 a. paid rhag [/] ‘c+ofn iddo fo fynd.
IMPV.NEG.2SG lest for.3SG.M he go
‘don’t in case it goes.’

b. watsia ’c+ofn i’ ti ollwng ‘o.
watch.IMPV.2SG lest for you.SG release it
‘watch in case you drop it.’

No attempt has been made to determine whether there is a difference between *rhag* and *rhag+ofn*.

Third, the lexeme *heblaw* ‘besides’ conveys the exceptional occurrence of a particular situation in relation to which the matrix situation occurs..

107 a. ‘blaw ma’ ‘i1 ‘n2 iawn felly.
except be.PRES.3SG she PRED right therefore
‘except she is alright therefore.’

b. heblaw ma’n nw withia efo patches.
except be.PRES.3SG they sometimes with patches
‘except she is sometimes with patches.’

Fourth, the lexeme *er+mwyn* ‘in order’ conveys purpose, that is, something occurs in order to achieve another situation.

108 a. er+mwyn i’ fi gal crawlian!
in+order for I have crawl
‘in order I get to crawl.’

b. cal ymm [/] mynd i’ godro er+mwyn powb cal llefrith.
have uhm go to milk in+order everyone have milk
‘get to go to milk in order that everyone has milk.’

In the previous examples, the conjunction-clause situation precedes in time the matrix situation: the former establishes the circumstances which allow the matrix situation. But in the case of purpose the matrix situation brings about the conjunction-clause situation and thus the former precedes the latter as in (108b)

Fifth, the meaning of the conjunction *er* ‘though’ is subtle. It indicates the lack of a reason for an action, that is, the matrix situation occurs even though there may be a contrary reason why it should not occur. The label contrary can be used for this meaning.

109 a. mae [?] mam fi;, ynde;, yn gadel fi mynd i’ no:l lot o sweeties;, ‘de;,
be.PRES.3SG mother I then PROG leave I go to fetch lot of sweeties then
bob dydd, er dw i ‘m isio [= chwerthin].
every day despite be.PRES.1SG I NEG want
‘my mum, then, lets me go to fetch sweeties, then, every day even though I don’t want to.’

b. ma’ chwaer fi ‘n medru nofio er bo’ hi ‘n2 bedwar.
be.PRES.3SG sister I PROG can swim despite be she PRED four
‘my sister can swim even though she’s four.’

5.1.3 Conditional

Two lexemes indicate that the occurrence or not of the matrix situation is conditional on the occurrence or not of the conjunction clause situation. The main conjunction is *os* ‘if’.

110 a. neith ‘o ‘m dod allan os nei di roid gormod.
do.FUT.SG he NEG come out if do.FUT.SG you.SG put too+much
‘it won’t come out if you put too much.’

b. os dyn’ nw ‘n dod ata’ ni dan ni dod ata’ nw[!].
if be.PRES.3SG they PROG come to.1PL we be.PRES.1PL we come to.1PL they
‘if they come to use we come to them.’

There is one example of *pe* ‘if’, which is used in counterfactual statements.

111 pe tawn i> [?] ‘n gwisgo hwnna, fydde ‘n mynd # fel ‘a.
if be.CNTF.1SG I PROG wear that be.CNTF PROG go like that
‘if I wore that, it would go like that.’

However, in speech *os* ‘if’ is also used in counterfactual clauses.

112 a. os bysen ni yn1 ysgol Talybont, 'san ni 'm yn cal mynd a:
if be.CNTF.1PL we in school Talybont be.CNTF.1PL we NEG PROG have go with
dim.
nothing
‘if we were in Talybont school we wouldn’t be allowed to take anything.’

b. bysa ni 'm yn1 'r ysgol <os byswn>[/] os bysa 'n2 dy'+sul fory.
be.CNTF.1PL we NEG in the school if be.CNTF.3SG PRED Sunday
‘we wouldn’t be in school if it was Sunday.’

c. os [/] os bydde ti 'n rhoi fe ar hwnna, base fe gyd yn mynd
if be.CNTF.2SG you.SG PROG put it on that.M be.CNTF.3SG it all PROG go jjjj@i
jjjj@i <i+mewn i' fanna>. [=!sound effects]
jjjj@i into to there
‘if you (were to) put it on that it would all go [Sound Effect] into there.’

There may be good grounds for including condition in the logical group of conjunctions.

We see in section 2.2.4 that the complementizer *os* can determine third person forms of the present tense of the copula. If the subject is definite, the presence of *os* can select *y*-forms, namely, *ydy*, *‘dy*, *yw*, *ydyn* or *‘dyn*. If the subject is indefinite, it can select *o*-forms, namely, *oes*, *o’s* or *‘s*. Otherwise, *m*-forms occur irrespective of the definiteness of the subject, namely, *mae*, *ma’* or *ma’n*. The same applies when *os* is used as a conjunction. Examples which show these conventions being observed or not are as follows.

112A a. os oes rhyw fodd?
if be.PRES any way
‘if there is any way?’

b. dan ni myn' i' lan+y+mo:r os 'dy 'n codi 'n2 braf.
be.PRES.1PL we go to sea-side if be.PRES.3SG PROG lift PRED nice
'we go to the sea-side if it gets nice.'

c. os mae 'n mynd drost, mae 'n sinco.
if be.PRES.3SG PROG go over be.PRES.3SG PROG sink
'if it goes over, it sinks.'

The choices which are made in the database are given in table 38A.

Table 38A. The selection of *m*-, *y*- or *o*- forms of the copula after the interrogative complementizer *os*

m-form		17
y-form	9	
o-form	20	
		29
		46

A comparison of this table with table 21A in section 2.2.4 shows that there are more examples of *os* as a conjunction than *os* as a complementizer. The frequencies are low in the case of the complementizers but a comparison of the two tables shows that the percentage of the seletion of *m*-forms is higher in the case of *os* as a conjunctio, namely, 35.96% versus 25% in the case of the compementizer.

The conditional conjunction *os* 'if' and, in particular, its counterfactual equivalent *pe* can be omitted.

113 a. <ti' 'n rhoid lot yn1 hwn,;, 'de;, neith 'o neud 'o 'n2 fwy> [?].
be.PRES.2SG PROG put lot in this.M then do.FUT.3SG it make it PRED bigger
(if) you put a lot in this then it will make it bigger.'

b. dan ni 'n2 blant da, &da [/] ma' Mam am fynd a: ni
be.PRES.1PL we PRED children good be.PRES.3SG Mother for go with we
i' ty: Nain.
to house Grandmother
(if) we are good children Mum is for taking us to Grandma's house.'

114 a. basa' r llew mynd lan fan+hyn 'sa fe 'n cwmpo i+mewn.
be.CNTF.3SG the lion go up here be.CNTF.3SG it PROG fall in
(if) the lion went up here it would fall in.'

b. 'swn i 'n licio 'sa ni efo hwn yn1 ty:.
be.CNTF.1SG I PROG like be.CNTF.1PL we with this in house
'I'd like it (if) we had this in (the) house.'

c. 'sa fo 'n1 Rhyl, 'sa [/] 'sa fi 'n 'i weld 'o.
be.CNTF.3SG he in Rhyl be.CNTF.3SG I PROG CL.3SG.M see he
(if) he was in Rhyl I would see him.'

There are 18 examples of the omission of the conditional conjunction. There are 16 examples which involve counterfactual propositions and in such examples, as either *os* 'if' or *pe* 'if' can be used, it is difficult to say which one is being omitted. The remaining two examples are factual propositions.

5.1.4 Negation

The preposition *heb* 'without' is used to negate an *i*-clause to form a conjunction clause. It indicates that the matrix situation can occur without having to undertake the conjunction clause situation.

115 a. hwyrach neith 'o fynd # heb i' chdi neud 'o fel 'a.
perhaps do.FUT.3SG it go without for you.SG do it like that
b. ma' fo 'n neidio allan heb i' neb weld 'o.
be.PRES.3SG he PROG jump out without for nobody see he
'he jumps out without anyone seeing him.'

5.1.5 Alternative situation

The expression *yn+lle* 'instead' (sometimes occurring as '*lle*) is used to indicate an alternative situation.

116 a. lle1 bod neb yn dod 'n+o:l i' 'r castell,, reit?
instead be nobody PROG come back to the castle right
'instead nobody comes back to the castle right,'
b. $gwitsia$ gna le <yn+lle ni' gal> [?] anifeiliad 'ma 'n1 bo'1
watch.IMPV.2SG do.IMPV.2SG place instead be.PRES.1PL have animals here in every
man.
place
'watch, make room instead we have animals here everywhere.'
c. lle1 bod neb yn gallu dod mas.
instead be nobody PROG can come out
'instead nobody can come out.'

In these examples, a matrix situation occurs as an alternative to the conjunction-clause situation

5.1.6 The lexeme *fel*

The lexeme *fel* 'like, so, as' is challenging to describe in that it is not always clear how it is being used by the children.

One certain use occurs when *fel* occurs before a *bod* clause, that is, a clause in which the non-finite form *bod* is being used as a finite form which is followed by the subject of the clause.

117 a. ti' 'n roi lot o tumbles mawr fel bo' fi ddim <yn> [>] gwbod beth
be.PRES.2SG PROG give lot of tumbles big so be I NEG PROG know what
yw e.
be.PRES.3SG it
'you give a lot of tumbles so that I do not know what it is.'

b. na4 hwn mynd lan fel bo' ni 'n gallu neud pethach 'na.
make.IMPV.2SG this.M go up so be we PROG can do things there
'make this go up so that we can do things there.'

c. neud hwn fel bo' <swimming pool> [% SaesNEG] mawr.
do this.M so be swimming pool big
'do this so that there is a big swimming pool.'

In such clauses, *fel* indicates the conjunction-clause situation occurs as the result or consequence of the matrix situation.

Fel 'like, so, as' can also used to convey similarity or simultaneity but it is not always clear whether these uses are intended by the children. And, given the uncertainty about the data, there is also the possibility that some other use is intended by the children. The following examples illustrate these problems.

118 a. <na' fi hwnna fel y' fi dodi fe> [?].
do.FUT.1SG I that.M so be.PRES.1SG I put it
'I'll do that so that I put it.'

b. fel o'n1 i 'n dod i' ty: chdi.
as be.IMPF.1SG I PROG come to house you.SG
'as I was coming to your house.'

c. fel ma' fe 'n dod mas trw' 'r twlle 'na.
as be.PRES.3SG it PROG come out through the holes there
'as it comes out through those holes.'

It may also be the case that the children use *fel* to convey result or consequence with a finite form of *bod*, so that *as* can be replaced by *so that* in the immediately preceding examples.

The expression *math+a:* is similar to *fel*.

119 a. wyt ti 'n <dod 'n+o:l fath+a: dw i> [?] 'n neu' felly.
be.PRES.2SG you.SG PROG come back as be.PRES.1SG I PROG do therefore
'you come back as/like I'm doing therefore.'

b. fath+a: ddudon ni.
as say.PERF.1PL we
'as/like we said.'

5.1.7 Summary

Table 39 presents the frequencies of the main semantic types and the sub-types (where they exist) within each group.

Table 39. Semantic types and sub-types of conjunctions

Time	Co-occurring	*pan, amser, pryd, efo, gyda*	368	
	Previous	*cyn*	19	
	Subsequent	*ar+o:l, wedi, after*	42	
	Upto	*tan, nes, until*	37	
	Enduring	*tra*	13	
	Frequent	*bob tro, bob amser*	12	
	Specific	*unwaith*	1	
				492
Logic	Reason	*achos, because, am, gan*	390	
	Precaution	*rhag, rhag+ofn*	40	
	Exception	*heblaw*	4	
	Purpose	*er+mwyn*	2	
	Contrary	*er*	2	
				438
Condition		*os, pe*		292
Negative		*heb*		8
Alternative		*yn+lle*		6
Result, similarity, co-occurring		*fel, math+a:*		46
				1282

The frequencies in this table show that three semantic systems are outstanding: time, logic and condition. Of these three, time and the logic are more frequent than condition. There are also differences within these two systems: co-occurring time is by far the most frequent in the time system and reason is by far the most frequent in the logic system. Another point about the frequencies of these three groups is that in all three cases one lexeme is responsible for their high frequencies — *pan* 'when' in the time group, *achos* 'because' in the logic group and *os* 'if' in the condition group.

5.2 Syntax

5.2.1 Conjunction clauses and matrix phrases

The conjunction clause (CJC) is viewed as an adjunct within another phrase, which we can again call the matrix phrase. It can be adjoined on the left of the matrix phrase XP[CJC XP] (left-adjunction) or adjoined on the right of the matrix phrase XP[XP CJC] (right-adjunction).The data also show that the conjunction clause can stand alone.

The following examples show left-adjunction (the conjunction phrase occurs in initial position).

120 a. a pan ma' 'n cysgu ma' rwbeth yn 'i ddihuno fe.
and when be.PRES.3SG PROG sleep be.PRES.3SG something PROG CL.3SG wake he
'and when he's sleeping some thing wakes him.'

b. os dyn' nw 'n dod ata' ni dan ni dod ata' nw[!].
if be.PRES.3SG they PROG come to.1PL we be.PRES.1PL we come to.1PL they
'if they come to use we come to them.'

c. amser o'dd hwnna i+mewn fynna, o'dd hwnna 'n troi.
time be.IMPF.3SG that.M into there be.IMPF.3SG that.M PROG turn
'when that was in there, that was turning.'

The following examples show right-adjunction (the conjunction phrase occurs in final position).

121 a. dan ni myn' i' lan+y+mo:r os 'dy 'n codi 'n2 braf.
be.PRES.1PL we go to seaside if be.PRES.3SG PROG lift PRED nice
'we go to the seaside if it becomes nice (weather).'

b. w i 'n aros yma tan dw i 'n mynd adre.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG stay here until be.PRES.1SG I PROG go home
'I stay here until I go home.'

c. dw i isio lot ' cos dw i 'n neud rwbath.
be.PRES.1SG I want lot because be.PRES.1SG I PROG do something
'I want a lot because I want to do something.'

However, it is not the case that the conjunction clause is always an adjunct in a matrix phrase. There are examples which show a conjunction clause standing alone. With such examples there are matrix situations in the discourse or in the pragmatic context.

122 a. amser ni' 'n cal bwyd.
time be.PRES.1PL PROG have food
'when we have food.'

b. am i' moch yn gu'ad 'o?
for to pigs PROG close it
'because pigs closed it.'

c. 'ag+ofn i' roller ddod <ar 'u> [/] ar 'u hola nw,, ynde?
lest for roller come on CL. 3PL after they isn't+it
'in case a roller comes after them, isn't it?'

We can include here examples in which there is no other phrase but which contain two conjunction clauses.

123 a. a <dw i 'n> [/] pan fy' 'Ad yn chwerthin, pen1 [= pan] ma' Mrs+a+mrs
and when be.FUT.3SG Dad PROG laugh when be.PRES.3SG Mrs+a+mrs
on y teli.
on the telly
'and when Dad laughs, when Mr-and-Mrs is on the telly.'

b. 'cos dach chi 'n gwbod be dan ni 'di gal, pan dan
because be.PRES.2PL you.PL PROG know what be.PRES.1PL we PERF have when be.PRES.1PL
ni 'n cal yn4 pen+blwydd?
we PROG have CL.1PL birthday
'because you know what we have, when we have our birthday.'

We can also include here conjunction clauses which are preceded by the negative word *dim*.

124 a. <dim os plant yn2 ddrwg> [?].
NEG if children PRED naughty
'not if children (are) naughty.'

b. <dim os [?] dw i 'n mynd i' yn1 [/] yn1 y lle xxx [= 3 sill] a xxx[= 1 sill]
NEG if be.PRES.1SG I PROG go to in the place xxx and xxx
yma> [?].
here
'not if I go to in the place xxx and xxx here.'

c. dim achos [?] xxx [= 2 sill] pengwin yw 'wn.
NEG because xxx penguin be.PRES.3SG this.M
'not because xxx penguin is this.'

Table 40 gives the frequencies for these possibilities.

Table 40. The positioning of conjunction clauses and stand alone versus adjoined

Right-adjunction	327	62.37%	Adjoined	497	37.77%
Left-adjunction	170	34.27%	Standing alone	785	61.23%
	497			1282	

The table shows that of the examples which contain a matrix phrase and a conjunction clause, the most frequent examples are those in which the conjunction phrase is right-adjoined (final position). However, the table also shows that in more than half the examples the conjunction clause stands alone.

The conjunctions which occur in a conjunction clause which stands alone are given in table 41. It also gives two-clause details for comparison but is ordered in terms of the descending order of the frequencies of the stand-alone examples.

Table 41. Conjunctions clauses which are left-adjoined or right-adjoined or which stand alone

	Left-adjunction	Right-adjunction	Alone
achos 'because'	2	48	301
os 'if'	60	68	163
pan 'when'	81	98	131
amser 'time, when'	12	9	27
ar+o:l 'after'	2	12	24
am 'because'	0	5	23
fel 'like, so, as'	1	18	23
rhag+ofn 'in case'	0	16	21
nes 'until'	0	9	11
tra 'while'	0	3	10
cyn 'before'	0	9	10
because	0	0	6
gan 'because'	0	0	5
yn+lle 'instead'	0	1	5
bob tro 'every time'	6	1	4
heb 'without'	0	4	4
heblaw 'besides'	0	0	4
tan 'until'	0	12	4
math+a: 'like'	0	1	3
rhag 'in case'	0	1	2
wedi1 'after'	1	0	2
after	0	0	1
er+mwyn 'in order'	0	1	1
pryd 'when'	3	5	0
bob amser 'every time'	1	0	0
er 'though'	0	2	0
pe 'if'	1	0	0
efo 'with'	0	1	0
gyda 'with'	0	1	0
unwaith 'once'	0	1	0
until	0	1	0
	170	327	785

The table shows that stand-alone conjunction clauses are not especially confined to particular conjunctions but that a wide range of conjunctions can occur. A possible exception is *pryd* 'when', which occurs eight times in total but none in a stand-alone conjunction clause. This does not apply to its synonym (as a

conjunction) *pan* ‘when’. There are lexemes which do not occur in conjunction clauses which stand alone in this table. But this may be a result of the fact that they are low frequency lexemes, which have not occurred as stand-alone clauses in these performance data.

Table 42 looks at the position of the adjunction of the conjunction clause in terms of the semantic classes of the conjunctions. This table concentrates on those semantic groups which have reasonable numbers, namely, the logic group, the temporal group and the conditional group.

Table 42. Adjunction and semantic classes of conjunctions

		Left-adj	Right-adj	Adjoined	Stand alone	Totals
Logic	*achos* 'because'	2	48		301	351
	am 'because'	0	5		23	28
	because	0	0		6	6
	er 'though'	0	2		0	2
	er+mwyn 'in order'	0	1		1	2
	gan 'because'	0	0		5	5
	rhag 'lest'	0	1		2	3
	rhag+ofn 'lest'	0	16		21	37
	heblaw 'besides'	0	0		4	4
		2	73	75	363	438
		2.67%	97.33%	17.12%	82.88%	
Time	*after*	0	0		1	1
	amser 'when'	12	9		27	48
	ar+o:l 'after'	2	12		24	38
	bob amser 'every time'	1	0		0	1
	bob tro 'every time'	6	1		4	11
	cyn 'before'	0	9		10	19
	efo 'with'	0	1		0	1
	gyda 'with'	0	1		0	1
	nes 'until'	0	9		11	20
	pan 'when'	81	98		131	310
	pryd 'when'	3	5		0	8
	tan 'until'	0	12		4	16
	tra 'while'	0	3		10	13
	until	0	1		0	1
	unwaith 'once'	0	1		0	1
	wedi1 'after'	0	0		2	2
		105	162	267	224	491
		39.33%	60.67%	54.38%	45.62%	
Condition	os 'if'	60	68		163	291
	pe 'if'	1	0		0	1
		61	68	129	163	292
		47.29%	52.71%	44.18%	55.82%	

We can first compare stand-alone examples with adjoined examples. This comparison shows that the logic conjunctions are different to the other two in that they predominantly occur standing alone (82.88%). The lexeme *achos* 'because' is the dominant lexeme in this group and its frequencies largely account for the trend to stand alone. The condition conjunctions all stand alone more than they are adjoined but not to the same extent as the logic group. The time conjunctions are different to the other two in that they are mainly

adjoined. Within this group, *amser* ‘time, when’, *ar+o:l* ‘after’, *nes* ‘until’ and *tra* ‘while’ mainly stand alone and go against the trend of being adjoined.

The table also allows a comparison of left-adjoined and right-adjoined examples. Conjunctions of logic are again distinctive in that they are nearly all right-adjoined. The temporal conjunctions are mainly right-adjoined but not to the same extent as the logic conjunctions. The conditional conjunctions are more balanced with a smaller preferences for right-adjunction and left-adjunction. The table also shows individual lexemes behave differently within the same semantic group. For example, in the temporal group (which is mainly right-adjoined) *amser* and *bob tro* are mainly left-adjoined.

5.2.2 The matrix phrase

The majority of matrix phrases are finite clauses, as in the examples in (120) and (121). But a fairly extensive variety of other phrases also occurs. A subject-predicate phrase can occur.

125 a. ‘da fi gwpan arall ‘chos ma’ hwn yn2 fwy xxx [= 4 sill].
with I cup other because be.PRES.3SG this.M PRED more xxx
‘(I’ve) got another cup because this is more xxx.’

b. i+gyd yn1 fanna nes fydd ‘na ddim yr ochor yna.
all in there until be.FUT.3SG there NEG the size there
‘all in there until there will be nothing that side.’

c. Tad+cu wedi marw <jyst ar+o:l iddo fe digwydd> [>].
Grandfather PERF die just after for.3SG.M it happen
‘Grandad (has) died just after it happened.’

Wh-phrases also occur.

126 a. os ni’ [?] ‘n mynd yn3 agos, beth bydd yn digwydd?
if be.PRES.1PL PROG go ADV near what be.FUT.3SG PROG happen
‘if we go close what will happen?’

b. pan oedden ni yn1 y dosbarth yn cal llaeth, lle oeddach chi?
when be.IMPF.1PL we in the class PROG have milk where be.IMPF.2PL you.PL
‘when we were in the classroom having milk, where were you?’

c. pam bod os chi’ ‘n siarad yn’o fo?
why be if be.PRES.2PL PROG talk in.3SG.M it
‘why be (?) if you speak into it?’

Phrases headed by a modal form can occur.

127 a. pan ni’ mynd lawr, e’lla bydd tywod yn gwasgu.
when be.PRES.1PL go down perhaps be.FUT.3SG sand PROG press
‘when we go down, perhaps sand will be pressing.’

b. os gei di gweld ceffyl, e’lla ga’ i ‘o allan.
if have.FUT.2SG you.SG see horse perhaps have.FUT.1SG I it out
if you get to see a horse, perhaps I’ll get it out.’

Rhaid ‘necessary’ phrases can occur.

128 a. rhaid i’ fo neud homework # pan mae ‘o adra hefyd.
necessity for he do homework # when be.PRES.3SG he home also
‘he must do homework when he is at home also.’

b. chi raid fod i’ saethu ‘r gun pan # ma’ rywun yn dod.
you.PL necessity be to shoot the gun when be.PRES.3SG someone PROG come
‘you must shoot the gun when someone comes.’

Verb phrases can occur.

129 a. mynd i’ gal un pan fi’ ‘n2 fowr.
go to have one when be.PRES.1SG PRED big
‘going to have one when I’m big.’

b. trio tynnu nw lan pan ni’ ‘n roi rhein i+mewn.
try pull they up when be.PRES.1PL PROG put these into
‘try to pull them up when we put these in.’

c. gadal ‘o tan fydd ‘o ‘n mynd i+fewn.
leave it until be.FUT.3SG it PROG go into
‘leave it until it will be going in.’

Other smaller phrases include noun phrases, prepositional phrases and others can occur.

130 a. a ‘wn os ti’ ddim isie.
and this.M if be.PRES.2SG NEG want
‘and this if you don’t want.’

b. ar y bws ambell waith os ma’ ‘n bwrw.
on the bus occasional time if be.PRES.3SG PROG rain
‘on the bus some times if it rains.’

c. <fanco pan e’s i myn’ mas> [?].
there when go.PERF.1SG I go out
‘there when I went to go out.’

d. i+lawr;, ‘d ydy;, os ‘dy ‘o on.
down NEG be.PRES.3SG if be.PRES.3SG it on
down, isn’t it, if it’s on.’

Table 43 gives the frequencies for these types of patterns.

Table 43. Syntactic types of matrix phrases which occur with left-adjoined or right-adjoined conjunction clauses

	Left-adjunction	Right-adjunction	Totals
Finite declarative	164	241	405
Verb phrase	0	25	25
Other phrases	0	19	19
Subject-predicate	0	12	12
Wh-clause	1	3	4
Co-ordinated	1	0	1
Rhaid pattern	0	3	3
Modal form	3	0	3
Uncertain	0	2	2
Missing data	1	22	23
	170	327	497

The most frequent by far are finite declarative clauses. They occur with both left-adjoined (40.49%) and right-adjoined conjunction clauses (50.51%), with a preference for the latter. The remaining phrases total 92 and there is a marked preference for right-adjoined conjunction clauses (93.48%) which is much greater than the percentage of finite declarative clauses which occur with right-adjoined conjunction clauses.

5.2.3 The conjunction clause

The syntax of the conjunction clause is varied.

The conjunction clause can be a finite clause. Such clauses can be normal order or fronted order.

131 a. dw i ‘n cysgu ‘n1 nos pan mae ‘n2 ole wedi dwad.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG sleep in night when be.PRES.3SG PRED light PERF come
‘I sleep in (the) night when it’s light (having) come.’

b. fi’ ‘n licio mynd i’ eistedd felly pan fydd Mam yn mynd
be.PRES.1SG PROG like go to sit therefore when be. FUT.3SG Mother PROGgo‘dafi.
with I
‘I like to go to sit therefore when Mum will be going with me.’

c. pan dw i ‘n2 sa:l.
when be.PRES.1SG I PRED ill
‘when I’m ill.’

132 a. achos mai tarw ydy e.
because PT bull be.PRES.3SG it
‘because it’s a bull.’

b. oedd stil trwbl achos hwn oedd yn neud e nawr.
be.IMPF.3SG still trouble because this.M be.IMPF.3SG PROG do it now
‘there was still trouble because it was his which was doing it now.’

c. os taw un1 ti yw e.
if PT one you.SG be.PRES.3SG it.
if it’s yours.’

The conjunction clause can be an *i*-clause.

133 a. ma’ ‘wn wedi cwmpo mas # ar+o:l i’ fi gal e.
be.PRES.3SG this.M PERF fall out after for I have it
this has fallen out after I had it.’

b. am i’ mochyn gu’ad ‘o?
because for pig close it
because a pig closed it.’

c. gei di paned o de wedyn ar+o:l i’ mi orffen rhoid rhein.
have. FUT.2SG you.SG cup of tea afterwards after for I finish put these
‘you’ll get a cup of tea after I have finished putting these.’

The conjunction clause can be a subject-predicate phrase.

134 a. ‘chos gyda fi lot.
because with I lot
‘because I have a lot.’

b. ‘chos rhywun wedi rhoid e i’ ni.
because someone PERF give it to we
‘because someone (has) given it to us.’

c. ‘llu roi ‘wn mewn1 fynna achos ‘wnna ‘m yn dod.
can put this.M into there because that.M NEG PROG come
‘can put this in there because that (is) not coming.’

The conjunction clause can be a small clause.

135 a. xxx [= 2 sill] rhoi e ar fan+hyn nawr gyda un yn dod ffor ‘na.
xxx put it on here now with one PROG come way there
‘xxx put it on there now with one coming that way.’

b. o’n1 i ‘n gallu dwad <efo 'im> [?] ceffyl yn rhedag.
be.IMPF.1SG I PROG can come with NEG horse PROG run
‘I could come with no horse running.’

There is also a variety of other phrases, some of which are illustrated in the following.

136 a. o' neb yn crasho miwn1 i' hwn achos rhaid bod yn stopo.
be.IMPF.3SG nobody PROG crash into to this.M because necessity be PROG stop
‘nobody was crashing into this because must be stopping.’

b. rhoi goriad fanna 'c+ofn 'i ddwyn y tu+fewn.
put key there lest CL.3SG.M steal the inside
‘put the/a key there in case it is stolen inside.’

c. 'coth ti bia cardigan 'na.
because you.SG. own cardigan there
‘because you own that cardigan.’

d. os isie rhoi xxx [= 1 sill] codi.
if want put xxx rise
‘if want put xxx rise.’

Table 44 gives the frequencies of the syntax of the conjunction clause.

Table 44. Syntax of conjunction clauses

Finite	Normal order	1084		
	Fronted order	32		
			1117	91.41%
Subject-predicate			16	1.31%
I-clause			80	6.55%
Small clause			2	0.16%
Others			7	0.57%
			1222	
Unfinished clause			41	
Missing data			20	
			1282	

The table shows that finite clause are by far the main syntactic realization of conjunction clauses. Although there is variety, other realizations are low frequency. The next section (5.2.4) says more about the syntax of conjunction clauses.

There are relationships between the syntactic type of conjunction-clause and the conjunctions, in particular in the case of *i*-clauses and small clauses. Table 45 gives the frequencies for the conjunctions which occur with these two types.

Table 45. Conjunctions in *i*-clauses and small clauses

	I-clause	Small clause	Finite clauses	Subject-predicate	Others	Totals
ar+o:l 'after'	34		4			38
rhag+ofn 'in case'	19		12		1	32
heb 'without'	7		0		1	8
cyn 'before'	8		11			19
nes 'until'	3		14	1		18
rhag 'in case'	3		0			3
wedi1 'after'	3		0			3
er+mwyn 'in order'	2		0			2
am 'because'	1		27			28
efo 'with'	0	1	0			1
gyda 'with'	0	1	0			1
	80	2	68	1	2	153

I-clauses are confined to a relatively small number of conjunctions but some of these conjunctions are not confined to *i*-clauses as they also occur with finite clauses. The frequencies for *am* and *nes* in particular show that they occur mainly with finite clauses and that their occurrences in an *i*-clause are infrequent in the database. Rhag+*ofn* and *cyn* occur with both *i*-clauses and finite clauses — the former being more frequent with *i*-clauses and the latter more frequent with finite clauses. In the database, we can say that *rhag*, *wedi1* and *er+mwyn* occur only with *i*-clauses (we can include *heb* in this group if we ignore its solitary occurrence in 'others'). The two lexemes *efo* and *gyda*, which are dialects synonyms, are confined to small clauses.

5.2.4 The copula in the conjunction clause

In this section we are concerned with the present and imperfect tense of the copula. It describes matters which are also covered in the discussion of noun-clause complements in section 2.2.3.

In the case of some conjunctions, the copula is a finite form.

137 a. pan dw i 'n mynd i' 'r bath, <dw i> [/] dw i 'n cerdded
when be.PRES.1SG I PROG go to the bath be.PRES.1SG I PROG walk
fath+a: eliffant.
like elephant
'when I go to the bath, I walk like an elephant.'

b. pan mae 'n2 ole.
when be.PRES.3SG PRED light
'when it's light.'

c. os oes rhyw fynyddoedd?
if be.PRES.3SG some mountains
'if there are some mountains.'

But the tensed constituent is also realized by the non-finite form of the copula, namely, *bod*.

138 a. a ma' 'n2 rhaid i' fi dyfu [!] achos bod <fi 'n2 rhy> [>] fach[!].
and be.PRES.3SG PRED necessity for I grow because be I PRED too small
'and I must grow because I am too small.'

b. am bod 'o 'di disgyn heddiw.
because be it PERF fall today
'because it has fallen today.'

c. fel bod dou castell yn1 fanna.
so be two castle in there
'so that there are two castles there.'

Table 46 gives the conjunctions which occur with the regular finite forms and also the non-finite form with a finite function.

Table 46. Form of the copula in the conjunction clause

	Finite	Non-finite	Totals
achos 'because'	233	14	247
after	1	0	1
am 'because'	5	18	23
amser 'time, when'	38	1	39
ar+o:l 'after'	4	0	4
because	5	0	5
bob amser 'every time'	1	0	1
bob tro 'every time'	11	0	11
cyn 'before'	2	8	10
er 'though'	1	1	2
fel 'like, so, as'	28	11	39
gan 'because'	0	4	4
heblaw 'besides'	4	0	4
math+a: 'like'	2	0	2
nes 'until'	4	5	9
os 'if'	154	1	155
pan 'when'	221	4	225
pryd 'when'	8	0	8
rhag+ofn 'in case'	1	6	7
tan 'until'	7	2	9
tra 'while'	5	5	10
until	0	1	1
yn+lle 'instead'	1	5	6
	736	86	822

Overall the finite forms are far more frequent than the non-finite, accounting for 89.54% of the total frequencies. This makes the conjunctions *am*, *cyn*, *gan*, *nes,* rhag+*ofn* and *yn+lle* distinctive in that the non-finite forms are more frequent than the finite forms.

5.2.5 Co-occurring conjunctions

The conjunction *achos* 'because' can occur before another conjunction.

139 a. achos amser ni' yn1 uned tri, ni' 'n cal llawer o ymarfer
because time be.PRES.1PL in unit three be.PRES.1PL PROG have much of exercise
corff $ti' 'n 'bod$?
body be.PRES.2SG PROG know
'because when we are in unit three, we have a lot of physical exercise, you know.'

b. acos [= achos] pan ma' brawd fi wedi dod o ysbyty, o'dd e[!]
because when be.PRES.3SG brother I PERF come from hospital be.IMPF.3SG he
ddim allu mynd i' 'r ysgol.
NEG can go to the school
'because when my brother came out of hospital, he couldn't go to school.'

It is possible to change the order of such examples as in the following devised illustrations.

140 a. achos ni' 'n cal llawer o ymarfer corff amser ni' yn1 uned
because be.PRES.1PL PROG have much of exercise body when be.PRES.1PL in unit
tri $ti' 'n 'bod$? [Devised example]
three be.PRES.2SG PROG know
'because we have a lot of physical exercise when we are in unit three, you know.'

b. acos [= achos] o'dd e [!] ddim allu mynd i' 'r ysgol pan ma' brawd
because be.IMPF.3SG he NEG can go to the school when be.PRES.3SG brother
fi wedi dod o ysbyty. [Devised example]
I PERF come from school
'because he couldn't go to school when my brother came out of hospital.'

5.2.6 The use of *bod* again

The non-finite form of the copula, *bod*, can occur in examples such as the following.

141 a. am bod o'n1 ni 'sio neud 'o yn1 lle heb dim sand.
because be be.IMPF.1PL we want do it in place without NEG sand
'because we wanted to do it in a place without any sand.'

b. gan bod <dw i 'n>[/] dw i 'n lliwio fewn1,, 'de.
because be be.PRES.1SG I PROG colour in then
'because I'm colouring in.'

c. achos bod ma' 'na diod o de.
because be be.PRES.3SG there drink of tea
'because there is a cup of tea.'

Such examples compare with the following devised examples.

142 a. am o'n1 ni 'sio neud 'o yn1 lle heb dim sand. [Devised example]
because be.IMPF.1PL we want do it in place without NEG sand
'because we wanted to do it in a place without any sand.'

b. gan <dw i 'n>[/] dw i 'n lliwio fewn1,, 'de. [Devised example]
because be.PERS.1SG I PROG colour in then
'because I'm colouring in, then.'

c. achos ma' 'na diod o de. [Devised example]
because be.PRES.3SG there drink of tea
'because there's a drink of tea.'

These comparisons show that the form *bod* can be inserted between a conjunction and the finite verb, as in the examples in (141). In the database there are six such examples and involve the reason conjunctions *am*, *gan* and *achos*. There are possible grounds for considering *am bod*, *gan bod* and *achos bod* as phrases which are complex conjunctions. Compare its use as a possible complementizer described in section 2.2.7.

6 Parenthetical phrases

6.1 Introduction

This section describes data which are illustrated in the following examples.

143 a. $dw i 'n gwbod$ nan ni newid ochra.
be.PRES.3SG I PROG know do.FUT.1PL we change sides
'I know, we'll change sides.'

b. hon sy 'n ffitio $dw i 'n meddwl$.
this.F be.PRES.3SG PROG fit be.PRES.1SG I PROG think
'it's this which fits, I think.'

c. ma' 'r ia:r 'di mynd $dw i 'n2 siwr$.
be.PRES.3SG the hen PERF go be.PRES.1SG I PRED sure
'the hen has gone, I'm sure.'

d. $edrych$ ma' hwn yn stico.
look be.PRES.3SG this.M PROG stick
look, this is sticking.'

e. $gwitsia$ ti' 'n colli fe ar y llawr.
watch.IMPV.2SG you.SG PROG lose it on the floor
'watch, you're spilling it on the floor.'

f. $sbia$ dw i neud twll!
see.IMPV.2SG be.PRES.1SG I make hole
'see, I've made a hole.'

g. ma' 'i brawd 'i dad 'o $dw i 'n meddwl$ yn gwithio ar ffarm.
be.PRES.3SG CL.3SG brother CL.3SG father he be.PRES.1SG I PROG think PROG work on farm
'his father's brother, I think, works on a farm.'

In each of these examples, we have a phrase such as *nan ni newid ochra* 'we'll change sides' in example (143a) and *ma' hwn yn stico* 'this is sticking' in example (143d). In both cases, these phrases are accompanied by another phrase such as *dw i 'n gwbod* 'I know' in (143a) and *edrych* 'look' in (143d). The accompanying phrases will be referred to as parenthetical phrases and in the database they are enclosed by two dollar signs, a convention which is retained in the examples given in this study. The other phrases will be referred to as anchor phrases (following Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 895-897) for these labels).

Almost all the phrases which occur in matrix phrases in noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences can occur in parenthetical phrases. Consequently, in terms of categories, lexemes and syntax, parenthetical phrases are similar to matrix phrases. But the anchor phrase and the parenthetical phrase are not in a hypotactic relationship, that is, they are not co-constituents of a larger phrase. In short, parenthetical phrases and anchor phrases do not form a complex sentence. The relationship can be regarded as a relationship in discourse. Parenthetical phrases have the general discourse function whereby the speaker attempts to ensure the attention of the addressee to the content of the anchor phrase. There are also other differences as we shall see.

The parenthetical phrase can precede the anchor phrase as in (143a), follow the anchor phrase as in (143b) or be positioned at some point within the anchor phrase as in (143g). The frequencies for these three possibilities are given in table 47.

Table 47. Positions of parenthetical clauses

Initial	424	28.32%
Medial	26	1.74%
Final	1047	69.94%
	1497	

This table shows that the final position is the most frequent and that medial positioning is very infrequent. The initial and final positioning of the parenthetical phrase is not a challenge to the view that they are in a paratactic relationship but this view is more challenging to maintain with medial positioning.

It is possible to have utterances in which there are two parenthetical phrases, one initial and the other final.

144 a. $watsia$ ti' cymy' dwy jes' $'s' di$.
watch.IMPV.2SG you.SG take two just know.PRES.2SG you.2SG
'watch, you take two just, you know.'

b. co ma' hwnna fod ar+top hwnna $ti' 'm2 'bod$.
yonder+is be.PRES.3SG that.M be on+top that.M you.SG PROG know
'look, that is supposed to be on top of that, you know.'

There are only eleven such examples in the database.

6.2 Categories

In the discussion of complex sentences in sections 2.1.1 and 3.1.1, the relevant categories are identifiable as categories which can select a noun-clause or a *wh*-clause complement. The categories which are considered in this current section do not select complements. But we shall see that parenthetical phrases are similar (although not entirely alike) to matrix phrases and it is by analogy with matrix phrases that we can talk about categories.

Table 48 gives the sorts of categories which occur in parenthetical clauses and their frequencies of occurrence.

Table 48. Categories in parenthetical clauses

Categories	Number of lexemes	Frequencies
Verbs	20	1188
Adjectives	2	115
Predicative demonstratives	1	177
Modal	2	14
Nouns	2	2
????	1	1
	28	1497

As with matrix phrases which occur in noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences, verbs are in the majority in terms of numbers of lexemes and their frequencies.

6.3 Lexemes

Table 49 gives the lexemes which realize the verb category in parenthetical clauses, organized alphabetically on the left and in descending statistical order on the right.

Table 49. Verb lexemes in parenthetical clauses

cofio ‘remember’	61	*gweld* ‘see’	468
cogio ‘pretend’	4	*gwybod* ‘know’	407
credu ‘believe’	14	*cofio* ‘remember’	61
dweud ‘say, tell’	20	*edrych* ‘look’	53
edrych ‘look’	53	*meddwl* ‘think, mean’	31
esgus ‘pretend’	1	*sbio* ‘see, spy’	29
gweld ‘see’	468	*watsio* ‘watch’	27
gweud ‘say, tell’	18	*dweud* ‘say, tell’	20
gwitsiad ‘watch’	21	*gwitsiad* ‘watch’	21
gwrando ‘listen’	2	*gweud* ‘say, tell’	18
gwybod ‘know’	407	*credu* ‘believe’	14
hwde ‘*look*, take’	6	*jocan* ‘pretend’	11
jocan ‘pretend’	11	*meddai* ‘says, said’	11
look	1	*hwde* ‘look, take’	6
meddai ‘says, said’	11	*cogio* ‘pretend’	4
meddwl ‘think, mean’	31	*gwrando* ‘listen’	2
sbio ‘see, spy’	29	*tybed* ‘conjecture, wonder’	2
smalio ‘pretend’	1	*esgus* ‘pretend’	1
tybed ‘conjecture, wonder’	2	*look*	1
watsio ‘watch’	27	*smalio* ‘pretend’	1
	1188		1188

The form *meddai* ‘says, said’ occurs in parenthetical phrases but not in matrix phrases of complex sentences. It is used in spontaneous dialogue and conveys what another speaker has said. There is one English verb in this list — *look*.

The verb lexemes in parenthetical phrases belong to the same semantic classes as those in noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences.

Table 50. Cognition verb lexemes in parenthetical clauses

gwybod ‘know’	407
cofio ‘remember’	61
meddwl ‘think, mean’	31
credu ‘believe’	14
tybed ‘conjecture, wonder’	2
	515

Table 51. Pretence verb lexemes in parenthetical clauses

jocan ‘pretend’	11
cogio ‘pretend’	4
esgus ‘pretend’	1
smalio ‘pretend’	1
	17

Table 52. Perception verb lexemes in parenthetical clauses

gweld ‘see’	468
edrych ‘look’	53
sbio ‘see, spy’	29
watsio ‘watch’	27
gwitsiad ‘watch, wait’	21
hwde ‘look, take’	6
gwrando ‘listen’	2
look	1
	607

Table 53. Locution verb lexemes
in parenthetical clauses

dweud ‘say, tell’	20
gweud ‘say, tell’	18
meddai ‘says, said’	11
	49

The verb *gwitsiad* is somewhat problematic to classify. It can convey ‘watch’ or ‘wait’. This study adopts the view that it conveys ‘watch’ in parenthetical phrases and that, like *watsio* ‘watch’, it can convey a warning which can imply ‘wait’. In this way, it is similar to *hwde*. *Gwitsiad* and *hwde* do not occur in matrix phrases in the database. Likewise, *meddai* does not occur in matrix phrases.

Table 54 lists the frequencies for each semantic group for convenience of comparison.

Table 54. Frequencies of each semantic group in
parenthetical phrases.

Perception	607	51.10%
Cognition	515	43.35%
Locution	49	4.12%
Pretence	17	1.43%
	1188	

The cognition and perception classes are by far the most frequent, especially the perception class. In each of these two, there is one high-frequency lexeme, namely, *gwybod* ‘know’ in the cognition class and *gweld* ‘see’ in the perception class. We shall return to perception in discussing *dacw* below.

The lexemes which realize the remaining categories are all listed in table 55.

Table 55. Other categories and their lexemes
in parenthetical phrases

????	*sbo* '????'	1
Adjectives	*gwir* 'true'	62
	siwr 'sure'	54
		116
Predicative demonstrative	*dacw* 'yonder is, see'	177
Epistemic modal	*efallai*	12
	hwyrach	2
		14
Nouns	*rhaid* 'necessity'	1
		309

Dacw is the only predicative demonstrative which occurs in a parenthetical clause. As outlined in section 3.1.4 it occurs as the southern form *co* and has visual perceptive meaning which is delivered with imperative force. In complex sentences, it occurs in matrix phrases which contain *wh*-clause complements but in parenthetical clauses the anchor phrase can be a declarative phrase (see examples (127a) and (129c)).

6.4 Semantic classes and position

Table 56 gives the frequencies of the four semantic classes of verb lexemes in the positions in which parenthetical phrases can occur. As the predicative demonstrative *dacw* conveys perception, we shall include this lexeme along with verbs of perception.

Table 56. Semantic classes and positions of parenthetical phrases
(%s are based on totals for each semantic group)

	Initial		Medial		Final		Totals
Perception	390	49.75%	8	1.02%	386	49.23%	784
Cognition	29	5.63%	13	2.52%	473	91.85%	515
Locution	0	0.00%	1	2.04%	48	92.96%	49
Pretence	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	17	100.00%	17
	419		22		924		1365

This table shows different trends. The perception group is distributed in initial and final position more equally than the other groups. The other groups occur far more frequently in final position than initial position. In the database, there are no initial parentheticals which contain a locution or pretence lexeme. Meaning, then, influences the positioning of parenthetical phrases.

Examples of perception lexemes in the three positions are as follows.

145 a. co fi' cal hwn.
yonder+is I have this.M
'look, I'm having this.'

b. yli dw i 'di neud hwnna.
see.IMPV.2SG be.PRES.3SG I PERF do that
'see, I've done this.'

c. $sbia$ ma' 'n mynd i+fewn i' fi.
see.IMPV.2SG be.PRES.3SG PROG go into for I
'see, it's going in for me.'

146 a. ti' 'n aros i' fi tu+mas fan+hyn $ti' weld$ # nes by' hwn 'di gorffen.
you.SG PROG stay for I outside here you.SG see until be.FUT.3SG this.M PERF finish
'you wait for me outside here, you see, until this will have finished.'

b. <ia,,,> [<]dw i 'n mynd i' roid gormod o betha $'li$ fel 'a.
yes be.PRES.1SG I PROG go to put too+much of things see.IMPV.2SG like that
'yes, I'm going to put too many things, see, like that.'

c. oo fel 'ma $'li$ ma' 'i1 +...
oh like here see.IMPV.SG be.PRES.3SG she
oh like this, see, she's +…

147 a. twll mewn fanna $ti' weld$.
hole in there you.SG see
'hole in there, you see.'

b. bwcad raw 'dy hwn $'li$.
bucket shovel be.PRES.3SG this.M see.IMPV.SG
'this is a shovel bucket.'

c. ond ma' fe wedi mynd mas co.
but be.PRES.3SG he PERF go out yonder+is
'but he gas gone out, look.'

Examples of cognition lexemes in the three positions are as follows.

148 a. $dw i 'n gwbod $nan ni newid ochra.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG know do.FUT.1PL we change sides
'I know, we'll change sides.'

b. $cofia$ ma' lot o toys miwn 'na.
remember.IMPV.SG be.PRES.3SG lot of toys in there
remember, there's a lot of toys in there.'

c. $wn1 i$ newn ni neud y cae yfyma,, 'de.
know.PRES.1SG I do.FUT.1PL we do the field there then
'I know, we'll do the field there, then.'

149 eith 'o i+lawr $'s' ti$ 'i+hun.
go.FUT.3SG it down know.PRES.2SG you.SG itself
'it'll go down, you know, itself.'

150 a. dw i 'di ll'nau hwnna $"ch chdi$.
be.PRES.3SG I PERF clean that.M know.PRES.2PL you.SG
'I've cleaned that, you know.'

b. jigso $ti' 'n feddwl$?
jigsaw you.SG PROG think
jigsaw, you mean?'

c. hwn isio pwshio 'r fan1 [?] 'fyd $cofia$.
this.M want push the van also remember.IMPV.SG
'this want(s) to push the van also, remember.'

Locution lexemes do not occur in initial position in the database. Examples of them in medial and final position are as follows.

151 e'lla tro nesa $medda Dad$ gawn ni fynd i' Blackpool.
perhaps turn next said Dad have.FUT.1PL we go to Blackpool
'perhaps next time, Dad said, we'll go to Blackpool.'

152 a. lle ma' 'na dwll $d'wa'$.
where be.PRES.3SG there hole say.IMPV.SG
'where there is a hole, say.'

b. ti' 'n cal y te $gweud$?
you.SG PROG have the tea say
'you get the tea, say.'

c. mi1 ladda' i ti $wedes i$.
PT kill.1SG I you.SG say.PERF.1SG I
'I'll kill you, I said.'

Pretence lexemes only occur in final position. Examples are as follows.

153 a. fyn+'yn ma' tipo siment $esgus$.
here be.PRES.3SG tip cement pretend
it's here we can tip cement, pretend.'

b. ond o'dd Mam yn chwara yn1 lan+y+mo:r $smalio$.
but be.IMPF.3SG Mother PROG play in seaside pretend
'but Mum was playing at the seaside, pretend'

c. 'r1 o' 'na [/] 'na gar yn1 fama 'di torri $cogio$.
PT be.IMPF.3SG there car in there PERF break pretend
'there was a car in here broken, pretend

6.5 Syntax of parenthetical phrases

In the case of verbs, the following syntactic patterns occur. First, they can occur as finite tensed forms in the indicative mood.

154 a. 'na2 i+gyd yw seiz $wyddost ti$.
that+is all be.PRES.3SG size know.PRES.2SG you.SG
'that's all is (the) size, you know.'

b. mae 'o 'n mynd i' briodi mis+mai $medda fo$.
be.PRES.3SG he PROG go to marry May said he
he's going to get married May, he said.''

c. $wn1 i$ rho di ymm peth fanna tra bo' fi 'n dal2 y peth 'ma.
know.PRES.1SG I put.IMPV.SG you.SG uhm thing there while be.PRES I PROG hold the thing here
'I know, you put uhm a thing here while I hold this thing.'

Second, they can occur as imperative forms.

155 a. yli dw i 'di cal sand i' chdi.
see.IMPV.SG be.PRES.1SG I PERF have sand for you.SG
'look, I've got sand for you.'

b. un1 fi 'di gorffan $sbia$.
one I PERF finish see.IMPV.SG
'one I've finished, see.'

Third, they can occur as non-finite forms in the predicate phrase of a finite clause.

156 a. ma' gormod $w i 'n credu$.
be.PRES.3SG too+much be.PRES.1SG I PROG believe
'there's too much, I believe.'

b. yn1 Lerpwl $dw i 'n meddwl$.
in Liverpool be.PRES.1SG I PROG think
'in Liverpool, I think.'

c. $dw i 'n gwbo'$ dw i 'n tynnu tywod i+gyd allan,, ia.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG know be.PRES.1SG I PROG pull sand all out yes
'I know, I pull all (the) sand out, yes.'

Fourth, the non-finite form can stand-alone.

157 a. ti' 'n cal y te $gweud$?
you.SG PROG have the tea say
'you have the tea, say'

b. $edrach$ neith 'o weithio.
look do.FUT.3SG it work
'look, it'll work.'

As mentioned in section 2.1.2.2, a non-finite verb like this can have imperative force.

The adjectives occur in the following syntactic phrases. First, they can occur in a finite ascriptive copular clause.

158 a. ma' un1 fi 'di mynd ar goll $ma' siwr$.
be.PRES.3SG one I PERF go on lost be.PRES.3SG sure
'mine has gone lost, it's sure.'

b. ben yn mynd trwy 'r ffenestr $mae 'n2 siwr$.
head PROG go through the window be.PRES.3SG PRED sure
'head going through the window, it's sure.'

Second, the adjective can stand-alone.

159 a. oo dach chi 'sio mwy na1 hynna $siwr$.
oh be.PRES.2PL you.PL want more than that sure
'oh you want more than that, sure.'

b. dim ceffyla 'dy buwch wir.
NEG horses be.PRES.3SG cow true
'a cow is not horses, truly.'

The stand-alone context also includes phrases in which the adjective is modified, including reduplication

160 a. a [/] a gynna' fi gwn $go wir$.
and with.1SG I gun rather true
'and I ('ve) got a gun, rather true,'

b. a gynna' fi gwn $wir wir wir <gwir$ [!]> [>]!
and with,1SG I gun, true true true true.'
'and I ('ve) got a gun, true, true, true, true,'

In the case of *siwr*, the expression *siwr o fod* occurs.

161 a. mae 'n gweithio yn1 y coleg $siwr o fod$.
be.PRES.3SG PROG work in the college sure of be
'he works in the college, sure to be.'

b. <cal row gyda>[/] ymm cal row gyda xxx [= 2 sill] $siwr o fod$.
uhm have row with xxx sure of be
'have a row with xxx, sure to be,'

The noun *rhaid* 'necessity' occurs in a parenthetical clause occurs in an ascriptive copular clause.

162 caiff y pengwin gladdu $mae 'n2 rhaid$.
have.FUT.3SG the penguin bury be.PRES.3SG PRED necessity
'the penguin will get buried, must be.'

There is also the occurrence of *gwir* in a complement phrase to the locution verb *dweud*.

163 $deud y gwir$ dan ni 'sio un dy'+sadwrn eto.
tell the truth be.PRES.1PL we want one Saturday again
'to tell the truth we want one Saturday again.'

We shall view this as a parenthetical phrase based on *gwir* being used as a noun.

The remaining categories are one-word phrases which are made up of the category itself, namely the predicative demonstrative *dacw* and *sbo*.

164 a. co ma' twll yn1 hwn.
yonder+is be.PRES.3SG hole in this.M
'look, there's a hole in this.'

b. ond ma' fe wedi mynd mas co.
but be.PRES.3SG he PERF go out yonder+is
'but he has gone out, look.'

165 ma' Dadi 'n dod nawr sbo.
be.PRES.3SG Daddy PROG come now ????
'Daddy is coming now, ????.'

Table 57 gives the frequencies for all the syntactic realizations of parenthetical phrases.

Table 57. Syntax of parenthetical clauses

Verbs	Imperative	541	
	Tensed indicative	342	
	Non-finite in predicate finite clause	262	
	Non-finite stand-alone verb phrases	42	
	English	1	
			1188
Adjectives	Finite ascriptive	11	
	Stand-alone	104	
			115
Pred dem	Stand-alone		177
Modal	Stand-alone		14
Noun	Finite ascriptive	1	
	In a verb phrase	1	
			2
Other	Stand-alone		1
			1497

The verbs mainly occur as imperatives, accounting for 45.54% of the total for the verbs. Bearing in mind that the non-finite verb form can also be used with imperative force, this percentage could be higher. The adjectives mainly occur as stand-alone phrases (90.43% of the total for adjectives).

A comparison of this table with table 9 (noun-clause complex sentences) and table 30 (*wh*-clause complex sentences) shows that tensed indicative verbs are much more frequent and that non-finite forms are less frequent in parenthetical phrases than in matrix phrases.

It is also revealing to compare the use of indicative and imperative forms in parenthetical phrases, given in table 58.

Table 58. Semantic types of verbs and
imperative and tensed indicative forms in parenthetical phrases

		Indicative	Imperative
Cognition	*cofio*	0	60
	gwybod ‘know’	319	0
		319	60
Locution	*dweud* ‘say, tell’	1	11
	gweud ‘say, tell’	11	2
	meddai ‘says, said’	11	0
		23	13
Perceptive	*edrych* ‘look’	0	37
	gweld ‘see’	0	351
	gwrando ‘listen’	0	2
	gwitsiad ‘watch’	0	21
	hwde ‘look, take’	0	6
	look	0	1
	sbio ‘see, spy’	0	29
	watsio ‘watch’	0	25
		0	472

The table shows that the perception verbs overwhelmingly occur as imperatives whereas the cognition and locution verbs prefer the indicative. In the cognition group there is a marked contrast between *cofio* ‘remember’, which occurs as an imperative, and *gwybod* ‘know’, which occurs as an indicative.

Table 58 also shows that the occurrences of tensed indicative forms are largely due to the use of finite forms of *gwybod* ‘know’. It accounts for 93.27% of the total for these tensed forms (342). Of the tensed forms of *gwybod* ‘know’, there are examples of full inflected forms of the second plural and the first plural singular in parentheticals (two of the former and five of the latter)

166 a. o'dda fi ddim yn blannu fo $wyddo' chi$.
be.impf.1SG I NEG PROG plant it know.PRES.2PL you.PL
‘I was planting it, you know.’

b. 'na2 i+gyd yw seiz $wyddost ti$.
there+is all be.PRES.3SG size know.PRES.2SG you.SG
‘that’s all is size, you know.’

c. $wn 1 i$ newn ni neud y cae yfyma,, 'de.
know.PRES.1SG I do.FUT.1PL we do the field here then
'I know, we'll do the field here then.'

But the vast majority of the indicative forms of *gwybod* 'know' occur as contracted forms of the second person present tense forms of *gwybod*.

167 a. mae 'o ar werth $"ch chi$.
be.PRES.3SG it on sale know.PRES.2PL you.PL
'it's for sale, you know,'

b. gei di row gin dy:n 'na $'s' ti$.
have.FUT.2sg you.SG row with man there know.PRES.2SG you.SG
'you'll get a row off that man, you know.'

The contracted forms of *gwybod* 'know' are very characteristic of parenthetical phrases in northern areas just as *co* is characteristic of parentheticals in southern areas.

6.6 Syntax of anchor phrases

In the introductory examples of parenthetical phrases in section 6.1, the anchors are illustrated with simple declarative finite clauses. But anchors are not confined to such clauses and the aim of this section is to indicate the variety of syntactic types of the anchor phrases that parenthetical phrases can accompany.

The anchor phrases can be one of the three sorts of complex sentences described in previous sections in this account.

168 a. ma' raid bo' peth i' roi 'na rwla $'s' ti$.
be.PRES.3SG necessity be thing to put there somewhere know.PRES.2SG you.SG
'there must be a thing to put there somewhere, you know.'

b. ti' 'n i' cofio lle ma' 'r peth 'na $d'wa'$?
you.SG PROG ti remember where be.PRES.3SG the thing there say
'do you remember where that thing is, say?'

c. ymm $chi' 'n gweld$ os yw fe 'n2 drwm, ma' fe 'n bwcan.
uhm you.PL PROG see if be.PRES.3SG it PRED heavy be.PRES.3SG it PROG buck
'uhm you see, if it is heavy, it bucks.'

Anchor phrases can be imperatives.

169 a. paid a: wastio yli.
NEG.IMPV.SG with waste see.IMPV.SG
'don't waste, see.'

b. cer a: cwpan wir!
go.IMPV.SG with cup true
'take a cup, truly.'

c. co cer o 'r ffor.
yonder+is go.IMPV.SG of the road
'look, get out of the way.'

They can be *piau* 'own' clauses.

170 a. fi bia hwnna a hwnna $cofia$.
I own that.M and that.M remember.IMPV.2SG
'that and that is mine, remember.'

b. $sbia$ chdi bia 'r llong yna 'wan xxx [= 1 sill].
see.IMPV.2SG you.SG own the ship there now xxx
'see, that ship is yours now xxx.'

They can be predicative demonstrative clauses.

171 a. dyma fi 'n neud haul $'s' ti$.
here+is I PROG make sun know.PRES.2SG you.SG
'here's me making sun, you know.'

b. 'na2 fo $'li$.
there+is he see.IMPV.SG
'there he is, see.'

c. 'na2 ddigon $ma' siwr$ +//.
there+is enough be.PRES.3SG sure
'that's enough, it's sure.'

They can be *rhaid* 'necessity' clauses.

172 a. rhaid chdi watsio hynny $'s' di$.
necessity you.SG watch that know.PRES.2SG you.SG
'you must watch that, you know.'

b. rhaid chdi ddal2 dy law yn1 fynna $'li$.
necessity you.SG hold CL.2SG hand in there see.IMPV.SG
'you must hold your hand there, see.'

They can be *wh*-clauses.

173 a. $'li$ be ydy hwnna?
see.IMPV.SG what be.PRES.3SG that.M
'look, what is that?'

b. lle ma' 'na dwll $d'wa'$.
where be.PRES.3SG there hole say
‘where there’s a hole, say.’

c. beth yw hwn $ti' 'n feddwl$?
what be.PRES.3SG this.M you.SG PROG think
‘what’s this, do you think?’

They can be subject-predicate clauses.

174 a. twll mewn fanna $ti' weld$.
hole in there you.SG see
‘hole in there, you see.’

b. llall yn2 styc $ma' siwr$.
other PRED stuck be.PRES.3SG sure
‘the other is stuck, it’s sure.’

c. yli genna' fi dau 'wan.
see.IMPV.SG with.1SG I two now
‘look, I (‘ve got) two now.’

They can also be stand-alone verb phrases. As previously mentioned, a non-finite verb can be used with imperative force. Consequently, such examples could be imperatives.

175 a. a llnau hwnna $sbia$.
and clean that.M see.IMPV.SG
‘and clean that, see.’

b. recordio $'s' ti$.
record know.pres.SG you.SG
‘recording, you know.’

c. co cal hwnna mas nawr.
yonder+is have that.M out now
‘look, have that out now.’

They can be *eisiau* ‘want, need’ phrases.

178 a. isio cal lot o le $ti' 'bod$?
want have lot of place you.SG know
‘want a lot of room, you know.’

b. 'sie parco steam+roller 'na co
want park steamroller there yonder+is
‘want to park steamroller there, look.’

c. 'sio cal hwn allan $'li$.
want have this.M out see.IMPV.2SG
‘want to have this out, see.’

They can also be used with a range of other phrases. Answer words.

179 a. na co.
no yonder+is
‘no, look.’

b. ie $siwr o fod$.
yes sure of be
‘yes, sure to be.’

c. nace wir.
no true
‘no, truly.’

d. do $siwr$.
yes.PERF sure
‘yes, sure.’

Noun phrases.

180 a. jigso $ti' 'n feddwl$?
jigsaw you.SG PROG think
‘jigsaw, you think.’

b. oo bechod $'s' di$.
oh sin know.PRES.2SG you.SG
‘oh pity, you know.’

c. dim+ond dwy $cofia di$.
only two remember.IMPV.2SG you.SG
‘only two, remember.’

Prepositional phrases.

189 a. i' 'r cwch $'s' ti$.
for the boat know.PRES.2SG you.SG
‘for the boat, you know.’

b. at y top un un $cofia$.
to the top one one remember.IMPV.2SG
to the very top, remember.’

c. yn1 fan+hyn $'li$.
in here see.IMPV.SG
‘in here, see.’

Adjective phrase.

190 a. sma:l $'li$.
artificial see.IMPV.2SG
‘artificial, see.’

b. lyfli $fi' 'n credu$.
lovely I PROG believe
‘lovely, I believe,’

c. <rhy drwm> [/] rhy drwm $cofia$ [?].
too heavy remember.IMPV.SG
‘too heavy, remember.’

Locative phrases.

191 a. fanna $'li$.
there see.IMPV.2SG
‘there, see.’

b. fan+hyn co!
here yonder+is
‘here, look.’

Adverbs.

192 a. nawr co.
now yonder+is
‘now, look.’

b. gate $t' wel'$.
home you.SG see
‘at home, you see.’

c. fory $siwr$.
tomorrow sure
‘tomorrow, sure.’

Some of these phrases are preceded by the negative word *(d)dim* ‘not, no’.

193 a. $gwitsia$ dim 'wan.
watch.IMPV.SG NEG now
‘watch, not now.’

b. dim yn1 fanna $siwr$.
NEG in there sure
‘not in there, sure.’

c. dim ots $'s' di$.
NEG odds know.PRES.2SG you.SG
‘no odds, you know.’

d. dim isio mochyn $siwr$.
NEG want pig sure
‘not want a pig, sure.’

Some of these phrases can co-occur.

194 a. oo braf 'na $"ch chi$.
oh fine there know.PRES.2PL you.PL
‘oh nice there, you know.’

b. $ti' 'n gweld$ yn1 ty: Lloyd fynna.
you.SG PROG see in house Lloyd there
‘you see, in Lloyd’s house there.’

c. efo 'r boi 'na 'n1 fanna yli.
with the boy there in there see.IMPV.SG
‘with that boy in there, see.’

d. iste yn1 y lle iawn $ti' 'n gwbod$.
sit in the place right t you.SG PROG know
‘sit in the right place, you know.’

e. hwn 'wan $'s' di$.
this.M now know.PRES.2SG you.SG
‘this now, you know.’

Table 59 gives the frequencies of the syntactic types of anchor phrases.

Table 59. Syntactic types of anchor phrases

Complex sentences	52
Simple indicative	934
Predicative demonstratives	47
Imperatives	44
Subject-predicate	78
Wh-clauses	27
Verb phrases	61
Noun phrases	68
All others	84
	1395
Missing data	102
	1497

The table shows that simple indicative finite clauses are very much in the majority. Given that parenthetical phrases can occur with a great variety of syntactic patterns in the utterances of the children in the database, this table is likely to reflect the frequencies of the syntactic types of patterns in the database overall with or without an anchor phrase. In brief, then, parentheticals can occur with a wide range of syntactic types of anchor phrases.

Parentheticals have a social function in interactive discourse which maintains speaker-addressee relationships. The person contrasts in inflected verb lexemes in parenthetical phrases also support the view that they serve to maintain speaker-addressee relationships. The addressee is very frequently appealed to through second person pronoun subjects. This is obvious with imperatives which are all second person. Table 60 shows that the second person is also very prominent with indicatives.

Table 60. Person contrasts in the subjects of inflected indicative verbs in parentheticals

		First	Second	Third	Totals
Cognition	*gwybod*	6	312	0	318
Locution	*dweud*	1	0	0	1
	gweud	6	3	2	11
	meddai	4	2	5	11
		11	5	7	23

The table shows that *gwybod* is frequently used to attend to the addressee. The locution verbs mainly use the first person except for *meddai* which uses the third person more than other lexemes (but the frequencies are quite low overall for the locution verbs).

7 Concluding remarks

7.1 Overall view

Table 61 gives the frequencies for the sorts of complex sentences, including incidences of a subordinate clause alone.

Table 61. Frequencies of types of complex sentences

Noun-clause complements			642	22.66%
Wh-clauses			909	32.09%
Conjunction clauses	Matrix and subordinate	497		
	Subordinate alone	785		
			1282	45.25%
			2833	

Noun-clause complements		642		31.35%
Wh-clauses		909		44.38%
Conjunction clauses	Matrix and subordinate	497		24.27%
		2048		

The upper half of the table shows that some version of a conjunction complex sentence (including zero matrix phrase) is in the majority. But if we confine the comparisons to sentences which include a matrix phrase and a subordinate clause (the lower half of the table) then *wh*-clause complex sentences are in the majority and complex conjunction clauses are in the minority.

Parenthetical phrases do not form a complex sentence with the anchor phrase and are not included in table 61 but there is a total of 1497 examples in the database. In the main, parenthetical phrases use the same phrases as matrix phrases in noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences.

The syntax of a noun-clause complex sentence and a *wh*-clause complex sentence is similar: a lexeme selects a phrase, XP[X YP] in which YP represents either a noun-clause or a *wh*-clause complement. This general rule produces a variety of phrases. Some lexemes which are verbs, nouns, adjectives, epistemic modal forms and predicative demonstratives can select a noun-clause or *wh*-clause complement, giving: VP[V YP], NP[N YP], AP[A YP], MOP[MO YP] and PREDDEMP[PREDDEM YP]. The syntax of complex sentences which contain a conjunction clause is different. The conjunction clause can be viewed as an adjunct, either

occurring before or after a matrix phrase or without a matrix phrase: XP[CONJP XP], XP[XP CONJP] and CONJP.

However, there are differences between noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences, and also between parenthetical phrases and the matrix phrases in noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences — which are considered in following sections.

7.2 Noun-clause and *wh*-clause complex sentences

Table 62 brings together tables 1 and 24 and allows a convenient comparison of noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences.

Table 62. A comparison of noun-clause and *wh*-clause complex sentences: categories

	Noun-clauses		*Wh*-clause complements	
Categories	Lexemes	Frequencies	Lexemes	Frequencies
Verbs	25	499	30	640
Nouns	8	20	1	1
Adjectives	4	33	1	3
Modal forms	4	87	0	0
Predicative Demonstratives	0	0	3	236
English expressions	2	2	1	3
	43	641	36	883
Unknown	1	1	—	26

Table 62 shows that, in both cases, verbs are the main category and that adjectives and nouns are realized by much fewer lexemes and are much less frequent. However, modal forms select noun-clause complements but not *wh*-clause complements; and predicative demonstratives select *wh*-clause complements but not noun-clause complements.

The selections which imperative verbs can make are different with noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences. Imperative verbs are discussed in sections 2.1.2.3 and 3.1.2.2, and table 63 provides a convenient comparison.

Table 63. Imperative verbs in complex sentences:
noun-clause and *wh*-clause complements

	Noun-clause	*Wh*-clause
cofio 'remember'	4	0
cogio (1), *smalio* (9) 'pretend'	10	0
dweud 'say, tell'	1	0
	15	0
watsio 'watch'	6	6
	6	6
cadw 'keep'	0	1
disgwyl 'look'	0	1
edrych 'look'	0	65
gesio 'guess'	0	15
gofyn 'ask'	0	1
gweld 'see'	0	59
sbio 'look'	0	21
	0	163

Watsio is the only lexeme which selects both types of complements and can be counted in both. In noun-clause complements, there are only four lexemes which are used as imperatives and together they only occur 21 times. But in *wh*-clauses there are eight lexemes which occur as imperatives and which together occur 169 times. Chief among these are the perception verbs *edrych* 'look' and *gweld* 'see'. Far more verb lexemes occur in the imperative mood with *wh*-clause complements and their frequencies overall are greater.

Table 64 allows a comparison of the semantic groups of lexemes in noun-clause complement and *wh*-clause complex sentences (given in tables 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in section 2.1.2.1 and tables 26, 27, 28 and 29 in section 3.1.2.1).

Table 64. Semantic groups of verb lexemes in complex sentences
(number of lexemes / frequencies)

	Cognition	Pretence	Locution	Perception	'Others'
Noun-clauses	9 / 228	1 / 127	3 / 88	5 / 54	2 / 2
Wh-clauses	5 / 378	0 / 0	3 / 36	5 / 206	16 / 20

This table shows that pretence verb lexemes occur in noun-clause complex sentences but not in *wh*-clause complex sentences. There is a greater number of lexemes in the 'others' group in *wh*-clause complex

sentences (although their frequencies are low). In the case of the cognition and perception groups the frequencies of the lexemes are greater in *wh*-clauses (even though in the case of the cognition group the number of lexemes is smaller in *wh*-clause complex sentences). Further, in the cognition group in *wh*-clause complex sentences, *gwybod* 'know' is by a significant number the main choice, accounting for 92.59% of the total frequencies (based on table 26). In noun-clause complex sentences, *meddwl* 'think, mean' is the most frequent lexeme and *gwybod* 'know' accounts for a much lower 38.60% of the total frequencies (based on table 4). The locution group has small numbers of lexemes in both types of complex sentences but they are more frequent in noun-clause complex sentences.

7.3 Complex clauses (noun-clause and *wh*-clause) and parenthetical phrases

We have seen that the phrases which occur in parenthetical phrases are mainly the same phrases which occur in the matrix phrases in complex sentences which contain either a noun-clause or a *wh*-clause complement. But parenthetical phrases and matrix phrases are different.

The main syntactic difference between parenthetical phrases and matrix phrases in noun-clause complement and *wh*-clause complex sentences is that the latter form a phrase with their complements but the former do not form a phrase with their anchors. As such, there is more than one position for parenthetical phrases in relation to the anchor phrase.

Further, there is a suprasegmental phonological difference in that there is an intonational break between the parenthetical phrase and the anchor phrase, which does not occur between a matrix phrase and its complement clause.

We can compare the use of finite forms of verbs in noun-clause complex sentences, *wh*-clause complex sentences and parenthetical phrases. Table 65 makes this comparison by taking data from tables 9 (noun-clause complement), 30 (*wh*-clause) and 57 (parentheticals).

Table 65. Finite verbs in complex sentences (noun-clause and *wh*-clause) and parentheticals

	Noun-clause	*Wh*-clause	Parenthetical
Indicative finite	23	26	342
Imperative	21	170	541

We have already seen that noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences are different in that the latter use far more imperatives. Parentheticals are different to both types of complex sentences in that the former use far more finite verbs both indicative and imperative. As we have seen from table 58, the occurrence of finite indicatives in parentheticals is largely due to the occurrences of inflected forms of *gwybod* 'know' in northern areas.

7.4 Conjunction clauses

A striking aspect of conjunction clauses is that the majority of examples show a conjunction clause without a matrix phrase (stand-alone conjunction causes), see table 40.

The conjunction clause is an adjunct in the complex sentence and not a complement, the latter being the case for noun-clause complements and *wh*-clauses. As adjuncts, conjunction clauses are not tied to a particular position but can occur either initially or finally, although table 40 shows that there is a preference for final position (right-adjunction). There is also a connection between the position of adjunction and semantic classes of lexemes as table 56 shows.

7.5 Variety and frequencies

The account shows that there is variety in terms of the numbers of lexemes and syntax of the matrix phrases and subordinate clauses. But this variety needs to be set against frequency counts. In the case of noun-clause complements, table 2 shows that nine out of the 35 verb lexemes occur once only. In the case of *wh*-clause complements, table 25 shows that 15 out of the 28 verb lexemes occur once only. Table 9 shows that verb phrases which contain a noun-clause can occur in a number of syntactic contexts. But only two are very frequent and others occur 23 times or fewer. Similar observations can be made about the frequencies for *wh*-clause complements given in table 30 and for the range of conjunction lexemes listed in table 38. In the case of conjunctions, table 38 shows that 31 lexemes are used by the children but three of these together account for 74.55% of the total.

In the development of complex sentences in the language of young children it can be argued that the syntax of noun-clause complement and *wh*-clause complex sentences is established by the use of a small number of lexemes which occur frequently as tables 2 and 25 show. Other lexemes can then be brought into the same basic syntax.

7.6 Omission

The account has shown that forms which are part of the characteristics of complex sentences can be omitted. This is found the omission of the interrogative particle in noun-clause complex sentences (see the examples in (49) in section 2.2.4). It is also found with the omission of the *wh*-word *beth* in *wh*-clause complex sentences (see the examples in (84) in section 3.2.4). Finally omission also occurs with the conditional conjunctions *os* ‘if’ and *pe* ‘if’ (see the examples in (113) and (114) in section 5.1.3). The general charateristics of these complex sentenses are retained after omission and this allows the latter to occur.

7.7 Longitudinal development

We can convey the longitudinal development of complex sentences from three-year olds to seven year-olds in two ways. One is by comparing the number of children who use complex sentences in each year as a

percentage of the total of potential users. These details are given in table 66. For example, in the case of noun-clause complex sentences, there is a total of 38 children at three years of age. Of this total, nine children have used a complex sentence which contains a noun-clause one or more times, which amounts to 23.68%.

Table 66. Longitudinal percentages of actual users

All = all users in an age group; Users = actual users in an age group

		Noun		*Wh*-clause		Conjunction		Parenthetical	
Age	All	Users	%s	Users	%s	Users	%s	Users	%s
Three	38	9	23.68	13	34.21	15	39.47	16	42.11
Four	63	20	31.75	34	53.97	26	41.27	39	61.90
Five	143	85	59.44	106	74.13	66	46.15	97	67.83
Six	75	56	74.67	61	81.33	50	66.67	63	84.00
Seven	74	60	81.08	61	82.43	51	68.92	63	85.14

The other way compares the average number of examples which are used by speakers in each age group, that is the total number of examples in each age group is divided by the total number of potential speakers, including speakers who have not used any examples. The numbers involved are given in table 67.

Table 67. Longitudinal: average examples per potential speaker

Total = total number of examples in age group; Average = average based on all potential users

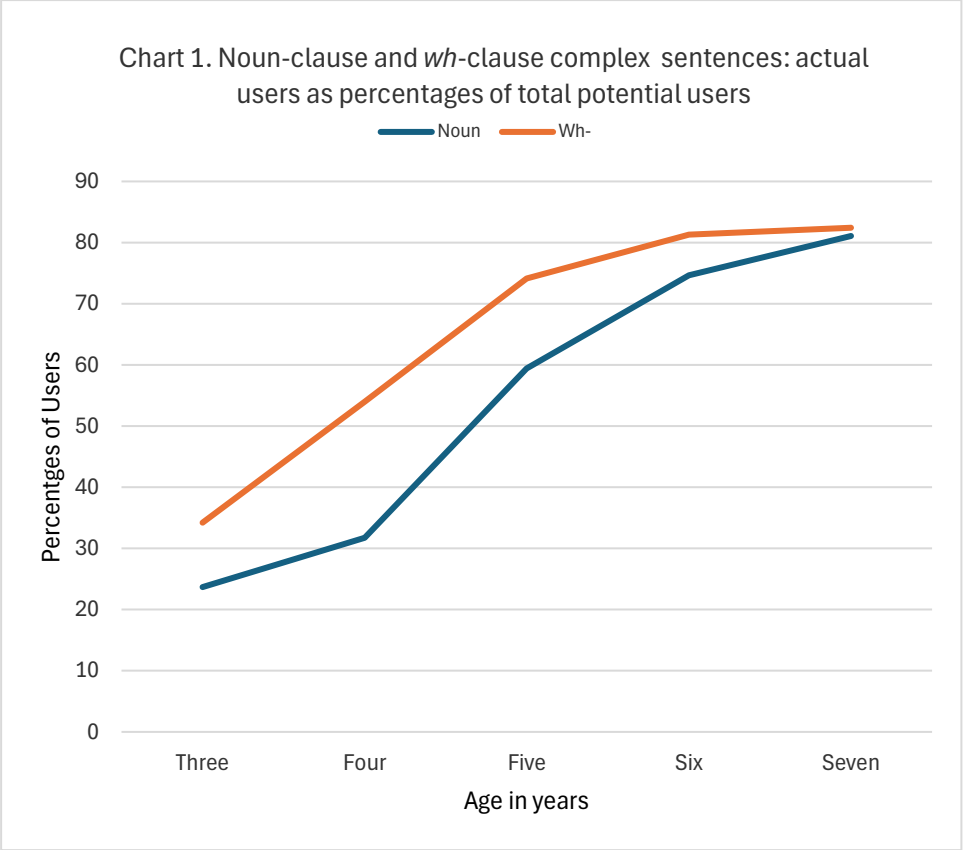
		Noun		*Wh*-clause		Conjunction		Parenthetical	
Age	All	Total	Average	Total	Average	Total	Average	Total	Average
Three	38	21	0.31	23	0.92	30	0.79	64	1.68
Four	63	34	1.70	76	1.21	37	0.59	175	2.78
Five	143	201	1.38	320	2.24	159	1.11	473	3.31
Six	75	125	1.67	260	3.5	123	1.64	309	4.12
Seven	74	228	3.08	225	3.04	148	2.00	476	6.43

Averages are problematic in that they do not necessarily represent the usage of all speakers. In the case of noun-clause complex sentences, the average for the seven-year olds is 3.08 but there are individual speakers who exceed this average substantially, for example, using as many as eleven, twelve or thirteen examples. Some indication of the representativeness of the average can be given by providing the deviation form the average but this calculation has not been made.

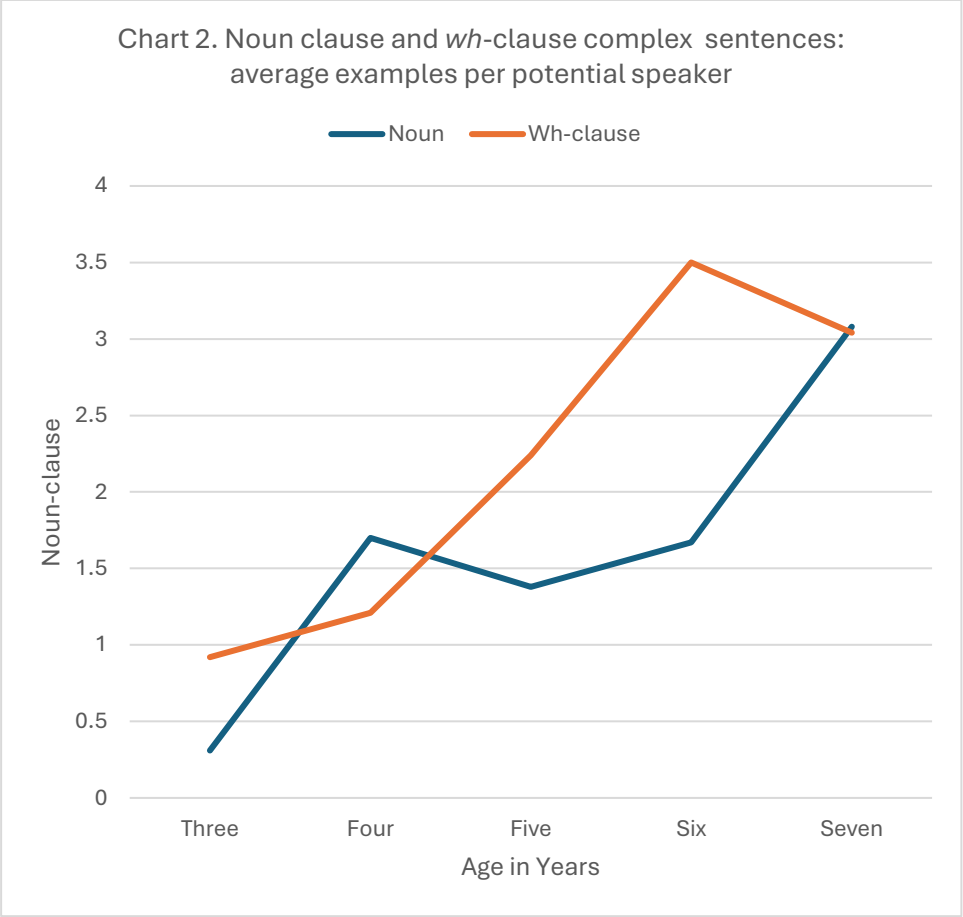
In the following discussion, the figures in tables 66 and 67 are given graphic representation in the form of charts.

Noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences

We can look first at the comparison of the development of complementation complex sentences, that is, complex sentences which contain either a noun-clause complement or a *wh*-clause complex sentences. Chart 1 gives the percentages of speakers who use them.



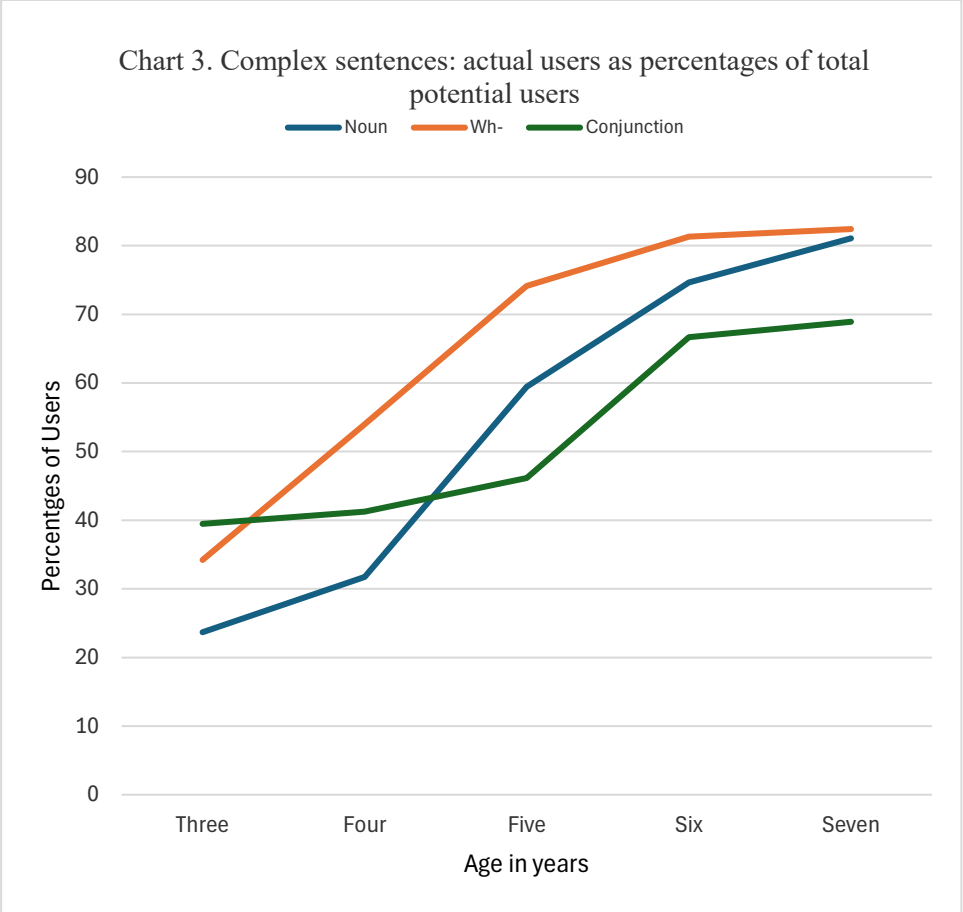
This chart allows two observations. One is that that the numbers of children who use noun-clause and *wh*-clause complex sentences increases over the years. The other is that children use more *wh*-clause complex sentences over the span of the database until a more equal use of the two types develops by the age of six onwards. Chart 2 presents a comparison of the average number of examples of each type in each year.



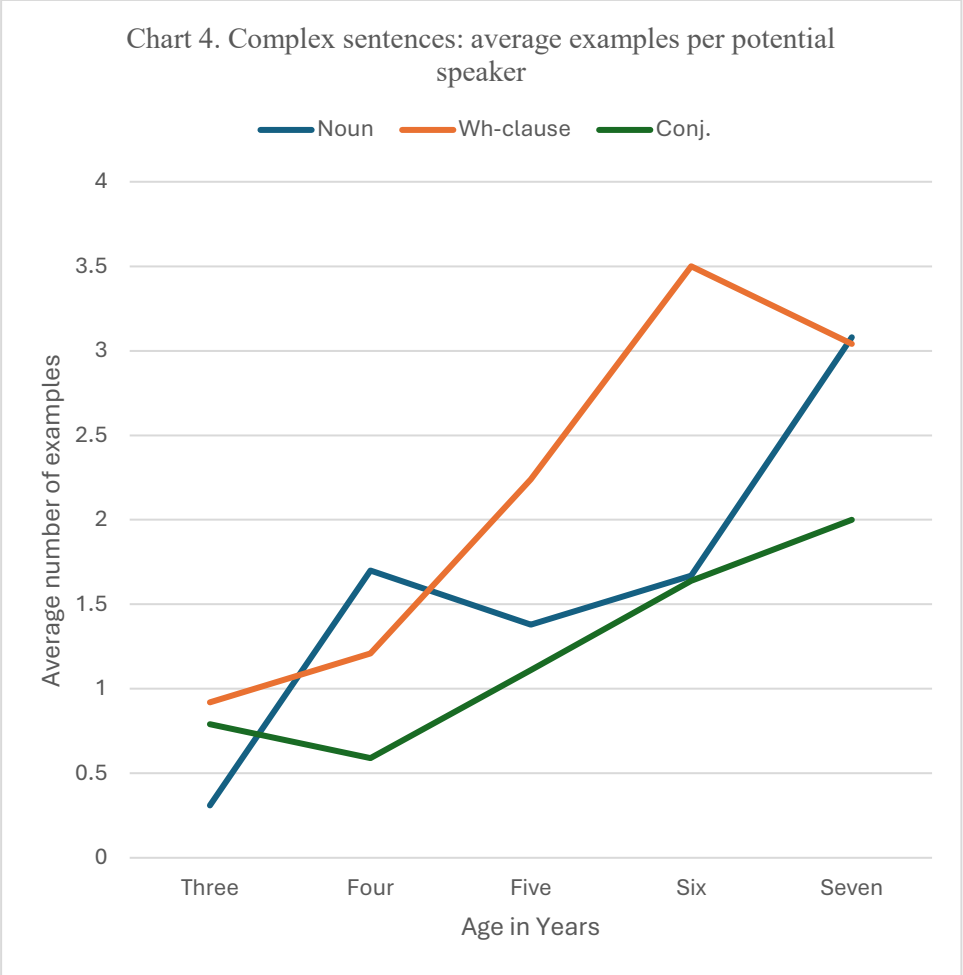
This chart aslo reveals an increase in the use of both types of complex sentence. Apart from the greater numbers of noun-clause complex sentences at age four the same pattern overall is evident in chart 2 as in chart 1.

Complementation complex sentences and conjunction complex sentences

Both types of complementation complex sentences can be compared with complex sentences which contain a conjunction clause. Chart 3 makes the comparisons in terms of percentages of users.



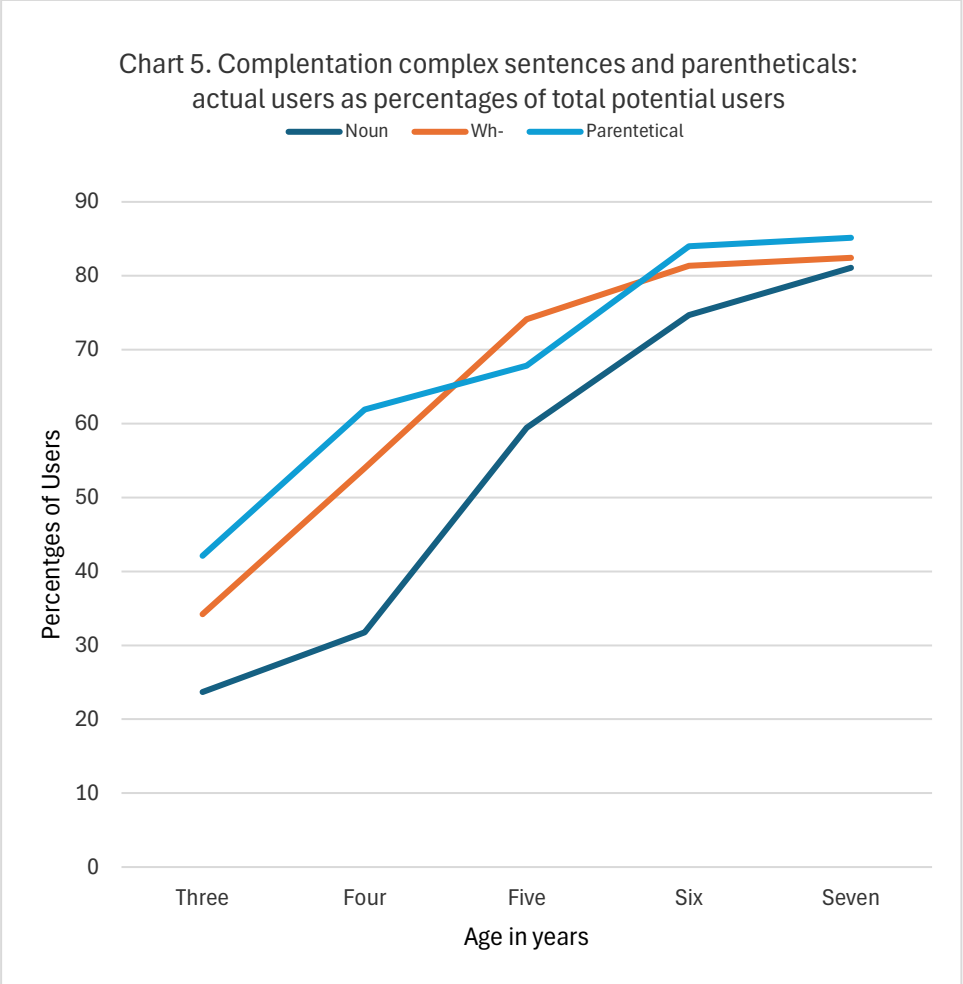
At three years of age there are more users of conjunction complex sentences but only slightly so when compared with *wh*-clause complex sentences. But the trend from four years onwards sees fewer users of conjunction complex sentences than the complementation complex senteces. Chart 4 makes the same comparisons in terms of average numbers of examples.



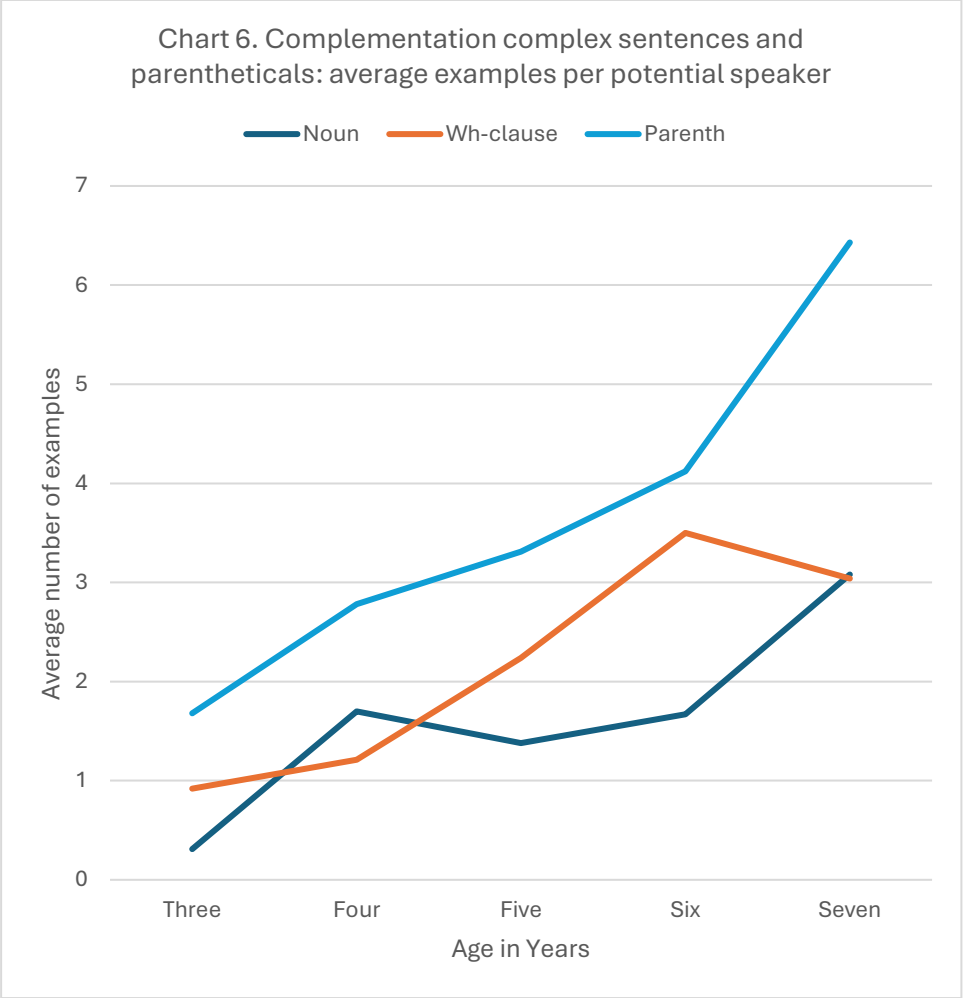
After three years of age, conjunction complex sentences are again shown to be the least used overall. We shall return to conjunction clauses below.

Complementation complex sentences and parentheticals

We can compare complementation complex sentences with sentences which contain parenthetical phrases. It can be recalled that the phrases in parentheicals are overall the same phrases which are used in the matrix phrases which occur in noun-clause complex sentences and *wh*-clause complex sentences. Chart 5 presents comparisons in terms of percentages of users.



The chart shows that overall the relevant expressions occur more in parentheticals than in complex sentences, nticeably more than in noun-clause complex sentences. Chart 6 gives the same comparions on the basis of the average numbers of examples made by each potential speaker in each year group.



This chart shows that the dominance of parentheticals is even greater in terms of the numbers of examples which each potential speaker produces on average.

Overall view: the four types of sentences

Finally, for completeness, charts 7 and 8 allow comparisons of all the relevant clauses studied in this work.

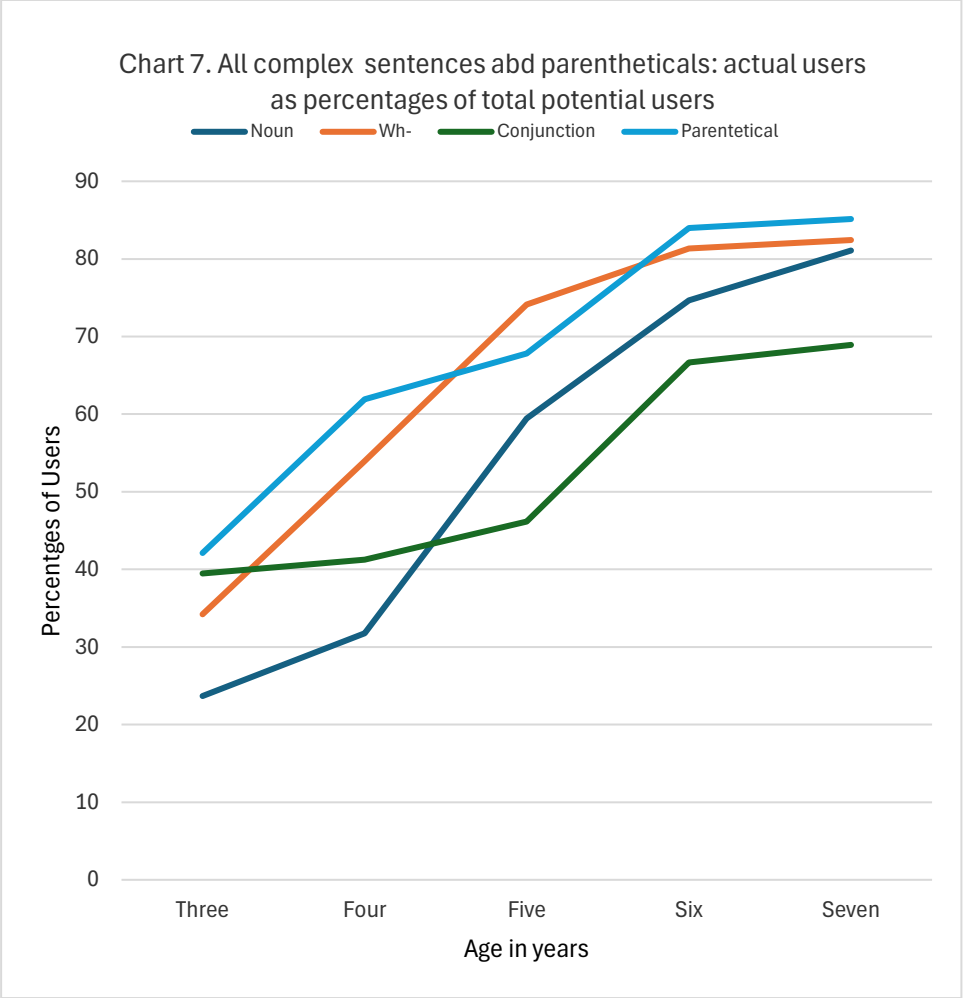
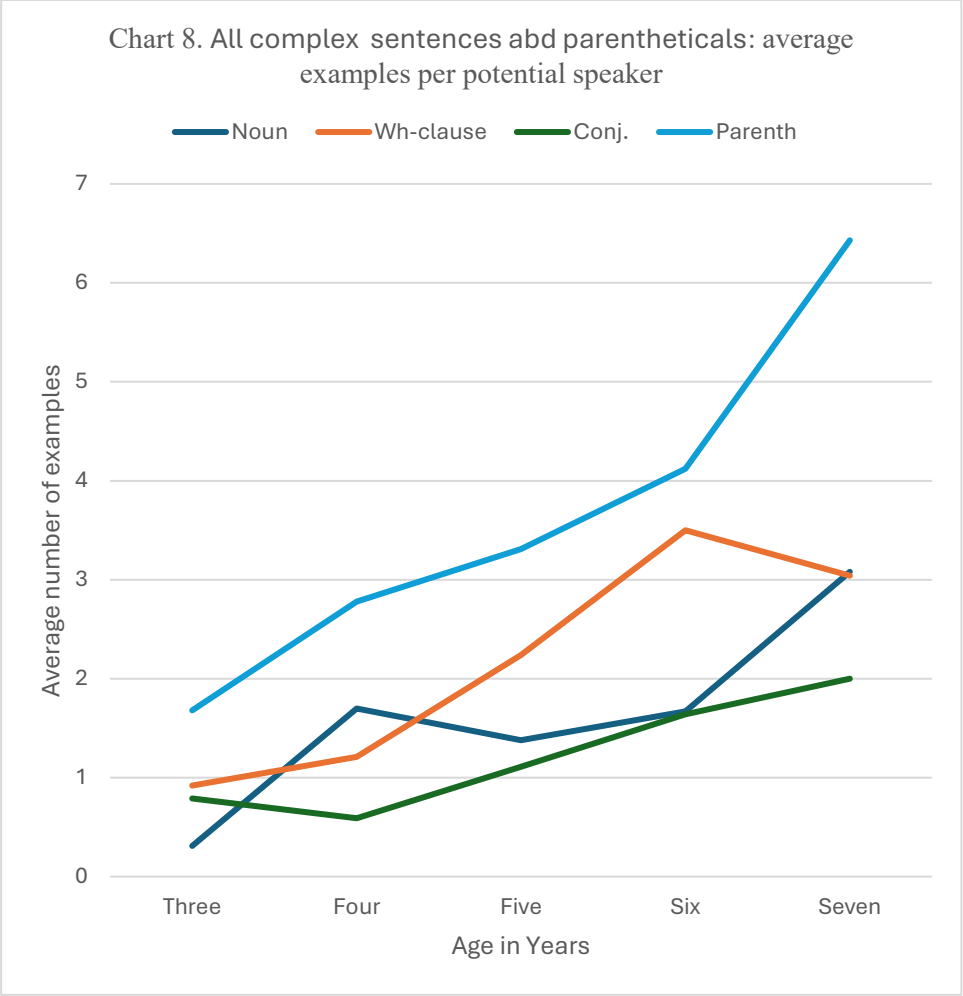


Chart 7. All complex sentences abd parentheticals: actual users as percentages of total potential users
Noun
Wh-
Conjunction
Parentetical
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Percentges of Users
Three
Four
Five
Six
Seven
Age in years



Conjunction clauses again

The description in section 5 shows that clauses which contain conjunctions are used alone more than they are used in a complex sentence. Table 68 and table 69 give the statistics.

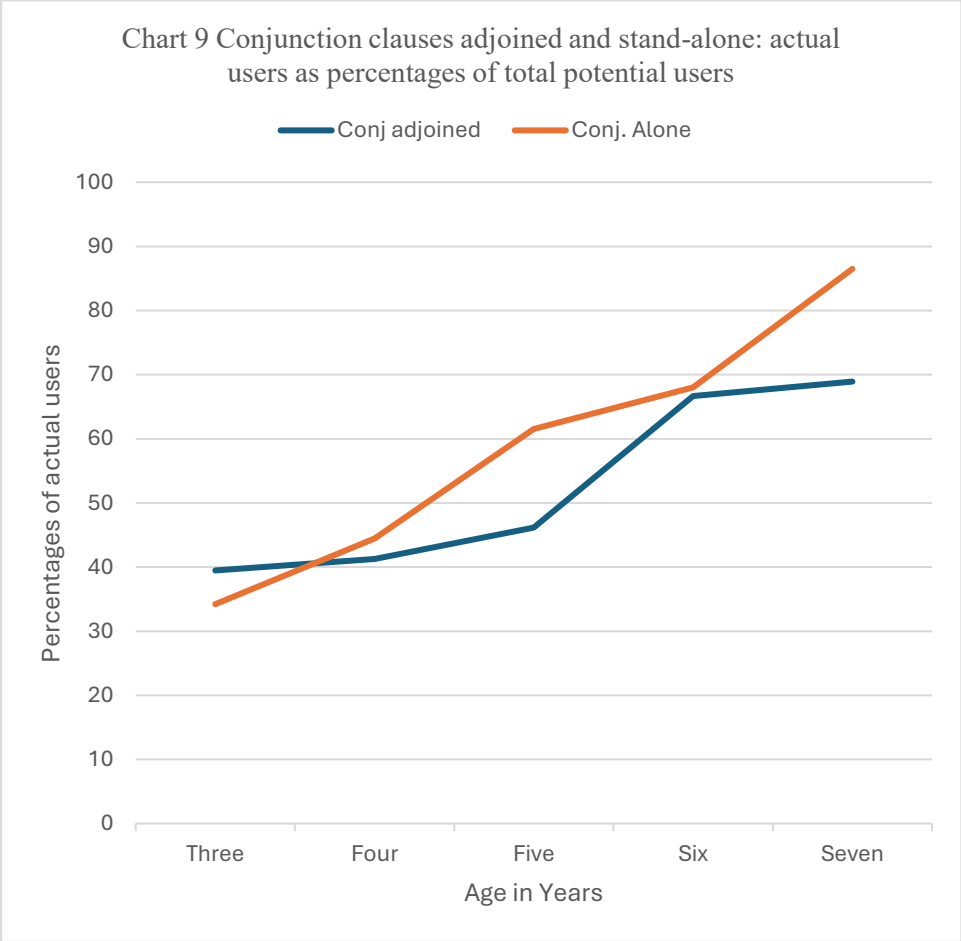
Table 68 Longitudinal frequencies and percentages: conjunction clauses — adjoined and alone

		Adjoined		Alone	
	All	Users		Users	
Three	38	15	39.47%	13	34.21%
Four	63	26	41.27%	28	44.44%
Five	143	66	46.15%	88	61.54%
Six	75	50	66.67%	51	68.00%
Seven	74	51	68.92%	64	86.49%

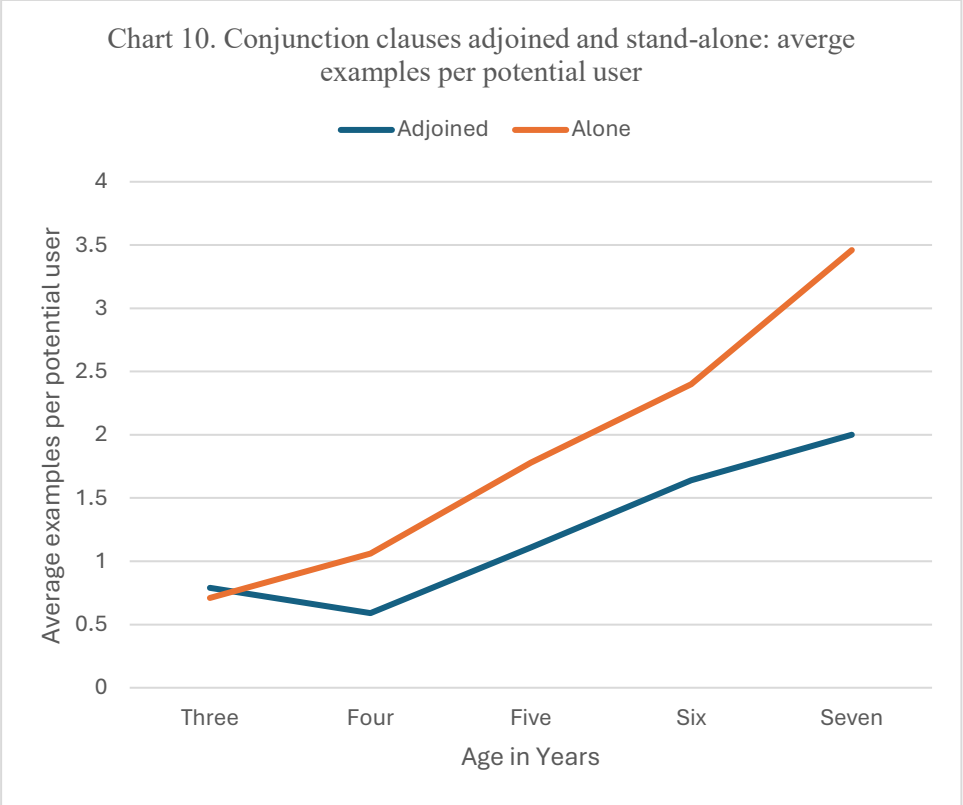
Table 69 Longitudinal average examples per potential speaker:
Total = total number of examples in age group;
Average = average based on all potential users

		Adjoined		Alone	
Age	All	Total	Average	Total	Average
Three	38	30	0.79	27	0.71
Four	63	37	0.59	67	1.06
Five	143	159	1.11	255	1.78
Six	75	123	1.64	180	2.4
Seven	74	148	2.00	256	3.46

Chart 9 gives a graphic display of the development of both over the years in terms of percentages of users.



In the main there are more stand-alone examples than adjoined examples but they are fairly equal at three yers of age and six years of age. Chart 10 gives the average number of examples used by all potential users.



A clearer picture emerges here. After practically equal averages at three years of age, the children use greater numbers of atand-alone examples over the remaining ages.

Overall comments

The tables and their graphic presentations in charts allow four conclusions to be made.

First, there is maturational development of the use of complex sentences: in each case, there is an increase in the percentages of children who use complex sentences over the age range of three to seven years of age and users employ more examples of complex sentences.

Second, of the complementation complex sentences, *wh*-clause complement clauses are used by greater percentages of children than noun-clause complex sentences but their use becomes more equal as the children get older.

Third, comparing parentheticals with complementation complex sentences, parentheticals are, in the main, used by greater percentages of children. It can be recalled that they can be attributed to maintaining speaker-addressee relations.

Fourth, in the case of conjunction clause complex sentences (that is, those in which the conjunction clause is adjoined to the matrix phrase) results are more mixed. Adjoined conjunction clauses are used by more speakers at three but at four their dominance applies only to noun-clause complement complex sentencess and not *wh*-clauses. We can claim that overall the use of complementation surpasses the use of adjunction as the children get older.

Fifth, overall conjunction clauses are used more as stand-alone clauses more than as constituents in a complex sentence.

This account has been confined to complex sentences which contain two clauses: main and subordinate in traditional terms. There are a small number of examples which contain more than two clauses but these data have not been examined.

This account is by no means the last word on complex sentences in the language of very young children but it does establish a descriptive base for further study.

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