THE BRETON OF THE CANTON OF BRIEC[1]

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[1] Which will be referred to as BCB throughout this thesis.

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g. [ˈdʁɛist] *dreist*, 'over'

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a. Present

b. Imperfect

c. Future

d. Perfect

e. Double compound past

f. Pluperfect

5. **SYNTAX**

[bɛn ˈɑ̃ta·kɑ̃n lɐ aˈhɑ̃n, gʁas do ˈteːs, veˈfɛʁ ke vi ˈlæᵃ nøs ke be døˈz�õm]

Benn hanter-kant vloazh ac'hann, gras d'ho tezenn, vefer ket evit lâr n'eus ket bet deuzoudomp.

'In 50 years from now, thanks to your thesis, people won't be able to say we never existed.'

Anonymous informant met during the visit to the Sant Seleier/Ste Cécile chapel.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the four young people I know, who are in a position to keep BCB alive and to have BCB-speaking children: Aziliz Cornec (born 1990), whose Briec Breton is native and spoken with an accent that older speakers of the dialect delight in hearing. Her brother Tugdual (born 1989) who, as a fluent Breton speaker, will be able at any time, by emulating his parents and sister, to restore his *néo-breton*[2] accent to a native pronunciation. My son Auguste (born 2009) who understands any utterance made in the dialect, though he still remains shy in his use of it and my son Sébastien (born 2000). Though Sébastien does not speak BCB, he understands a lot of it and he is in a position, through the exposure he has to it and the access he has to my documentation and personal contacts in Briec, to undertake at any time, as I did myself, to reclaim this priceless asset.

I express my heartfelt thanks to:

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Pamela O'Neill for her good advice, help and support in the publication of papers of mine which have informed this thesis and for the time she gave editing it. Pamela was

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[2] the Breton spoken by *néo-bretonnants* (see §1.3.1). It is to be noted, however, that Tugdual, though he displays non-native *néo-breton* mannerisms is a native speaker.

adjunct supervisor throughout my candidature and formally became supervisor at the last stage to certify the emendations required by the examiners.

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My other generous and patient informants, both from Briec and neighbouring cantons listed hereafter:

Maurice Briand †	Alain Kerneis
Marie-Thérèse Briand	Mari 'n Du (Marie Le Du) †
Marie-Thérèse Campion	Thérèse le Du
Jo Coeur	Henri Le Loc'h
Marie Coeur	Marguerite Le Loc'h
Marie-Louise Cornec	Jean-Noël Moigne
Angèle Feunteun †	Marie Moigne †
Hervé Guégen	Yves Moigne
Annette Haskoët	Alexis Ollivier †
Corentin Haskoët †	Marie Quéré †
Louise Hemon †	Guillaume Quéré †

Portrait-Prime
SPÉCIAL POUR ECOLES

SOUVENIR SCOLAIRE
ANNÉE 1908-1909

My grandfather, Michel Le Gall, age 11,
in Glazig costume

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK

(Including abbreviations for the names of my informants)

A   answer

AB   Anne Briand (informant)

AC   André Cornec (informant)

adj   adjective

adv   adverb

adv.phr.   adverbial phrase

AF   Angèle Feunteun (informant)

AH   Annette Hascoët (informant)

AMC   Anne-Marie Coeur (informant)

AN   Annick Nedeleg (informant)

AO   Alexis Ollivier (informant)

art.   article

AzC   Aziliz Cornec (informant)

BCB   Breton of the Canton of Briec

BOL   Breton of Lorient (Lorient-region dialect)

Br.   Breton

CB   Canton of Briec

CD   Céline David (informant)

CH   Corentin Hascoët (informant)

defArt.   definite article

coll.   collective

conj.   conjunction

des. descriptive (applies to *bezañ*, *to be*, which has descriptive, habitual and situational forms)

det. determiner

emph emphasis

Engl English

Ex. Example

Exs. Examples

exp expression/phrase

f feminine

fsg feminine singular

FN Francis Nedeleg (informant)

fr from

Fr French

GQ Guillaume Quéré (informant)

hab habitual (applies to *bezañ*, *to be*, which has descriptive, habitual and situational forms)

HG Hervé Gueguen (informant)

HG2 Hervé Guyader (informant)

HLL Henri Le Loc'h (informant)

imp imperfect

impers. impersonal (with regard to Breton verbs)

inf infinitive

JC Jo Coeur (informant)

JNM Jean-Noël Moigne (informant)

KLT one orthographic standard used for Breton, standing for the names of three of the four main regions of Brittany: *Kernev*, *Leon*, *Treger* (in Fr. Cornouaille, Léon, Trégor. The fourth region is the Vannetais, centered on the city of Vannes).

L   lenition

LH   Louise Hemon (informant)

Lit. / *lit*.   literally

litt.   littéralement

M'nD   Mari'n Dû (informant)

m   masculine

mpl   masculine plural

m. of   municipality of

M   mutation

MB   Maurice Briand (informant)

MLC   Marie-Louise Cornec Le Goff (informant)

MLG   Michel Le Gall (my grandfather and first informant)

MLL   Marguerite Le Loc'h (informant)

MM   Marie Moigne (informant)

MQ   Marie Quéré (informant)

MTB   Marie-Thérèse Briand (informant)

MTC   Marie-Thérèse Campion (informant)

n   noun

nf   feminine noun

nm   masculine noun

orth.   orthographically

P   provection

par.   particle

pers.   person

pl plural (1st *pl*, 2nd *pl* first person plural, second person plural etc)

pln place name

pn personal name

PN Pierre Noyer, author of this work

prep preposition

pp past participle

pres present

pres.hab present habitual (applies to *bezañ*, *to be*, which has descriptive, habitual and situational forms)

PresInd present indicative

pron pronoun

PU *peurunvan*, for *brezhoneg peurunvan* 'fully unified Breton'

Q question

qqch quelquechose (something)

refl. part. reflexive particle

R *réponse* 'answer'

RP René Petillon (informant)

S spirantization

sg singular (1st *sg*, 2nd *sg* first person singular, second person singular etc)

sit. situational (applies to *bezañ*, *to be*, which has descriptive, habitual and situational forms)

sj subject

sj.pron subject pronoun

Sub. subjunctive

TLD Thérèse Le Du (informant)

unorth. unorthodox: this indicates a form does not exist in PU

v.　verb

vb.　verbal

vp　verbal particle

YG　Yves Guyader (informant)

YLD　Yves Le Du (informant)

YM　Yves Moigne (informant)

YP　Yves Petillon (informant)

ZH　the orthographic standard used for Breton in this thesis (see 1.4)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Remarks on the choice of terms of reference

The established trend, in English, when referring to Breton places is to adopt their French names unchanged, except for the region itself, which has an English name, *Brittany*, whereas the French is *Bretagne*. An index of Breton-language place names followed by their phonetic transcriptions and their French equivalents, is found at the end of this thesis (see contents).

1.1.1 Remarks on the toponymic terms

The first remark concerns the very region (*Cornouaille* in French and English) in which the dialect studied in this thesis is situated. The phonetic Frenchness of the term 'Cornouaille' [kɔʁˈnwaj] as compared to the English 'Cornwall' [ˈkɔʳːnwɔːl] obfuscates the fact that the region is effectively a continental offshoot of Cornwall, having been settled by Cornish Princes from the 5th century onwards. The common origins of Cornwall and its Breton counterpart are obvious in their native names: *Kernow* and *Kernev* respectively, as well as in the general closeness between the Cornish and Breton languages.

While most names used on French-language maps for Breton locations are good-faith attempts at rendering the Breton words both in spelling and pronunciation (which, at any rate, was the most economical course of action for early French cartographers drawing maps of Brittany), the gallicisation of Breton place names tends to obscure their etymological meaning (when it is known, which is generally the case, though not always). The gallicised form of these names is generally a mere phonetic transcription of the French pronunciation of the Breton name and, from a French perspective does not carry any meaning, as the word or words have no meaning in French. The French name Quimper [kɛ̃pɛʁ], for example, is only the name of the city, whereas in Breton Kemper [ˈkepɐ] or [ˈkemˌpeª] means *confluence*, since Kemper is the meeting place of the rivers Steir and Odet.[3]

The French form of a Breton placename may, however, also contain a misinterpretation of the Breton. An example of this is the toponym *Stang Jean*, near Gulvain, Canton of Briec. In the Breton of the Canton of Briec (henceforth referred to as BCB), *Stang Jean* is [(a)ˌxastˈjã͂n] for *ar C'hastel Yann* 'John's castle'.[4] It seems that, dumbfounded by the Breton (and with no help from the locals to whom the real meaning of the toponym may have been unknown at the time and certainly is now), a cartographer decided to even the odds of being wrong and based his French translation on two simultaneous interpretations of the same syntagm [stjã͂n]. Firstly [stjã͂n], was interpreted as *stang*, a word meaning 'valley' in BCB and a frequent occurrence in local toponyms. Then the segment [jã͂n], in [stjã͂n], was (correctly) interpreted as the first name *Yann*. The cartographer then seems to have ignored the syllable [xa] altogether and made up an interpretation of [xastjã͂n] as the plausible, though incorrect, *Stang Yann* 'John's

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[3] The name of the city of Paimpol also falls into this category of approximate phonetic renderings that erase the Breton meaning of the word: *Pempoull = penn (ar) poull* (head of the pool).
[4] Cornec, 1996, 49.

valley', in spite of the absence of a valley in that location. The part-translation of this misinterpretation resulted in the French *Stang Jean*, thus obliterating the mention, potentially of historical importance, of a castle in that location as well as generating a piece of misinformation about the local environment by mentioning a valley where there is not one.

In light of the above examples, of which many more can be found, of loss of meaning and significance of Breton names through French translation or transcription, one can see that there is a substantial disadvantage in adopting unquestioningly the French versions of Breton names. This is especially the case if one is familiar with Cornish, Welsh and other Celtic toponyms, or if one has knowledge of Celtic languages, as one is then potentially denied access to historical and cultural links with one's own region (if one is from the British Isles) that one may otherwise detect in Breton-language versions of place names. As this thesis is likely to be read by English-speakers with an interest in Breton and probably in Celtic tongues in general, I was very much tempted to give all Breton place names in their Breton form in this thesis while providing a list of their French equivalents at the end. It was, however, pointed to me that this would make it too cumbersome for readers to identify the places these names refer to. A list of Breton place names in both their French and Breton versions is therefore provided in the Index of placenames immediately after the conclusion of this thesis.

Breton personal names of people who use Breton pronunciation or orthography for their own names, are given in Breton. If a person mentioned in this thesis has published work, that person will be referred to by the name under which their work has been published.

Fig. 1 The Canton of Briec

1.2 Geographic and geo-linguistic elements

This thesis concerns the dialect of the surroundings of Briec, which happens to be set in the electoral/administrative area called Canton de Briec, *Kanton Brieg* in Breton. This dialect is referred to in this thesis as Breton of the Canton of Briec, abbreviated to BCB. Briec is, administratively, the chief city and the biggest urban centre of the canton, with a population of 5500 (INSEE, 2016).

Fig. 2 Welcome to Bro Glazig sign on the D785 road from Kemper to Briec
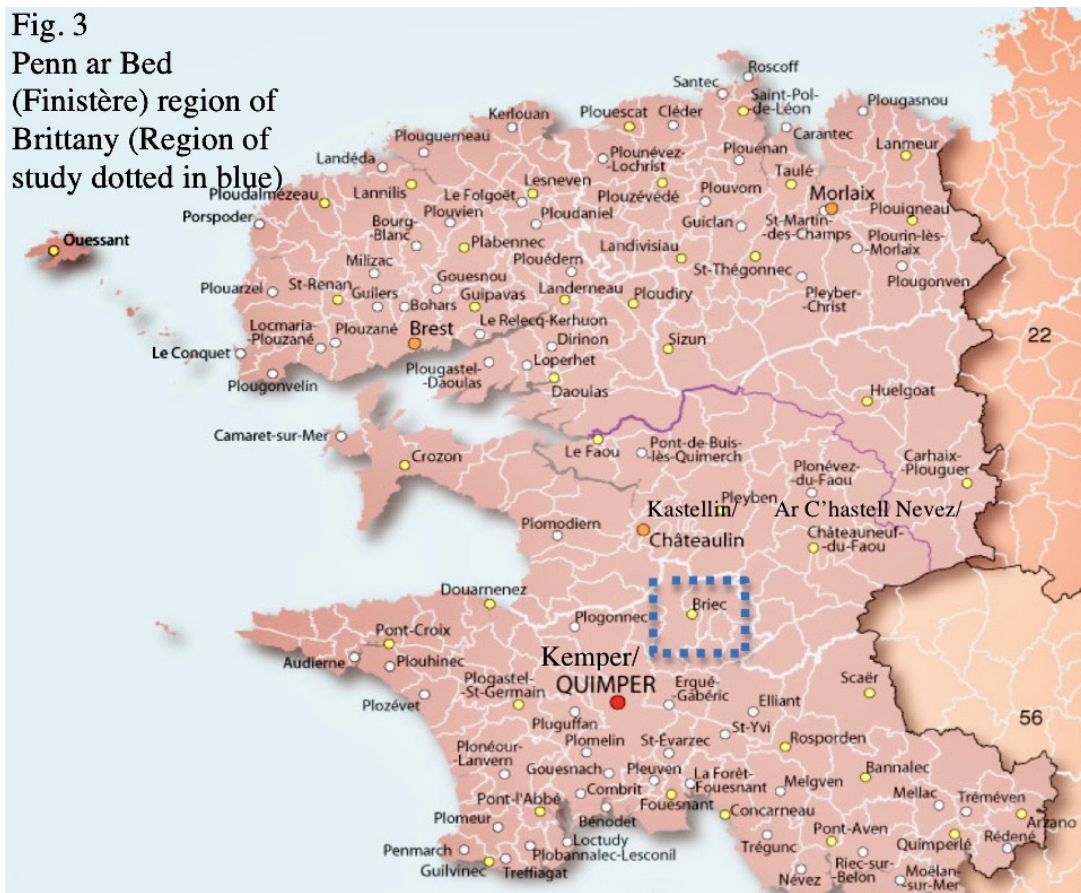
The Canton of Briec is located within *Bro C'hlazig* (highlighted in red on the map below) also spelt *Bro Glazik*, lit. 'Land/country of the Little Blue One' a traditional region thus named after the colour of the traditional costume of its male inhabitants. *Bro Glazig* is set within the broader *Bro Gernev* region (see map below).

Fig.4 The traditional *broioù* of Brittany

Linguistically, Cornouaille is situated in the western part of Brittany, itself known in Breton as *Breizh Izel*, [bʁeˈziːʒəl] 'Lower Brittany', where the natural and by far the main language until at least the 1950s, was Breton, except in the largest urban centres. BCB belongs to the Central Breton linguistic area, which roughly comprises the current area of the Cornouaille region, (itself corresponding to the *Évéché de Cornouaille*, 'Bishopric of Cornwall') and the Bro Dreger area (Fr. Trégor or Tréguier), itself corresponding to the *Évéché de Tréguier*, 'Bishopric of Tregor'. The Central Breton area 'is characterised by a large swathe of Breton dialects that are largely intercomprehensible' (Wmffre, 1998, 2).

1.2.1 Historical elements of the dialectal variations within the Canton of Briec

Variations occur throughout the Breton-speaking domain of Brittany from one dialectal area to the next, as well as within dialectal areas. The Canton of Briec is no exception, but the variations present phonological features that are strongly reminiscent of the Vannetais dialect (Br. *Gwenedeg*), in particular, the palatalisation of the phoneme [k], realized in a number of similar ways such as [kj], [kʃ], [tʃ], [c] or [cj] and the production of the consonant *c'h* as [χ] by BCB speakers in localities situated in the south-eastern part of the Canton, while speakers from other areas produce [h]).

The reasons for the presence of Vannetais features in the Canton of Briec are not self-evident given that the westernmost border of the Vannetais linguistic domain is ordinarily given as the river Elle (see map below), itself a tributary of the Laïta, some 45 km east of Briec in a straight line and more than 60 km by road, quite a considerable distance in Breton linguistic terms. The Elle finds its source in southern Treger, before merging with the Izol (Isole) in Quimperlé to form the Laïta, which also happens to form the southern starting point of today's border between the *départements* of Finistère and Morbihan.

Fig. 2   The chief dialect regions

The large dots represent the points of ALBB

Fig. 5 Map of the Breton dialects showing the western border of Bas-Vannetais as being the river Ellé (Jackson 1967, 17)

The fact that this border has official administrative existence may reinforce the belief that the Elle-Laïta is and always was the natural separation between the Vannetais linguistic domain and that of its western neighbour, Cornouaille, of which the Canton of Briec is part. In addition, Elle and Laïta follow a fairly direct north-south course, which is also ordinarily given as the border between the ancient *Osismii* and *Veneti* peoples.[5]

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[5] On historians' attempts at defining the limits between *Osismii* and *Veneti*, Fleuriot (1980, 21) states: 'We probably seek too simplistic and too definite solutions to situations that have, in fact, been frequently

Considerable research involving archaeological work and toponymic studies, among others, has taken place in order to determine the limits of the territories of the peoples of Brittany at various times in history. As the present work is mainly concerned with language, this is not the place to go into further detail on this matter except to say that, according to Fleuriot (1980, map 9 [end of the volume, no page number], see below), the border between the *Osismii* nation, to the west and north-west of the river Odet and the *Veneti* nation to the south in the 5th century, (that is, well past the beginning of the settlement of the area by Britons), was not the Elle-Laïta, but the river Odet which constitutes the southern border of the Canton of Briec.
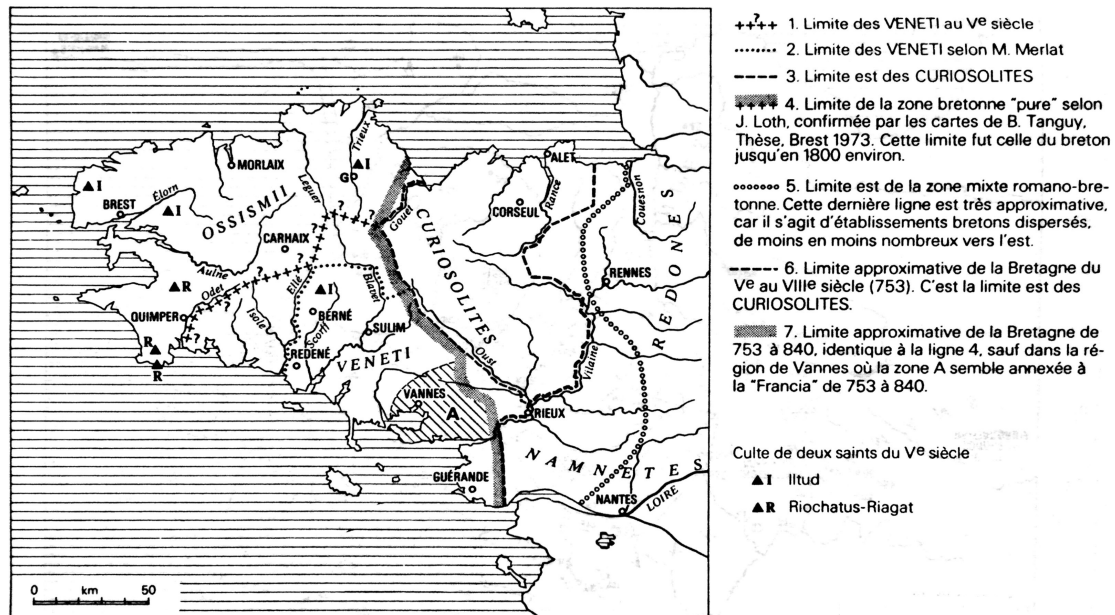
Fig.6 Map of the Gaulish nations at the time of Breton settlement of Brittany, showing the *Veneti* (*Veneti*) border on the River Odet

It therefore appears that at a certain point in history, the Canton of Briec was a border area fringing territory held by the commercially very enterprising *Veneti*, who gave their name to the city of Vannes and to the Vannetais dialect[6]. It is plausible to think that there were linguistic differences between both areas and that their territorial border was also a linguistic one.

The Canton of Briec is therefore at least adjacent to, if not part of, a zone of ethnic, and possibly linguistic, to-ing and fro-ing and is well inside a broader area described as a linguistically intermediate area by Madeg (2010, 9). It is therefore plausible that some linguistic features within it, especially phonetic features which, according to Madeg (2010, 142), evolve more slowly than lexical and grammatical ones, may stem from the period in which the Odet was a border between *Osismii* and *Veneti*.

In support of the claim that linguistic features of BCB today could plausibly find their origin in very ancient historical events, is the fact that the area in which *c'h* is realised

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shifting'. ('Sans doute cherchons-nous des solutions trop simples et trop tranchées là où il y a eu de maintes variations.')

[6] The name of the city of Venice, which may have been a commercial outpost of the Veneti, possibly finds its origin in the tribe name.

[χ] coincides almost exactly with an area from which toponyms in *Plou* (which are intricately connected to the establishment of early Christianity in the area, itself connected to Brittonic settlement), are almost entirely absent (Cornec 1996, 772–3).

1.3 Remarks on intercomprehension in the past and today

Dialectal differences within Breton-speaking Brittany are often reported by Breton speakers and researchers alike. Jean Le Dû's *Nouvel atlas linguistique de Basse Bretagne* certainly illustrates these differences. Elmar Ternes seems to have experienced this fact to the full, during his study of the dialects of Enez Groe, (the Isle of Groix), off An Oriant (Lorient) (Ternes 1970). Its inhabitants, he reports, could only converse with difficulty with other Breton speakers of the mainland coastal fringe, only 6 km away, and not at all with inhabitants of the mainland's interior even though they all spoke dialects of the same Vannetais group.

Breton speakers have overwhelmingly been and still are agriculturalists. A large proportion, possibly a majority, of fishermen were also Breton speakers up until the 1950s, but as they had more frequent encounters with the French language in the cosmopolitan world of fishing ports, this is no longer the case. Sedentary by nature, agriculturalists travelled little around Brittany and ways of speaking had little opportunity to be shared between dialectal groups. Inter-comprehension between people of different regions who rarely travelled presented real difficulties (Wmffre 1998, 3).

Gwenedeg known in French as Vannetais, the language of the Vannetais region (*Bro Gwened* in Breton), the south-eastern part of Brittany, is routinely described as too different from the other three main dialectal groups (those of Cornouaille [Br. *Bro Gernev*], Leon [Br. *Bro Leon*] and Tregor/Treguier [Br. *Bro Dreger*]) to permit mutual understanding. Ternes, for one, who had very extensive command of Enez Groe dialects and knowledge of mainland Vannetais, states that: 'Vannetais, a dialect that is split up in several subgroups, is so different from the other three dialects that, in practice, it might as well be called a different language altogether. Vannetais is totally incomprehensible to the speakers of all the other dialects.'[7] Yet in reading the IPA transcripts of dialogues at the end of his grammar, I found that, between my knowledge of Briec Breton and that of *Brezhoneg peurunvan*[8] 'fully unified Breton', (also referred to as PU in this thesis), encountered in textbooks and their audio recordings, I had enough resources to understand or correctly guess (albeit through painstaking work) the meaning of most transcripts. Predictably, I found it easier to understand the transcripts given in McKenna's *The Breton of Guéméné-sur-Scorff* (1976), a location closer to the Central Breton domain. I hasten to admit that these are not the conditions of immediate oral communication, but it showed, at least to me, that given some time and good will, some degree of inter-comprehension must be possible between speakers of Vannetais and Central Breton. I found, however, the transcriptions made by Hammer (1969, 89–

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[7] 'Le vannetais, dialecte morcelé à son tour en plusieurs sous-groupements, se distingue des trois autres dialectes à tel point qu'en pratique, il faudrait le qualifier de langue différente. Le vannetais est complètement incompréhensible aux locuteurs de tous les autres dialectes.' (Ternes 1970 V.)

[8] See 1.3.1.

110) of dialogues in Plarnel/Plouharnel dialect nearly impossible to follow without constant reference to the German translation.

On the subjective basis of my personal experience, I would say that the differences between Vannetais and PU are loosely similar to those between Castilian and Portuguese, with PU holding the role of Castilian and Vannetais of Portuguese.

Intercomprehension problems have, in fact, greatly helped denigrators of the Breton language and were used to justify adopting French as the universal language of Brittany. Dialectal variations, however, were not necessarily insurmountable when Breton speakers from different areas had compelling reasons to communicate with one another.

There is testimonial evidence that for those whose profession involved travelling or who were otherwise exposed to other dialects for whatever reason, adjusting to variations was common and communication in Breton between speakers of different dialects could indeed take place, especially if resorting to French was not an option.[9] This view is expressed by a number of authors. Hélias (1970 II 171)[10] recounts that the language of *pilhaouerien* (traders in old rags) from Brennilis or La Feuillée (Br. *Ar Fouilhez*) in the Are Hills (Fr. *Monts d'Arrée*, Br. *Menez Are*), 70 km of winding roads to the north-east, was understood in his native Pouldreuzig, situated in *Bro Vigouden* (south-western Cornouaille): 'The ear could hear its meaning, though the tongue could not shape itself to it, nor could the throat.'[11] Hélias also reports (1970 I 143)[12] how the Breton, based on the *Bro Leon* dialect, used by priests was easy to follow for people of *Bro Vigouden* (Bigouden region, South-Western Cornouaille on the very opposite side of the Breton peninsula from Leon) when everyday topics were broached '... everyday vocabulary [is] more or less the same'.[13] However, when 'church words' were used, they had more trouble following.

I have personally witnessed interaction in Breton in the following circumstances:

— Between one of my Briec informants, MTC, and a travelling garment peddler from Leon who had turned up at the farm. Perhaps to earn the grace of MTC, the woman (in her early sixties) addressed her straight away in Breton. There ensued a long comparative discussion between their respective regions and dialects with use of an occasional French phrase for translation purposes. I participated in the conversation (which lasted approximately three quarters of an hour) during which I could understand the peddler and be understood by her.

— Between my relative AH and HLL/MLL (who are from Bro Vigouden). I could also participate fully in a conversation which went on for nearly three hours.

— I have conversed in much the same way with native speakers from the Kroazon (Crozon) Peninsula, Bro Dreger and Bro Leon.

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[9] Hélias (1970) mentions such situations in Marh al Lorh (I 143 and II 171)/Le cheval d'Orgueil (146 and 457).

[10] P. 457 in the French translation of the book.

[11] 'Ar skouarn a oar kleved, an teod n'eo ket gouest da blega outañ nag al lañchenn.'

[12] P. 146 in the French translation of the book.

[13] '... o veza ma'z eus atao ganeom demdost ar memes geriadur.'

Reference to intercomprehension over large areas is made by a number of authors. Wmffre (1998, 2) states that the dialects spoken in the bishoprics of Treger and Cornouaille 'are largely intercomprehensible.' However, he excludes Bro Leon from that area.

Rohou (2007, 39) drives home what Hélias (p. 36 above) implied: that differences between dialects did not and do not prevent communication between Breton speakers any more than they prevented communication between speakers of the various dialectal groups of the French language. According to him, 'There were indeed differences in vocabulary and more than anything, in stress and pronunciation. Yet they were not quite enough to prevent people from Leon, Tregor or Cornouaille from having a conversation, especially when they were aware of the tendencies of the other's dialect, as was the case with traders and other travelling people.'[14]

When it comes to intercomprehension, the notion of goodwill is also crucial. Vallérie (2003, 268) thus expresses his opinion on intercomprehension; '... after a few exchanges (or a few classes), dialectal nuances only stop those who cannot be bothered understanding each other and find it less tiring to resort to French.'[15] Rivalry, prejudice and mistrust between communities in times gone by, though not so long ago, were probably as serious a set of obstacles to intercomprehension as dialectal differences in that they kept communities from exchanging intimately. With the advent of easier and faster communications from the beginning of the 20th century, exchanges between communities were on the increase as was intercomprehension.

At the time the collapse of Breton occurred, a process of growing intercomprehension, referred to by my informant JNM and his parents MM and YM, was underway. It was thwarted by the possibility of resorting to French and the 'irresistible attraction' (Rohou 2007, 49) French exercised on the people of Brittany as it spread through its population.

According to JNM, this process was stopped by the generalised use of the French language. This also resulted in an atomisation of local dialects into sub-dialects specific to family groups, as Breton was increasingly being spoken between members of the nuclear family only. Within my own extended family, there are indeed differences in the way of speaking Breton, which find no equivalent in their way of speaking French, which is completely homogenised by the influence of the French they are exposed to in the wider community and through mass media.

It is therefore worthwhile to ask the following question: is it not probable that without the linguistic domination of French, speakers of all areas of the Breton-speaking domain, after the advent of fast transportation and telecommunications, would have gradually developed a unified modus of communication while preserving their

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[14] 'Il y avait effectivement des différences de vocabulaire et surtout d'accentuation et de prononciation. Mais elles n'empêchaient pas tout à fait un Léonard, un Trégorrois et un Cornouaillais de converser, surtout quand ils connaissaient les tendances de l'autre dialecte, comme le faisaient par exemple les marchands et autres itinérants.'
[15] '... après quelques échanges (ou quelques heures de cours), les nuances dialectales n'arrêtent que ceux qui ne tiennent pas à se comprendre et trouvent moins fatiguant de passer au français.'

specificities? With the imposition of French, however, this had little or no chance of being tested.

Mutual intelligibility between dialects implies a high degree of unity over major aspects of the language. Madeg's Treatise on the pronunciation of North-Western Breton (2010) exposes the substantial features shared by the dialects of this large group, in particular, the phonological ones. He cites, in particular, the critical place of stress, that is common (admittedly with many qualifying comments and complex explanations) to all dialects of a vast area which he defines (2010, 9) as covering 'all of Leon, most of the portion of Cornouaille contained within the Finistère *département*, and most of Tregor'.[16] This includes the location studied in this thesis, which is part of Cornouaille.

1.3.1 Intercomprehension between native speakers and *peurunvan* (PU) speakers

The term *peurunvan*, from *peur* 'fully' and *unvan* 'unified', was meant to refer originally to the result of the merging of the KLT orthographic standard with elements of the Vannetais spelling, which saw the emergence of the ZH orthographic standard. I have heard the term *peurunvan* used, however, in Breton-language schools and other Breton-language organisations on a number of occasions with reference, not only to written Breton, but to Breton, as taught and *spoken* in Breton-medium schools and in the media. In the context of this thesis, the word *peurunvan* refers therefore to the Breton taught in Breton-language education and spoken by most media officials such as news readers and show hosts.

The emergence of PU as a written and spoken form of Breton has been determined by a range of factors. I will only mention two of these factors:
a) PU is influenced by written Breton which emerged in the monasteries of Brittany, most of which were located in the north-east, the domain of the Leon dialect. PU vocabulary and *some* traits of its enunciation therefore tend to reflect Leon Breton.
b) the vast majority of PU users are not native Breton speakers from a particular dialectal Breton group. They can be from any area within Brittany and even from outside of it, as was Claude Nadeau, a native of Quebec and the founder of the Breton-language Paris Diwan school in the early 2000s. The vast majority of *peurunvan* speakers do not pronounce Breton as it is pronounced in Leon or anywhere else; they simply pronounce it with a strong Paris French accent. This is because they are French native speakers who are surrounded by other French native speakers effectively speaking Breton as a quasi-foreign language as opposed to a native one. It is plausible that a majority of them has never heard Breton spoken natively. By and large, these speakers ignore or resist the notion that they ought to align their prononciation with native Breton. They are often referred to as *néo-bretonnants*, a term used to distinguish these Breton speakers who have generally learnt Breton in courses from those who have learnt it natively.

PU is (wrongly) perceived to be essentially Leon Breton by the native speakers from other regions I have spoken to. BCB speakers are essentially unable to understand PU and the way its pronunciation is generally aligned with Paris French (which some see as a deliberate way of fitting within their group) together with the fact it is used in

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[16] '[...] tout le Léon, presque toute la Cornouaille finistérienne et l'essentiel du Tégor'.

contexts alien to their own realities and interests, further contributes to their perception that *peurunvan* is an artificial and modern construct which has nothing to do with them. They appear reluctant to exchange more than a few predictable formulas with *peurunvan* speakers. This compromises any possibility of testing whether the linguistic gap existing between *peurunvan* and native Breton can be bridged at all.

Derogatory terms used by some native speakers to refer to *peurunvan* are: *breton chimique* lit. 'chemical Breton' which could translate 'plastic Breton' (as opposed to real natural Breton) and *diwaneg* (lit. 'Diwanish', from the name of the network of Breton-language schools called *Écoles Diwan*). People who are professionally involved in Breton language matters may also refer to *peurunvan* as *zédacheg* (lit. 'ZH-ish'), with reference to the ZH orthographic standard (referred to below).

1.4 Orthographic transcription of Breton

Efforts to promote the Breton language in written form in the 19th century led to the emergence in 1907 of the KLT orhtographic standard. This acronym stands for *Kernev*, *Leon*, *Treger*, the Breton names for three out of four of the regions where Breton is spoken. The fourth Breton-speaking region, Vannetais, to the south east of Brittany, had a different orthographic standard. In 1941, in an attempt to unify orthography, a new standard was created, the ZH standard, which introduced features of Vannetais into KLT.

ZH is the norm used in most printed material, road signage and in Breton-medium education. It is the norm used in this thesis for orthographic transcriptions.

1.5 Elements of the state of the Breton language in the Canton of Briec

While all informants who have contributed to this work can have unhesitant and fluent conversation with each and everyone of the others, I have observed very numerous and substantial morphological and phonetic variations between speakers. My informant JNM suspects that one reason for these variations is that since the suppression of Breton around the beginning of the 20th century, Breton speakers, including family groups, have become isolated enough from each other to develop or amplify linguistic idiosyncracies since that time. I observe that, by comparison, their way of speaking French is almost totally uniform. Because they speak Breton with decreasing frequency, BCB speakers lose their assurance in their command of Breton when a researcher such as myself questions them on specific language items. This leads to variations in their answers which may not appear in natural speech. These variations may occur from one speaker to another, as well as within the answers collected from a single speaker. They are not necessarily inconsistencies resulting from a decrease in the speaker's competence, but may reflect the choice of options available to them for a specific item. An example of this is the seven phonetic forms available for the word *hini* (see 4.1.3.1). As native speakers pass away, social interaction in Breton becomes increasingly sporadic for most of my informants. With regard to the couples amongst my informants, only three (M'nDu/Yves Cadiou, MQ/GQ and MLC/AC) reported/report continuously using Breton in their daily interaction. MM and YM used Breton continuously between themselves until retirement, but have adopted French as their language of communication with each other since retirement. The others, barring MTB and MB,

reported using both Breton and French in various approximate proportions (they often mention using Breton half of the time, but this cannot be considered an accurate figure) with each other at home throughout their lives and using mainly French with their children. MTB and MB reported using Breton rarely with each other, though MB used Breton readily with other Breton-speaking males of his age if no monolingual French speakers were present.

In general, the linguistic journey of my informants is as follows:

— Their parents and older relatives used only Breton among themselves.

— My informants used only Breton with their older relatives.

— In general, my informants born before 1947 used only Breton with their parents and did not know French at all until they went to school. The exceptions are AH, LH, RP, YLD (see their biographical details below), all of whom, however, spoke predominantly Breton at home in their childhood.

All of my informants (except LH), are or were able to have very lengthy conversations in Breton with other BCB native speakers on any subject and regularly do so in my presence.

Their grammar matches almost exactly the grammar presented in Le Scao. However, I have observed hesitation in all of them regarding the use of inflected prepositions of lower occurrence, particularly in the first and third person plural. As inflected prepositions are not directly mentioned in Le Scao's grammar sections, it is difficult to know if my informants' apparent lack of competence in the use of these prepositions is symptomatic of a creolisation process in BCB or not.

While my brother and I remember frequently witnessing people speak Breton around Briec in shops, cafés etc. this is now an exceptional occurrence. All my informants born in or before 1947, apart from MTC and HG, seem to shy away from expressing themselves in Breton in public as well as in interaction with family, friends and neighbours, at least in my presence. However, if I engage in a conversation in Breton with one of them while other Breton speakers are present, then all present participate in the conversation in Breton.

None of my 31 informants, except for AzC, MLK and YP were or are able to read or write Breton with a degree of competence similar to that of their French. Though YLD had extensive knowledge of written Breton, this did not enable him to read long texts, let alone books, in *peurunvan*.

Only three fluent speakers descended from my informants. This includes myself, and the two children of MLC and AC. In my family, I am the only fluent speaker of BCB in my generation. Amongst all my informants and their close families, my younger son born 2009 is the only young child who can follow a conversation in BCB and respond appropriately (although he still mainly does so in French and English). This means that not a single one of my informants' grandchildren or great-grandchildren (though some have been enrolled for periods of time in bilingual or Breton classes at school) understands or speaks BCB. To my knowledge none speak or understand *peurunvan* with any dregree of fluency either.

BCB speakers mainly have two types of attitudes with regard to their language. I have seen these attitudes fluctuate over time.

1) Some of the time, they make negative pronouncements about the Breton they speak, describing it as not being *ar brezhoneg gwir* or 'the real Breton'. This seems connected to a deficit in self-esteem which affects Breton speakers (see Noyer 2010, 287–308). This '*real*' Breton, being in their eyes the language spoken to the north, in the Leon region and found in the Breton literature of mostly religious nature that they came across in their religious education and in all manner of contemporary texts, from books to road signage.

2) Other times, they qualify their Breton as 'real Breton' ('*vrai breton*') as opposed to the *breton chimique* described in 1.3.1. This second attitude is, in my experience, currently growing amongst native Breton speakers and their descendants.

There is mutual influence between Breton and French in the Canton of Brieg as in the rest of Lower Brittany. Certainly, there is ample documentation demonstrating that the French of its inhabitants (including of those who do not descend from Breton-speakers) is evidently influenced by Breton. A large proportion of native Breton speakers were still monolingual in the 1940s and French had next to no influence on their Breton. Breton speakers today, however, are not only all bilingual, but have, in fact, done all their schooling in French (except for religious education which was done in Breton in the case of some of my oldest informants) and predominantly use French in their everyday life as social interaction in Breton has all but died out except in the privacy of the home. Their environment is a French-speaking one most of the time if not all the time. Of the small amount of Breton they may hear on radio or from younger speakers, most of it is pronounced so incorrectly and inauthentically as to be unrecognisable to them. They ignore that sort of Breton which makes them feel alienated. It has no influence on most of them and only anecdotally contributes to their vocabulary. A small proportion of the Breton spoken on the media, however, though it is mostly and to various degrees, French-accentuated, is pronounced well enough to be quite intelligible to native speakers. This sort of Breton could plausibly influence native speakers, but does not seem to, except insofar as it legitimizes them as Breton speakers.

Although they steep in French phonology, whether by hearing French or by hearing French-accentuated Breton, native speakers are not greatly influenced by it and their accent remains unmistakably authentic. The main influence of French on the phonology of Breton is on prosody and in the length of accentuated vowels (see §2.1.3).

Other phonological traits and all morphological traits remain completely authentic in all native speakers. This may be helped by the fact they often have no integrated orthographic representation of the words they use, as they have done little or no schooling in Breton. Their speech therefore finds its source in the distant past, when the influence of French or of ZH orthography on Breton were negligible.

It must be noted that native speakers are, in fact, at a stage at which their French is still substantially influenced by Breton phonetics and syntax (use of *avec* in the sense of 'by' [see 4.1.5.2] and *passé surcomposé*), and contains some Breton vocabulary. Their Breton intermittently displays a small amount of French phonetic/phonological influence and some 'lazy' use of French words where BCB words actually exist, the use of either of which is left to the speakers' discretion.

The main influence, by far, of French on BCB is actually through the borrowing of French vocabulary, which is accentuated by the falling practice by native speakers of

their mother tongue. This causes them to struggle to recall lesser-used words and to readily replace them with un-bretonised, or little-bretonised French ones.

Though today's BCB speakers are (barring a handful of exceptions) effectively final-generation speakers, they are nonetheless completely fluent in their native language and cannot in any way be considered to be semi-competent.

1.5.1 Relevant biographical details of my informants

1— Marie-Thérèse Briand (MTB), née Le Gac, b. 1932 in Kerminguy, municipality of Kemeneven, farmer. Only knew Breton until she went to school, age 8. Her grandmother, Marie-Jeanne Balbous (b.1875) and my great-grandmother Marie-Anne (b. 1877) were sisters.

2— Maurice Briand, (MB) (1926–2015) b. in Goulagêr, part of the Goulit Kêr estate, Cast, farmer. Only knew Breton until he went to school, age 7.

MTB/MB have two children and three grandchildren. None speak Breton, though their daughter, Anne, born 1958 knows a large number of BCB words.

3— Marie-Thérèse Campion (MTC) née Keneuder, b. 1947 in Kervroac'h, m. of Edern, farmer. Had no French at all until she attended school age 6. Mother b. 1922 in Kerhoantien (near Teir C'hroaz, Briec), father b. 1912 in Landudal.

MTC has three children and three grandchildren. None speak Breton, though her elder daughter understands some Breton.

4— Anne-Marie Coeur (AMC), b. 1935, in Landrevarzeg. Retired farmer.
Had no French until she attended school age 9. Lived and worked in Skoldi all her adult life.

5— Jo Coeur (JC), b. 1934, in Skoldi, Gulvain, m. of Edern. Husband of AMC. Had no French until he attended school age 8. Retired farmer. Lived and worked in Skoldi all his life.

AMC/JC have one son who understands Breton but does not speak it. Their grandchildren studied some Breton at primary level, but they cannot understand their grandparents, nor be understood by them in Breton.

6— André Cornec (AC), b. 1949 in Briec. Retired school inspector for Breton. Speaks BCB natively.

7— Aziliz Cornec (AzC), b. 1990 in Kemper. Student. Daughter of AC and MLC. Speaks BCB natively.

8— Marie-Louise Cornec Le Goff (MLC), b. 1951 in Briec. Civil servant. Advisor for the Breton language for the Mairie of Briec. Speaks BCB natively. Both her children speak BCB fluently.

MLC and AC have two children (Aziliz b. 1990, Tugdual b. 1989) who both speak Breton fluently. Aziliz speaks with a native accent, but her brother speaks with a noticeable French accent and mannerisms.

9— Angèle Feunteun, (AF), née Jaouën, b. 1930 in Kourit (aka. Ty Nevez ar Rouséau), at the time m. of Landrevarzeg. Retired horticulturalist. Had no French until she attended school age 9. None of her two children or grandchildren speak Breton. Her daughter enrolled in a Breton course but gave up. Angèle's grandfather, Yann-Louch (Jean-Louis) Balbous (b.1871) and my great-grandmother were brother and sister.

10— Hervé Gueguen, (HG) b. 1938 in Kerganabenn, Edern. Farmer. Had no French until he attended school age 8. HG has two children and three grandchildren. His son has some degree of fluency in BCB.

11—Hervé Guyader, (HG2) b. 1938 in Sulien, Landrevarzeg. Farmer. Had BCB as his first language until he started attending school, age seven.

12— Yves Guyader, (YG) b. 1937 in Sulien, Landrevarzeg. Farmer. Had BCB as his first language until he started attending school, age seven.

13— Annette Haskoët, (AH), née Jaouën (sister of AF and MQ) b. 1933 in Kourit (aka. Ty Nevez ar Rouséau). Employee in a bakery. Had Breton as her first language. As she heard French spoken at home by her elder sisters, she had some competence at French when she went to school.

14— Corentin Hasköet, (CH), (1932–2009), b. in Landrevarzeg, Meil Kerroc'h, Factory hand and miller. Had no French until he attended school age 8. Corentin and Annette have two daughters and one son. None of their offsprings or grandchildren speak Breton.

15—Louise Hemon (LH) (1935–2009), (LH), née Balbous, b. in Kerdelioù, m. of Langolen. Farmer. Had Breton and French as her first languages. None of her two children or two grandchildren speak Breton.

16— Mari'n Du, (Marie Cadiou, née Le Du), (M'nD) b. 1923 in Place Barré, Briec, moved to Stang Jean when she married age 22 (1945), Edern. Retired farmer. She is always referred to as Mari'n Du by all my informants. She was first cousin of YLD. Her husband was Yves Cadiou who passed away before this work was started. Had no French until she attended school, aged 9. Her husband Yves (deceased before this work was started), was born in Stang Jean. M'nD and her husband only spoke Breton at home. Her daughter Anne-Marie, b. 1946, has some command of BCB. Her grandchildren are in a bilingual Breton-French school. They are unable to communicate with native speakers. M'nD had four children and two grandchildren.

17— Thérèse Le Du, b. 1931, (TLD) in ar Wadalenn (La Magdeleine) m. of Briec. Retired farmer. Wife of YLD. Had no French until she attended school age 9. One of her sons and her daughter have some degree of competence in BCB.

18— Yves Le Du, (YLD), b. 1932, in Lespriten m. of Briec. Retired farmer. First cousin of M'nD. Had Breton as his first language. His parents spoke French and Breton at home and were attentive to the correctness of their speech in both.

TLD/YLD have three children and four grandchildren. One of their sons and their daughter have some degree of competence in BCB.

19— Michel Le Gall, (MLG) (1897–1981), my grandfather, b. in Koadregat, m. of Edern, raised in Kerdelioù, m. of Langolen mechanical engineer: Michel was raised by his mother's family, the Balbous family, as his father died before his birth. He was the first person to speak to me in Breton. Had no French until he attended school, aged 8.

20 — Henri Le Loc'h, (HLL), born 1945 near Pont an Abad. Naval officer. Speaker of Bro Vigouden Breton, which was his first language.

21 — Marguerite Le Loc'h (MLL), born 1950 near Pont an Abad. Speaker of Bro Vigouden Breton, which was her first language.

HLL and MLL have three children and a number of grandchildren, none of which speak Breton. The Breton spoken by HLL and MLL was not recorded for the purpose of this thesis, although it is easily comprehensible to BCB speakers. They provided nonetheless useful socio-cultural information and some linguistic elements useful for comparative purposes.

22— Jean-Noël Moigne, (JNM) b. 1957 in Kervorn, m. of Laz. Electrician and farmer. Both his parents (MM and YM) had Breton as their first language. Although he communicates in French, his knowledge of Breton is native, and unlike my other informants except for Yves Le Du, he is able to explain features of the language and he can fully understand any conversation in BCB.

23— Marie Moigne, (MM), née Kerneis, b. 1923, in Laz. Farmer. Had no French until she attended school age 9. MM cannot be considered a BCB speaker though her Breton is nearly identical to BCB. Her Breton was not recorded for the purpose of this thesis, but she provided useful socio-cultural information and some linguistic elements useful for comparative purposes.

24— Yves Moigne, (YM), b. 1923, in Saint-Thois. Farmer. Had no French until he attended school age 8. His son and daughter have some degree of competence in Breton. None of his grandchildren do. YM cannot be considered a BCB speaker though his Breton is nearly identical to BCB. His Breton was not recorded for the purpose of this thesis, but he provided useful socio-cultural information and some linguistic insights useful for comparative purposes.

MM/YM have two children and four grandchildren. The children understand Breton but do not speak it. None of the grandchildren speak Breton.

25— Annick Nedeleg, (AN), née Le Du, b. 1934 in Lespriten. Farmer. Sister of YLD.

26— Francis Nedeleg, (FN), b. 1933 in Briec. Farmer. Husband of AN.

27— Alexis Ollivier, (AO), (1945-2015) b. in Kemeneven. Worked in a factory. Had Breton as his first language.

28— René Petillon, (RP), b. 1940 in Sant Seleier. Farmer. Had Breton as his first language, though he had some competence in French when he went to school. None of his daughters speak Breton.

29— Yves Petillon, (YP), b. 1947 in An Niver. Agricultural engineer for Canadian foreign aid agencies. Though his main residence is in Montreal, he is now the only native resident of An Niver where he still owns a house and lives for a period of time every year. He had BCB as his first language until he started attending school, age 7. Yves speaks BCB fluently. He has two children. Neither of them speak Breton.

30— Marie Quéré, (MQ), née Jaouën (sister of AF and AH), b. 1926, in Lan Houlien [lãn ˈhɔljɛn]. Café owner. Had no French until she attended school age 9. Marie's grandfather, Yann-Louch (Jean-Louis) Balbous (b.1871) and my great-grandmother were brother and sister.

31— Guillaume Quéré, (GQ), b. 1927, in Landrevarzeg. Second husband of (MQ). Factory hand. Had no French until he attended school age 8.

MQ and GQ spoke Breton at home till they passed away. MQ and her late first husband had one daughter who speaks some Breton.

1.6 Current state of research on the Breton of the Canton of Briec

1.6.1 Works that directly concern BCB

Two monumental works exist which centre on the Breton spoken in the Briec area. They are: Father Jean-Louis Le Scao's bilingual dictionaries and André Cornec's *Doctorat d'État* thesis on Canton of Briec microtoponyms.

1.6.1.1 Le Scao's dictionaries and their analysis by Aziliz Cornec

The bilingual French-Breton/Breton-French dictionaries written during the Second World War by Father Jean Louis Le Scao, a native of Briec and the granduncle of René Petillon, one of my earliest informants, is a manuscript work, kept in the library of the diocese of Kemper and Leon (*Bibliothèque diocésaine de Quimper et Léon*) in Kemper. A digital version of these, as yet, unpublished dictionaries can be downloaded from the website of the library (see bibliography).
Aziliz Cornec is to be thanked for scanning Le Scao's work, which now enables remote access to it. This has been a fundamental factor in the production of the present thesis.

The reason Aziliz scanned the dictionaries is that their analysis is the subject of her 2013, 229-page unpublished Masters thesis. This work, for which she extensively interviewed relatives of Le Scao who gave her access to family documents, represents an essential adjunct to the dictionaries as it provides an informed view of their contents and helps understand and exploit them more thoroughly.

Le Scao's dictionaries are not only lexical. As stated by Aziliz Cornec (2011–2013, 3), they contain extra-lexical information relevant to linguistics, sociolinguistics, dialectology and ethnology as well. Each volume has a grammar, phonetics and morphophonology section. Further description of these last two categories is available below in 2.4.1 *Existing phonological data on BCB*. There is some overlapping between the contents of both of these sections, which, among other things, describe in detail (in French in the Fr.-Br. volume and partly in Breton in the Br.-Fr. one) the consonantic mutations system in BCB, as some examples are common to both. Thus, one has to read both in order to obtain the sum total of Le Scao's information on the subjects covered.

1.6.1.1.1 Subjects covered in the extra-lexical section of Le Scao's dictionaries

- The presentation of the phonetic alphabet created by Le Scao to transcribe Briec Breton
- Advice on how to pronounce Briec Breton words in an authentic fashion, including what contractions to observe in order to emulate common speech
- Consonantic mutations
- Suffixes and their semantic values
- Plurals
- Formation of the feminine
- Numbers
- Diminutives
- Comparatives and superlatives
- Personal pronouns
- Possessives
- Formation of nouns from the imperative verbal stem
- Conjugations of irregular and regular verbs in the affirmative and negative forms

1.6.1.1.2 Most salient features, for the understanding of BCB

While Le Scao's work is of critical importance in many respects, its most salient features from a revivalist's point of view are:
— The very substantial insights it gives on the pronunciation of Briec Breton thanks to the set of phonetic symbols created by Le Scao and the advice it provides on how to emulate authentic Briec Breton.
— The fact that the vocabulary it contains is the one effectively known to and used by Briec Breton speakers as opposed to some more general bilingual Breton dictionaries which propose a choice of terms which may or may not be known to native speakers from a specific area. The terms contained in his dictionaries are authentic spoken Briec Breton, as expressed by Aziliz Cornec (2011–2013, 22): 'Father Le Scao did not try to create a pure Breton, cleansed of French influence. The Breton he has promoted, is close to the one spoken in the Canton of Briec.'[17] As a result, these are the only Breton dictionaries I am aware of, whose author did not have to be concerned either by fairness towards other dialects (resulting in an obligation to provide a large number of dialectal

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[17] 'le Père Le Scao n'a pas cherché à créer un breton "pur" sans influence du français et [...] il a mis en avant un breton proche du breton parlé dans le canton de Briec'.

forms for each item), or by the necessity to operate a choice according to arbitrary criteria.
— The many examples and transcriptions of conversational Breton it contains, which show how the words were used in an authentic non-literary context and inform on Briec Breton syntax.

1.6.1.1.3 Le Scao's objectives

The above is in keeping with Le Scao's objectives clearly stated on p.3 (see facsimile at fig.7 below) of the Fr.-Br. volume: '... all Breton books are written in *Bro Leon* dialect, but this dialect is only half-understood in Cornouaille and in Bro Dreger. I can still parrot off today some of the phrases I learnt at catechism without any clue of what they meant! Let there be books published in the dialect of Cornouaille, for the people of Cornouaille!'[18] From this, Aziliz Cornec concludes and repeatedly states (pp.3, 16, 17, 106 etc.) that Le Scao intended to create a linguistic standard for all of Cornouaille. Though this is actually not stated anywhere by the priest himself, it is clear that he expects his dictionaries to be useful for communication with Breton-speakers from Cornouaille at large.

1.6.1.1.4 Representativity of Le Scao's dictionaries

Cornouaille, however, is a vast geographic and linguistic region, and declaring his dictionaries, which appear to be entirely based on the Briec dialect, to be representative of all of it without further qualification, is necessarily excessive. Aziliz Cornec (2011–2013, 109) stresses that: 'The author's Breton can be considered to be representative of the Breton of Quimper, but on no account, of the Breton spoken on the periphery of the diocese [understand: of the Cornouaille region, which is a diocese] where influence from the other three dialects is felt, namely that of the Leon and Tregor dialects to the north, and of the Vannetais dialect to the east. Jean-Louis Le Scao's Breton therefore represents Quimper Breton, rather than the Breton of Cornouaille.'[19]

While it is true that BCB is not representative of the Leon and Vannetais-inflenced dialects existing within Cornouaille, one has to bear in mind that the term Cornouaille corresponds to an administrative reality (albeit a religious one), rather than a linguistic one. The fact that BCB is not representative of all the dialects spoken within Cornouaille, as Aziliz Cornec rightly points out, obscures the reality that BCB is nonetheless very much representative of the largely intercomprehensible dialects spoken within the linguistic Central Breton region, which includes all but some margins of Cornouaille and most of Tregor, if not Leon (see Madeg, (2010, 9) and Wmffre [1998, 2]).

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[18] '... tous les livres bretons sont écrits en léonard, mais ce dialecte n'est compris qu'à moitié dans la Cornouaille et le Tréguier. Quand j'étais au catéchisme, je me rappelle encore pas mal de ces phrases que je récitais en perroquet sans rien y comprendre! Qu'on édite donc des livres en dialecte cornouaillais pour la Cornouaille!'
[19] 'Le breton de l'auteur peut être considéré comme représentatif du breton quimpérois, mais en aucun cas du breton des limites du diocèse influencé par les trois autres dialectes, au nord du Léon, et de Tréguier, à l'Est de Vannes. Le breton de Jean Louis Le Scao représente donc plus le breton quimpérois, que le breton cornouaillais[...]'.

Going by my own experience, I can, indeed, report having had conversations in Breton with native Breton-speakers from Lestonan (which, admittedly is only 16 km from Briec in the north-west periphery of Quimper), the Lannion area, various locations in Leon, the Crozon peninsula and the Bigouden region (the two points most distant from each other being Loctudy and Lannion, 158 km apart). In addition, what I can see from monographs I have consulted, is that the Berrien, Saint-Pol-de-Léon and Plonevell dialects also appear to be intelligible to me and that the Plozévet dialect, 42 km from Briec, is very close to BCB.

Le Scao was not a sedentary man and he lived at a time when Breton was still heard in all the streets and all the cafés of Western Brittany, including in large urban centres, like Quimper. In all probability, he had frequent opportunities to meet Breton speakers from a variety of regions in a variety of circumstances, including in the seminaries he attended (in Langonnet, Pont-Croix, Quimper and elsewhere). He had, at least, some knowledge of the extent of the dialectal differences and similarities between the dialects spoken in various regions of Brittany as indicated by the statement he makes at the beginning of his Fr.-Br. dictionary about the difficulty Tregor dialect speakers experience with the Leon dialect. His idea, that his dictionaries could be valid for Cornouaille at large is scientifically arguable and excessive, but it is not completely unjustified.

While on the subject of the Bro Leon dialect, I would like to add that, according to my informants, what was hard to understand for BCB speakers was not so much the spoken Leon dialect, as the contents of religious books (in particular *Buez ar Zent*) presumably written in the Leon dialect, which the priests read as they were written, since it was generally as much a foreign dialect to them as it was to their catechism pupils and parishioners. In addition, the concepts, stories and vocabulary of the Gospel and other religious texts, both in spoken and written forms were mainly alien to the preoccupations and everyday life of the youngsters living at the turn of the 19th century and of their parents; it was generally presented with minimal pedagogical skills and through the often brutal and abusive teaching methods of the times. This context was, for most Cornouaille men, women and children, the only one in which they were exposed to 'Leon dialect'. This is hardly a context in which its intelligibility to BCB speakers can be judged.

1.6.1.1.5 Current validity of Le Scao's work

In order to determine the current validity of Le Scao's dictionaries, their contents have to be confronted with contemporary speakers to ascertain whether they know the words listed and understand the accompanying texts and whether the pronunciation specifically given or inferred by the contents is current.

For AzC, who, in spite of her young age, is a native speaker of BCB and for myself, as a fluent non-native speaker with a degree of inherited native-ness, this confrontation was done, to begin with, by reading the dictionaries for ourselves. The conclusion, for me, was that the vast majority of terms listed by Le Scao are known to me and are therefore necessarily known to any speaker of BCB. Further, the coincidence of the extra-lexical content of the dictionaries (phonological data, examples, sayings,

explanations) with contemporary BCB is even closer, leaving no doubt as to the currency of the contents of Le Scao's dictionaries.

There are, however, some problematic entries in the dictionaries. Firstly, 553 terms (Aziliz Cornec, 2011–2013, 25) were entered in French in the Fr.-Br. volume, but left untranslated. Secondly, a substantial number of terms, unknown to me and to my informants in BCB, which I was hoping to find in the dictionaries, were not listed in them or were amongst the 553 untranslated terms. This leads to the following comment: When I first obtained Le Scao's dictionaries, I was very hopeful it would help me fill the gaps that seem to exist in my informants' vocabulary. For example, none of my informants (barring AC and MLC whose interests and profession are centred on the Breton language) are able to provide BCB terms for such common items as: broth, (water) current, dandelion, disappear, lung, ankle, refuse, renounce, snail, square, to stroke an animal etc. The reality is that nearly all the words unknown to my informants are also absent from Le Scao's dictionaries. This indicates that these words, though it is for some of them hard to believe, may not have been relevant to the Canton of Briec everyday reality. Yet, while it is true that the words unknown to my informants are almost always also unknown to Le Scao, the reverse is not true: my informants were able to translate a very substantial proportion of the words not listed or untranslated by him. It is therefore likely that Le Scao's residence outside of Brittany for most of his adult life caused him to forget a proportion of BCB vocabulary. The question remains unanswered, however, why neither Le Scao, nor my informants, know the words for such basic items as 'snail' or 'lungs'.

Systematically submitting the whole 9,400 entries and extra-lexical sections contained in Le Scao's dictionaries to the scrutiny of my ageing informants was not an option for me. Instead, I used the dictionaries as dictionaries. That is to say as verification tools, or to try and prompt my informants' memory, as the purpose of this thesis is to describe BCB in its current state and not to investigate le Scao's work.

I think it is useful, however, to provide the (non-exhaustive) list of terms I was seeking in the dictionaries, but could not find in them or could not obtain from native speakers. This list is displayed at the end of this section.

By contrast, AzC, whose thesis is specifically about Le Scao's dictionaries, had reason to investigate their contents more thoroughly. Firstly, she submitted a number of terms contained in the dictionaries to the scrutiny of Marie, a native BCB speaker, and collected the equivalent terms, if any, proposed by that speaker. As only Marie was consulted, the results have no statistical significance, but they provide the following:

a) extra BCB vocabulary in the cases where Marie gives alternatives to some of Le Scao's words.
b) a degree of confirmation of the words Marie agrees with.
c) an illustration, both of the relative decline in lexical diversity of the Breton of BCB speakers and of the strategies used by them to compensate for it.
d) as these strategies mainly involve resorting to periphrases or neologisms to replace unknown or forgotten words, interesting syntactical and lexical data is obtained in the process, as well as potential information on the evolution of the language.

In addition, Aziliz Cornec then took the 553 words which were left untranslated, out of the 6,200 words listed in French by Le Scao, and submitted them to two Canton of Briec informants. They were able to give translations for approximately 70% of them (a percentage that, in my recollection, seems to be congruent with the proportion of the untranslated words which my own informants could translate, though I did not keep statistics on this). Unfortunately, the author did not give IPA transcriptions for these translations. It is important to note that a number the untranslated words (like *écrouelles* 'scrofula', *dépuratif* 'depurant', or *vautour* 'vulture') were obviously entered by following the sequence of entries of a French dictionary and are irrelevant to Briec daily life. If such words were discounted, the proportion of words Aziliz Cornec's informants were able to translate would be higher. This exercise provided extra BCB vocabulary and interesting syntactical and lexical data, when the two informants translated words with periphrases.

While there are some discrepancies between Le Scao's vocabulary and that of my informants, the phonological, morphological and syntactic data (including the examples) presented by Le Scao reflect very closely the Breton spoken by my informants in this second decade of the 21st century.

While Le Scao's handwriting is generally very clear, some letters and words, due to the old-fashioned writing style he uses, are hard to decipher. Aziliz Cornec, however, has collected all 349 illustrative examples from both dictionaries, and printed them in modern font, thus sparing her readers any difficulty in reading them.

The last area that is problematic in the dictionaries is the phonological and phonetic data they contain. While they provide very substantial insights in these areas they also contain misleading, contradictory and incomplete data as a result of which they cannot readily be used to derive a complete picture of BCB pronunciation without a critical study of their contents and a pre-existing knowledge of the language (which defeats their purpose). For example, they give valuable information on the native pronunciation of most words and place names, on the pronunciation of *c'h* or on the quality of certain vowels, but they also use a mixture of Breton, French and Le Scao's own phonetic symbols which cannot to be interpreted without hesitation, as their contents are neither fully phonetic nor fully orthographic. For example, Le Scao uses both *k* and *c* for /k/, or he makes undifferentiated use of *t* or *d* in word-final position to represent both /t/ and /d/ in some words (like *mad*, *ket* and *red*). Reference to some of these problems will be made in relevant places in the present work.

~ avis ~

I

J'ai composé ici à la Martinique, sans le secours d'aucun livre, ce "Dictionnaire Français-Breton Cornouaillais,,.

Pourquoi? Parce que j'ai constaté lors de mes rentrées en France que tous les livres bretons sont écrits en "Léonard,,. Mais ce dialecte n'est compris qu'à moitié dans la Cornouaille et le Tréguier. Quand j'étais au catéchisme, je me rappelle encore pas mal de ces phrases que je récitais en perroquet sans y rien comprendre! Qu'on édite donc des livres en dialecte cornouaillais pour la Cornouaille!

Ma charge d'aumônier d'un petit noviciat de Religieuses ne laissant pas mal de temps libre, l'idée m'est venue d'en profiter et d'aider par ce dictionnaire surtout les prêtres de Cornouailles et de Tréguier. Ils pourront y trouver aide pour leurs catéchismes et leurs sermons.

II

Mon alphabet spécial est nécessaire. Sans lui impossible d'écrire certains mots. ainsi, sans "ā,, le "an,,
comment écrire : Bānal, genet; nāon, faim?
2°) sans "ō,, ——— : Gōnit, gain; Dōa, apprivoiser?
3°) — "õ,, ——— : Brõ, pays; Kõzni, vieillesse?
4°) — "ē,, ——— : Lēnt, timide; Lēva, pleurer?
5°) — "ū,, ——— : Kūsi, crins; Xūn, lagune?

Fig. 7 Facsimile of p.3 of the French-Breton volume of Le Scao's dictionary

1.6.1.1.6 Some common words for which neither Le Scao nor my informants could provide a straightforward translation

almond	give up	pipe (item of plumbing)
agressive	habitual	purr
as soon as	hose	rape
avenge	important	refuse
boot (as in 'wellingtons'	incredible	renounce
or rubber boots)	insect	rinse
broth	interessant	sand
bubble	jew	sharpen
catastrophe	jewish	size
cliff	lung	snail
common	main (as in 'most	sniffle
dandelion	important')	square (*adj*.)
disappear	misdeed	tradition
disaster	ordinary	unhappy
dissatisfied	stroke (*v*.)	vengeance
eye-brow		

Naturally, my informants' ability to communicate is not in the least encumbered by the apparent absence of these words from their vocabulary. In fast conversation, they simply resort to paraphrases or (less frequently) to more or less bretonised versions of French words.

1.6.1.2 André Cornec's *Microtoponymie du Canton de Briec*

This is a 954-page, as yet unpublished, *Doctorat d'État* thesis defended in 1996 (see how to access this work in the bibliography). It is a detailed study of the Canton of Briec microtoponyms which has taken its author approximately 20 years to complete as a result of the fact that Cornec personally visited all the sites listed in his work to confront the reality of the terrain with the actual toponyms. He also carried out a survey (p. 770) of the pronunciation, within the Canton of Briec, of the orthographic sequence *c'h*, which varies between /χ/ and /ɦ/. This involved systematically visiting the communities of an area much vaster than the Canton of Briec itself. Therefore, apart from the etymological and historical information it provides, this work is a very rich source of information on the vocabulary, phonology, morphology and even the syntax of BCB, though the syntax of toponyms cannot be considered to always represent contemporary syntax.

The vocabulary it provides is not all in current use, as toponyms often outlive the words of which they are composed. However, I have observed that Breton-speaking Canton of Briec inhabitants, though they may not use the words contained in microtoponyms in everyday conversation, often know their meaning, in particular if they refer to the geographical and farming environments.

The lexicon present in Cornec's work, which is systematically transcribed in IPA, is therefore of great importance as a way of reviving knowledge of vocabulary that has not completely left the memory of Breton speakers. It does so by prompting recollection

by BCB speakers of rarely used words (particularly technical words, or words relating to the trades or the fauna), which are still current, but are becoming forgotten, under the compounding effects of their infrequency in everyday conversation and of the growing infrequency of the use of BCB itself.

Thanks to the Breton microtoponymic signs which pepper it, the Breton countryside is an open vocabulary book. Most signs are simply describing a location. Many are phrases and therefore illustrate morphosyntactic rules. Works such as Cornec's give the key to the terms encountered on the signs and have the potential to help speakers and learners of Breton preserve their knowledge of the language. This is the idea behind bilingual signage. The bilingual signage, however, mainly helps preserving the Breton names of cities and promotes neologisms for a small range of modern day realities such as *lasterezh* 'rubbish tip', *Kreizenn goñvers* 'shopping centre', *Surentez Sokial* 'Social Security' etc. Understanding microtoponymic signage, on the other hand, represents access to a vast body of linguistic, geographic and historical data.

The vocabulary topics accessible through Cornec's work concern:

— Topographic features (elevations, valleys, plains etc.)
— Soil quality
— Types of fields
— Crops and farm animals
— Industries
— Bodies of water
— The climate
— Forested areas
— Plants and trees
— Animals, including birds, insects, amphibians etc.
— Manmade structures of all sorts (megaliths, fortifications, burial sites, roads, bridges, hedges, property markers, dwellings, storage structures etc.)

This has proven very useful to prompt the memory of my informants when I discussed relevant topics with them. It also happened that remembrance of a word would lead informants to elaborate further as relevant expressions or anecdotes came back to them.

1.6.1.2.1 Linguistic data in Cornec's work

In support of the directly toponymic data presented in his work, Cornec provides an 81-page section of linguistic data, from p. 750 to p. 831 (see facsimiles of the table of contents below).

This section contains 16 pages on the phonology of BCB produced by a native of Briec and a fluent speaker of BCB, himself married to a native speaker (Marie-Louise Cornec Le Goff [abbreviated to MLC]). Their language of communication with each other in daily life is BCB. It contains therefore very authentic and accurate data, which gave me guidance and confirmed most of my own observations on BCB phonetics and phonology.

An examples of this is the meticulous way in which Cornec notes the complexity of certain vowels, which is a trait of BCB. In particular, he often notes a vowel where other transcriptions would have a [ː], thus illustrating the subtle change that a vowel effectively undergoes as it lengthens. Examples are [bjæᵃn] *bern* 'heap' (1996, 761), (which might less accurately be transcribed [bjæːn]) or [bwæᵃt] *bord* 'edge' (1996, 761) (which might less accurately be transcribed [bwæːt]). This is another area in which, though I was tempted to transcribe the sounds in all their complexity, I was held back by a concern my notation may appear exceedingly fastidious. In this case again, Cornec's conclusions encouraged me to put forward my own similar observations.

Amongst the information that directly concerns BCB, is section III.2.3 *Les deux zones linguistiques du canton*, (p. 770). This section deals with the variations within Canton Briec of the pronunciation of *c'h* in word-initial position, generally pronounced /χ/ (a typical trait of eastern Breton dialects) in the eastern fringe of the canton, while it is pronounced /h/ elsewhere. This discrepancy in the pronunciation of *c'h* is a trait of BCB. Cornec infers from this that Canton Briec is likely to be situated on a border between western and eastern dialects. This provides some inkling that the linguistic variations, which exist within the canton, may be the result of the suspected presence of this linguistic border on the territory of the canton. It could also be of importance to a better understanding of the history of the region, in particular its ancient history, as it might cast new light on the position of the western border of the territory of the Veneti Gauls (see above pp. 31–32), a commercially powerful Gaulish nation that played a prominent role in the trade between Brittany and Britain and in the struggle against Roman domination of Western Gaul and Britain.

The scope of Cornec's work makes it a big hill to mine. The time constraints that faced me as a result of the urgency of my recording work in the face of ageing informants and data analysis in other areas of BCB did not allow me, however, to exploit its contents as extensively as I would have liked to.

1.6.2 Monographs on Breton dialects

The monographs I could access and have consulted are:

— Cheveau, Loïc 2007 *Approche phonologique, morphologique et syntaxique du Breton du Grand Lorient (Bas-Vannetais)*.
— Goyat, Gilles (2012) *Description morphosyntaxique du parler breton de Plozévet (Finistère)*.
— Hammer, Françoise 1969 *Der bretonische dialekt von Plouharnel*.
— McKenna, Malachy 1976 *The Breton of Guéméné-sur-Scorff*.
— Ploneis, Jean-Marie 1983 *Le parler de Berrien*.
— Sommerfelt, Alf 1978 *Le breton parlé à Saint-Pol-de-Léon*.
— Ternes, Elmar 1970 *Grammaire Structurale du Breton de l'Île de Groix*.
— Wmffre, Iwan 1998 *Central Breton*.
I was, unfortunately, unable to access:
— Favereau, Francis 1984 *Langue quotidienne dans le parler de Poullaouen*.
And I only had access to excerpts from:

— German, Gary. 1984 Étude linguistique sur le breton de Saint Yvi: Une analyse phonologique et morphologique du breton de Saint Yvi en Cornouaille et sa place dialectale selon les données de l'*Atlas Linguistique de la Basse Bretagne*.

All the works listed above represent highly valuable resources which provide a considerable quantity of exploitable data. The main contribution of these works, from the point of view of this thesis, has been to provide me with guidance in the approach to the description of BCB, to offer me the possibility to compare certain dialectal trends with those of BCB and insights on the layout and presentation of my work.

Furthermore, each of the authors of these works has chosen their own examples to illustrate the various areas of the dialects they studied and certain features they might have found striking in these dialects. This has attracted my attention to certain points about BCB, which I may, otherwise, have omitted to talk about, thus increasing my own awareness of phonological/phonetic, grammatical or lexical features of BCB. The bibliographies in the above works have also helped me identify further research resources.

In spite of the diversity of the dialects studied in the above works, they are all Breton and they are all intimately related. All their features potentially relate to BCB. All can be and are useful for understanding BCB better. Studying these monographs was particularly useful as a way of prompting investigation of various areas of BCB and even of prompting remembrance of lexical items, or turns of speech forgotten or left disused by my informants or myself. This illustrates the importance of preserving dialects and detailed data about them and avoiding the simplistic temptation to hastily unify people's speech by discarding their language to the naively presumed benefit of simplifying communication: in reality dialects enrich each other, while rushed unification impoverishes communication, which can generate a lethal disinterest for a language.

The practical difficulties I sometimes encountered using the above monographs have also awakened me to the discrepancy that can exist between what an author assumes to be self-evident to their readers and what really is. This has prompted me to be as explicit as possible in all aspects of this thesis in order to make it easier to use.

The approach followed by all of the authors listed above places phonology first, followed by morphology. This may be followed by syntax or/and lexicon. The study of Celtic phonology involves, in addition, a specific (but not exclusive) area termed *morphophonology*, which either precedes or follows the morphology section (apart from the case of McKenna, whose monograph was not meant to be a complete description of the dialect of Guéméné-sur-Scorff). Morphophonology refers mainly to the mutations of word-initial consonants as both a phonology-based and a grammatical phenomenon with morphological implications.

The sequence followed in the most recent amongst the above monographs is: phonology, morphophonology, morphology, abbreviated in the table below as P/MP/M. These sections may be followed by syntax or/and lexicon, abbreviated to S/L.

I show below which sequences the monographs I consulted follow and whether they actually discuss consonantic mutations from a grammatical perspective. It is, in my opinion, essential to note that, as a native speaker, Le Scao does not link mutations to grammar. For him as for other native speakers I know, mutations are first and foremost phonological, as indicated by the term he chooses to refer to them: '*Euphonie*.'

The table below shows that all authors, except McKenna (see discussion of his work below), present mutations from a grammatical perspective. This, however, does not preclude discussion by these authors of the phonological workings of mutations.

The table also shows that placing morphophonology before morphology occurs in all the more recent works (Cheveau, Goyat, Wmffre), Ternes' and Hammer's works being the only pre-1990s work to also deliberately adopt this approach (while Sommerfelt adopts it *de facto*). This indicates a perception that morphology is, at least in part, a consequence of phonology, rather than the reverse. I think this notion has a potentially critical role to play in moderating the focus usually placed on grammar, to the detriment of pronunciation, in the approach to language study and transmission, which is particularly evident in the case of contemporary Breton, also known as *peurunvan*.

	Cheveau 2007	Goyat 2012	McKenna 1976	Hammer 1969	Ploneis 1983	Sommerfelt 1978	Ternes 1970	Wmffre 1998
P/MP/M/S/L	P/MP/M/S no L	✓	P/M only	✓	P/M/MP/L no S	P/M/L no MP or S	P/MP/M/L no S	✓
Mutations as grammar						✓		
Mutations as morphophonology	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Glossary only					✓			
Glossary and texts		✓ toponymic glossary only					✓ 37p.	
Texts only				✓		✓ + brief notes on vocabulary		✓ 4p.
Examples transcribed in IPA as a large proportion of contents	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

The potential for transmission of an awareness of sound is reflected in the presence or absence of texts transcribed in IPA in the works above and of their importance in number of pages. All works above provide a large quantity of examples transcribed in IPA (in addition to transcriptions in IPA, Goyat gives examples transcribed phonetically in orthographic form in the syntax section of his work).
While some works do not have a texts section or a glossary section, they all contain many examples from which similar information can be obtained.

1.6.2.1 Cheveau, Loïc 2007 *Approche phonologique, morphologique et syntaxique du Breton du Grand Lorient (Bas-Vannetais)*

The remarks Cheveau makes (2007, 49) regarding his choice of approach to the study of the dialect of the Lorient region[20] gives a sobering example of consideration given by an author to practical issues. Cheveau explains how the choice he made to opt for an approach inspired by the structuralist model and the work of Ternes on the dialect of Isle of Groaz, was determined by the realisation on his part that recording native speakers was a priority as they were close to the end of their lives. He reports how several of his informants, in fact, passed away since he had first interviewed them. This is familiar to me as I have experienced and continue experiencing the same reality with regard to the dwindling number of my informants. In such a context, as Cheveau explains, one has to chose the path of realism. This means giving priority to the collection of as much native speech as possible and opting for a well-known method of analysis rather than experimenting with less familiar methods.

In addition, the approach Cheveau chooses is that of an author (Ternes) who described a dialect of the same group as his own.

The above considerations have also guided me in my choice of approach to the description of BCB.

This work contains a very extensive presentation of the phonology and morphophonology of *Breton du Grand Lorient* 'the Breton of the Greater Lorient region' (abbreviated below as BOL for Breton of Lorient). This seems an adequate strategy given the superficially alien character of the pronunciation of Vannetais dialects from the point of view of other Breton dialects as well as from the perspective of French and English.

In Cheveau's thesis, similarities can be noted between BOL and BCB. For example, Cheveau gives the past participle of *ober*, (*graet* in PU) as [gwɛj], which is reminiscent of the pronunciation of that word by most of my informants in BCB as [gwɛt]. The pronunciations [gwɛj] and [gwɛt] are remarkable for their dissimilarity with the orthographic form *graet*. Goyat (2012, 59) gives the pronunciation /gɥed/ for that word in Plozévet. This pronunciation is unsurprisingly close to that of BCB and similarly at odds with the orthography of the word. This raises the question, as *graet* is a high-frequency word, of whether Vannetais dialects might have somehow influenced the dialects of the south-west of Cornouaille (to which BCB and the Plozévet dialect belong) or vice-versa.

Another example of similarity between BCB and BOL is the word for 'stones':
— In BOL: [mɛɲ], in BCB: [mɛɲ] or [mɛɲ]. These pronunciations, also at odds with the orthography (*mein*) have no correspondence with the pronunciation in Plozévet, which is /mɛjn/, as expected from the orthography of the word.

While a systematic comparison between BOL and BCB has no place in this thesis, the information I have gleaned from Cheveau's work in that respect, leads to the conclusion that such a comparison could be the subject of further study.

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[20] *An Oriant*, in Breton (see index of place names, at the end).

1.6.2.2 Goyat, Gilles (2012) *Description morphosyntaxique du parler breton de Plozévet (Finistère)*

Of the dialects discussed in the monographs listed above, this is the closest one to BCB. For this reason, this monograph was useful as a way of prompting remembrance of lexical items or syntactic structures forgotten by my informants or myself. It is also useful in prompting an awareness of traits of BCB that are similar to Plozévet Breton.

For example, it has brought back to my attention that the demonstrative pronoun *hini* could be realised in different ways: five in Plozévet (p. 231), while in BCB it comes in up to seven phonetic realisations.[21]

The 152 pages of microtoponymy the work of Goyat contains, and the fact it concerns a dialect close to BCB, but spoken in a different geographic environment close to the sea, was also useful to me, as a revivalist. With two children I address daily in Breton and a number of people with whom I regularly have conversations in Breton, I find this section of Goyat's work particularly helpful. This is because the Breton of Briec lacks many words relating to environments and geographical features, in particular those of the seaside, which are part of our everyday Sydney environment, although they are non-existent or rare in Briec. I refer to such words as: sand, seashells, cliffs, tide (high and low), wave etc. As Plozévet lies near the seaside, this microtoponymic section of Goyat's work contains words or refers to words elsewhere in his work, which have enabled me to fill some gaps left in Briec Breton. This is something a BCB speaker of my grandfather's generation might have done, if they had had enough contacts with Plozévet dialect speakers, for whatever reason. I hasten to ad that, in spite of Briec lying only 40-or-so kilometers (or, in modern terms, a forty-minute drive) from the coast, this had very little chance of happening, because at the time when Breton was still the language natives of Briec and natives of Plozévet would have naturally addressed each other in, my relatives owned no motorcar and only would have gone to the coast on a few occasions over a lifetime. One such occasion would have been the Santez Anna[22] Pardon, during which opportunities for conversations with locals would have been limited. By the time motorcars had percolated down to people of their status, my relatives no longer addressed strangers in Breton and their Breton could only be sporadically enriched by neighbouring dialects. As a local dialect has very little chance of surviving in isolation, the importance of works such as Goyat's is potentially critical for the support, validation and enrichment they can provide to all neighbouring dialects.

Goyat's work is the longest of all the ones discussed in this section. It is very detailed and rich in examples and background information which anchors the Plozévet dialect socially and historically. With 121 pages devoted to phonetics, phonology and morphophonology, it provides solid grounding on how to emulate Plozévet native speakers. While in the phonetics and phonology, morphophonology and morphology sections, all examples are transcribed in IPA, the examples in the syntax section are transcribed phonetically using Roman characters. Transcribing all examples both orthographically and using IPA would have increased the volume of the thesis considerably. Goyat would therefore have had to choose between giving less examples

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[21] See 4.1.3.1 Definite substitutes.
[22] A pilgrimage and procession. See index of place names.

transcribed in IPA or keeping the current number, but only in orthographic form. His choice of writing phonetically in Latin characters is possibly a compromise. Deriving the correct pronunciation for those examples, however, requires a pre-existing familiarity with the dialect or with neighbouring ones, or at least with another Central Breton dialect.

1.6.2.3 Françoise Hammer, 1969 *Der bretonische Dialekt von Plouharnel*

This monograph, whose author is a native of the area, describes, in German, a dialect of the Bro Gwened domain. The presentation is concise and complete. However, the examples given, including in the syntax section, are generally very short, so they lack the support of context. Interestingly, it contains several occurrences of the orthographic sequence *or* being phonetically rendered as [war], (for ex. p. 23) which is a typical trait of BCB.

Hammer's monograph is an example of the use of abbreviations and symbols that are not explained or listed anywhere (at least anywhere obvious). This makes some explanations and presentations of data difficult to follow, especially at a 45-year distance. Yet, it is now, as the practice of native Breton is very much reduced in the Auray/Quiberon area, that Hammer's monograph is the most needed for averting its annihilation. Nonetheless, this author together with all others who produced similar works before the time of computers and digital voice and video recorders deserve much respect and gratitude.

1.6.2.4 Alan Heusaff 1996 *Geriaoueg Sant-Ivi*

This glossary of the dialect of Sant Ivi, 15 km to the west of Kemper and 22 km to the south-west of Canton Briec, is a collection of words and expressions (in use around the 1940s and 1950s in particular), as well as comments on their use. It even mentions words to specify they are *not* used in that dialect. An example of this is the entry for the word *pebezh* (p. 249), which goes: 'PEBEZH [ˈpebes] in the hymn **Alleluia pebezh joa pebezh laouenidigezh**, but in ordinary life I do not think you would hear it.'[23] Note that the fact this entry does not grammatically categorize *pebezh*, is quite representative of the relatively personal style in which Heusaff presents his data. Nonetheless, mentioning that a term, particularly a term that is presented as common by Breton language textbooks, is, in fact, never used in a dialect is precious information. It is a pity that Heusaff does not provide the alternative term actually used in St Ivi. In Briec, where *pebezh* is not used either, the expression (*da*) *pegem* is an alternative.

Another strangeness of *Geriaoueg Sant-Ivi* is that many entries are not followed by any definition, but all are followed by IPA transcriptions. The author's preoccupation with documenting the sounds of the dialect appears in the detailed description he provides of the phonetic range of the dialect, which is very close to that of BCB, at the beginning of the book.

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[23] 'PEBEZH [ˈpebes] er c'hantik **Alleluia pebezh joa pebezh laouenidigezh**, met er yezh voutin ne gav ket din e vije bet klevet.'

This work is entirely written in Breton, which means that in order to use it, one must not only be an advanced or fluent Breton speaker, but also have familiarity with grammatical Breton neologisms. In its current form, this document is therefore not easily accessible to ordinary learners of Breton or even to descendants of Sant Ivi native speakers attempting to reclaim their dialect, even if they still partially know it.

The definitions and commentaries given are particularly interesting because they are expressed in colloquial rather than formal Breton and can be models of how to define or paraphrase a word or expression in an authentic way rather than using a neologism of a French word. The atypical contents of this document reflect the atypical character and biography of its author. It is nonetheless full of riches.

1.6.2.5 McKenna, Malachy 1976 *The Breton of Guéméné-sur-Scorff*

This work focuses on the sounds and on the morphology of the verbs and nouns of the dialect it describes. Its approach to sound is phonetic and it is therefore very detailed. It involves an extensive description of the environment in which sounds occur, as well as the more deliberate use of sound in a meaning-driven context. This leads to the presentation of detailed fundamental rules governing phonation in this dialect. It does not include an extensive description of the phonology of the Guéméné dialect. It is the only monograph, amongst the works I have consulted, that does not describe sandhi in Breton in terms of prescribed grammatical relationships between mutations and their triggers.

From this perspective, this work appears to be less directly useable for revival purposes, but indirectly it promotes a fundamental understanding of sound, which is important in the practical understanding of its production in Celtic. It is a thought-provoking work and it stimulated my own endeavour to investigate the phonology of BCB from a more fundamental viewpoint. Two examples of this are as follows: McKenna (1976, § 267–271) reports on the level of stress placed on adverbs, past participles, articles, adjectives, prepositions etc. in a sentence. This is something I had not paid attention to, myself, as I took these phenomena for granted, due to their appearing to me to be endemic to all languages. For example, when McKenna (1976, § 270) remarks that '[i]n compound tenses, the stress is on the past participle or the infinitive', I find that the same applies, for example to BCB, English, or Italian. This has triggered an investigation on my part which I would otherwise not have made.

Another typical situation resulting from consultation of the above listed monographs, was for me to find in another dialect, a notable feature that is also present in BCB. Although this was less likely in the dialect of Guéméné-sur-Scorff, than in a dialect closer to Briec, I did notice that the verbs *mont* and *dont* in that dialect have identical negative forms. While this is not the case in BCB, my confrontation to this feature brought to my mind the fact that, in BCB, these two verbs are often used interchangeably.

However, as a Vannetais dialect, the Breton of Guéméné-sur-Scorff is so different from BCB, that a major proportion of observations concerning it cannot be used in a direct comparison between the two dialects.

1.6.2.6 Jean-Marie Ploneis, 1983 *Le parler de Berrien*

This is one of the most extensive works amongst the ones presented here. Like the work of Wmffre and to a degree that of Sommerfelt, it illustrates the similarities that can exist between the dialects of the central Breton area. A large number of the key phonological, morphological and lexical points stressed by the author in his very useful general conclusion indeed apply to BCB, in spite of the 54 km that separate the locations in which they are spoken.

The summary provided in the conclusion of this work, of the salient linguistic points of the Berrien dialect as they appear in the daily practice of its speakers, is a very helpful resource for those who want to refer to such work in order to learn or relearn this dialect. Such a summary is rarely offered in such monographs whose authors are more focussed on the needs of the scientific researcher than on those of the lay revivalist. This focus also explains why such works tend to use terminology that is difficult even for educated laypersons to understand. While this is justified by the requirements of scientific accuracy, it limits the audience of such works to a small number of specialists.

In a similar way to Hammer, Ploneis tends to provide short examples, which are lacking in contextual information. This is not mitigated by syntactic information, as it does not have a section on syntax.

1.6.2.7 Alf Sommerfelt, 1978 *Le breton parlé à Saint-Pol-de-Léon*

This monograph, written in 1920, was reprinted with alterations in 1978. The phonetic symbols used by Sommerfelt were converted to IPA and commentaries were inserted. Though the terminology used by the author is not always that of more recent works, his approach is nonetheless in keeping with that of current researchers. However, he treats mutations as grammar, rather than phonology, being the only author to do so.

It is a comprehensive description of Bro Leon Breton and it has been a complement to my own experience of it and of how it compares to BCB. It has further confirmed that there is potentially a high degree of intercomprehension between the Bro Leon Breton and Central Breton.

1.6.2.8 Elmar Ternes 1970 *Grammaire Structurale du Breton de l'Île de Groix*

This monograph is the first description of a Breton dialect to follow the structural approach. It is the second-longest monograph after Goyat's with 394 pages against Goyat's 690. It is very comprehensive, structured, detailed and easy to use. I can understand how Cheveau can see it as a model for that reason and also because it concerns a dialect of the same group as his. It contains a large body of texts, which is the best way of providing a feel for the language, for those who are discovering it.

The section devoted to phonology is considerably longer than in Cheveau's work and slightly longer than Goyat's. It contains ten pages just on intonation, a trait that was obviously striking to Ternes in the Groe dialect.

1.6.2.9 Wmffre, Iwan (1998) *Central Breton*

This work is relatively short and fits in a booklet the small size of which has been an important logistical adjunct to its contents, as it could easily be taken on field trips. It is not meant to be an exhaustive study of a dialect or of major aspects of a dialect. Its size, however, is somewhat deceptive because, its print being very small, it does contain a fairly extensive description of the Plonevell dialect. Its title stresses the fact that the dialect it describes is a representative of the larger Central Breton group characterised by a high level of intercomprehensibility. This is evident in the similarities between the Plonevell dialect, BCB and the Plozévet dialect in spite of the distances that separate them (Plozévet-Briec: 44 km, Plonevell-Plozévet: 92 km). This is still an important notion to spread in the face of persisting arguments relative to the fragmentation, if not disunity, of Breton dialects and the supposed impossibility for Breton speakers from different regions to understand each other.

Wmffre raises some interesting points, regarding the dialect he describes, which are relevant to BCB:
a) He mentions what he calls a 'preverbal particle' (57) transcribed laɣ, used, in effect, as a conjunction. The same exists in BCB as [la] and it is used very frequently.
b) Wmffre mentions verbal suffixes in *-s* and *-f* in the present indicative, which also exist in BCB. These suffixes have the correspondent *-v* in Goyat's work on Plozévet Breton. Though neither author appears to attribute a semantic value to these suffixes in their dialects, in BCB they indicate the habitual character of an action.
c) The definite and indefinite articles given by Wmffre do not include forms ending in /l/ (the likes of *al* and *ul*). This is also the case in BCB in which the main forms are [a]/[e] (for the definite article) and [ɔ]/[o] (for the indefinite article) though articles ending in /l/ are occasionally heard.

1.6.3 Other works relevant to the study of Breton dialects

1.6.3.1 The linguistic atlases

From the point of view of the present work, Le Roux's *Atlas linguistique de Basse Bretagne* (ALBB) and Le Dû's *Nouvel Atlas Linguistique de Basse Bretagne* (NALBB), provide invaluable mainly lexical and phonetic information on BCB. The scope of their contributions however, is limited by the constraints of time and logistics with regard to the collecting work itself, as well as by considerations of size, weight and pricing. As a result, they are limited to 600-or-so entries each.

In the course of my investigations, they have been extremely useful for verification purposes or, occasionally to prompt informants' remembrance.

While the only locality of the Canton of Briec covered in ALBB is Edern, NALBB potentially provides information on the trends that occur within Canton Briec, since it includes Briec and Landudal situated respectively in the centre and close to the southern border of the canton, as well as Kemeneven and Tregourez which are situated respectively just outside its western and eastern borders. Highlighting linguistic variations over the Breton-speaking domain of Brittany is, of course, one of the

purposes of these atlases, which is potentially useful in the case of the Canton of Briec due to its suspected position on a linguistic border.

The unlimited storage possibilities offered by computer technology are able to solve the practical issues connected with the size, weight and cost of linguistic atlases and should be used to promote their ongoing extension.

1.6.3.2 Francis Favereau's *Geriadur ar brezhoneg a-vremañ*

This is the most complete bilingual Breton-French/French-Breton dictionary in existence. It provides the dialectal origins of the terms contained in the entries (unless the words are deemed to exist in all dialects) and the terms are illustrated by examples collected from Favereau's personal native knowledge of Breton, his own fieldwork and from his constant consultation of essentially all studies done on Breton dialects.

It is the only dictionary available that reflects the dialectal diversity of Breton and it is probably the only bilingual dictionary on paper in the world, to represent the vocabulary of a language that is not yet unified and extends over such a large area. The challenge is considerable and results in a dictionary of sizeable dimensions (250mm x165mm x 65mm), weighing approximately 1.9kg, in keeping, however, with the dimensions and weight of many bilingual dictionaries.

The dialectal indications are geographically specific. They are broken down into four categories (in decreasing order of size):
1) the four broad dialectal zones, namely Cornouaille, Leon, Tregor and Vannetais.
2) nine specific smaller areas within these zones, which are: Mid-western Cornouaille (Fr. *Basse-Cornouaille*), the Cornouaille seaboard, Northern Cornouaille (Fr. *Haute Cornouaille*), Western Leon (Fr. *Bas-Léon*), Eastern Leon (Fr. *Haut-Léon*), Western and Eastern Tregor (in Fr. respectively *Bas-Trégor* and *Petit Trégor*), Central Tregor (Fr. *Grand-Trégor*), Western Vannetais (Fr. *Bas-Vannetais*), Eastern Vannetais (Fr. *Haut-Vannetais*).
3) very specific local areas referred to as *terroirs*, of which there are at least 12.
4) specific municipalities.

The entries, which generally provide several orthographic alternatives (according to the various norms in existence) are followed by IPA transcriptions which also provide a range of phonetic variations, at the minimum between the KLT dialects and the Vannetais dialects, if applicable.

The entries are therefore complex. In addition, many examples given are left untranslated, presumably because translating them all would have unacceptably increased the size and price of the dictionary. It even happens that an entire entry does not have a French translation of the Breton word. This is the case for *deviñ* 'to burn' which contains, however, Welsh and English translations (1992, 132).

Using this dictionary therefore requires an experience and a dedication that the average teacher, stage artist, game host, or school student does not have. Priced at 100€, it is beyond what most potential users will accept to pay, even if they are quite prepared to spend several hundred euros on a tablet, games console or smartphone.

This may explain why this dictionary is out of print and very hard to find second hand, which indicates that it is of great interest to a select group of people and of next to no interest to the average dictionary user. A simplified version is available online for free (<http://www.arkaevraz.net/dicobzh/index.php>), but it does not contain dialectal information, nor does it permit one to look up multi-word expressions.

Access to it was critical for the present work as it allowed me to find the orthographic form of many of the terms contained in the glossary of the present thesis, which my informants and I only knew phonetically. This dictionary therefore made the creation of this glossary in its current form possible. Without it, many terms could only have been entered phonetically. In the case of some expressions I would even have had to enter them phonetically without being able to provide the exact word limits.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.0 NOTATION

Though the phonology of a language may be its most durable feature (so long as speakers of the language exist), it is also the most vulnerable one, because sounds are more difficult to record than morphology, syntax and lexicon.

Transcriptions of utterances provided in this thesis are predominantly phonetic and they are given between [] in IPA using the Microsoft Sans Serif font. These transcriptions are based on utterances effectively heard from the mouths of speakers and they reflect my perception of how actual speakers have expressed the items transcribed. There are variations in the way some specific items are realised. These variations can exist between speakers as well (more rarely) as within the speech of a given informant.

The transcriptions displayed in this work reflect these variations, which may or may not be inconsistencies, but reflect a range of existing pronunciations. Since the number of my informants is relatively small, the phonetic items provided in this work, while being genuine, are therefore not meant to be absolute or final.

In addition, IPA transcriptions are never more than good approximations and whenever possible, recordings should be consulted. There is still, however, limited experience of the durability of digital recordings. Since the sounds of BCB, are in danger of disappearing with the passing of its last native speakers, written transcriptions are essential and will therefore be as detailed as possible. This is why they are mainly done in phonetic, rather than phonemic notation.

Occasionally, phonemic transcriptions of individual sounds or of hypothetical or generic items are given. They are presented between //.

2.1 RELEVANT HISTORICAL DATA

The phenomena discussed here are presented in chronological order. The most ancient is the potential impact on BCB of a confluence of two dialects, which is suspected to have existed in the early Middle Ages on the territory of today's Canton Briec.

This will be followed by a discussion of the most recent linguistic event involving and affecting BCB: the penetration of the French language into the Breton-speaking domain at unprecedented speed from 1918 onwards. This resulted in transfer of Breton phonological traits into the French spoken in Western Brittany and in the overwhelming superimposition of French phonology onto non-native Breton in the last few decades. All three events are relevant to the present study.

2.1.1 Historical data on the palatalisation of /k/

On the map which deals with the distribution of linguistic features in western Brittany, Fleuriot (1980, map 6 [end of the volume, no page number]), indicates: 'South-east of line 2 [the line separating *Ozismied* from *Veneti* which coincides with the course of the Odet] the palatalised K becomes either K', or tʃ or even ʃ.'

I have recordings to show that this phonetic feature also extends a few kilometres north of this line.

In his Treatise of North-Western Breton Pronunciation, Madeg (2010, 9) states the existence of a transition zone between Vannetais phonology and North-Western Breton phonology. He describes this zone as a 'corridor' stretching from Quimperlé, in the south to Paimpol in the north. This respects the traditional view of the Elle-Laïta line as the western border of the Vannetais domain but it might not reflect the full linguistic history of the region (see Introduction, 1.2.1 'Historical elements on the dialectal variations within Canton Briec'). The word 'corridor', however, implies a broad surface area. According to Madeg this transition zone, which includes the eastern fringe of the Cornouaille region, close to the area of interest of the present work, is of 'unequal width', which means it may well include part of the Briec area. Madeg describes the phonological system of this corridor as 'a lot more complex [than other areas] and anything but uniform'.[24]

2.1.2 Demarcation line between [χ] and [h] in Canton Briec

Cornec (1997, 770-773), who has made a systematic phonological study of the areas adjacent to Briec, has found an isogloss of the use of [χ] and [h] to pass through the Canton of Briec. He also states a corroborative historical fact: The cartulary of Landevenneg, which contains records from the 9th century to the 11th century, places the locality of Gulvain within the parish of Tregourez and not that of Edern where it is today. Both Gulvain and Tregourez are within the area where [χ] is heard. This area extends roughly east and south-east of Briec, whereas Briec and Edern are in the [h] area. By comparison with the [h] area, the [χ] area, which comprised of only three parishes (or *communes* in French republican terminology) out of eighteen, is marginal though significant.

A feature related to the above is the distribution of the voiceless consonantic trio [χ], [s], [f] and of their counterparts [h], [z], [v]/[vʰ][25] within Canton Briec: In the Porzay area, immediately to the NW of Canton Briec, *my cat*, *my dad*, *my son* are said: [ma has] (*ma c'hazh*), [ma zaˑt] (*ma zad*), [ma vʰoːt] (*ma faotr*). South-east of Canton Briec, the same words appear, according to Cornec and to my informants in the pronunciations [ma χaːs], [ma saːt], [ma foˑt]. Within Canton Briec, however the distribution Cornec reports is as follows: Landrevarzeg, Briec, Edern: [me haˑs], [me saˑt], [me foˑt] predominate. In Gulvain and Langolen, [me χeˑs] appears, but [me saˑt], [me foˑt] remain unchanged.

Another feature remarked upon by natives is pronunciation of the diminutive suffix -*ig*, pronounced [ikj], [ikʃ] or [itʃ][26] east of Briec and more often [ik] to the west.

The general implication of these findings is that Briec appears to be situated in a zone of language interference between eastern and western dialects which fits in with the phonetic and lexical differences existing between the areas situated to the east and south-east of Briec and Briec itself, including Landrevarzeg and Edern. In particular,

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[24] 'Le système accentuel y est intermédiaire, beaucoup plus complexe et tout sauf unique.' (Madeg 2010 9)

[25] [vʰ] represents a [v] accompanied by a sudden contraction of the diaphragm and the resulting burst of air at its end. This aspiration ([ʰ]) gives it undertones reminiscent of a [f] sound without being fully a [f].

[26] On the transcription of the desinence -*ig* see 2.2.2 Palatalisation of /k/ into [c], [kj] or even [kʃ].

there is an awareness, in the majority of speakers who use [h], of the existence of the [χ] alternative in pre-vocalic word-initial position in the south-east. My only informant from the [χ] area is JC who was born in Skoldi, just above Gulvain. He does indeed use [χ] in phrases such as [ɐ χik] *ar c'hig* 'the meat', [ɐ χi] *ar c'hi* 'the dog', [ɐ χɐːs] *ar c'hazh* 'the cat', while is wife AMC, born in Landrevarzec pronounces [ɐ hik], [ɐ hi], [ɐ hɐːs].

While phonetic differences are obvious, lexical and morphological differences between the two sides of Briec are small, and there is complete inter-comprehension between speakers on both sides. In addition, with the increased mobility of people over the last century, dialectal limits within the Briec area are increasingly blurred.

2.1.3 Recent influence of the French language on BCB phonology

The ways in which Breton and French influence each other are mutual and certainly do not manifest in a one-way influence of French on Breton. On the contrary, the French of the inhabitants of Lower Brittany (including of those who do not descend from Breton-speakers) is evidently influenced by Breton and there is vast documentation on the matter. A large proportion of Breton speakers were still monolingual in the 1940s and French phonology could only have marginal, if any, influence on their Breton. Breton speakers today, have done all their schooling in French and use that language far more than Breton in their everyday life as social interaction in Breton has all but died out except amongst friends and family. Their environment is a French-speaking one most of the time if not all the time. French phonology could potentially influence them through the small amount of Breton they may hear on radio or from younger speakers, most of which is pronounced exactly as French. However, that sort of Breton is so unrecognisable to them that they ignore it. A small proportion of the Breton spoken on the media, however, though it is mostly and to various degrees, French-accentuated, is pronounced well enough to be quite intelligible to native speakers and could influence them, but I cannot see conclusive evidence of this.

In short, though native BCB speakers steep in French phonology, they are not greatly influenced by it and their accent remains evidently authentic. The main influence of French on the phonology of Breton, when spoken natively, is mainly on prosody as a function of stress and its corollary: the length of accentuated vowels.

The older the speakers are, the lesser this influence is. Thus M'nD, MM, YM stress syllables more strongly and produce longer vowels than younger speakers.

Other phonological traits and all morphological traits with which they are connected remain completely authentic in all native speakers. This may be due to the fact they often have no integrated orthographic representation of the words they use, as they have done little or no schooling in Breton. Their speech finds therefore its source in the distant past, when the influence of French or of ZH orthography on Breton were negligible.

It is must be said, also, that the pronunciation of my informants displays a larger degree of French influence when they are asked to give a word in isolation in an artificial context. When in a prolonged conversation with each other, their speech is restored to very natural and genuinely Breton. In short, the native speakers are at a stage where their French is substantially influenced by Breton phonetics and syntax (use of *avec* and *passé surcomposé*) while their Breton intermittently displays French phonetic/phonological and syntactic structures in a minor way.

The main area in which French influences BCB is that of lexicon. This is accentuated by the fact native speakers fall out of practice of their mother tongue and forget many words which they replace with variously bretonised French ones as well as some altogether unbretonised ones.

2.2 BRETON TRAITS IN THE PRONUNCIATION OF FRENCH

A possible first step in the description of the sounds of BCB, could be to study typical Breton traits in the French of native Breton speakers. The very fact that these traits have transferred to French is indicative of them being salient and probably fundamental in BCB. Furthermore, the obvious oddity of these traits when manifesting in French, illustrates and highlights the difference between the pronunciations of the two languages. This has the potential to strike learners and help them assimilate theseparticular traits. For French-speaking learners, studying a Breton accent in French could, in fact, be a first less intimidating step towards the production of an authentic Breton accent in Breton.

The way BCB speakers of my grandfather's and mother's generation spoke or speak French is, in itself, informative for the study of features of BCB in terms of pronunciation and syntax. A number of works, for example by Hervé Lossec, discuss extensively the presence of syntactic and lexical bretonisms in French and it is a field of study in itself. I will therefore only discuss phonological cross-linguistic transfers of relevance to the present study, of which I have had first hand experience.

My grandfather's strong Breton accent in French played a critical role in giving me a grounding in Breton phonology and an awareness of certain Breton phonemes which are close, in appearance, to French ones, while being critically different from them. This was invaluable in my study of the dialect because it permitted me to recognize, even predict these phonemes in speakers' utterances, a essential skill for understanding and being understood by native speakers. This in turn permitted me to engage quite early in prolonged conversations with them without them getting impatient and reverting to French, something they have a propensity to do even among themselves.

Thirty-two years after my grandfather's passing, my half-brother François (Fañch Kozh to my grandfather), our father and I, were still deriving merriment at reproducing his accent in French. Amongst our favourite features (which are not necessarily the most important to Breton phonology) are the following:

2.2.1 producing [eɲ] where French has [enj]

My grandfather studied his trade as a mechanic in a location called Mesnières-en Bray, which he often reminisced about and referred to, just as Mesnières. While this word is pronounced [menjɛːʀ] in French, my grandfather achieved it as [meɲˈjea]. The same applied to *ingénieur* ([ɛ̃ʒenjœːʁ] in French), a recurrent word in my grandfather's conversations, which he pronounced [ɛ̃ʒeɲˈjøᵃ].

Other favorite: [fo ɛt bjɛ̃ ɲje puʀ feʀ sɐ!] for *Faut être bien niais pour faire ça!* ([fo ɛt bjɛ̃ njɛ puʀ feʀ sa] in French), 'You gotta be rather stupid to do such a thing'.

The same [ɲj] sound is found in the unlikely pronunciation of the words [ˈmeɲjɐx] 'more' and [pəʁˈveɲja] 'generally', spelt and pronounced *muioc'h* [ˈmyjɔx] and *peurvuiañ* [pœʁˈvyjən] respectively in PU.

2.2.2 Palatalisation of /k/ into [c], [kj] or even [kʃ]

This is also a favourite, as in [se dla bɛl mekjanic] for *c'est de la belle mécanique!* (French: [sɛ dlabɛl mekanik], 'It's a nice piece of mechanical engineering'), or [nœvœʁ ɛ̃ˈkjaʰ] for *Neuf heures un quart* (French: [nœvœʁ ɛ̃kaʁ], *a quarter past nine*).

This happens in BCB in particular in words ending in -ig, such as *tammig* realized as [tɑ̃ˈmic], [tɑ̃ˈmikj], [tɑ̃ˈmikʃ] or even [ˈtɑ̃mitʃ] east of Briec, while it is more often pronounced [ˈtɑ̃mik] to the west. While my grandfather was born in Koadregat, which lies directly in the centre of the Briec area, he grew up in Kerdelioù, close to Langolen on the eastern border of the canton.

2.2.3 Palatalisation [t] into [cj]

This happened in the word *moitié*, 'half' ([mwaˌtje] in French) pronounced [mwaˈcje] by my grandfather.

2.2.4 Pronouncing [eːᵃ] for [ɛʁ]/[eʁ]

This, to begin with, affected my own name [pjɛʁ] in French, but [ˈpjeːᵃ] for my grandfather or, occasionally, my half-brother who still uses that pronunciation to tease me today. The strategy at play here is determined by the avoidance of the uvular *r* ([ʁ]) discussed below and in 2.4.2.1.7 Réalisation of *r* as /æ/ and /a/. The avoided [ʁ] has to be replaced by other phones [a]/[ᵃ] or [æ]/[ᵆ], which are close enough to [ʁ] to play its role. Note that [ɛ] and [a] are rarely associated in BCB to form [ɛᵃ]. The more common association is [eᵃ].

2.2.5 Uvular [ʁ] avoided and reduced or replaced by [a] or [æ]

This is done:

a) by replacing uvular [ʁ] with an /a/-like sound or occasionally a hint of [ə], often checked by a slight friction .
Example:
[ˈgɥeˑᵃ] *gwer* 'glass'
This can be traced to a tendency to avoid fully pronounced uvular fricatives [ʁ] and [χ] in some cases, for example in [ˈpɔtəᵗ], a possible pronunciation of *paotred* 'men/boys'. A classic example is the pronunciation of the brand of supermarkets *Carrefour* as [kaˈfuːᵃʰ]/[kaˈfuːᵊ], while it is pronounced [kaʁˌfuʁ] in French.

b) by systematically replacing [ɔ] or [o] with [w], and replacing [ʁ] with [æ] or [a] in the sequences of phonemes /ɔʁ/ and /oʁ/ pronounced [wa] or [wæ]. This is very

important for the learner of BCB to realise this, because it is at first highly confusing. It is a trait frequently commented upon in Kerne Izel, as people find it amusing. It is duly reported upon by Hélias (1975b, 529) in the sentence: *Yaka feamer la poate*[27] [jaka feame la pwat] 'All you gotta do is shut the door', which, in French is [jaka fɛʀme la pɔʀt]. On a bad day, my grandfather would say, even less gracefully: [feᵃʁm la pʰɔᵃt, ˈmʲeᵃd !] *Ferme la porte, merde!* ('Close the door, dammit!'). In BCB [wæ] is a staple morpheme in words such as porzh (courtyard), (P.U. [pɔʁs]), but [pwaʁs] or [pwæᵃs] in BCB). This is an essential point to realise if one wants to understand and be understood by native BCB speakers. This is also discussed in § 2.4.2.1.7 Réalisation of *r* as /æ/ and /a/.

2.2.6 Consonant devoicing (also see 2.4.1.2, 1)

From a French perspective devoicing of /b, d, g/ in final position into /p, t, k/ as well as devoicing /ʒ/ into /ʃ/ and /z/ into /s/ is a notably exotic trait of the Breton language as well as of the Breton accent in French, and it is often poked fun at (the exact same phenomenon occurs when German speakers express themselves in French and appears equally comical to French ears). A classic anecdotal example of this, regularly cited in the press, is that of *du vin roûche* [dy vɛ̃ ʁuʃ] for *du vin rouge* [dy vɛ̃ ʁu·ʒ] 'red wine' in French. My grandfather was a dedicated follower of devoicing, pronouncing *fromage* (Fr. [fʁɔmɐj]), *tige* (Fr. [tiʒ]), *bêtise* (Fr. [bɛtiz]) respectively [fʁɔmɐʃ], [tiʃ] and [bɛtis].

2.2.7 Producing a hard *i* [ɪ] instead of a [i]

My grandfather produced a [ɪ] instead of a [i] in some monosyllabic words. The words [mɪl] for *mille* 'a thousand' (Fr. [mil]) and [pɪl] for *pile* 'battery' (Fr. [pil]) were examples of this. His pronunciation of the /il/ segment in these words was reminiscent of the same segment in *Mildred* or *Milton*. The /p/ of *pile* was slightly aspirated and thus displayed a quality that tended towards the *p* of the English noun *pill* or the surname *Pell*. The /l/ was also slightly palatalised.
I feel that several factors (though I will not attempt to name them here) came, in fact, into play in the realisation of [ɪ] instead of a [i] by my grandfather. I also feel that the pronunciation of the vowel, in the above examples, impacted one's perception of the surrounding consonants.
The same [ɪ] also appeared in *ville*, pronounced [vɪl] (Fr. [vi·l]), *huit*, pronounced [ɥɪᵗ] (Fr. [ɥi·t]), *tuille*, pronounced [twɪl] (Fr. [twi·l]).
This [ɪ] is also intermittently present in the accent of my informants, when they speak French.

2.2.9 Realising [ɛ] as [e] or even [je]

[ɛ] is much less frequent in BCB, than it is in Île de France French.
There is therefore a tendency in BCB speakers to say [e] in French words where there normally would be [ɛ] especially after [i] as in *Pierre*, pronounced [ˈpjeᵃ] (instead of French [pjɛʁ]). [ɛ] is also often realised as [je] without the proximity of [i], especially by the oldest BCB speakers in the word *ferme*, in the command *ferme la porte!* (close

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[27] Standard orthography: *Il (n')y a qu'à fermer la porte.*

the door! [fɛʁm lapɔʁt] in French) pronounced [fje·m laˈpwat]. This tendency appears in all BCB speakers in the pronunciation of the word *petra* 'what' pronounced [ˈpjeᵃ].

2.2.10 Pronouncing [æ] where it would be [a] in French

This occurred in the word *marre*, used in one of my grandfather's pet expression: *Y en a marre*! 'We have had it up to here!' (with the communist party, the stock exchange [which has nose-dived again], the sonic booms from patrolling jetfighters etc.). This expression, realized as [jɑ̃naˈmaʁ] in French, was pronounced [jɑ̃naˈmæːᵃ] by my grandfather. [æ] is not a standard French vowel (though it can occur in Paris French), but it is common in BCB and it is therefore important to be aware of it.

2.3 SALIENT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOUNDS OF BRETON AND FRENCH

2.3.1 Strong dissimilarity

Though it might seem a truism, it is important to stress than authentic Breton (whether it is BCB or another Breton dialect) and French sound very different.
None of the most original traits of Breton phonology, such as strong emphasis on one syllable, strong tendency to diphthongise vowels, nasal diphthongs, nasal vowels attached to nasal consonants as in [ɑ̃m] or [ɑ̃n], are present in standard French. On the other hand, all phonological Breton features except for the last two, are present in English, as will be discussed further on. Of all the neighbouring languages of Breton, French has got to present without any doubt the most unconducive phonological base from which to attempt to learn Breton. Standard French phonological features, especially if they are superimposed on a literal uninformed interpretation of ZH orthography, are the worst possible ones to emulate in Breton.
The main conclusion to draw from this is that, if the pronunciation of a person who is speaking Breton sounds like French, this person's pronunciation is necessarily incorrect, and the more French phonological features the speech of a person contains in Breton, the less representative of Breton it necessarily is.

2.3.2 Strong stress

A strong stress on the penultimate syllable is the main trait that distinguishes BCB from French. It shares this trait, as stated by Falc'hun (1950, 25) with the other KLT dialects though Falc'hun points out specific qualities of Cornouaille Breton, which is the variety of Breton to which BCB belongs, by quoting the description made of it by the 18th century linguist Dom Louis Le Pelletier. Falc'hun highlights that his own impression of Cornouaille Breton matches Le Pelletier's description made 134 years earlier[28] in those terms:
'[...] their throats and lungs are more suited [than those of speakers of Leon dialects] to the pronunciation of their alphabet's strong spirants. Furthermore, they seem to sing while speaking: they frequently emphasise syllables and their voice goes up and down

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[28] Though Le Pelletier's dictionary was published in 1752, he wrote it in 1716.

as if their words followed musical notes'[29] (Le Pelletier 1752, 13). The descriptions given to me about my great-grandmother's Breton and her Breton accent in French match indeed the second sentence of the above passage. Further, in my observation, the pronunciation of my grandfather and of the oldest amongst my informants of Breton as well as French did or does have this musical quality, though it is toned down in younger speakers.

Stress falls predominantly on the penultimate syllable in BCB, which places it within the majority group of Breton dialects in which 'maximum intensity, pitch and duration of stress coincide'.[30] It is primarily the non-observance of this trait by most *néo-bretonnants*, which renders their Breton so inauthentic and French-sounding, so 'anaemic'[31] and alienating to the ears of native speakers and of people used to the 'raspy, vigorous(ly) stressed pronunciation'[32] of native Breton.

One of the main points about observance of stress is that the quality of vowels placed on either side of it tends towards centralisation, as in the word [bʁəˈzɔ̃ːnɛk]/[bʁəˈzɔ̃ːnək], which *neo-bretonnants* almost invariably pronounce [bʁezɔˈnɛːk], thus mispronouncing down to the very name of the language whose survival they claim to be concerned with.

Only a few words display stress on the last syllable. For example: *amann* [aˈmɑ̃n] 'butter', *bennak* [bəˈnak] 'some' and all forms of the conjugated preposition *gant* 'with'.

2.3.2.1 Elision of the last orthographic syllable

The corollary of the strong stress placed on one syllable is that the following unstressed syllable tends to be muted or reduced and to disappear. Since stressed syllables are generally the penultimate ones, the last syllables are typically reduced in intensity, leading to the systematic elision of endings, in particular past participle and infinitive endings which are implied by other features preceding the verbs, like auxiliaries, prepositions and mutation of the verbs' first consonant. This is an essential trait of Cornouaille dialects, including, of course BCB. Its observance is essential if one wants to sound authentic, be understood by native speakers and understand them.

This phenomenon with phonological origins has morphological consequences and is therefore discussed in the morphology section.

2.3.3 Diphthongization and falling diphthongs

The term 'diphthongization' is used here pedagogically as a way of attracting attention to and warding off against the misleading nature of ZH spelling with regard to diphthongs.

This diphthongization can be illustrated by the word [ˈdẽːⁱn] 'person/human being'.

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[29] '[...] ils ont le gosier et les poumons plus propres à la prononciation des fortes aspirées de leur alphabet. De plus ils semblent chanter en parlant : leurs accents sont fréquents, & ils élèvent et baissent la voix, comme si leurs mots étaient notés.'

[30] '...l'accent tonique se place régulièrement sur la pénultième des polysyllabes et les maxima d'intensité, de hauteur et de durée coïncident.' (Goyat 2012, 119).

[31] 'le néo-breton anémié' (Madeg 2010, 105).

[32] 'une prononciation [...] rauque et vigoureusement accentuée' (Rohou 2005, 44).

In the absence of any reference to orthography, the word [ˈdẽːⁱn] is simply the word for 'person/human being' which happens to contain the diphthong [ẽⁱ], a nasal diphthong which is part of the vocalic inventory of BCB.

What is striking, however, is the fact that [ˈdẽːⁱn] is spelt *den*, similarly to the spelling in Cornish (*den*) and Welsh (*dyn*) and these orthographies do not lead to the expectation of a diphthong. As far as I am aware, the words *den* and *dyn* are not pronounced with a diphthong in Cornish and Welsh either, nor is the word *den* pronounced with a diphthong in every Breton dialect. For the purpose of this study, the word 'diphthongization' therefore defines itself by reference to the ZH orthographic standard, which was clearly not designed by BCB speakers.

On this basis, one can say that a characteristic of BCB, is that a number of its words contain long vowels which appear to be monophthongs as per ZH orthography, but are, and must be pronounced as diphthongs if one is to be understood by native speakers. There is no point in trying to pronounce *den* as /dɛn/, /den/ or even /deːn/ when talking to native BCB speaker. Most of them will simply not recognise the word.

Similarly, someone who expects *den* or *yen* to come out as [dɛn] or [den], [jɛn] or [jen] in conversation, will be unable to understand [ˈdẽːⁱn] and [ˈjẽːⁱn].

As appears above, lengthening of vowels is often not achieved through mere lengthening of a single vocalic sound in BCB, but through adding a noticeable hint of another vowel, like [a], [ə], [i], [u] or semi-vowel like [w] or [j]. This is a defining trait of genuinely pronounced BCB. It is reminiscent of what happens in certain cases in English in words like [gəʊ] for *go* in southern British English and [heⁱm] for *home* in Australian pronunciation. [ɛːᴱnd] for *and*, [bɛ·əd] for *bed* (pronounced like *bared*), [mæ̃ːˈn]/[mɛ̃ːᵉn] for *man* and [bæ̃ᵉd] for *bad* are examples of diphthongization in some Southern US pronunciation. The diphthongs, which are associated with such situations are always falling diphthongs, that is to say, diphthongs in which the second part is pronounced more weakly than the first. This is unknown in standard French, though it is common in Canadian French, an example being the pronunciation of the word *faire* as [fɐˈʁ] (though, admitedly, the Canadian diptongue is, in this case, orthographically acknowledged while not pronounced in standard French [fɛʁ]).

French native speakers achieve the same un-genuine pronunciation of such vowels when speaking BCB as they do when speaking English when they are not aware of this phenomenon. The vowels they produce remain bound to the orthographic form, which notes a single vowel, and French speakers end up producing a monophthong when they should be producing a diphthong.

In English falling dipththongs involving /i/ as a secondary element are common. Amongst them is /ɛːi/, unknown in standard French, but close to the common Breton diphthong /eːi/.

Dipthongization of orthographic monophthongues in BCB is therefore not an isolated phenomenon amongst European languages and French native-speakers have to pay particular attention to it when expressing themselves in BCB. Falling diphthongs are a common feature of BCB and English.

BCB diphthongs are extensively discussed in § 2.4.3.6 Diphthongs and other adjacent vocalic elements.

2.3.4 Nasal diphthongs as a BCB specificity

The word [dẽːˈn]/[dɛ̃ːˈn] *den* 'person/human being' mentioned in the previous paragraph or the word [ɑ̃ɔ̃] *hañv* 'summer' contain examples of nasal diphthongs. They require particular attention from learners, whether French-speakers or otherwise, as they are not represented orthographically either, in addition to being an uncommon phenomenon amongst European languages, except in the Portuguese and Galician speaking domains.

Nasal diphthongs are extensively described in § 2.4.3.6.1 Nasal diphthongs.

2.3.5 Nasal vowels preceding nasal consonants

There is no occurrence of this in standard French and, again, Breton orthography does not note this phenomenon. Examples are words like: [disˈtɑ̃n] *distan*, 'to cool', [ɛnˈtɑ̃·nət] *entanet*, 'alight/on fire', [mɑ̃m] *mamm*, 'mother', [mɔ̃n] *mont*, 'to go', [dɔ̃ːn] *don*, 'deep'. The temptation is very strong, for learners of Breton who see these words written, to incorrectly pronounce them with a non-nasal vowel.

2.4 PHONOLOGICAL FACTS ABOUT BCB

2.4.1 Existing phonological data on BCB

I had two sources to draw an approach from and corroborate my own findings with regard to the phonology of BCB: The extra-lexical sections of Le Scao's dictionaries and the linguistic section of Cornec's thesis.

2.4.1.1 Le Scao's description of the sounds of BCB

As a native speaker who was not a professional linguist and whose aim was to promote Cornwall Breton by providing a resource to learn it, Le Scao had a concise and practical approach to informing his readers about the sounds of the language.
His main objective was for the entries to be read as they are effectively pronounced and he did an excellent job of that, by designing a 'special alphabet' (*un alphabet spécial* [p.3]), effectively a phonetic alphabet, able to achieve reasonably accurately all sounds of BCB, from the perspective of French-speaking readers, with a minimal amount of adaptation to a new notation system. In practice, Le Scao only used Roman letters, grave and acute accents over *e* to represent [e] and [ɛ], a tilde over *o* to represent the diphthong /ou/ and a macron over *a, o* and *u* to achieve the nasal vowel /ɑ̃/, /ɔ̃/ and /ɛ̃/. So, from a French perspective, the only symbols one has to learn to correctly read Le Scao's phonetic writing are *õ, ā, ō, ū*. As for *c'h*, Le Scao does not provide a symbol for it, instead saying that it has to be learnt '*par l'usage*' ('by practicing'). In reality, however, he does very much (though probably unconsciously) deal with the teaching of the pronunciation of *c'h* by always representing it as *h* wherever it is thus pronounced, namely in a word initial position, which is where *c'h* is found most of the time as the spirantisation of *K*. This is better guidance than what a broadly circulated dictionary like Hemon/Huon's *Dictionnaire breton/français, français/breton* (2005, 5) provides when it gives its readers the gravely incorrect advice that *c'h* is simply (and by implication *always*) pronounced as German *ch* in *nach* [nax].

Noteworthy is the complete absence of use of the letter *w* in Le Scao's dictionaries. In all cases in which ZH would use a *w*, Le Scao notes either *u*, *o* or *v*. Thus, *gwall* 'bad' is transcribed *goall* and *gwell* 'view, sight' is *guèl*, while *war* 'on' is noted *var*, which corresponds to the local pronunciation.

All the Breton contained in Le Scao dictionaries is written in his special alphabet. His dictionaries do not follow the ZH orthographic norm.

Importantly, Le Scao makes no mention of stress. This should not be surprising, because, from Le Scao's insider's perspective stress is such an ordinary and natural feature of speech, both in Breton, and in the French of the native Breton speakers of his days, that it could easily have slipped his mind. In addition, when native speakers speak Breton, their observance of stress is variable and discretionary, though they certainly do observe the phonotactical *consequences* of stress (see section on stress below). It might therefore have appeared to Le Scao that stress was a mere matter of choice, rather than a matter determined by rules.

Though Le Scao's transcriptions tend to be phonetic, a number of words appear not to be phonetically transcribed. Examples are *siwazh* 'alas', or *sikour* 'help'. Le Scao transcribes them as *siouaz* and *sikour*, implying that their pronunciation in Briec is /sɪwaz/ and /sɪkuʁ/. This triggers my suspicion that, contrary to the implication of his claim that he wrote his dictionaries 'without the help of any book' ('*sans le secours d'aucun livre*' [Le Scao 1945, 3]), he might nonetheless have been influenced by orthographic Breton forms he encountered before writing his dictionaries. Indeed, none of my informants pronounce *siouaz* and *sikour* /sɪwaz/ and /sɪkuʁ/, but [ˈʃiwʌz] and [ˈʃikʌ] or [ˈʃukʌ]. I therefore believe that if Le Scao had really not been influenced by pre-existing Breton writings, he would have transcribed these words *chiouaz* and *chikour*.

I must say, however, that I know at least two BCB speakers, JC and RP, Le Scao's grandnephew, who pronounce the word *chom* 'to stay', [sɔm]. Yet, Le Scao's transcription of the word is *chom* in keeping with the majority pronunciation, which is [ʃɔm]. There is therefore some possible variation in the pronunciation of initial *s* amongst BCB speakers.

Exactly like the most recent monographs, Le Scao treats mutations as phonology, rather than grammar, under the heading '*Euphonie*', attached to the description of the sounds of BCB.

In spite of Le Scao's native understanding of BCB phonology, his special alphabet clearly does not permit as detailed and accurate a description of the sounds of BCB as that made by Cornec using IPA.

2.4.1.2 Cornec's description of the sounds of BCB

Cornec's linguistic data on BCB entirely matches my own observations, barring the absence of a mention of epenthetic consonants on his part. It therefore represents invaluable supportive documentation for the present work.

Cornec starts his description with the consonants in the two tables, which appear below (pp. 755 and 757 respectively). These tables are shown here as samples of his section on BCB pnonology.

These tables make several essential points about the pronunciation of consonants in BCB which permit to avert adverse contamination by ZH orthography and to attain an authentic pronunciation.

These points, in their order of appearance in the tables are the following:

1) No utterance in BCB ends in [b], [d], [g], [v], [z] or [ʒ] in pre-pause final position. This is illustrated by the fact that the boxes corresponding to [b], [d], [g], [v], [z] or [ʒ] in the fourth column are empty. This is confirmed by the title of that column: *Position finale (la consonne est sourde)*, which means 'Final position (the consonant is voiceless)'.
Thus, though many words end orthographically in *b*, *d*, *g*, *v*, *j* and *z*, these endings are pronounced with [p], [t], [k], [f], [s] or [ʃ] in pre-pause final position.

		Position initiale	Position interne à l'intervocalique		Position finale (la consonne est sourde)
			après voyelle accentuée	après voyelle inaccentuée	
labiales	p	pul pouĺl/mare	'mespʌ mesper/nèfles	la'pu:sɛt lapoused (oiseaux)	kap kab/promontoire
	b	bryk brug/bruyère	'a:bat abad/abbé	kɑ̃'bu:lɛn kambouĺlen/petite cuvette	
	m	maut maout/bélier	'ɑ̃:mu Amou (anthrop)	a'mɑ̃n amanenn/beurre	tɔm tomm/chaud
alvéo-dentales	t	ti ti/maison	'bu:tu botoù/chaussures	jo'tɛ:jɛr geoteier/herbage	di'ly:jɛt diluzet/enchevêtré
	d	dek dek/dix	'o:ec oadig/petite hauteur	ʒjæ,'dinu jardinoù/jardins	
	n	nao nav/neuf	'ɑ̃:no annoar génisse / 'kɑ̃:p kanab chanvre	kɑ̃'na:bɛn kanabenn/chenevière	consonne forte lɑ̃n lann/lande / consonne douce li:n lin/lin
palatales	c			mi'cɛl Mikael/Michel	'kwɛ̃:ˌnec kornig/petit coin
	ɟ		ki'ri:ɟu kêrigou/petits villages	'lɔsti'ɟɛ:nu lostigennoù/en forme de queue	
	ɲ		'ke:ɲes kignez/guignes	pi'ɲɔ̃:nu pignonoù/escarpements	kɔ̃ɲ kogn/coin
vélaires	k	ko:l kaol/choux	'ɑ̃:ku ankoù/angles	asko:lɛn askolenn/lieu des chardons	tɑːlɛk Taleg/au grand frond
	g	glɑ:s glas/vert	'o:gɛn eogenn/rouissoir	digwæ:ˌt digoret/défriché	
	ŋ			frɑ̃ŋ'ki:ʒɛn frankizenn/t. en indivis	trɛ̃ŋ trenk/aigre

Table. 1

		Position initiale	Position interne à l'intervocalique après voyelle accentuée	après voyelle inaccentuée	Position finale (la consonne est sourde)
labiales	φ				
labiales	β	βil c'hwil/courbe		ãna'β ẑin Anac'hwezen (hagion.)	
labio-dentales	f	fous foz/fossé	'ifjæn ifern/enfer	ofjẽn oferenn/messe	kef kef/tronc d'arbre
labio-dentales	v	wæ war/sur	pae · a:val pavez · aval pavé · pomme	i'vi:nɛn irvinenn/champ de navet	
dentales	s	saut saout/vaches	'ʃo:s chaoser chaussée de moulin	pla'sɛ:nu plasennoù/places	'la:pus lapous/oiseau
dentales	z	(a) zaut (ar) saout (les) vaches	'dre:zɛn drezenn/roncier	krwe'zɛ:nec kroazennig/petite parcelle en forme de croix	
palatales	ʃ	'ʃa:pɛl chapel/chapelle	'lo:ʃu lochoù/huttes	ty'ʃɛ:nɛk tuchenneg/lieu des buttes	'frostaʃ frostaj/friche
palatales	ʒ	ʒo jav/monture jav/monture	frã'ki:ʒɛn frankizĕnn terrain en indivision	gɥɛ'ʒe:u gwerjeoù/vergers	
vélaires	X	Gulvain (a) Xwat et (ar)c'hoad Langolen (le) bois	G. et 'triXwɛ̃n Lgl tric'horn/triangle		seX sec'h/sec
vélaires	h	Briec a hwat et (ar)c'hoad Edern (le) bois	B et 'trihwɛ̃n E tric'horn/triangle	B mɛl'hwe:dɛn et melc'houedenn/limace E	

Table. 2

2) the consonant /n/ has a strong and a soft variant and is devoiced in pre-pause final position.

Cornec's own terminology to describe the two variants of /n/ is 'consonne forte', 'strong consonant' and 'consonne douce', 'soft consonant'. The examples he gives as illustrations are [lãn], *lann*, Fr. '*lande*' ('heath') for the strong variant and [li:n], *lin*, Fr. '*lin*' ('flax') for the soft variant. Though he does not use different phonetic symbols in the table for strong and soft [n], he does so on p.756 where he notes the strong [n] as [n(n)] and the soft [n] as [n]. The examples he gives are [gɥɛn(n)], *gwenn* 'white' and [jɛin], *yen*, 'cold'.

I used to take the existence of a soft and a strong variant of /n/[33], which I termed 'resonant', as a given and I even considered this feature to extend to /m/ and /l/. In the light of the points made by Wmffre in his report on this thesis (the relevant excerpt of which is available in appendix IV), I have now adopted a different view of this issue.

My former view was based on the following elements:

a) My own perception, and I may say, that of my half-brother of the pronunciation by my grandfather of such French utterances as: *Ouvre la vanne! T'es encore en panne!? Faut tailler la vigne. C'est plus la peine. Un camion-benne. T'approche pas de la flamme! Te fais pas de bile. De quoi je me mêle!? Y en a mille. Passe-moi la pelle!*
In those sentences, most of which delivered emphatically, the last consonants of the last words were pronounced in a way that was different from standard French, which appeared to be characterised by a shortening of the vowel and a strong, uniform and

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[33] I noted these 'resonant' consonants $[n^n]$, $[m^m]$ and $[l^l]$, as discussed in Wmffre's report.

sustained vibration that ended abruptly in a way reminiscent of German *wann*, *dann*, *Kamm*, *Lamm*, *fall*, *will*.

It is important to note here that my grandfather was a particularly argumentative man and that my brother and I have a definite and deliberate bias towards reminiscing his most emotional and comical utterances over his more ordinary way of speaking French. I have noticed, however, a similar pronunciation trait since in generally emphatic pronunciation of both Breton and French words by speakers of BCB as well as by some Breton speakers from other regions. One case I am aware of, which does not involve emphasis is the pronunciation of the word *même* by inhabitants of the Brest region in the sentence 'À Brest même' pronounced [a bʁɛst məm]. In that sentence which the [m] displays what could be described a 'hard' consonant.

b) Falc'hun (1950, 26 and 44-48), identifies a 'strong *n* preceded by a short stressed vowel as opposed to a weak *n* preceded preceded by a long stressed vowel'[34].

c) Goyat (2012, 87), the Plozévet dialect reports a 'soft' and a 'strong' version of /l/, noted respectively [l] (soft) and [ll] (strong) in the Plozévet dialect. With regard to /n/ he also reports (2012, 78) two versions: [n] and [nn], though he does not qualify them by using the terms 'soft' and 'strong'.

My view on soft and strong consonants in BCB changed for the following reasons:

d) In his report[35] as an examiner on the present thesis, Wmffre points out that he has personally discussed this with German who 'has since informed [him] that he no longer suscribes to this transcription convention since he views them as simply allophones of /**n**, **l**/ following stressed short vowels and no longer favours their recognition as separate phonemes. [German] ascribes the inclusion of /**nn**, **ll**/ in his thesis to the undue influence, at the time, of Falc'hun's consonantic systematisation (which was justified for Falc'hun's own Leon Breton).' Wmffre further posits that 'Falc'hun was the most experienced active scientific dialectologist and phonetician of Breton in the 1950s and his findings based on the distinct Leon dialect with its strong consonant system [...] was extended uncritically to other dialects in budding dialect descriptions throughout the 1960s, 1970s and beyond.'

e) In a discussion I had with Cornec about this in July 2018, he stood adamantly by his identification of the existence of a final fortis /n/ in BCB under the following conditions:
- it occurs in monosyllabic words.
- it follows a short stressed *e* (in actual fact an /ɛ/).
- it cannot therefore occur following a diphthong.
- it correlates with the orthographic convention *nn*.

In the conversation we had, the examples given by Cornec of what is for him a 'strong' /n/ were the words *penn*, *lenn* and *gwenn*. He also referred to a 'strong' /m/ for which he gave the example of the word *lamm* 'fall'. He pronounced these words emphatically to illustrate the strength of the consonants, resulting predictably in a prominence of final /n/ and /m/ in the realisation of these words. I must concede, however, that upon reviewing my recordings of Cornec as well as other informants, I find that the strength

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[34] '*n* fort, précédé de voyelle brève sous l'accent, différent de l'*n* faible, précédé de voyelle longue sous l'accent.'

[35] Available in appendix IV.

of /n/ and /m/ in the same words in normal unemphasised speech is not particularly remarkable and variations of strength appear to be discretionary and to depend on the emphasis the speaker decides to put on the word or not.

f) The following question, raised by Wmffre, also contributed to the reversal of my view with regard to the existence of a strong /l/: 'Could it be that it is actually the lowered vowel in *mille*, *pile* that are responsible for the perception of [l] as being different? PN states that this realisation of 'resonant' *ll* is common in Briec Breton, but can he demonstrate the contrast with French with other vowels (*pelle*, *malle*, *folle*)?' This supports a notion I have had for a long time myself, that in fact, not only the length, but the quality of the preceding vowel (as well as the type of consonant preceding that vowel) may influence the listener's perception here. This could well be the case, for example, in the phrase 'à Brest même'/[a bʁɛst məm], cited further above.

I therefore have to conclude that the possible existence of soft vs. hard consonants in pre-pause final consonants in BCB is an unresolved matter requiring extensive investigations probably involving sound analysis which I am not in a position to conduct within the constraints of this thesis.

3) /k/ undergoes palatalisation between vowels or when in final position in BCB.

In table 1, Cornec represents the palatalised /k]/ with the symbol [c]. The examples he gives are [miˈcɛl] *Mikael* and [ˈkwɛ̃ːₐnec] *kornig*, 'little corner'. I feel the transcription of palatalised /k]/, which is a trademark of BCB, needs to be discussed further, as it does not always result in [c]. Alternatives to the representation of palatalised /k]/ are given in§ 2.2.2 Palatalisation of /k]/ into [c], [kj] or even [kʃ] .

In addition, in a table on p.760, Cornec points out that [l] too has strong and soft variants as in [pul] *poull* 'pond' (strong) and [kɔːl] *kaol* 'cole, cabbage' (soft).

The rest of Cornec's phonological presentation of BCB reflects the author's position on BCB as a revivalist focussed on the transmission of authentic BCB. For example, his phonetic transcription of certain BCB vowels is very detailed, to render their complexity, which is typical trait of BCB. This complexity often results in the emergence of diphtongues where, phonologically or orthographically, there is only one vowel, as in /ĵɛin/ for /jen/, *yen* 'cold'. The information Cornec conveys is therefore presented in a practical and detailed manner, which highlights the specificities of the language for the benefit of the learner as well as the researcher. This is the approach I will follow in the subsequent pages.

2.4.1.3 Phonetic transcription of BCB

The most vulnerable aspect of a language is its phonology, because sounds are more difficult to record than morphology, syntax and lexicon. IPA transcriptions are never more than good approximations and recordings are vulnerable to ageing. There is still limited experience of the durability of digital recording. The sounds of a threatened dialect like BCB, could disappear with the passing of its last native speaker. Transcriptions of spoken language will therefore be as detailed as possible and are generally done in phonetic, rather than phonemic notation.

2.4.1.4 References to French and English phonologies

As readers of the present work are likely to be either English-speaking, French-speaking, or both, and are therefore likely to be familiar with the sounds of French and English, I think it can be informative to sometimes explain traits of BCB phonology by making reference to French or English phonologies and drawing comparisons between them and Breton. I realise that the terms 'French' and 'English' require qualification. In general, what is meant here by these terms is:
For French: The variety predominantly used in national news bulletins in France.
For English: The variety predominantly used in UK-wide news bulletins broadcast by the BBC.
If reference is made to other French or English dialects, the type of dialect will be specified.

2.4.2 The consonants in BCB
They are:

	Plosive	**Fricative**	**Nasal**	**Trill**	**Lateral**	**Approximant**
Labiopalatal						ɥ
Bilabial	p b		m			w
Labiodental		f v				
Dental	t d		n			
Alveolar		s z			l	
Postalveolar		ʃ ʒ				
Palatal	c		ɲ		ʎ	j
Velar	k g	x ɣ	ŋ			
Uvular		χ (rare) ʁ		ʀ (rare)		
Glottal		h				

The consonants of BCB are found in most north-western European languages though [χ, c] and [ʎ] are not found in its two closest neighbours: English and French. [χ] however is easily achieved by French native speakers due to its relative closeness to common French consonants [ʁ] and [ɣ] while English native speakers struggle with [χ] and generally realise it as [h] or [k].

2.4.2.1 Mismatch between orthographic consonants and their phonetic counterparts

Unsurprisingly, orthography based on the Latin characters is unable to represent adequately the total array of sounds which exist BCB. In addition, similarly to the case

of French with regard to orthographic grammatical endings, particularly those of verbs, Breton orthography presents elements that are not pronounced at all in BCB as in many other dialects. ZH orthography therefore gives a misleading representation, not only of BCB phonology, but also of its morphology. Even Le Scao's orthography, which is much closer to the pronunciation of BCB, cannot completely be relied on for pronunciation.

The way orthographic consonants tend to be interpreted and the way they are actually pronounced in BCB differ greatly. This occurs in the case of *b, d, g, h, j, l, mm, n, l, s, t, v, w, z, zh*. This is discussed in the following pages. There is also a case of mismatch involving *r* which is discussed in §§ 2.4.2.1.6, 2.4.2.1.7, 2.4.2.1.7.1, 2.4.2.1.7.2 and 2.4.2.1.7.3.

2.4.2.1.1 Voicing of final voiceless consonants in front of vowels

With /t/:

When words ending in /t/ are followed by a word starting with a vowel, /t/ is voiced to /d/ (or in some cases, to a slightly less voiced /ḏ/).

This involves in particular the ubiquitous negative adverb *ket* 'not'.

Ket in utterance-final position is pronounced [ket].

[møs ket] *Ne meus ket* 'I haven't.'

When followed by a word starting with a consonant it is pronounced [ke] or [kə] by all my informants.

[mɛ̃ møs ke gweːd ⁿˈdʁa, xã, ken ˈɛʲs də so] *Meus ket gouezet an dra-se, ac'hanon, ken eizh deiz zo* 'I only found out eight days ago.'

[me mɔ kə kleːt ˈxã̃ɔ̃] *Me n'em boa ket klevet, ac'hanon*. 'I wasn't informed.'

In careful pronunciation, however, a /t/ can be heard as recorded by Le Dû (2001, 084) in Briec for *ne oar ket ken*, 'he doesn't know anymore', transcribed 'nẹ ˈwaːʁkẹt kẹːn.' In natural conversation, however, native speakers would say [(ne)ˈwæᵃ ke kɪːn].

When followed by a vowel, *ket* is pronounced [ked] as in: [pøs ked eːm] *Peus ket ezhomm*, 'You do not need.' Non-observance of this rule by BCB speakers is extremely rare.

However, in his entry for *ket*, le Scao (1945b, 55) gives these two examples in which the word is spelled with *t*:

'né ket ao', 'it is not ripe' and 'n'ōn ket ierc'h', 'I am not healthy'

I believe, however, that in this instance Le Scao may have been influenced by knowledge of the orthography of the word *ket* and that his transcription may not be

phonetic. My suspicion is supported by the perception, by a number of BCB speakers that the word for 'ripe' is *dao* rather than 'ao' (spelled *azv* in ZH). This is because the sentence 'it is not ripe', which is of fairly high occurence when fruits are in season, is in fact pronounced [ne ke ˈdaɔ]. In fact, the word *ket* appears under that spelling everywhere in Le Scao's dictionaries in spite of the many examples in which it precedes a vowel and could therefore have been spelled with a *d*.

Voicing of final consonants appears, in many cases however, to be noted (deliberately or not) by Le Scao for other words in examples such as:

'Red è lao ar hi klāou-zé' (Le Scao 1945a, 29) PU. *Ret eo lazhañ ar c'hi klañv-se* 'This sick dog must be killed.'

Note, however, that Le Scao also spells *ret* with a *d* in utterance-final position in 'Eul leor ebkén zo red' [ɔ ˈlewɐˣ epˈkeˑn zo ʁeːt] *Ul levr hepken zo ret* 'Only one book is necessary' (Le Scao 1945a, 72, article on *catéchisme*) and in front of a consonant in 'Rèd vè mēina ān hēnt-sé' [ʁeːɖ ve ˈmeɲə an nɛn sə] *Ret e vez meinañ an hent-se* (Le Scao 1945a, 182, article on *Pierre* etc.).
One could hardly imagine, however, that in these two examples, Le Scao would have pronounced the *d* of *red* in any other way than as /t/ or /ɖ/ himself. He had to choose a spelling for *ret* and the fact he spells it with a *d* simply shows his complete familiarity with the fact that orthographic *d* can be pronounced either in a voiced or devoiced manner.

Voicing of final consonants before vowels also appears in Le Scao's spelling of the expression 'Peb hini' (Le Scao 1945a, 11) *Pep hini* 'each one'. In addition, Le Scao's spelling of *hini* with *h* does also betrays a knowledge of Breton orthography, since the *h* is never pronounced in that word.

Other common words that are involved in this feature apart from *ket* and *ret* are: *mat* 'good' and *bet*, past participle of *bezañ* 'to be'. Hence:

[mɐːd a ʃø?] *Mat eo ar jeu* 'Is everything ok?/how are things?' and not /mɐːtaʃø/
[møs bed øːn] '*Meus bet un* 'I was given one' and not /møs bet øːn/
[bed ɔ̃n bɛt de leːs] *Bet on bet da Laz* 'I went to Laz' (and not /bet ɔ̃n bɛt de leːs/, as some *neo-bretonnants* might say, as this could mean: '(the) concrete went to Laz').

The above can apply to any final unvoiced consonant.

Examples:

With /k/:

Beg in isolation is pronounced [bek]. However, /k/ goes to /g/, as in: [ˈlɛk ne bɐ beg ɐˈheːs] *Lak anezhan e-barzh beg ar c'hazh* 'Put it in the cat's mouth' and not /ˈlɛkne bɐbek ɐˈhɐs/.

With /p/:

[peb ɛ̃n nøs bet] *Pep unan (e) neus bet* 'Everyone got some' and not /pep ɛ̃n nøs bet/.

With /s/:

[a ʃez al] *Ar chas-all* 'the other dogs' and not /a ʃes al/
[møz ˈɐ̃n] *meus aon* 'I am afraid' and not / møs ˈɐ̃n /

Applying this basic feature of Breton phonology is as essential to the ability to understand native Breton and to the achievement of a correct pronunciation, as the devoicing issue discussed in the next paragraph.

2.4.2.1.2 Devoicing

As explained by Cornec (see § 2.4.1.2 Cornec's description of the sounds of BCB) the orthographic consonants *b*, *d*, *g*, *v*, *j* and *z/zh* in absolute final position correspond to the voiceless or devoiced consonants [p], [t]/[d̥], [k], [f], [ʃ] and [s] respectively, in a majority of cases. Voicelessness of pre-pause final consonants is an essential feature of Breton phonology, which I personally became aware of through the way my grandfather pronounced French. He would say things like [tytɛ ɑ̃ˈkɔːᵃ kuʃe aloːp!] for '*Tu t'es encore couché à l'aube!*' ([tytɛ ɑ̃kɔʁ kuʃe aloːb!] in French) or [japly doʃot!] for '*Il (n')y a plus d'eau chaude!*' ([japly doʃoːd!] in French).

Examples:

b → [p] [mɐːp] *mab* 'son'
d → [t] [tɐːt]/[tɐːd̥] *tad* 'father'
g → [k] [kiksɐːl] *kig sal* 'salted pork'
v → [f] [ɐ zɐf] *... a zav* '... is lifting'
j ([ʒ]) → [ʃ] [maʁ pli·ʃ] *mar plij* 'please'
z → [ʃ] [mi·ʃ] *miz* 'month'
z → [s] [kɐləs] *kalz* 'a lot'
zh → [s] [o ˈbɐːsjuːt] *ur bazh yod* 'a stick to stir the oats gruel'

— *z* and *zh* are rarely pronounced as they would be in French, i.e. as a fully voiced [z]. They are most often devoiced, although not always to the point of sounding like a [s] but very close to it.
z and *zh* can be pronounced [s] in word initial as well as in word final position, as in [so] *zo* 'ago', [me sɐːt] *ma zad* 'my father', [o ˈveis koʷs] *ur wiz kozh*[36] 'a sow', [o hɐːs] *ur c'hazh* 'a cat'.

— *zh* is devoiced and palatalised in between vowels in a non-stressed syllable in the words: [ˈveʃu] *a-wezhioù* 'sometimes', [kʁˈwe·ʃu] *kroazhioù* 'crosses'.

When consonants follow long vowels, however, they tend to undergo weaker devoicing.
Example:

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[36] Note that although *gwiz* is feminine, the *k* of *kozh* does not mutate to *gozh* in this case.

— [no kɔl ˈkɐləs gwɐːd̥ nẽɔ] *en do kollet kalz gwad, anezhan* 'he had/(has) lost a lot of blood'.
— [opɪsˈmøːt] *ho piz meud* 'your thumb', but [o piːz̥] *ho piz* 'your finger'
— [o ˈpɛn bɐːz̥] *ur penn bazh* 'a stick to prod cows with'

2.4.2.1.3 Palatalisation of *s* when preceding [i] and occasionally [y]

Examples:

[ˈʃiˑkuᵊ]/[ʃukɐ] *sikour* 'help'
[ˈʃilu]/[ʃulu] *selaou* 'look'
[ˈʃiwas] *siwazh* 'unfortunately'
[ʒeːʃ] *Jesus* 'Jesus', in the phrase [mɐpˈʒeːʃ] *Mab Jesus* 'the Child Jesus/little Jesus'.

2.4.2.1.4 Palatalisation of /k/ to [c], [kʲ] or [tʃ]

What Goyat (2012, 62) states with regard to the phonetic realisation of /k/ in Plozévet can be essentially transferred to BCB. That is to say: the phoneme /k/ is normally realised [k], except after [i]/[ɪ] where it is predominantly realised [c] in pre-pause final position, as in:

[o bɪc] *ur bik* 'a magpie'
[ˈlipɪc] *lipig* 'onion roux'
[õnˈtãmɪc] *un tammig* 'a little bit'.
[miˈkãnic], *mekanik* 'machine'. (In this word, the first /k/, being stressed, is realised [k], though it does follow [i] and precedes a vowel).

It can occasionally be realised [c] when followed by a vowel, as in:

— [baˈʁicən] *barrikenn* 'drum'(though [baˈʁikən] is more common).

[c] does not normally occur in initial position though it is not impossible for /k/ to present some degree of palatalisation in such a position, as in: [õn tãm kʲɪc] or even [õn tãm tʃɪtʃ] for *un tamm kig* 'a piece of meat', which is reminiscent of Bro Gwened dialects.
Palatalisation of /k/ to [tʃ] does occur in some speakers (like RP) to the point where it can actually be altogether replaced by [t] as in: [o beˈʁeit] for *ur beradig* 'a little drop.' RP systematically realises *lipig*, [ˈlipɪtʃ].

— though palatalisation of the final *k* occurs in *un tamm kig* resulting in the pronunciation [õn tãm kʲɪc], *kig mat,* 'good meat', is pronounced [kɪk mɐːt]
— a similar occurrence can be noted in *un tammig*, pronounced [õn ˈtãmɪc], though in the expression *un tammig bihan*, the pronunciation is [õn ˈtãmɪk bɛˈɲ].

2.4.2.1.5 Elision

— *t* in final position is generally pronounced weakly as [ᵗ] or elided altogether, as in:

[bʁɛsᵗ] *Brest* '(city of) Brest', which frequently also pronounced [bʁɛs]
[fɛsˈnoʷs] *fest noz* 'evening dance and music event'
[d�õn] *dont* 'to come or go'
[mõn] *mont* 'to go'

— *t* in the consonantal group *st* is sometimes elided, as in:

[oˈhɐsəl] *ur c'hastell* 'a castle'
[oˈwɐsəl] *ur wastell* 'a cake'
[has bøːn] *hast(it) buan* 'hurry!'

— *k* in the consonantal group *sk* is sometimes elided, as in:

[swæᵃn] *skorn* 'ice'

— *v* when occurring between two vowels and following a stressed vowel is often elided, as in:

[aˈɛːl] *avel* 'wind'
[ˈkɐɛt] *kavet* 'found'
[deˈgɐu] *da gavout* '(in order) to find/have'
[kleːt] *klevet* 'heard'
[ˈsɐ·ɛt] *savet* 'raised up'
[ˈskeːⁱn] *skevent* 'lungs'

— *z(h)* in intersyllabic position is generally elided, as in:

[baˈdɪjən] *badeziant* 'baptism'
[ˈlɐ·ɛt] *lazhet* 'killed'
[ɣeːt] *razhed* 'rats' in the phrase [ˈlu·zu ɣeːt] *louzoù razhet* 'rat poison'
[ˈsilɪt] *silzig* 'sausage'

2.4.2.1.6 Other cases of mismatch

— *h* is not aspirated in words starting with orthographic *h*, as in:

[ən ɑ̃ˈtə·ʁ œʁ]/[ən ɑ̃ˈtəː vɐ] *un hanter eur* 'a half-hour'
[ɑ̃ˈnɛn] *an hent* 'the road'

— *h* is pronounced /χ/ in the very common pronoun *hini*, very frequently pronounced [χwẽ] (though this is not its only pronunciation, see 4.1.3.1 Definite substitutes).

— [h] can occur in word initial position where there is no orthographic *h*, as in: [məˈhɑ̃ːno, o ˈhɑ̃ːno] *ma anv*, *ho anv* 'my name, your name', [me ˈhɛ̃·n] *ma unan* 'myself'.

— *c'h* as spirantisation of *k* is pronounced [h] and not [x] or [χ] in word-initial position in most of Canton Briec (except when preceding *l*), as in:

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[o ˈhæᵃ] *ur c'harr* 'a (horse-)cart'
[o ˈheːs] *ur c'hazh* 'a cat'
[o ˈhɛf] *ur c'hef* 'a treetrunk/a collection box (in a church)'
[o ˈhi·lo] *ur c'hilo* 'a kilo'
[o ˈhilɔk] *ur c'hilog* 'a rooster'
[a ˈhɔstju] *ar c'hostioù* 'the sides'
[a ˈhχɐo̝] *ar c'hraou* 'the cowshed'
[a ˈhɐo] *ar c'haw* 'the cellar'
[o ˈhuːₐt] *ur c'hourt* 'a courtyard'

But:

[o ˈχlɑ̃ɛ̃] *ur c'hleuz* 'a Cornish hedge'

— *j* (which would normally be pronounced [ʒ]) in a word-initial position is devoiced to [ʃ], as in:

[ʃoː] *Jo* 'Joe'
[ˈʃewən] *Jaouen* (family name)
[ˈʃæːᵃn] *jardin* 'garden'

J is occasionally only slightly devoiced to [ʒ̥] by some speakers.

— *s* can be voiced to [z] in word initial position, as in:

[zɔ̃n] *sonn* 'upright/upstraight'.

— *v* in word-final position or following *n* or *ñ* is pronounced [o] as in:

[hɑ̃ːno] *anv* 'name'
[beo] *bev* 'alive'
[teo] *tev* 'fat/overweight'

(Note that the above *v* is a recent orthographic convention which only came into being with the launch of the ZH orthography in 1941.)

[o] can assume the nasal character of the preceding vowel as in:

[hɑ̃õ̃] *hañv* 'summer'

— *w* in word-initial position is pronounced [v], in:

[vɐ] *oa* 'was'(3sg. of *bezañ* 'to be')
[vaˈgwæᵃ] *war gorre* 'upon'
[o vɛn] *ur wezenn* 'a tree'

In intervocalic position, *w* is often pronounced [v] as in:

[ˈpɛ̃ːvaʰ] *pewar* 'four'
[dyˈveːt] *diwezhat* 'late'

This can be the case in words starting with orthographic *w* in a situation in which these words are placed at the beginning of an utterance, but follow a vowel that is not expressed, but implied.

This is the case with conjugated forms of the verb *gwellout* 'to see' which start with /v/ (though their first letter is *w*) in the following circumstances:

[velɔ̃ ke tχɐː ebət] (*ne*) *wellan ket tra ebet* 'I can't see a thing'. Pronouncing *wellan* with /v/ is justified here by the implied presence of the vowel ending the word *ne* implied, but not expressed in the sentence.

Similarly /v/ is justified in the following example by the presence of the verbal particle *a* implied, but not expressed:
[mɛ̃ vel ɐn dʁa vaʁ ɑ̃n doːl] (*me a*) *well an dra war an daol* 'I see it on the table.'

However, *w* can nonetheless be pronounced [w] in intervocalic situations, as in:

[oˈwɐsəl] *ur wastell* 'a cake'
[oˈwɪːs] *ur wazh* 'a small brook'

It is always pronounced /w/ in *a-walc'h* 'enough' and derivatives.
[wax] *walc'h* 'enough'
[tʁaˈwax] *trawalc'h* 'enough'

— *z* preceded by *i* and in final position is palatalised to [ʃ] in certain words like:

[ˈiːlɪʃ] *iliz* 'church'
[mi·ʃ] *miz* 'month'
[ˈgɥɪnɪʃ] *gwiniz* 'wheat'

— *z* is palatalised in between vowels in a non-stressed syllable in the words:
[ˈiːʒəl] *izel* 'low'
[ˈbʁyʒyn] *bruzun* 'crumbs'

— *r* is realised [l] in a few words such as:

[ˈɐːleʰ] *arar* 'plough'
[blɛ̃ːʃu] *briñsoù* 'twigs'
[koˈmɐːl] (more rarely[kɐˈmɐːlat]) *kamarad* 'male friend'
[koˈmɐːləs] (more rarely [kɐˈmɐːladəs]) *kamaradezh* 'female friend'

— Cases of metathesis.

Quite a number of BCB words result from metathesis and therefore contradict KLT spelling. Examples are:

[ˈɐ:lən] *alan* 'breath', PU *anal*
[ʃiˈmi:lᵊⁿ] *chimilen* 'chimney', PU *chiminal*
[ˈfu·lɪn] *fulin* 'funnel', PU *funilh*
[ˈʃu:ᵃlⁿ] *jourlen* 'newspaper', PU *journal* (the pronunciation [ˈʃu:ₐnˡ] is also common)
[a ʒyˈve:zjən] PU *ar Juzevien* 'the Jews'

The word [ˈbɐ:lən] *balan* 'broom plant', is cited by Cornec (1996,761) as a metathesis of *banal*, itself a form presumably evolved from the Gaulish *banatlo* (which the Cumbric *banadl* and the Cornish *banathel* appear to descend from [Henry, 1900, 25]). This, however, is contradicted by the CNRTL article (<http://www.cnrtl.fr/etymologie/balai >) on the French word *balai* ('broom' (instrument)') which states that an evolution, through metathesis, from *banatlo* to *balain* (attested from 1170) and, consequently, to the Breton words *balazn* and *balan* is uncertain.

The fact is that the word for 'broom plant', in BCB can be [ˈbã:n], as in [boɖˈbã:n], 'broom shrub'. This supports the view that the first syllable of the word should be *ban* rather than *bal*. However it is *balan* (lenited to *valan*) in the expression [bɐzˈvɐ:lã̃n] *bazh valan* 'matchmaker' (lit. 'broom branch', as he or she carried such a branch to announce for what purpose he or she was approaching the house of the desired girl). This, by contrast supports the view that the first syllable of the word is *bal*.

— Cases of rebracketing (or faulty separation, Fr. '*fausse coupe*').

Cornec (1996, 756) reports a case of rebracketing concerning the word [ˈdo:ₐ] *dor* 'door':
due to nasal mutation of [d] to [n] following articles, the word is perceived as starting with [o] by some speakers. Thus 'the door' [ãn ˈno:ᵃ] *an nor* and 'a door' [õn ˈno:ᵃ] *un nor* undergo rebracketing and become [ãn o:ᵃ] and [on o:ᵃ] leading to the word *dor* being perceived as [o:ᵃ]. This results in utterances such as [o:ãnti] for *dor an ti* 'the door of the house' or [dju o:ᵃ] for *diou dor* 'too doors'.
Amongst my informants, both pronunciations [ˈno:ᵃ] and [o:ᵃ] are heard.
I can report the following similar phenomenon concerning the plural form of the word *annoar* 'heifer'.
The singular form 'a heifer' is [ã̃ˈnɐnᵉ]/[ã̃ˈnã̃nᵉ] for all my informants and, for most of them, the plural form 'the heifers', is [ãn ɐˈnɔ·at] *an annoaret*. However, at least one of my informants (MTC) produces the plural form 'the heifers' as [ãnˈɔat], as if the word for 'heifers' was *oret* or *oart*.

2.4.2.1.7 Réalisation of *r* as /æ/ and /a/

In postvocalic position, *r* is very often realised as an allophone of /a/. This is already mentioned in 2.2.4 and in 2.2.5 as a classic phonological trait in the French of BCB speakers and of speakers of Breton from southern Cornouaille in general. This vocalisation of *r* is quite systematic when *r* is in word final position. In that position it becomes vocalised as [ᵃ], [ᵉ] and sometimes [ᵊ] often checked by a hint of friction,

noted where relevant as superscript [ʰ] or [ˣ]. The pronunciation of *r* is discussed further in §§ 2.4.2.1.7.1, 2.4.2.1.7.2 and 2.4.2.1.7.3.

Examples:

[ˈbæᵃ] *berr* 'short'
[ˈduːᵃʰ] *dour* 'water'
[ˈfyːᵃʰ] *fur* 'wise'
[ˈhiːᵃ] *hir* 'long'
[ˈiᵃvɪn] *irvin* 'turnip'
[ˈkæᵃ] *karr* 'cart, car'
[ˈkuᵃt] *kourd* 'yard'
[ˈljɛᵃn]/ [ˈleᵃn] *lern* 'foxes'
[ˈlœːᵃʰ] *leur* 'floor, expanse of smoothed clay'
[ˈstæᵃt] *stard* 'arduous'
[meˈxɐːdᵉˣ] *marc'hadour* 'merchant'
[ˈleːbᵊʰ] *labour* 'work'

The remarkable pronunciation of *merc'hed* 'women, girls' as [mjeːt] in BCB can be traced to this pronunciation of *r* as /æ/ or /a/ and, to a point, to the pronunciation of *c'h* as /h/. *Merc'hed* presumably pronounced /ˈmerxet/, would have evolved to /meˈᵃhet/, following which, the /h/ was elided, leading to /ˈmeᵃet/. /eᵃ/ would have evolved to /j/, eventually giving /mjeːt/

r can also simply not be pronounced at all, in particular if followed by another word starting with a consonant, as is the case in *war* in the ubiquitous expression [vaˈgwæᵃ] *war gorre* 'on'.

Even if *r* is followed by an orthographic vowel, it may still not be pronounced, as in:

[vaː n ˈdoːl] *war an daol* 'on the table' (instead of /vaʁ an ˈdoːl/).

As a consequence, the definite article *ar* is practically always realised as [a], as in:

[a mɔχ] *ar moc'h* 'the pigs'
[a ˈbæᵃ] *ar bara* 'the bread'
[a poːt] *ar paotr* 'the boy'
[a ˈvjeᵃx]/[a ˈveᵃx] *ar verc'h* 'the girl'
[a ˈjeːᵃᵉ] *ar yer* 'the chickens'

2.4.2.1.7.1 Realisation of *or(r)* as [wæᵃ]

The realisation of *r* as [æ] and [a] involves a particularly confusing mismatch between the grapheme *or* + consonant and its realisation in BCB.
With *r* being realised as [ᵃᵉ] and [ᵃ], *or* in word-final position is realised [oːᵃ] as in [doːᵃ] *dor* 'door', discussed above under 'Cases of rebracketing'. Particularly when followed by a consonant, [oːᵃ] goes to [wæᵃ], a phenomenon I have occasionally witness in north-east-coast American English pronunciation of the word *normal*

pronounced [ˈnʷɔːmᵒl] by some New-Yorkers. In BCB, the pronunciation of the borrowed French word *normal* can, in fact, be [ˈnwæᵃmᵉl]. In the case of BCB, this is an essential point to realise if one wants to understand and be understood by native speakers.

Examples are:

[ˈfwæᵃn] *forn* 'oven'
[ˈkwæᵃn] *korn* 'corner'
[lɔˈkwæᵃn] *Lokorn* 'Lokorn/Locronan (name of City)'
[pwæᵃs]/[pwaᵁs] *porzh* 'courtyard'
[ˈpwɔᵃta] *porta* (PU *poltred*) 'photograph'
[ˈswæᵃn] *skorn* 'ice'
[ˈswæᵃt] *sord* 'lizzard' (see in Lexicon why this word meaning 'newt' is used for 'lizzard' in BCB).
[ˈtwæᵃ] *torr* 'break, fracture'

In the words *digor* 'open' and *istor* 'story' the grapheme *or* is realised [weᵃ], leading to [digˈweᵃ] and [istˈweᵃ].

When followed by *c'h*, *r* is effectively not pronounced. Therefore, the graphemes *orc'h* and *oc'h* are pronounced identically [ɔx] (more rarely [ɔχ]) as in:

[fɔx] *forc'h* 'pitchfork'
[mɔx] *moc'h* 'pigs'

Other examples with *rc'h*:

[ɛx] *erc'h* 'snow'
[jux] *yourc'h* 'roe deer'

2.4.2.1.7.2 *R* is realised according to its position in the word (or utterance)

Predictably, the realisation of *r* depends on its position in the word (or utterance) and on the speaker as well.

a) In initial position.

I find that apart from the cases in which orthographic *r* is pronounced as in Paris French or close to it, the description of sounds that correlate with *r* in BCB is problematic, notably because the current range of IPA representations of fricatives does not cover the BCB variants that fall in-between the available symbols. The transcriptions that are given below are therefore not to be taken as final and I stress that when a description uses the phrase 'may be', it must be understood to imply that close alternative pronunciations are also possible.

In initial prevocalic position, *r* may be pronounced as it is in Paris French, namely rather like a velar fricative, close or identical to [ɣ] in French *rime*, *reste*, *rocher*. Examples:

[ˈɣiːjəl] *riell* 'ice (on road etc.)'
[ɣeːʁ] *reor* 'backside, arse'
[ɣeːt] *ret* 'necessary'
[ɣy·] *ruz* 'red'

It can also assume a more guttural quality and change to uvular [ʁ] in careful enunciation or when preceding back or near-back vowels as in French *râler* or *rauque*. Examples:
[ʁuːt] *roud* 'track/(foot)print'
[ˈʁɔ·ʃət] *roched* 'shirt'
[ˈʁo·zɛl] *rozell* 'rake to spread grain, or crêpe batter'
[ʁɐːs] *razh* 'rat'
[ˈʁɐ·səl] *rastell* 'garden rake'
[ˈʁɐːdn] *raden* 'fern'

Some speakers, like my grandfather (MLG) and his cousin AF (whose accents were eerily identical) and of M'nD used this /ʁ/ very readily, both in French and Breton, in initial position in front of back or near-back vowels. AH, AF's youngest sister, also tends to use /ʁ/ initial prevocalic position though less noticeably. MLG, AF and M'nD also tended to realise /a/ further back, more like /ɐ/ or even /ɑ/, which would have influenced the pronunciation of the preceding *r*. Note that AF and M'nD are amongst my oldest informants (as was, of course, my grandfather, though his status as informant is different from that of AF and M'nD insofar as he was not alive when this thesis was started). This correlates with the clear memory I have from my childhood that elderly Breton speakers as well as French-speakers in my grandmother's Berry region (200 km south of Paris) pronounced /a/ and /o/ further back than in Paris.

b) In non-initial prevocalic position, it may be pronounced in two ways:

Either as the uvular fricative[ʁ] similar to the French *r* used in careful enunciation.
Or as the uvular fricative [χ] involving strong friction compared to [ʁ], especially, possibly only, in monosyllabic words. Emphasis amplifies this phenomenon.

Examples:

[o vʁɑ̃n] *ur vran* 'a raven'
[kʁɐːs]/[kχɑːs] *kras* 'crisp'
[dʁɐ] *dra* 'this' (fr. *an dra* 'the thing')
[an dʁɐ] *an dra* 'the thing'
[tχɐ ebɛt!] *tra ebet!* 'not a thing!'
(note that the word for 'thing' is *tra* pronounced [tχɐ]. There appears to be a coincidence between the lenition of /t/ to /d/ following the article, and a softening of /χ/ to /ʁ/).
[tʁɛ̃ŋ] *trenk* 'sour'
[tχøt] *treut* 'lean'
[fχɛ̃] *freñ* 'brake' (a word borrowed from the French *frein*).

Words in which *r* is realised [χ] can, however, also see their *r* assume a more velar manner of pronunciation and be realised with [x]. Thus [ˈnetxɐ] is an alternative pronunciation to [ˈnetχɐ] for *netra* 'nothing'. Note that my grandfather, M'nD and AF would have pronounced this word something close to [ˈnetχɐ] with the last vowel being in fact lower than [ɐ] and tending towards [ɑ].

After /t/ *r* may be pronounced /ʀ/. Thus *trenk* (see above) can be pronounced [tʀɛ̃ŋ]. This is particularly so in the word *paotred*, which *can* to be pronounced [ˈpɔ·tʀət] (when it is not pronounced [ˈpɔ·tˣət], [ˈpɔtᵉ], [ˈpɔtət]).

When following a stressed vowel, *r* is essentially vocalised as a semi-syllabic /a/-like sound. Only a hint of it is generally heard and it will thus be noted in superscript in this thesis (see 2.4.2.1.7 Realisation of *r* as /æ/ and /a/). This has extensive implications if the stressed vowel is an *o* (see 2.4.2.1.7.1 Realisation of *or(r)* as [wæᵃ]).

If the preceding orthographic vowel is an *e*, as in: [bæːᵃ] *berr* 'short' (see 2.4.2.1.7.3 below), this *e* assumes the quality an /a/-like sound ([æ] in this case).

When *r* follows *a* in non pre-pause final position, it tends to be absorbed by the sound produced in the realisation of *a*, whether [a], [ɐ] or [æ]. It is therefore no longer heard or only faintly heard as a separate sound, hence:
[ɐ] *ar* 'the' as in [a vjɛx] *ar verc'h* 'the girl', especially when following certain prepositions such as *gant*:
[gɐ poːt] *gant ar paotr* 'with the boy'
Other examples:
[gæːs] *garz* 'gander'
[ˈkæːᵃk] *karreg* 'large rock'

When *r* precedes *c'h*, realised [x] or [χ], it is assimilated to it and is not heard as a separate sound as shown in the example of *ar verc'h* above.
Other examples:
[ɛx] *erc'h* 'snow'
[max] *marc'h* 'gelding'

In unstressed final position, *r* is often (though not always) vocalized, resulting in a semi-syllabic /a/-like sound, as reported at length by Cornec (1996, see below). Gary German (1984, see below) also reports this phenomenon in his description of the Saint Yvi dialect.
This feature is very similar to the final *r* of many German words in pre-pause position, for example: *Herr* [ˈhɛɐ̯], *mehr* [ˈmeːɐ̯] or *leer* [ˈleːɐ̯].
While the symbol [ɐ̯] is commonly used for German to represent the vocalized *r*, the superscript [ᵃ] is used by Gary German (1984:53) in the same context for Breton to represent the vocalised *r* in the Saint Yvi dialect. This convention is also followed by Le Dû in the NALBB for words in which he reports a vocalisation of *r* such as *yer* [ˈje̝ːᵃ] (2001, 376) and *ler* [ˈleᵃ] (2001, 359) in Landudal.[37] This convention completely

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[37] Note that these forms are given for Landudal while the forms given for these words for Briec in the NALBB, namely [je̝ːʁ] and [leːʁ] seem to me to represent careful enunciation rather than the dominant informal conversational pronunciation.

correlates with the subscript [ₐ] systematically used by Cornec in such contexts for BCB. Examples are: [ˈʃoːsₐ] *choaser* 'weir', [onoːₐ] *un nor* 'a door' (1996, 757), [ˈbæₐ] *berr* 'short' (1996, 760), [ˈɑ̃ːnₐ] *annoar* 'heifer' (1996, 765) etc. However, as was pointed to me by Wmffre in his report on this thesis and as far as I can tell from consulting IPA documentation, Cornec's subscript [ₐ] is not an orthodox IPA convention. To represent vocalised *r* I will therefore apply the convention used by German and Le Dû and adhere to the use of superscript [ᵃ].

Examples:
[o pɛn ˈjæːᵃ] *ur penn yar* 'a hen'
[a ˈjeːᵃ] *ar yer* 'the hens'
[ˈdæːᵃ] *adarre* 'again'

With regard to the phonetic realisation of the orthographic endings *-er*, *-our* and *-ur*, my observation is that the phoneme [ᵊ] corresponds best to the vocalised *r* and may be checked by a hint of a fricative which can be [ʰ], [ˣ].

Examples:
[d ˈoːᵊˣ]/[d ˈoːbᵊˣ] *d'ober* 'of doing, to do'
[mɐ ˈxɐːdᵊˣ] *marc'hadour* 'merchant'
[plɪ ˈʒɐːdᵊʰ] *plijadur* 'pleasure'
[o ˈxweːdᵃˣ] *ur c'hroadur* 'a child'

Note, however, that common alternatives for some of the above words involve a more centralised sound such as [ə] instead of an /a/-like sound, therefore:
[d ˈoːᵊʰ]/[d ˈoːbᵊʰ] for *d'ober*, [mɐ ˈxɐːdᵊˣ] for *marc'hadour*, [plɪ ˈʒɐːdᵊʰ] for *plijadur*, [o ˈxweːdᵊʰ] for *ur c'hroadur* are also heard.

Other examples:
[ˈleːbᵊʰ] *labour* 'work'
[ˈɑ̃mzᵊʰ] *amzer* 'weather/time'

It seems that in realisations involving an [ᵊ], it is more often checked by a phoneme characterised by reduced friction, namely [ʰ] rather than [ˣ].

2.4.2.1.7.3 *Er* can be pronounced [æᵃ]

If the vowel preceding *r* is an *e* (normally pronounced [e]), it appears that the vocalic nature of the pronunciation of *r* transfers back to it, turning [e] into [æ].

Examples:

[skwæᵃ] *skouer* 'example/reference'
[bæᵃ] *berr* 'short'
[sæᵃ] *serr* 'shut'

2.4.2.1.7.4 *Me a* + verb is pronounced [mẽ]

Given that *me a* is a high frequency sequence, it is critical to note its actual pronunciation is predominantly [mẽ] when following the verbal particle *a*. In isolation,

me is pronounced [me] and *a* is pronounced [a]. In effect, [mẽ] is a contraction of [me] + [a].

Examples:

[mẽ møz œ̃n] *me a meus un* 'I (do) have one'
[mẽ vɛl ne aˈleːs wax] *me a wel anezhe alies a walc'h* 'I see them quite often'
[mẽz dy geˈnex] *me (a) zo a-du ganeoc'h* 'I agree with you'

2.4.2.1.7.5 *Marteze* **is pronounced [maˈtʁẽ]**

As *marteze* 'perhaps' is a very frequent word, it is worth noting that its BCB pronunciation as [matʁẽ] (by all BCB speakers I have heard say it) is markedly different from its spelling and from the way it is said in many other dialects (in Plozévet, for example, the pronunciation is /maˈtrɛːhe/ [Goyat 2012, 210]).

2.4.3 The vowels of BCB

As a native speaker of French, a hearer of Breton since birth and a speaker of English since my early teens, I have made the following empirical observation:
— The French language is vowel-driven.
— Breton and English are stress-driven.
— Breton and English lengthen vowels to a point unknown in French (except in emphatic speech). French speakers therefore tend to systematically shorten long vowels in both those languages.

Understanding of the spoken message in French relies on the clarity of vowels. In English and Breton, however, the clarity of vowels in multisyllabic words, while being important, is no more important than stress and vowel length.

This may explain why the prosodic features of Central Breton dialects are common to most of them, while there are many variations in pronunciation of vowels including within an utterance, within the speech of the same individual and from one individual to another within a small territory like the Canton of Briec.

Central Breton and BCB being, like English, strongly stressed languages, the sound of their vowels is greatly affected by their position relative to stressed syllables. This is a phenomenon that is largely foreign to the French language and of which PU speakers/*néo-bretonnants* seem to be unaware or choose to ignore.

A French approach to the treatment of vowels in Breton (and in English), can therefore only lead to an incorrect and inauthentic pronunciation.

The main error to avoid, for native French speakers in Breton, is to adhere to a single way of pronouncing orthographic vowels and, in the process, strive to produce a single distinctively identical sound for a vowel regardless of where it is placed in an utterance.

One example of this point is the pronunciation of the word *ilin* 'elbow'. A native English speaker will expect, from experience of their own language, that one of the two

syllables is stressed and that the letter *i* is necessarily not pronounced the same way in both syllables of that word. Potential English pronunciations of *ilin* could be [ˈailɪn] or [ˈiːlən], possibly [ɪˈliːn].

A French speaker, however, even if they guess that the orthographic syllable *in* is unlikely to be pronounced [ɛ̃] (as it normally is in French), would probably produce [ilin] which is unrecognizable by native speakers.

The BCB pronunciation of *ilin* is [ˈeːlᵊn], which is much closer to the potential English than to the potential French pronunciation. In particular:

— the first syllable is strongly stressed.
— the vowel of the second syllable is neutralised and diminished.
— one of the vowels is long, which French speakers typically fail to heed and emulate.

What one must pay attention to, in the following pages is therefore not so much the sounds of the vowels, as the variations they undergo within the phonetic environment in which they are, in particular as a result of stress of the surrounding syllables.

The phonological rule spelled out by Fac'hun (1951, 19) for the Bourg-Blanc dialect and KLT generally applies to BCB, namely that while the length of stressed vowels varies a lot according to the quality of the following consonant, all unstressed vowels are short.[38]

The oral vowels of BCB are:

	FRONT	NEAR-FRONT	CENTRAL	NEAR-BACK	BACK
CLOSE	i y				u
NEAR-CLOSE		ɪ			ọ
CLOSE-MID	e ø				o
MID			ə		
OPEN-MID	ɛ	œ			ɔ
NEAR-OPEN	æ			ɐ	
OPEN	a				

Though BCB can be considered a language of solely oral tradition, discussing the correlation and discrepancies between its phonology and Breton orthographic systems is useful for two reasons: 1) If it survives, it will tend to be increasingly written and read as its contemporary users, who are all literate, will engage in correspondence.

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[38] 'On constate à l'expérimentation les durées les plus diverses.[...] En position inaccentuée, toutes les voyelles sont brèves. Sous l'accent, elles sont longues ou brèves, selon la nature de la consonne suivante.' 'Experimentation shows a most varied range of length [for vowels]. [...] In unstressed position, all vowels are short. In stressed position, they are either long or short, according to the quality of the consonant that follows.'

Furthermore, those who may undertake to learn or relearn it will rely on written material in their consultation of reference documentation and for note-taking. 2) Normative orthography is a static and restrictive tool to transcribe the genuine pronunciation of most languages, amongst which BCB. Given the potential influence of orthography on the phonology of written languages, it is important to provide ways of pronouncing correctly the orthographic forms, which tend not to correlate with pronunciation. The very fact spoken BCB (and spoken Breton in general) and ZH orthography generally do not correlate means that the latter should be supplemented with phonetic notation of some sort.

2.4.3.1 [ɪ]

Note that amongst the vowels shown in the above table, [ɪ] is one which is not mentioned in the monographs I have consulted (apart from McKenna's). I find this particularly surprising as, in my experience, it is a common vowel in various Breton dialects as well as in the French of Bretons. [ɪ] is a common vowel in English and it is tempting to attribute its absence in the work of the other authors (apart from Wmffre) to the fact that, though they are linguists, they are not native English speakers and may not be familiar with this sound, while McKenna as a native English-speaking linguist is very familiar with it. Another reason for not using [ɪ] could well be that some of these monographs were typed on old-fashioned typewriters which did not permit to type that symbol.

[ɪ] is a frequent enough pronunciation for *i* In BCB and cannot be realised as a mere [i] in all cases, without a loss of authenticity. [ɪ] tends to be the way the letter *i* is pronounced in unstressed syllables, for example in:

[ˈiːᵃvɪn] *irvin* 'turnip'

The pronunciation of *i* in a multisyllabic word in which no syllable is strongly stressed also tends towards a pronunciation set further back in the oral cavity, as in:

[pɛn ˈdaulɪn] *penn daoulin*, (lit. head of two knees), 'knee'.

[ɪ] is always short and very rarely in a stressed syllable. Therefore, a syllable containing a long *i* will be transcribed with [iː] or [i·], as in:

[pɛn ˈgli·n] *penn glin*, (lit. head knee), other word for 'knee'.

[ɪ] never appears on its own in word-initial position.

Other examples of occurrence of [ɪ] are:

[dɪŋ] *din* 'to/of me' (also pronounced [deŋ] or [dĩ ŋ])
[fɪn] *fin* 'clever', which is pronounced exactly as the English surname *Finn*
[nɪŋ] *nimp* 'we', also pronounced [neŋ] or [nĩ̃ŋ]
[ˈʃɪkɐ] *sikour* 'help', in fact also frequently pronounced [ˈʃukɐ]
[vɪl] *vil* 'ugly'

The pronunciation of *i* can, in fact, go as far in aperture as to be [e], as in the sentence:

[gu ʁe bʁəˈzɔ̃ːnək?] *goût a rit brezhoneg* 'do you know Breton?'

Authors, however, tend to transcribe the sound of every orthographic *i* as [i]. For example Cornec's transcription of *irvin* is [ˈiːᵃvin], which does actually not reflect the reality of his own pronunciation as I heard it in which he pronounces the second *i* further back than the first and rather close to a [ə].
A lack of awareness of the phoneme [ɪ] is regrettable as realising all *i* as in French (i.e. [i]) always leads to a lengthening of the syllable concerned and disrupts the pronunciation of the whole word.

2.4.3.2 [o̞] for plural endings in *-où*

This symbols corresponds to a range of sounds, which occur frequently in Central Breton and match what I observe in BCB.

It is noteworthy that Wmffre uses /ʊ/ for plural endings. He defines it as follows (1998, 7): 'The vowel ʊ, the common plural marker, is only found in final unstressed syllables and can be considered an allophone of /u/ and /o/ (in traditional songs it can be made to rhyme with /o/ or /u/ and, so that [pɛnʊ] 'heads' is found written as either *penno* or *pennou*).'

Wmffre only uses [ʊ] to represent the orhtographic *-où* endings of nouns in Plonevell Breton, as in: [ˈpo·ʒʊ] *podoù* 'pots' and [ˈhɛ̃·ʃu] *hentoù* 'roads' (1998, 14).

/o̞/ is used by Goyat who defines it in the following terms: 'The phoneme /o̞/ is realised as a back oral vowel which, is very closed and rounded [o̞]. It is slightly diphthongised. It starts from [o] and tends towards [u].'[39] (Goyat 2012, 27).

Goyat uses /o̞/ to transcribe the graphemes *o* and *ou*. Examples are: /ko̞ːz/ *kozh*, 'old' (2012, 26) and /ˈmo̞ːga/ *mougañ*, 'to smother' (2012, 27).

He does not, however, use /o̞/ to transcribe plural endings in *-où*.

It is clear that, by resorting to [ʊ] and /o̞/ both authors have noted (as I have myself) the existence of a sound that is departing from [o], while not being fully [u] and has characteristics of both. These authors show a preoccupation, which I share, with the necessity to transcribe this sound with symbols other than /o/ or /u/ alone, contrary to what is done by many other authors and to what appears in dictionaries and textbooks (which are constrained by the necessity to provide a more universal transcription of the sounds of Breton).

Though the sound [u] does occur as a plural ending in BCB, using it to transcribe the grapheme *ou* in all cases would similar to indiscriminately transcribing *i* with [i] and definitely does not reflect BCB pronunciation.

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[39] 'Le phonème /o̞/ se réalise comme une voyelle orale, postérieure, très fermée et arrondie [o̞], légèrement diphtonguée : elle part de [o] et tend vers [u].'

In BCB the plural ending *-où* is generally not realised as [u] but as a sound in-between [u] and [o], sometimes very close to [o]. The plural of the word for 'calf' is an illustration of this: its singular form is [ˈlɔe] *leue*, while its plural form, *leueoù*, is pronounced [ˈleo].

To represent the sound corresponding to *-où*, I may therefore use [o̩] when *-où* is closer to an /o/ sound.

The production of [u] or [o̩] by BCB native speakers in plural endings appears to be partly discretionary and partly determined by the position of the stress in relation to these sounds. It seems to me that [u] tends to occur in stressed syllables while [o̩] occurs where stress is absent or weaker.

Examples of possible plural endings:

[ˈɐ·vel] *aval* 'apple', pl. [ɐˈveːlo̩] *avaloù*
[ˈbeːtɪs] *betiss* 'silly thing', pl. [beˈtiːso̩] *betissoù*
[ˈʃakɔt] *chakot* 'pocket', pl. [ʃaˈkɔto]/[ˈʃaˈkɔto̩] *chakotoù*
[iˈbɐtic] *ibatig* 'toy', pl. [iˈbɐticu]/[iˈbɐtico̩] *ibatigioù*
[o ˈχlœ̃] *ur c'hleuz* 'a Cornish hedge', pl. [ˈklœ̃ju]/[ˈklœ̃jo̩] *kleuzioù*
[kʁɔˈgɐ·ʒu]/[kʁɔˈgɐ·ʒo̩] *krogadoù* 'moments/sometimes'
[ˈliːme] *lima* 'lolly', pl. [liˈmeːju]/[liˈmeːjo̩] *limaioù*
[ˈliːsɐʰ] *lisser* 'bedsheet', pl. [liˈseo̩]/[liˈseo] *lisserioù*
[po·z] *poz* 'word', pl. [ˈpɔʃu] *pozioù*
[taˈkɐʒu] *takadoù* 'places'
[txɐ] *tra* 'thing', pl. [ˈtʁɐu]/[ˈtʁɐo̩] *traoù*
[ˈtʁu·jɛn] *trouilhenn* 'rag', pl. [ˈtʁuju] *trouilhoù*
[o vɛʃ] *ur wech* 'a time'(as in 'an occasion'), pl. [ˈvɛʃo̩] or [ˈvɛʃu] as in (*a*) *wechoù* 'sometimes'

Note that *où* (or *ou*) preceded by postalveolar or palatal consonants [ʃ], [ʒ], [c] and [j] tend to be pronounced closer to an [u] as per the examples above.

The plural of some words is pronounced with [u] only. Examples:

[ˈluːzu] *louzoù* 'medicine, drugs, chemical(s)'
[vi] *vi* 'egg', pl. [vju] *vioù*

2.4.3.3 [o̩] in diphthongised contexts representing *o*

[o̩] being a 'slightly diphthongised' vowel (Goyat 2012, 27), can be an alternative to [oʷ] in the speech of some speakers and can replace [oʷ] in the following examples:

[ko·ʷs]/[ko̩s] *kozh* 'old' (when emphasized)
[tʁoʷ]/[tʁo̩] *tro n.m.* 'turn'
[o vo·ʷl]/[o vo̩ːl] *ur vouc'hal* 'an axe'

[o̞] is associated with the diphthong [ɔe] to form the triphthong [ɔeo̞] in the word [ˈsto̞eo̞] *stouiñ* 'to lower one's head, to stoop down'.

2.4.3.4 [o̞] in other contexts

Examples:

[bo̞x] *bourc'h* 'small town'
[ˈʃo̞ːkᵉ] *chaokat* 'chew'/ 'crease'
[lo̞ːt] *lod* 'some/a part of'

The swaying from [o] to [u] has to do with the degree of stress of the syllable. It might also be connected to the nature of the surrounding sounds.

Example of the influence of stress on variation from [o] to [u]:
The word [ˈɐːvəl] *aval* 'apple' can be pluralised as [ɐˈvɐːlu] *avaloù* (though [ɐˈvɐːlo̞] is also heard).
But in the phrase *avaloù douar* 'potatoes', [u] goes to [o̞] ([ɐˈvɐːlo̞ ˈduːəʰ]) while in the more common *vallouar* 'potatoes' the syllable transcribed *ou* being stressed goes to [u] and gives [vɐˈluəʰ].

Example of the influence of other factors on variation from [o] to [u]:
In *avaloù douar* 'potatoes', *douar* is pronounced [ˈduːəʰ] ([ɐvɐːlo̞ ˈduːəʰ]). But in the phrase *an douar* 'the land', *douar* changes to [ˈdəwaʰ] or [ˈdawaʰ] ([ənˈdəwaʰ]/[ənˈdawaʰ]).

By using [ʊ] and /o̞/ both Wmffre and Goyat higlight, as I mean to do, that the grapheme *ou* cannot be pronounced in all cases by producing the very French [u] sound alone.

2.4.3.5 Vowels, including nasal vowels, which are trademarks of both French and BCB.

As most readers of this thesis are likely to be either French-speaking or conversant in French, references to the French language are likely to be useful in understanding certain aspects of the BCB sound system. While Breton in general, and BCB in particular are phonologically very different from French, it is in the area of vowels that most similarities with French occur.

Five vowels are common to Breton and French. They are:

2.4.3.5.1 [y].

[y] corresponds to *u* as in French *tu, sûr, vu*. Examples of BCB words with this sound are:

[tyt] *tud* 'people'
[syːᵊ] *sur* 'sure'

[lyːn] *lun* 'Monday'
[ˈlyˑdy] *ludu* 'ashes/fertilizer'
[ˈbyːgᵊl] *bugel* 'child'
[ˈsety] *setu* 'there you are/here is'.

When *u* is orthographically followed by *ñ*, the combination is pronounced ɛ̃ as in:

pluñvenn, [ˈplɛ̃ːɛn] 'feather'.

/y/ is also present in the diphthongs [øy] and [œy] (see *diphthongs*).

2.4.3.5.2 [ø].

[ø] principally written *eu* and pronounced as *eu* in French *deux*, *peu*, *veut*. Examples of BCB words with this sound are:

[løːᵃ] *leur* 'outer floor'
[møˑs] *e meus* 'I have'
[nˑøs] *en deus/e deus* 'he/she has'
[pˑøs] *o peus* 'you have'

However /ø/ can be represented by other graphemes in words such as:

[a vøˑʸ] *ar vuezh* 'life'
[ɔ vøx] *ur vuoc'h* 'a cow'

The grapheme *eu* is not pronounced /ø/ in every word. For example *ur kleuz* 'a Cornish hedge' (Fr. *talus*) is pronounced [ɔ χlœ̃].

2.4.3.5.3 [œ].

[œ] is rare, compared to the more closed phoneme [ø].

Example:
[ˈsœːʁɛs] *seurez* 'nun', which comes from the French *soeur*, pronounced [sœʁ].

2.4.3.5.4 Nasal vowels.

The nasal vowels of BCB are common to Paris French, except for [ẽ]. They are: [ɔ̃, ɑ̃, œ̃, ɛ̃, ẽ, ĩ].

— [ɔ̃] is a common vowel and typically appears as a realisation of the graphemes *on* and *om* as it does in French. However, while in Paris French, both these graphemes are simply realised /ɔ̃/, in BCB the consonants remain audible, leading to /ɔ̃n/ and /ɔ̃m/, if in final position, as in:

[dɔ̃ːn] *don* 'deep'
[dɔ̃m] *deomp* 'to us/ours'

[ʁɔ̃n] *ront* 'round'

The graphemes *oen* and *aon* are realised [ɔ̃n] in the homonymic words:

[lɔ̃ːn] *loen* 'animal'
[lɔ̃ːn] *laon* 'blade'

[ɔ̃] however, can also correspond to the graphemes *an* (see paragraph on /ɑ̃/ below), *eñ* and *ezhan*, as in:

[jɔ̃ ket] *n'ezan ket* 'I do not go'
[ɛ̃ɔ] *eñ* 'he'
[deɔ̃] *dezhan* 'to him'
[neɔ̃] *anezhan* 'him'

an as all or part of a desinence in a declension system is, in fact, always pronounced [ɔ̃] except for the word *gantañ* 'with him', pronounced [ˈgɑ̃tɔ].

— [ɑ̃] which is a very frequent nasal vowel in BCB, corresponds to the graphemes *an*, *añ* and *am*, and is pronounced as *an* in French. It is never found in absolute final position. If it is the last vowel of a word, it is followed by a consonant, in particular [n], [ŋ] or [m]. Examples are:

[ˈɑ̃ːnᵃ] *annoar* 'heifer'
[ˈdɑ̃ːvat] *dañvad* 'sheep (sg.)'
[dɑ̃n] *dant* 'tooth'
[kɑ̃m] *kamm* 'curved/bent'
[stɑ̃ŋ] *stang* 'valley'
[tɑ̃n] *tan* 'fire'

It does not follow that *an* and *añ* are always pronounced /ɑ̃/. *-an*, as a first person singular ending for the present indicative is pronounced /ɔ̃/ by native speakers and the infinitive desinence *-añ* is pronounced [a], [ə] or, more likely, not pronounced at all.

— [œ̃] can be long or short. Examples are in the following words:

[o ˈχlœ̃] *ur c'hleuz* 'a Cornish hedge'
[ˈfœ̃·tən] *feunteun* 'fountain', also pronounced [ˈfœtᵊn]
[ʁœ̃n] *run* 'hill'
[tœ̃ːvᵉl] *teñvel* 'dark'

— [ɛ̃] is less frequent in BCB than it is in French. It corresponds to a variety of graphemes. I only know it as a long vowel, except in the word *hini* (see below). Examples are:

[diˌblɛ̃ːn] *diblaen* 'slanted'
[lɛ̃ːva] *leñvañ* 'to cry'
[plɛ̃ːɛn] *pluñvenn* 'feather'

[χwẽ] *hini*, demonstrative pr.

— [ẽ] often corresponds to the orthographic sequences *eñ* and *en*. I mainly know it as a long vowel, except in *marteze* and *me a* (see below). Examples are:

[dẽːvᵉt] *deñved* 'sheep'(*pl.*)
[hẽːʃu] *henchoù* 'roads'

Examples in which [ẽ] is short:

[maˈtʁẽ] *marteze* 'maybe'.

In the sequence *me a* (first person subject pronoun followed by verbal particle *a*, [see 2.4.2.1.7.4]) pronounced [mẽ] as in:

[mẽ jɐ] *me a ya* 'I go'.

— [ĩ] occurs rarely: Examples are the words *din* [dĩŋ] 'to/of me' (also pronounced [dɪŋ] and [deŋ]) and *nimp* [nĩŋ] 'we'. Its occurrence appears to be limited to the contiguity of [ɪ] with a nasal consonant as in the Plozévet dialect (Goyat 2012, 19).

2.4.3.6 Diphthongs and other adjacent vocalic elements.

The distinction between a real diphthong, that is to say two adjacent vocalic sounds forming one syllable and two adjacent vocalic sounds in hiatus is difficult to make in BCB. This may be due to the fact that stress always falls on one of the two vocalic sound, generally the first, resulting in the reduction of the intensity with which the second one is pronounced, which leads to the perception that it is fused, to a degree, with the first.
This degree varies from word to word.
For example, [ˈsɐɛt] *savet* 'raised up' sounds to me like it is made of two syllables, whereas [ˈbeiɲ] *bihan* 'small' does not. Goyat (2012, 33) gives *savet* (which he transcribes /saɛd/) as containing an example of diphthong. Cornec (1996, 766) gives *bihan* (which he transcribes [bein]) as containing an example of diphthong as well.
Trask (1996, 308) defines diphthongs as: 'A single syllabic nucleus which begins with one vowel quality and changes more or less smoothly to a second quality, as in [ju] and [ai]. Usually one of the two vocalic elements is more prominent than the other, this other consisting only of a preceding glide (an onglide, as in [ju]), or a following glide (an offglide, as in [ai]). The first type is called a crescendo (or rising) diphthong, the second a diminuendo (or falling) diphthong. Diphthongs may be further classified as wide or narrow, as closing or opening, or as backing, fronting or centring.'
The question of whether it is diphthongs or hiatuses, which are present in the following examples and what type of diphthongs they might be does not appear critical to me in the context of the present work and from a revivalist's perspective.
The examples listed below therefore have to be seen simply as cases of two adjacent vocalic sounds regardless of their classification as diphthongs or hiatuses.

— [oʷ] and derivatives

[koʷs] *kozh* 'old'
[dʁoʷ] *(en) dro* 'back (preposition)'
[o voˑʷl] *ur vouc'hal* 'an axe'
[ˈpoˑʷt] *pod* 'pot'

— [aj]

[laj] *laez* 'upwards'
[ʁaj] *ray* 'will make/do'

— [aɛ]/[ɐɛ]

[ˈlaɛt] *lazhet* 'killed'
[ˈkɐɛt] *kavet* 'found'
[ˈkɐɛʁ] *kaer* 'beautiful'
[ˈsɐɛt] *savet* 'raised up'
[ˈblɐɛs] *bloavezh* 'year'
[ˈaɛl] *avel* 'wind'

— [ao]

[ˈao] *azv* 'ripe'
[ˈdao] *dav* 'necessary'
[ˈglao] *glav* 'rain'
[ˈlao] *lazhañ* 'to kill'
[ˈsao] *sav* 'state of being upright or standing'

— [ɐu]

[ˈkʁɐu] *kraou* 'cowshed'

— [au]

[ˈlau] *Laou*, diminutive of the name Guillaume
[ˈlau] *laou*, 'lice'
[ˈjau] *yaou*, 'yes!' (in response to a negative statement or question).

— [ɛj]

[blɛj] *bleiz* 'wolf'
[tɛj] *teil* 'manure'

— [ɛi]

[ˈɛil] *eil* 'second'

— [iɛ]

[ˈʁiˑɛl] *riell* 'ice on a surface'

— [eᵃ]/[æᵃ]. These dipthongs are treated in paragraphs 2.4.2.1.7 to 2.4.2.1.7.3. They are produced when orthographic *r* is vocalised, which is very frequent.

— [ei]/[eⁱ]

[ˈbeiɲ] *bihan* 'small'
[ˈbʁeⁱk] one pronunciation of *Briec*.

— [eɔ]

[ˈeɔl] *eol* 'sun'

— [eo]

[ˈleo] *leueoù* 'calves'
[ˈmeo] *mezv* 'drunk'
[ˈteo] *tev* 'overweight'

— [eu]

[ˈeul] *eoul* 'oil'
[ˈheu] *hiziv* 'today'

— [əu]

[ˈdəu] *daou* (also pronounced [ˈdau]) 'two'

— [əɥ]

[əɥ] *ivez* 'also'

— [iu]

[ˈʁiu] *riou* 'feeling of coldness'
[kɔneˈʁiˑu] *koneriou* 'nonsense, bulshit' fr. Fr. *conneries*

— [ju]

[dju] *div* 'feminine form of two'
[lju] *liv* 'colour'

2.4.3.6.1 Nasal diphthongs.

Not many words have nasal diphthongs involving two nasal vowels, but they are common words.

Examples:

— [ɑ̃ɔ̃]

[ˈhˣɑ̃ɔ̃] *ac'hanon* 'I/me'
[ˈɑ̃ɔ̃] *hañv* 'summer'

Nasal diphthongs involving one nasal vowel and [i] are very common in BCB. Examples are:

— [ɛ̃i]/[ɛ̃ⁱ]

[mɛ̃ⁱŋ] *maen* 'stone'
[lɛ̃ːⁱn] *lein* 'breakfast'

— [ẽi]/[ẽⁱ]

[dẽːⁱn] *den* 'human being'
[jẽːⁱn] *yen* 'cold'

There is also an example of [ɛ̃] followed by the vowel approximant /j/ in:

[ˈlɛ̃ːʲᵊn] *lien* 'nappy' (note another pronunciation for this word is [ˈleːⁱn])

2.4.3.7 Vowels which are trademarks of both English and BCB.

As most readers of this thesis are likely to be either English-speaking or conversant in English, references to the English language are as likely to be useful as are references to French in understanding certain aspects of BCB phonology.

The vowels which are trademarks of both English and BCB are [ɪ] and [æ]

[ɪ] is discussed in § 2.4.3.1.

2.4.3.7.1 [æ].

[æ], common in English and rare in Paris French is an option in a range of open and open-mid vowels, namely /æ, a, ɐ/ and (occasionally) /ʌ/, available for the pronunciation of *a*, and of the vowel(s) of the graphemes *oc'h and eoc'h* in second person plural forms of the prepositional pronoun *da* and of the verb *bezañ*. They are often hard to differentiate, as they can be variations from one speaker to the next, or even within the speech of the same speaker. /æ/ occurs in BCB.

Examples:

[dwæχ] *deoc'h* 'to you'
[æχ] *oc'h* 'you are'

The important point to remember about the ending *–(e)oc'h,* is that in spite of its orthography containing an *o*, its natural pronunciation in conversation does not normally contain an [ɔ] or an [o].

[æ] can occasionally correspond to *e*, as shown in the examples below and although it is not a very common vowel in BCB, it is a trademark of its pronunciation.

It is present in the pronunciation of the graphemes *ar(r)*, *aer*, *er(r)* and *or(r)* (under certain conditions. (See § 2.4.2.1.7.1 Realisation of *or(r)* as [wæᵃ]).

Examples:

[ˈbæᵃ] *berr* 'short'
[ˈbæᵃ] *bara* 'bread'
[ˈdæᵃ] *adarre* 'again'
[ˈkæᵃ] *karr* 'cart/car'
[ˈkæᵃ] *kaer* 'in-law', as in [mɛχ kæₐ] *merc'h kaer* 'daughter in-law'
[ˈhæᵃ] *her* 'strongly/violently'
[ˈnæᵃ] *naer* 'snake'
[ˈsæᵃ] *serr* 'to close'
[ˈtwæᵃ] *torr* 'break'

2.4.3.8 Other vowels.

2.4.3.8.1 [e].

[e] generally correlates with the letter *e*. It can occur on its own or in a diphthong, particularly as [eⁱ]. It can be short or long.

Examples:

[ãnˈveo] *anavezout* 'to know'
[ãnˈveːt] *anavezet* 'known'
[beːt] in the expression: [da beːt] *da bet* 'in the plural/when there are more than one'
[eo] *evañ* 'to drink'
[me] *ma* 'my'
[meːl] *mel* 'honey'
[meːs]/ [meⁱs] *maez* 'countryside/open field'
[meːs] *mezh* 'shame'
[pegem] in the expression: *da pegem* 'so many'
[peˑt] *pet* 'how much/many'
[pweːs] *pouezh* 'weight'

2.4.3.8.2 [ɛ].

[ɛ] is overall not a very common vowel in BCB. It generally correlates with the letter *e*. It rarely occurs in a diphthong. It can be short or long.

Examples:

[ɛːl] *ael* 'angel'
[ɛːᵃ] *aer* 'air'
[ˈbɛmə] *bemdez* 'every day'
[lɛm] *lemm* 'sharp (of a blade)'
[pɛp] *pep/peb* 'every'

In the feminine suffix of agency -*ezh*, which is expected to be pronounced /ɛs/ by Breton learners, the vowel /ɛ/ is not present. Examples are:

[gwɐsˈkeᵃs] *gwaskerezh* 'fruit press'
[ɐˈdeᵃs] *haderezh* 'sowing machine'
[ɐtiˈʒeᵃs] *hatijerezh* 'straw shaking machine'
[ɛ̃fiᵃmˈjuːᵃs] *infirmiourezh* 'nurse'
[maˈts] *matezh* 'woman servant'
[tʁɔˈteᵃs] *troterezh* 'scooter (toy)'

2.4.3.8.3 [a].

[a] generally correlates with the letter *a*. It can occur on its own or in a diphthong, particularly in [eᵃ]. It is always short, except in words borrowed from French.

Examples:

[aːle] *alez* 'alley' (fr. *Fr. Allée*)
[kas] *kas* 'send'
[sax] *sac'h* 'bag/sack'
[tap] *tap* 'catch'
[ˈjauŋ] *yaouank* 'young'

2.4.3.8.4 [ɐ].

[ɐ] correlates with the letter *a*. It tends to be long. This pronunciation of *a*, set further back, is more common than [a].

Examples:

[ɐ] *a* preposition/verbal particle
[ɐ] *ar* 'the', especially when following certain prepositions such as *gant* and *war gorre*.
[ɐˈmɑ̃n] *amann* 'butter'
[bɐ] *e-barzh* 'in'
[bɐs] *barzh* 'while/within/before'
[ˈxɔɐs] *c'hoazh* 'again/still'
[oˈfɐozət] *ur vozad* 'two joined hands full of something'
[ˈɐːlən] *halen/holen* 'salt'
[ˈkɐləs] *kalz* 'a lot/much'
[ˈlɐˈpɪn] *lapin* 'rabbit'

[vɐ] *oa* past form of *bezañ* 'to be'
[pɐ·s] *pas* 'cough'
[sɐbɐˈtyːət] *sabatuet* 'surprised/stupefied'
[tɐːt] *tad* 'father'
[aˈχɐːnᵉˣ] *ac'hanoc'h* 'you' (this pronunciation, however, is rare. The most commom pronunciation for *ac'hanoc'h* is [ˈχõ̃ɐx].
[o ˈhɐ·s] *ur c'hazh* 'a cat'
[o ˈxɐːvəs] *ur c'hravezh* 'a wheel barrow' (note that the word [kaˈʁiːl] *karrigell* is also used for 'wheel barrow', though less frequently).
[ˈʃukɐ] *sikour* 'help'. This is a rare case in which [u] represents *i*.

In the graphemes *-adoù*, realised as [ɐ·du] and [ɐ·ʒu]/[ɐ·ʒo̜], in the plural of words ending in *-ad*, the *a* is pronounced as a lengthened [ɐ], as in:

[koˈvɐ·du] *kovadoù* 'bellyfuls'
[taˈkɐ·ʒu] *takadoù* 'places'

2.4.3.8.5 [ə].

[ə] generally corresponds to the realisation of vowels in their unstressed capacity except for /u/ and /i/. It is therefore never in a stressed position and it is always short.

Examples:

[ˈbɐːlə] *bale(añ)* 'to walk' (but [ˈbɐːle] is also heard).
[bʁəˈzõ̃ːnək] *brezhoneg* 'Breton language'
[ˈdiːbət] *debret* 'eaten'
[ˈfõ̃ːtən] *feunteun* 'fountain', also pronounced [ˈfœtᵊn]

As noted by Goyat (2012, 25) with regard to the Plozévet dialect, the tone of the vowels [o] and [y] is preserved in unstressed open syllables, as in [ˈgoːlo] *golo* 'lid' and [ˈɐ·ʃy] *achu* 'finished' or [ˈlyːdy] 'ash, fertilizer'. He further notes that these vowels are reduced to [ə] in final closed syllables. The latter statement also applies to BCB with regard to [y]. I could not, however, find an example of a closed syllable with [o] and neither could he.

Example:

[ˈbyːtən] *butun* 'tobacco' (but [byˈtyːnə] *butuniñ* 'to smoke').

2.4.3.8.6 [u] (also see § 2.4.3.2 [o̜] for plural endings in *-où*)

[u] usually corresponds to the grapheme *ou*. It can be long or short.

Examples:

[ˈduːᵊ] *dour* 'water'
[gue] *gouez* 'wild'

[ˌkʁɑ̃mˈpus] *krampouezh* 'pancake/crêpe'
[ˈuːzɔ̃n] *ouzon*, 1st sg. of gouzout, 'to know'
[skulm] *skoulm* 'knot'
[ʃuǃ] *chou!* 'shoo! (used for shooing chickens away).

[u] can occasionally correspond to the grapheme *i*, as in:

[ˈʃukɐ] *sikour* 'help'

or to the grapheme *e*, as in:

[ˈʃulu] *selaou* 'listen' (note that *aou* is effectively pronounced [u] in this word). *Selaou* can also be pronounced [ˈʃi·lu].

or to the grapheme *o*, as in:

[ˈmuːᵃ] *mor* 'sea'
[skuːl] *skol* 'school'
[juːt] *yod* 'oats gruel'

[u] can also occasionally correspond to the plural ending *-où* (see § 2.4.3.2).

2.4.3.8.7 [i]

[i] generally corresponds to the letter *i*, but it can also correspond to *e*. Further, not every *i* is pronounced [i] or even [ɪ].

It always corresponds to *i* in the prefix *di-*, as in:

[diˈstɑ̃n] *distaniñ* 'to cool'
[ˈdifun] *difounn* 'slow'
[diˈblɑ̃ːn] *diblaen* 'slanted' etc.

However, it can correspond to *e*, as in:

[iːt] *ed* 'wheat'
[ˈdiːbə] *debriñ* 'to eat'
[diˈgeːmᵉˣ] *degemer* 'to welcome'
[diˈgweɔ] *degouezhout* 'to arrive'
[i] *e, he* 'he/his, she/her'
[ˈpimɔχ] *pemoc'h* 'pig'
[ˈʃi·lu] *Selaou* 'listen' (also pronounced [ˈʃulu]).

[i] is also a component of the very common diphthongs /ɛi/ and /ei/.

2.4.3.8.8 [ɔ]

[ɔ] corresponds mainly to *o* in an unstressed or weakly stressed syllable or in a single syllable word. It is always short.

Examples:

[ˈχɔɐs] *c'hoazh* 'still' (*adv.*)
[tjɔt] *teod* 'tongue'

However, [ɔ] can occasionally occur in a stressed syllable as in the word [ˈkɔtn] *kontant* 'satisfied, happy'.

[ɔ] is the vowel generally used in the comparative ending *o'ch*, though /ə/ and /ɐ/ can also occur in its place, particularly in pre-pause final position as in:
[ˈgwɛlɔx] *gwelloc'h* 'better' (also pronounced [ˈgwɛlᵊˣ]/ [ˈgwɛlᵊˣ]).
[ˈbʁɛːsɔx] *brasoc'h* 'bigger' (also pronounced [ˈbʁɛːsᵊˣ]/ [ˈbʁɛːsᵊˣ]) etc.

The second person ending *o'ch*, whether in verbs or in inflected prepositions is often pronounced [ɔx] (though some speakers pronounce it [ax] or [ɐx]) as in:
[ɔx]/[ɐx] *oc'h* 'you are'
[dɔx]/[dwax] *deoc'h* 'to you'
[gɐˈneɔx]/[gɐˈnɐx] *ganeoc'h* 'with you'

Other examples with the second person ending *o'ch*.
[ɛˈnɔx] *ennoc'h* 'in you' (rarely used)
[diˈʁɛːzɔx] *dirazoc'h* 'in front of you' (rarely used)

The case of *paotr*:

The pronunciation of the vowel in the word *paotr* varies between [ɔ], [o] and [oː]. *Paotr* is pronounced with [ɔ] in a majority of cases when following the possessive *o* 'your' or the indefinite article *ur*, both of which are pronounced [o].

[o pɔt] *ur paotr* 'a boy'
[o pɔt] *ho paotr* 'your boy'

It is pronounced [pɔt] in apposition as in: [o bãn gɥin jɛj gaˈnwaχ, pɔt?] *ur banne gwin ez ay ganeoc'h, paotr?* 'Will you have a glass of wine?', [bepo bæᵃ, pɔt?] *bez (ho) po bara, paotr?* 'Will you have some bread?'

It is pronounced with [o] in the following cases:
[me ˈfoːt] *me faotr* 'my boy'.
[i ˈfo·t (dɛʲ)] *he faotr* (*dezhi*) 'her boy'.
When following the definite article, as in: [a po·t] *ar paotr*, [a bo·təᵗ] *ar baotred* 'the men/boys.'

Further, the word is pronounced with [o] by all speakers, regardless of the preceding words in the following expressions:
[poˈjauŋ] *paotr yaouank* 'young/unmarried man', [o poˈjauŋ] *ur paotr yaouank*.

[poˈbeᵢɲ] *paotr bihan* 'little boy', [a poˈbeᵢɲ] *ar paotr bihan*.
[poˈsaut] *paotr-saout* 'cowherd, electric fence', [a poˈsaut] *ar paotr-saout*.

However, if the final *t* is pronounced (for example in case of careful enunciation), then the word *paotr* is pronounced with [ɔ] by most of my informants, as in:
[o pɔt ˈjauŋ] *ur paotr yaouank* 'a young/unmarried man'.
[o pɔt tʁɛj] *ur paotr tre* 'a nice man'

The same applies to the plural form of the word, *paotred*, pronounced [ˈpɔ·tʁᵊt], [ˈpɔtᵊt] or [ˈpɔtᵉ].

2.4.4 Syllabic stress in BCB

2.4.4.1 Strong emphasis on the penultimate syllable

As discussed in '2.3.2 Strong stress', strong syllabic stress is a critical feature of BCB. While intensity and pitch are combined in stable proportions, the duration of a stressed syllable is the main variable in the speech of my informants. It does not have to be long. However only stressed syllables can be long and all long syllables are, therefore, stressed.
Naturally, the position of stress in a whole sentence can affect the length of the stressed syllable of a word within it (and it can even affect the nature of the vowel present in that stressed syllable), as in the word *peder*, below:
Speaker 1: [pe·t mɛχ nøs?] *Pet merc'h e-neus?* 'How many daughters does he/she have?'
Speaker 2: [ˈpiːdə] *Peder* (the first vowel of *peder* is long). 'Four.'
Speaker 1: [ɐ bɔ̃, nøs ˈpe·dəʰ ˈvɛχ ; dʁɐ ˈnujen ket]. *Ah bon, 'neus peder vec'h* (the first vowel of *peder* is short)*; dra n'ouien ket.* 'Ah, really, he/she has four daughters; I didn't know that.'

Other example:

[bɛn o miːʃ] *A benn ur miz* 'In a month' (the vowel of *miz* is long), but [miʒ hɛ̃] *Miz Heven* 'June' (the vowel of *miz* is short).

— Exceptions:

While stress on the penultimate syllable is a main rule governing the pronunciation of BCB, describing its manifestation, in the context of everyday casual and fast speech requires further qualification, as observing the language could lead one to believe that there are many exceptions to the rule. The exceptions, however, are often the consequence of its observance.
For example, one commonly cited exception is the word *amann*, [ɐˈmɑ̃n] 'butter' in which it is the last syllable, which effectively is stressed, though weakly. This apparent exception is, in fact, the result of the fusion, through synalepha, of the last two syllables of the original word *amanenn*, in which the stress was indeed on the penultimate syllable. This resulted in the last syllable becoming inaudible and disappearing in ZH orthography. Thus, in [ɐˌmɑ̃n], the stress is still where the rule places it, on the penultimate syllable.

This phenomenon is at the origin of most words in which stress is now located on the last syllable in BCB, and it particularly concerns the past participle of verbs.

Here is a list of such verbs:

Note that the verbs ending in *-aat* are effectively already stressed on the last syllable in their infinitive form. Therefore, the place of the stress remains unchanged in their past participle forms.

Anavezout/anaout [ãnˈveo] 'to know (connaître)' *pp. anavezet* (/ãnˈveət/) → [ãnˈveːt]
Bale [ˈbɐːle] 'to walk' *pp. baleet* (/bɐˈleət/) → [bɐˈleːt]
Brasaat [bʁɐˈsɐːt] 'to become bigger' *pp. brasaet* (/bʁɐˈsɐət/) → [bʁɐˈsɐːt]
Dimeziñ [diˈmezi] 'to marry' *pp. dimezet* (/diˈmeːzət/) → [diˈmeːt]
c'hoarvezout [χweˈveo] 'to happen' *pp. c'hoarvezet* (/χwaʁˈveˑət/) → [χwɐʁˈveːt]
Gwellaat [gɥeˈlɐːt] 'to improve' *pp. gwellaet* (/gɥeˈlaˑət/) → [gɥeˈleːt]
Koshaat [ko̞ˈsɐːt] 'to grow old' *pp. koshaet* (/ko̞ˈsaˑət/) → [ko̞ˈzeːt]
Pareañ [paˈʁɐe] 'to get better' *pp. pareet* (/paˈʁeˑət/) → [pɐˈʁeːt]
Paseal [paˈseᵊl] 'to pass' *pp. paseet* (/paˈseːət/) → [pəˈseːt]
Tañva [ˈtãvə] 'to try/taste' *pp. tañveet* (/tãˈveˑət/) → [tãˈveːt]
Tegouezout [tiˈgweo] 'to arrive' *pp. tegouezet* (/tɪˈgweˑət/) → [tiˈgweːt]
Tostaat [tɔsˈtɐːt] 'to come near' *pp. tostaet* (/tɔsˈtɐˑət/) → [tɔsˈteːt]

Other words with stress on the last syllable:

Diwezhad [dyˈveːt] 'late.' Here, synalepha is caused by the elision of *zh*.
Oferenn [ɔˈfeᵃn] 'mass.' In this case, the tendency for *r* to be realised as /a/or /æ/ has triggered the probable following process: /ɔˈfeːʁɛn/ → /ɔˈfeːᵃɛn/ → [ɔˈfeᵃn]

2.4.4.2 Variation in length of long vowels

Long vowels in words such as *kazh* [kɐːs] 'cat' and *tad* [taːd] 'father' can vary in length depending on context and phonetic environment. It is therefore generally unrealistic to assign a single specific length to vowels in most words in BCB. Thus:
Thus in /tɐd/ 'father', the length of /ɐ/ can vary from being quite short in [tat ˈpeˑᵃ] 'Pêr's father' to being long in [me sɐːd̪] 'my dad'.

2.5 CONCLUSION OF THE PHONOLOGY SECTION.

The following points are rated as per their importance for the purpose of understanding BCB speakers and being understood by them.

★★★★ critical
★★★   important
★★   significant

— ★★★★ Central Breton, including BCB, is characterised by strong stress on one syllable, generally the penultimate one, while French is characterised by no stress, or weak stress on the ultimate syllable.
This strong stress leads to the weakening or to the elision, altogether, of the following syllable (which is often the last).
Thus, vowels that follow a stressed syllable tend to change to an /ə/ and verbal infinitive desinences, are generally elided or just hinted. Past-participle desinences, are not expressed in mainy verbs either. When this is the case, it is the presence of the auxiliary verb that indicates that the compound form involves indeed a past participle, as in *meus gwellet* pronounced [møs gɥɛl] and rarely [møs ˈgɥeːlᵊᵗ] and never [møs ˈgɥɛlɛt].

— ★★★★ *C'h* in word-initial position in BCB is mostly pronounced /h/ rather than /x/ or /χ/ except by certain speakers from Langolen, Landudal and Gulvain.

— ★★★★ Although there are some common features (for example nasal vowels) in the pronunciation of French and in that of Breton, the phonology of Breton, in particular Central Breton, including BCB, and that of standard French are mutually incompatible. According to my informants, a straight French accent in Breton is disruptive and alienating for the native listener and greatly impairs communication.

— ★★★★ Learners of Breton must keep in mind that orthographic systems, amongst which ZH, generally provide inadequate phonological guidance and cannot, in themselves, lead a learner to correct pronunciation.
Learners must rely on native speakers, recordings of native speakers and/or on the phonological data given in monographs such as this one to find guidance for their pronunciation of Breton.
They must seek IPA transcriptions of new items in order to be sure of how they are effectively pronounced. They must use IPA to note down new items.

— ★★★★ Final voiceless consonants are voiced in front of vowels.

— ★★★★ The grapheme *or(r)* is often realised [wæᵃ] (see 2.4.2.1.7.1).

— ★★★★ Intersyllabic *zh* is generally elided. Do not expect [lɛzɛt] for *lazhet*, but [lɛɛt].

— ★★★★ Intersyllabic *v* is often elided. Do not expect [kɛvɛt], for *kavet* but expect [ˈkɛɛt].

— ★★★★ Orthographic monophthongs, particularly those involving *e* are often pronounced as diphthongs involving /i/ as a secondary element to form /ei/ or /ẽi/ as in [dẽⁱn] *den*.

— ★★★ Orthographic *r* tends to be realised as /a/ in final syllables (see 2.2.4, 2.2.5 and 2.4.2.1.7) and when following a stressed vowel (see 2.4.2.1.7.2).

— ★★★ From an empirical perspective, English phonology is generally quite compatible with Central Breton phonology and vice-versa insofar as English and Breton share a number of common traits.

— ★★ Final *t* is generally elided or just hinted.

3. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

3.1 INITIAL CONSONANT MUTATIONS

In BCB, as in all Celtic languages, initial consonants of nouns, verbs and adjectives, undergo morphological changes under certain conditions involving phonological factors.

As consonant mutations belong both to the realm of phonology and to that of morphology, researchers in Celtic linguistics place it under the heading 'morphophonology'.

3.1.1 Preliminary remarks

In BCB, as in all Celtic languages, morpheme-initial consonants with which nouns, verbs and adjectives start, are a major semantic element of the sentence, playing a role that is of similar importance to that of desinences in German, Italian or Russian, for example.

Before describing the morphological changes these consonants undergo in BCB, I think it is important to make the following remarks, which may provide extra insight to the reader who is not familiar with this phenomenon:

The morphological changes alluded to above are called 'initial consonant mutations'. Of all the Celtic languages, Breton, along with insular Cornish is the one which has retained the broadest range of initial consonant mutations.

3.1.1.1 Perception by learners of Breton

They tend to be presented in Breton textbooks without further qualification, as a set of rules that one has to observe in order to speak and write Breton correctly. The way they are presented conveys, in my opinion, the notion that they are arbitrary. In reality, they are essentially the result of natural phonological phenomena partly determined by the physiology of the human phonatory organ.[40] In my experience, one can acquire a 'feel' for consonant mutations through practice. This can mitigate the fact that they represent a large and confusing body of data to process and memorize when approached out of context.

Mutations create a very serious practical problem for beginners resulting from the fact that mutated forms of words do not appear in dictionaries any more than inflected form of verbs do in any language in which verbs are inflected. As a result, one is unable to look up a mutated word without first identifying its unmutated form. For example, beginners may come across the sentence *ma faotr* and attempt to look up the word *faotr* in a dictionary. They will not find the word, as it is the spirantised version of the word *paotr* 'man/boy' following the possessive adjective *ma*. To address this, some dictionaries provide a list of mutated letters and give their corresponding unmutated

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[40] On the phonological origins of mutations see Falc'hun (1950, 84-86), Fife (1993, 8) and Ternes (1996, 270).

forms (of which there can be a choice of up to two) to help beginners find the actual words. However, for the general public, the exaggerated perception that 'you cannot look up words in a Breton dictionary' or that it is very difficult to do so, remains.

3.1.1.2 Perception by native speakers

In an extensive discussion about mutations I had with my informants YLD and TLD, YLD illustrated and qualified mutations in the following terms in the dialogue shown below:

YLD: In *Un troad*, you have a *t*. With *Daou, tri, pewar droad* you have *d*, after that, it's all back to *t*, why?
PN: There are things like that in all Celtic languages.
YLD: Weird things.
PN: Not really. It is all based on phonology. In fact, it hinges on the point of articulation of the sound. It's all based on pure and simple practical and physical reasons... from which, later on, grammar derives.[41]

Then, my informants made the following unexpected comments:

TLD: This is just like some people who come up with such things as 'quatre-z-années' (katɣəˈzane 'four years'), instead of saying 'quatre' [années] ([katɣane])...
[...]
YLD: Are there? There are lots of celebrants, who will say... even in front of an audience, things like: 'Les Quatre z-évangiles' ([lɛ katɣəˈzevɑ̃ʒil], 'the Four Gospels') (Instead of saying 'Les Quatre évangiles' [lɛ katʁ evɑ̃ʒil]).[42]

The fact YLD and TLD draw in effect a comparison between the utterances [katɣəˈzane], [katɣəˈzevɑ̃ʒil] (as opposed to the correct [katɣ ane] and [katɣ evɑ̃ʒil]) and consonant mutations is rather insightful, as these utterances are examples of external sandhi, which is precisely the phonological process claimed to be historically at the origin of mutations in Celtic.[43]

My interpretation of this comparison is that YLD and TLD view the very logical but erroneous overgeneralization of one aspect of pluralisation in French,[44] which frequently leads to the incorrect forms [katɣəˈzane] and [katɣəˈzevɑ̃ʒil], as

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[41] YLD: *Un troad*, ça fait un *t*. *Daou, tri, pewar droad* c'est *d*, et après, tout redevient *t*, pourquoi?
PN: Dans toutes les langues celtes, il y a ce genre de chose.
YLD: Des choses bizarres.
PN: Oh, non. C'est phonologique, en fait, ça vient de l'articulation du... du son. En fait, c'est... des raisons pratiques, physiques, pures et simples... qui, peut-être, ensuite, sont utilisées grammaticalement.
[42] TLD: Ça, ça fait comme certaines personnes vous disent aussi 'quatre-z-années' ([katʁəˈzane]), au lieu de dire quatre [années]...
[...]
YLD: Ah, bon? Il y a beaucoup de lecteurs[52], même dans... devant des assemblées, qui vous sortent: 'Les Quatre z-évangiles' ([lɛkatʁəˈzevɑ̃ʒil]).
[43] On the phonological origins of mutations see Fife (1993, 8) and Ternes (1996, 270).
[44] In French, the plural of nouns is phonetically characterised by the presence of the phoneme /z/ at the beginning of nouns starting with a vowel. This /z/ is transferred from the preceding determiners *aux, des, les* etc. Examples: [zɑ̃fɑ̃] in *aux/des/les enfants*, [zɔm] in *aux/des/les hommes*

compelling or irrepressible for some French speakers. This implies that they equally view mutations as a phenomenon that is somewhat compelling or irrepressible for Breton speakers, rather than a matter of correct grammatical observance.

More importantly, however, this comparison denotes an understanding by YLD and TLD of mutations as having to do with the linking of sounds and more generally belonging to the realm of sound rather than grammar.

This perception is not isolated amongst BCB speakers and beyond the notion of linking of sounds, lies also that of sound harmonisation and aesthetics as transpires in a comment by another of my informants, AF: 'Si tu respectes pas les mutations, ça fait bizarre, ça coule pas.' ('If you do not observe mutations, it [what you say] sounds weird, it does not flow'), she said to me some years ago before adding: '*an dor*, c'est moche, *an nor*, c'est plus joli.' ('*an dor* [incorrect form for "the door"], sounds ugly, *an nor* [correct form for 'the door'] sounds better').

It therefore seems that the way native BCB speakers experience initial consonant mutations involves the exercise of an aesthetic value judgement on what their language should sound like. It points to a perception by BCB speakers of mutations as being mainly phonological/phonetic as well as aesthetic in nature. This seems to be confirmed by the very heading given by Father Jean Le Scao to the section on mutations of the grammar component of his manuscript dictionary: *Euphonie* 'euphony' (Le Scao 1945a, 4 IV), a word that refers both to the quality of what is pleasing to the ear and to the tendency to make phonetic changes to ease pronunciation.

3.1.1.3 Semantic and grammatical role of mutations in BCB

In addition to playing roles associated with their partly phonological status, mutations have a semantic function, though its importance varies.

For example, the fact that the pronoun [ʁe] *re* '(the) ones' triggers lenition is not a semantically very meaningful feature: whether one says (correctly) [aʁe ˈvʁeo] *ar re vrao* or (incorrectly) /aʁe ˈbʁeo/, the message is still 'the nice-looking ones'. The main difference between the two is that the ear of the native speaker will perceive /aʁe ˈbʁeo/ as odd or incorrect. There is nonetheless a semantic implication in the form [ˈvʁeo], which is that it is associated with a plural, not a singular. But /ˈbʁeo/ and /ˈvʁeo/ mean the same thing. In this case, the mutation is more grammatically than semantically significant.

If, however, one produces the sentence [o ki] while intending to say 'a dog' ([o] stands here for the indefinite article *ur* 'a' and [ki] *ki* means 'dog'), they have produced a sentence that can be understood to refer to a dog, but which is completely different from its intended meaning: [o ki] can only mean *ho ki* 'your dog', whereas 'a dog' is [o hi], *ur c'hi*. This results from the fact that articles trigger spirantisation of /k/ to /h/ in Breton while the 2ⁿᵈ person *pl.* possessive triggers provection whereby /k/ remains /k/.

In my observation, what native speakers memorize, however, is not the above rule. Most native speakers have never heard about mutations, but they know that [o hi] means 'a dog' and [o ki] means 'your dog'.

From a learner's perspective, focusing on the mutations which have a <u>substantial semantic value</u>, is likely to greatly help learners acquire the automatic reflexes which bring native speakers to correctly interpret utterances and correctly produce responses involving mutations. Memorising lists of mutation triggers and their corresponding mutations alone, is less likely to achieve that result.

Le Scao himself considered that only practice could be trusted as a way of acquiring mutations, as evident in his introductory words to the subject: 'L'usage seul peut faire saisir les règles.' ('Only through practice can the rules be acquired.') (Le Scao 1945a, 4 IV).

The most important aspect of mutations is therefore that in Celtic languages and in Breton in particular (especially in dialectal Breton which tends to have more than the official PU mutations), a great part, perhaps the predominant part, of the meaning resulting from morphological variations, is produced by mutations and is therefore carried by the beginning, rather than the end of words. From an English and French perspective, this is exotic and disconcerting.

As Le Scao puts it: 'Elle [l'euphonie] est l'une des originalités du Breton et la grande difficulté pour ceux qui veulent apprendre cette langue.' '[*Euphony* (meaning mutations)] is one of the oddities of Breton and the greatest challenge for those who want to learn it' (Le Scao 1945a, 4 IV).

Le Scao then procedes to give some examples of mutations followed by a list of letters and of their possible mutated forms illustrated by more examples mainly involving possessive adjectives. This, sums up the explanations he has to give on the matter, thus illustrating how unaware of the rules governing mutations even learned native speakers generally are.

3.1.2 TYPES OF MUTATIONS IN BCB

I have observed the following types of consonant mutations in BCB (and in Breton in general):
Lenition (soft mutation), (PU *kemmadur dre vlotaat*, Fr. *mutation adoucissante*).
Spirantisation (spirant mutation), (PU *kemmadur dre c'hwezhadenniñ*, Fr. *mutation spirante*).
Provection (hard mutation), (PU *kemmadur dre galetaat*, Fr. *mutation durcissante*).

The verbal particle *o*, which achieves the progressive forms of verbs and the conjunction *ma* 'if' trigger lenition except for *k, p* and *t*, while they trigger provection for *d*. This is why, traditionally, it is said that Breton has four types of mutations. The fourth type is a mixture of four cases of lenition (/g/ → /h/, /x/or /χ/, /gw/ → /w/, /b/ → /v/, /m/ → /v/) and one of provection (/d/ → /t/); it is referred to as *mixed mutations* (PU *kemmadur kemmesk*, Fr. *mutations mixtes*). Since they are a mix of lenition (mainly) and provection, some authors (Cheveau 2007, 97, Goyat 2012, 130, Wmffre 2007, 575 et al.) more accurately refer to these cases of mutations as *leniprovection*.

Of all the words and particles that trigger mutations, the vast majority trigger lenition. Only one word, [o] *ho* 'your' triggers provection in all cases in which it is possible,

namely for /g/, /gw/, /b/ and /d/ which harden to /k/, /kw/, /p/ *and* /t/. However, *ho* is a highly frequent word, particularly in BCB in which, like in modern English, the only form for second person pronouns and possessives, is the plural form. This means that 'your' is *ho* in all cases. In dialects in which the singular second person exists, the word for 'your' in the singular is *da* and it triggers lenition.

3.1.2.1 Non-orthographic or invisible mutations in BCB

These mutations are not orthographically noted, hence their qualification as invisible by Davalan who devotes five pages to them in his Breton textbook (2002b, 220–224). In BCB, the invisible mutations I have observed involve the following phonemes and changes:

From	f	s	ʃ
to	v	z/ʃ	ʒ

These changes involve voicing. However, /s/ is not only voiced to /z/, it can also mutate to /ʃ/.
In the case of the mutation from /s/ to /ʃ/, /ʃ/ can be described as less occluded version of /s/. As both voicing and reduction of occlusion belong to the realm of lenition, I have included these mutations in the lenition and leniprovection sections in the paragraphs concerning the relevant triggers. They are marked out by the mention '[invisible mutation]'.

3.1.3 LENITION

Wmffre (1998, 11) describes lenition in a Central Breton dialect spoken in Plonevell near Karaez and related to BCB as having 'the largest number of triggers'. My observation of BCB confirms that lenition is certainly the most common type of mutation. As such, it is well familiar to BCB native speakers as it is the mutation they most often observe. As they are familiar with lenition, they tend to over-use it and do so where, sometimes, other types of mutations are meant to apply in the speech of some older more competent speakers. If this creates an ambiguity, they address it by adding an extra determiner, such as a possessive pronoun, to the mutated word. When this happens seems to depend on the degree of frequency of the words involved. For example, in my environment, everyday conversation is not likely to regularly involve reference to someone's head. So, while the correct forms for 'his head' and 'her head' respectively should be [ibɛn] *e benn* (lenition) and [ifɛn] *he fenn* (spirantisation), what, in practice is used by most speakers in either case is [ibɛn]. In either case, the possessives *e* and *he* are pronounced identically: [i]. As this could lead to confusion, the distinction between the two forms is achieved by adding [dɛj] *dezhi* (lit. 'to her') when referring to a woman and [deõ] *dezhañ* (lit. 'to him') when referring to a man. So, while it should be enough to say [ibɛn] for 'his head' and [ifɛn] for 'her head', in practice, what is heard (barring a few exceptions) is [ibɛn dɛj] *he benn dezhi*, lit.'her head to her' for 'her head' and [ibɛn deõ] *e benn dezhan*, lit. 'his head to him' for 'his head.' Whether and to what point this is indicative of a decline in the competence of current speakers of BCB resulting from a progressive loss of practice of their mother

tongue resulting from the passing away of other speakers around them, or whether it is a more ancient trend is a question that deserves researching.

Reference to someone else's father, however, is a more frequent occurrence in conversation. As a result, speakers are more familiar with the use of mutated forms of the word *tad* 'father'. I have thus never heard /i dad dɛj/ for 'her father', but [isɐ·t] (possibly [i sɐ·ɖ dɛj]) *he zad / he zad dezhi* and [i dɐ·t] (possibly [i dɐɖ deõ̃]) *e dad / e dad dezhañ* for 'his father'.

3.1.3.1 Range of mutations through lenition

From	k	p	t	g	gw/gẘ/gɥ	b	m	d	f	s	ʃ
To	g	b	d	h/x/χ	v/w	v	v	z	v	z/ʃ	ʒ

Note that /f/, /s/ and /ʃ/ do not mutate every time it would be possible. Observance of their mutation is somewhat irregular.

3.1.3.2 Lenition triggers

— [a] *a* verbal particle

This particle is almost always omitted in speech since the mere observance of the mutation it triggers implies its presence and is sufficient for conveyance of meaning.

Examples:

(k → g, *kuzañ→guzañ*) [a his gø[45] ato i ˈaskən] *ar c'hi-se a guz atav e askorn*. 'this dog always hides his bone', 'ce chien cache toujours son os'.
(p → b, *peg→beg*) [diwalˡ eõ̃ bek] *diwall eñ a beg*. 'watch out, he bites'.
(t → d, *tapo→dapo*) [ˈdjuwᵊl, χɥi a ˈdɐpo o gwisket gabazˈjuːt] *diwall, c'hwi a dapo ur gwiskad gant ar bazh-yod* 'Be careful, you gonna get a hiding with the porridge stick'.
(gɥ/gẘ → v, *gwellout→well*) [mɛ̃ vɛl ne ˈbɛmmᵊ] *Me a well anezhi/anehañ bemdeiz* 'I see her/him/it every day'.

Note that *a*, verbal particle, does not trigger the lenition of *teu*, a conjugated form of *dont* 'to come/to go', as in:

[ɛ̃ɔ tø de vɛl ˈhɛ̃ɔm o vɛʃ tʁe væᵊ] *Eñ a teu da wellet ac'hanomp ur wech tre vare*, 'he comes to see us once in a while'.

However, lenition of *teu* after *a* does occur in the fossilised expression [a zjun a zø] *ar sizhun a zeu*, 'next week'.

— [a] *a* prepositional particle

This prepositional particle is often omitted since the mutation it triggers implies its presence and is sufficient for conveyance of meaning.

Example:

(t → d, *tu→du*) [mɛ̃z dy geˈneχ] *me zo a du ganeoc'h* 'I agree with you'

— *(a) benn* **preposition** in the expression *(a) benn sul*, 'on/this Sunday'

(s → ʃ, *sul msg.→* [ʃyːl] *sul* [invisible mutation]) [bɛnˈʃyːl] *(A)-benn sul* 'on/this Sunday'.

— **[a]/[aʁ]** *ar* **definite article**: see 'The indefinite article [o] *ur* and the definite article [a]/[eʁ]' below.

— **[də]/[dɐ]** *da* **preposition**. (Which is often omitted in speech if it is implied by the mutation of the next word)

Examples:

(gɥ → v, *tu→du*) [ɛd ɔ̃n (də) vɛl ˈnɛ̃z] *aet on da wellet anezhañ* 'I went to see him/it'.
(m → v, *muioc'h→vuioc'h*) [vy a vy or vɛɲ a vɛɲ] *Da vuioc'h a vuioc'h* 'more and more' ([vy] and [vɛɲ] are, of course, abbreviated forms of *vuioc'h* pronounced either [ˈvyjəx] or [vɛɲⁱᵃx] (sometimes by the same speaker).
(s → z, *seminer→* [zemiːnəʁ] *seminer* [invisible mutation]) [kiˈnigɛt da zeˈmi·nəʁ kemˈpeᵃ] *Kinniget da Zeminer Kemper* 'Offered to the Kemper Seminary.'

— **[də/de]** *da* **verbal particle**

Example:

(d → z, *denañ→zenañ*) [a mɔχ bɛⁱɲ nɔ χwɑ̃n də ˈzɛⁱnə] *Ar moc'h bihan o doa c'hoant da zenañ* 'The piglets wanted to suckle.'
(f → v, *frignal→*[ˈvʁeⁱɲə] *frignal* [invisible mutation]) [ɛɔ̃ vɐ nim lakɐ də vʁeⁱɲə tʁeid ɐ·zɑ̃n] *Eñ a oa en em lakeet da frignal treid ar sant* 'He started to gnaw off bits of the saint's feet.'
(ʃ → ʒ, *chom→* [ʒom] *chom* [invisible mutation]) [no ke χwɑ̃n de ʒom baˈpɛːᵊʃ] *n'en do ket c'hoant da chom e(-barzh) Paris* 'He'she did not want to stay/live in Paris'.

— **[ˈdəu]** *daou*

Examples:

(k → g, *ki→gi*) [nøs ˈdəu ˈgi] *E neus daou gi* 'He has two dogs'.
(g → h, *goz→hoz*) [møs ˈtɐpᵊt dju ˈhɔ] *E meus tapet div c'hoz* 'I caught two moles'.
(m → v, *metr→vetr*) [ˈdəu vɛt] *Daou vetr* 'Two metres'.
(m → v, *metrad→vetrad*) [ˈdəu vetˈʁɛːt] *Daou vetrad* 'Two metres' (vɛt and vetˈʁɛːt are alternative forms).

— [dʒu] *div*

Examples:

(gw → v, *gwezh→wezh*) [dʒu vɛʃ] *Div wezh* 'Twice', 'two times'.
(m → v, *merc'h→verc'h*) [dʒu vɛχ] *Div verc'h* 'two daughters'.

— [dʁe] *dre* **prep**

Examples:

(d → z, *dirak→zirak*) [a ˈzaut b̥aˈseː dʁe ziʁeg en ti ˈkeːᵃ] *Ar saout paseent dre zirak an ti kêr* 'the cows would go past the front of the townhall'.
Ex. (k → g, *kuz→guz*) [dxe no g̊wet dʁe gyːz̥] *An dra en doa graet dre guz.* 'He did it (had done it) surreptitiously'.

— [i]/[e] *e* **masculine 3ʳᵈ pers. sing. possessive**

Examples:

(p → b, *paotr→baotr*) [i boˑt] *e baotr* 'his boy/son'.
(b → v, *buhez→vuhez*) [p̊ed i ˈvøʸ] *e-pad e vuhez* 'during his life'.
(d → z, *douar→zouar*) [eɔ̃ nɔ lek kaˈmeljə ba i ˈzuæʁ tut] *eñ en doa lakaet kamelia (e-)barzh e zouar tout* 'he had planted camellias everywhere on his property'.

— **The indefinite article [o]** *ur* **and the definite article [a]/[eʁ]** trigger lenition of singular feminine nouns and of plural masculine nouns referring to persons

Examples:

(k → g, *krampouezhenn fsg.→ grampouezhenn*) [ɔ/a gʁãmˈpwɛn] *ur/ar grampouezhenn* 'A/the crêpe'.
(p → b, *paotred mpl.→baotred*) [a boˑtᵊt] *ar baotred* 'the men/boys'.
(t → d, *tud mpl.→dud*) [ãn dyᵗ] *an dud* '(the) people'.
(g → h, *goz fsg.→c'hoz*) [o ho] *ur c'hoz* 'a mole'.
(gw → w, *gwastell fsg→wastell*) [ɔ / aʁ wɛsl bʁeːs] *ur/ar wastell bras* 'A/the Breton cake'.
(gɥ → w, *gwiad fsg→wiad*) [ɔ wiːjᵊt kjɔ̃ni] *ur wiad kevnid* 'a cobweb'.
(gw → v, *gwezenn fsg→wezenn*) [ɔ / aʁ vɛn] *ur/ar wezenn* 'A/the tree'.
(b → v, *Bretoned mpl.→Vretoned*) [aː vʁeˈtɔ̃ːnᵊt] *ar Vretoned* 'the Breton'.
(m → v, *maouezh fsg.→vaouezh*) [o ˈvaus] *ur vaouezh* 'a woman'.
(s → z, *soursenn fsg.→* [ˈzuᵃʁsᵊn] *soursenn* [invisible mutation]) [o ˈzuᵃʁsᵊn] *ur soursenn* 'a spring'.
(s → z, *sizhun fsg.→* [ˈzjun] *sizhun* [invisible mutation]) [eˈzjunmã] *ar sizhun-mañ* 'this week'.

— **Exceptions to lenition after articles**

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- Although it does not refer to persons, the masculine plural noun [ˈmeˡɲ] *mein* 'stones' is lenited when following the definite article *ar*.
(m → v, *mein→vein*) [ɐːveˡɲ] *ar vein* 'the stones'.

- Although *saout* 'cattle' is neither a feminine singular nor a masculine plural noun (it is etymologically derived from the masculine singular Late Latin word *soldum* 'money'),[46] it undergoes lenition.
(s → z, *saout→* [ˈzaut] *saout* [invisible mutation]) [ɐː ˈzaut] *ar saout* 'the cattle'.
This also applies to *sadorn* 'Saturday'.
(s → z, *sadorn→* [ˈzæᵃn] *sadorn*, *sul→*[zyl] *sul* [invisible mutations]) [deʁ ˈzæᵃn a deʁ zyːl] *d'ar sadorn ha d'ar sul* 'on Saturday and Sunday.'

- Note that nouns starting with *d* are preceded by articles ending in *n* (the definite article [ãn]/[ɐn] *an* and the indefinite article *un*, realised [ɔ̃n], [ən] or [øn]). These nouns do not mutate.

- Although *plac'h* 'girl' is feminine singular, it does not mutate after articles or any other mutation trigger: [ɐˈplaχ] *ar plac'h* 'the girl'.

— [næˑᵃ] *en ur* **verbal particle**

(b → v, *bale(añ)→vale(añ)*) [eɔ̃ zo kweːt næˑᵃ vele daʁ põ̃es] *Eñ zo kouezhet en ur vale d'ar puñs*. 'He fell while walking to the well'.
(s → z, *sell→* [zɛl] *sell* [invisible mutation]) [eɔ̃ va ʃɔm ˈguskət næᵃ zɛl uz ãn ˈtele] *eñ e oa chomet gousket en ur sellet ouzh an tele* 'he fell asleep watching T.V.'

— [gwal] *gwall* **adv.** 'very, awfull(y), great(ly)'

Examples:

(k → g, *kaner→ganer*) [eɔ̃ zo o gwel ˈgã̀ːnᵉʰ] *Eñ zo ur gwall ganer*. 'He is a great singer'.
(p → b, *pinvidig→binvidig*) [neke gwal binˈviˑdik] *n'eo ket gwall binvidig*. 'He/she is not very rich'.
(t → d, *teo→deo*) [gwɛl deo jo eːt] *Gwall deo eo aet*. 'He/she's got awfully fat'.

— [ˈãntɛʁ]/[ˈãtɛʁ]/[ˈãːtᵊˣ] *hanter* **adv.** 'half'

Example:

(s → z, *sot→*[zot] *sot* [invisible mutation]) [ˈãtɛʁzoːt] *hanter sot*. (*lit.* 'half-stupid/crazy'), 'nuts, crazy', 'cinglé'.

— [ma] *ma* **conj.** 'if'

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[46] See Henry (1900, 239)

Examples:

(p → b, *pediñ→bediñ*) [ma ˈbɛːdit mɛːt, due oʃiˈlɛwo] *Ma bedit mat, Doue ho selaouo.* 'If you pray well, God will listen to you'.

(gw → v, *gwalc'hiñ→walc'hiñ*) [mɐ ˈvɛχit ked o ˈtawæᵃn, poke dʁwed̪ də zɔ̃n ˈziːbə] *Ma walc'hit ket ho tawarn, po ket droed da zont da zrebiñ* 'If you don't wash your hands, you won't be allowed to come and eat'.

(b → v, *bez→vez*) [mɐ veᵃʰ ke gwɛt i ˈzẽto, ẽ͂ a võːs] *Ma vezer ket graet e [zẽto],*[47] *eñ a voñs,* 'If he doesn't get his way, he sulks'.

(d → z, *debriñ→zebriñ*) [ma ˈzibət ked o leˈgyːmaʃ, po ke ˈdiːsɐʰ] *Ma zebrit ket ho legumaj, po ket dessert.* 'If you don't eat your vegetables, you won't have dessert', 'Si tu manges pas tes légumes, t'auras pas de dessert'.

— **[nɐ] *ne* verbal particle**

Example:

(k → g, *kanañ→ ganañ*) [ne gɑ̃ŋ ke bʁɐo] *Ne gan ket brav* 'He/she does not sing well', 'Il/elle ne chante pas bien'.

— **[(ɑ̃)nẽ/ni/nɐ] *an hini* pronoun** (when representing a feminine noun)

Example:

(gɥ → v, *gwen→wen*) [nẽ ven] *an hini wenn* 'the (*f.*) white one', 'la blanche'.

— **[ʁe] *re* adverb** 'very'

Example:

(m → v, *mat→vat*) [gõˈpʁenõ ke ʁe veːt] *ne gomprenan ket re vat* 'I do not understand very well/I don't quite understand', 'Je ne comprends pas très bien'.

— **[ʁe] *re* pronoun** 'the ones'

Examples:

(b → v, *bihan→vihan*) [aʁe vɛˈɲ] *ar re vihan* 'the little ones', 'les petits'.

(k → g, *kichen→gichen*) [a ʁe ˈgiʃən] *ar re gichen* 'the neighbours', 'les voisins'.

— **Lenition in adjectives**

Lenition can also occur in adjectives or adjective-like nouns following feminine singular nouns and masculine plural nouns referring to people.

Examples:

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[47] I have not been able to identify a PU form for the word [zẽto]. It may be a derivative of the informal preposition *deuzoutañ* 'to him', pronounced [døzuto] or [zuto].

(k → g, *kein→gein*) [ɔ pwɑ̃n geⁱŋ] *ur poan-gein* 'a back-ache', 'un mal de dos'.
(b → v, *bras→vras*) [tyt vʁɐ·s] *tud vras* 'big people, adults'.
(b → v, *bihan→vihan*) ['mʲeᵃn vɛɲ] *merenn vihan* 'afternoon snack'.
(gw → v, *gwerc'hiñ→werc'hiñ*) [o steːᵃ 'vɛxɛn'koʷ] *ur stêr werc'hiñ kouez* 'a wash-house by the side of a creek or fed by a rivulet'.
(m → v, *maro→varo*) [ɐʁe 'veʁo] *ar re varo* 'the dead'.
(s → z, *saoz→[zɔs] saoz* [invisible mutation]) [bʁo zɔs] *Bro Saoz* (lit. country Saxons, 'country of the Saxons') 'England/Britain'.
When an adjective follows the pronoun [(ɑ̃)nẽ/ni/ne] *hini* '(the) one', it mutates according to the gender of what *hini* represents.

Example:

(k→ g, *kreñv→greñv*) [nẽ 'gʁeɔ] *an hini greñv* 'the strong one (*f.*)'

— **Exceptions to lenition in adjectives**

- Although *saout* 'cows, cattle' undergoes lenition after the definite article, it is not always lenited when used as an adjective.

(s → z, *saout→['zaut] saout* [invisible mutation]) [ɐ 'zaut] *ar saout* 'the cows'.
(s → s, *saout→['saut] saout* [invisible mutation]) [ɔ po 'saut] *ur paotr-saout* 'a cow-herd, an electric fence' (lit. 'a boy-cow'). However, [ɔ po 'ʑəut] is also heard.

- The plural noun *mein* 'stones' undergoes lenition when qualifying what is probably the masculine singular noun *gwele* 'bed' in the toponym Gulvain (Edern), formerly spelt *Gwilvein, Gulvein* or *Gueulevaine*[48]. Thus, this toponym, in which the segment *vein* undoubtedly means 'stones', possibly means 'bed of stones'.
(m → v, *mein→vein*) [gylˈveⁱɲ] *Gulvein/Gulvain*.

- The plural of *tad*, *tadoù* 'fathers' does not undergo lenition.

[ɑ̃n 'tɐːdu] *an tadoù* 'the fathers'.

- The *s* of the word *si* 'fault' does not mutate.

['dəu si] *daou si* 'two faults'.

- The masculine singular word *troad* 'foot/leg of furniture' is not only lenited after *daou* 'two', but also after *tri* 'three', *pewar* 'four' and *nav* 'nine', thus:

[õn 'tʁɔat] *un troad* 'one foot', ['dəu 'dʁɔat] *daou droad* 'two feet', [tri 'dʁɔat] *tri droad* 'three feet', ['pɛ̃ːvaʰ 'dʁɔat] *pevar droad* 'four feet', ['nɐo 'dʁɔat] *nav droad* 'nine feet'.

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[48] Carte du Gouvernement de Bretagne, 1768, par le Sieur Robert de Vaugondy, BnF Gallica <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7710104v/f1.item.zoom> consulted September 2018.

3.1.4 SPIRANTISATION

In spite of the tendency described previously, for lenition to override other types of mutations, spirantisation remains largely in use in BCB.

3.1.4.1 Range of mutations through spirantisation.

From	k	p	t
To	h(/χ)	f	s

Note that speakers from the south-eastern parts of Canton Briec (Langolen, Landudal and Gulvain) generally produce [x] or [χ] where speakers from the rest of the Canton produce [h].

3.1.4.2 Spirantisation triggers.

— **[me/mi] *ma* 1st pers. sg. possessive, [i]/[e] *he* 3rd pers. sg. *f.* possessive and [o] *o* 3rd pers. pl. possessive** generally trigger spirantisation in all cases. Some native speakers, however, show some hesitation between spirantising /k/ to /h/ or leniting it to /g/ in some words after *ma*, while others decidedly mutate /k/ to /g/ after it. For example, I have heard both [me hʁã̃mˈpwɛn] and [me gʁã̃mˈpwɛn] (*ma c'hrampouezhenn, ma grampouezhenn*) from MTB for 'my crêpe', while MC is intent on [me hʁamˈpwɛn] and TLD unhesitatingly produces [me gʁamˈpwɛn] as well as [me geˈmiᵊn] (*ma gamion*) 'my truck'. AH says [me gʁã̃mˈpwɛn] as unhesitatingly.

The following examples show normal observance, by all my informants, of spirantisation after [me] and [i]:

(k → h, *kof*→ *c'hof*) [lɛ̃n ɛ meˈho·f] (lit. full is my belly) *leun eo ma c'hof* 'my tommy is full', 'mon ventre est plein'.
(p → f, *paotr*→ *faotr*) [me fo·t] *ma faotr* 'my boy' and [i fo·t] *he faotr* 'her boy'. However, [me bo·t] (lenition) is also heard.
(p→ f, *penn*→*fenn*) [me fɛn] *ma fenn* 'my head'
(t → s, *tad*→ *zad*) [me sa:t] *ma zad* 'my father' and [i se·t] *he zad* 'her father', 'son père (à elle)'.
(t → s, *tal*→ *zal*) [me sɐl] *ma zal* 'my forehead', 'mon front'.
(t → s/z̧, *ti*→ *zi*) [me si] *ma zi* 'my house'and [i z̧i] *he zi* 'her house'.
(t → s, *tok*→ *zok*) [me sɔk] *ma zok* 'my hat', [i sɔk] *he zok* 'her hat'.
(t→ s, *traou*→*sraou*) [me sʁau] *ma zraoù* 'my things', [i sʁau] *he zraoù* 'her things'.
(t → s, *tro*→ *zro*) [nɔ̃ ke be va o sʁɔ dɛ] (lit. not am not been on their surround to-them) *n'on ket bet war o zro, dehe* 'I did not look after them', (Fr. 'je ne me suis pas occupé d'eux').
(s → ʒ, *soñj*→[ʒɔ̃:ʒ] *soñj* [invisible mutation]) [dɑ̃m ʒɔ̃:ʒ] *da ma soñj* 'according to me.'

While [o] *o* is a trigger of spirantisation, it has largely fallen into disuse in BCB (potential reasons for this are discussed in Morphology 4.1.2.3.2 Homophonous and

near-homophonous possessive adjectives) and it is routinely replaced by a periphrastic expression using the preposition *da* or it is sometimes reinforced by the addition of the preposition *da* after it.

Examples:

[a ˈʐaut dɛ] *ar saout dezhe* 'their cows'.
[o ʐi dɛ] *o zi dezhe* 'their house'.

Ma, when used as pronoun, can trigger spirantisation of the initial consonant of a verb in the expression:

[død e me ˈhau] *deut eo (da) ma c'haout* lit. 'come is (to) me find' for 'He came over to (talk to) me.'

— **The indefinite article [o]** *ur* **and the definite article [ɐ]/[ɐʁ]** trigger spirantisation of /k/ to /h/ (or /x/or /χ/ in Langolen, Landudal and Gulvain) in masculine singular nouns and in plural nouns other than masculine nouns representing persons.

(k → h, *kole→c'hole*) [oˈhoːle] *ur c'hole* 'a young bull'.
(k → h, *kostezioù→c'hostezioù*) [ɐʰ ˈχɔstju] *ar c'hostezioù* 'the sides'

— **[ɔ̃n]** *hon* **and [oᵃ]/[o]** *hor* **1st pers. pl. possessives** are given in grammar books and textbooks as triggers of spirantisation (though *hor* only triggers spirantisation of /k/). However, spirantisation after [ɔ̃n] is sometimes replaced by lenition. In addition [ɔ̃n]/[oᵃ] *hon/hor* have largely fallen into disuse in BCB and are routinely replaced by a periphrastic expression using the preposition *da* ((potential reasons for this are discussed in Morphology 4.1.2.3.2 Homophonous and near-homophonous possessive adjectives.

Examples of sentences with [ɔ̃n], [o] and [oᵃ] I have come across in natural conversation:

[a ʁeⁱ azo ɛn oˈhiʃən] *ar re a zo en hor c'hichen* 'the people next door (to us)'
[ɔ̃n ti] *hon ti* 'our house'
[ɔ̃n teɖ] *hon tad* 'our father'
[ɔᵉ bʁøːᵉ] *hor breur* 'our brother,

Examples given by Le Scao (1945, 168) and confirmed by native speakers:

[ɔ̃n ˈte·jaˣ] *hon tier* 'our houses'
[ɔʰ ˈhe·ʁɛn] *hor c'herent* 'our parents'
[ɔᵉ byˈgɐ·le] *hor bugale* 'our children'
[ɔᵉ ˈpɐ·k] *hor park* 'our field'

— **The numerals [dəu]/[ˈdau]** *daou* **'two', [tʁi]** *tri* **'three', [pɛ̃ːvaʰ]** *pewar* **'four', [nɐo]** *nav* **'nine'** trigger spirantisation of *kant* 'one hundred', as in:

[ˈdəu hãn]/[ˈdau hãn] *daou c'hant* 'two hundred'
[tʁi hãn] *tri c'hant* 'three hundred' etc.

— **Family names sometimes undergo spirantisation** when following a first name, as in:

[maj ˈhɛ·ʁe] *Marie Quéré*
[malu ˈho] *Marie-Louise Le Goff*. ([malu ɐ ˈho] is also heard).

3.1.5 PROVECTION

Only one word, [o] *ho* 'your' triggers provection in all cases in which it is possible. However, *ho* is a highly frequent word in BCB in which, like in modern English, there is only one form for second person possessive, whether singular or plural. This means that 'your' is *ho* in all cases contrary to the dialects in which the singular second person exists. In those dialect the word for 'your' in the singular is *da*, which triggers lenition.

3.1.5.1 Range of mutations through provection

From	g	gɥ	gw	b	d
To	k	kɥ	kw	p	t

Examples:

(g → k, *gar→kar*) [o kaᵃ] *ho kar* 'your leg'.
(gɥ → kɥ, *gwin→kwin*) [o kɥɪn] *ho kwin* 'your wine'.
(gɥ → kɥ, *gwerenn→kwerenn*) [o ˈkɥeʁən] *ho kwerenn* 'your glass'.
(gw → kw, *gwele→kwele*) [keᵃᶻ dʁoʷ dɔ ˈkweːle] *kerzh (en) dro d'ho kwele* 'go back to (your) bed'.
(b → p, *bro→pro*) [ˈpᵉsə mod a ja bɐ o pʁo] *peseurt mod a ya (e-)barzh ho pro* 'how are things in your country'.
(d → t, *dent→tent*) [o tɛnⁿ] *ho tent* 'your teeth'.

As in the case of spirantisation after *ma*, when used as pronoun, *o* can trigger provection of the initial consonant of the verb in the expression:

[døde do ˈkɐuᵗ] *deut eo d'ho kaout* lit. 'come is to you find' for 'He came over to (talk to) you.'

Ho triggers an invisible mutation from /s/ to /ʃ/ in the initial consonant of the word *soñj*, in the expression [dɔ ʃõʒ] *d'ho soñj* 'according to you'. This, however, seems to be a case of provection from /ʒ/ to /ʃ/, rather than a case of lenition of /s/ to /ʃ/, as, in practice, the word /sõʒ/ is rarely heard in an unmutated form (practically only as an imperative). What is heard, instead, are the words [zõʒ] in [o zõʒ] *ur soñj* 'a thought' and [ʒõʒ] in expressions such as [dãm ʒõʒ] *da me soñj* 'according to me' and [de ʒõʒ] 'according to him/her.

3.1.6 LENIPROVECTION (MIXED MUTATION)

The verbal particle *o*, which marks the progressive forms of verbs and the conjunction *ma* 'if' trigger lenition except for *k, p* and *t*, while they trigger provection of /d/ to /t/ and occasionally of /gw/ to /f/.

3.1.6.1 Range of phonemes concerned by leniprovection.

From	g	gw	b	m	d	s	ʃ
To	h	v/f	v	v	t	z	ʒ

Leniprovection only affects verbs.

3.1.6.2 Leniprovection trigger

— [o] *o* **verbal particle** expressing the progressive aspect of an action. Note that *o* is more often implied than expressed is speech.

Examples:

(d → t, *degouezhout→tegouezhout*) [mɑ̃m ʃysᵗ o tɪˈgueo eᵃ ˈgeːæ] *emaomp just o tegouezhout er gêr*. 'we have just arrived home'.
(gw → v, *gwelc'hiñ→ welc'hiñ*) [mɐ ˈvɛxə ɐ beˈtajɛʁ] *emañ o welc'hiñ ar* bétaillère, 'he is washing the cattle trailer'.

Note, however, that *o* does not trigger lenition of /s/, as in:

[mɐ sɛl døz ɑ̃n ˈtele] *Eman o sellet diouzh an tele* 'He is watching television'

3.1.7 Homophonous triggers

While perusing the lists of triggers of the three types of mutations above, one might have noticed that some mutation triggers are homophones. These words are *e* and *he*, both pronounced [e] or, more rarely [e] and *hor* 'our', *ho* 'your', *o* 'their' and *ur* 'a' (*art*.) which can all be pronounced [o], though *hor* is also likely to be pronounced [oᵃ]. As this can create confusion, strategies have evolved to differentiate the above possessives through other means than their original pronunciation. This is done in particular by expressing possession through the use of personal forms of the preposition *da* 'to', as in:

- [eː vyˈgːɐle d�õm] *ar vugale deomp* 'our children', lit. 'the children to us'.
- [ɑ̃n ˈ dọwaʰ dõm] *an douar deomp* 'our land', lit. 'the land to us'.
- [eː mɑ̃m djõm⁴⁹] *ar mamm deomp* 'our mother', lit. 'the mother to us'.
- [eː ˈheːzɛk djõm] *ar c'hezek deomp* 'our horses', lit. 'the horses to us'.

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[49] Note that both [dõm] and [djõm] are heard.

It must be noted however that with regard to children and parents, BCB speakers are more likely express a connection of that nature without using possessives and simply say [eː vyˈgːele] *ar vugale* instead of *ar vugale deomp* and [mãm] instead of *ar mamm deomp*.

The distinction between [i]/[e] feminine and [i]/[e] masculine results from the fact that the former triggers spirantisation (noted S below), which only affects [k, p, t] whereas the latter triggers lenition (noted L below), which concerns [k, p, t, g, gw, gʷ/gɥ, b, m, d, s, ʃ] as in:

[pɔt]/[poˑt]⁵⁰ *paotr* 'boy'   [tɛt] *tad* 'father'
[i boˑt] 'his boy' (L)   [i dɛd] 'his father' (L)
[i foˑt] 'her boy' (S)   [i sɛt] 'her father' (S)
[tɔk] *tok* 'hat'   [mãm] *mamm* 'mother'
[i dɔk] 'his hat' (L)   [i vãm] 'his mother' (L)
[i sɔk] 'her hat' (S)   [i mãm] 'her mother' (Ø)

The distinction between the homophonous determiners in the 2nd person (singular and plural) *ho* and of the 3rd person plural *o*, results from the fact that the former triggers provection (noted P below), which affects [g, gw, gʷ/gɥ, b, d], whereas the latter triggers spirantisation, which affects [k, p, t].

[bʁøʁ] *breur* 'brother'   [ti] *ti* 'house'
[o pʁøʁ] 'your brother' (P)   [o ti] 'your house' (Ø)
[o bʁøʁ] 'their brother' (Ø)   [o si] 'their house' (S)
[teːd̥] *tad* 'father'
[o teˑd̥] 'your father' (P)
[o seˑd̥] 'their father'(S)

The 1st pers. pl. possessive determiner [oᵃ] *hor*, however, is not only a near homophone of its 2nd and 3rd persons counterparts, it is also a near homophone of the indefinite article [o] (*ur*). Similarly, [ɔ̃n] *hon* is a homophone of indefinite article *un(an)* when the latter is pronounced [ɔ̃n] (it can also be pronounced [ən]). In addition, both [o] (their) and [oᵃ] ('our', sometimes also pronounced [o]) trigger the spirantisation of *k*, which reduces the possibility of distinguishing one from the other when they occur in front of a word starting with that consonant.

As a result, there are possibilities of confusion in the expression of possession in the 1st pers. pl. and in the 3rd pers. pl. if this distinction relies only on the difference between [o] and [oᵃ]. If we take, as an example, the use of these determiners to express the possession of a truck, the sentence for 'their truck' and the hypothetical sentence for 'our truck' would be almost identical in sound, being respectively: [o hɐˈmiʲən] and (hypothetically) [oᵃ hɐˈmiʲən]. The same would apply for [o ˈbʁøᵃ] 'their brother' and the hypothetical sentence [oᵃ ˈbʁøᵃ] 'our brother'.

This is likely to account for the fact that 1st pers. pl. possessives *hon* and *hor* which are given in grammars (kervella 1976, 430, Favereau 1992, xiii) textbooks (Kerrain 2008, 76, Davallan 2002b, 253) and even in Le Scao's dictionary (1945, 10 and 168) as the

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⁵⁰ Note that the most common pronunciation of *paotr*, among my informant is with [ɔ], in particular following articles, but the vowel goes to [o] following the 1ˢᵗ and 3ʳᵈ person possessives.

1st pers. pl. determiners are, in fact, very rarely used by BCB speakers, except in a few cases, for example in [ɔ̃n tɐ·d̥] *hon tad* 'our father', which as the oft-repeated first two words of the Lord's Prayer may be considered a fossilized expression. This is why I used the words 'hypothetical' and 'hypothetically' in the previous paragraph, as neither [oᵃ hɐˈmiʲən] nor [oᵃ ˈbʁøᵃ] are sentences likely to pass the lips of current speakers of BCB. What is said, instead is: [ɐ hɐˈmiʲən dɔ̃m] *ar c'hamion deomp* 'our truck' and [ɐ ˈvʁøᵃ dɔ̃m] *ar vreur deomp* 'our brother', as well as [o hɐˈmiʲən dɔ̃m], [o ˈvʁøᵃ dɔ̃m] and [o ˈbʁøᵃ dɔ̃m].

3.2 Linking and Intrusive Consonants.

Unless there is a consensus that morphophonology is the exclusive domain of initial consonant mutations, which does not appear to me to be the case, it seems that descriptions of the following two phenomena, that is to say the use of linking and intrusive consonants and the contraction of *zo* into /s/ or /z/ after vowels (see next section) have their place in this chapter.

3.2.1. Introduction

The speech of BCB speakers presents a pervasive, consistent and predictable occurrence of consonants, placed at the juncture of words, which, for the most part, has no equivalent in the orthography and can therefore be described as intrusive. These consonants appear to play a role in linking sounds.
Given that they affect the morphology of words and that they appear to be underpinned, at least in part, by phonological factors, as is the case with consonant mutations, it seems appropriate to classify them under morphophonology.
This phenomenon affects the aspect of words so considerably that it is critical to be aware of it and understand its conditions of occurrence, in order to understand native speech and emulate it so as to be understood when conversing with native speakers.
The purpose of this section is therefore to document this pervasive feature of the language, report it and draw attention to it lest it fall into oblivion with the passing of the last native speakers of the language.

3.2.2 Terminology

The first term I considered in order to describe these consonants was *epenthetic*. This term implies 'The insertion of a segment into a word in a position in which no segment was previously present.' (Trask 1996, 287). The consonants discussed here, however appear at the boundary of words and not *in* the words.

A second possibility was to resort to terminology used for a similar and pervasive phenomenon in French, whereby three consonants *t*, *l* and *s*[51] are routinely inserted in official orthography as in speech, between a word ending in a vowel and a word starting with one. Such consonants are often termed *consonnes euphoniques* or *consonnes anti-hiatus*. The lack of accuracy and the potential aesthetic bias implied by the word *euphonique* 'euphonic' however, preclude its use in a scientific context. As to the

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[51] Examples are: *Va-t-en!Les choses que l'on voit*, *manges-en* (the imperative form of *manger* does not have an *s* in isolation or when occurring in front of a consonant).

second term (*anti-hiatus*), the reality of the role of these consonants in hiatus [52] avoidance is debatable as argued by Morin (2005) and we will see further on, that adjunction of non-orthographic consonants in Breton utterances occurs in situations in which hiatus seems unlikely to be a factor.

I also considered terming these consonants *liaison consonants*,[53] but liaison implies the resurgence of disused consonants and it is not the case here except, possibly, for /t/.

In the end, the case of what is known as the 'linking and intrusive *r*' (Broadbent 1991, 281, Trask 1996, 444 and 396 respectively) in non-rhotic English seemed to offer the most similarities with the phenomenon discussed hereafter insofar as the consonants concerned are, as we will see, *mostly* neither justified by etymology nor acknowledged orthographically (as is the case with intrusive *r*) and fit the definition of linking as given by Trask (1996, 444): 'Any segment which is absent in words pronounced in isolation but which is present in certain circumstances in connected speech'.

It is in the light of the above that I decided to term these consonants *linking and intrusive consonants* at least until a better term is suggested.

3.2.3 Extent of this analysis

With regard to the underlying causes of the use of these consonants, they appear to be rather complex and to depend on a range of factors, including etymology, the analysis of which would rather justify a series of articles or a thesis on its own. What follows is therefore a collection of facts which would probably justify, at the minimum, a different classification as some are possibly unrelated or related to other factors unknown to me. I will consequently only make limited suggestions as to what the factors causing them might be. To what extent the use of these consonants can be seen as part of the phonological system of BCB or as a manifestation of independent strategies developed by its speakers remains to be determined.

3.2.4 Awareness by native speakers

A striking discovery I made in my investigation of this phenomenon is that users of the language themselves are barely aware of the phenomenon discussed in the following pages.
One informant, YLD, who was, at the same time familiar with written Breton and attached to the correctness of the Breton spoken in his family outright denied using the forms described hereafter. He then tried to justify them in implausible ways (Noyer 2014, 83), before finally admitting to using them when confronted with the evidence (Noyer 2014, 92). This demonstrates how even pervasive traits of a language can go undetected and are therefore at risk of being overlooked unless documented.

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[52] *Hiatus* is meant here as 'the occurrence of two consecutive vowels forming separate syllables, as in *Leo, skiing, lower* or *playoff*.'(Trask 1996, 367).

[53] Liaison, as defined by Grevisse (2011, § 41) 'is that which occurs when a final consonant which is normally mute in a word, ends up being articulated in a syntagma if the following word commences with a vowel.' (*La liaison c'est le fait qu'une consonne finale, muette dans un mot pris isolément, s'articule dans un syntagme quand le mot qui suit commence par une voyelle*). Details on the term *syntagma* are given in Laver (1994, 39).

3.2.5 Linking consonants encountered in BCB

These consonants can be categorised in terms of whether they are reflected in orthography or not. /n/ belongs to both categories.

3.2.5.1 Linking consonants acknowledged in official orthography

Certain linking consonants used in BCB are acknowledged in KLT orthography. These consonants are:
— *g* in *hag* preceding vowels (*ur paotr hag ur plac'h*, [ɔ pot ag ɔ plaχ] 'a boy/man and a girl').
— *l* of which there is sometimes a hint at the end of the definite article *al* preceding words starting with *l* (*al loen kezeg* [alˈlõn ˈkeːzⁱk] 'the horse').[54]
— *n* in definite article *an* and in indefinite article *un* preceding words starting with a vowel or an *n* (*an oferenn* [a nɔˈfeᵆn] 'mass', *an nor* [ãn ˈnoːʁ][55] 'the door', *un alouarn* [õnaˈluaʁn / ən aˈluaʁn] 'a potato').
— *n* in the word *warn* used to decline numbers between twenty and thirty, as in:
Unan warn-ugent 'twenty-one'. This *n* is a fossilised remnant of the definite article *an* formerly preceding *ugent* (lit. 'score, set of twenty').

3.2.5.1.1 The case of *g*

It is worth mentioning that while *g* is only used in connection with the linking of *ha* to a following word starting with a vowel, in BCB it is sometimes used on its own as a result of apheresis of the word *hag*. In this case, it implies *hag* which is no longer present in the sentence. An example is [ˈneˑvᵊ ˈgyːgⁿ] (*nav eur hag ugent* '9:20') in which the *g* of *hag* has moved from a liaising role between *ha* and *ugent* to one between *eur* and *ugent*. This applies to all time-telling involving twenty minutes past the hour.

3.2.5.1.2 The case of *l*

Note that this phenomenon is also discussed in 4.1.2.1.1 Combination of *gant* with the definite article.

Two cases of non-correspondence between BCB and PU involving [l] will be discussed here. The first one is when [l] is combined in BCB with preposition [gɐ] (KLT *gant*, meaning '*with*' or '*by*'). An /l/ is often placed after this preposition when [gɐ] precedes a word starting with a vowel. An example is the phrase [gɐlan ˈal] for PU *gant unan all* 'with another'. This sentence may seem strange, yet it is exactly what some BCB speakers say, while 'with *the* other one' is rendered [gɑ̃ɛ ˈal] standing for *gant an hini al*.

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[54] Note that although the indefinite article *ul* is known to speakers of BCB it is not used and the indefinite article preceding words starting with *l* is [o]/[ɔ]. This is also discussed in 4.1.2.1 Articles.

[55] Note, however, that *an nor* is often realised as [ãn ˈoːʁ] and for a number of BCB speakers (as well indeed as speakers of other central Breton dialects) the word for 'door' is *or* and not *dor*. Thus, they may say 'or an ti' (in BCB [oᵃ ãn ti]) instead of 'dor an ti' for 'the door of the house'.

The preposition *gant* is otherwise systematically rendered as [gɐ] by BCB speakers, regardless of whether a vowel or consonant follows. Thus [gɐ meˈsɐ·t] *gant ma zad* 'with my father' is as acceptable as [gɐ o ˈpãnəʁ] *gant ur paner* 'with a basket', in spite of the hiatus present in the sequence [gɐ o].
Gant unan all can also be realised [gɐn œn ˈal] by some speakers.

While addition of [l] after [gɐ] before a vowel is a phenomenon of fairly limited scope, it is by no means insignificant. It is reminiscent of the use of *l* for liaison in literary French in the sequence *que l'on* in such a sentence as [skəlõ sɛ] *ce que l'on sait* 'what one knows'.

Other examples:

[hi zo dø:t de vɛl ˈhãõ gɐl ˈewɛn] *He zo deuet da wellet ac'hanon gant Ewen*, 'She came to visit me with Ewen (boy's name).'

[maj bɐ kepa gɐ ˈli χwaˈʁe:ze] *Emañ-he e-barzh Kemper gant he c'hoarezed*, 'She is in Kemper with her sisters.'

A further example of replacement in-between vowels of an orthographically justified [n] by an [l] occurs in the case of the third person singular form of the verb *kaout* 'to have' in the present tense. This form, orthographically noted as *e neus* in PU, is pronounced [ˈnøs]. Many speakers however render it as [ˈløs] as in:

[matʁɛ̃ løs ˈʁɛ i·s ə n] *marteze e neus reson* 'maybe he is right'.
[eõ løs ɔ bʁəˈzõnək ˈgwɛlɛˣ vime χɛ̃ [56]] *eñ neus ur brezhoneg gwelloc'h evit ma hini* 'his Breton is better than my own'.
[eõ løs kɔˈze:t bʁəˈzõnək ˈkeləs ˈmeɲaˣ viˈdɛŋ] *eñ, neus kozeet brezhoneg kalz muioc'h evidon* 'he has spoken Breton much more than I'.

3.2.5.1.3 The case of *n* and /n/

While in *an oferenn* [ɐ nɔˈfeæn] '[the] mass' and *un alouarn* [əˌnaˈluæʁn] 'a potato' *n* (in *an* and *un*) occurs intervocalically and therefore seems to operate as a mere hiatus resolution device, so much cannot be said in the case of *an nor*, [ãn ˈno:ʁ] 'the door' and even less so in the case of [ãn ˈnøʁ] for *an eur* in the sentence [nɔχkepe:ᵉᵈ dãn ˈnøʁ] *n'oc'h ket paeet d'an eur* 'You are not paid by the hour (so, you have no reason to hurry)'. Wmffre (1998, 13) explains the change from *dor* to *nor* as the only remnant of 'an obsolete' though 'once common' mutation after the article.
While the mutation from *dor* to *nor* is an archaic remnant of a former nasal mutation of *d* after *m* (Falc'hun 1950, 97-98), this is naturally not the case of [ãn ˈnøʁ] *an eur* 'an hour'. Yet, the morphological change from *dor* to *nor* after articles resembles the change seemingly resulting from gemination, which occurs in [ãn ˈnøʁ]. A confirmation that this possible case of gemination exists of BCB is the toponym signposted Poull an Noch [57] near Briec, which BCB speakers give unequivocally as

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[56] This is an unusual realisation of *hini* by RP, more commonly pronounced [χwɛ̃] amongst my informants.
[57] Note that the segment *-och* in *Noch* is a mere spelling mistake. It should be *-oc'h*.

meaning '*La Mare du Verrat*', 'The Pool of the Boar'. Since the word for 'boar' is *oc'h* and not *noc'h*, this phrase, which should be written *poull an oc'h*, seems to be another example of the same phenomenon as that which causes *an eur* to be pronounced [ɑ̃n ˈnøʁ].

It is worth noting that gemination is actually pervasive in the closest neigbouring language to Breton, namely Paris French (as spoken, in any case, by my family and myself) in the case of [l]. Examples: [atɑ̃ kʒəl laˈtʁap] for *attends que je l'attrape!* or [tyl la vy] for *tu l'as vu?* [ʒəl lɛ] for *je l'ai*.

Explaining the pronunciation of *an eur* as [ɑ̃n ˈnøʁ] would require a study of the interaction of the sounds present in the words of which this expression is made. Factors other than gemination could be at play: could an assimilation of [ɑ̃n ˈnøʁ] *an eur* to *an nor* be a possibility? Though the nasal mutation at play in *an nor* is no longer productive, it is after all a common utterance[58] which has the potential to influence speakers.

However, non-orthographic /n/ appears far more pervasively outside of gemination-like phenomena as in the following examples.

3.2.5.1.4 List of examples of the use of non-orthographic /n/

These examples include those mentioned in the transcript excerpts seen in the previous pages and a few more:

1) — [anmaʁi nɐme] *Anne-Marie ha me* 'Anne-Marie and me'.

2) — [ʰi ne gɔmɑ̃n ɑ̃n ˈdʁɐxᵊ] *hi a gomand an dra-se* 'she has control over this'.

3) — [lɔʁɑ̃ na mehøn ˈdɐu tɐʁnɛj] *Laurent ha ma-unan dav derc'hel anezhi* 'Laurent and I had to hold her'.

4) — [me ne wɐ] *me a oa / me (eo) an hini a oa* 'It was me/I'.

5) — [hɑ̃m ne mɐ] *amañ emañ / amañ an hini emañ* 'It is here'.

6) — [ne ke gɐ zɛx na vaʁv ɑ̃nˈdyd ˈɑ̃ᵐə] *n'eo ket gant ar sec'h e varv an dud amañ*. 'People do not die because of droughts here'.

7) — [eˈpɐd ᵊdˈnɑ̃ɔ̃]/ [eˈpɐd ᵊnˈnɑ̃ɔ̃] *e-pad an hañv* 'during summer'.

8) — [xɥɪ ne bez ze] for *c'hwi a baez se*, 'you are paying for this.

3.2.5.1.5 Discussion of the above examples

Examples 1 to 3: The phonological context of these examples is rather straightforward. In these examples [n] appears intervocalically where there would otherwise be a hiatus. An observation of BCB shows that hiatuses that would occur if ZH orthography was

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[58] I must, however, remind the reader that *an nor* is also realised [an ˈɔʁ], not always [ɑ̃n ˈnɔʁ].

the basis for pronunciation, are overwhelmingly resolved. This is done in various ways, including through addition of an [n]. The potential hiatuses and resolutions in examples 1 to 3 are respectively: [i ɐ] → [inɐ / inɐ], [ɑ̃ a] → [ɑ̃na].

Examples 4 and 5: In the context of these examples, there is a possibility that [ne], stands for the demonstrative pronoun / emphatic relative particle *an hini*, which can be pronounced [ne] in BCB. In fact, one informant, YLD, considers that the role of [ne] is to emphasize a statement. This has to be the case in [ˈme ˌnewɐ] in which [ne] clearly plays the role of a demonstrative or emphatic particle. [ˈme ˌnewɐ] could not merely mean *I was* followed by the rest of a sentence, as this would be said [mɛ̃ va]. The evolution of *an hini* theoretically pronounced /ɑ̃ˈnini/ into [ne] is very plausible and broadly recognised.

Drawing a conclusion from the case of [ne] in [hɑ̃m nemɐ] is more difficult. In my experience, contexts in which the expression is used do not involve insistence or emphasis. It is a mere statement of fact: *it is here*. Emphasis, as in French *c'est* <u>bien</u> *ici* 'it is indeed here, it sure is here' would be achieved rather by tonal stress on *amañ* and complete enunciation of both syllables of the word, thus: [ˈɑ̃·ˌmə nemɐ] or [ˈɑ̃ːmə mɐ]. It is more than likely that the role of [n] of [nemɐ] is to resolve the hiatus between the two neighbouring vowels in *amañ emañ*. Here it is necessary to specify, for readers unfamiliar with Breton, that there is no [n] sound whatsoever in the pronunciation of *amañ* or *emañ* in either *Peurunvan* or BCB.
In addition, though in ZH orthography, the vowels of the word *amañ* are /ɐ/ and /ɑ̃/ (/ˈemɑ̃/), they are [ɑ̃] and [ə] ([ˈɑ̃mə]) in BCB pronunciation.
One must keep in mind, though, that *emañ* is pronounced [mɐ] in BCB. There is therefore no hiatus in the BCB pronunciation of *amañ* + *emañ* ([ˈɑ̃·mə] + [mɐ]). However, *amañ* is more often than not pronounced [hɑ̃m] or [ʰɑ̃m]. In theory, the pronunciation of *Amañ emañ* could therefore be [ʰɑ̃m mɐ]. Articulating this would not only require more tension, it could also be mistaken for the single word *amañ*. Furthermore, [ʰɑ̃m mɐ] being shorter than [hɑ̃m nemɐ], it could be overheard more easily. This is a consideration that is routinely taken into account in language production. It is the reason why radio communication relies on *alpha, bravo, charlie* instead of *a,b,c*. It is longer to articulate [ˈalfə] than [ɛⁱ] but shorter to say [ˈalfa] once than repeat [ɛⁱ] three times and not be understood. This could equally justify a number of uneconomical BCB turns of speech that involve more sounds than is apparently necessary, and more sounds than a standard PU structure has, but that leave no doubt as to the meaning of the sentence.[59] Clarity and certainty of conveyance of meaning are priorities in the formation of utterances in any language. This is why, when clarity requires it, adding words to an utterance is preferred over syllable economy.

Lastly, in [ˈɑ̃·mə mɐ], the sequence [ə] + [m], is composed of a very much unstressed mid-central vowel immediately followed by a bilabial nasal consonant. The points of articulation of both are distant from each other, whereas in [hɑ̃m nemɐ] the point of articulation of bilabial /m/ and alveolar /n/, are close and their manners of articulation (nasal) are identical, so that the tip of the tongue only needs to be slightly lifted from /m/ to /n/, and the vibration of the vocal cords initiated for /m/ only needs to be further

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[59] This is particularly true of sentences in which the subject pronoun is expressed and then is repeated at the end, in apposition to the sentence.

sustained for /n/. It therefore seems that the pronunciation of [hã̄m ne mɐ] requires less effort than that of [ˈã·mə mɐ]. In lay terms: [hã̄m ne mɐ] flows better.

Example 6: ([ne ke gɐ zɛχ, na vaʁv ãnˈdyd ˈã̄mmə] *n'eo ket gant ar sec'h e varv an dud amañ*). In this sentence, the pause observed after [gɐ zɛχ] would result in an empty onset of the following syllable if [ɐ vaʁv] was not preceded by [n]. It therefore seems that [n] is used here to resolve this empty onset. Why, however, should verbal particle *e*, normally called for in this context, give way to [ɐ] *a*? According to grammar books,[60] *a* is placed in front of the verb, in an affirmative sentence, when the subject or direct object precede the verb. This is not the case here. The particle required in RP's sentence [ne ke gɐzɛχ nɐ vaʁv ãnˈdyd ˈã̄mmə] is *e*. In fact YLD, to whom I played a recording of the sentence, pointed this out and corrected [na vaʁv] to [ne vaʁv] in excerpt 5 (he actually also corrected [zɛχ] to [ˈzɛχəd]).

According to RP himself, his Breton is not as good as YLD's. He once explained this in the following terms: (We were discussing a form which YLD and RP render differently. (Note that all IPA transcriptions below are phonetic in spite of the absence of []).

RP (speaking of YLD): matʁɛ̃ løs ˈʁɛⁱːsᵊn.
marteze e neus reson 'maybe he is right'[61]

[....] ɛ̃ løs ɔ bʁəˈzȭnək ˈgʷɛlɛχ vi me χɛ̃ pegwaʁ ɛ̃ɔ zoˈkɔːsɔχ viˈdɛɲ (short pause)
eñ neus ur brezhoneg gwelloc'h evit ma hini peogwir eñ zo kozoc'h evidon 'his Breton is better than my own because he is older than me'

eɔ̃ løs kɔˈzeːt bʁəˈzȭnək ˈkɐləs meɲjeˣ viˈdɛɲ [....]
eñ neus kozeet brezhoneg kalz muioc'h evidon (...) 'he has spoken Breton much more than me'.

zo eːt də skoʷl ɐ ne vʁɔeɲ ke kɪm bʁəˈzȭnək nɛ̃ [....]
zo aet da skol ha ne ouie ket nemet brezhoneg, anezhan (...) 'he went to school and only knew Breton' (...)

mɛ əː gɔˈzeʲ nȭmˈløs əː koˈzeⁱt ˈgɐlɛk ˈfunəʃ tʁeⁱ pjeᵃχ
met eu... goude-se ni neus eu... kozeet galleg fonnus-tre, petra 'but er... after-that we [the younger generation] adopted French very quickly, you know

(short pause) ɐgɐ ... gɐ ʁɐɐl ... beˈvã̄m sã̄mˢ gen a ʁe jaunˈal əː bɐ ... benom ygɛ̃ vlɐ
ha gant ar re all ... pa oam asambles gant ar re yaouank all eu ... benn e noemp[62] ugent vloazh 'and with the others ... when we-were together with the other youngsters er... (...) when we were twenty'

PN (enquiring) be vã̄ɲ sã̄m?

RP (rephrasing): be vã̄ɲ əː be nim gɐɐm sã̄ms gaʁe ˈjaunˈal
pa oan e... pa'z en em gavemp asambles gant ar re yaouank all 'when we were er... when we found ourselves in the company of other youngsters'

bemo ygɛ̃ vlɐ (...) nȭm gɔˈzeⁱ gɐlɛk pjeᵃˣ (short pause)
pa'z em boa ugent vloazh (...) ni a gozee galleg, petra (short pause)

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[60] See Kervella 1976, 226.

[61] The orthographic transcription of this dialogue is done in KLT.

[62] *e noem* (*hor boa* in written *peurunvan*), appears to be a combination of the non-written *1st pers. pl.* imperfect form of the verb *kaout*, *'moamp* (attested in Davalan 2001, 259 and 2002, 228) and *'noa* (Davalan 2002, 228), see 4.2.7.3 The verb [kɐut] *kaout* 'have', b) Imperfect.

'when I was twenty (...) we spoke French, you know'
laʁ iv lǝdy me syʁ beno ygɛ̃ vlʁ *la Yves Le Du, me sur, pa en doa ugent vloazh*
'whereas Yves le Du, I am sure, when he was twenty'
a nim gae sãmǝs ga i gamˈladᵊ eɔ̃ gozeⁱ bʁǝˈzɔ̃nǝk syʁ
hag en em gave asambles gant e gamaladed, eñ (a) gozee brezhoneg, sur
'and he was with his friends, he spoke Breton, for sure'
me zɔ apœpʁe syʁ ãndʁa *me zo apeupre sur an dra* 'I am almost certain of it'
PN: me χwɪ ? *Met c'hwi* 'Whereas you ?'
RP: mɛ̃ ˌgoˈze ˈgalɛk *Me (a) gozee galleg* 'I spoke French'.

My observation of René's Breton, though, is that while the range of his vocabulary is indeed narrower than Yves', and his syntax is occasionally French-inspired, his accent is native and his fluency is unhesitant. This can be heard in the recording in which he produces the sentence [neke gɐzɛχ nɐ vaʁv ãnˈdyd ˈãmᵐǝ]. There is a high probability that he expresses the sentence this way because he heard the same, or similar sentences from his entourage who themselves formed them in this manner. They quite possibly did so, for phonological/phonetic reasons. Velar fricative /χ/, articulated at the back of the mouth is distant from the forward point of articulation of /e/. It could be that the sequence [zɛχ nɐ vaʁv] requires less effort than [zɛχ evaʁv]. This, however, would need to be determined through a phonological/phonetic analysis.

At any rate BCB speakers are certainly not obsessive about the rules governing use of verbal particles *e* and *a*. All the more so because, most of the time, they do not express them at all. However, they strictly observe the consonantic lenition which follows these particles. Thus, the presence of the particles is implied and syntactic clarity is maintained. The last sentence of the above dialogue, [mɛ̃ ˌgoˈze ˈgalɛk], is a classic representative of this strategy whereby the particle *a* is omitted while, nevertheless producing a mutation of the following word *gozee* (from the verb *kozeal*).

There is a further possibility for explaining the presence of [nɐ] in [nɐ vaʁv]. It could be a variant of the word *la* routinely used as an equivalent of relative pronoun 'that' in BCB. [nɐ ke gɐzɛχ nɐvaʁv ãnˈdyd] could be a variant of [neke gɐzɛχ la vaʁv ãnˈdyd]. 'It is not because of droughts *that* people die here'.

Example 7: ([nɔχ ke peːᵉᵈ dãn ˈnøʁ] *n'oc'h ket paeet d'an eur*). Though this example has already been discussed in 3.2.5.1.3, I will ad that, based on my practice of BCB in the field, I estimate that [n], used both in an orthographically acknowledged capacity and as a non-orthographic consonant, is the most recurrent consonant used for linking or to avoid empty syllable onsets in BCB. Could it be that there is a euphonic quality to [n] that is pleasing to the human ear? The fact that numeral *one* and indefinite articles, which are high-frequency words tend to end in *n* in many European languages that use such articles, points to a possible inclination towards that consonant for linking. The choice of [n] over the already available consonant *l* in *a whole nother country* seems to indicate that it is a possibility. Why indeed choose [nʌðǝ] over [lʌðǝ] as in *whole other*? Various factors could be at play. Could the influence of an older form of the word *other* (for example, *annarr* in Old Norse has *n*) be at play here? Or is it just the desire to emphasise the distinctiveness of Texas, to which this popular unofficial slogan refers? The following example also points to the possibility of a slant towards /n/.

<u>Example 8</u>: ([eˈpɐd ᵊdˈnɑ̃ɔ̃]). In *e-pad an hañv* 'during summer', the orthographically visible linking consonant is *n*. Yet the word *an* in this instance is rendered as a weakened [əd], that is [ᵊd], instead of an expected /an/ allophone only. Based on the orthography, one might expect the sentence to run something like /eˈpad an ˈɑ̃ɔ̃/. The complex re-syllabification of /eˈpad + an +ˈɑ̃ɔ̃/ into [eˈpɐdᵊdˈnɑ̃ɔ̃] results firstly from the fact, that in BCB as in at least a number of other Breton dialects the *h* elides following definite and indefinite articles. An example appears in Le Scao's entry for the word [ˈɐːdəʰ] *hader* 'sower' (1945b, 45), in the sentence 'ān 'ader zo pell', 'the sower is far'. This phenomenon can be observed in other cases such as [a ˈnɛn] *an hent* 'the road' or [ə ˈnɑ̃ːtəˣ] *an hanter* 'a half.'

This leads to the expectation for *e-pad an hañv* to be always pronounced something like /eˈpad an ˈɑ̃ɔ̃/, but it does not explain the presence of [ᵈ] in [eˈpɐd ᵊdˈnɑ̃ɔ̃] and [ⁿ] in [eˈpɐdᵊnˈnɑ̃ɔ̃]. This may be a case of gemination (albeit involving a change from [ⁿ] to [ᵈ] in some cases) and it is similar to the phonological context of Example 7.

3.2.5.2 Linking consonants not acknowledged in the official orthography

3.2.5.2.1 The case of /h/

/h/ is used in BCB as is many other dialects in what seems to be an anti-hiatic capacity in *unan* and *añv* following a vowel as in [meˈhɛ̃n]/[meˈhøn]] *ma-unan* 'myself', [ɔˈhɛ̃n]/[ɔˈhøn] *ho-unan* 'yourself', [ihɛ̃n]/[ihøn] *he-unan* 'himself/herself' etc. and [me hɑ̃nɔ] *ma añv* 'my name', [o hɑ̃nɔ] *ho añv* 'your name', [i hɑ̃nɔ] *he añv* 'his/her name' etc. Yet hiatus is permitted in most other cases where *ma* is followed by a vowel ([me aˈluæᵘn] *ma alouarn*[63] 'my potato', [me ˈɐːvᵊl] *ma aval* 'my apple', [me oˌto] *ma oto* 'my car'). This might be determined by the level of frequency in the use of the words concerned. While reference to *añv* may be moderately frequent in conversation, *-unan* is a highly frequent word as an affix to personal pronouns. This is likely to play a role in its special treatment among words starting with a vowel. Note that my interpretation of *unan* as [høn] is personal. It could also be transcribed as [ʔøn] particularly in *ma-unan* [me ʔøn]. If *ma*, however is rendered as [me], as it mainly the case in BCB, the pronunciation I perceive is with /h/ ([me høn]).

Another use of non-orthographic /h/ is as what seems to be a empty onset resolution device. This applies to *amañ* 'here', pronounced [hɑ̃m] or [ˈhɑ̃mᵊ] when placed at the start of a sentence. Note that when *amañ* occurs within a sentence, it is more often pronounced [ˈɑ̃mə] or [ʔɑ̃m]. The same use of /h/ can be observed in the case of the word [hɑ̃n] 'if' as in: [mɛ̃ nimˈhul hɑ̃n nøz ɐˈʃø iˈlɐːbeʰ] *me en em c'houll hag-eñ e neus achuet hi/e labour* 'I wonder if he has finished his work'. *Hag-eñ* is PU for [hɑ̃n] which, in all likelihood is a contracted form of *hag-eñ*. Although *hag* starts with an *h*, it is pronounced [ag]. The addition of /h/ at the beginning of the subordinate clause [hɑ̃n nøsɐˈʃø iˈlɐːbeʰ] does not seem to be based on routine pronunciation of *hag*, but on its initial position in the clause. [ɑ̃n] would be an empty onset, [hɑ̃n] is not.

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[63] PU for potatoe is not *alouarn* but *aval-douar* (lit. apple-earth). The BCB form *alouarn* appears to come from a contraction of *aval-douar* to a-l-ouar to which the singulative ending *-enn* was added, giving a-l-ouar-enn, itself contracted to *alouarn*. The plural is *alouar*.

/h/ is also seemingly used to prevent empty onset in subject pronoun *int* [hẽŋ] 'they', which tends to occurs at the beginning of sentences. It seems to play the same role in [hᵃɔ̃n]/[hɔ̃n] *ac'hanon* 'I, me' or [hᵃɔ̃m]/[hɔ̃m], *ac'hanomp* 'us, we', when these pronouns are used appositively, as they pervasively are in BCB, in sentences like [ˈmøs ke gwɛl neɔ̃, hɔ̃ⁿ] *meus ket gwellet anezhañ, ac'hanon* (Literally: 'I did not see him, me') which can be translated as merely meaning 'I did not see him' or can convey a nuance of powerlessness, depending on context). When placed intervocalically within a phrase, however, these pronouns tend to start with /χ/, as in [eɔ̃ zɔˈdøt dəˈʃukɐ ˈχᵃɔ̃n] *eñ zo deut da sikour ac'hanon* 'he has come to help me.'

I have witnessed one of my oldest and most naturally fluent BCB speakers use /h/ as a what seems to be a linking device in the sentence [va ˈdao lake nɛ bɐ ɔ ˈhaʁʃət] *oa dao lakaat anezhe e-barzh un arched* 'One had to put them in a wooden box' (referring to piglets). This deliberate choice of using /h/ when the /n/ of the indefinite article was potentially available for linking *un* and *arched* may seem strange, but to the native speaker illiterate in Breton, the choice of /h/ as a linking consonant may be as legitimate as /n/, as long as linking is provided.

3.2.5.2.2 The case of /v/

[v] appears in what is potentially an anti-hiatic capacity or to potentially prevent empty onsets at the start of words beginning with the phoneme [w], which represents, in many cases, the grapheme *oa* or an onset with orthographic *w*.

Examples:

Potentially preventing an empty onset:

[bɛn vwan ˈjauɲ] *benn (e) oan yaouank* 'when I was young.'
[ãn ˈnøːbøt vuzɔ̃n] *an nebeut a ouzon* 'the little I know / all I know.'

In potential anti-hiatic capacity between vowels:

[ne ˈvʁɔẽɲ kem bʁøˈzɔ̃nɛk neɔ̃], *ne oare⁶⁴ ket nemet brezhoneg, anezhan* 'he only knew Breton.' Note that the form [ˈvʁɔẽɲ] for 'he knew' appears to be a mistake by the speaker, as it is the 1st *sg.* or *pl.* and not the 3rd *sg. imp.* of *gouzout* 'to know'.

In potential anti-hiatic capacity between a vowel and an approximant or semi-vowel:

[mẽ nuz ke tut aʁ ˈpɔʃu χɥi vwaʁ] *me n'ouzon ket ar pozoù c'hwi a oar* 'I don't know all the words you know.'
[mɐ pøs ʁe po vwaχ, a mɐ pøs ʁe ˈnøbᵉ po ket waχ], *Ma peus re, po walc'h, ha ma peus re nebeut, po ket walc'h* 'If you have too much, you will have enough, but if you have too little, you won't have enough.'

Note that the last example above illustrates a possible anti-hiatic role of [v] in [po vwaχ], whereas /t/ potentially plays that role in [poket waχ]. Note further that the

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⁶⁴ Note that the PU forms are *ouie* or *ouezhe*.

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liaison of *ket walc'h* with /t/ instead of its expected voiced form /d/, maybe here to be a way of avoiding the sequence /dwaχ/, which could be confused with the word *deoc'h* 'to you'.

[v] therefore appears to potentially prevent hiatus involving words starting with orthographic *w* or the approximant phoneme /w/ in a situation in which they follow an actual vowel or one that is not expressed, but implied. /w/ is, after all, a semi-vowel and this part-vocalic nature is evident in the orthography of words like *oa, oan, oar* which start with *oa* orthographically, but with /w/ phonetically. The fact that *w* can represent a vowel in Welsh[65] further illustrates this potential vocalic status of *w*.
The anti-hiatic role that /v/ can play, as a consonant, may have caused its preference over the semi-vowel /w/ in certain cases. Put differently, words starting with /v/ may be easier to insert in a sentence than words starting with /w/ in certain cases.

This may explain why the pronunciation of *oa* 'was'(3rd *sg. imp.* of *bezañ* 'to be') in ZH orthography, is not /we/ but [ve].

Other forms of *bezañ* in the imperfect do display a non-orthographic /v/. They are:

[vwẽɲ] *oan/oant* 'I was/they were.'
[vweχ] *oac'h* 'you were' (2nd *sg.* and 2nd *pl.*)

At least one form of *gouzout* displays a non-orthographic /v/: [ˈvʁɔẽɲ] *oaren / oarent*[66] 'I/they knew'. Incidentally, this form is also a case of metathesis, with *oar* going to *roa*.

3.2.5.2.3 The case of /t/(or /d/)

Looking at the expression *eeun hag eeun* and at its context of use, it seems that the addition of /t/ in the expression and its pronunciation as [eõn tag eõn], may result from phonological and/or phonetic constraints. *Eeun hag eeun*, can be translated in English as *Exactly! Too right! It sure is true! You bet!* (French: 'Exactement! C'est bien vrai! Ça c'est sûr!'). Le Scao (1945a, 147) notes it as *éont-ag-éon* and again on p.188 of the same tome as *Eōn t'ag éōn*, which he translates as 'très juste', 'very true' (p.147) and 'Précis; Précisément', 'precise, precisely' (p.188). He actually states that *t* is added to it 'par euphonie' ('for reasons of euphony'). It is an exclamative sentence in which each word is stressed rhythmically though unequally. The most stressed word is the first *eeun*, while *hag* is less stressed than its neighbours. In addition, the voicing of /n/ at the end of words in Breton in general and in BCB in particular, tends to resonate and linger on (as the orthography of many words ending in *-nn* seems to indicate). This is reinforced, still by the presence of /ɔ̃/ in front of /n/, which triggers a vibration of the vocal chords prolonged and possibly amplified by /n/. This may result in gemination of /n/ and its transfer to the vowel following it in *eeun hag*, resulting in [eõn nag] rather than /eõn ag/. E*eun* is pronounced [eõn] or [jõn] if said rapidly or due to personal manner of speech. E*eun hag eeun* could therefore result in the sequence [eõn nag eõn]

[65] Hear the examples of *pwl* and *sŵn* given in the BBC Wales online Welsh language course, *The Big Welsh Challenge* 2014, *Helpful Notes, The alphabet*.
< http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/learnwelsh/bigwelshchallenge/course/ > consulted 18/06/2014.
[66] Note that these forms are not PU

or [jɔ̃n na gjɔ̃n]. From this point, it would be easy to move from the /n/ of [na] to a /d/, as both share the same place of articulation (the alveola) and obtain [eɔ̃n da geɔ̃n] or [jɔ̃n da gjɔ̃n]. It is then possible, given that there is no stress or little stress on [da] for /d/ to be devoiced to /t/ and obtain [eɔ̃n ta geɔ̃n] or [jɔ̃n ta gjɔ̃n]. This is reminiscent of the general devoicing of final consonants following a stressed vowel in Breton, in the sense that even though the [n] of [eɔ̃n] is not a vowel, it is a voiced consonant. At any rate, the presence of [t] after the first [eɔ̃n] seemed somehow natural to YLD.

Whatever the case may be, native speakers confirm the presence of [t] after [eɔ̃n] in this expression and although they cannot explain it they are comfortable with it. As I once asked YLD about it, his answer was: 'Er... one would tend to put a *t* at the end of [eɔ̃nt].'

While the [t] of [eɔ̃n tageɔ̃n] may be the predictable result of phonological and/or phonetic factors, the same cannot be said of [neke fluʁ giʃ to geˈnɛtn] *n'eo ket flour giz ur ganetenn* 'it isn't smooth like a marble' or [pɐz tʁe ˈgiʃ do ˈxe·ʁən] (*paz tre giz d'o c'herent*, 'not quite like their parents' in which the choice of /t/ or /d/ for linking in [ˈgiʃˌto] and [ˈgiʃˌdo] is a different matter.

The word *giz*, predominantly pronounced [giʃ] in BCB (rarely [gis]), means 'guise, manner, style'. It is used also as a preposition or conjunction meaning 'like' or 'as'. In that role, when it modifies a pronoun, it is followed by preposition *da* or in a majority of cases, by a prepositional pronoun[67] based on *da* which is declined according to gender and number like so: [ˈgiʃ ˈdeˌɲ] *giz din* 'like me', [ˈgiʃ dweχ] *giz deoc'h* 'like you', [giʃ ˈdɛj] *giz dezhi* 'like her' etc. This could explain the presence of [t] in [giʃ to] and /d/ in [giʃ do] if it was not for the fact that *giz* is not followed by *da* when preceding a noun. Thus: *Like a nursing home* is *giz un ti retret* and not *giz d'un ti retret*.

Note that, in both cases the alveolar consonants occur in front of the rounded close-mid vowel [o] even though in one case [o] stands for the indefinite article *ur* and in the other for possessive adjective *o*. In the following example, collected from a native speaker of Bro Leon Breton, /t/ also occurs in front of a close-mid vowel, in this case /ø/. The phrase is: [nɛz kɛt də ˈlɑ̃:sə vɛl tøl le:ʁ] *n'ez ket da lañsa evel ul laer* 'don't go run away like a thief!'. *Evel*, though used less than *giz* in BCB, is a synonym of *giz* and, like it, is followed by an inflected preposition based on *da* which is declined by gender and number like so: *eveldon* 'like me', *eveldoc'h* 'like you', *evelti* 'like her' etc. However, it should not be followed by *da* when preceding a noun either.

These three examples cast some light on this quite common and widespread use of non-orthographic /t/ and /d/. They have three features in common:

1- They occur in a place where the preposition *da* would be present if an inflected preposition based on *da* followed. This points to the possibility that, at some point in the past, it might have been possible for *giz* to be followed by *da* + a noun, or possibly that speakers extended the use of *da* to nouns through overgeneralization.

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[67] *Araogenn-raganv-gour* in Breton; literally: *preposition-pronoun-person* (Kervella 1976, 335).

2- They occur in front of rounded open-mid vowels, pointing to possible phonological reasons for coincidence of /t/ and /d/ with these vowels. The fact is that if a /t/ or /d/ occurs between [giʃ] and a following word, that word, in my experience, always starts with [o]. This is reminiscent of what happens with *the intrusive r* in English which occurs in front of only three vowels, including [o].[68] The presence of [o] after [ˈgiʃ] however, is far from triggering the use of [t] or [d] every time. This is hardly generalised usage, though it is frequent.

3- They are used by preference to existing consonants which could also provide linking. Why, indeed, prefer [eõn tageõn], [ˈgiʃ tɔ geˈnɛtn] and [vɛltøl leːʁ] to the more logical /eõnageõn/, /ˈgiʃɔ geˈnɛtn/ and /vɛløl leːʁ/? I am unable to answer that question though, to me, as to the native BCB speakers I asked, the previous three forms sound more natural than the last three. Breton has a strong rhythm to it, as does French spoken by Bretons. Syllables are, more often than not, vigorously and rhythmically stressed, and my personal and entirely subjective feeling is that the choice of plosive [t] over nasal [n], sibilant [ʃ] and liquid [l] for linking gives each utterance a satisfactory rhythm and impact. This, in my opinion, fits well with the notion of *spered ar yezh*, the 'spirit of the language'. This notion, metaphorical, imprecise and unscientific though it is, is important and surfaces at intervals in the works of defenders of the integrity of the Breton language. It appears, for example, in the title of the organisation *Eostiñ spered ar yezh* 'Collecting the spirit of the language', which dedicates itself to collecting authentic audio recordings from native speakers. It is also used under its French translation '*l'esprit de la langue*' by Madeg (2010, 105) in a comparison he makes between authentic Breton transmitted over the generations and a '*néo-breton*' disconnected from its origins.

At the behest of Wmffre, who gave me his unadulterated opinion about the arbitrariness of what precedes, in particular with regard to the expression [vɛl tøl leːʁ] *evel ul laer*, I must stress that [vɛl tøl leːʁ] is absolutely not the only correct and genuine way of delivering *evel ul laer* and while it appears more pleasing to my ear, the way he would say it in his dialect, namely *vel or laer* appears just as pleasing to him. Nonetheless, I believe issues of taste and aesthetics are worth mentioning briefly as they do play a role in the evolution of language, as mentioned in '3.1.1.2 Perception by native speakers' with reference to consonantic mutations and as suggested by the term 'euphonie' used several times by Le Scao.

3.2.5.2.4 The case of /j/

The only case of use of /j/ I am aware of is in the synthetic conjugation of *mont* 'to go' in which it potentially prevents an empty onset or provides linking between the negative particle *ne* and the rest of the sentence.
The PU conjugation of *mont* involves the verbal particle *e* itself completed by the linking consonant *z*. Examples of the forms thus created are:
Present of the indicative: *ez an* 'I go', *ez a* 'he/she goes', *ez it* 'you go' etc.
Imperfect: *ez aen* 'I used to go', *ez ae* 'he/she used to go', *ez aec'h* 'you used to go' etc.
In practice, synthetic forms are mainly used in negative sentences, while the single base form preceded by subject pronouns are used in affirmative sentences.
The BCB for the above forms in real-life use are:

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[68] Broadbent 1991, 282.

Present indicative:	Imperfect:
[(nɛ/ne) jɔ̃ ket] *n'ez an ket*	[(nɛ/ne) jeːn/jeːɲ ket] *n'ez aen ket*
[(nɛ/ne) je ket] *n'ez a ket*	[(nɛ/ne) jeː ket] *n'ez ae ket*
[(nɛ/ne) jɪt/jet ket] *n'ez it ket*	[(nɛ/ne) jeχ ket] *n'ez aec'h ket*

3.2.6 Conclusion about linking and intrusive consonants

An observation of BCB and of Breton in general shows that the consonants *l*, *n* and *g* are potentially used for hiatus resolution a large number of cases, in proportions still to be statistically determined through a specific study (in terms of frequency of appearance in everyday conversation).

Furthermore, use of the latter three consonants is made in BCB in a broader range of situations than those allowed by KLT orthography. BCB displays further cases of potential hiatuses resolution through elimination of one of the two vowels involved in the suspected hiatus or through addition of / t/d, h, ʔ/ and occasionally /χ/. The latter three also appear to be used to avoid empty onsets.

There is a possibility that a large proportion, perhaps a majority of hiatuses and empty onsets that present themselves in ZH orthography are resolved in BCB. The purpose seems to be to potentially ease the phonological constraints created by hiatuses. Paradoxically, speakers of BCB do not shy away from hiatuses and empty onsets in many other circumstances. In addition, they superimpose, in a perplexing way, linking consonants over orthographic consonants that could already provide linking, as if certain consonants were preferred over others. Finally, BCB sometimes creates hiatuses where KLT resolves them. The preposition *gant* preceding an article is a example of this: the *t* or *n* (if the *t* is silent) could provide linking with following vowels, yet BCB speakers have evolved the preposition [gɛ] for *gant* which potentially creates hiatuses. Hiatus or resolution thereof seem, rather, to be a way of enabling further distinctions between words and of broadening the range of possibilities of expression in BCB.

Non-orthographic linking consonants are critical constituents of BCB morphology, syntax and semantics and this is most likely to be also the case of some other Breton dialects though it appears to be little reported. Of all non-orthographic linking consonants, /n/ appears to have the highest frequency in everyday conversation, so that a person wanting to emulate BCB speakers may start by focusing on how that particular consonant is used in order to understand how all the other non-orthographic linking consonants are used. All are important, if one is to render authentic BCB mannerisms. Yet, with the misleading tendency of mainstream education to present written form as the default state of a language, non-orthographic elements are systematically played down, at best ignored, at worst erased. The fact that these consonants are present in certain contexts while they are not present in other identical contexts, points to their emergence being caused not only by unconscious response to factors yet to be determined and connected to speech production, but also by their deliberate use as a semantic resource of the language.

As discussed in 3.2.5.1.5 clarity and certainty that one's meaning has been conveyed, are priorities in the formation of utterances in any language. Doing so with the

minimum number of words, although it is a tendency of language users, is only second to this. BCB is an example of a language that can be extremely concise. Could this conciseness be reflected in the very structure of the language? By contrast, extra elements are often added to a sentence in BCB resulting in more words than is apparently necessary, and more words than a standard *peurunvan* structure would have, but they leave no doubt as to the meaning of the sentence. An example of this is the rather systematic apposition of a second subject pronoun at the end of a sentence. The reason for this is that adding words or letters, including non-orthographic consonants, is less time-consuming than repeating oneself.

3.3 Contraction of *zo* to s or z after vowels

Zo 'is' is systematically contracted to /z/, /z̧/ or /s/ after a vowel. /z/, /z̧/ tend to occur in front of voiced consonants. Given the very high recurrence of the word *zo*, this is a very substantial feature of BCB.
Not observing it and actually enunciating *zo* fully does not seem to prevent comprehension by the listener. However, the non-native unprepared listener will struggle, at first, with this feature.

Examples:

[ˈmɛ̃z dy geˈnɐχ] *me zo a du ganeoc'h* 'I agree with you'

[ˈdʁez̧ dʁɔl] *Dra zo drol.* 'That's strange/funny.'

[ɛs bed ãm, me døɖ ẽ dʁo de lɑ̃ˈgoːlⁿ] *Eñ zo bet amañ, met deuet eñ en dro da Langolen.* 'He has been/was here, but he went back to Langolen.'

[genˈwɐχ neke be χaxˈveːt, pɔˈgaʁ χɥɪs beː pɑ̃ˈseːɪn] *Ganeoc'h n'eo ket bet c'hoarvezet, peogwir c'hwi zo bet e pañsion.* 'This did not happen to you, because you were in a boarding school.'

[is dø ˈdʁoʷ] *He zo deuet (en) dro* . 'She's come back.'

3.4 CONCLUSION OF THE MORPHOPHONOLOGY SECTION

While the use of linking and intrusive consonants and the contraction of *zo* into /z/, /z̧/ or /s/ are distinctive dialectal features, the observance of a large number of initial consonant mutations is a feature of all Breton dialects as is the case in other Celtic languages and it is duly reported in official Breton textbooks and grammars. While native speakers of BCB may occasionally hesitate as to what type of mutation to assign to what situation with a slight bias towards lenition, their usage of mutations remains pervasive, and there is no sign of an abandonment of initial consonant mutations in BCB or in Breton in general by native speakers.

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1. THE NOUN AND ITS AUXILIARIES

4.1.1 Noun morphology

4.1.1.1 Gender differentiation in BCB nouns

Breton has two genders: feminine and masculine. The gender of animate creatures that play a prominent role in everyday rural life is determined by their biological gender, as in the following examples:

[o plɛχ] *ur plac'h* (*f.*) 'a young girl.'
[o vɛχ] *ur verc'h* (*f.*) 'a girl, a woman.'
[o ˈvɐus] *ur vaouez* (*f.*) 'a woman.'
[o ˈvɑ̃m] *ur vamm* (*f.*) 'a mother, an adult female wild animal.'
[o χwæːʁ] *ur c'hoar* (*f.*) 'a sister.'
[o mweʁp] *ur moereb* (*f.*) 'an aunt.'
[o ˈpot] *ur paotr* (*m.*) 'a boy, a man.'
[o ˈgwɛʐ] *ur gwaz* (*m.*) 'a man, a husband.'
[ɔ̃n ˈdɛ̃ːɪn] *un den* (*m.*) 'a man, a person.'
[ɔ̃n ˈteːɖ] *un tad* (*m.*) 'a father, an adult male wild animal.'
[o mɐːp] *ur mab* (*m.*) 'a son.'

[o bʁøᵉ] *ur breur* (*m.*) 'a brother.'
[o jɔ̃ːtʁ] *un eontr* (*m.*) 'an uncle'
[ən ˈɑ̃ːnᵃ] *un anner* (*f.*) 'a heifer.'
[o vøχ] *ur vuoc'h* (*f.*) 'a cow.'
[oˈhoːle] *ur c'hole* (*m.*) 'a young bull'.
[ɔ̃n ˈteːʁo] *un taro* (*m.*) 'a bull.'
[oˈlo·e] *ul leue* (*m.*) 'a calf'.
[o ˈgeːzək] *ur gazeg* (*f.*) 'a mare.'
[əˈninteːlən] *un intalon* (*m.*) 'a stallion.'
[əˈnø·bøl] *un eubeul* (*m.*) 'a foal.'
[o mɐχ] *ur mac'h* (*m.*) 'a castrated male horse, a gelding.'
[œn tuχ] *un torc'h* (*m.*) 'a (stud)boar.'
[o ˈveːɪs (koːʷs)] *ur wiz* (*kozh*) (*f.*) 'a sow.'

In general, however, there is no assignment of a strong gender identity to objects in Breton, contrary to what can happen in some other languages, which have gender for things. There is no doubt, for example, that Italian and French speakers experience a car as a feminine entity and their words for it (*macchina* in Italian and *voiture* in French) are clearly marked as feminine by feminine articles (the definite article *la* in both languages and the indefinite articles *una* [It.] and *une* [Fr.]) and by a feminine desinence (-*a* in Italian, -*ure* in French). Any adult Italian or French speaker asked for the gender of any everyday object is able to answer with 100% accuracy.

Not so in Breton. Native BCB speakers often have to think before answering such a question, often give an incorrect answer and, above all, do not seem to place much importance on it.

Gender differentiation of nouns manifests in two ways in Breton:

1) It appears in their endings.

2) It appears in the types of initial consonant mutations they undergo.

Like in modern English, noun determiners and adjectives in Breton (except for the 3rd pers. sing. possessives) are not marked for gender, and the 3rd pers. sing. possessives,

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only vary according to the possessor, not the thing possessed. Determiners and adjectives therefore do not participate in determining the gender of nouns.

Other strategies are therefore used when expressing gender is required:

a) addition of the word *tad* 'father', *mamm* 'mother' or (like in English) *taro* 'bull' to names of mostly wild animals.

Examples:

[ən tɐ·d ˈmulɐχ] *un tad moualc'h* 'a male blackbird' (*turdus merula*).
[o mãm ˈmulɐχ] *ur mamm moualc'h* 'a female blackbird.'
[ən tɐ·d ˈkã̀ˈguʁu] *un tad kangourou* 'a male kangaroo.'
[õn ˈtaʁoˌɡet] *un taro gad* 'a male hare, a jack', from *taro* + *gad* 'hare'.
[ən taʁgas] *un targazh* 'a tomcat', from *taro* + *kazh* 'cat'.

b) addition of masculine or feminine suffixes.

Nouns, however, may have feminine or masculine endings.

The main masculine endings in Breton are *-er* realised [ɐʰ]/[ɐˣ]/[əʰ]/[əˣ] and *-our* can have the same realisations as *-er* plus [o̞ʰ]/[uᵃ]. Both *-er* and *-our* imply agency. While the choice of realisations amongst [ɐʰ]/[ɐˣ]/[əʰ]/[əˣ] for *-er* and *-our* appears to be discretionary and the realisations [o̞ʰ]/[uᵃ] for *-our* appears to depend on the syllable on which the stress is placed. If *-our* is not stressed the pronunciation can be [ɐʰ]/[ɐˣ]/[əʰ]/[əˣ] and [o̞ʰ]. If *-our* is stressed, the pronunciation is [uᵃ].

Examples of realisations:

[o ˈɡã̀ːnɐʰ]/[o ˈɡã̀ːnəʰ] *ur ganer* 'a singer'
[o ˈbʁã̀ːmɐʰ]/[o ˈbʁã̀ːməʰ] *ur brammer* 'a fart (ridiculous person), a farter (someone who farts)'.
[o lɐˈbu·ʁɐʰ]/[o lɐˈbuʁəˣ] *ul labourer* 'a worker'
[œn diˈviːjo̞ʰ] *un devezhour* 'a day labourer'
[ə nɛ̃fjeᵃˈmjuᵃ] *un infirmiour* 'a male nurse'
[mɐˈxɐːdᵉˣ] *marc'hadour* 'merchant'
[ˈlɐːbəʰ] *labour* 'work'

The main feminine endings in Breton are *-ezh* and *-enn*. *-ezh*, realised [eᵃs], [ɛs] or [əs] (and occasionally [ᵃs]). They can be added to the masculine agency endings to feminise them. If this ads a syllable to a multisyllabic word, it generally causes a shift of the stress to the next syllable, as in:

[ˈkã̀nɐʰ] *kaner* 'singer' →[o ɡã̀ˈneᵃs] *ur ganerezh* 'a female singer'.
[ˈbʁã̀ːmɐʰ] *brammer* 'a fart (ridiculous person), a farter (someone who farts)' →[o bʁã̀ˈmeᵃs] *ur brammerezh* 'dito, for a woman'.
[lɐˈbu·ʁəˣ] *labourer* 'worker' → [o lɐbuˈʁeᵃs] *ul labourerezh* 'a female worker'.
[diˈviːjo̞ʰ] *devezhour* 'a day labourer' → [œn diviˈjuᵃs] *un devezhourezh* 'a female day labourer'.

[ɛ̃fjeᵃˈmjuᵃ] *infirmour* 'a male nurse' → [ə nɛ̃fjeˈmjuᵃs] *infirmiourezh* 'a female nurse'.

-ezh is also used to create names of machines by adding this ending to verb radicals, as in the following horse- or tractor-drawn equipment:

[ʁɐsˈtele] *rastellat* 'to rake' → [o ʁasteˈleᵃs] *ur rastelerezh* 'a mechanical windrow rake'.
[ˈpilə] *pilat* 'to demolish' → [o biˈleᵃs] *ur bilerezh* 'a harrow'.
[ˈfɛlχə] *falc'hañ* 'to reap/cut/mow' → [o falˈχeᵃs] *ur falc'herezh* 'a reaper/mower'.
[ˈhɛːdə] *hadañ* 'to sow' → [ən ɐˈdeᵃs] *ur haderezh* 'a seeding machine'.
[ˈdwaʁnə] *dornañ* 'to thresh' → [o dwaʁˈneᵃs] *un dornerezh* 'a thresher'.

The pronunciation of the *-ez(h)* ending can be reduced to [s], as in:

[o vɐts] *ur vatezh* 'a female servant'.
[o vuts] *ur votez* 'a shoe' ([ən tɔl buts] *ur taol botez*, lit. a blow shoe, 'a kick').

The ending *-ez(h)* can also be added to masculine nouns to feminise them:

Examples:

[mɛˢ skuːl] *mestr skol* 'school teacher' → [o ˈvɛʃtəˢ skuːl]/ [o ˈvɛsᵃ skuːl] *ur mestrez skol* 'a school teacher'.
[kɐːs] *kazh* 'cat' → [o ˈgɐːzɛs] *ur gazezh* 'a female cat'.
[ki] *ki* 'dog' → [o ˈgiːjɛs]/ [o ˈgiˈjɔ̃ːnəs] *ur giezh* 'a female dog' (also [o ˈgiˈjoːzᵊn] *ur giozenn*).
[koˈmɐːl] *kamalad* → [o goˈmɐːləs] *ur gomalezh* 'a female friend'.

Lastly, the endings *-vezh* and *-ad* can be added to nouns to convey the notion of total contents or of a total quantity associated with the relevant item, in the same manner as the suffixes *-ée* or *-ata* in French or Italian. The new words thus created then keep the gender of the original words.

Examples:

[dɛj] *deiz* (*nm.*) 'day' → [œn ˈdeːvɛs] *un devezh* (*nm.*) 'a (whole) day', Fr. *une journée*.
[blɐː] *bloaz* (*nm.*) 'a year'→ [o ˈblɐɛs] *ur bloazvezh* (*nm.*) 'a whole year'.
[noːs] *noz* (*nf.*) 'night' → [ən ˈnoːʐvɛs] *un nozvezh* (*nf.*) 'a (whole) night', Fr. *une nuitée*.
[ˈdeːvɛs] *devezh* (*nm.*) 'a (whole) day'→ [œn ˌdeveˈzæᵃt] *un devezharad* (*nm.*) 'surface that can be worked by a man in a day', Fr. *un journal*.
[ˈzjun] *sizhun* (*nf.*) 'a week'→ [o ˈzjunəs] *ur sizhunvezh* (*nf.*) 'a whole week'.
[bek] *beg* (*nm.*) 'mouth, beak'→ [o ˈbeːgɛt] *ur begad* (*nm.*) 'a mouthful'.
[dwæʁn] *dorn* (*nm.*) 'hand'→ [ən ˈdwæʁˈnət] *ur dornad* (*nm.*) 'a handful'.
[o ˈvɔːlɛn] *ur volenn* (*nf.*) 'a bowl'→ [o vɔˈlene] *ur volennad* (*nf.*) 'a bowlful'.

However, although *gwer* 'glass' is masculine, the derivatives below are feminine:
[o ˈveːʁɛn] *ur verenn* (*nf.*) 'a glass' → [o veˈʁene] *ur verennad* (*nf.*) 'a glassful'.
Thus:
[o veˈʁene vʁeːs] *ur verennad vras* 'a big glassful' (lenition of the initial consonant of the adjective *bras* after a feminine singular noun).

The ending *-enn* can also be added to a collective to form a singulative, as in:

[vaˈluaʰ] *valouar* (PU *avaloù douar*) 'potatoes' → [o vaˈlʊæʁn] *ur valouarenn* (PU *un aval douar*) 'a potatoe'.
[ˈgɥeᵃ] *gwer* 'glasses, glassware' → [o ˈveːʁɛn] *ur verenn* 'a glass'.
[gɥeː] *gwez* 'plants, trees, seedlings' → [o ˈvɛn] *ur vezenn* 'a tree'.
[ˈkjɔ̃·ni] *kevnid* 'spiders' → [o gjɔˈniːdᵊn] *ur gevnidenn* 'a spider'.

Some feminine nouns have the ending *-enn* independently of any masculine or verbal forms in current use.

Examples:

[ən ɐˈbeːdᵊn] *ur abadenn* 'a moment, a session'.
[o ˈsteʁɛn] *ur sterenn* 'a star'.
[oˈgɔ̃·ʃɛn] *ur goñchenn* 'a (tall) story, a tale'.
[oˈʃeːdn] *ur chadenn* 'a chain'.
[ɑ̃n ɔˈfeæn] *an oferenn* '(the) mass'.
[o baˈʁikən] / [o vaˈʁikən] *ur barikenn / ur varikenn* 'a drum'.
[ənˈdʁɔːʒən] *an drojenn* 'a thick stalk, a pipe'.
[oˈgwaʁzᵊn] *ur gorzenn* 'a hollow stalk, a pipe, a gutter'.
[o ˈvɛn] *ur wezenn* 'a tree'.

4.1.1.2 Number

Obtaining the plural forms of all words used by BCB speakers has sometimes proved difficult, as many words are not used in the plural in everyday conversation.
In BCB as in Breton in general, the unmarked form of nouns can be either the singular (Ex. [o poːz] *ur poz* 'a word', [ˈpɔʃu] *pozoù* 'words') or the plural (Ex. [ˈlɔːgot] *logod* 'mice', [o loˈgoːdən] *ur logodenn* 'a mouse'). In many cases both the singular and plural forms have suffixes (Ex. [o ˈhʁuːjən] *ur wrizienn* 'a root', [ˈgʁuju] *gwrizioù* 'roots') and it even frequently happens for the plural suffix *-où*, /-u/ (also realised [o̞] [see 2.4.3.2 [o̞] for plural endings in *-où*.]) to be added to the singular suffix [-ən], as in:

[o vaˈʁikən] *ur varikenn* 'a barrel' [baʁiˈkʲɛnu] *barikennoù* 'barrels'
[oˈgɔ̃·ʃən] *ur goñchenn* 'a tale' [kɔ̃ˈʃɛnu!] *koñchennoù* 'tales!rubbish!'
[ˈsuːbən mɑ̃m goːs] *soubenn Mamm Gozh* 'Grandma's soup' → [suˈbɛ·nu mɑ̃m goːs] *soubennoù Mamm Gozh* 'Grandma's soups.'

As can be seen from the above examples, the addition of a syllable whether a singulative suffix or a plural suffix, has substantial phonetic implications. This is due to the fact

that in Breton, the emphasis is quite strictly placed on the penultimate syllable. Addition of a suffix results almost automatically in the transfer of the emphasis to the next syllable in most cases. This, in turn modifies the length and intensity of vowels.

4.1.1.3 Plural markers

Wmffre (1998, 14) gives the following concise summary of the expression of plurality in central Breton: 'As in the other Brittonic languages there are a great variety of plural markers, the commonest, by far is -ʊ , followed by -ɛjᵊɣ, -ᵊt, -jᵊn, -jᵊɣ, -i, and finally by a small number of rare suffixes.
It has been estimated (1984 Favereau) that the suffix -ʊ (along with its variants -jʊ, -ʒʊ, -ʃʊ) makes up 55% of plural suffixes in central Breton.'

This, in my experience, also applies to BCB, in which, however, the plural ending mentioned above are realised somewhat differently.

4.1.1.3.1 Plural endings in [u] and [o̞] (orth. -où)

They are the most common plural markers. The plurals orthographically ending in -où are realised [u] or [o̞]. The use of one, rather than the other seems to depend on the speaker's own mannerism as well as on some characteristics of what precedes it. My provisional suggestions regarding this are as follows:
— The stronger and the closer is the stress of the syllable or syllables that come before the plural ending, the more it tends to [o̞].
— [o̞] tends to follow voiceless consonants.
— If there is strong stress within the sentence, whether before or after the word which has the plural ending, then that ending tends to be realised [o̞].
— Words with little difference of stress between syllables tend to end in [u].
— Several examples below, such as [ˈdɑ̃ːsu], [ˈlɑ̃mo̞], [ˈfautu] etc. contradict the above suggestions.

[u]/[o̞] follow consonants. The only exception I am aware of is that of the word *tra* 'thing' the plural of which is *traoù*.

4.1.1.3.1 a) [u]/[o̞] following phonetic consonants[69]

Examples:

[ɔ̃n tʁɛp ˈlɔːgo̞t] *un trap logod* 'a mousetrap', '*un piège à souris*' [ˈtʁɛpo̞ ˈlɔːgo̞t] *trapoù logod*.

[o ˈʃekɔt] *ur chakot* 'a pocket', [ʃɐˈkɔto̞] *chakotoù* 'pockets'.

[o tjɔˑt fɛl] *an teod fall* 'a bad-mouth', [ˈtjɔto̞ fɛl] *teodoù fall* 'bad-mouths'.

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[69] The term 'phonetic consonants' used here is meant to provide a distinction between the consonants that are effectively pronounced and the many orthographic consonants which, in Breton in general and in BCB in particular, are not pronounced.

[o bʁus] *ur broust* 'a brush', ['bʁusọ] *broustoù* 'brushes'.

[o lɑ̃m] *ul lamm* 'a jump, a fall', '*un saut, une chute*' ['lɑ̃mọ] *lammoù*.

[ɔ̃n ˈdɑ̃s] *un dañs* 'a danse', ['dɑ̃:su] *dañsoù* 'danses'.

[o ˈfaut] *ur faot* 'a split', ['fautu] *faotoù* 'des fentes'.

[gast fal] *gast fall!* 'bastard!', [gastu fal] *gastoù fall* 'bastards'.

[o bwem] *ur boem* 'a furrow', ['bwemu] *boemoù* 'furrows'.

[ɔ̃n tʁysk] *un trusk* 'a scab', ['tʁyskọ] *truskoù* 'scabs'.

[ɔ̃n ˈnɛiz] *un neizh* 'a nest', ['nɛizu] *neizhoù* 'nests'.

4.1.1.3.1 b) [u]/[ọ] following orthographic consonants

This can be the case in words ending in consonants that are silent in the absence of an ending, as in:

[o fɛs] *ur fest* 'a fete, a party' [fɛstu] *festoù*.

[o lɔs] *ul lost* 'a tail' [lɔstu ˈbøhøt] *lostoù buoc'hed* 'cows tails (oxtails)'.

4.1.1.3.1 c) Replacement of final consonants by /ʃ/ or /ʒ/ to form plural endings

Examples:

[ə nɑ̃n pu:ʁ] *un ant pour* 'a row of leeks', [ɑ̃ʃọ pu:ʁ] *anchoù pour* 'rows of leeks'.

[o ˈmɔ̃n] *ur montr* 'a watch', ['mɔ̃ʃu] *moñchoù* 'watches'.

[o pɔ̃n] *ur pont* 'a bridge', ['pɔ̃ʃu glɐ·s] *Poñchoù Glas* lit. blue bridges ('les ponts bleus/Poñchoù Glas') placename near Briec thus named because the bridges are made of blue stone (slate).

[aʁ hwɐ·t] *ar c'hoad* (from *koad*) 'the wood, the copse', [aʁ ˈhwɐ:ʒọ] *ar c'hoadoù* 'the woods/forest'.

[o fʁɐ:s] *ur freuz* 'a harrow', ['fʁɐ:ʒọ] *freuzoù* 'harrows'.

[o pʁɐ:t] *ur prad* 'a meadow', ['pʁɐ:ʒọ] *pradoù* 'meadows'.

[o ʁọt] *ur rod* 'a wheel', ['ʁu·ʒu] *roudoù* 'wheels, traces, tracks'.

[ɔ̃n ˈtɛkat]⁷⁰ *un takad* 'a place', [taˈkɐːʒu] *takajoù* 'places'.

[ɔ̃n ˈdʁɔʒən] *un dreujenn* 'a stalk', [ˈtʁɔːʒu] *treujoù* 'stalks'

[o ˈxɔgat] *ur c'hrogad* 'a moment', [kʁɔˈgɐːʒu] *krogadoù* 'moments, sometimes' (Fr. 'des fois').

[o ˈhɐˑʁat] *ur c'harad* (karrad) 'a cartload', [kɐˈʁɐːʒu] *karradoù* 'cartloads'.

[o ˈbaʁat ˈglɐo] *ur barrad glao* 'a shower (downpour of rain)', [baˈʁɐːʒu glɐo] *barradoù glao* 'showers'.

[o ˈpakat] *ur pakad* 'a packet, a parcel', [paˈkɐːʒu] *pakajoù* 'packets, parcels'.

[o pez ˈdeʎⁱᵗ] *ur pez dilhad* 'a piece of clothing', [dɪʎˈɐːʒu] *dilhajoù* 'clothes'.

[o ˈmɐχat] *ur marc'had* 'a market', [mɐˈχɐːʒu] *marc'hajoù* 'markets'.

4.1.1.3.1 d)   The case of lãm *lamp* 'lamp'

In the word [lãm] *lamp* 'lamp', /ʃ/ is added to the end consonant rather than replace it, to form the word [ˈlãmʃu] *lampoù*, 'lamps'.

4.1.1.3.1 e) Voicing of /t/, before [u]/[o̞]

This is in keeping with the general tendency in Breton for voiceless consonants to be voiced when followed by a vowel.

[o ˈbeːgət] *ur begad* 'a mouthful', [beˈgeːdu] 'mouthfuls'.

[o ˈfɐo̞zɛt] *ur vozad* (*bozad*) 'the contents of two joined hands'(*Fr. jointée*), [bɐo̞ˈzedu] *bozadoù*.

[o ˈvuestat] *ur voestad* (*boestad*) 'a boxful', [buɛsˈtɐˑdu] *boestadoù* 'boxfuls'.

[ɔ̃n ˈdwæʁnat] *un dornad* 'a handful', [dwæʁˈnɐːdu] *dornadoù* 'handfuls'.

[o ˈhovət] *ur c'hovad* 'a tummyful', [koˈvɐˑdo̞] *kovadoù* 'tummyfuls'.

[o ˈzɐjət duːʁ] *ur sailhad dour* 'a bucketful of water' [sɐˈjɐˑdu duːʁ] *sailhadoù dour* 'bucketfuls of water'.

4.1.1.3.1 f)   The endings [jo̞]/[ju] (orth. -ioù)

[ju] mainly follows vowels as in:

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⁷⁰ Note that the suffix *-ad* is pronounced [at] as well as [ət] and more rarely [ɐt] in BCB. Some of my informants, for example JC from Skoldi and his wife AMC from Landrevarzec use [at] and [ət] interchangeably.

[o ˈɡʁujən] *ur gwrizienn* 'a root', [ˈɡʁuju] *gwrizioù* 'roots'.

[ɔ̃ tɑ̃m ˈtʁujənn] *un tamm trouilhenn* 'a rag', [ˈtʁuju] *trouilhoù* 'rags'.

[o pɐo] *ur pao* 'a paw', [pɐɔju] *paoioù* 'paws'.

[o zoːl] *ur sol* 'a beam', [ˈsoju] *solioù* 'beams'.

[o bɔ̃bɔ̃ⁿ ˈtuːzɛk] *ur bonboñ touseg* (lit. a lolly for toads) 'a mushroom', [bɔ̃ˈbɔ̃ju ˈtuːzɛk] *bonboñioù touseg* 'mushrooms'.

As final orthographic *r* is realised as a vowel, [ju] can therefore occur after it, as in:

[o ˈɡɛːdə] *ur gador* 'a chair', [kɐˈdoːᵃju] *kadorioù* 'chairs'.

[ˈlɐːbəʰ] *labour* 'work', [lɐˈbuːᵊju] *labourioù* 'works'.

4.1.1.3.1 g) Words ending in [ik]

The ending of the plural form of the following words lay astride between the forms [u] and [ju].

[o mɪˈkɐ̃nic] *ur mekanik* 'a machine', [mɪkɐ̃ˈnicu]/ [mɪkɐ̃nikʲu] *mekanikoù* 'machines'.
[ən iˈbɐtic] *un hibatik* 'a toy', [ibɐˈticu]/ [ibɐˈtikʲu] *hibatikioù* 'machines'.

4.1.1.3.1 h) Conclusions regarding the plurals ending in [-u] and [-ju]

With regard to the Plozévet dialect, Goyat (2012, 173) draws the following conclusion, which is helpful for understanding the workings of plural forms in [o̞] and [u] in BCB, though the number of examples at my disposal has not allowed me to confirm if this conclusion applies fully to BCB:

'The suffix /-u/ occurs exclusively after the consonants /b/, /k/, /ɡ/, /v/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /m/ and /ʎ/.
The suffix /-ju/ occurs exclusively after /h/, the semi-vowel /w/ and all vowels.
The suffixes /-u/ and, sometimes, /-ju/ occur after the consonants /p/, /t/, /d/, /f/, /z/, /n/, /l/ and /r/.'[71]

With regard to BCB, I can confirm that:

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[71] 'On rencontre exclusivement le suffixe /-u/ après les consonnes : /b/, /k/, /ɡ/, /v/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /m/ et /ʎ/.
On rencontre exclusivement le suffixe /-ju/ après la consonne /h/, la semi-voyelle /w/ et toutes les voyelles.
On rencontre parfois le suffixe /-u/ et parfois le suffixe /-ju/ après les consonnes /p/, /t/, /d/, /f/, /z/, /n/, /l/ et /r/.'

Only [o̞] and [u] occur after the consonants: [ʃ , ʒ , m , ʎ] .

[ju] mainly occurs after vowels and /ʁ/.

I am, however, aware of one case in which a word ending in a vowel has a plural in [o]: the word [ˈliːsɐʰ] *lisser* (PU *liñsel*) 'bedsheet, large sheet of cloth', which is pluralised by some BCB speakers as [liˈsɐo] *liñserioù*, while other BCB speakers pluralise it as [liˈsɐʁju].

4.1.1.3.2 The suffix [-ɛnu] (orth. -ennoù)

Although the suffix [-ɛn] (orth. -enn) can be a singulative suffix which, in a number of words, is dropped to form the collective or plural form of a word, many words ending in [-ɛn] (orth. -enn) in the singular, do form their plural through adding [-u] to [-ɛn], resulting in a plural in [-ɛnu] (orth. -ennoù), such as:

[o vaˈʁɪkən] *ur varikenn* (*barikenn*) 'a barrel', 'un tonneau' [baʁiˈkʲɛnu] *barikennoù*.
[o gɔ̃·ʃən] *ur goñchenn* 'a tale, a piece of gossip', 'un conte, un racontard' [kɔ̃ˈʃɛnu] *koñchennoù*.
[o ˈbly·sən vi] *ur bluskenn vi* 'an eggshell', 'une coquille d'oeuf' [plyˈsɛnu vi] *pluskennoù vi* 'eggshells'.
[o ˈʁiʃən] *ur richenn* 'a story, a legend', 'une histoire, une légende' [ʁiˈʃɛnu] *richennoù*.

4.1.1.3.3 The suffix [- (e)jɐ] (orth. - (e)ier) and its derivative [- ʃɐ]

Examples:

[o plɐːt] *ur plad* 'a plate, a serving dish', 'une assiette, un plat' *plajeier* [plɐˈʒejɐ] 'plates, serving dishes'.
[o ˈpɐːᵃk] *ur park* 'a field', *parkeier* [paˈkeːjɐ] 'fields'.

This suffix is often associated with internal changes involving the vowel(s) in the relevant word, as in:

[o hɐːs] *ur c'hazh* 'a cat', *kizhier* [ˈkiːʃɐ] 'cats'.
[o saχ] *ur sac'h* 'a bag, a sack', *seier* [ˈse·jɐ] 'bags, sacks'.
[o ˈgɐu] *ur gaou* 'a lie', *gevier* [ˈgeːjɐ] 'lies'.

4.1.1.3.4 The suffix [-ət]/[-øt] (orth. -ed)

Examples:

[ɔ̃n tœʁk] *un teureug* 'a tick', [tœˈʁøːgət] *teureuged* 'ticks'.
[o ˈlɐːpus] *ul lapous* 'a bird', [al laˈpuːzət] *al lapoused* 'the birds'.
[o ˈvøχ] *ur vuoc'h* 'a cow', [ˈbøhøt] *buoc'hed* 'cows' (rarely used).
[o ˈlɔ̃ːn] *ul loen* 'an animal', [ˈlɔ̃ːnɛt] *loened* 'animals'.
[o ˈlɐːpən] *ul lapin* 'a rabbit', [ɐl lɐˈpiːnɛt] *al lapined* 'the rabbits'.

[o ˈsteˑʁɛn] *ur sterenn* 'a star', [steˈʁɛːnɛt] *sterenned* 'stars'.
[o ˈhɑ̃ːnik] *ur c'hanig* 'a duck', [ɐ hɑ̃ˈniˑkət] *ar c'haniged* 'the ducks'.
[ɐˈvʁɛtɔ̃ːnɛt] *ar Vretoned* 'the Breton'.
[ɐˈvɔʃɛt]/[ɐˈbɔʃɛt] *ar Voched* 'the Krauts, the Gerries' (fr. Fr. *Boches*, nickname for the Germans).

4.1.1.3.5 The suffix [-iːjən]/[-ijən]/[-jən](orth. -ien)

Examples:

[o ˈfweˑnɛk] *ur foenneg* 'a pasture', [fweneˈʒijən] (sometimes [fweneˈʒije]) *foennejie(n)* PU *foennejier* 'pastures'.
[o ˈbeˑlɛk] *ur beleg* 'a priest', [ɐ veˈleˑjɛn] *ar veleien* 'the priests'.
[ɐʁ hɛnˈdyəʰ] *ar c'honduer* 'the man opening a funeral procession, the driver', [kendyˈeʁjən] *konduerien* 'ditto in the plural'.

4.1.1.3.6 The suffix [-i] (orth. -i)

This suffix is often associated with internal changes affecting the relevant word, as in:

[o vʁɑ̃n] *ur vran* 'a raven', [ɐː ˈbʁiˑni] *ar brini* 'the ravens'.
[o ˈhæːᵃ] *ur c'har* 'a cart', [ˈkiˑʁi] *kiri* 'carts'.
[o ˈfyˑzyʎ] *ur fusul* 'a rifle', [fyˈzili] *fusuli* 'rifles'.

4.1.1.3.7 Plurals involving internal changes affecting the central vowel(s) of the word

In addition to the words shown in the previous paragraph, other examples are:

[o jæːᵃ] *ur yar* 'a hen', [ɐˑ ˈjea] *ar yer* 'the hens'.
[ɔ̃n dɑ̃n] *un dant* 'a tooth', [ɐn dɛn] *an dent* 'the teeth'.
[o zɑ̃n] *un sant* 'a saint', [aʁ zɛn] *ar sent* 'the saints'.
[œn ˈdɑ̃ːvat] *un dañvad* 'a sheep', [an ˈdẽvɛt] *an deñved* 'the sheep'.
[o ˈgwæᵃn] *ur gordenn* 'a rope', [ɐˑ ˈgwɛᵃn] *ar gerden* 'the ropes'.
[o ˈtʁɔᵃt] *ur troad* 'a foot', [ɑ̃n tʁɛjt] *an treid* 'the feet'.
[o hɐːs] *ur c'hazh* 'a cat', *ar c'hizhier* [ɐ ˈhiˑʃɐ] 'the cats'.
[o saχ] *ur sac'h* 'a bag, a sack', *ar seier* [ɐˑ zeˑjɐ] 'the bags, the sacks'.
[o ˈgɐu] *ur gaou* 'a lie', *ar gevier* [ɐ ˈgeːjɐ] 'the lies'.

4.1.1.3.8 Plurals which are etymologically unrelated to the singulars

Some words are expressed in the plural by using etymologically unrelated words, which is historically rather fascinating. It takes, however, practice to get used to it, as Le Scao points out indignantly (1945a, 8): 'Sometimes plurals are irregular. The only way of getting used to it is to live with Breton-speaking Bretons and to 'Breton-away' with

them. It is inconceivable that Breton <u>is not spoken</u> in rectories. This makes priests foreigners in Brittany!!'[72]

These 'irregular' plurals are few, but they all concern words of great import in rural Breton life and they are very frequently used. They are:

[ˈsaut] *saout* 'cows' (far more frequent than the regular plural [ˈbøhøt] *buoc'hed*, being the plural of [ˈbøχ] *buoc'h* 'cow'. The word *saout* comes from the Latin *solidum* 'money, capital', as the herd represented originally the main asset of a family.

[ʃes] *chas* 'dogs', being the plural [ki] *ki* 'dog'. *Chas* comes from the French *chasse* 'hunt', as a pack of several dogs would take part in a hunt.

[tyt] *tud* 'people', being the plural of [ˈdẽn] *den* 'man, person' is related to the words Dutch, *Deutsch*, Teutonic etc. and ultimately to the Indo European *teuta* 'people'.[73]

Another example commonly mentioned is the word [ˈkeːzɪk] *kezeg*. This word is commonly given as the plural of [meχ] *marc'h*, often presented as the generic term for 'horse'. This, however, is misleading and needs to be qualified further, which is done in 4.1.1.4.3 below.

4.1.1.4 Singular markers

4.1.1.4.1 The word *pezh* 'piece' used as a singulative

This word is only used with inanimate objects, as in:

[møʁp] *meurb* 'furniture'→ [o peˑz møʁp] *ur pezh meurp* 'a piece of furniture'.
[ˈpuᵃˌpɛʃ] *pourprez* 'buildings'→ [o peˑz ˈpuₐˌpɛʃ] *ur pezh pourprez* 'a building'.
[ˈdeˑjɛt] *dilhad* 'clothes'→ [o peˑz deˑjɛt] *ur pezh dilhad* 'a piece of clothing'.

4.1.1.4.2 The word *penn* 'head' used as a singulative

The word *penn* 'head' can be used as a singulative when added to collective names of people and animals. This is similar to the use of *head* or *tête* in English and French in *ten head of cattle* or *dix têtes de bétail*. In effect, the word *penn* is added to <u>plural</u> forms, as in the word for 'pig', formed of [mɔχ] *moc'h* 'pigs' preceded by *penn*, which, after contraction of *penn*, gives [piᵐˈmɔχ] *pemoc'h* (fr. penn + moc'h), literally 'head of pigs'. This is rather exotic, from a non-Celtic perspective.

Other examples:

[jeːᵃ] *yer* 'chickens'→ [o penjɛːᵃ] *ur penn yer* 'a chicken'.

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[72] 'Parfois le pluriel est irrégulier. L'unique moyen de s'y faire est de vivre avec des Bretons bretonant (sic) et de bretoner avec eux. Il est inconcevable que dans les presbytères <u>on ne parle pas breton</u>. On dirait que les prêtres sont des étrangers en Bretagne!!'

[73] See Online Etymology Dictionary <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search =dutch> (consulted 05/03/2017) and Henry (1900, 274).

[galˡ] collective noun and *adj.* associated with France/the French → [o pen galˡ] *ur penn gall* 'a French person'.

More exotic yet, is the use of *penn* with dual plurals for symmetrical body parts, as in:

[pɛnˈdaulɪn] *penndaoulin*, lit. 'head of two knee(s)'.[74] This is discussed further under Lexicon 6.6.

4.1.1.4.3 The word *loen* used as a singulative

There is another word used as a singulative of plural forms, which is *loen* 'animal', pronounced [lɔ̃ːn] in BCB. I am only aware of one example, however, which is the generic word for *horse*, [lɔ̃nˈkeːzˡk]/[lɔ̃ˈkeːsk]/ *loen kezeg*, lit. 'animal mares'.

Consultation of map 326 in Le Dû's linguistic atlas (2001) indicates that the word *marc'h* for 'horse' as a species, appears only in a very small number of locations, namely 23 out of 601.

The general notion, however, amongst *néo-bretonnants*, is that the generic word for 'horse' in Breton is *marc'h*. Given the small number of locations in which this is the case, this notion defies understanding.

It is nonetheless promoted by the broadly marketed Hemon-Huon dictionary which gives *marc'h* as the first translation for 'horse' (2005, 889).[75]

Given the small number of location in which it is the case, the generic word for 'horse' in Breton cannot be said to be *marc'h*. This is confirmed by Favereau's entry for 'horse' in which the first translation given is *LOEN (-KEZEG)* (1992, 861).

Kezeg is, in fact, not the plural of *marc'h*, but that of *kazeg* 'mare'.

Le Dû, (2001, 329) produces a map for the plural forms of *mar'ch*, which he could only obtain in 345 locations out of 601. He obtained none in Briec, which is confirmed by the fact that none of my informants know one. The reason they give for this is that [oˈmaχ] *ur marc'h* is a castrated male horse, or gelding, not a generic horse. My informants further indicated that male horses were not used, except in the largest farms where there could be a mix of mares and male horses. The reason for not using male horses is, according to MTC: '[dχa ʁe ʁøːz] *dra ree reuz*', 'that caused trouble', which all my informants confirmed. According to them, most small farms only had one horse. When two were needed, in particular for ploughing, one was paired up with another one from neighbours. Given the trouble male horses, even castrated, gave, one would never have chosen their one and only horse to be a male. Further, in order to be paired up with neighbours' horses, they should preferably be of similar strength, which was rarely the case between a mare and a gelding. Thus, if farms used geldings, they had to have a minimum of two, which small farms, being the majority, could not afford.

Compelling economic factors therefore conspired against the existence of a plural for *marc'h* in a majority of locations, including Briec. Since most horses were mares it was logical to refer to several horses as [ˈkeːzˡk] *kezeg* 'mares'.

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[74] In BCB, [ˈdaulɪn] is considered to be a plural of which [ˈdaul] is the singular (see Lexicon 6.6).

[75] Just as it gives the first and main translation for 'to begin' as *kregiñ* (2005, 904), in spite of the fact that, according to Le Dû (2001, 075) this word appears nowhere at all with that meaning, while *komañs* appears everywhere (including in Canton Briec) as the current word for 'to begin'. Though the verb *kroga/krogi* is used in limited contexts in BCB and appears in Le Scao (1945a, 82 and 1945b, 61), it can certainly not be used indiscriminately for 'to begin'.

This goes against giving *kezeg* is the plural of *marc'h* and explains the fact that the singular form for a generic 'horse', in many Breton dialects, is a singularised form of the word *kezeg*. This form, in BCB is [lɔ̃nˈkeːzˈk] *loen kezeg*, lit. 'animal mares'.

There is, however, one location in Canton Briec where Le Dû obtained a plural for *mac'h*. The location is Landudal and the form is [ˈmæʁju]. Although several members of my family came from Landudal, they had all passed away long before I undertook this study and having no Breton-speaking contacts in Landudal, I also have no informants there. I can therefore not corroborate the following, but I have a strong suspicion that the reason for the existence of a plural form for *marc'h* in Landudal could be that the vast estate of the Kerguelen de Tremarec family, is located there. There would always have been a large number of horses, stallions, geldings and mares on the property of that wealthy family from whose midst came Yves Joseph de Kerguelen Tremarec, commander of an exploratory expedition to Australia, to which his second in command, Louis Aleno de Sant Allouarn laid claim in the name of Louis XVI, after landing on Dirk Hartog Island, near Carnarvon in 1772.

4.1.2 NOUN DETERMINERS

4.1.2.1 Articles

Like in English, articles in Breton are not gender specific and they are not marked for number. Like in English and unlike French, there are no plural indefinite articles in Breton, as in the following example:
[ɐ vuts] *ar votez* 'the shoe', [ɐ butu] *ar botoù* 'the shoes', [o vuts] *ur botez* 'a shoe', [butu] *botoù* 'shoes'.

While PU and ZH orthography have articles ending in *l* (namely *al* and *ul*), these articles practically do not appear in BCB. This follows suit with the Plounévézel dialect for which Wmffre (1998, 18) reports no article ending in /l/ [76]. Therefore, the BCB equivalent of PU *ar* and *al* is [a]/[ɐ] and that of *ur* and *ul* is [o]/[ɔ] with only a hint of /ʁ/ and /l/, noted [ᵇ] and [ˡ] in this work, appearing occasionally in articles.

A hint of the orthographic *l* of *al* and *ul* is occasionally heard, particularly in the case of the definite article after the preposition *gant*. This 'hint' of *l* is probably in part the result of the exposure of most BCB speakers to orthographic forms. It is particularly rare in the case of the indefinite article.

The definite articles in BCB can therefore be given as: [a]/[ɐ]/[ɐː], equivalent to *ar* and *al* and [an]/[ən]/[ɐn]/[ɑ̃n], equivalent to *an*.

The indefinite articles in BCB can therefore be given as: [o]/[ɔ], equivalent to *ur* and *ul* and [ɔ̃n/œn], equivalent to *un*.

Articles preceding words starting with /t/, /d/, /n/ and vowels end with /n/ in BCB as they do in PU and ZH orthography.

[76] Following a query I made about this, Wmffre responded that '[...] this should not be surprising to anyone conversant with the historical evolution of Breton since *al* is a more recently developed allomorph of *ar* found only in a third of the Breton-speaking area: the regions west of Quimper, Châteaulin and Morlaix and a smallish enclave between Vannes and the Rivière d'Etel' (Wmffre 2018, personal archives). The relevant map is displayed in Wmffre 2007, 656.

Definite articles	Indefinite articles
[a]/[ɐ]/[ɐ:] *ar* [a]/[ɐ]/(rarely [aˡ]) *al* [an]/[ən]/[ɐn]/[ɑ̃n] *an*	[o]/[ɔ] *ur* [o]/[ɔ]/ (very rarely [œˡ]/[əˡ]) *ul* [ən]/[œn]/[ɔ̃n] *un*

[a lø:ʁ] *al leur* 'the outer surfaced area' (generally threshing surface).
[a lwa:ʁ] *al loar* 'the moon.'
[a ˈle:in] *al lein* 'the breakfast.'
[a liˈseo] *al lisserioù*, PU '*liñselioù*' 'the bedsheets.'
Note that in the above examples, the article could, in all cases and albeit rarely, be realised [aˡ] by some speakers.

[ɑ̃n] though it is the least frequent pronunciation of *an*, does occur and is in fact the form (transcribed /ān/) used by Le Scao throughout his dictionaries. Whether or not it was a more common form in his days remains to be established.

[ɑ̃n dyt] *an dud* '(the) people.'
[an ˈɐ:vəl] *an aval* 'the apple.'
[ɐn ˈdɛ̃:ɪn] *an den* 'the man, the person.'
[ən ˈdɛ̃:ɪn] *un den* 'a man, a person.'
[a ˈnoto] *an oto* 'the (motor)car.'
[ɔ̃n/ən ˈdɛ̃:ɪn] *un den* 'a man, a person.'
[ɔ̃n ˈnɔ:ᵃ] *un nor* 'a door' ([ɔ̃n ˈɔ:ᵃ] is also heard)
[ən ˈnɑ̃ɔ̃] *an hañv* 'the summer.'
[ɐn ˈtɑ̃m] *an tamm* 'the piece/the bit.'
[ən ˈtɑ̃m] *un tamm* 'a piece/a bit.'
[ə ˈnoto] *un oto* 'a (motor)car.'

The indefinite article tends to be realised [o] before /l/+back or nasal vowels (/ɐ/, /ɑ̃/, /ɔ̃/ etc.), as in some examples below:

[o lɑ̃m] *ul lamm* 'a jump, a fall.'
[ɔ læ:aʁ] *ul laer* 'a thief.
[o lɐps mu:ʁ] *ul lapous mor* 'a seagull.'
[o lɔ̃n ˈke:zˡk] *ul loen kezeg* 'a horse.'
[o ˈlɛ̃jᵊn] *ul lienn* 'a nappy.'

ar and *ur* precede all other initial phonemes, as in:

[ɐ: vyˈgɐ:le] *ar vugale* 'the children.'
[ɐ po·t] *ar paotr* 'the boy/man.'
[ɐ ˈzaut] *ar saout* 'the cows.'
[aˈpʁɐ:nɛs] *ar prenestr* 'the window.'
[o ˈχwe:dɐ] *ur c'hoadur* 'a child.'
[o po ˈbeɪɲ] *ur paotr bihan* 'a little boy.' (note that sandhi provection applies here in some other dialects, notably that of Plounévézel, resulting in [poˈpi·jᵊn]. This is not the case in BCB).

[o ˈgɛːdeʰ] *ur gador* 'a chair.'
[o ˈbukɪt] *ur boked* 'a flower.'

4.1.2.1.1 Combination of *gant* with the definite article

Note that this phenomenon is also discussed in 3.2.5.1.2 The case of *l*.

When following the preposition *gant* 'with/by/through the agency of', the definite article combines with it, resulting in the forms /gɑ̃n/, /gal/, /gaˡ/ and /ga/, as in:

[gɑ̃n dyt] *gant an dud* 'with/by (the) people.'
[ɛd eŋ gal ˈləᵘwaʁn] *aet int gant al louarn* 'they were taken by the fox.' Note that [ɛd eŋ gaː ˈləᵘwaʁn] is also possible.
[eɔ̃ zo ɛt kɥɪt ga betajɛɣ] *Eñ zo aet kwit gant ar bétaillère* 'He took off with the cattle trailer.'

The form [gal]/[gaˡ], which can occur in front of /l/, sometimes occurs in front of a vowel, as in:

[møz gwɛt gal aˈmɑ̃n duːs] *E meus graet gant amann dous* 'I made it with (the) unsalted butter.'
[guɛz e beḑ də vɔ̃n gal anmaɣi] *Gouest eo bet da vont gant Anne-Marie* 'She was able to go with Anne-Marie.'
[bemɐ ɐ gɛl ˈewɛn] *Bez eman aze gant Ewen*, 'She is here/there with Ewen (boy's name).'

4.1.2.1.2 Conditions of use of definite articles

Articles in Breton are often used (or omitted) as they are in English and unlike they are in French.

Compare, for example:

[ba ˈgeːᵃ] (*E-barzh gêr*) PU *Er gêr* 'At home' as opposed to 'à <u>la</u> maison'.
[pʁɛs e kwɑ̃n] *Prest eo koan* 'Dinner's ready' as opposed to '<u>Le</u> dîner est prêt'.
[ʁɑ̃k dib leˈn ʁɔk mɔ̃n kɥɪt] *Rank drebiñ lein, a-raok mont kwit* 'You must eat breakfast before going' as opposed to 'Il faut manger <u>le/du</u> petit déjeûner avant de partir'.
[bɛn blɐ] *A-benn bloaz* 'Next year' as opposed to '<u>L</u>'année prochaine'.

4.1.2.1.3 Definite articles in association with surnames

They can be used Between a name and a surname, as in:

[miʃ ˈlɛːgəl] *Michel ar Gall*, 'Michel Le Gall'.
[maˈɣin ˈdy] *Mari an Du*, 'Marie Le Du'.

Like in English, and contrary to French, definite articles can be omitted when associated with a surname qualified by the adjective *kozh* 'old'. Examples:

[ti^dl koːʷs]/ [til koːʷs] *Tidell Kozh*, lit. Tidell old, 'Old Tidell', Fr. 'le vieux Tidell'(still remembered Briec school teacher from the turn of the 19th century).
[balbus koːʷs] *Balbous Kozh*, lit. Balbous old, 'Old Balbous', Fr. 'le vieux Balbous'.

4.1.2.1.4 Use of definite article in front of *Aotrou*

The definite article is used in front of the title *Aotrou* 'Sir, Mister, Lord', thus:

[ãn ˈutʁu peˈteʎən] *An Aotrou Petillon*, lit. The Mister Petillon, 'Mister Petillon'.
[ãn ˈutʁu ˈpjeᵝsᵊn] *An Aotrou Person*, lit. The Mister Parson/Vicar, 'The Parson/Vicar'.
[ãn ˈutʁu ˈduːᵊ] *An Aotrou Doue*, lit. the lord God, 'The Lord'.

4.1.2.2 Demonstrative determiners

Demonstrative determiners are a combination of a definite article placed in front of a noun itself followed by the following particles:

-*se*, pronounced [sə], [se], [sa], [ze], [hə], [he], [xə] and rarely [ʃə] or contracted to /s/ or, occasionally /χ/ and even more rarely /ʃ/ (see examples of these pronunciations below).
or
- *mañ*, pronounced [mə], [mɐ], [mã] or contracted to /m/.

Se comes from *aze* 'there' and *mañ* comes from amañ 'here'.

4.1.2.2.1 Context of use of the demonstrative determiners

Mañ is supposed to refer to something close by and -*se* to something further away.

Examples:

[ʃɛ̃ʃ ty maɣiterɛz, an tymə ne ked eːz] *chañch tu, Marie-Thérèse, an tu-mañ n'eo ket aes!* 'Turn around, Marie-Thérèse, it's awkward from this side.' (The context of this sexually explicit saying, which is an embarrassment to the many Marie-Thérèses of Brittany, leaves no doubt as to *mañ* expressing proximity).

[møs lœs ne vaᵝ me lɛχ, dyχ] *Meus laosket anezhañ war me lec'h, du-se*, 'I left it behind, over there.'

However, the meanings of -*mañ* and -*se* are often blurred or interchangeable. Thus, [ãn dʁɐ mə] *an dra-mañ* and [ãn ˈdʁɐ xə] *an dra-se*, for example, can both be used to refer to something close by, both meaning 'this (thing) here'. This is exactly like the word *là* 'there' in French which sometimes means 'here' and sometimes 'there', as in the expression: *je suis là* lit. I am there, meaning 'I am here', or the word *there* in English, in the expression *I'll always be there for you*, meaning 'I will always be here (close to you) if you need me.'

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However, if two things are referred to in succession, [ãn ˈdʁɐ xə] is applied to the closest one, while [ãn dʁɐ mə] is applied to the farthest one.

a) Examples of use of *-se* and *-mañ* uncontracted:

Looking at a photo: [piwe anˈdẽ͂n sə?] *Piv eo an den-se*, lit. who is the man/person-there, 'Who is this man/person?'
[ˈtxɐu mɔ sa] *traoù mod-se*, lit. things mode-there, 'things like that.'
[a peᵉk sə zo dõm] *ar park-se zo deomp*, lit. the field-there is to-us, 'This field is ours.'
[giʃᵊ] *giz-se*, lit. manner-there, 'so-so' (see that expression under GIZ in Lexicon)
[pɐz tuʃə ɐn oˈto mɐ!] *Paz touch an oto-mañ!*, lit. not touch the car-here 'Don't touch this car!'
[də bju e ɐˈveʁɛn mɐ?] *Da biv eo ar werenn-mañ*, lit. to who is the glass-here, 'Whose glass is this?'
[ɐ blɐ mã͂] *Ar bloazh-mañ*, lit. the year-here, 'this year.'
[ãmˈgi mə] *amañ e-giz-mañ*, lit. here manner-there, 'Here' (in the place on which the speaker stands or in the place he identifies with [see this expression under AM' GI'-ME in Lexicon]).

b) Examples of use of *-se* and *-mañ* in contracted form.

-se contracted to /s/:

[ˈtxɐu a mɔs] *traoù a mod-se*, lit. things *par.* mode-there, 'things like that.'
[ˈtxɐu mɔs] *traoù mod-se*, lit. things mode-there, 'things like that.'
Speaking about silverware: [ʁes zo mɐːt vi o pxeˑdˈʃyːl] *Ar re-se zo mat evit ur pred sul*, lit. the ones-there is good for a meal Sunday, 'these are good for a Sunday lunch.'
[kemɛs ˈtxɐu] *kement-se (a) traoù*, lit. so-many-there things, 'so many things.'
[ken mɐts!] *ken mat-se*, lit. so well-there, 'so well!'

-se contracted to /s/ can also give rise to a metathesis, when following a consonant, as in:

[ãn ˈdeːn əs] *an den-se*, 'this man.'

-se contracted to /χ/:

To refer to something situated further away the expression [dyχ] *du-se*, lit. side-there, 'over there' can be used, as in:

[nɛ͂ dyχ, paz nɛ͂ ãm] *An hini du-se, paz an hini amañ*, lit. the one side-there, not the one here, 'This one over there, not this one here.'

-se contracted to /ʃ/:

[ãm ˈhiʃ] *amañ e-giz-se*, lit. here in-manner-there, 'Here (close by)', (see this expression under AM'-HICH in Lexicon)

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-mañ contracted to /m/:

[ʁeˑm ʁɑ̃k bɐ pɪnˈviːdik] *Ar re-mañ a rank bezañ pinvidik*, lit. the ones-here must be rich, 'these people must be rich.'
[ɑ̃mˈhim] (alternative pronunciation of the expression [ɑ̃mˈgimə] mentioned further above) *amañ e-giz-mañ*, lit. here manner-there, 'Here' (in the place on which the speaker stands or in the place he identifies with [see this expression in Lexicon]).

4.1.2.2.2 Use of *-se* after adjectives

[kemɛs ˈɛχən nøs bɐ i fwˤæt mɔˈnɛ!] *kement-se (a) arc'hant e-neus e-barzh he forte-monnaie!* lit. much-there *part.* money *vp.*-has, inside her wallet 'She has so much money in her wallet!'
[mɛ̃ vweːɲ ket la goˈzeː bʁøzɔ̃nɛk ken mɐts!] *Me n'ouien ket la gozee brezhonek ken mat-se*, lit. me knew not that talked breton so well-there, 'I did not know he spoke breton so well!'
[ken ˈfiːʃətˈmɐːt se newɐ! mɛ̃ gʁeːde diɲ vɐ hɔ̃n doˈfʁiˑko] *Ken fichet mat-se, an hini oa! Me a grede din oa o vont d'ur friko!* lit. so adorned well-there, this-one was! me *vp.* believe to-me was *vp.* going to a wedding(-banquet)! 'She was so well dressed! I thought she was on her way to a wedding (banquet)!'
[nøs vwɐjᵊn bet ˈdowᵃ leːbə mɐt gɐn tʁakˈtəˣ ˈbʁɛin sə] *Neus voaien ebet d'ober labour mat gant an trakteur brein-se*, lit. not-has way at-all to do work good with the tractor rotten-there, 'It impossible to do proper work with this crappy tractor!'

4.1.2.2.3 Alternative to the use of *-se* after adjectives

In BCB the word *all* literally meaning 'other' is more common than *se* in a demonstrative role associated with adjectives. Examples:

[kemnal ˈɛχɛn nøs, tʁɛ̃mp!] *kement-all arc'hant e-neus, Trump*, lit. much-other money *vp.* has, Trump 'Trump has so much money!'
[kemnal ˈtχɐu zøs, bɐ hɔf oxˈoto!] *kement-all traoù bez ez-eus, e-barzh ar c'houfr hoc'h oto*, lit. much-other things be *vp.* has, inside the chest your car 'There is so much stuff in the trunk of your car!'

In addition, the expression [da pegɛm] *da pegen* (which ends in /m/ in BCB pronunciation) is also used to express 'so much!', as in:

[da pegɛm tʁɐu zøs, bɐ ˌfaʁˈmasi sᵊ!] *da pegem traoù ez-eus, e-barzh ar farmasi-se*, lit. to so-many things *vp.* has, inside the pharmacy-there 'There are so many things in this chemist shop!'

4.1.2.3 Possessive determiners.

Listing possessives in BCB is not as straightforward as may be expected, as there are ways of expressing possession, which are somewhat flexible while not being completely interchangeable.
For example, to translate 'my', one may use:

1- the possessive adjective [me/mi] placed, like in English, in front of a noun, as in [me oto], 'my car'.
2- a definite article followed by a noun, itself followed by the preposition *da* conjugated in the 1st pers. sg., namely [dɪŋ] *din*, as in [ãn ɔto dɪŋ] *an oto din* 'my car' (lit. the car to-me).
3- the possessive adjective [me/mi] placed, like in English, in front of a noun and followed by the pronominal preposition *da* conjugated in the 1st pers. sg., as in [me oto dɪŋ], 'my car'. The latter, however could also (but not necessarily) be used emphatically, in which case the meaning would be more like 'my very own car'.

The use of *da* to express possession is discussed in paragraph 4.1.5.1.

4.1.2.3.1 Possessive adjectives.

The possessive adjectives in BCB are shown in the table below. They all trigger initial consonant mutations. Mutations triggered by possessives are discussed and illustrated by examples in 3. MORPHOPHONOLOGY, 3.1 INITIAL CONSONANT MUTATIONS.
For preliminary reference, the type of mutation triggered is shown after each possessive in the table below: + L (lenition), + S (spirantisation), + P (provection). These mentions are only indicative and have to be completed by reading about the conditions in which initial consonant mutations take place. For example, while the mention '[ɔ̃n] *hon* / [oª] *hor* 'our' + S' indicates that these possessives trigger spirantisation, *hor* only does so for *K*.

Singular	Plural
1st [me]/[mi]/[mə][77] *ma* 'my' + S	1st (rare) [ɔ̃n] *hon* / [oª] *hor* 'our' + S
2nd same as 2nd pl. + P	2nd [o] *ho* 'your' + P
3rd [i/e] *e* 'his' + L	3rd [o] *o* 'their' + S
[i] *he* 'her' + S	

As is obvious from the homophony or near homophony of some of the possessive determiners above, BCB speakers have to rely on further markers and strategies to distinguish between them. The use of these markers and strategies is mainly presented below, though it is also discussed in Morphophonology under 3.1.4 SPIRANTISATION.

4.1.2.3.2 Homophonous and near-homophonous possessive adjectives

[i] *he* 3rd pers. sg. feminine possessive is distinguished from [i] *e* 3rd pers. masculine possessive by the fact *he* triggers spirantisation while *e* triggers lenition.

[o] *ho* 2nd pers. sg. and pl. possessive is distinguished from [o] *o* 3rd pers. pl. possessive by the fact the former triggers provection while the latter triggers spirantisation.

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[77] Can be pronounced [mə] when preceding consonants.

[oᵃ] *hor* 1st pers. pl. possessive (which only triggers spirantisation of [k] to [h]/[χ]) sounds almost like [o] when occurring in front of a consonant. It could therefore be confused with [o] *ho* 2nd pers. sg. outside of the cases in which *ho* triggers provection. For example there could be confusion between [oᵃ ˈpã̃nəˣ] *hor paner* 'our basket' and [o ˈpã̃nəˣ] *ho paner* 'your basket'.

Furthermore, the indefinite article *ur* is also realised as [o]. There is therefore complete homophony between *ho paner* 'your basket' and *ur paner* 'a basket', both realised [o ˈpã̃ːnəˣ].

To add to the potential confusion, [ɔ̃n] *hon* the other form of the 1st per. pl. possessive (which is meant to be used in front of /n, d, t/ and /h/) is a homophone of the indefinite article *un(an)* when the latter is pronounced [ɔ̃n] (though it can also be pronounced [ən] and [œn]).

Further, both [o] (their) and [oᵃ] (our) trigger the spirantisation of *k* to [h] or, in some speakers, to [x]/[χ]. When [oᵃ] *hor* occurs in front of [h] or [χ] its pronunciation is [oʰ] or sometimes [oˣ], which is nearly identical to [o] (their) + *k*. There is therefore very little distinction, for example, between 'their truck', *o c'hamion* [o hɐˈmiʲən]and 'our truck', *hor c'hamion* [oˣ/oʰ hɛmiʲən].

There are cases in which confusion resulting from homophony is not possible: they concern, for example, words beginning with *t*. Given that the indefinite article preceding *t* is meant to be *un*, pronounced [ən] or [ɔ̃n], there cannot be, to begin with, a confusion between the indefinite article and the possessives [o] *ho* and [o] *o*.

It is the case with the word *tad* 'father'.

'a father' is [ən tɐd̥] *un tad*, while 'your father' is [o tɐd̥] *ho tad* and 'their father' is [o sɐ·d̥] *o zad*.

[ən tɐd̥] 'a father' and [ɔ̃n teːd̥] *hon tad* 'our father' are sufficiently different for confusion to be unlikely.

It is the same for a number of words starting with *t*.

For example, the word *tro*. 'A turn, a go' is *un dro* [ən dʁoʷ], 'your turn/go' is *ho tro* [o tʁoʷ] and 'their turn/go' is *o zro* [o sʁoʷ]. There is, no possible confusion between these three utterances.

4.1.2.3.3 Avoidance of the 1st pers. pl. possessive adjectives

What is described above is the probable reason why 1st pers. pl. possessives *hon* and *hor* which are given in grammars (kervella 1976, 430, Favereau 1992, xiii) textbooks (Kerrain 2008, 76, Davallan 2002b, 253) and even in Le Scao's dictionary (1945, 10 and 168) as the 1st pers. pl. determiners are, in fact, very rarely used by BCB speakers. Exceptions are [hɔ̃n te·d̥] *hon tad* 'our father' and [a ʁeⁱ a zo ɛnɔ hiʃən] *ar re a zo en hor c'hichen* 'the people next door (to us)', 'les/nos voisins d'à côté' which can be both considered to be fossilised expressions (with regard to *hon tad*, also see 3. Morphophonology 3.1.7).

Therefore, the sentence [o hɐˈmiʲən] *hor c'hamion*, cited previously, is in fact, hypothetical as it is very unlikely to pass the lips of current speakers of BCB in natural conversation.

Such a sentence is likewise unlikely to pass the lips of speakers of the Lorient hinterland dialect, as documented by Cheveau (2007, 128) who also reports that the 1st pers. pl.

possessive pronoun has been discarded in that dialect. Cheveau also surmises that, although the Lorient hinterland dialect has words for 'our' (namely [oʁ, ɔ̃ and ɔ̃n]), the fact they are homophones of the indefinite articles [oʁ] and [ɔ̃n] is likely to be the reason which has led to the use of an alternative way of expressing possession in the 1ˢᵗ pers. pl.

In both BCB and Lorient dialect, this alternative way is syntactically identical. In BCB, it involves mentioning an object or person using a definite article, say, [ãn ti] *an ti* 'the house' and adding the 1st pers. pl. conjugated preposition based on *da* 'to', it being [dɔ̃m / djɔ̃m] *deomp*,[78] immediately after it. 'Our house' is therefore [(ãn) ti dɔ̃m] (*an*) *ti deomp* (with or without the definite article), lit. '(the) house to us'.
In the An Oriant dialect, the object or person is immediately followed by the 1st person plural subject pronoun *ni*. The above example, therefore result in the sentence: /ən ti-ni/ (Cheveau 2007, 128) lit. 'the house-we'.

I cannot help noticing that several descriptive works of Breton dialects give scant or no examples of the use of the 1st pers. pl. possessive in the dialects they describe.
I have not found any in Wmffre, nor in Hammer. I have found one in Sommerfelt (1978, 124) and three in Ploneis (1983, 255). I counted, however, eighteen examples in Ternes' work on the Enez Groe dialect (1970).
In Goyat's thesis on the Plozévet dialect, which is very close to BCB, I have found three. However, only one (2012, 227, repeated p. 252) is associated with a noun. Another three examples appear on pp. 252 and 253. None of them, however, involve nouns either. They are instead associated with the pronouns *hini, re* and *unan*. This points to a very rare use of the 1st pers. pl. possessive with nouns in contemporary Breton in general.

It is, in fact, very easy never to use the first-person plural possessive in everyday life in any language as reference to people and things to which this possessive could apply, can simply be made by using definite articles. For example, it is very common in English, French and BCB for a couple to refer to their children or their house as 'the children' and 'the house'.

Whatever the reason, there is no doubt that BCB speakers avoid the 1st pers. pl. possessive adjectives as well as its homophonous 3rd pers. pl. counterpart as indicated by the following enumeration from MTC when I asked her to translate the phrase 'because of (through someone's fault)' + pronouns in all persons. Her answer was:

[dʁem foːt] (*dre ma faot* 'because of me')
[dʁe o foːt dwaχ] (*dre ho faot deoc'h* 'because of you')
[dʁe i foːt deɔ̃] (*dre e faot dezhañ* 'because of him')
[dʁe i foːt dɛj] (*dre e faot dezhi* 'because of her')
[dʁe foːt dɔ̃m] (*dre faot deomp* 'because of us', no possessive adjective used)
[dʁe foːᵗ dɛ] (*dre faot dezhe* 'because of them', no possessive adjective used either)'

It is noteworthy that in the above enumeration, the speaker adds inflected forms of *da* in all cases but the 1st person, even when she does use possessive adjectives.

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[78] *Deomp* is pronounced d̃ɔm by some speakers of BCB and d̃jɔm by others.

This avoidance of the possessives in BCB can lead to fairly convoluted constructions in some cases such as: [hẽɲ ɔ dau nøs twaʁt pɛp χwẽ i gaʁ] (*Int o daou o deus torret pep hini e gar*) lit. they their two have broken each one his leg, for: 'they broke their legs'.

One fossilised expression using the 3rd pers. pl. possessive is the expression [no ˈfeːᶦz] *en o fez* (lit. in their piece) 'whole', as in:

[vaˈluˑɐʁ no ˈfeᶦs] *Avaloù douar en o fez* 'Potatoes cooked whole.'

4.1.2.4 Interrogative noun determiners

4.1.2.4.1 *Pe/peseurt?* 'what? which?'

[pe] *pe* is the most common word in this category.

[pe ˈhɑ̃no pøs?] *Pe añv peus?* lit. what name you-have?, 'What is your name?'
[pe χwɛ̃?] *Pe hini?* 'Which one?'
[gɐ pe oto va døt, neõ?] *Gant pe oto e oa deuet, anezhañ?* lit. With what car was come, him? 'What car did he come with?'

[peˈsəᵃ]/[pˈsəᵃ]/[pˈsə] *peseurt*, lit. what sort, is a derivative of *pe*. In all the above examples, it could replace *pe*. It is used in the expression [pˈsə ˈmoːd] 'how, which way?' which is the common expression to elicit repetition of a statement one has not heard or understood correctly, equivalent to 'I beg your pardon?'

4.1.2.4.2 *Pet?* 'how much/how many?'

Pet is pronounced [pet] when preceding consonants. Its final *t* is voiced in front of vowels. As it is often followed by the preposition *a*, its final *t* tends to be voiced a lot of the time.

[ped aˈdyˑt vɐ bɐ ʁeyˈnejn?] *Pet tud a oa e-barzh ar reunion?* lit. how-much *part.* people was inside reunion? 'How many people were there at the meeting?'
[pet kʁoˈeːdəʰ nøs bet?] *Pet krouadur e neus bet?* 'How many children did she/he have/end up having?'
[ped øːʁe?] *Pet eur eo?* 'What time is it?'

4.1.2.4.3 *Pegement?* 'how much/how many?'

Pegement, pronounced [peˈgemən] or [peˈgemɛn] is mainly used with reference to uncountable masses, as in:

[peˈgemɛn a dʁy gles mõn ba diʒɛstœʁ?] *Pegement a druz a dlees mont e-barzh an* digesteur*?* 'How much grease is supposed to go in the (anaerobic) digester?' (with reference to a biogas production plant).

[peˈgemɛn a ˈɛːχən aˈgus an oto a mɔs?] *Pegement a arc'hant a goust an oto a mod-se?* 'How much money does such a car cost?'

4.1.2.5 Exclamative determiners

Pe and *peseurt* can be used as an exclamative, just as *what* is in English.

[pe/peˈsəᵃ twæᵃ ˈʁeːa a ʁɐ, nẽ̃!] *Pe/peseurt torr-reer a ra, anezhañ!* lit. what rear-breaker he makes, him! 'What a pain in the arse he is!'

[pe bʁezɔ̃ˈnegɛʁ al e oˈgyst!] *Pe brezhoneger-all eo Auguste!* 'What a great Breton-speaker is Auguste!'

With reference to countable objects, the expression [da pegɛm] *da pegem* can be used.

[da pegɛm tʁɐu azo ba ˈnaʁbəlsə!] *Da pegem traoù a zo e-barzh an arbel-se!* 'What a quantity of things there is in this wardrobe!'

4.1.3 NOUN SUBSTITUTES

4.1.3.1 Definite substitutes

[(ɑ̃)nẽ/ni/ne] (representing a feminine noun), [ne/ni, (ɑ̃)nɛ̃e/ˈnɑ̃ɛ̃/ˈnɑ̃e] and [χwɛ̃]/[χwɐ̃] sometimes pronounced [ˈχɑ̃ːe] or [χɛ̃] correspond to the singular pronoun (*an*) *hini* in PU. [ʁeʲ] corresponds to the plural pronoun *re* in PU. *Re* is also an indefinite substitute (see 4.1.3.2 below).

[ne/ni, (ɑ̃)nɛ̃e/nɑ̃ɛ̃/nɑ̃e] as well as [ʁeʲ] typically precede adjectives and pronominal prepositions, while [χwɛ̃]/[χwɐ̃] ([ˈχɑ̃ːe]) typically follows possessives and the words [mɛl] *mell* 'mega-, very large' and [ˈmɛm(ə)s] *memes* 'same'.

The pronunciations given above for *an hini* depend on the individual speaker.

Hini, when substituting a feminine noun and *re* trigger lenition.

Examples of use:

[ne ˈvɛʲɲ] *an hini vihan*, 'the little one' (feminine).
[ˈpeːᵃ ˈni e no teleˈfɔ̃nɛt] *Pêr an hini eo en doa telefonet*, 'it is Pêr who rang'.
[eje, me ni ɐwɐ] *Eye, me an hini oa*, 'yes, it was me'.
[ˈpeːᵃ na fʁɑ̃swa zo ʁe no ˈtʁɔχət la ɛ] *Pêr ha François zo ar re en doa troc'het* la haie,[79] 'It is Pêr and François, who trimmed the hedge'.
[nɑ̃ɛ̃ bʁeːs] *an hini bras*, 'the big one' (masculine).
[ne alɛ̃] *an hini Alain*, 'Alain's one'.

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[79] This is a French term corresponding to a hedge as a landscaping feature. The only hedges known to BCB speakers were the Cornish-type hedges made of rocks, earth and vegetation. Landscaping was generally not a preoccupation of rural Bretons. The term given by Le Scao for a hedge, is indeed *klū* [klɛ̃], which is the term for Cornish-hedge.

[ɐ ˈnɛ̃e dɪŋ] *an hini din*, 'my one'.

[ne ɑ̃m dɑ̃m ne æχ] *an hini amañ, dam an hini aze*, 'this one, or that one there'.

[a ʁe goʷs] *ar re gozh*, lit. 'the ones old', 'the elderly'.

[a ʁe vɛⁱŋ] *ar re vihan*, 'the little ones'.

[a ʁe dwæχ] *ar re deoc'h*, 'your ones'.

[a ʁe joʷŋ] *ar re yaouank*, 'the young ones'.

[me χwɛ̃] *ma hini*, 'my one'.

[o χwɛ̃ (dwæχ)] *ho hini deoc'h*, 'your one'.

[pesœ χwɛ̃ ɛ o χwɛ̃] *Peseurt hini eo ho hini?* 'Which one is yours?'

[o χwɛ̃ dɛ] *o hini dezhe*, 'their one'.

[χwɛ̃ o mɑ̃m] *an hini ho mamm*, 'your mother's one'.

[pɛp χwɛ̃] *peb hini*, 'each one'.

[o mɛl χwɛ̃] *ur mell hini*, 'a very large one, a whopper'.

[mɛms χwɛ̃ vi me χwɛ̃ deŋ] *memes hini evit ma hini din*, 'the same one as my one'.

4.1.3.2 Indefinite substitutes

The singular indefinite substitute is [ɛ̃n] (occasionally [øn]) spelt *unan* in PU. The plural one is [ʁe/ʁeʲ] *re* in PU. *Unan* and *re* trigger the same mutations as *hini* and *re* discussed above.

Examples:

[ɛ̃n døs pɔˈlɔŋ ma ʃɔm ba ʒit] *unan deus* Pologne *emañ (o) chom e-barzh (ar)* gîte, 'a person from Poland is staying in the farmstay'.

[møs lak ɛ̃n ba ˈkiʃən a pɔʁˈʃʁi, ag ɛ̃n al ba n ˈɑ̃gaʁ] *meus lakaet unan e (barzh) kichen ar* porcherie, *hag unan all e-barzh an hangar*, 'I put one near the piggery, and another inside the hangar'.

[kɔp sɛ̃t ivi nøs ʁe imˈzeːvɐ] *Coop Saint Ivi neus re emsavoc'h*, 'The Saint Ivi Cooperative has cheaper ones'.

[mɛ̃ gav mɛːt kɐu ʁe døs bʁoju al] *me a gav mad kaout re deus brioù all*, 'I like having some (people) from other countries (in the farmstay)'.

[pʁɛn ɛ̃n viˈɑ̃ːnɔχ] *Prenn unan vihanoc'h*, 'Buy a smaller one'.

4.1.3.3 Demonstrative substitutes

These substitutes which are roughly equivalents to 'this/that one', 'these/those ones' are used in Breton, including in BCB, in a capacity, which often does not have a demonstrative purpose at all. They are, in fact, mainly used as personal pronouns when one wants to single out a subject (see examples below). This trait transfers to the French of BCB speakers and their descendants who come out with somewhat confronting statements when referring to people, such as: *Celle-là est arrivée hier,* lit. 'this one arrived yesterday', when simply meaning 'she arrived yesterday'.

The demonstratives involved in this feature of BCB are shown in the table below. In theory, they display two degrees of distance, as do the words *this* and *that* in English, but in the reality of the conversation, these two degrees of distance are not observed. This is obvious in one of the examples below, in which the same word *hemañ* is used as 'this one' as well as 'that one':

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	Close by		Further away	
m. sg.	[hem] PU *hemañ*	'This one' 'he/him'	[hɛ̃s]/[ˈheːsə] PU *hennez*	'That one' 'he/him'
f. sg.	[hum(ə)] PU *homañ*	'This one' 'she/her'	[huⁿs/huˑs/hũsə/hɔ̃sə] PU *honnez*	'That one' 'she/her'
pl.	[ʁem(ə)] PU *ar re-mañ*	'These ones' 'them'	[ʁeˑs] PU *ar re-se*	'Those ones' 'them'

That the above demonstrative substitutes are, in fact, used as personal pronouns appears in examples given by Le Scao, notably in the article on *lui* 'him' of the Fr-Bret tome of his dictionary, (1945, 153):

'*Lui viendra = Hēn's a teuio*', 'He, will come', PU *Hennez a teuyo*.
'*Elle patira = Hōn's a iei kuit*', 'She will leave', PU *Honnez ez ay kuit*.

Note that Le Scao's transcription for *hennez* and *honnez* implies the pronunciations /hɛ̃ns/ and /hɔ̃ns/, however none of my informants pronounce these words in those ways.
The pronunciations I have heard for *Hennez a teuyo* and *Honnez ez ay kuit* are respectively [hɛ̃s (a) tjo] and [huⁿs jɛj kɥit].

Every example Le Scao, in fact, gives to illustrate the use of the demonstratives in the article on *celui-ci, celle-ci, ceux-ci etc*. p. 73 of the Fr-Bret tome, involves using them as subject pronouns, which correspond to the context one mostly hears these words used, as in the following example collected by me.

[hɛ̃s a waʁ pjea foᵗ ˈdeɔ̃] (lit. this one knows what want to him) *Hennez a oar petra faot dezhañ*. 'He knows what he wants.'

One would have expected Le Scao to give examples of how to translate 'I will have this one', or 'Which, do you want? This one or that one?'; however, no such examples appear in these articles.

Further examples:

[ne bliʒ dɪŋ e ˈheːsə] *An hini (a) plij din eo hennezh* 'The one I like is this one.'

Q:[pesə χwɛ̃ døz ən dju vɛχ ɛ o mʲɛχ?] *Peseurt hini deus an diou verc'h eo ho merc'h?*. 'Which one of the two girls is your daughter?'
A: [ˈhũsə] *Honnezh*. 'This one.'
Q: [ɐ ˈhɔ̃sə ɛ o mʲɛχ?] *A... honnezh eo ho merc'h?* 'Oh! This one is your daughter?'

[peˈsəʰ χwɛ̃ e po? heˑmə dɑ̃m hemal?] *Peseurt hini e po? Hemañ, dam hemañ-all?* 'Which one will you have? This one or that one?'

[pesœ χwɛ̃ ɛ o χwɛ̃] *Peseurt hini eo ho hini?* 'Which one is yours?'

[heːs eɔ̃] *Hennezh eñ?* 'This one.'

4.1.3.4 Interrogative substitutes

The interrogative substitutes, like many interrogative words in Breton start with *p-* or *pe-* corresponding to Latin words starting with *q-*.

The four substitutes are:

[ˈpjea] *petra* 'what', as in:

[ˈpjea pøs ˈlæᵃt] *petra peus lâret?* 'what did you say?'

[pju] *piv/piou* 'who', as in:

[piwe hẽsə] *piou eo hennez?* 'who is he?'

[pesə χwẽ] *peseurt hini* 'which (one)', as in:

[døs pesœ χwẽ meχ goz·el?] *deus peseurt hini emaoc'h o gozeal?* 'which (one) are you talking about?

[peʁe] *pere* 'which ones', as in:

[peʁe zo ʁe dwæχ?] *pere zo ar re deoc'h?* 'which ones are yours?'

4.1.3.5 Personal pronouns

There are two forms of personal pronouns in BCB:

— Independent personal pronouns, which precede verbs.
— Dependent personal pronouns, which follow verbs.

4.1.3.5.1 Independent personal pronouns

Singular	Plural
1st [me] *me* 'I, me'	1st [nɪŋ/nɔ̃m] *ni* 'we, us'
2nd same as 2nd pl.	2nd [hu/χɥi] *c'hwi* 'you'
3rd *m*. [he/hɛ̃/heɔ̃] *e/eñ* 'he'	3rd [hẽŋ] *int* 'they'
f. [hi/i] *he* 'she, her'	

They are predominantly used as subject pronouns in sentences using the analytical conjugation system.

Examples of use:

[me nije] *me an hini eo* 'it's me'.

[eɔ̃ ɛtn dʁo de kanada ˌdɪˈʒɐ] *Eñ aet en dro da Kanada, dija.* 'He has gone back to Canada, already'.

[i ˈlɐːbəʰ bɐ bɔlɔʁɐ] *He (a) labour e-barzh Bollore*, 'She works for Bolloré'.

Q: [pju nøs χwɑ̃n ɔ̃ntɑ̃m kɔk ɐl?] *Piou (e) neus c'hoant un tamm kok-all?* 'Who wants another piece of chicken?'
A: [me] *me* 'me.'

4.1.3.5.2 Dependent personal pronouns

Singular	Plural
1st[ˈhɑ̃ɔ̃/ hᵃɔ̃n/hɔ̃n/χᵃɔ̃n/ ˈˣɑ̃ɔ̃/ˈˣɑɔ̃/ˈˣaɔ̃/hɔ̃] *ac'hanon* 'I, me'	1st [ˈhɑ̃ɔ̃m/ hᵃɔ̃m/ˈˣaɔ̃m/ˈˣaɔ̃m/ hɔ̃m] *ac'hanomp* 'we, us'
2nd same as 2nd pl.	2nd [ˈχɛ̃χ/aˈxɑnɐx] *ac'hanoc'h* 'you'
3rd *m.* [ˈneɔ̃] *anezhañ* 'he, him'	3rd [nɛʰ] *anezhe* 'they'
f. [nɛ ̇ⁱ] *anezhi* 'she, her'	

They are used in two capacities:

— As direct object pronouns, as in:

[a gwæₐn aˈsteat hɑ̃ɔ̃ ʁe] *Ar gordenn a stard ac'hanon re*, lit. 'the rope *vp.* squeeze me too-much', 'The rope is too tight on me.'

[nøske klɛːt χɛ̃χ] *N'eus ket klevet ac'hanoc'h*, 'He hasn't heard you.'

— As disjunctive pronouns to specify or emphasize the subject of a preceding clause, as in:

[velɔ̃ ke χɛ̃χ, hɑ̃ɔ̃] *Ne wellan ket ac'hanoc'h, ac'hanon*, lit. 'I do not see you, me', 'I cannot really see you.'

[dib nøs tut, nɛ̃ɔ] *Drebet (e) neus tout, anezhañ*, lit. 'eaten *vp.* has all, him', 'He ate the whole lot.'

4.1.4 QUALIFIERS

Apart from a few exceptions, qualifiers are placed after the nouns they qualify. They are generally adjectives or nouns, though they can occasionally be verbal expressions.

Examples:

[o hɔl bwɛt] *ur c'holl boued*. lit. a loss food, 'A time waster.'
[o velo kwɐt bɐɲ] *ur velo koad bihan*. lit. a bicycle wood small, 'A small wooden bicycle.'
[ˈse·χɛt ʁy] *sec'hed ruz*. lit. thirst red, 'Extreme thirst.'
[o pɛnˈzoːt] *Ur penn sot*. Lit. a head stupid, 'An idiot.'

[o tɑ̃m bæᵃ poˈsaut] *Ur tamm bara paotr saout.* lit. a piece bread boy cow, 'a sandwich.' The term refers to the main use of this sort of portable food as meal for cowherds.

[ˈluzu lʁo aʁ pʁɛ̃ɔ̃] *louzoù lazhañ-ar-preñv.* Lit. herbs/medicine kill-the-worm, 'hard liquor, spirits, lambig', thus termed to derisively justify drinking it for its virtue as a cure for tape-worms.

Exceptions:

[nevˈɑ̃mzəʁ] *nevez amzer.* lit. new weather, 'Spring.'
[pʁet ti] *pred ti*, lit. 'food house, restaurant', referring to a house where food is prepared for outsiders. Though this neologism is rarely used, it is known to several of my informants, leading me to the incorrect conclusion that the word has long been in BCB use. This is, however, not the case and [ʁɛsˈtɔʁɑ̃] or [ʁɛsˈtɔʁɑ̃ⁿ] are the words used for 'restaurant'.

A handful of qualifiers are always placed before the element they qualify in BCB. They are:

Mell 'huge', as in: [o mɛl dɛ̃ⁱn] *ur mell den.* 'a huge man.'
Gwall 'bad', as in: [gwɛl ʃɑ̃ːs] *gwall chañs.* 'bad luck.'
Droug 'bad', as in: [dʁuk ˈspeːʁᵉt] *droug-speret.* 'ill-spirit/intent.'
Paour-kaez 'poor, pitiful', as in: [ˈpʰoːkəs ˈdɛ̃ⁱn] *Paour-kaez den,* 'Poor man.'

Adjectives do not have a plural form, except *mell*, which is originally a noun. It takes the plural desinence *-où*, as in:

[ˈmelu ʁe] *melloù re*, 'huge ones.'

Adjectives are not marked for gender, except for *mezv* 'drunk', which has a feminine form:

[o plaχ ˈveːvəs] *ur plac'h vevez*, 'a drunk girl.'

Adjectives mutate as per the conditions described in 3.1.3.2 Lenition triggers, Lenition in adjectives.

Examples:

(gw → v, *gwellet→wellet*) [o bʁõs velɛʁ dʁøz] *ur brozh a weller-a-dreuz*, lit. a skirt *vp.* see *prep.* through, 'a transparent skirt or a see-through skirt'.
(m → v, *bras→vras*) [ɐ ʁe vʁɐs] *ar re vras* 'the big people, the adults'.

Adjectives act as adverbs in Breton, for example:

Mat 'good/well': [mɐːt pøs gwɛt] *Mat (e) peus graet*, 'You did well.'
Founnus 'quick/quickly': [nøn gwɛt ˈfunəʃ] *O deus graet founnus*, 'They did (it) quickly.'

Pell 'long (far)/for a long time': [pɛl nøs ʁ̃ãkɛt ˈgɔtəs] *Pell (e) neus ranket gortoz*, 'We had to wait for a long time.'
Difounn 'slow/slowly': [bɐl ʁɐ ˈdifun] *bale a ra difounn*, 'she/he walks slowly.'

4.1.4.1 Comparison

When a comparison involves an adjective, its comparative form is produced by adding the ending [ɐχ]/[ɔχ] *-oc'h* to it. On rare occasions in which the comparative form of an adjective cannot be produced by a speaker, they may use *muioc'h* or *nebeutoc'h* (*more* and *less* respectively) with adjectives for that purpose. This can happen when an adjective is borrowed from another language as in the example below:

[asˈkud va ke gãnd ba fɥãs, neõ, es ˈmyjəχ fɥãsɛ vi i deːd] *Koulskoude (ne) oa ket ganet (e-)barzh France, anezhañ, e zo muioc'h français evit e dad*, 'Though he was not born in France, he is more French than his dad.'

The ending [ɐχ]/[ɔχ] is directly added to consonants, but it does not cause their voicing as normally occurs when a consonant precedes a vowel. Thus:

[bʁɐːs] *bras* 'large' → [aʁɐ vʁɐz al] (s → z) *ar re vras all*, 'The other big ones', but [ɛ̃n ˈbʁɐ·sɐχ] *unan brasoc'h*, 'a bigger one.'
[pinˈviːdik] *pinvidig* 'rich' → [ʁɐ binviːdig øndɛ̃n] (k → g) *re binvidig un den*, 'too rich a man', but [pinvidiːkɔχ] *pinvidikoc'h*, 'richer.'

When [ɐχ]/[ɔχ] is added to vowels, the semi-vowel [w] or other linking consonants, for example [v], may be added, inbetween the two, as in:

[bʁɐo] *brav/brao* 'beautiful', [bʁɐːᵒwɐχ] *bravoc'h* 'more beautiful.'
[kʁɐo] *kreñv* 'strong', [kʁɛ̃ːvɔχ] *kreñvoc'h* 'stronger.'
[ɪmˈzɐo] *emsav* 'cheap/reasonably priced', [ɪmˈzɐːvɐχ] *emsavoc'h* 'cheaper/more reasonably priced.'
[ˈtɐo] *tev* 'overweight', [ˈtɐːvɔχ] *tevoc'h* 'more overweight.'

However, after /y/, no linking consonant is added:

[dʁy] *dru* 'fat, greasy', [ˈdʁyːɔχ] *druoc'h* 'fatter/greasier.'
[dy] *du* 'black', [ˈdyːɔχ] *duoc'h* 'more black.'

The same adjectives as in a number of other European languages have irregular comparatives, namely:

[mɐːt] *mat* 'good' → [ˈgwɛlɔχ] *gwelloc'h* 'better.'
[fɐl] *fall* 'bad' → [ˈgwɐsɔχ] *gwazoc'h* 'worse.'
[kɐ·ləs] *kalz* 'much' → [ˈmɛɲʲɐχ] *muioc'h* 'more.'

4.1.4.2 Superlatives
Superlatives are produced by adding the ending [a]/[ɐ]/[ə] *-añ* to adjectives.

As with the comparative ending, [a]/[ɐ]/[ə] are directly added to consonants, but this does not cause their voicing either. Comparatives, however, are preceded by definite articles, which result in the mutations described in 3.1.3.2 Lenition triggers. Thus:

[soːt] *sot* 'stupid'→ [ɐᵃ ˈzoːta] *ar sotañ* 'the stupidest.'
[ˈkʁeo] *kreñv* 'strong'→ [ɐᵃ ˈxɛ̃ːvɐ] *ar krevañ* 'the strongest.'

The irregular superlatives concern the same three adjectives as the comparatives:

[mɐːt] *mat* 'good'→ [ɐᵃ ˈgwɛlɐ] *ar gwellañ* 'the best.'
[fɐl] *fall* 'bad'→ [ɐᵃ ˈgwɐːsa]/[ɐᵃ ˈgwɐːsə] *ar gwazañ* 'the worse.'
[ˈkɐ·ləs] *kalz* 'much'→ [ɐ ˈmeɲa] *ar muiañ* 'the most.'

The superlatives can sometimes be placed before the noun. Examples:

[ɐᵃ ˈgwɛla pɛ̃tyʁ zo mwajɛn de kɐut] *ar gwellañ piñtur zo moaien da kaout*, 'the best paint one can get.'
[ɐᵃ ˈbʁɐsa dẽ̃n møs gwɛl deˈvi·kən] *ar brasañ den meus gwellet da viken*, 'the biggest man I have ever seen.'

4.1.5 INFLECTED PREPOSITIONS

A number of prepositions in Breton are inflected according to person, gender and number. Not all inflectable prepositions are effectively inflected by BCB speakers. The ones which are always inflected are *da*, *gant*, *deus*, *giz*, *evit* and, to a lesser extent, *e/en*. Other prepositions, instead of being inflected on their own, tend to be used in conjunction with inflected forms of *da* (what Wmffre [1998, 29 and 30] deems 'auxiliary inflection') or replaced with periphrases using inflected personal pronouns.

4.1.5.1 [də / de / da / dɐ] PU *da* 'to'

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	[dɪŋ]/[dĩ̃ŋ/[deŋ] *din*	[dõm / djõm] *deomp*
2nd sg. and pl.	[dwɐχ] *deoc'h*	
3rd masculine	[deõ] *dezañ*	
3rd feminine	[dɛj] *dezhi*	[dɛ / ˈdɛhᵋ] *dezho*

Examples:

[paz ˈtuʃə, neke dwɐx!] *Paz touch! N'eo ket deoc'h*. 'Don't touch! It's not yours.'

[heŋ zo ʁe·ˈdõm] *Int zo ar re deomp*. 'They are our ones.'

[vɛʃ ˈketə dɪŋ də vɛl ᵊn dʁɐ] *(Ar) wech kentañ eo din da wellet an dra*. 'It is the first time I see that.'

[eõ nøs kɐs o mɛl djõm] *Eñ, neus kaset ur mel deomp*. 'He sent us an email.'

[mɛ̃ ˈjelo de ˈgepᵃ bɛn axˈwɐs] *Me a yelo da Gemper benn arc'hoazh*. 'I will go to Kemper tomorrow.'

4.1.5.2 ɡɐ PU *gant* 'with, by/through'

This preposition means 'with' as well as 'by, through the agency of'. If transferred literally into French, this double-entente can lead to funny utterances like the often-cited *Elle est au lit avec le docteur*,[80] literally 'she is in bed with the doctor', which is a genuine elderly Breton speaker's attempt at saying in French 'she is in bed because the doctor prescribed her to rest'. Native speakers have assured me that their grandparents unwittingly produced such extreme mistranslations in French. Even contemporary speakers, completely fluent in French, come close: In 2010 I recorded MTC saying, about her partner, whose leg had been mangled in a straw shredder '*Il est resté au lit avec sa jambe*', literally: 'He stayed in bed with his leg'.
Without going to the extreme of the entertaining examples above, Breton speakers, as well as people who, though they may have no Breton, were raised in Brittany, unknowingly and routinely transfer the Breton use of the word *gant* into French, which leads to unorthodox utterances, of which more examples follow:

'*Son père est parti avec un cancer du colon*', (AB [who is not a Breton speaker] 2014, field note) literally: 'Her father left with a cancer of the colon.'

'*Ils sont bons, ils ont été faits avec des moines de Montréal*', lit. 'They are good, they were made with monks from Montreal' (AC (MTC's daughter), who does not speak Breton, speaking about chocolates brought by a relative from Montreal, 2016 field note).

Not long before that, her elder sister, who speaks and understands some Breton, had said to me, about an acquaintance: '*Elle a été tuée avec sa voiture*', literally 'she was killed with her car', direct translation of the Breton: [hi ve laɛt ɡɐ i ˈoto] *He a oa lazhet gant he oto*, meaning 'she had a fatal car crash in her own car'.

These overly literal translations illustrate and help understand how this common and concise way of connecting agent and result using *gant*, functions in Breton. Context determines what is actually meant when the word *gant* is used. A frequent example of this is the oft expressed BCB sentence [kleːt møs an dɐɐ ɡɐ øn benak] *klevet e meus an dra gant unan bennak*, lit. I heard the thing with someone, to express 'I heard this from someone.'

Examples in BCB:

[dɐɐ zo ɛt ɡɐ øn beˈnak] *Dra zo aet gant unan bennak*, lit. thing is gone with one any, 'It was taken away/stolen by somebody.'

[80] Quoted, amongst others by Le Dû (2011, 33).

[ẽɔ ve ˈlɛɛt gɐ o tʀaktœᵃ] *Eñ a oa lazhet gant ur traktor*, lit. he was killed with a tractor, 'He was killed in a tractor accident.'

[o mɛl ˈlewaˣ zo be ˈskʀi·vət ga ãdʀe] *Ur mell levr zo bet skrivet gant André*. lit. a very-large book is been written with André, 'A huge book was written by André.'

[gɐ pju zo be gwɛt ɐ geto mã?] *Gant piv zo bet graet ar gato-mañ?* lit. with who is been made the cake here, 'Who made this cake?'

[neke gɐ zɛχ nɐ vaʀv ãnˈdyd ãmᵐə] *N'eo ket gant ar sec'h a varv an dud amañ*. lit. it is not with dry *vp.* die the people here, 'People do not die because of droughts around here'.

Gant is used in conjunction with the verb [gul] *goulenn* 'to ask'. Thus 'to ask someone something' translates [gul ən dʀe gɐ ẽn benak] *Goull an dra gant unan bennak*.

Example:

[giʃ ẽn ve xul gãnɪŋ] *Giz un a oa o c'houlenn ganin…* 'It's like some person was asking me (some time ago)…'

Naturally *gant* is also used with the mere meaning of 'with'.

[mẽ vev gɐ me vʀɛk ɐˈhiʃə]⁸¹ *Me a vev gant ma wreg a'hiche*⁸¹. 'I live here with my wife.'

[eõ ɛt kɥɪt gɐ betajɛʀ] *Eñ zo aet kuit gant ar* bétaillère. 'He left with the cattle trailer.'

Gant is often used in conjunction with the word *asambles* 'together', which contracts into the forms [sãms] or [sãs] or [sa] and combines with all the inflected forms of *gant* to produce adverbial phrases such as [sãms gã ˈnɪŋ / sãs gã ˈnɪŋ /sagəˈnõm] etc.

[eõ ve døt sagãˈnɪŋ] *Eñ a oa deut asambles ganin* 'He came/had come with me.'

4.1.5.2.1 Phonological point

[gɐ] in front of a vowel generally results in a hiatus ([gɐ i] *gant he/e*, [gɐo] *gant ur*, [gɐøn/gɐœn/geõn] *gant un*, [gɐy] *gant Humaine* [name of dog]). In such cases some speakers may ad an epenthetic /n/ or /l/ as per the examples below. Epenthetic consonants are discussed in Morphophonology under 3.2 Linking and Intrusive Consonants, 3.2.5.1.2 The case of *l*.

[dʀa zo gwɛlɐx gɐl amãn/ gɐn amãn] *Dra zo gwelloc'h gant amann*. 'This is nicer with butter'.
[pe·ᵃ zo e:ᵈ de ˈbu:ᵃmən gɐl ymɛn] *Pêr zo aet da bourmen gant Humaine*. 'Pêr has gone for a walk with Humaine'.

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⁸¹ See this word in the glossary.

4.1.5.2.2 Declension of *gant*

In BCB, the preposition *gant* is declined by adding personal endings as follows:

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	[geˈnɪŋ]/[gɑ̃ˈnɪŋ] *ganin*	[geˈneɔ̃m / geˈnjɔ̃m] / [gəˈnɔ̃m] *ganeomp*
2nd sg. and pl.	[geˈnʌχ/geˈneɔχ] *ganeoc'h*	
3rd masculine	[ˈgɑ̃tɔ] *gantañ*	[ˈgete] *ganto*
3rd feminine	[ˈgeti] *ganti*	

Examples:
[meːd ɐn tʁɐu geˈneχ?] *Mat an traoù ganeoc'h?* lit. Good (are) the things with-you?, 'How are you?'

Gant is used to express that one has an object close at hand or about one's own body.

[o kameɣɐ zo geˈneχ?] *Ho kamera zo ganeoc'h?* lit. your camcorder is with-you?, 'Have you got your camcorder ? (on you).'

[i fɔᵃt mɔnɛ vɐ ke geˈti se vɐ gleːt dɛj dɔ̃n nˈdʁoʷ] *He forte-monnaie a oa ket ganti, sed e oa dleet dezhañ dont en dro*, lit. her wallet was not with-her, therefore was owed to-her come in turn. 'She did not have her wallet, so she had to come back'.

Gant is used, (as can be the case, sometimes, in English) to express the fact that one is being befallen by an ailment or that a physical manifestation emanates from someone/something.

[bɛd ɔ̃n bɛt gɐ o ʁym] *Bez on bet gant ur* rhume, lit. be (*par.*) I-am been with a cold. 'I have been sick with a cold.'

[pwɑ̃n bɛn zo geˈnɪŋ] *Poan benn zo ganin*, lit. pain head is with-me. 'I have a headache'.

[χweˑs fall zo gɐn dʷɔʁʃ skyˈdiːli] *C'hwezh fall zo gant an dorch skudili*, lit. smell bad is with rag crockery. 'The dish wipe stinks'.

Gant can sometimes connect a whole clause to its subject, as in the following example:

MTC [a baj i bʁøʁ kæᵃ ve oˈpeːᵃt] *Ha bae e vreur-kaer a vez operet,*
'... and I have heard his brother-in-law is due to be operated'
PN [døs pjeᵃ?] *Deus petra?* 'Of what?'
MTC [e bɛ̃ la pʁɔstat] Et ben, la prostate. 'Well... the prostate'
PN [ɐː biskwɐz] *Ah, biskoazh!* 'Oh, Dear...'
MTC (long pause) [ɐ tena nɛj gɑ̃ˈtɔ]... *Ha tennañ anezhi gantañ!* lit. and pull-out her with-him '... and he has to have it removed.'

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In this last sentence, the necessity for the brother-in-law to have his prostate removed is expressed by connecting the infinitive clause 'to pull her (the prostate) out' with the subject through the preposition *gantañ* 'with him'. Note that no copula is used to achieve this.

4.1.5.3 [døs] PU *deus* 'from, about, of, off' and 'to' or 'at'

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	[døˈzwɪŋ]/ [døˈzɪŋ] *deusoudon*	[døˈzɔ̃m] *deusoudomp*
2nd sg. and pl.	[døˈzwaχ/ døˈzeχ] *deusoudoc'h*	
3rd masculine	[døˈzɔ̃tɔ/døˈzutɔ] *deusoutañ*	
3rd feminine	[døˈzuti/døˈzwi] *deusouti*	[døˈzutə/du·tə] *deusouto*

Examples:

[tɛn ne døˈzuti] *Tenn anezhañ deusouti*, 'Take it out of it (*f.*).', (referring to a box [*boest f.*]).

Due to the emphasis placed on the second syllable, these forms are routinely contracted through apocope of the first syllable. This results in the forms [zwɪŋ, zweχ, ˈzɔ̃tɔ/ˈzutɔ, zwi/ˈzui, zɔ̃m] and [ˈzutə].

Examples:

[pjɛʁ vo gwɛt ˈzutɔ] *Petra vo graet deusoutañ*, 'What are we going to do with him.'

[ẽ vɐ sɛl ˈzwɪŋ] *Eñ a oa o sellet deusoudon*, 'He was looking at me.'

[mø ʃɔ̃ʒ ˈzwi] *E-meus soñj deusouti*, 'I remember her.'

Though the first meaning of this preposition appears to be 'of', it is always used in the sense of 'at' in association with the verb *sell* 'to look' and it can mean either *to* or *about* with the verb *kozeal* 'to speak'.
Thus:
— 'look *at* me' is [sɛl døˈzwɪŋ] or [sɛl ˈzwɪŋ], *sell deusoudon*, which literally means 'look off me.' It is noteworthy that /doh/ the Plozévet dialect equivalent of *deus*, is also used with the same meaning as in: /ˈsɛl doh ˈpɛːr/ *sell doh Per!* 'look at Pierre' (Goyat, 2012, 260).
— [ẽ goˈzeis døˈzwɪŋ/ẽ gozeis ˈzwɪŋ] *Eñ gaozeis deusoudon*, can either mean 'he talks to me' or 'he talks about me', the context being the guide for the listener. Again, the Plozévet dialect uses /doh/, equivalent of *deus*, with the meaning of 'to' as in: /ˈpreʃɛd møs doˌhuti/ *prechet 'meus dohouti* 'I spoke to her' (Goyat, 2012, 261).

This apparent oddity may result from a confusion between the words *deus*, *ouzh* and *eus*.

A clue to this comes from the way *deus* is used with reference to watching something: in PU this action requires the use of the preposition *ouzh* meaning '(up)against, at, close to'. Thus 'he watches TV' in PU can be *emañ o sellet ouzh an tele*. In BCB, however, the sentence goes [eɔ̃ mɐ sel døz ɑ̃n ˈtele], *eñ emañ o sellet deus an tele* literally meaning 'he is watching *off* the television.' It may be that the word *ouzh* in BCB became assimilated to the form *eus*, which, because of its phonetic closeness to *deus*, was, in turn, assimilated to it. Whatever the case may be, BCB speakers have no difficulty distinguishing between the various meanings of *deus* in the various situations in which it is used. In the sentence [mɛ̃ zo sɛl døˈzwɐχ døz aʁ pʁɛnɛs ɑ̃mə] *Me zo o sellet deusoudoc'h deus ar prenestr amañ*, for example, the preposition *deus* is used twice in close succession with different meanings. Though the literal translation of the sentence would give 'me is looking off you off the window here', no BCB native speaker would have any doubt as to which *deus* means 'at' and which one means 'from', nor would they take the sentence as meaning anything other than 'I am looking *at* you *from* the window here'(the context was that of telephone conversation in which the speaker was looking at the listener from his bedroom window about 300 metres away).

4.1.5.4 [gɪʃ] *giz* 'like'

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	[ˌgɪʃˈdɪŋ] *e-giz din*	[ˌgɪʃˈdɔ̃m] *e-giz deomp*
2nd sg. and pl.	[ˌgɪʃˈdwɐχ] *e-giz deoc'h*	
3rd masculine	[ˌgɪʃˈdeɔ̃] *e-giz dezhañ*	
3rd feminine	[ˌgɪʃˈdɛj] *e-giz dezhi*	[ˌgɪʃˈdɛʰ] *e-giz dezhe*

Examples:

[øn gɪʃ ˈdeɔ̃ gles vɛl kelǝs tyt pɑ̃n dɛ] *Unan e-giz dezhañ (a) dlees wellet kalz tud e-pad an deiz*, 'Someone like him must see a lot of people over a day'.

[mɛ̃ zuf, gɪʃˈdwɐχ] *Me a soufr, e-gizdoc'h*, 'I feel pain, like you do'.

4.1.5.5 [vi] *evit* 'for, as, than'

Although the forms [viˈdɪŋ/vidˈdɪŋ] are not inflected forms of *evit*, but rather compounds of *evit* and *din*, they are very common. I feel this justifies displaying them in the table below.

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	[viˈdɪŋ/vidˈdɪŋ/viˈdɔ̃n] *evidon*	[viˈdɔ̃m] *evidomp*
2nd sg. and pl.	[viˈdwɐχ] *evidoc'h*	
3rd masculine	[viˈdeɔ̃] *evitañ*	
3rd feminine	[viˈdɛj] *eviti*	[viˈdɛ] *evito*

Examples:

[viˈdeɔ̃ ɛ] *evitañ eo*, 'It's for him'.

[e nøs gʁet ɑ̃n dʁɛχə vidˈdɪŋ] *e neus graet an dra-se evidon*, 'He did that for me'.

[eɔ̃ zo ken bʁɛːs viˈdɔ̃n, bʁəm] *eñ zo ken bras evidon, bremañ* 'He is as tall as me, now'.

4.1.5.6 [e] *e / en* 'in'

This preposition, which is the one used in PU for 'in', is rarely used in BCB, which uses instead the word [bɐ] *e-barzh*, lit. inside(of). For example, 'in Paris' is expressed [bɐ ˈpeˈʃ] rather than [e ˈpeˈʃ]. *e* occurs in more abstract expressions, in particular: *kaout konfeiz / feiz / fiziañs e* [kɔwt kɔ̃ˈfeis/ feis/ fizjɑ̃s/fiʒjɑ̃s e] 'to trust, have faith in' and *bezañ drouk e* 'to be angry', or in set or fossilised expressions such as [e pɑ̃ˈseːɪn], '*e pañsion*', 'in a boarding school.'

The inflected forms of *e/en* are:

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	[ɛˈnɔ̃] *ennon*	[ɛˈnɔ̃m] *ennom*
2nd sg. and pl.	[ˌɛˈnɔχ] *ennoc'h*	
3rd masculine	[ɛˈnɑ̃n] *ennañ*	
3rd feminine	[ɛˈnɪ/ɛˈne] *enni*	[ɛˈnɛ] *enno*

Examples:

[kɔ̃ˈfeis møs ɛˈnɑ̃n] *koñfeiz e-meus ennañ*, 'I trust him'.

[dʁuk vo ɛˈn(i)] lit. harm/evil will-be in her, *drouk vo enn(i)*, 'She will be angry'.

Because BCB speakers use this preposition infrequently, they are hesitant about its inflected forms. Probably as a result, they generally use alternative expressions such as:

[me gʁe·d deɔ̃] *me a gred dezhañ*, 'I trust him', 'I believe him'. The latter expression is routinely transposed into French as: *Je crois pas beaucoup en lui* (lit. 'I don't believe much in him' instead of the standard French *je (ne) lui fais pas beaucoup confiance*. However, *krediñ*, from Latin *credere* is etymologically closer to the meaning 'to trust' than to the current meaning 'to believe'. In fact *krediñ* is close to the original meaning of 'believe' which had more to do with trust than with intellectual acceptance as truth.

[me gʁe·dɔ̃ kem dɪŋ me hɛ̃n] *me a gredan ket nemet din ma unan*, 'I only trust myself'.

[be vo dʁuk bæᵃs] *be vo drouk barzh*, 'There will be anger', meaning that anger against the person that is being addressed is going to erupt soon (probably from the speaker). To express more specifically the existence of a feeling of anger between two

people, one could use a phrase such as: [hi nøs dʁuk dø'zeχ] lit. she *vp.* has harm/evil off-you, *he e-neus drouk deusoudoc'h*, 'she is angry at you'.

Note that the BCB for 'in Breton' which should use *e* according to PU grammar (*e brezhoneg*), is mostly expressed without any preposition.

[pjeᵃ ve læː bʁe'zɔ̃ːnɛk?] *petra (a) vez lâret e brezhoneg?* lit. what is said Breton? 'how is it said in Breton?'

[læː bʁe'zɔ̃ːnɛk!] *lâr e brezhoneg!* lit. say Breton! 'say (it) in Breton!'

4.1.5.6.1 Prepositions which can be inflected on their own, but often are not

The following prepositions are rarely used in their inflected forms in BCB. They are [a'ʁoːk] *a-raok* 'in front of/ahead of', [va'ʁoːk] *waraok* 'Ahead of', [di'jɑ̃n] *dindan* 'underneath', ['etʁe] *etre* 'between' and [vaʁ] *war* 'on'. I have not encountered the preposition *dirak* in its inflected forms in BCB. I have only encountered it used in conjunction with *da*, as in [eɔ̃ ve diʁek dɪŋ] *Eñ va dirak din* 'He was in front of me'. The preposition [betɛk] *beteg* 'up to/until', on the other hand, can be inflected in BCB (see § f. below), while, to my knowledge, it is not inflected in PU.

a. [a 'ʁo·k] *a-raok* 'in front of, ahead of'

The inflected forms of *a-raok* are:

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	[ˌa'ʁoːzᵒn] *araozon*	[a'ʁɔːzᵒm] *araozom*
2nd sg. and pl.	[a'ʁoːzeχ] *araozoc'h*	
3rd masculine	[a'ʁoːzɔ] *araozañ*	
3rd feminine	[a'ʁɔːzi] *araozi*	see below

None of my informants is able to provide a form for the 3rd. pers. pl., other than [a'ʁok dɛ] *araok dezho*. Like this latter form, the forms most commonly used by BCB speakers at the present time are composed of the preposition *a-raok* followed by the inflected forms of the preposition *da*, i.e. [a ʁo·k'dɪŋ, a ʁo·k'dweχ, a ʁo·k'deɔ̃, a ʁo·k'dɛj, a ʁ·ok'dɔ̃m, a ʁo·k'dɛ].

The main word to express in 'front of', however, is the preposition [fɐs] *fas* which is used in conjunction with *da* when followed by a pronoun as in: [fɐs dɪŋ] *fas din* 'in front of me/facing me'. When it is followed by a noun, the preposition *da* is generally not present. Thus, 'in front of the house/across from the house' is [fɐs ən ti] *fas an ti* (and not *fas d'an ti*).

b. [va'ʁoːk] *waraok* 'Ahead of'

The inflected forms for *waraok*, [va'ʁoːk], are identical to those of *a-raok* only preceded by /v/.

Example:

[ne vɐ hɔ̃n vɐˈʁɔːzˤn nøs stæːˤd a fχɛ̃, sed ɔ̃ ɛt ba i ˈʁɛᵃˣ] *An hini a oa o vont waraozon neus startet ar freñ, sed on aet barzh e reor.* 'The one (who was moving) ahead of me put his brakes on, so I hit his rear'.

c. [diˈjɑ̃n /bɐdiˈjɑ̃n] *dindan* 'underneath'

There is little call, in everyday conversation, for the inflected forms of this preposition. Rarely does one need to say 'underneath me/you/him/her/us'. Thus, none of my informants knows own to inflect [diˈjɑ̃n]. There are frequent opportunities, however, to use [diˈjɑ̃n] with reference to objects, but generally the objects are mentioned directly rather than through pronouns. If one needs to express that something is underneath something else, which has been previously mentionned, without repeating the word for the latter, one is likely to say: [bɐ diˈjɑ̃n mɐ] (*e*)*dindan emañ*, 'it is underneath', rather than saying 'it is underneath *it*'.

When a speaker does feel the need to resort to a personal form, this will often be done by associating [diˈjɑ̃n] with *da*, which is effectively the default inflected preposition used by BCB speakers to conjugate other prepositions, as in [eɔ̃ va diˈjɑ̃n dɛj], *eñ a oa dindan dezhi*, 'he was underneath her', referring to a piglet smothered by his mother. I have, however heard the form [diˈjɑ̃ne], in the same context. This form corresponds to the PU feminine form *dindani*.

With some coaxing I obtained the following forms from TLD:

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	[diˈjɑ̃nɔ̃ⁿ] *dindanon*	[diˈjɑ̃nɔ̃m] *dindanomp*
2nd sg. and pl.	[diˈjɑ̃nɔχ] *dindanoc'h*	
3rd masculine	[diˈjɑ̃neɔ̃] *dindanañ*	[diˈjɑ̃ndɛ] *dindano*
3rd feminine	[diˈjɑ̃ne] *dindani*	

d. [ˈetʁe] *Etre* 'between'

This preposition only has three forms. BCB speakers often inflect it in conjunction with *da*, producing the forms: [eˈtʁe dɔ̃m] *etre deomp* 'between us', [eˈtʁe dwɐχ] *etre deoc'h* 'between you', [eˈtʁe dɛ] *etre dezho* 'between them'.

With some coaxing I obtained the following forms from MTC:

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st		[eˈtʁezɔ̃m] *etrezomp*
2nd sg. and pl.		[eˈtʁezɔχ] *etrezoc'h*
3rd masculine		[eˈtʁe dɛ] *etre dezho*
3rd feminine		[eˈtʁezə dɛ] *etreze dezho*

e. [va/vaʁ] *War* **'on'**

'On' in a literal sense, is replaced in BCB by the periphrastic expression [vaˈgwæʁ] *war gorre*, lit. 'on top'. This expression is indirectly inflected through the possessives associated with it, as in [va i ˈgwæːʁ] *war e gorre* lit. on his top, 'on top of him/it'.

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	[va me ˈgwæːʁ / vam ˈgwæːʁ] *war me gorre*	[va(o) ˈgwæːʁ dẽɔm] *war (hor) gorre deomp*
2nd sg. and pl.	[vao ˌkwæːʁ] *war ho korre*	
3rd masculine	[va i ˈχwæːʁ (dẽɔ)] *war e c'horre (dezhan)*	[va(o) ˈgwæːʁ dɛ] *war o gorre dezhe*
3rd feminine	[va i ˈgwæːʁ (dɛj)] *war he gorre (dezhi)*	[va ˈgwæːʁ dɛ] *war gorre dezhe*

When *war* is used figuratively, however, inflected forms of *war* may be used.

Examples:

[meːs ʁy zo vaʁˈnõm] *mezh ruz zo warnomp* 'There is great shame upon us'.
[kue ɐ ʃɑ̃s vaʁˈnõm] *kouezhet ar chañs warnomp*, lit. 'fallen the luck on-us', 'We are having/we had a stroke of luck'.
[ʃɑ̃s zo bet vaʁˈnõm] *chañs zo bet warnomp*, lit. luck is been on-us, 'we had luck/we were lucky'.

f. [beˑk / bekɛt / betɛk] *beteg* **'up to / up until'**

Though this word is not, to my knowledge, considered to be preposition that can be inflected, it is inflected in BCB to produce the following forms meaning '(all the way) up to + *pers. pron.*', used in a spatial sense:

person	number	
	singular	plural
1st	[bekeˈdɪŋ /bekeˈdõn] *bekedon*	[bekeˈdõm] *bekedomp*
2nd sg. and pl.	[bekeˈdɐχ /bekeˈdwɐχ] *bekedoc'h*	
3rd masculine	[bekeˈdẽɔ] *bekedeñ*	
3rd feminine	[bekeˈdɛj] *bekedezhi*	[bekeˈdɛ] *bekedezhe*

The above orthographic forms in *beke* are, from a PU perspective, unorthodox. However, the etymological elements found in Henri (1900, 33) for *betek* make the form *beket* plausibly closer to the etymology of the word. If *betek*, as indicated by Henri, comes from the Old Breton *beheit*, it seems that *beket* is closer to that word than *betek*, which looks like it may result from a metathesis of *beheit*. It might therefore be that BCB has retained an older and etymologically more correct form than PU.

g. Prepositions as clues to a potential creolisation of Breton in Canton Briec

It is tempting to view the fact that the prepositions *a-raok, dirak, dindan* and *etre* are predominantly or totally inflected through the auxiliary preposition *da*, instead of being inflected on their own, and the fact that *war gorre* + possessives has replaced the inflected forms of *war*, as evidence of the creolisation of the Breton spoken in Canton Briec. This is plausible as creolisation can be one of the last stages before the extinction of a language and BCB is currently well on its way to extinction. It must be noted, however, that the same BCB speakers who inflect the afore-mentioned prepositions using *da*, may use the inflected forms of the prepositions on occasions when it suits them. The inflected forms are still known to them and in use (in spite of the fact their use of Breton diminishes constantly) but the simpler inflection with *da* (only requiring memorisation of the inflected forms of *da*) competes with them. It is difficult to form an opinion as to when this trend started in BCB. The only records available to me of the way prepositions in BCB were inflected in the past, are Le Scao's dictionaries and inflected prepositions are not specifically discussed in them. These dictionaries, however, do contain inflected forms of *dirak* (for ex. Le Scao 1945b, 26) and *etre* (for ex. Le Scao 1945b, 34) within the text and they contain no compound forms using *da* with these prepositions. This points to the possibility that inflected forms for all inflectable prepositions may have been common in the Breton spoken by Le Scao's family in the last quarter of the 19th century.

4.1.5.6.2 Other prepositions

Note that certain prepositions shown hereafter can be inflected in PU but, to my knowledge, are not in BCB. These prepositions are: *nemet*, *dre*, *dreist*. The others are inflected using 'da'.

It is important, from a revivalist's perspective to observe carefully how speakers manipulate the elements of the language in real-life conversation.
It is therefore important, to carefully observe and document the strategies implemented by native speakers in their use of the elements of the language. If learners of Breton dialects do not reproduce native mannerisms, they will produce a language that might well be grammatically correct as per the grammar rules of PU, but their speech will be inauthentic and incomprehensible to native speakers.
Native speakers' mannerisms often involve avoidance of inflected forms and their replacement by various alternatives. For this reason, known alternatives to the following prepositions will be given in the entries below.

a. [dãm] *dam,* **PU** *a balamour/'blam***, 'because of'**

[vwɛ̃ɲ ke ɡues də vɛl ˈnetχɐ dãm ˈdeõ] *Ne oan ket gouest da wellet netra, dam dezhan*. 'I could not see anything because of him' (Context: The speaker is pointing at the tall person who was blocking her view in a show).

[nõ kebe ɡuest də võn e vaˈkãsu dãm də mi ˈlɐːbə] *N'on ket bet gouest da vont e vakañsoù, dam da ma labour*. 'I could not go on holidays because of my work'.

b. [ˈdjuspe da] *daouspet* (*daoust/despet*) *da*. **'in spite of'**

Example:
[ˈdjuspe dɪŋ] 'In spite of me'. The form [ˈdjuspe] seems to be a metaplasm consisting of the word *daoust* 'although' to which the last syllable of the word *despet* 'in spite of' is added.

c. [ˈdɪˢsəp da] *despet* (*despet*) *da*. **'in spite of'**

Example:
[ˈdɪˢsəp dɪŋ] 'In spite of me'.

Alternatives:

While 'in spite of' and '*malgré*' are fairly versatile expressions in English and French, *daoust* and *despet* are not used very frequently in BCB, nor can they be used in all the situations in which 'in spite of' and '*malgré*' can apply. Possible alternatives are the words [pɔʃ] *posubl* (lit. 'possible'), [fwæs] *forzh* (lit. 'force, case') and [asˈkud] *koulzkoude* 'however, although'.

Examples:

'*J'ai obéi malgré moi*' [me møs ʃyʃe ɛp sɔ̃ːʒəl] *Me e meus sujet hep soñjal*, lit. I have subjected without think, 'I obeyed without thinking' (note that Breton and English use similar expressions here. Though *malgré* can translate as 'in spite of', *malgré moi* could not be translated 'in spite of me' in this example.

'He went out in spite of the heat' [eɔ̃ va et meːs pɔʃ ʁɛⁱ tom] *Eñ a oa aet maez posubl e rae tom*.

[ɛ·deɔ̃ də ˈbuᵃmən geˈti fwæs no ke χwɑ̃n] *Aet eñ da bourmen ganti (neus) forzh n'e deus ket c'hoant*, 'He went for a walk with her, in spite of the fact he did not feel like it'.

d. [diʁek] *dirak*. **'in front of'**

As explained in '4.1.5.6.1 Prepositions which can be inflected on their own, but often are not', I have not encountered the preposition *dirak* in its inflected forms in BCB. I have only encountered *dirak* used in conjunction with *da*, as in:

[hɪŋ vɐ ˈdiʁek dɪŋ] *Int a oa dirak din*. 'They were in front of me'

e. [dʁem] *dre ma*. **'through'**

[hɪŋ nøs nim ɑ̃nˈveːt dʁem dɪŋ] *Int neus en em anaveet, dre ma din*. 'They met through me' (in this example, *ma* is the conj. 'if'. It is different from the possessive *ma* meaning 'my' seen in the next example).

f. [dʁe] *dre*, **'through'**

[hɪŋ nøs nim ãnˈveːt dʁe me fɛʁs] *Int neus en em anaveet, dre ma ferzh.* Lit. they has reflexive loc. known, through my part. 'They met through me'.

g. [dʁɛist] *dreist*, **'over'**

Example:
[lãm dʁɛisᵗ deõ!] *Lamm dreist dezhañ!* 'Jump over him!'

h. [dʁoʷ] *dro.* **In this context: 'around'**

Examples:
[ˈkeləs tyt va dʁoʷ dɪŋ] *Kalz tud a oa dro din.* 'There were lots of people around me'.

[ˈkeləs tyt va dʁoʷ døzɪŋ] *Kalz tud a oa dro deusoudon.* 'There were lots of people around me'.

i. [ˈeᵃvɛs] *hervez*, **'according to'**

I have rarely heard this word used by BCB speakers and mainly by those who known written Breton.

Alternatives: [døs pes a ʒõʒ neõ, nõke bɛl vo gwæᵘs tut] *Deus pez a soñj, anezhan, n'eo ket bell e vo gwerzhet tout.* 'According to him, it is all going to be sold soon.'

[mɛ̃ gʁed dɪŋ bado ke pɛl] *Me a gred din e bado ket pell.* Lit. me believe to-me will-last not far, 'I don't think it will last long.'

j. [kem] *ken nemet*, **'except'**

[tun dyt wɛʁ ˈãglɛ, kem mɛ̃ᵊ] *Tout an dud a oar* anglais, *ken nemet me.* 'Everybody knows English, but me.'

Alternative:

[tut a ʁeal ˈseve·ʁ ˈã glɛ , me zo mehɛ̃n a nu·zõket] *Tout ar re all savar* anglais, *me zo me unan a n'ouzon ket.* Lit. all the ones other speak English, me is my one *vp.* not I-know not, 'All the others speak English, I am the only one who does not.'

k. [ˈnemɛt] *nemet*, **'except'**

Example :
[tun dyt nøs bɛt, nemɛt mɛ̃ᵊ] *Tout an dud neus bet, nemet me.* Lit. all the people have been, except me. 'Everybody got some, except me.'

4.1.5.7 Metaplasms in BCB

What appears to be metaplasms can be observed in BCB. Note that these forms are described here by reference to the same words in PU. However, one must be careful not to rush to conclusions on that basis alone, as it could be the PU forms that may be metaplasmic. It seems appropriate to mention these forms in Morphology.

Some of these suspected metaplasms involve adjacent metathesis. Without attempting to discuss the processes from which they result, I will simply give a list I have compiled of such forms.

PU	Permutation	BCB
alan [ˈalən] 'breath'	(lə → əl)	[ɑ̃nəl]
alies [aˈlijəs] 'often'	(ijə → eˑⁱ)	[aˈleˑⁱs]
diskoulm [ˈdiskulm] 'unknot'	(ul → lu)	[disklum]
honnezh [ˈhɔ̃nɛs] 'this one' (*f.*)	(ɛs → sə)	[hɔ̃sə]
ivez [iɥe] 'also'	(ɥe → əɥ)	[ˈəɥ]
koumoulenn [kuˈmulən] 'cloud'	(m...l → lm)	[ˈkulmən]
Montroulez [mɔ̃nˈtʁuləs] 'Morlaix'	(tʁu → tuʁ/tua)	[mɔ̃nˈtuˑᵃləs]
touseg [ˈtuːzɛk] 'toad'	(ɛk → kə)	[ˈtuskət]
pesket [ˈpɛːskət] 'toad'	(skət→ sək)	[ˈpɛːsək][82]
kiozenn [kiˈoːzən] 'female dog'	(zən → nəs)	[kiˈjɔ̃ːnəs]

I have also noted a metaplasm through apheresis of the expression noted *en-ur* in PU. This metaplasm is *nar* [næˑᵁ]/ [nɑ]/ [nɑᵁ]. lit. 'in a'. This word acts either as a preposition meaning 'in (a)', in the sense of 'within the chronological space of', or 'while' + gerund. Examples of use in both meanings are given in the glossary under *en-ur* and *nar*. It appears to be the result of the pronunciation en *en-ur* as /nar/ resulting in native speakers no longer understanding it as meaning 'in a', but rather 'in'. When used in a chronological context, the article, though it is already contained in it, is therefore added again as in [næʁ ɔ̃n ˈdeːvəs] 'in a day.' This gives the strange literal translation 'in-a a day'.

4.2 VERBS

4.2.1 Preliminary remarks on the inflexion system

There are three options for producing verbal forms in Breton:

— A synthetic form in which verb endings give information about person, number, tense and mood. In addition, the verb *bezañ* can display feminine endings in the 3rd.*sg*.
— An analytical form using subject pronouns followed by a verbal form normally identical in all persons. This verbal form is identified for tense and mood by its ending.

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[82]Only in the expression [ˈpɛːsək ˈɐːvʁəl] *pesket ebrel* 'April fools joke'.

— A periphrastic form using the infinitive form of the verb followed by the conjugated auxiliary *ober*.

The condition of use of these options are discussed under 5. Syntax.

Both the analytical and the synthetic forms can be used in negative constructions, although the synthetic form tends to be used more in that context and is considered more correct.

In sentences starting with adverbs or conjunctions like *when* or *if*, there is no possibility of avoiding synthetic forms.

Contrary to what happens in English and spoken French, where inflection has almost totally disappeared or has been drastically reduced, as compared to the languages they stem from or are relatives of, Breton has retained inflection, but speakers of BCB are selective about its use and they tend to use non-inflected analytical forms of verbs more than synthetic forms. For example, they will rather say [heɲ bed ke mwæᵃs] *Int (a) bed ket morse*, than [ˈpedeɲ ke ˈmwæᵃs] *Pedint ket morse* (or [ne be·deɲ ke ˈmwæₐs] *Ne bedint ket morse*), for 'they never pray.'

This is not a very recent phenomenon as is apparent in Le Scao's verbal inflection tables, which he finished writing in 1945 and which contains data collected around the turn of the 19th century. The data presented in Le Scao's dictionaries, in spite of their time of collection, match the contemporary usage of contemporary BCB quite exactly, barring the fact Le Scao gives 2nd *pers. sg.* forms, which are not used in BCB. Below is an example of the first of these tables, which, as a priest, he could not help but devote to the regular verb *pédi* 'to pray' (Fig. 4.a).

Looking at this table, one notices that in most tenses and moods, the verb is represented by a single form in all persons. Verbs, however, are inflected in the present imperative (*Ped, Ra bédi, Pédom* etc.) in another, more literary, form of it, which is practically never used (*Ra bédin, bédis, bédi etc.*) and in the negative form.

(14)

Prier		Pédi	
Je prie	mé bed	j'ai prié	mé meuz péde
Tu —	bé —	tu as —	bé teuz —
Il, elle prie	Héo, hi bed	Il, elle a —	Héo, Hi neuz —
nous prions	nign —	n. av. prié	nign —
Vous priez	Houi —	V. av. —	Houi teuz —
Ils, elles prient	Hign —	Ils, elles ont —	Hign neuz —
Je priais	mé bédè	j'avais prié	mé noa péde
Tu —	bé —	tu — —	Bé poa —
Il, elle pr..	Héo, hi' —	Il — —	Héo noa —
nous priions	nign —	n. av. pr.	nign — —
Vous priiez	Houi' —	V. av. —	Houi poa —
Ils, elles pr..	Hign —	Ils — —	Hign noa —
		ou bien:	
Je prierai'	mé bédo	Je	mé naoué péda
tu prieras	bé —	Tu . . .	bé paoué
Il, elle pr.	Héo, hi —	Il	Héo naoué —
nous prierons	nign —	N. — —	nign — —
Vous pr...	Houi —	V. —	Houi paoué —
Ils, elle pr..	Hign —	Ils —	Hign naoué —
Je prierais	mé bedfè	que je prie	Ra bédin
tu —	bé' —	— tu —	— bédis
Il, elle . —	Héo, hi' —	— il —	— bédi
Nous prierions	nign —	— nous —	— bédins
V. prieriez	Houi —	— vous —	— bédit
Ils, elles pr..	Hign —	— Ils —	— bédint
j'aurais prié	mé mijé pédet	que j'eusse prié	Ra mijé bet péd
tu — —	bé pijè —	— tu — —	Ra pijé bet péde
Il, elle — —	Héo, Hi nijè —	— Il — —	— nijé — —
n. aurions —	nign nijè —	— nous — —	— nijém — —
V. auriez —	Houi pijè —	— Vous — —	— pijé — —
Ils, elles aur. —	Hign nijè —	— Ils — —	— nijént — —
Prie	Ped	On prie	Pédi réek
qu'il prie!	Ra bédi !	— briait	Pédet vijè
Prions	Pédôn	— priéra	Pédet vo
priez	Pédit	— prierait	Pédi rafér
qu'ils prient!	Ra bédint!	— aurait prié	Pédet vijè bet
		— a prié	Pédet yo
		— avait prié	Pédet va

En priant = ön eur bédi

avoir prié = Bé'a pédet

Fig. 4.b

The tables above bring out the following observations with regard to regular verbs in BCB.

1) There are infinitive desinences in BCB (though not all verbs have them). In the title of fig. 4.a, the verb is shown as *pédi*. This is the phonetic representation of this infinitive in BCB, which is indeed pronounced [ˈpeːdi], spelt *pediñ* in ZH. This, in turn, brings out the fact that the orthography of PU infinitive endings such as *-iñ*, does not correlate with BCB pronunciation, unless one expects *-iñ* to be pronounced [i]. Consultation of the NALBB (Le Dû 2001) shows that only in relatively small areas of the Breton-speaking domain, mainly in the east and south-east, is an [n] heard in infinitive endings.

2) In regular verbs, the single form for the affirmative present of the indicative (used following subject pronouns) is produced by eliding the ending (if there is one) of the infinitive. This constitutes the verb base to which all other endings are added; in this case, the verb base is *ped* generally mutated to *bed*.

3) The endings for the imperfect, the future and the past-participle are respectively: /e/, /o/ and /ɛt/.

4) Though the conditional ending displayed in at table 4.a ('*Je prierais mé bedfè*' etc.) involves the syllable /fe/ (which correlates with PU), the ending actually in use in BCB for the conditional is not just /fe/. When a verb base ends in a consonant, native speakers use the two-syllable ending /efe/. As the stress ends up falling on the first syllable of this ending, the vowel of the last syllable tends to be reduced to /ə/. Thus BCB speakers do not say /me bedfe/, but [me beˈdefə]

5) The endings shown for the present tense in table 4.b, which are close to the orthographic PU endings do not fully correlate with their pronunciation in BCB which is: 1st *sg.* [ɔ̃], 2nd *sg.* not in use, 3rd *sg.* same as verb base, 1st *pl.* [ɔ̃m], 2nd *pl.* [ət]/[ɪt], 3rd *pl.* [ən]/[ɔn] (i.e. no /t/ is heard).

4.2.2 Infinitive endings in BCB verbs

Many regular verbs have no infinitive ending and, according to Trépos (1957, 33), may never have had one.[83] Whatever the case may be, the fact is that infinitive endings are routinely elided or altogether absent in BCB. The infinitive endings written *-añ* and *-iñ* in ZH orthography are generally elided or pronounced /ə/, as in the Plonevell dialect (see Wmffre 1998, 48) and in a number of other dialects, as is apparent when one consults the NALBB with regard to such verbs. The following examples are those actually given by Goyat (2012, 266–68), whose sequence I follow below to provide an opportunity for comparison between BCB and the Plozévet dialect:

[ˈɐstən] *astenn* 'lie down, stretch, extend' (whether *-enn* is an infinitive ending or not is, however, a question worth asking).
[ˈbɐːle] *bale* 'lie down, stretch, extend'
[χwaˑj] *c'hoari* 'play'
[ˈdɐˑle] *dale* 'to delay'
[ˈdaspyɲ] *dastum* 'lie down, stretch, extend'
[dɛs] *digas* 'to bring'

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[83] '*En certaines régions, il y a des infinitifs qui semblent n'avoir jamais eu de suffixe*', 'In certain areas, there are infinitive forms which appear never to have had an ending'.

[døsk] *deskiñ* 'teach, learn <u>and show</u>'

[ˈdiskɛn] *diskenn* 'climb down'

[ˈdispɪŋ] *dispign* 'spend'

[ˈdifɛn] *difenn* 'defend'

[ˈgu·nɪs] *gounid* 'win, earn'

[(nɪm)ˈɑ̃tən] *entent* 'understand, get along with'

[kɐs] *kas* 'send, bring'

[ˈke·mɐ] *kemer* 'take'

Here Goyat places /ˈkinig/ *kinnig* 'offer', which in BCB is [kinigᵊ]

[klɐsk] *klask* 'look for, attempt'

[klɛm] *klemm* 'complain'

[kɔl] *koll* 'loose'

[ˈko̞ːmɑ̃s] *komañs* 'begin'

[ˈkõpʁᵊn] *kompren* 'understand'

[lɛn] *lenn* 'read'

[ˈpuᵉmᵊn] *pourmen* 'have a walk'

[ˈʃikɐ]/[ˈʃukɐ] *sikour* 'help'

[ˈʃulu]/[ˈʃɪlu] *selaou* 'listen'

[ʃɔm] *chom* 'stay'

Further list made by Trépos (1957, 33) of verbs collected south-west of Kemper: This list matches BCB entirely, apart from a slight difference in the case of *klevoud*:

[be] *bezañ* 'be'

[gul] *goulenn* 'ask'

[gɥɛl] *gwellet* 'see', also pronounced [ˈgɥɛlɛt]

/ˈklew/ *klevoud* 'hear', placed here by Goyat, which, in BCB, is [ˈkleo]

[lɐk] *lakad* 'put'

[læːᵃ] *lâr* 'say'

[sɛl] *sellet* 'look'

[sɔ̃ːn] *senniñ* 'sound, play an instrument'

Other infinitives without endings in BCB:

[aˈzɛj] *azezañ* 'sit down'

[gɔ·ᵉ] *goro* 'milk (cows)'

[gwisk] *gwiskañ* 'put on (clothes)'

[ˈhas] *hastañ* 'hurry'

[lɑ̃mᵐ] *lammad* 'jump'

[stɐk] *stagañ* 'tie (up), stick to'

[stʁɪk] *strinkañ* 'spray, sprinkle, splash'

[tɛn] *tennañ* 'pull, fire upon'

[twæᵃ] *torriñ* 'break'

4.2.3 Other endings

Note that some of the verbs appearing in the above lists of verbs without endings may also appear in the lists of verbs with endings below. This is because, in the case of a

small number of verbs, some speakers do apply endings (and a variety of them) while others do not. Those who do not are the majority.

One also has to keep in mind that, due to the strong emphasis on the penultimate syllable of some of the following verbs, the vowels of the endings, when they are not already /ə/, tend to display a centralised quality (i.e. their pronunciation tends towards /ə/).

4.2.3.1 The ending [-a]

Examples:

[bɐˈde·a] *badeziñ* 'baptise'
[ˈstʀɛ̃va] *strewiñ* 'spill, spead over a surface'
[ˈskyʎa] *skuilhañ* 'pour over'
[ˈpɐːʀɐ] *parañ* 'shine'

4.2.3.2 The ending [-ə]

[ˈbʀuːstə] *broustañ* 'brush'
[ˈʃoːkə]/ [ˈʃoːʷkə] *chaokad* 'chew'
[ˈχwœ̃ːnə] *c'hwennad* 'to hoe for weeding'
[ˈdeːbə]/ [dɪːbə] *debriñ* 'eat'
[ˈfwetə] *foeltrañ* 'damage, destroy, wreck'
[ˈlɔ̃kə] *loñkañ* 'swallow'

4.2.3.3 The ending [-e]

[ˈbɛ̃jᵉ] *beuziñ* 'drown, submerge'
[ˈdeːve] *deviñ* 'burn'
[ˈgwɛ̃e] *gweañ* 'twist, bend'
[ˈkwɛ̃e] *koeñviñ* 'swell'
[lyˈgʲɛʀne] *lugerniñ* 'shine (up)'

4.2.3.4 The ending [-i]

[aˈʃøi]/[aˈʃyi] *achuiñ* 'finish'
[pɛ̃ˈtyʀi] *penturiñ* 'paint'
[ˈtɛ̃ːi] *teuziñ* 'melt'

4.2.3.5 The ending [-j]

[ˈχwaj] *c'hroari* 'play'
[ˈʀɛj] *reiñ* 'give'
[ˈtʀɔ·j] *troiñ* 'turn'

4.2.3.6 The ending [-o]

[ɑ̃ˈveo] *anavezout* 'know'
[digˈweo] *degouezhout* 'arrive'

[iˈbɐːto] *ebatal* 'play, have fun'
[ˈeo] *evañ* 'drink'
[ˈpeo] *paeañ* 'pay'

4.2.3.7 The ending [-əl]/ [-al]

[ˈʃɛpəl] *chilpad* 'bark'
[ˈdjᵘwəl]/[diwɛl] *diwall* 'protect'
[ˈhɛᵃpəl] *harpañ* 'stop, lean against'
[ˈhɔpəl] *hopal* 'call/yell out'
[ˈnɛ̃·jal] *neuñvial* 'swim'
[ˈʁeːdəl] *redek* 'run'

4.2.3.8 The ending [-ɛn] [-ən]

[ˈgwɛχə(n)] *gwalc'hin* 'wash'
[ˈdifɛn] *difenn* 'defend, forbid'

4.2.3.9 the ending [-ɛs] [-əs] [-ɪs]

[ˈleːʁɛs] *laerezh* 'to steal'
[ˈgu·nɪs]/[ˈgɔ̃nəs] *gounez* 'win, earn'

4.2.3.10 The ending [-ɛt]/[-ɪt]/[-ət]/[-at]

[ˈgu·skət]/[ˈgu·skɪt] *gousket* 'to sleep'
[ˈgɥe·lɛt] *gwellet* 'to see' (though this infinitive is often pronounced [gɥɛ·l]/[də vɛ·l]).
[laˈbuːʁᵃt] *labourat* 'to work' (though this infinitive is often pronounced [ˈlaːbəʰ] like the corresponding noun).

4.2.3.11 The ending [-ut]

[ˈgu·zut] *gouzout* 'know'
[ˈkɐuᵗ] *kaout* 'have'. In conversation, however, this verb is often pronounced [kɐu].

4.2.4 The verb base

It is the form to which other elements (in particular endings) are added to create the synthetic forms. In regular verbs devoid of infinitive endings, the infinitive form is the verb base.

4.2.5 The past participle

In theory, the past participle forms are created in a way similar to what happens in regular English verbs, by adding the ending *-et* to the verb base. Except, possibly, for the verb *dont*, no past participles are formed through ablaut in Breton as they can be in English in such cases as *begin → began* or German *beginnen → begonnen*.

The past participle ending *-et* pronounced [ət], [ɛt] or reduced to [t], as happens in English, is frequently left out in spoken BCB unless its elision takes away from the clarity of the statement. Generally, the presence of the auxiliary is enough to express the relevant past tense without fully expressing the past participle. Sometimes, however, whether a verbal form is a past participle or not is left to context.

A famous example of this is the swear phrase and exclamation: [kɔχ ki dy kɔχ gɛni gɥen!] *kaoc'h ki du, kaoc'het gant ur c'hi gwenn*, 'black dog-shit, shat by a white dog' equivalent of 'bugger!', 'bloody hell!' or 'holy crap!' in which the first occurrence of [kɔχ] is the noun *kaoc'h*, while the next is the past participle of the verb *kaoc'hañ/kac'hat*.

Other examples:

[kɔl pøs a vẽːs] *Kollet (e-)peus ar viñs*, 'You have lost the screw.'

[ãn dau vo badɛj sãməs] *An daou vo badezet asambles*, 'The two will be baptised together.'

When the ending *-et* is pronounced, it is generally fully pronounced as /-ɛt/ allophones unlike English, where *-ed* is predominantly reduced to /t/. This also means that infinitives ending in *-et* are identical to their past participles in spelling and pronunciation, as in:

Gousket 'to sleep' and *gousket* 'slept', both realised [ˈgu·skət]

The past participle ending is, however, occasionally reduced to just [-t] as in the following forms.

— *ganet* 'born', pronounced [gã̃ːnt] most of the time rather than [ˈgã̃ːnət] (though this pronunciation is occasionally heard).
— *gounezet* 'won', which is pronounced [guˈneːsᵗ] rather than / guˈnezɛt/.
— *operet* 'operated on', which is pronounced [oˈpeːᵃt] rather than / oˈpeːʁɛt/.
— *serret* 'closed', which is pronounced [ˈsæₐt] rather than /ˈseʁət/.
— *torret* 'broken', which is pronounced [twæₐt] rather than /ˈtɔːʁət/.

In some regular verbs, however, the auxiliary verbs that precede the past participle are sufficient to indicate that it is indeed a past participle, and the [-ət] ending is dispensed with altogether.
Thus:

'he saw everything' *'Neus gwellet tout*, is realised [nøs gwɛl tut] rather than [nøs ˈgɥelət tut].
'I told you not to' *Em boa lâret deoc'h nompaz ober*, is realised [mo læ·ʁ dwæχ nõpeˈzoːbᵉ] rather than /mo laʁɛt dwæχ nõpezˈoːbɐ/.

Further examples:

[weo ke ˈnetʁɐ keⁱt vo ke læª dɛʲ] *ouio ket netra keit vo ket lâret dezhi* 'she won't know if no one tells her.

[õn dʁa mɔs møs ke be gwɛl ˈmwæªs bɛt!] *Un dra a mod-se, meus ket bet gwellet morse ebet!* 'I have never seen such a thing, ever!'

4.2.6 The imperative

The imperative is rather useful in everyday interaction children in Breton, both to prompt them and for them to learn how to prompt others into providing what they need. I have therefore chosen to start with this mode.

It is the simplest conjugation, having only one tense: the present and two persons: the 2nd person plural which does both the singular and plural and the 1st person plural.

The imperative is very frequently achieved by using an infinitive for either person.

4.2.6.1 Affirmative imperative

With regular verbs, the form for the 2nd person is generally the verb base, as in the following examples:

[aˈzɛj!] *azez!* 'sit!'
[ʃɔm ãm!] *chom amañ!* 'Stay here!'
[dɪːbᵊ!] *debr!* 'Eat!'
[ˈdɪwɔl də ˈgweo!] *diwal da gouezhañ!* 'beware of falling!'
[ˈgɔ·təs!] *gortoz!* 'wait!'
[ˈhæªp teː!] *harp ta!* 'stop (doing this)!'
[hɐs bøːn!] *hast buan!* 'hurry up!'
[køː an dʁɐ!] *kuzh an dra!* 'hide it!'
[lɐk ne ãm!] *lak anezhañ amañ!* 'put it here!'
[lõk pes pøs bɐ o pɛk!] *loñk pez a-peus e-barzh ho peg!* 'swallow what is in your mouth!'
[sɛχ o fʁi!] *sec'h ho fri!*, lit. 'dry your nose', 'wipe your nose!'
[sɛl døzuto!] *sell deuzoutañ!* 'look at him!'
[ʃu·lu!] *selaou!* 'listen!'
[sæª noːª!] *serr an nor!* 'shut the door!'
[tɐp!] *tap!* 'catch!'
[døsk ən dʁɐ deɲ!] *desk an dra din!* 'show[84] it to me!'
[tɔl o pweːs!] *Taol ho pouezh!* lit. throw your weight! 'sit!'
[tɔl ˈbæːªs!] *Taol barzh!* lit. throw in, 'bottoms up! drink! put it in your mouth!'

4.2.6.1.1 Imperative of reflexive verbs

Verbs used reflexively are preceded by the particle [nɪm] *en em*, as they are in other contexts:

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[84] Note that [døsk] *deskiñ* is used by all my informants for 'show', 'learn' and 'teach'. My informants are not aware of the verb *diskouez* given in other sources for 'to show' at least when I questioned them about it and pronounced it [disˈkwe·s] or [disˈkwe].

[nɪm lak ɑ̃m!] *en em lak amañ!* 'place yourself here!'
[nɪm dɛn ˈleːse!] *en em den alese!* lit. pull yourself from here, 'move from here!/Get out of the way!'
[nɪm dʁoʷ!] *en em droiñ!* 'turn around!'

In some cases, however, the 2nd person ending *-it*, present in written PU and pronounced [ə], [ət], [et] or [ɪt], is heard in BCB.

[goˈtɔ·ɪt!] *gortozit!* 'wait!'
[ˈtʁɔwət!] *troit!* 'turn!'
[gʁɪt!]/ [gʁet!] *grit!* 'do!'
[lɛ·nə!] *lennit!* 'read!'

4.2.6.1.2 Using infinitives as imperatives

[ˈʃoːkə mɐːt!] *chaokad mat!* 'chew well!'
[ˈkɑ̃·na œn dʁɑ̃ mnak dõm!] *kanañ un dra bennak deomp!* 'sing something for us!'
[ˈkõtə bek ˈyːgən!] *koñtañ betek ugent!* 'count to twenty!'
[ˈkemɐ pez ve gwɛt dwæχ!] *kemer pez a vez graet deoc'h*, 'take what is given to you!'
[ˈʁɛ̃·tɐ bõˈʒuᵃ!] *rentañ boñjour!* lit. render hello, 'say hello!'

4.2.6.1.3 Expressing commands without using a verb

[fu·nʃ!] *founnus!* lit. quick, 'hurry!'
[vɐ ˈsao!] *war sao!* lit. on stand, 'get up!'
[va ʁok!] *war raok!* lit. on in-front, 'go forward!'

Some verbs are practically always used in their infinitive form in imperative statements in conjunction with *mont* 'go' or *dont* 'come/go'.

For example, 'hide!' is rather [keas nɪm gøə!] *kerzh en em guzhat!* rather than [nɪm gøə!] *en em guzhat!*
Or 'Let's see' is rather [deõm də ˈveːlət] *Deomp da wellet* than just [ve·lõm].

There seems to be very little call, in everyday conversation for 1st person plural imperative forms and they are therefore rarely heard. The 1st *pl.* ending is *-eomp*, pronounced [eõm] or [eəm].

The only form I have come across frequently is [deõm] *deomp* used the expression [deõm dɛj] *deomp dezhi*, lit. let's go the her, 'let's go'.

Commands are less often issued in the 1st person plural and if a strong suggestion is made, periphrastic expressions may be used, for example:

'let's eat' would be expressed [dɛ·b ve] *drebet e vez*, lit. eaten it is.

[ˈɡwɛlɛχ dɔ̃m mɔ̃n bʁəmə] *gwelloc'h deomp mont bremañ*, lit. better to us go now, for 'we'd better go now', or:

[pwɛn e dɔ̃m ˈkomɑ̃ns doːzə mɛᵃn] *poent eo deomp komañs da aozañ merenn*, lit. the moment is to us to start preparing lunch, for 'It is time we prepared lunch.'

4.2.6.1.4 Imperative of irregular verbs

— Verb [oˑwɐ] *ober* 'do, make'. 2nd *pl.* [ɡʁet] *grit*, 1st *pl.* [ɡʁeɔ̃m]/[ɡʁeəm] *greomp*.
— Verb *mont* 'go'. 2nd pers. [keᵃs] *kerzh*, 1st *pl.* [deɔ̃m] *deomp*, occasionally [eɔ̃m] *eomp*.
Note that:
- *kerzh* is, in fact the 2nd *sg.* form. Although 2nd *sg.* is not used in BCB, it is occasionally used in the imperative.
- *deomp* is, in fact, the 1st *pl.* of *dont* the first meaning of which is 'come', though it is also used with the meaning 'go', as in: [ˈdeɔ̃m dɛj] *deomp dezhi*, lit. 'let's go to her', 'let's go'.
— Verb *bezañ* 'be'. 2nd *pl.* [bes] *bez*, 1st *pl.* [beɔ̃m/beəm] *bezomp*.
Note that:
- *bez* is, in fact the 2nd *sg.* form of *bezañ*.
— Verb *kaout* 'have'. Only the infinitive is used in an imperative context, as in: [kɐut ˈkuːᵊʃ] *kaout kouraj* 'have courage', [kɐut paˈsiɑ̃s] *kaout passiañs* 'have patience'.
— Verb *gouzoud* 'know'. I am not aware of any imperative form in use in BCB for this verb.
— Verb *dont* 'come, go'. 2nd pers. [døs] *deus* 'come', 1st *pl.* is theoretically [ˈdeɔ̃m] *deomp*, but that form is only used with the meaning of 'let's go'.

4.2.6.2 Negative imperative

Negative commands, are expressed in a number of ways.

4.2.6.2.1 Using *ket*

Speakers can simply resort to the adverb *ket* 'not' placed after the verb.

[naˈzɛj ke vagwæᵃ ɐn ˈdʁɐhə!] *n'asez ket war gorre an dra aze!* 'don't sit on this (thing)!'
[ˈdeɔ̃m ked ɛp teleˈfɔ̃nı deˈgetə!] *Deomp ket hep telefoniñ da gentañ!* 'Let's not go without ringing first!'
[ˈkɛas ke bæᵃs!] *kerzh ket e-barzh!* lit. go not inside, 'don't go in!'
[ʁe ke o pɛnˈjuːt!] *rez ket ho penn youd!* lit. do not your head porridge/tadpole, 'don't be stubborn and difficult!'
[sɛl ke døzwɛ̃ɲ amɔs!] *sell ket deuzoudon a mod-se!* lit. look not at-me in this way, 'don't look at me like that!'

The ending of the 2nd person singular, ending in [s], is sometimes applied to verbs in the negative imperative.

[ˈʃoːməs ked ɑ̃m!] *chomez ket amañ!* lit. 'stay not here', 'don't stay here!'
[ˈzıbᵊs ked ɑ̃n ˈdʁɐhe!] *(Na) zrebez ket an dra-se!* 'don't eat that!'

['kozeis ke gɛlɛk, be ve o 'bɛᵃn tyt də go'ze·l bʁə'zɔ̃:nək 'zute!] *kozes ket gallek benn vez ur bern tud da gozeal brezhoneg deusoute!* lit. speak not French, when there is a heap people to speak breton to-them!, 'don't speak French, when you have a whole lot of people to speak Breton to!'
[døs ket!] *deus ket!* 'don't come!'
[pa'zeis ke dʁe'zɛ!] *paseez ket dre ahe!* 'don't go through there!'
[ʁe ke bil!] *rez ket bil*, lit. don't make bile, 'don't worry!'.
[ʁez ke bilu!] *rez ket biloù*, lit. don't make biles, 'don't worry!'.

4.2.6.2.2 Using *n'eo ket*

N'eo ket is placed before the statement that is being expressed in the negative. It implies that the thing one intimates not to do is a potential and unwanted alternative to what has to be done.

[tɔl bæᵃs! neke ʃɔm da 'ʁɛ̃:vᵉ!] *Taol barzh! N'eo ket chom da reviñ!* lit. throw (it) in. It's not stay to dream, 'Bottoms up! Don't stand around dreaming! (What are you waiting for?!)'
[gʁet o 'lɛbʁ sku:l, ɐ neke mɔ̃n vagwæa an ɛ̃n'tɛʁnɛt de zɛl døs kɔne'ʁiju!] *grit ho labour skol, ha n'eo ket mont war gorre an Internet da sellet deus konerioù!* 'do your school work, and don't go look at silly things on the Internet (instead)'.

4.2.6.2.3 Using *paz*

Paz is borrowed from the French *pas* 'not'. While it is placed after the verb in a French imperative sentence, it comes at the beginning of the sentence in Breton.

[pɐz tu:ʃᵊ! dʁɐ neke dwæχ] *Paz touch! dra n'eo ket deoc'h.* 'Don't touch! it's not yours.'
[pɐz i'bɐto bɐ 'kiʃən bwæᵃd nɛn!] *Paz ebatal e-kichen bord an hent!* 'Don't play close to the roadside!'

4.2.6.2.4 Using *arabad*

This word conveys the notion of a serious prohibition of an action. It is followed by an infinitive.

[ɐ'ʁebat 'o·wɐ n'dʁɐ·se] *arabat ober an dra-se*, lit. forbidden to do this thing, 'don't do this!'
[ɐ'ʁebat mɔ̃n o'hɛ̃n vaᵘ dʁo ɐn 'tʁɛktœᵃ] *arabat mont ho unan war dro an trakteur*, lit. forbidden go alone around the tractor, 'Don't go near the tractor on your own!'

4.2.7 THE CONJUGATION SYSTEMS

Several systems are used in Breton for the conjugation of verbs:

1) An analytical system using subject pronouns followed by a single verbal form.

2) A system using the infinitive form of the verb followed by the conjugated auxiliary *ober*. This is sometimes referred to as periphrastic conjugation and it is discussed under 5. Syntax.

3) A synthetic system in which each verbal form has a personal ending (except for the 3rd *sg*.) and subject pronouns therefore do not have to be used (except for emphasis).

Both the analytical and the synthetic forms can be used in negative constructions, although the synthetic form tends to be used more in that context.
As said previously, in sentences starting with adverbs or conjunctions like *when* or *if*, there is no possibility of avoiding synthetic forms.

4.2.7.1 Conjugation of irregular verbs

As with many European languages, the irregular verbs in Breton are highly used verbs tied with the primary necessities of daily oral interaction such as describing, expressing possession, expressing spatial movement, action, knowledge.
There are five verbs in Breton that display a high degree of irregularity compared to verbs termed 'regular'. They are: [be]/[ˈbea] *bezañ* 'be', [ˈkeut] *kaout* 'have', [mɔ̃n] *mont* 'go', [ˈoːbe]/[ˈoːwe] *ober* 'do, make', [ˈguzut]/[guːt] *gouzout* 'know'. In addition, the verb [dɔ̃n] *dont* 'come, go', also displays some irregularities.

4.2.7.2 The verb [be]/[ˈbea] *bezañ* 'be'

In the present, the verb *bezañ* has a descriptive form and a situational form.

4.2.7.2.1 Conjugation of the descriptive form of *bezañ* using analytical forms, in the present of the indicative, positive construction

This is done by using the single form *zo*.

I am	[mɛ̃s/mɛ̃ zo] *me zo*
He/she is	[ˈheɔ̃/hi zo] *eñ/he zo*
We are	[nɪŋ/nɔ̃m zo] *c'hwi zo*
You are	[χɥi zo] *c'hwi zo*
They are	[hɪŋ zo] *int zo*

As positive sentences following the analytical conjugation system use a single verbal form as illustrated above, it is unnecessary to list every person of every tense to represent verb conjugations. Only the single form corresponding to each tense is therefore given below:

4.2.7.2.2 Conjugation of the descriptive form of *bezañ* using analytical forms, in the other tenses and moods, positive construction

Present habitual: [ve] *vez* ([mɛ̃ ve] *me a vez*, [ˈeɔ̃ ve] *eñ a vez* etc.)
Imperfect: [ve] *oa* ([mɛ̃ ve] *me a oa*, [ˈeɔ̃ ve] *eñ a oa* etc.)
Imperfect habitual: [vie] *veze* ([mɛ̃ ˈvie] *me a veze*, [ˈeɔ̃ ˈvie] *eñ a veze* etc.)
Futur: [vo] *vo* ([mɛ̃ vo] *me va*, [ˈeɔ̃ vo] *eñ vo* etc.)

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Perfect: [zo bɛt] *zo bet* ([mɛ̃s bɛt /mɛ̃ zo bɛt] *me zo bet*, [ˈeõ zo bɛt] *eñ zo bet* etc.)
Pluperfect (routinely used as a perfect): [vɐ bɛt] *oa bet* ([mɛ̃ vɐ bɛt] *me a oa bet*, [eõ vɐ bɛt] *eñ a oa bet* etc.)
Present conditional [ˈvefe] *vefe* ([mɛ̃ ˈvefe] *me vefe*, [ˈeõ vefe] *eñ vefe* etc.)
Conditional II.[85] [vi] *vije* ([mɛ̃ vi] *me vije*, [ˈeõ vi] *eñ vije* etc.)
Past conditional II (routinely used as a present conditional)[86] [vi be] *vije bet* ([mɛ̃ vi bet] *me vije bet*, [ˈeõ vi bet] *eñ vije bet* etc.)

4.2.7.2.3 Conjugation of the descriptive form of *bezañ*, using synthetic forms

These forms are predominantly used in negative statements. Occasionally, they can be found in other syntactic environments, in particular at the end of short clauses, as in:

[skwi·z õn] *skuiz on*, 'I am tired.'

The conditions of use of verbal forms are discussed in the chapter on syntax.

The 3rd person singular of *bezañ* can have a feminine form resulting from attaching the feminine pronoun [(h)i] *he* to the end of the verb.

Example:

[dʁɐ zo syʁ : ɛj ɛt dyˈve·tɔχ viˈdeŋ] *Dra zo sur: eo-he aet diwezhatoc'h evidon*, lit. thing is sure: is-she gone later for/than-me, 'One thing is certain: she went (to school) later than I did.'
[anmaʁi vwaj ke be ˈəy nɛ] *Anne-Marie (ne) oa-he ket bet ive, anezhi*, lit. Anne-Marie was-she not been also, her, 'Anne-Marie didn't go either.'

a) Present tense

I am not	[nõ ket]	*n'on ket*
He is not	[ne ket]	*n'eo ket*
She is not	[nej ket]	*n'eo-he ket*
We are not	[nõm ket]	*n'omp ket*
You are not	[neχ ket]	*n'oc'h ket*
They are not	[neŋ ket]	*n'int ket*

b) Present habitual

I am not	[ˈveõɲ ket]/[ˈveɛɲ ket]	*ne vezan ket*
He/she is not	[ve ket]	*ne vez ket*
We are not	[ˈveɔm ket]	*ne vezomp ket*
You are not	[vɛːχ ket] *ne vezec'h ket*/ [veːɪt ket] *ne vezit ket* (PU *ne vezit ket*)
They are not	[ˈveɛɲ ke nɛ]	*ne vezont ket, anezhe*

c) Imperfect

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[85] See 4.2.7.11 potentiality / unreality in the past.
[86] See 4.2.7.11 potentiality / unreality in the past.

This tense also has a feminine form in the 3rd *Sg*. :

I was not	[vɑ̃ɲ ket]	*ne oan ket*
He was not	[vɐ ket]	*n'oa ket*
She was not	[vɐj ket]	*n'oa-he ket*
We were not	[vɑ̃m ket]	*n'oamp ket*
You were not	[(n)wɐχ ket]	*n'oac'h ket*
They were not	[vɑ̃ɲ ke nɛ]	*n'oant ket, anezhe*

d) Imperfect habitual

I was not	[ˈvi(ə)n ket]	*ne vezen ket*
He/she was not	[ˈvijə/viʒə] ket	*na veze ket*
We were not	[ˈvijəm ket]	*ne vezemp ket*
You were not	[ˈvijəχ ket]	*ne vezec'h ket*
They were not	[ˈvi(j)ɛn kenɛ]	*ne vezent ket, anezhe*

e) Future

I will not be	[vɪŋ ket]	*ne vin ket*
He/she will not be	[vo ket]	*ne vo ket*
We will not be	[ˈvefɔm ket]	*ne vefomp ket*
You will not be	[ˈvefɔχ ket]/ [ˈvefeχ ket]	*ne vefoc'h ket*
They will not be	[ˈvefɛɲ ket]	*ne vefont ket*. There is therefore no difference in the

pronunciation of this form in the future indicative and in the present conditional (see below).

f) Perfect

In the perfect tense, the present tense of *bezañ* is used as the auxiliary, followed by the past participle form *bet*, as in: [nɔ̃ ke bɛt] *n'on ket bet* 'I have not been', [ne kebɛt] 'He/she has not been' etc.

g) Pluperfect

In the pluperfect tense, the imperfect tense of *bezañ* is used as the auxiliary, followed by the past participle form *bet*, as in: [vɑ̃ɲ ke bɛt] *n'oan ket bet* 'I had not been', [vɐ ke bɛt] *n'oa ket bet* 'He/she had not been' etc. The pluperfect tense is routinely used as a perfect.

h) Present conditional

I would not be	[ˈvefeŋ ket]	*ne vefen ket*
He/she would not be	[ˈvefe ket]	*ne vefe ket*
We would not be	[ˈvefem ket]	*ne vefemp ket*
You would not be	[ˈvefɛχ ket]	*ne vefec'h ket*
They would not be	[ˈvefɛɲ ket]	*ne vefent ke*

i) Conditional II

I would not be	[viŋ ket]	*ne vijen ket*
He/she would not be	[vi ket]	*ne vije ket*
We would not be	[vim ket]	*ne vijemp ket*
You would not be	[viχ ket]	*ne vijec'h ket*
They would not be	[viŋ ke nɛ]	*ne vijent ket, anezhe*

j) Past conditional II

In the past conditional II, the conditional II forms of *bezañ* are used as the auxiliary forms, followed by the past participle form *bet*, as in: [viŋ ke bɛt] *ne vijen ket bet*, 'I would not have been', [vi ke bɛt] *ne vije ket bet*, 'He/she would not have been' etc. The past conditional II, however, is routinely used as a present conditional, thus [vi be ˈkɔ·tn] *vije bet kontant* can mean either 'he/she would have been happy', or 'he/she would be happy', depending on context.

Note that the conditional II forms of *bezañ* are used to express the recurrence of past actions or situations in a narrative context (see 4.2.7.5 Use of the conditional II to express a past habitual in narrative discourse).

4.2.7.2.4 Situational form of *bezañ*

The only tense in which this form exists is the present. Note that this verb is only conjugated synthetically and subject pronouns are normally not used with it. The 3rd person singular, however, can have a feminine form resulting from attaching the feminine pronoun [(h)i] *he* to the end of the verb.

Example:

[ˈkeaz de vɛl hãn maj bãn ti] *Kerz da wellet hag-eñ emañ-he e-barzh an ti*, 'Go and see if she is in the house.'

I am	[ˈmãɔ̃/mã]	*emaon*
He/she is	[mɐ]	*emañ*
She is	[mɐj]	*emañ-he*
We are	[mãm]	*emaomp*
You are	[mɔχ/mɐχ]	*emaoc'h*
They are	[mɛ̃ɲ]	*emaint*

These forms correspond in meaning to the Latin or Italian *stare* or to the Spanish or Portuguese *estar*. They are used to express a state or a position in space.
In the negative, these forms are simply followed by *ket* 'not'.

[mɐj bɐ ˈkepɐ] *emañ e Kemper* 'she is in Kemper.'
[mã ke ˈkɔtn] *emaon ket kontant* 'I am not happy.'

They are also used to express an action in progress. In that case they are followed by the particle *o* (generally omitted) and the infinitive of the main verb mutated as per the mixed mutation triggered by *o*.

[mɛ̃ɲ ˈseːvɛl œn ti] *emaint (o) sevel un ti* 'they are building a house.'
[mɑ̃m hɔ̃n de ˈfweˑtə tut] *emaomp (o) vont da foeltrañ tout* 'we are going to wreck it all.'

4.2.7.2.5 Impersonal (general) form ('one/you'+ *v.*)

a) Present impersonal, descriptive form: [ɛᵃ] *er*

[ˈnɛːa ke vi ˈlæᵃ mɐ bɐ o stɑ̃ɲ] *n'er ket evit lâr emañ e-barzh ur stang* 'one/you can't say it's in a valley.'

b) Present habitual impersonal: [vɛᵃ] *ver*

[ba nɔstʁaˈli ˈvɛᵃˈkozeːt ˈɑ̃glɛ de ˈgetə] *e-barzh an Aostralia, a vezer kaozet Añgles da gentañ,* 'in Australia, English is the language spoken before any other'.

c) Future impersonal [ˈvefɛᵃ] *vefer*

[bɛn ˈɑ̃taˑkɑ̃n lɐ aˈhɑ̃n, gʁas do ˈteːs, ˈvefɛᵃ ke vi læᵃ nøs ke bɐ døˈzɔ̃m] *A-benn hanter kant vloaz ahan, gras d'ho tez(enn), vefer ket evit lâr (e) neus ket bet deuzoudomp,* 'In 50 years from now, thanks to your thesis, people won't be able to say we never existed.'

4.2.7.3 The verb [ˈkɐut] *kaout* 'have'

According to Henry (1900, 50, 54 and 56), the verbs *kavout* 'find' and *kaout* 'have' are the same verb referring to notions like seizing, finding, acquiring etc. A common origin of *kavout* and *kaout* seems apparent in BCB in the fact that both words are generally pronounced identically [ˈkɐu] or [ˈkɐut], as in:

[mɛ̃s bɐt ˈkɐu neɔ̃ baˈpwæᵃs] *Me (a) zo bet (da) ka(v)out anezhañ e-barzh ar porzh,* lit. me is been find him inside courtyard, 'I went to talk to him (find him) in the courtyard'.

Kaout is one of two main words used as the infinitive of the Breton equivalent of the verb 'to have'. The other word is *endevout*. Neither are etymologically connected to their conjugated forms. Originally, the Breton language used the verb *bezañ* to express possession and one could argue it still does, as the conjugated forms of *kaout* are, in fact derived from *bezañ* (Ernault 1888, 258). Goyat (2012, 291) actually refers to this verb neither as *kaout* nor as *endevout*, but as '*Le verbe /møz/ «'meus»*', 'The verb /møz/ «'meus»'. He goes on explaining (292) that 'contrary to other verbs, it is the initial consonant, which indicates each person; this consonant is a remnant of the personal

affixed pronoun, itself followed by the relevant form of *bezañ*.'[87] The fact *kaout* is derived from *bezañ* also appears in its past participle which is identical to that of *bezañ*, namely: *bet*.

The most common synthetic forms of kaout I have heard amongst my informants are as follows:

a) Present

I have	[mø:s] *e-meus*	
He/she has	[nø:s]/[lø:s] *e-neus*	
We have	[nɛɲ/nɪŋ nø:s] *ni neus* (PU *hon eus*)	
	[nɔ̃m nø:s] *nomp neus* (PU *hon eus*)	
	[nø:z ɔ̃m] *neus omp* (PU *hon eus*)	
	[nœm] *neus omp* (PU *hon eus*)	
You have	[pø:s] *ho peus* (PU *hoc'h eus*)	
They have	[heŋ nø:s] *int neus* (PU *o deus*)	
	[nøz ɔ̃n] *neus ont* (PU *o deus*)	
	[nœn]/[nœɲ] *neus ont* (PU *o deus*)	

These forms are used in negative statements by adding *ket* after them, as in:

[nɪŋ nø:s ket kemɛs ˈɛˑχən] *ni neus ket kement-se a arc'hant*, 'we haven't got this much money.'
[nœɲ ke txeː ˈebɛt də læᵃ dɪŋ] *neus ont ket tra ebet da lâr din*, 'they don't have a thing to tell me'.

When an affirmative sentence starts with the above forms, the particle [be] *be(z)* is added in front of it. This is discussed in '4.2.7.4 Use of *bez* and *bet* as quasi-particles to conjugate *bezañ* and *kaout*'. This results in such utterances as:

[be møz ɛ̃n] *Bez e meus unan* 'I have one'.
[be nøz dju vɛχ] *Bez e neus div verc'h* 'he has two daughters'.

However, *be* cannot be added to all of the above forms: the only possible forms [be møz], [be nøz], [be nœm], [be pøz], [be nœn/nœɲ].

b) Imperfect

The lack of morphological distinctions between the imperfect and the perfect in English renders the English translation below imprecise. For better understanding of their meaning, one can say that the Breton forms hereafter are identical in meaning to the imperfect forms of the equivalents of 'to have' in French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese.

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[87] 'Contrairement aux autres verbes, c'est la consonne initiale qui est la marque distinctive de la personne; cette consonne est la trace du pronom personnel infixe qui est suivi de la forme adéquate du verbe /be/ «beza» *être*.'

I had	[mo] *moa* (PU *am boa*)
He/she had	[no] *noa* (PU *en doa*)
We had	[(e) ˈnoɛm] *noamp* (PU *hor boa*)
	[nom no] *nomp noa* (PU *hor boa*)
You had	[po] (PU *ho poa*)
They had	[heŋ no] *int noa* (PU *o doa*)
	[nɔn/ nɔɲ/noɲ] *noant* (PU *o doa*)

When an affirmative sentence starts with the above forms, the particle [be] *be(z)* is added in front of it. This results in such utterances as:

[bɛn vã̃ɲ ˈjauŋ be mo o ˈvelo, dʁɛs tut] *Benn e oan yaouank am boa ur velo, dra zo tout*. 'When I was young, I had was a bicycle, that's all.'

Negative statements using these forms are produced by adding *ket* after them, as in:

[amaːᵝ sə nɔɲ ke lɛktʁisiˈte χɔa] *A mare-se noant ket lektrisite, c'hoazh*, 'In those days, they didn't have electricity, yet.'

c) Future

I will have	[mo] *mo* (PU *am bo*)
He/she will have	[no] *no* (PU *en do*)
We will have	[neŋ no/nıŋ no/nõm no/ˈno·fəm] *nign/nom no* (PU *hor bo*)
You will have	[po] *po* (PU *ho po*)
They will have	[heŋ no] *int no* (PU *o do*)

One can see, that a number of the above future forms, are phonetically identical to their imperfect counterparts. Context is, then, what the listener relies on to grasp the meaning of the utterances in which those forms are used, as per the example below:

[pɐ vwã̃ŋ ˈbeⁱŋ, de gwɛl ˈnuːɛl, mi be o mɐp ʃeʃ syk ɐ nøb ˈtã̃mu ˈɔʁã̃ʃ. ɐ bɛn ˈnuɛl otõn be**mo** o pwɐʁtab neːve! nõ ke vilæᵝ dɔχ pegem ʃɛ̃ˈʃeməns bet, me ˈɛːsn] *Pa oan bihan, da Gouel Nouel, mije bet ur Mab Jesus sukr ha nebeud tammoù oranj. Ha benn Nouel o tont, bez em bo ur portabl nevez!N'on ket evit lâr deoc'h pegement chanjamant zo bet, met eston!* 'When I was little, for Christmas, I would get a baby Jesus made of sugar and a few orange segments. And for this coming Christmas, I will have a new mobile phone! I can't even start to tell how much has changed, but the change has been astonishing!'

[dɛχ vã̃ŋ ke guɛs de võn, pɔgeʰ **mo** ke me oto] *Dec'h ne oan ket gouest da vont, peogwir n'em boa ket ma oto*. 'I could not go yesterday, because I didn't have my car.'

d) Perfect

The forms for this tense are achieved by adding *bet* to the present tense forms listed in a).

They are identical in meaning to what is conveyed by the French *passé composé*, the Italian *passato prossimo*, Spanish *pretérito perfecto simple* and Portuguese *pretérito perfeito*.

[nøz ɔ̃n bɛd o mus beɲ] *neus ont bet ur mous bihan*. 'They have (just) had a baby boy.'

[pwen e ˈdeɔ̃ mɔ̃n gusˈtadik ga ˈnɛ̃ʃu. nøs bɛt ˈdəu akˈsidən ˌdiˈʒɐ, ˈneɔ̃] *Poent eo dezhañ mont goustadig gant an henchoù. Neus bet daou aksidant dija, anezhañ.* 'It is time he slowed down on the roads. He has already crashed his car twice.'

e) Pluperfect

The forms for this tense are achieved by adding *bet* to the imperfect tense forms listed in b). However, the meaning of these forms can either be that of the perfect or of the pluperfect, as a distinction between the two is often not made by BCB speakers, as discussed with regard to some other verbs in this chapter.

Examples:

[ne ke ˈdo·wɐ ke·n; mo gwet diˈʒɐ] *N'eo ket d'ober ken; moa graet dija*, lit. it is not necessary to-do; I-had done already, 'no need to do it anymore; I have already done it.'

f) Present conditional

I would have	[ˈmefe]	*mefe*
He/she would have	[ˈnefe]	*nefe*
We would have	[ˈnefəm]	*nefemp*
You would have	[ˈpefe]	*pefe*
They would have	[ˈnefɛɲ/ˈnefən]	*nefent*

g) Conditional II

The following forms are predominantly used as auxiliary forms to verbs. I have never encountered them as a main verb followed by an object. They are occasionally used on their own in positive and negative constructions. They can also be used with subject pronouns.

The forms are:

I would have	[mi]	*mije* (PU *em bije*)
He/she would have	[ni]	*nije* (PU *en dije*)
We would have	[nim/ˈnjᵊm]	*nijem* (PU *hor bije*)
You would have	[pi]	*pije* (PU *ho pije*)
They would have	[niŋ/ˈnjᵊn]	*nijent* (PU *o dije*)

h) Past conditional II

In the past conditional II, the conditional II forms of *kaout* are used as the auxiliary forms, followed by the past participle of *kaout*, which is *bet*, as in: [ma mi bet en o plas mi gwet pep txɐ a ˈhule gɑ̃ˈnɪŋ, ˈhɑ̃ɔ̃] *ma mije bet en ho plas, mije graet pep tra a c'houle ganin, ac'hanon*, lit. if I-would-have been in your place, I-would-have done everything *vp*. asked with-me, me, 'If I had been you, I would have done everything he asked me to do.'

Other example:

[hɪɲ ni nim ˈdɐːgə] *Int nije en em daget*. Lit. they would-have *refl. part*. fought, 'They would have fought.'

Note that the conditional II forms of *kaout* are used to express the recurrence of past actions or situations in a narrative context (see 4.2.7.5 Use of the conditional II to express a past habitual in narrative discourse).

4.2.7.4 Use of *bez* and *bet* as auxiliaries/particles to conjugate *bezañ* and *kaout*

Bez pronounced [be] in a sentence-initial position, is a highly used word which can be described as an auxiliary or verbal particle used to conjugate the verbs *bezañ* 'to be' and *kaout* 'to have', when the speaker chooses to place them at the beginning of a sentence. In most cases, [be] could be described as meaningless. Its purpose could be explained as that of a filler, which triggers the attention of the listener to the meaningful part of the sentence to come. I have not encountered *bez* used with other verbs.

Bez is derived from *bezañ* 'to be' as stated by Favereau (1992, 66) and Kervella (1976, 742). The categorisation of *bez* is not straightforward, as seems to indicate the fact that, when discussing it, neither Favereau (1992), nor Kervella (1976) provide a term to describe the word.

Favereau (1992, 66) describes the word as a marker of emphasis (*insistance*) and an equivalent of *en effet* 'indeed'. Davalan (2002, I, 207) follows suit by translating *bez' ez eus* and *bez' zo* as *il y a (effectivement)* 'there is indeed'. Wmffre (1998, 46) gives an example of the Plounévézel dialect equivalent of *bez*, the word /bi/ used in a near-emphasizing capacity in the sentence /ja, bi ma/ 'yes, he is'. In BCB, however, if emphasis is intended, the tone of the speaker, rather than [be], is what conveys it most of the time. In fact, BCB speakers use *bez* quite automatically, generally without any emphasis being intended. On the surface at least, *Bez* has, most of the time, a minimal and neutral semantic value. This is confirmed by Le Scao (1945, 16) who lists the word in the Bret./Fr. tome of his dictionary as *bé*, and translates it as '*il*,' the French impersonal pronoun for 'it'. He gives the following examples: *Bé va kals tud* (*Il y avait beaucoup de monde*) , lit. be (there)-were lots people, 'there were lots of people', *bé zo tud fall* (*Il y a des hommes mauvais*), lit. be (there)-is people bad, 'there are bad people', and *bé vo krēn douar*, (*Il y aura tremblement de terre*) , lit. be (there)-will-be quake earth 'there will be an earthquake'.

While some phrases with [be] in a sentence-initial position are highly frequent, most of the forms starting with [be] shown in the tables appearing in the following pages are currently infrequent. Therefore, in these tables, the phrases which are used frequently

are underlined. The frequent forms concern mostly the first and second persons singular. The infrequent phrases tend to be replaced by structures consisting of a subject pronoun followed by the verb in its third person singular form, which tends to be the most concise form in a conjugation.

When speakers are asked to give examples of the use of the infrequent forms, the structures described above invariably come out first. For example, instead of producing a phrase such as [be nøsn ɛ̃n] *bez 'neus int un* 'they have one', speakers will spontaneously produce [hɪŋ nøs ɛ̃n] *int 'neus un*, or instead of [be mɔ̃m eˣ] *bez emaomp aze* 'we are here/there', speakers will spontaneously opt for [nɔ̃m/nɪŋ zo eˣ], *'nomp zo aze*.

With some prompting, however, speakers will give examples of infrequent forms starting with [be] or [bet]. In such examples, in which speakers use [be] or [bet] deliberately and unnaturally, the context often involves a degree of emphasis or is considered a question. For example [bed eχ ˈkɔ̃tn] *bet oc'h kontant* may be perceived as the question 'Are you satisfied?' whereas the mere statement 'you are satisfied' would more probably be expressed [χɥɪ zo ˈkɔ̃tn] *c'hwi zo kontant*.

In the literal translations I give of sentences in this work, I will describe [be] as a verbal particle. This, however, is only for the sake of simplicity, as I believe there is more to say about the semantic value of [be]. Discussing this, however, would detract from the primary subject of this thesis, which is to describe usage in BCB.

The conditions of use of *bet* are discussed in paragraph 4.2.7.4.3 Use of *bet*.

4.2.7.4.1 Existing forms with the verb *kaout* 'to have'

In the following paragraphs, a presentation of verbal forms constructed with [be] *bez* and involving the verb *kaout* is given. As stated previously, the forms which are, in my experience, frequent or highly frequent are underlined.

a) In the present indicative

Example: 'To have one'

[be møs ɛ̃n] *Bez e meus un* 'I have one'
[be pøs ɛ̃n] *bez e peus un* 'You (sing. and pl.) have one'
[be nøs ɛ̃n] *bez en deus un* 'she/he has one'
[be nɔ̃m ɛ̃n] *bez 'neus omp un* 'We have one' (rarely used. [nɪŋ/nɔ̃m nøs ɛ̃n] *ni 'neus un*, is used instead for this form and the next)
[be nøsn ɛ̃n] *bez 'neus int un* 'they have one' (rarely used. [hɪŋ nøs ɛ̃n] *int 'neus un*, is used instead for this form and the next)
[be nøɲ ɛ̃n] *bez 'neunt*[88] *un* 'they have one' (rarely used, as above).

Present indicative impersonal form:

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[88] This transcription of this form is given (as unorthodox) by Davalan (2002, 226).

Example:

[be zøs ɛ̃n] *bez ez eus un* 'There is one.'

b) In the future

Example: 'subject+will have one'

[be mo ɛ̃n] *bez e mo un* 'I will have one'
[be po ɛ̃n] *bez az po un* 'you (sing. and pl.) will have one'
[be no ɛ̃n] *bez en do un* 'He/she will have one'
[be nɔfɔm ɛ̃n] *bez en dofem un* 'We will have one'
[be nɔfɔn ɛ̃n] *bez en dofen un* 'they will have one'

The last two forms with *bez* are rarely used. [nɔm/nɪɲ nɔ ɛ̃n] *ni en do un* for 'We will have one' and [hɪŋ nɔ ɛ̃n] *int o do un* for 'they will have one' are much more likely to be used.

c) In the imperfect

Example: '*sj* + had one'

Note that there is currently no difference in pronunciation between the first three forms of *meus* in the future and in the imperfect. Le Scao (1945, 19) does transcribe a difference: 'I, you, he/she will have' are transcribed as *mõ, põ, nõ* ([moʷ, poʷ, noʷ] according to his phonetic notation on p. 2) and 'I, you, he/she had' as *moa, poa, noa* ([moa, poa, noa/ˈmawe, ˈpawe, ˈnawe]). None of my informants, including those born in the vicinity of where Le Scao's grew up, use these forms, but TLD born in ar Vadalenn, 3,5km from Le Scao's birthplace, said the forms in [awe] 'ring a bell', and AH, who grew up in Sulien, close to ar Vadalenn says she has a vague memory of the forms [mwe, pwe, nwe]).

[be mo ɛ̃n] *bez em boa un* 'I had one' (Fr. *j'en avais un*)
[be po ɛ̃n] *bez az pao un* 'you (sing. and pl.) had one' (Fr. *tu en avais un*)
[be no ɛ̃n] *bez en doa un* 'He/she had one' (Fr. *il/elle en avait un*)
[be nɔm ɛ̃n] *bez en doa un* 'We had one'
[be nɛ̃ŋ ɛ̃n] *bez e noant[89] un* 'they had one'

The last two forms with *bez* are rarely used. [nɔm/nɪɲ nɔ ɛ̃n] *ni en doa un* for 'we had one' and [hɪŋ nɔ ɛ̃n] *int o doa un* for 'they had one' are much more likely to be used instead.

d) In the perfect/pluperfect

Perfect and pluperfect of kaout are:

[be møs bɛt ɛ̃n] *Bez e meus bet un* 'I had one / I have had one'

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[89] This transcription of this form is given (as unorthodox) by Davalan (2002, 228).

[be pøs bɛt ɛ̃n] *bez ho peus bet un* 'You (sing. and pl.) had one / you have had one'
[be nøs bɛt ɛ̃n] *bez en deus bet un* 'she/he had one / she/he has had one'
[be nɔm bɛt ɛ̃n] *bez e neus omp bet un* 'We had one / we have had one'
[be nɛ̃ŋ bɛt ɛ̃n] *bez e neus int bet un* 'they had one / they have had one'

Note:
The forms given above for 1st *pl*. and 3rd *pl*. are unorthodox from a PU perspective:
The form given for PU in textbooks and grammars for 1st *pl*. of *kaout* in the present indicative (used here as an auxiliary) is *hon eus* (Davalan 2002c, 226, Kerrain 1995, 227, Kervella 1976, 132, Favereau 1992, vi). However, Goyat (2012, 291) gives the form '/ˈnøs ɔ̃m/ neusom' for the Plozévet dialect. There is a phonetically identical form in BCB, though I have not encountered it preceded by [be]. I think adding a *p* to *om* is justified as it matches the spelling of 1st *pl* present indicative desinence of all other verbs.
The form given for PU in textbooks and grammars for 3rd *pl*. of *kaout* in the present indicative (used here as an auxiliary) is *o deus* (Davalan 2002c, 226, Kerrain 1995, 227, Kervella 1976, 132, Favereau 1992, vi). However, Davalan also gives the form '*NEUNT*', which he transcribes '[ˈnœɲᶜ]' which is close to the BCB form [nɛ̃ŋ] and Goyat (2012, 291) gives the form '/ˈnøs iɲ/ ʼneusint' for the Plozévet dialect. This latter form is close to BCB [ˈnøsən], which, however, does not occur preceded by [be].

e) In the present conditional

None of my informants currently use the present conditional with forms starting with *bez*, to express the present conditional tense. For example, 'He would have some coffee' is not expressed *Bez e nije kafe*. Instead, the present conditional is expressed by using a past conditional form. Thus 'He would have some coffee' is expressed [be ni be ˈkɛfə] *Bez e nije bet kafe*, lit. be (*vp*) would-have been coffee. This is effectively a past conditional form with the meaning of a present conditional.
Use of the past conditional as a present conditional is also very frequent in sentences that do not start with *bez* amongst BCB speakers. It follows that context determines whether past conditional forms have the meaning of a past conditional or of a present conditional.

f) In the past conditional (also see above)

Example: '*sj* + had one'

[be mi bɛt ɛ̃n] *Bez e mije bet un* 'I would have had one'
[be pi bɛt ɛ̃n] *bez e pije bet un* 'You (sing. and pl.) would have had one'
[be ni bɛt ɛ̃n] *bez en dije bet un* 'she/he would have had one'
No form reported in use for the 1st pers. pl (see below)
[be nɪŋ bɛt ɛ̃n] *bez o dije bet un* 'they would have had one'
None of my informants have been able to naturally produce a form for the 1st pers. pl. All have resorted to the subject pronoun-initial structure [nɪɲ/nɔ̃m ni bɛt ɛ̃n] PU *ni nije bet un*.
Le Scao (1945a, 19) does not explicitly give the form for the 1st pers. pl. for *kaout*, but it can be found on the preceding page used as an auxiliary to the verb *faire/ober*. The

form is *nijem*, which in BCB, would be realised as [nim]. The complete sentence with *bez* would therefore be [be nim bɛt ɛ̃n] *Bez e mijem bet un*.

4.2.7.4.2 With the verb *bezañ* 'to be'

In the following paragraphs, a presentation of verbal forms constructed with [be] *bez* and involving the verb *bezañ* 'to be' is given. The forms, which are, in my experience, frequent or highly frequent are underlined.

a) In the present indicative

Example: 'To be glad to come'

[bed ɔ̃ / bed ɔ̃ⁿ / bet ɔ̃ⁿ kɔ̃tn də zɔ̃n] *bez on kontant da zont* 'I am happy to come'
[bed ɛχ/bet ɛχ kɔ̃tn də zɔ̃n] *bez oc'h kontant da zont* 'you are happy to come'
[bed eɔ̃/bet eɔ̃ kɔ̃tn də zɔ̃n] *bez eñ kontant da zont* 'he is happy to come'
[bed ɛj/bet ɛj kɔ̃tn də zɔ̃n] *bez eo he kontant da zont* 'she is happy to come'
[bed ɔ̃m/bet ɔ̃m kɔ̃tn də zɔ̃n] *bez omp kontant da zont* 'we are happy to come'
[bed ɛ̃ŋ/bet ɛ̃ŋ kɔ̃tn də zɔ̃n] *bez int kontant da zont* 'they are happy to come'

A further alternative for the pronunciation of the above forms is to pronounce *bez* as [be] in the first three, which result in the forms [be ɔ̃, be ɛχ, be eɔ̃]. The other forms remain unchanged.

The forms using [bed] and [bet] above may seem strange as [bed ɔ̃ⁿ, bed ɛχ] etc. resemble *bet on*, *bet oc'h*, past forms of *bezañ*, while the phrases in which they are used are definitely expressing a present. If it is correct, as my informant André Cornec thinks, that the above phonetic forms correspond to orthographic forms starting with *bez*, one might have expected the liaison with the following words to be with /z/. One might expect *bez on* to result in /bez ɔ̃ⁿ/, like *bez ez eus* results in [be zøs] (see this form further on). The liaison in /d/t/ rather than /z/ may result from a phonological choice on the part of past and present BCB speakers. This supposition is supported by the mention by Wmffre (1998, 46) of the reinforcing 'auxiliary element' 'bi (bid before vowels)' in Plounévézel dialect, which he does not qualify further, but which is placed, in the examples he gives, in front of /e/ 'is' and /ma/, which also means 'is', but in a situational sense. In other words, this 'auxiliary element' is used in similar conditions to how *bez* is used in BCB and sees a /d/ attached to it apparently for liaison purposes. Note that the forms in [bet], contradict the general tendency in Breton for voiceless consonants to become voiced when preceding vowels across word boundaries (external sandhi). According to André Cornec (2016, field note), the forms [bed ɔ̃ⁿ] even more [bet ɔ̃ⁿ] reflect a deterioration of the language. If this is the case, I posit that the deterioration occurred in the generation or generations previous to the birth of my informants. My reason for thinking this is that for most of my informants Breton has not been the main language they have spoken in their lifetime: most of them stopped using Breton as their main language of communication when they reached adulthood and, outside of contacts with elderly relatives, they have been socialising in Breton with decreasing frequency as they have grown older.
It is therefore unlikely that the same linguistic deterioration (or innovations) occurred simultaneously in all of them in a context in which their interaction in Breton was being

greatly reduced. It is highly probable, in my view, that the parents of my informants already used these forms routinely. If a deterioration (or innovations) took place, it is likely to have been, at the latest, in the generation born before or during WWI.

The form [bed], discussed above is, in practice, a preverbal particle and is different from [bed] (*bet*) seen further on in 4.2.7.4.3 Use of *bet*.

b) In the present indicative habitual

The form *vez*, [ve], is used to express the present indicative habitual.

Examples:

[be ve tɔm ba tuˌlus] *bez e vez tom e Toulouse* 'it gets hot, in Toulouse'/'The weather can be hot in Toulouse.'

[be ve kɔtn ˈneõ də ʒɔm i hɛ̃n] *bez e vez kontant, anezhañ da chom e un*, 'he is happy to be on his own'.

c) In the present indicative impersonal

The form *zo*, [zo], is used to express the present indicative impersonal.

Example: 'there is one'

[be zo ɛ̃n] *bezo un* 'There is one'. This has the same meaning as [be zøs ɛ̃n] *bez ez eus un* 'There is one', displayed above in 4.2.7.4.1 a).

d) In the present indicative situational

[be mõ ɐˣ] *bez emaoñ aze* 'I am here/there'
[be mɐx/be mwɐx ɐˣ] *bez emaoc'h aze* 'you (sg. and pl.) are here/there'
[be mɐ ɐˣ] *bez emañ aze* 'he/she/it is here/there'
[be mõm/be mã̃õm ɐˣ] *bez emaomp aze* 'we are here/there'
[be mɛ̃ɲ/be mwɛ̃ɲ ɐˣ] *bez emaint aze* 'they are here/there'

e) In the future

Example: '*sj*. + will be glad to come'

[be vɪŋ kɔtn də zõn] *bez e vin kontant da zont* 'I will be glad to come'
[be vɐχ kɔtn də zõn] *bez e vioc'h kontant da zont* 'you will be glad to come'
[be vo kɔtn də zõn] *bez e vo kontant da zont* 'he/she will be glad to come'
[be ˈvefəm kɔtn də zõn] *bez e vefomp kontant da zont* 'we will be glad to come'
[be ˈvefən kɔtn də zõn] *bez e vefont kontant da zont* 'they will be glad to come'

f) In the future impersonal

Example: 'there will be one'

[be vo ɛ̃n] *bez e vo unan* 'There will be one'.

g) In the imperfect

Example: '*sj* + was/were cute'. Context: evocation of how a person was in her/his childhood.

[be vɛɲ/vwɛ̃ɲ kwã̃n] *bez e oan koant* 'I was cute'
[be vax/vwax kwã̃n] *bez e oac'h koant* 'you were cute'
[<u>be vɐ</u> kwã̃n] *bez e oa koant* 'he/she/it was cute'
[<u>be vɐj</u> kwã̃n] *bez e oa he koant* 'she was cute'
[be vam kwã̃n] *bez e oamp koant* 'we were cute'
[be ˈvẽ̆ⁱɲ kwã̃n] *bez e oamp koant* 'they were cute'

Imperfect impersonal form.

Example:

[be vɐ ɛ̃n] *bez e oa un* 'there was one'

h) In the present conditional

As explained in 4.2.7.4.1, e), none of my informants currently use present conditional forms starting with *bez* to express the present conditional tense. For example, 'He would be happy' is not expressed *Bez e vije kontant*. Instead, the present conditional is expressed by using a past conditional form. Thus 'He would be happy' is expressed [be vi be ˈkɔtn] *Bez e vije bet kontant*, lit. 'be (*vp*) would-be been happy'. This is effectively a past conditional form with the meaning of a present conditional.
Use of the past conditional as a present conditional is also very frequent in sentences that do not start with *bez* amongst BCB speakers. It follows, as explained in 4.2.7.4.1, e), that context determines whether past conditional forms truly have the meaning of a past conditional or have that of a present conditional.

i) In the past conditional (also see above)

Only the 3rd *sg.* is used following [be]. Other persons are expressed with subject pronouns followed by this latter form.

For example, to express: 'He would have come if he had been able', it is possible to say: [be vi be døt ma vi be ˈguɛs] *Bez e vije bet deut, ma vije bet gouest.*

However, I have not witnessed the forms corresponding to the other four persons being used immediately after [be]. For example 'I would have come if I had been able' is expressed: [mɛ̃ vibe døt ma viɲ be ˈguɛs] *Me a vije bet deut, ma vijen bet gouest,* rather than [be viɲ be døt ma viɲ be ˈguɛs] *bez e vijen bet deut, ma vijen bet gouest.* The same applies to the remaining persons:
[nıŋ vi be døt ma vım be ˈguɛs] *Ni a vije bet deut, ma vijemp bet gouest.*
[χɥi vi be døt ma vɛχ be ˈguɛs] *C'hwi a vije bet deut, ma vijec'h bet gouest.*

[hɪŋ vi be døt ma vɪŋ be ˈguɛs] *Int a vije bet deut, ma vijent bet gouest.*
Note that the pronunciation of *vijen* and *vijent*, are identical. Therefore, [ma vɪŋ be ˈguɛs] is the pronunciation of both *ma vijen bet gouest* 'If I had been able' and *ma vijent bet gouest* 'If they had been able'. Differentiation is achieved according to the context.

4.2.7.4.3 Use of *bet*

Bet, past participle of *bezañ*, is the past form of *bez*. This does not mean that a sentence expressed in the present using *bez*, can be expressed in the past simply by changing *bez* to *bet*. For example, the past tense version of the sentence [be mɔ̃ ɛx] *bez emaon aze* 'I am here' (in response to 'where are you?') is [be vɛɲ ɛx] *bez e oan aze* 'I was here' ('when such and such happened', for example). This sentence does not use *bet*. Instead, the verbal form that is changed to a past is [mɔ̃], *emaon*, which goes to [vɛɲ], *oan*.

Bet is always used with a compound past form of the verb *bezañ* involving its past participle *bet*. That is to say: *bet* precedes a conjugated form of *bezañ* itself followed by *bet*. *Bet*, therefore appears twice in the sentence, as in:

[bed ɔ̃n beḏ dyx] *bet on bet du-se*, lit. 'been I-am been there', meaning 'I have been there, I went there'.
[bed e beḏ de ˈχɛsne·] *Bet eo bet d'ar Chastell Nevez*, lit. 'been he/she-is been to Châteauneuf-du-Faou', meaning 'he/she went to Châteauneuf-du-Faou'.

There is some strangeness in the structures above as they seem to contain twice the same past participle (*bet*) for the one auxiliary (*on, eo*), yet they are most common in BCB. In the verb table for *bezañ* (to be), however, Kervella (1976, §206, 130) does attest this form and gives double compound forms for a number of tenses and moods, starting with *bet on bet*. These forms are effectively used to express the past perfect tense.

4.2.7.4.3.1 In the expression of a perfected situation or action

Example: '*sj* + was/were/have been sick'.

[bed ɔ̃ be klɑ̃] *bet on bet klañv* 'I was/have been sick' ('*j'ai été malade*')
[bed ex be klɑ̃] *bet oc'h bet klañv* 'you were/have been sick' ('*t'as été malade*'/'*vous avez été malade*')
[bed eɔ̃ be klɑ̃] *bet eo bet klañv* 'he/she was/has been sick' ('*il a été malade*')
[bed ej be klɑ̃] *bet eo bet klañv* 'she was/has been sick' ('*il a été malade*')
[bed ɔ̃m be klɑ̃] *bet omp bet klañv* 'we were/have been sick' ('*on a été malade*')
[bed ɛ̃ɲ be klɑ̃] *bet int bet klañv* 'they were/have been sick' ('*ils ont été malades*')

If the adjective [klɑ̃] was replaced by a word starting with a vowel, the word *bet* immediately preceding it would be liaised with it with [d] as in:
[bed ɔ̃ bed ɑ̃m] *bet on bet amañ* 'I was/have been here (before)' ('*je suis déjà venu ici*').

Perfect impersonal form:

Example:

[<u>bezo bɛt</u> ən akˈsiːdn] *bezo bet an aksidant* 'there was an accident' ('*il y a eu un accident*').

4.2.7.4.4 Use of *bez* for emphasis

Although the tone of the speaker is mainly what conveys emphasis in BCB, as stated in 4.2.7.4 above, *bez* can occur in sentences in which emphasis is meant, as in the following example:

[pøs ked ən yʁˈzjeːtəʁ?] *Peus ket un iateriater[90]?* 'You don't have a computer?'
[be møs!] *Be meus!* 'I do!' (lit. 'be I-have'). In such a context, structures starting with [be] are the closest equivalents to the English 'I do!', 'he does!' etc. the French '*si!*' or the German '*doch!*'

4.2.7.5 Use of the conditional II to express a past habitual in narrative discourse

In BCB, forms of *bezañ* and *kaout*, phonetically displaying /i/ as their central vowel, are used as verbal auxiliaries to express the habitual character of a past action. This appears to also be the case in the Plozévet dialect described by Goyat who terms these forms in /i/ '*imparfait d'habitude*' 'imperfect habitual' (Goyat 2012, 290, 291). Goyat's PU transcriptions of these form have an *e* as their central vowel. The forms he gives in PU are the imperfect forms of *bezañ* and *kaout* such as *vezen, veze, mezen, meze* etc. Kervella (1976, 206, 132–133) also categorises these forms as *amzer amdremenet boaz*, literally 'tense semi-past habit'.

My conclusion from my observation of BCB usage is that the forms in /i/ used by BCB speakers in narrative discourse are not those spelt with *e* in PU but are those of the conditional II transcribed with *i*, such as *vijen, vije, mijen, mije* etc. This conclusion is based on the fact that BCB speakers do use the imperfect forms in *e*, *vezen, veze, mezen, meze* etc. in narration for non-habitual actions and situations, but when describing habitualness, they use the forms in /i/ of the conditional II just as the conditional auxiliary *would* is used in English in such a context.

While it is true, with regard to the verb *bezañ*, that the forms *vezan, vez, vezemp, vezit, vezont*, are present habitual forms, it does not follow that their past forms *vezen, veze, vezemp, vezec'h, vezent* are also used for describing habitualness. To begin with, there is very little phonetic distinction in BCB, between the two sets of forms (except in the 2nd *pl.*), thus their pronunciation is: [ve·ŋ] *vezan*, [ve] *vez*, [ve·m] *vezomp*, [ˈve·ət] *vezit*, [ˈveːᵊŋ] *vezont* for the present habitual against [ve·ŋ] *vezen*, [veː] *veze*, [veːm] *vezemp*, [veːχ] *vezec'h*, [veːᵊŋ] *vezent* for the very rarely used imperfect habitual forms (Le Scao only mentions them as what seems to be an afterthought and without translating them [1945a, 21]).

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[90] See this word in 6.1 Make-up of the Breton vocabulary.

Thus the true imperfect habitual in BCB and possibly in Plozévet as well, are conditional II forms and not forms in *e*, as illustrated in the examples below.

Note that the conditional II of *kaout* can also be used to express an imperfect habitual, though contexts calling for the use of *kaout* are generally rarer (only one case in the last example below).

Le Scao (1945a, 14) gives an example of the conditional as an imperfect habitual in his conjugation table for the verb *pédi*, with the sequence: '*On priait*', 'one would pray' (meaning: 'One used to pray'), translated: *Pédet vijè*. My informants would rather express this as [vi ˈpeːdɛt] *vije pedet*.

Further examples:

[ɐ ˈpɛːtə vi lɛː kɔst aˈgweːle rɔk mɔ̃n dəˈguˑskət (pause) ɐ vi laː bʀəˈzɔ̃ːnək ˈəɥ]
Ar Pater vije lâret kost ar gwele, a-raok mont da gousket... ha vije lâret (e) brezhoneg ivez. 'The Lord's prayer would be said by the side of the bed before going to sleep... and it would be said in Breton too.'

[ɐ vyˈgɐle, vi gɐte læʀ oˈfɛːtə əɥ] *Ar vugale vi gante lâr o Fater ivez*. Lit. the children, would(-be) with-them say their Pater (Noster) too, 'The children would have to say their Lord's prayer too.'

[bɛn vɐ ˈkeːzək bɐˈmeːz ... bɛ nɛ̃, vi be lɛˈbuːʀət tut gɐ ˈkeːzək] *Benn (e) oa kezeg (e-) barzh maez... benn neuze, vije bet labouret tout gant kezeg*. 'When there were horses in the countryside... well then, all the work would be done with horses.'

[vɐm dek kʀɔˈeːdɐ, me sɐˑt vɐ seˈvɛʀ, seᵈ vi gʀɐt dɔ̃m laˈbuːʀət] *(E) oamp deg krouadur, ma zad (a) oa sever, sed vije graet deomp labourat*. 'There were ten of us kids, my dad was very strict, so we would be required to work.'

[dʀwat dɔ̃n ˈnɪplex bet, da paʀˈdɔ̃ŋu nɐ de fɛt, nɐ da bal, nɐ nɪtʀɐ beket om bet jauŋ. be vɛ̃m døˑt tyt jauŋ, o vɛʃ tʀɐˈvæːʀ vijeˑᵊm, mɛ paz ˈkɐləs. o vɛʃ tʀɐˈvæːʀ, ˈvijəm ˈløskɛt dɔ̃n.] *Droed dont neplec'h ebet, da pardonioù, na da fêtes, na da bals, na netra betek (e) oamp bet yaouank. Be oamp deuet tud yaouank, ur wech tre vare (e) vijemp, met paz kalz. Ur wech tre vare, (e) vijemp laosket dont*. 'Not allowed to go anywhere, neither to processions, nor to fetes, nor to balls, nor to nothing until we were in our late teens. Once we had come of age, once in a while, we would be, but not much. Once in a while, we would be allowed to go.'

[bɛn jeːa də skuːl vɐ ke kem buˈtejɛʀ kwɐd... ʀɛ̃m no ˈbegu lɛmm, se ˈveʃu nɐ ˈvɛːlə, χɥi ˈduʃe ɐ̃n dʀɐ... lɛ ʃəˈvij... gɐ beg ɐ ˈbutu... ɐ vi ˈkeɲɛt... ɐ vi gwɛl gwɐt, ˈveʃu. bɛ̃... kas mɔ̃n ˈfunyʃ, ˈveʃu vi ˈbaːlə tʀɐs, meʃɐ̃s, se dʀɐ ziˈguee de ˈduʃə ɐ ˈgiʃə].
Benn (e) yeer da skol, ne oa ket nemet bouteier koad... ar re-mañ en do begoù lemm, sed a-wechoù en ur vale, c'hwi a douche an dra… les chevilles... gant beg ar boutoù… ha vije kignet... ha vije gwellet gwad, wechoù. Ben... kas mont fonnus, wechoù vije baleet treuz emichañs, sed dra a zigouee da douch aze e-giz-se.

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'When we went to school, there were only wooden clogs... they had sharp tips, so, sometimes, while walking, you touched that... the ankles... with the tip of the clogs... and that would tear the skin... and sometimes, you'd see blood. Sometimes, you'd be in a hurry, sometimes you'd take a wrong step, maybe, and you happened to hit that area (of your ankle).'

[ba ˈdiɑ̃n ɐ speˈʁeːdᵊn vi lɐkeːt gʁanyle dɛ] *(E-)barzh dindan ar speradenn vije lakaet granulés dezhe*. 'We would give them [the pigs] pellets through a gap at the bottom of the partition.'

[be vɑ̃n døt dɐ ˈgeːᵃ mə vi ge tɑ̃n tu ga kwɐt] *Benn e oan deuet d'ar gêr-mañ, vije graet tan tout gant koad*. 'When I came to this house, all the fire was made with wood.'

[i tø ˈbɛmdɛ də vel ˈpjea mi gwɛt] *E a teue bemdeiz da wellout petra mije graet*, 'He would come every day to see what I had done.'

4.2.7.6 The verb [ˈoːwɐ]/[ˈoːbɐ] *ober* 'do/make'

For practical reasons, only the meaning 'do' will be shown in the tables below. These forms can be used in negative statements by adding *ket* after them.

a) Present

I do	[ʁɔ̃/ˈʁɑ̃ɔ̃]	*ran*
He/she does	[ʁɐ]	*ra*
We do	[ˈʁeɔ̃m]	*reomp*
You do	[ʁet]	*rit*
They do	[ˈʁeɔ̃n]	*reont*
Impersonal	[ˈʁeːᵃ]	*rer*

Example:

[ʁeːᵃ ke ˈkaləs ˈgleo bɐ saaʁa] *Ne rer ket kalz glav (e)-barzh (ar) Sahara* 'It does not rain much in the Sahara.'

b) Imperfect

Again, the English forms, out of context, are inaccurate to render an imperfect.

I did	[ʁeːn]	*raen*
He/she did	[ʁeː]	*rae*
We did	[ʁeːm]	*raemp*
You did	[ˈʁeeχ]	*raec'h*
They did	[ʁeːn/ˈʁeɛn]	*raent*

Like in English and in French, the imperfect can be used in BCB in a modal capacity in contexts in which other languages would have a subjunctive.

Italian: *Sarebbe forse meglio se andassi* (imperfect subjunctive) *solo*.

Castillan: *Sería mejor que vaya* (present subjunctive) *solo*.
French: *Ça serait mieux, si j'y allais* (imperfect) *seul*. (But: *Il vaudrait mieux que j'y aille* (present subjunctive) *seul*).
English: It'd be better if I went (imperfect) on my own.
BCB: [meʃɑ̃ vibe ˈgwelɔχ la jeːn mẽ høn] *emichañs vije bet* (past conditional II used in a present conditional sense) *gwelloc'h, lâr aen* (imperfect) *ma unan*, or:
[meʃɑ̃ vo ˈgwelɔχ la jeːn mẽ høn] *emichañs vo* (future) *gwelloc'h, lâr aen* (imperfect) *ma unan*.'

c) Future

I will do	[ʁeŋ/ʁɪŋ] *rin*
He/she will do	[ʁaj] *ray*
We will do	[ˈʁefɔm] *rafomp* (PU *raimp*)
You will do	[ˈʁefeχ] *rafoc'h* (PU *reot*)
They will do	[ˈʁefən] *rafont* (PU *raint*)

d) Perfect

The forms for this tense are composed of the present tense forms of *kaout*, followed by the past participle of *ober*, [gwɛt] 'graet', as in:

[møːs gwɛt ˌdɪˈʒɐ] *e-meus graet, dija*, 'I already did'
[nøːzõm ke gwɛt ɑ̃n ˈdʁɐχə ˈmwæᵃs bet] *Neus omp ket graet an dra-se morse ebet*, 'That is something we never did.'

e) Double compound past

In the Double compound past, known in French as *passé surcomposé* (no longer used in standard French), the present tense forms of *kaout* are followed by the past participle of *bezañ*, itself followed by the past participle of *ober*, [gwɛt] 'graet'. This conveys a meaning similar to that of a perfect, but denoting a higher degree of completeness of the action. Further, it often, though not always, describes an action set further back in the past.

Compare the perfect:

[møs gwɛt ˌdɪˈʒɐ] *e-meus graet, dija*, 'I have already done it'.

To the double compound past:

[nœmke bet gwɛt ɑ̃n ˈdʁɐχə ˈmwæᵃs bet] *N'eump* (PU *n'hon eus*) *ket bet graet (an) dra-se morse ebet*. This can convey either 'that is something we have actually never done' or 'that was something we had actually never done'.

Other example:

[mẽ mi pʁɛn døʐ o ˈfʷæməʃ kik, ma nibe gwɛt; me ne ˈʁeõn ke kɪn] *Me mije prenet deus o fourmaj kig, ma nijent bet graet, met na reont ket ken*, lit. me I-would-have

bought of their pate if they-had been made some, but not they-make not anymore, 'I would have bought some of their pâté, if they had made some, but they don't make (it) any anymore.'

f) Pluperfect

The forms for this tense are achieved by adding the past participle of *ober*, [gwɛt] 'graet' to the imperfect tense forms of *kaout*. This, however, can achieve the meaning of a perfect, rather than a pluperfect. It tends to do so in everyday conversation, perhaps due to the fact that there is much less need for the pluperfect than for the perfect in daily interaction.

[mo gwɛt ˌdɪˈʒɐ] *e-meus graet, dija*, 'I already did (it)' or 'I had already done it'. [nom/noɛm ke gwɛt ãn ˈdʁɐχə mwæs bet] *N'oamp ket graet an dra-se morse ebet*, 'that is something we actually never did' or 'that is something we actually had never done.'

g) Present conditional

I would do	[ˈʁɐfən/ˈʁɐfɛn]	*rafen*
He/she would do	[ˈʁɐfe/ʁɐf]	*rafe*
We would do	[ˈʁɐfem]	*rafemp*
You would do	[ˈʁɐfɛχ]	*rafec'h*
They would do	[ˈʁɐfɛɲ]	*rafent*

h) Past conditional II

In the past conditional II, the conditional II forms of *kaout* are used as the auxiliary forms, followed by the past participle of *ober*, which is *graet*, as in:

[ma pi ke gwet ãn ˈdʁɐχə, viχ be ʃom ɛp ʁɐʒ] *ma pije ket graet an dra-se, vijec'h bet chomet hep reuz*, lit. if you-would-have not done the thing-this, you-would-have been remained without problems, 'If you hadn't done that, you'd have avoided problems.'

[mẽ mi gwet ma pi gul digãˈnɪŋ ˈoːwɐ] *ma mije graet, ma pije goullenet diganin ober*, lit. me I-would-have made, if you-would-have asked off-with-me make, 'I would have made some, if you'd asked me to.'

Note, however, that compound conditional II forms are also frequently used to express a ***present*** conditional (see 4.2.7.10 The conjugation of regular verbs, h) Past conditional).

4.2.7.7 The verb [mɔ̃n] *mont* 'go'

These forms can be used in negative statements by adding *ket* after them.

a) Present

I go	[ˈjɑ̃ɔ̃] *ez an*
He/she goes	[jɐ] *ez a*
We go	[ˈjelɔ̃m/ˈjeɐ̃m] *ez eomp*
You go	[jeˑt/ˈjelɪt] *ez it*
They go	[ˈjeɐ̃n] *ez eont*
Impersonal	[ˈjeːa] *ez eer*

Example:

[lɛχmɐ ʁe ˈdaɛʃ, ˈjeːake deɐsinema gwɐl aˈleːs] *Lec'h ma ar re Daech, (n')ez eer ket d'ar sinema gwall alies*, 'where the ISIS people are, one doesn't go to the movies an awful lot.'

b) Imperfect

I went	[jeːn] *ez aen*
He/she went	[jele/jeː] *ez ae*
We went	[jeːm] *ez aemp*
You went	[jeˑx] *ez aec'h*
They went	[jeːn] *ez aent*
One went	[ˈjeːa] *ez eer*

c) Future

I will go	[ˈjeːⁱŋ/jeːlɪn] *ez in*
He/she will go	[jej/ˈjelo] *ez ay*
We will go	[ˈjeːⁱm/ˈjelfɔm] *yelfomp* (PU *ez aimp*)
You will go	[ˈjeːⁱt/ˈjɐfɔχ] *yafoc'h* (PU *ez eot*)
They will go	[ˈjeːᵊn/ˈjelfən] *yelfont* (PU *ez aint*)

d) Perfect

Le Scao (1945a, 24) lists the following preterit forms of *mont*. As I have never heard them, no phonetic transcription is given below:

I went	*iéān* (PU *is*)
He/she went	*iéè* (PU *eas*)
We went	*ièam* (PU *ejomp*)
You went	*iéarc'h* (PU *ejoc'h*)
They went	*ièānt* (PU *ejod*)

The perfect of *mont* is otherwise achieved through expressions using compound verbal forms. One option is to ad the past participle of *mont*, [ɛt] *aet*, to the present of *bezañ*. This sort of structure tends to be used to form questions, as in:

[ɛˑd e dɑ̃n ɔˈfeᵊn, nɛj?] *Aet eo d'an oferenn, anezhi?* lit. gone is to the mass, her, 'Did she go to mass?'

To produce affirmative statements, the single form *zo* (of *bezañ*) used in analytical constructions can be used in conjunction with *aet*. Example:

[heŋ zo ɛt deʰ ˈsinema baˈkepɐ] *Int zo aet d'ar sinema (e-)barzh Kemper*, lit. they is gone to the cinema in Kemper, 'They went to Kemper to see a film.'

Amongst my informants, the most common constructions to express 'go' in a past context involve the past participle of *bezañ* '*bet*', rather than that of *mont* '*aet*'. This is similar to the use of the past participles of *être* in French or *be* in English to express the fact of having gone somewhere, as in the following examples:

'Have you ever been to Tokyo?'
'*Tu as déja été à Tokyo ?*'
[bɛd ɐx bɛt ba tokjo ?] '*Bet oc'h bet (e-)barzh Tokyo?*'

The auxiliary forms associated with *aet* as well as *bet* to achieve a perfect are taken from the conjugation of *bezañ*, but they are not necessarily present forms as in the last example above; they can be imperfects or double compound forms, as in the following example:

Three possible ways of expressing that one went to Kemper in the recent past:

[de ˈgepɐ e, vãŋ beˑt ɐzjun pɐseːt. neke de põn ⁿɐːbət] *Da Gemper eo, e oan bet ar sizhun paseet. N'eo ket da Pont an Abad*, lit. to Kemper is I had been the week past. It is not to Pont an Abat, 'It is to Kemper I went last week, not to Pont an Abad.'
In this example the auxiliary *oan* is an imperfect from.
There seems to be a contradiction, in this context, between the elements 'had been' and 'last week'. Standard English has to have 'went', and not 'have been'. It appears this ought to be the same in PU. BCB speakers, however, use an imperfect as an auxiliary without necessarily meaning to achieve a pluperfect.

[bedõnbet de gepʌ, paz de põn ⁿɐːbət, ɐzjun pɐseːt] *Bet on bet da Gemper, paz da Pont an Abad, ar sizhun paseet*, lit. been am been to Kemper, not to Pont an Abat, the week past, 'It is to Kemper I went last week, not to Pont an Abad.'
Bet on bet can be described as a double compound past from, similar to a pluperfect. More intelligible literal translations than 'been am been' could be: 'I have been been' or 'I have been gone'.

[bedõn de ˈgepɐ ɐzjun pɐseːt ˌdiˈʒɐ. Neke dao dɪŋ mõn ˈdæa ɐ zjunmã] *Bet on da Gemper ar sizhun paseet dija. N'eo ket dao din mont adarre ar sizhun-mañ*, lit. been am to Kemper the week past already. Not is need to-me go again this week, 'I already went to Kemper last week. I don't have to go again this week.'

Although all three utterances above refer to going to Kemper, the first two involve stressing that fact in order to contradict the notion of a trip to Pont an Abad. The compound forms *oan bet* and *bet on bet* in the first two examples may, in fact, play an emphatic role more than they convey chronological information.

This seems to be confirmed by the fact that in the third example, in which no emphasis of a destination over another is intended, a mere perfect tense is used.

e) Pluperfect

To merely fulfil the necessity of placing an event further back in time than another past event, a pluperfect composed of an imperfect form of *bezañ* followed by the past participle forms *aet* or *bet*, are used.

[giʃ deõn va aet en dʁoʷ de vʁɛs ˌdiˈʒa, ag ɐː bõbaʁdmã ve ɐʃy, eõ zo ʃom dyχ, a neke død ɛndʁo de syljɛn] *Giz eñ (a)oa aet en dro da Vrest dija, hag ar* bombardements *a oa achu, eñ zo chomet du-se, ha n'eo ket deuet en dro da Sulien*, lit. guise he was gone back to Brest already, and the bombings had stopped, he is stayed there, and is not come back to Sulien, 'As he had already gone back to Brest and the bombings had stopped, he stayed there and he did not come back to Sulien.'

f) Present conditional

I would go	[jɐfən/jɐfɛn]	*yafen* (PU *ez afen*)
He/she would go	[jɐfe]	*yafe* (PU *ez afe*)
We would go	[jɐfem]	*yafemp* (PU *ez afemp*)
You would go	[jɐfɛχ]	*yafec'h* (PU *ez afec'h*)
They would go	[jɐfɛɲ/jɐfən]	*yafent* (PU *ez afent*)

Example:

[hi jafeke ˈʁyze i ˈvutu, dãm i ˈnøju kenˈtɐχ, delɔk maʁja deˈhunəs pɛm poːkəz øʁo a ˈdɐu ˈyːgən, ma vi be gwɛs deˈhunəsnɛ tɔstɔχ døz ãm!] *He yafe ket ruzañ he voutoù, (pe)dam he pneuioù, kentoc'h, da Locmaria da c'houniz pemp paourkezh euro ha daou ugent, ma vije bet gouest da c'houniz anezhe tostoc'h deus amañ!* 'She wouldn't go drag her shoes, or rather her tyres, all the way to Locmaria to earn 45 piddling euros, if she were able to earn them closer to here!'

Note, that in the example above a compound conditional II form is used in the second clause to express a ***present*** conditional (see 4.2.7.10 The conjugation of regular verbs, h) Past conditional).

g) Past conditional II

In the past conditional II, the conditional II forms of *bezañ* are used as the auxiliary forms, followed by the past participle of *mont* which is *aet*, or that of *bezañ*, which is *bet* as in:

[mɛ̃ vi ɛt] *Me vije aet* lit. I would-be gone, 'I would have gone.'
[mɐ mi gwɛt vi be ken ˈbʁɐo, viɲ ke jɛt ken dyˈveːt] *Ma mije gouezet, vije bet ken brav, vijen ket aet ken diwezhat.* lit. if I would-have known, would-be been so beautiful, I-would-be not gone so late, 'If I had known it was going to be this beautiful, I wouldn't have gone so late.'

4.2.7.8 The verb [dɔ̃n] *dont* **'come/go'**

Though this verb is essentially regular, its verb base is somewhat different from what the infinitive [dɔ̃n] may lead one to expect. This verb base is [tø] *teu*, while the past participle is [dø:t] *deuet*. The form *donet* is obsolete in BCB, though it is known by some speakers, who have encountered it in literature or songs. Like with *mont*, the compound forms of *dont* utilise *bezañ* as their auxiliary, as in:

[ne ke dø:t] *n'eo ket deuet* lit. he isn't come, for 'he hasn't come'.

The verb is otherwise conjugated like a regular verb, by adding the regular verb endings to [tø]. This leads to forms such as [tøɔ̃] *teuan* 'I come/go', [tøət] *teuit* 'you come' etc.

Note that the future *3sg* form spelt *teuio* in ZH orthography is pronounced [tjo] in BCB.

The initial *t* of the conjugated forms does not mutate, except in the expression [ɐ zjun a zø] *ar sizhun a zeu*, lit. the week that comes, for 'the coming week/next week'. However 'he comes' is [eɔ̃ (a) tø] *eñ a teu*.

4.2.7.9 The verb [ɡuːt] *gouzout, goût* **'know'**

These forms can be used in negative statements by adding *ket* after them.

a) Present

I know	[ˈuːzɔ̃n/uz] *ouzon/ouz*
He/she knows	[waʁ/uz] *oar*
We know	[ˈuːzɔ̃m] *ouzomp*
You know	[ˈuzɔχ] *ouzoc'h*
They know	[ˈuzən] *ouzont*
Impersonal	[ˈuːzɛʁ] *ouzer*

Examples:

[Q: ɡuʁet pelɛχ mɐ me luneːdɔ̬? A: nuzket] Q: *Goût a rit pelec'h emañ ma lunedoù?* A: *N'ouzon ket.* 'Q: Do you know where my glasses are? A: I don't know.'

[piwaʁʔ] *piou a oar?* 'Who knows?'

b) Imperfect

I knew	[ˈvwe·eɲ/ˈuːjen] *ouien*
He/she knew	[ˈwi·je/vweːe] *ouie*
We knew	[ˈwijeːm/ˈvweːem] *ouiemp*
You knew	[ˈwijeːx] *ouiec'h*
They knew	[ˈwijen/vweːen] *ouient*

[naˈwijen ke χwɐ va be ˈlɐɛt oˈfot] *Ne ouient, c'hoaz, a oa bet lazhet o foatr*, 'They didn't know yet that their son had been killed.'

c) Future

I will know	[ˈuːjin/ˈwɪjin]	*ouezin*
He/she will know	[ˈwɐo]	*ouezo*
We will know	[uːjim/wɪjim]	*ouezimp*
You will know	[ˈuːjɔχ/ˈwɪjɔχ]	*ouezoc'h*
They will know	[ˈuːjiŋ/ˈwɪjiŋ]	*ouezint*

Example:

[wɐo ke ˈnetɐɐ keⁱt vo ke lædᵃ dɛʲ] *ouio ket netra keit vo ket lâr dezhi* 'she won't know if no one tells her.

d) Perfect

The forms for this tense are composed of the present tense forms of *kaout*, used as an auxiliary, associated with the past participle of *gouzout*, [gweˑt] *gouezet*, as in:

[gweˑt pøːs ˈpjeas χwaɐˈveːt bɐ keˈɐeːin?] *Gouezet peus petra zo c'hoarvezet e-barzh Kerrien?* Lit. known you have what is happened inside Kerrien? 'Do you know (have you heard) what happened in Kerrien?'

[møːs ke gweˑt la vɐ ˈmɐɐo] (*Ne*) *meus ket gouezet lâr e oa maro*, lit. I-have not known that (*conj.*) was dead, 'I did not know he/she was dead.'

I note that in the first of the two examples above, in which the fact of knowing about the event on which the question bears is uncertain, a perfect is used. However, when the context involves certainty that an event has taken place, the perfect of the verb *gouzout*, is often, expressed through a double compound past form, hence:

[møːs ke bɐ gweˑt ãn ˈdɐɐχə] *Ne meus ket bet gouezet an dra-se*, lit. I-have not been known the thing this, 'I haven't heard about this.'

e) Double compound past

This form is constituted by the present form of *kaout*, used as an auxiliary, and followed by the past participle of *bezañ* 'bet', itself followed by the past participle of *gouzout*, [gweˑt] 'gouezet'. It conveys full completion or non-completion of the action of knowing.

As suggested in the last example given in d) above, the double compound past in the verb *gouzout*, may play an emphatic role conveying the knowledge, or absence of knowledge of something that has definitely taken place, or that is definitely in existence.

This is echoed by the use of the *passé surcomposé* in French by Breton speakers and their descendants who produce statements such as *j'ai pas eu su qu'il était mort*, lit. 'I haven't had known that he was dead', 'I didn't hear he had died'.

Further example:

[eɔ̃ nøːs ke be gweˑt ˈnitʁɐ døs ɑ̃n ˈdʁɛχə aˈʁok vɐ ˈmɐˑʁo] *Eñ n'eus ket bet gouezet netra deus an dra-se, a-raok (e) oa maro*, lit. he not has not been known nothing of the thing-this before was dead, 'He didn't find out before dying'/'He died without ever knowing about it.'

f) Pluperfect

The pluperfect of *gouzout* is composed of an imperfect form of *kaout*, used as an auxiliary, followed by the past participle form *gouezet*. As with most other verbs in BCB, it can be used as a perfect.

[hi no ke gweˑt la vi be o ˈfʁiko, sɛd vɐj ke døˑt] *He n'en doa ket gouezet, lâr vije bet ur friko, sed oa-he ket deuet*, lit. she had not known, that there would-have been a wedding (reception), so she was not come/go, 'She didn't know there would be a wedding[91], so she did not go.'

g) Present conditional

I would know	[ˈwefeŋ] *oufen*	
He/she would know	[ˈwefe] *oufe*	
We would know	[ˈwefem] *wefemp*	
You would know	[ˈwefɛχ] *wefec'h*	
They would know	[ˈwefeŋ] *oufent*	

Example:

[wefe ked ɑ̃n dʁɐ ma no ke be kleːt dʁɐ gɐ øn benak!] *Oufe ket an dra, ma n'en doa ket klevet an dra gant unan bennak!* lit. she/he wouldn't know the thing, if not she-had not heard the thing with one some!, 'She wouldn't know about this, unless someone told her!'

h) Past conditional II

In the past conditional II, the conditional II forms of *kaout* are used as the auxiliary forms, followed by the past participle of *gouzout*, which is *gouezet* as in:

[mɛ̃ mi ke gwet ɑ̃n dʁa ma pi ke ˈlæᵃ dɪŋ] *Me mije ket gouezet an dra, ma pije ket lâret din*, 'I wouldn't have known about it, if you had not told me.'

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[91] Note that though the word *friko* means 'wedding banquet', some BCB speakers use it with the general meaning of 'wedding'.

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[mɐ mi gwɛt lɐ vibe ken ˈbʁɐose, viŋ ke be ɛ·t ken dyˈveːt] *Ma mije gouezet lâr vije bet ken brav-se, vijen ket aet ken diwezhat.* lit. 'If I would-have known say, would-be been so beautiful-this, I-would-be not gone so late, 'If I had known it would be this beautiful, I wouldn't have gone so late (I wouldn't have waited so long to go).'

4.2.7.10 The conjugation of regular verbs

The synthetic forms display endings in all persons, except for the 3rd *sg*, which is reduced to the verb base. The synthetic forms are used in particular in negative statements. The conditions of use of verbal forms are discussed in the chapter on syntax.

a) Present

The endings are:

1st *sg* [-ɔ̃/ɑ̃] -*an*, 3rd *sg* no ending, 1st *pl* [-ɔ̃m] -*omp*, 2nd *pl* [-ət/ɪt] -*it*, 3rd *pl* [-ən/ɔ̃n] -*ont*.

Example:

When I pray	[pa ˈbedɔ̃] *pa bedan*
He/she doesn't eat	[na zɪp ket] *ne zreb ket*
When we see	[pɐ ˈvelɔ̃m] *pa welomp*
If you come	[maˈtøːɪᵗ] *ma teuit*
They don't read	[ˈlenɔ̃n ket] *lennont ket*

b) Imperfect

The endings are:

1st *sg* [- ɛn] -*en*, 3rd *sg* [- e] -*e*, 1st *pl* [- ɛm] -*emp*, 2nd *pl* [- ɛx] -*ec'h*, 3rd *pl* [- ɛn] -*ent*.

I did not work/I was not working	[lɐˈbuːjɛn ket] *(ne) labouren ket*
He/she didn't drive/she did not have a license	[kenˈduje ket] *ne goñduie ket*
We got along/we were good friends	[nɪm ˈʁɑ̃kem] *en em rañkemp*
You did not write/you never wrote	[ˈskʁɪːvɛχ ket] *(ne) skrivec'h ket*
They fought	[nɪm ˈdeːgɛn] *en em dagent*

c) Future

The endings are:

1st *sg* [- iŋ] -*in*, 3rd *sg* [- o] -*o*, 1st *pl* [- im/(e)fɔm] -*imp/(e)fomp*, 2nd *pl* [- ɔx/(e)fɔx] -*oc'h/(e)foc'h*, 3rd *pl* [- iŋ/(e)fɔn] -*int/(e)font*.

Two systems are used in BCB to produce the synthetic forms of the future. For the 1st and 3rd *sg* the endings are [- iŋ] -*in* and [- o] -*o* respectively. In the other persons the two systems listed above are used in a way that appears to be left to the discretion of

the speakers but the use of the forms in -(e)f is probably a way of avoiding the confusion which can result from the homophony or phonetic closeness of the 1st *sg*. [- iŋ], 1st *pl*. [- im], and 3rd *pl*. [- iŋ].

I will not ask	[ne ˈχu·liŋ ket]	*ne c'houlin ket*
He/she will not die	[ne ˈvaʁvo ket]	*ne varvo ket*
We will die happy	[ˈvaʁvim ˈkɔtn]	*varvimp kontant*
We will not find	[ne ˈgavfɔm ket]	*ne gavfomp ket*
You will not work	[lɐbəˈʁefɔx ket]	*labourfoc'h ket*
You will not pray	[naˈbedɔx ket]	*ne bedoc'h ket*
They will not eat	[na ˈzɪbfɔn ket]	*ne zrebfont ket*
They will not say	[ne ˈlaʁiŋ ket]	*ne lârint ket*

d) Perfect

The forms for this tense are composed of the present tense forms of *kaout* or of *bezañ*, used as auxiliaries, followed by the past participle of the relevant verb. The past participle ending *-et* pronounced [ət], [ɛt] or reduced to [t] as happens in English, is generally left out unless its elision takes away from the clarity of the statement:

[de·p pøːs o piz beɲ?] *Debret peus ho piz bihan?* Lit. eaten you-have your peas little?, 'Have you eaten your green peas?'

[møːs ke gwɛl ve ãm] (*Ne*) *meus ket gwellet e oa amañ*, lit. I-have not seen was here, 'I did not see it was here.'

[nøːs ˈtɐpət øn bʁeːs, nẽɔ] (*E*) *neus tapet un bras*, lit. (*vp*.) he-has caught one big, him, 'He caught a big one.'

e) Double compound past forms

Sometimes, a double compound past form is used to express a perfected action [mentions of this have already been made in 4.2.7.4.3, 4.2.7.6 e), 4.2.7.7 d) and 4.2.7.9 d)]. This form is constituted by the present form of *kaout*, used as an auxiliary, and followed by the past participle of *bezañ* 'bet', itself followed by the past participle of the relevant verb. The double compound past therefore does not concern verbs, which use *bezañ* as their auxiliary.

Example:

[møːs ke be gwɛl ãn dʁɐχə ˈmwæᵃs bet] *Ne meus ket bet gwellet an dra-se morse ebet*, lit. I-have not been seen the thing this never none, 'I have never seen such a thing.'

The latter sentence, however, is also likely to be expressed [møːske gwɛl ãn dʁɐ χə ˈmwæᵃs bet] *Ne meus ket gwellet an dra-se morse ebet*. A difference between the two has not been acknowledged by my informants who seem to consider the two sentences as identical in meaning. I have noted that when I ask informants to translate sentences expressed in French in the *passé composé* (ie. in the perfect), they systematically resort to a simple compound perfect tense in Breton and not to a double compound past form.

I have never been able to elicit the use of a double compound past form out of natural conversational context. These forms, however, occur very frequently in conversation. My suspicion is that they are connected to the notion that the relevant action is fully complete. They also seem to occur in experiential contexts and verbs concerned by the double compound past typically involve perception of reality, such as: *gwellet* 'see', *klevout* 'hear', *gouzout* 'hear about, come to know', ober '(happen to) do', often in a negative context.

f) Pluperfect

The pluperfect of regular verbs is composed of an imperfect form of *kaout* or *bezañ* used as auxiliaries, followed by the past participle form of the relevant verb. The pluperfect is often associated with a perfect with which it contrasts, as in:

[be møs gwɛl ãn ˈoto dy, møs gweˑt va digweˑt ˌdiˈʒɐ, ˈnẽɔ] *Pa meus gwellet an oto du, meus gouezet e oa degouezet dija, anezhañ,* lit. when I-have seen the car black, I-have known *vp.* was arrived already, him, 'When I saw the black car, I knew he had already arrived.'

The pluperfect is frequently used as a perfect and the above example could, in fact, entirely be expressed using pluperfect forms by some speakers, thus the following sentence could be produced with the exact same meaning as above:

[be mo gwɛl ãnoto dy, mo gweˑt va digweˑt ˌdiˈʒɐ] *Paz em boa gwellet an oto du, em boa gouezet e oa degouezet dija,* lit. when I-had seen the car black, I-had known *vp.* was arrived already, still meaning 'When I saw the black car, I knew he had already arrived.'

This can occur in contexts in which the events related are recent, as in:

[dãm no ke ˈdiˑbət i leˈgyˑməʃ tʁe, no ke bɛt i dɐu mɐˈlɐˑbeʰ, nẽɔ. a bʁəm zo lẽˈvɐdɛk] *Dam n'en doa ket debret he legumaj tre, n'en doa ket bet e daou malabar, anezhañ. Ha bremañ zo leñvadeg,* lit. because not *vp.* had not eaten his vegetables through, not *vp.* had not been his two *malabars*, him. And now is crying.

Given that the crying is expressed in the present tense at the end of the statement, there is no doubt that the actions expressed in the pluperfect are situated in a realm of the past that normally calls for a perfect. Its translation is therefore: 'Because he didn't finish all his vegetables, he didn't get his two *malabars* (chewing-gums). And now there are tears.' The choice of a pluperfect by the speaker appears to be discretionary.

Another speaker, or the same speaker at another point in time could express the same sentence using a perfect:

[dãm nøs ke ˈdiˑbət i legyˑməʃ tʁe, nøske bɛt i dɐu mɐˈlɐˑbeʰ nẽɔ. a bʁəm zo lẽvɐdɛk] *Dam n'eus ket debret he legumaj tre, n'eus ket bet e daou malabar, anezhañ. Ha bremañ zo leñvadeg.*

As with the double compound past, however, informants asked to translate a sentence expressed in French using the *passé composé* ('perfect tense') systematically resort to a simple compound perfect tense in Breton though, in natural conversation, they will frequently use a pluperfect as a perfect.

Other examples of use of the pluperfect as a perfect:

[ɐ ˈleˑpus vɐ peˈseːt jɑ̃n a boːt ˈkɛ̃nət] *Al lapous a oa paseet dindañ ar bod keuneud*, lit. 'The bird was passed underneath the bough timber', meaning 'The bird flew under the branch.'

The pluperfect can be used in BCB in place of the perfect tense without necessarily conveying a chronological nuance different from it, contrary to what it achieves in French.

[dɛχ vwɑ̃n be vel an ɔsteopat], *dec'h, e oan bet da welout an osteopat*, lit. yesterday, (*vp*) I-was been (to) see the osteopath, 'Yesterday, I went to see the osteopath.'

There is therefore some fluctuation in the actual semantic value of the perfect and imperfect tenses respectively amongst BCB speakers. This is reflected in the use they and their descendants make of the pluperfect as a perfect in French too.

Examples: *Hier, j'avais pas été à la messe, et Anne-Marie n'avait pas été non plus*, lit. yesterday I hadn't gone to mass and Anne-Marie hadn't gone either, meaning 'Yesterday, I didn't go to mass, and Anne-Marie didn't go either.
This, in standard French would be expressed by using the *passé composé*. The sentence would be: *Hier, j'ai pas été à la messe et Anne-Marie n'(y)a pas été non plus.*

g) Present conditional

The formation of the conditional according to the section on verbs of Le Scao's BCB-French dictionary (1945a, 14–15) consists in adding endings starting with *-f* to the verb stem. The endings given by Le Scao for BCB (which does not have a 2nd pers. sg. form) are *-fenn*, *-fè*, *-fem,-fec'h*, *-fēnt*. Le Scao presents these endings as applying equally to verb stems ending in consonants (Ex. *labourat→labour→labourfenn*) and in vowels (Ex. *ober→ra→rafenn*). This matches the endings *-fen*, *-fes*, *-fe*, *-femp,-fec'h*, *-fent* given in Kerrain's popular Breton textbook *Ni a gomz brezhoneg* (2008, 224) and in the verb section of the broadly circulated Hemon-Huon dictionary (2005, 765).

However, current BCB speakers (including Le Scao's own grandnephew, RP, who lived all his life in the vicinity of where Le Scao was born) use substantially different endings after consonants. The endings they add to the verb stems start with [-ef] instead of just [-f]. Endings in [-ef] are in fact acknowledged by Favereau (1997, 198 & 244) for the Poher region (itself part of Northern Cornouaille).

This results in the conditional endings in BCB being:

1st *sg* [-efən] *-efen*, 3rd *sg* [-efe] *-efe*, 1st *pl* [-efɛm] *-efemp*, 2nd *pl* [-efɛx] *-efec'h*, 3rd *pl* [-efɛɲ] *-efent*.

If the verb stem ends in a vowel, the initial [e] of the conditional ending replaces it, as in: [mɔ̃n] *mont* → [ja] *ya* → [ˈjafe] *yafe* (3ʳᵈ *sg.*). Note, however, that when the 3ʳᵈ *sg.* ending is used, it may be realised without a final vowel, thus [ˈjaf] instead of [ˈjafe], [ˈʁaf] instead of [ˈʁafe] (*ober → ra*).

The emphasis is on the first syllable of the ending as in: *debriñ* (to eat) → *deb* → [deˈbefe], *labourat* (to work) → *labour* [lɐbuˈjefe/lɐbuˈʁefe], *pediñ* (to pray) → *ped* → [peˈdefe].

It is likely that this was already the case when Le Scao was growing up. Why, then, did he record such forms as *bedfè* (p.16), *gavfen* (p.22), *labourfè* (p.16) etc? Was it the pronunciation of the older generation of his time or was he influenced by Bro Leon orthography, used in most Church printed material?[92]

In BCB present conditional endings, except for the 3rd pers. sg. form, are currently infrequently used, because past conditional II forms are used in their place as present conditionals (see section h) below). It is difficult to say if this is a new trend or if it was already the case in Le Scao's days, as there are no examples of sentences using the conditional in either tome of his dictionaries.

Examples:

[xɥi ˈglefe sɔm (sic)[93] ˈtʁɛ̃kɪl] (RP) *C'hwi a dlefe chom trankil*. 'You should stay put.'

But: [ˈgleːt vi be dwɛx sɔm ˈtʁɛ̃kɪl] *Dleet vije bet deoc'h chom trankil*. 'You should stay put' is also heard. The latter sentence could, however, contain the slightly threatening nuance of 'You'd better stay put.'

[mɛ̃ jef de nɔːˈfɛʁn me møs ked ˈãmzəʁ dõn, xãõ, pəgɐʁ ˈʁãkə ˈoːwe dʁoʷ aʁ zaut] *Me a yafe d'an oferenn, met ne meus ket amzer dont, ac'hanon, peogwir e ranker ober dro ar saout*. The speaker (HG) intends: 'I would go to mass, but I haven't got time, because I have to look after the cows.'

But: [mɛ̃ vi be ɛḑ de nɔːˈfɛʁn me møs ked ˈãmzəʁ dõn, xãõ, pəgɐʁ ˈʁãkə ˈoːwe dʁoʷ aʁ zaut] *Me a vije bet aet d'an oferenn, met ne meus ket amzer dont, ac'hanon, peogwir e ranker ober dro ar saout*, is also heard with either the exact same meaning, or possibly an underlying notion of regret.

[nə ˈʁafɛˣ ken (sic) dʁɐ xə ma zifeˈnefən ˌdʁɐ xə dwɛx] (RP) *Ne rafec'h ket an dra-se, ma zifenfen an dra-se deoc'h* 'You would not do that, if I forbade you to do it.'

But: [pi ke gwɛt ən dʁɐ xə ma zifeˈnefən ˌdʁɐ xə dwɛx] (RP) *Pije ket graet an dra-se, ma zifenfen an dra-se deoc'h*, with the same meaning is also possible.

[xɥi ʃɔm ãmᵊ? ˈtøfɛx ke gãnɪŋ, xɛ̃x?] *C'hwi a chom amañ? Teufec'h ket ganin, ac'hanoc'h?* 'You staying here? Sure you don't want to come with me?'

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[92] Conditional endings in *-f* are used, for example, in *Buez ar Zent* (Marigo, Madec 1911).
[93] [sɔm] is an alternative pronunciation for *chom* mainly pronounced [ʃɔm] in BCB.

h) Past conditional

In theory, the past conditional can consist in present conditional forms of the auxiliary verbs *kaout* or *bezañ* followed by the past participle of relevant verbs. Thus a sentence such as [eõ ˈvefe døt ma ˈnefe bɛt ˈãmzəʰ] *Eñ vefe deut ma nefe bet amzer*, is understood by native speakers as meaning 'He would have come if he had had time'. However, I have very rarely witnessed native speakers using such forms. Instead, they resort to conditional II forms of *kaout* or *bezañ* (including some double compound forms) followed by the past participle of the relevant verb.

Examples of past conditional forms:

[eõ vi be døt ma ni bet ˈãmzəʰ] *Eñ **vije bet deut*** (double compound form) *ma nije bet amzer*, lit. he would-be been come if he would-have been time, 'He would have come if he had had time'.

[ma ni bet o mõnᵗ, vi diˈgweːt dan œʁ] *Ma nije bet ur voñtr, vije degouezet d'an eur*, lit. if would-have been a watch, would-be arrived of the hour, 'If he/she had had a watch, he/she would have arrived on time'.

[eõ vi be døt ma ni bet ãmzəʰ] *Eñ **vije bet deut*** (double compound form) *ma nije bet amzer*, lit. 'He would-be been come if he would-have been time', 'He would have come if he had had time'.

Furthermore, compound conditional II forms are also frequently used to express a ***present*** conditional, as per the examples below.

[dʁa vi be mɛːt] *dra vije bet mad*, lit. this would-be been good. This sentence, in another context, could be used to mean 'this would have been good'. The speaker who produced it (MTC) meant, however, 'this ***would be*** good.'

[mɛ̃ mi deːb ˈlɐpᵊn ma pi gʁɛt] *me mije debr(et) lapin, ma pije graet.* lit. I would-have eaten rabbit if you-would-have made, for 'I would eat rabbit, if you made some'.

[pi ke be deg ˈøʁo?] (*Ne*) *pije ket bet deg euros?* lit. (not) you-would-have not been ten euros? for 'You wouldn't have euros, would you?'

i) Double compound conditional II

The double compound conditional II of regular verbs is composed of the conditional II forms of *kaout* or *bezañ* used as the auxiliary verbs, followed by the past participle of *bezañ* 'bet', itself followed by the past participle of the relevant verb, as in:

[mɐ mi gwɛt lɐ vɐ ken ˈbʁɐːosə, mi ke be goˈtɔˑɛt kɛn pɛlsə, ãõ, vi mõn] *Ma mije gouezet, lâr (e) oa ken brav-se**, mije ket bet gortozet** ken pell-se, ac'hanon, evit mont.* lit. if I-would-have known, say was so beautiful, I-would-have not been waited so far-this, me, for go, 'If I had known it was this beautiful, I wouldn't have waited so long to go.'

[mɛ mi gwɛt lɐ vɐ ken ˈbʀɛːosə, viŋ be ɛːt ɐʀɔ·k de vɛl] *Ma mije gouezet, lâr (e) oa ken brav-se, vije bet aet a-raok, da wellet.* lit. if I-would-have known, say was so beautiful, I-would-be been gone to see, 'If I had known it was this beautiful, I would have gone (there) sooner to have a look.'

4.2.7.11 potentiality / unreality in the past

There are two competing forms expressing unreality in the past for the auxiliary verbs *kaout* (*meus*) and *bezañ*. They are the forms in -(*e*)*fe* and the forms in -*ije*. Although there are originally semantic differences between them, current BCB speakers seem to be largely unaware of them and the forms in -*ije* are now the dominant ones.

Examples:

[mɛ̃ mi ˈdeːbət ˈlɛpᵊn ma mi beᵗ ˈnɛõn] *Me mije debret lapin, ma mije bet naoñ.* The speaker intends: 'I would have eaten rabbit I had been hungry.'
[mɛ̃ mi deːb ˈlɛpᵊn ma pi gʀɛt] *me mije debr(et) lapin, ma pije graet.* The speaker intends:'I would eat rabbit, if you made some'.
[mɐ vɪχ bet diˈgwe·t ˈpɛmzɛk vlɐ ɐˈʀok, pi ˈgalᵊ gwɛl] *ma vijec'h degouezhet pemzek vloazh a-raok, pije gallet gwellout,* 'If you had come fifteen years before, you could have seen (it)'.

4.2.7.12 Tense shift

While the use of the conditional forms described above often matches their conditions of use, as described by Breton grammars, there is a discrepancy in terms of verbal morphology between the current usage in BCB and the rules presented in grammars, which does not concern the endings of the verbs. It involves, instead, a shift in the use of tenses and the use of periphrastic expressions.

With regard to tenses in BCB, I have observed the present conditional being routinely replaced by several of my informants either by the future or by the past unreal conditional (conditional II, see following page), which is used for both past and present, while the determination of the chronological situation of the action is left up to context. Thus, [dʀa vi be mɐːt] *dra vije bet mat*, which literally means 'this would have been good', can be used with that meaning, but is effectively used for 'this *would be* good' and it is noteworthy that it closely resembles the structure of the English phrase. What is actually meant by the speaker is left up to context, and this does not cause any confusion in the listener. It looks as if BCB is evolving away from an internal morphological change in the verb towards the use of an external modal marker, as is the case in English.
Substituting the past unreal conditional for the present conditional cannot actually result in major confusion. The reverse, however, (Substituting the present conditional for the past unreal conditional), would cause confusion, possibly in any language: the hypothetical phrases 'yesterday, I would like to speak to him'/ 'hier, j'aimerais lui parler' / 'gestern würde ich gerne mit ihm sprechen'/ 'ieri, mi piacerebbe parlare colùi' are nonsensical and trigger, in a native listener, an urge to correct the speaker or seek clarification.

By contrast, 'tomorrow, I would have liked to speak to him'/ 'demain, j'aurais aimé lui parler' / 'morgen, hätte ich gerne mit ihm gesprochen'/ 'domani, mi avrebbe piaciuto parlare colùi' can even be correct in a context in which the speaker intends to convey that: 1) he wishes to speak tomorrow to that person and 2) he already knows that it is unlikely to take place. It is just a matter of habituation, then, for the listener to process these sentences as meaning first and foremost that the speaker wishes to speak to that person tomorrow, without reading the notion of improbability into it.

The result of this practice, is to greatly reduce the number of verbal forms speakers would otherwise have to contend with, in particular the declension of verbs in the present conditional.

The reason for this practice, however, may well not be a drift of the language towards simplification. Instead, it could well be a choice, adopted in some families or by some individuals to express their opinions or their wishes indirectly rather than directly. This, in my experience, is a very strong tendency amongst the rural people of Briec. This may be something akin to the use of *might* in the sentence: 'I might eat a chocolate or two, if you offer me some', when one actually means: 'I would (like to) eat a chocolate or two'. The sentence [mɛ̃ mi deːb ˈlɛpˀn ma pi gʁɛt] *me mije debret lapin, ma pije graet* for example, fits with the above hypothesis. Its author, HG, produced it as the translation of 'I would eat rabbit, if you made some'. Yet, the sentence literally means 'I would have eaten rabbit, if you had made some'. The form used, [mi] (*mije*) belongs to a set of forms called '*conditionnel II*' ('conditional 2') by Goyat (2012, 311), 'past habitual and past conditional' by Wmffre (1998, 42), as well as '*conditionnel irréel*' ('unreal conditional') elsewhere (for ex. Favereau 2001, 925, Bottineau 2012, 1), in Breton *doare divizout dic'hallus* 'conditional of inability'. I think the label *unreal conditional* is the most appropriate for reasons given below with regard to how HG and my other informants use it. This tense is presented by Le Scao (1945, 19) as a mere past conditional, giving the example *mé mijè bet* for '*j'aurais eu*' ('I would have had'). Why, however, not produce the past conditional by using the forms in *-efe* given by Le Scao just above the forms in *-ije*? Why not express 'I would have had' as *me mefe bet* (as some BCB speakers do)? Le Scao, like, in fact, all my informants seem to consider both sets of forms interchangeable and do not see any semantic differences between them. Indeed, some BCB speakers express 'I would have had' as [mefe bet] *mefe bet*, a form that is not mentioned by Le Scao in his grammar section, while considering that [mi bet] means the same thing. I surmise, that while BCB speakers, for whom Breton grammar is a non-issue, may no longer be conscious of the difference between the forms in *-ije* and those in *-efe*, there was a time (possibly the time their great grandparents were alive) in which these two sets of forms were used in a discriminating fashion, traces of which appear in the way they are used today. In my opinion, the use by HG of the past unreal conditional when the present conditional is intended in the sentence *me mije debret lapin, ma pije graet* is a way (of which BCB speakers may no longer be aware) of placing his discourse as deeply as possible into unreality in order to moderate its impact on the listener and possibly as a way of showing a degree of humility. In this case, what HG may be trying to moderate is the implied complaint and the veiled request contained in the statement. What the use of the past unreal conditional potentially achieves here, is a meaning along the lines of 'I might have eaten rabbit, if you (ever) made some (but you unfortunately do not, though I wish you did)'.

HG tells me that his parents used the forms in *-ije*, as well. Their presence in his speech is therefore not an innovation on his part or the result of a deterioration of his Breton. What is more, HG does use the past conditional II when he does indeed mean to place

his discourse in the past. This happens particularly in statements that may not directly impact the listener and therefore do not need to be moderated. Although most examples that follow are recordings of statements by HG, whom I was able to consult extensively about this issue, his use of conditional forms is typical of what my other informants do:

[mɛ̃ mi ˈdeːbət ˈlɐpᵊn ma mi bet ˈnɐɔ̃n] *Me mije debret lapin, ma mije bet naoñ.* Speaker (HG) intends: 'I would have eaten rabbit if I had been hungry.'

Other examples:

[aˈblɐ ˈpseːɪt mi ˈdeːbə ˈlɐpᵊn me vɐ ket] *Ar bloazh paseet mije debret lapin, met ne oa ket.* The speaker (HG) intends: 'Last year, I would have eaten rabbit, but there were none.'

HG uses forms in *-efe* in the present in statements that contain no possibility of directly impacting the listener, such as:

[mɛ̃ zeˈbe·fe syk me møs ke dʁwet pəgɐʁ me zo djɛbɛtik] *Me zebefe sukr, met ne meus ket droet peogwir me zo diabetik.* Speaker (HG) intends: 'I would eat sugar but I am not allowed, because I am a diabetic.'

[mɛ̃ leˈnef aˈʒuᵏnl me nuz ke mɔd lɛn] *Me lenefe ar journal, met n'ouzon ket mod da lenn.* Speaker (HG) was asked to translate: 'I would read the paper, but I can't (do not know how to) read.'

In order to differentiate between utterances collected from natural conversation from those which are translations of sentences suggested by me, the latter bear the mention 'speaker was asked to translate' in the following examples:

[mɛ̃ jefe saˈgɛj, kwɐ, me i ˈbʁefɛʁ ʃɔm i hœn] *Me yafe asambles ganti, koa, met he a brefer chom he unan.* Speaker (HG) was asked to translate: 'I would go with her, but she prefers to be on her own.

[mɛ̃ mi deːb ˈlɐpᵊn ma pi gʁɛt, me ʁe ke mwæʁs, χɛ̃x] *Me mije debret* (Conditional → Past conditional II) *lapin, ma pije graet* (Conditional→Past conditional II), *met rit ket morse, ac'hanoc'h.* lit. Me I-would-have eaten rabbit, if you-would-have made, but you-make not never. The speaker (HG) was asked to translate: 'I would eat rabbit if you made some, but you never do.'

[mɛ̃ mi gaʁ dɪːb ˈlɐpᵊn] *Me mije karet debriñ lapin*, lit. me I-would-have liked eat rabbit. Speaker (HG) intends: 'I would like to eat rabbit.'

[mɛ̃ dʁɔˌʁef ɐ pəˌluz alɪˈɛsɐx, ma mi be o tɔ̃ˈdœs] *Me a droc'hefe ar* pelouse *aliesoc'h, ma mije bet un* tondeuse, lit. me I-would-cut the lawn more-often, if I-would-have been(/had) a lawn-mower. Speaker (HG) was asked to translate: 'I would cut the lawn more often, if I had a mower.'

[mɛ̃ mi deb ˈfuʁ·məʃ kik, me vɐke gʁɛt ɐ blɐ pseːt] *Me mije debret fourmaj kig, met ne oa ket graet ar bloazh paseet*, lit. I-would-have eaten pâté, but none was made last

year. Speaker (HG) intends: 'I would like to eat pate, but we did not make any last year.'

[eɔ̃ laʁ la ni plɑ̃te neɔ̃ pɛʁsɔnɛlmɑ̃] *Eñ lâr, la nije plantet anezhañ* personnellement, lit. he says, that he-would-have planted it personally. Speaker (MTC) intends: 'He said he would plant it personally.' (Context: the person was given the plant as a meaningful gift).

In addition to replacing the present conditional with the past unreal conditional (or the past conditional), another tense shift frequently observed in BCB involves the use of the 3rd pers. sg. future desinence *-o*, where a conditional is meant. This is not as frequent and not systematic. Some examples follow:

[e ne ke so·t, ne ˈskrivo mwæʁs ɑ̃n dʁɐ] *E n'eo ket sot, ne skrivo morse an dra*. Speaker (MTC) was asked to translate: 'He is not stupid, he would never write that.'

[mɛ̃ mo ɛ̃n mɐ mi bet an ˈɛ·χən … ma vin be guesᵗ] (HG) *Me mo* (Conditional→Future) *un, ma mije bet* (Conditional→PUC) *an ac'hant… ma vijen bet* (Conditional→ Past conditional II) *gouest*, lit. me *vp*. I-will-have one if I-would-be/have the money… if I-will-be been able. Speaker was asked to translate: 'I would have one, if I could afford it'.

[mɛ̃ zeˈbefe ˈlɐpᵊn ma vi gʁɛt dɪŋ] speaker (AH) intends: 'I would eat rabbit if one prepared some for me', lit. I would-eat rabbit, if would-have-been done to-me. (Note that a form in *-efe* is used for the first part of the statement by which no one can be negatively impacted). [vi] is close to corresponding to *vè* the conditional forms of *bezañ*, given by Le Scao (1945, 20) for 'je serais', 'I would be'. However, they are not present in any compound forms. According to Le Scao, 'I would have been' is *vijé bet* instead of *vè bet* which one could expect to find here.

Davalan (2002, 216), however, translates the conditional II forms of *bezañ* as either conditionals or past conditionals. Thus he translates *vijen* as '(je) serais/(j')aurais été.' This confirms that the meaning of conditional II forms can fluctuate between that of present and past conditionals.

4.2.7.13 Verb endings *-s* or *-f* denoting habitualness or characteristic behaviour

Wmffre (1998, 38) reports that, in the Plonevell dialect, near Karaez, 'Though the 3Sg of the present habitual tense usually corresponds to the verb base, those verb bases ending in a vowel are suffixed by -f'.

Goyat (2012, 277) reports an identical phenomenon in the Plozévet dialect. He describes that a *-v* (which become devoiced into an [f] 'as per the usual [phonological] rules'[94]) is added to verbs ending in a vowel in the 3rd *sg*. The numerous examples he

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[94] '*Ce /- v/ final peut bien sûr se dévoiser, conformément aux règles habituelle.*', 'This final *-v* can, of course, be devoiced as per the usual rules.'

gives mostly start with the conjunctions 'if' or 'when' and all imply a context of habitualness.

It is essentially the same situation in BCB, in which the suffix -*s* generally indicates that the agent performs the action habitually. It is often used in sentences ending with words denoting permanence such as [ato] *atao* 'always', [mwæᵃs (bət)] *morse (ebet)* 'never', [ebɛt]/[bɛt] *ebet* '(not) at all', [tãm bɛt] 'tamm ebet' 'not at all'. While the main suffix used to express the habitual character of an action amongst my informants is -*s*, the suffix -*f*, does also occur amongst some BCB speakers.

The suffix -*z*, a variation of -*s*, also appears in an example given by Le Scao:

Ar bèleg-sé a ziskeuiz mad an tolennou 'This priest explains the images well' (Fr-Bret 1945, 82). Note, however, that according to Breton and BCB phonological rules, the suffix noted -*z* would be devoiced to [s] and pronounced identically to -*s*.

Further examples:

[me pəsœ moˑd nøs desˈkeːt ʰeõ bʁeˈzõˑnek? xɥi gɔˈzeˈs bʁeˈzõˑnek gãtɔ?]
Met peseurt mod e neus desket brezhoneg, anezhan? C'hwi a gaoz__es__ brezhoneg gantañ? (Speaking of my youngest son) 'But how did he learn Breton? Do you speak Breton to him?'

[eõ ne beːz ˈbãne e͏̩bət] *Eñ ne baez banne ebet*, lit. he not pay drop none, 'He never buys (people) a drink.'

[eõ ˈskwisəs ˈfunəʃ] *Eñ (a) skuizhaez founnus*, lit. he tires quick, 'he gets tired quickly.'

[aˈʃyəs ke mwæʁs, ʃø aᵝ xãmpus] *achues ket morse, jeu ar c'hampouezh*, lit. finishes not never, game the crêpes, 'there is no end to the crêpe-making thing.'

[mɛ̃ bʁeˈseˈs nej bɛn ˈtele] *me a bases anezhe e-barzh an tele*, lit. I *vp* pass them inside the television, 'I play them on the television (speaking of home videos).'

[ãn œˑʁ ˈdʁɔis] *an eur drois*, lit. the hour turns, 'time is ticking'.

[neŋ gɔˈzeˈs ʁto] *ni goshaes atav*, lit. we age always, 'we keep on ageing.'

These suffixes apply mainly to verbs with bases ending phonetically in a vowel or semi-vowel such as:

Infinitive	Base	Examples
[ãnˈveo](anavezout)	[ãnˈve]	[ʁe mə ãnˈveis kelz a dyt] *Ar re-mañ anaves kalz a dud* 'They (lit. *those*) know a lot of people.
[aˈʃyi] (achuiñ)	[ˈaʃy]	[aˈʃyᵊs ke mwæʁs] *Achues ket morse* 'It never ends'

[ˈbɐːle] (baleañ)	[bɐːle]	[hus ˈvaːles ked aˈwax] *Hounnez a vales ket a-walc'h* 'She doesn't walk enough'.
[ʃaˈseˑal] (chaseal)	[ˈʃase]	[ʃaˈseˑs ke kɪn] *Chases ket ken* 'He doesn't go hunting anymore'.
[xwej] (c'hoari)	[xwaʁi]	[ne xwaˈʁiᵉs ket kaʁtu] *ne c'hoaries ket kartoù* 'He doesn't play cards'
[diˈgweo](degouezhout)	[diˈgwe]	[eõ ziˈgweːs dyˈveˑt ˈeto] *Eñ a zegoues diwezhad* 'He always arrives late'
[peo] (paeañ)	[pe]	[mɐːd e beːz, hẽs] *Mat e baeas, hennez* 'He pays well'

Note that some verbs with bases ending in a phonetic consonant can also be suffixed with *-s*. In that case, a phonetic vowel is added to the base. Verbs with a verb base ending in orthographic *-r* effectively end in a phonetic vowel as final *-r* is generally realised as a vowel (as in *serriñ* and *lâr* below).

Examples:

[koˈsɐːt] (koshaat), base: [kos]

[nim goˈzeⁱs ˈato]
lit. we age always
Ni a goshes atao
'We keep growing old.'

[ˈseʁi] (serriñ), base: [seʁ/sæₐ]

[eõ zæʁsⁿ nɔʁ hæːʁ]
lit. he closes the door bruskly
Eñ a serres an nor herr
'He always slams doors.'

[læːᵃ] (lâr), base: [læːᵃ]

[ma naχ ke ˈkõtᵊn ɐχ, døs ʁezylta dø pes mɐ ˈχwoah, bẽ ... zɔʁˈtɛis... χɥɪ læʁs, pjæʁ , ˈgast felˡʼ!]
lit. if not you-are not happy you, of result of piece you-are-*sit. vp.* doing, well... you-come-out-with... you say, what, 'son-of-a-bitch'
Ma n'oc'h ket kontant, oc'h, deus résultat *deus pez emaoc'h oc'h ober*, ben... *sorteis... c'hwi lârs, petra, 'gast fall'!*
'If you are not happy with the outcome of what you are doing, well then... you might exclaim.., that is, you might say: 'son-of-a-bitch'!'

4.2.7.13.1 The case of *dleout*

In the examples given above, the habitual or permanent character of the actions or situations described cannot be questioned. However, this is not so clear in the context in which the verb *dleout* (generally rendered as *gleout* in BCB, with [gle] as a base) is used in the following example:

[ɡle·s ke be ʁe bɛl]
(He *vp*) must not be too far
(Eñ a) gles ket bezañ re bell.
'He mustn't be far.'
Context: The speaker was indicating that the person I wanted to talk to, JNM, was probably going to be back soon.
There could be two possible reasons for the addition of an *s* at the end of *gle*:
a) the *s* may be added for phonetic reasons, for example to facilitate the liaising of *gle* and *ket* as it could be that [ɡle· ke] is more onerous on one's phonatory organ than [ɡle·s ke].
b) the verb *dleout* 'must' is often used in an habitual context as in: [hɛ̃s ɡleske be ˈpawᵃ] *Hennez gles ket bezañ paour*, 'He musn't be poor'. The *s* may therefore be added in the previous example through assimilation of the form to that used in an habitual context.
d) the expression [ɡle·s ke be pɛl], *gles ket bezañ pell* is typically used when one is travelling (for example sitting on a train) towards a destination and wonders how far that destination is. In this context, as the geographic position of the destination is permanent, the desinence -*s* is justified. The use of [ɡle·s] in the context in which I was waiting for JNM might have resulted from an assimilation of that context to the travelling context.
Whatever the case may be, an -*s* tends to be systematically added to *dleout* in the 3rd *sg.* in all cases.

4.2.7.14 Verb ending *-er* expressing generalisation

The ending [ɛʁ/ɛᵃ] -*er* can be added to verbs in the present of the indicative and occasionally, of the conditional to achieve the equivalent of what is expressed by using the pronouns 'one' in English or 'on' in French, as in:

[døz ɑ̃m a ˈve·lɛʁ a ɡɐˈte·dʁal] *deus amañ, e weller ar gatedral*, 'from here, one can see the cathedral'.

[ˈvelɛᵃ keᵈ døˈzutə ɡwɐl ɐˈle:s] *Ne weller ket deusouto gwall alies*, 'you do'nt see them very often.'

This ending is also added to the forms of *bezañ* [e] *eo* and [ve] *vez*, as in the following examples:

[nɛʁ ke vi læᵃ dʁe zo bao stɑ̃ŋ] *N'**er** ket evit lâr dra zo 'barzh ur stang* 'You cannot say it (C'hastell Yann) is in a valley.'

[ɡwɛst vɛʁ de ɡoˈzeal sæᵃ tɪ:bə] *Gouest **ver** de gozeal e-serr tebriñ* 'It is possible to talk while eating.'

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5. SYNTAX

5.1 Word order of the sentence

The word order in BCB can be:

a) subject + verb + object/adjective, as in:

[eɔ̃ a dɐp ˈlɔ·gɔt ma·t] *Eñ a dap logod mat*, 'He catches mice well/he is good at catching mice.'
[ɑ̃n ˈɑ̃mzeˣ zo ˈbʁɐo] *An amzer zo brao*, 'The weather is good.'

This is the most common word order.

b) main verb + verb *ober* inflected according to the person + object/adjective, as in:

[koˈze·l ʁɐ o bɐʁn lɑ̃ˈgeʃu] *Kaozeal (a) ra ur bern lañgachoù*, lit. speak (*vp.*) he/she-does a heap languages, 'He/she speaks lots of languages.'
[kɔ̃mˈpʁɐn ʁɐt mɐ tʁɐ] *Kompren a rit mat-tre*, lit. understand (*vp.*) you-do well very, 'You understand very well.'

This word order is quite common.

c) object/adjective + verb, as in:

[pez ˈlaʁɔ̃ e ze] *Ar pez (a) lâran eo se*, lit. piece *vp*. I-say is this, 'What I say is this.'
[bʁɐo e an dʁɐ] *Brao eo an dra*, lit. beautiful is the thing, 'It/this is beautiful.'

This word order is not very frequent and is resorted to when the speaker wants to place a degree of emphasis on the first element of the sentence.

The choice of ways of constructing a sentence available to BCB speakers is sometimes used to put a degree of emphasis on an element by placing it at the front of the utterance, as in:

[sabaˈtyːᵏt vɑ̃n ʃɔm] *Sabaturet (e) oan chomet*, lit. bewildered I-was left, 'I was completely surprised.'
[døz o kʁɐk va zɛl] *Deus ho krweg (e) oa (o) sellet*, lit. to your wife was looking, 'It is your wife, he was eyeing.'

5.2 Dependent personal pronouns placed in apposition

Dependent personal pronouns are routinely placed in apposition at the end of clauses in BCB, even if a subject pronoun has already been expressed in the sentence. This can be done to emphasize the subject of the verb in a clause, but most of the time, it appears to be simply a way of identifying the subject of the verb or reminding of it. Distinguishing between emphasis, degrees of emphasis, or absence thereof is often

not easy, as this practice is so pervasive and automatic than speakers themselves may not always be consciously aware of it.

Examples in which emphasis is intended:

[ɐ ˈflastəʁt nøs tut ɐ buˈkeːdu, nɛ̃ɔ!] *Ha flastret (e) neus toud ar boukedoù, anezhañ!* , lit. and squashed he-has all the flowers, him, 'And he squashed all the flowers, he did!'

Examples in which emphasis is absent or unclear:

[ˈnuːzn keᵗ ˈχɑ̃ɔ̃] *N'ouzon ket, ac'hanon.* lit. not I-know not, me, 'I don't know'

[e ˈwee ke χwa, ˈnɛ̃ɔ, lavɐ χwaʁˈveːt] *E oueze ket c'hoaz, anezhañ, lar (e) oa c'hoarvezet.* lit. he knew not yet, him, say was happened. 'He didn't know, yet, that it had happened.'

[mɐ mi gweːt la vi be ken imˈzao se, mi be gul geˈnæx ˈhɑ̃ɔ̃n də ˈpʁe·nə ˈmeɲɔχ] *Ma mije gouezet, lar (e) oa ken imzav-se, mije bet goullennet ganeoc'h, ac'hanon, da prenañ muioc'h.* lit. if I-would-have known say would-be so cheap-this, I-would-have been asked off-you, me, to buy more, 'If I had known it was so cheap, I would have asked you to buy more.'

[møs ke gweːt ˈpeaχ ʲeɔ̃ kweːt ˈhɑ̃ɔ̃] *(Ne) meus ket gouezet pelec'h eñ kouezet, ac'hanon.* lit. not I-have not known where he fallen, me, 'I am not aware of where it fell.'

5.3 Connecting clauses

There are no relative pronouns such as 'which', 'who', 'whose', 'whom' or the French 'qui', '*dont*', '*duquel*' etc. in Breton and there are therefore no word-for-word equivalents of 'with which', 'to whom', 'because of which' etc. available to connect clauses in the way one can do in French or German, for example.

In Breton, however, as in spoken English, dependent clauses can simply follow one another.

Examples:

[ɑ̃n dyt ɑ̃veɔ̃] *an dud anavezhan*, lit. the people I-know, 'the people I know.'
[ɑ̃n dyt ɑ̃veːt gɑ̃nɪŋ] *an dud anavezet ganin*, lit. the people known with-me, 'the people I know/the people known to me.'
[peb øːn no ɐn tɑ̃m nøs χwɑ̃nᵗ] *Peb unan en do an tamm (e) neus c'hoant*, lit. each one will-have the piece he-has want, 'Everyone will have the piece they want.'

The particle *a*, though it is mostly omitted, can play a role as a relative particle to connect a clause to another one starting with a consonant, as in:

[dʁez tʁɐu a do djul] *Dra zo traoù a dav diwall*, 'These are things one must keep an eye on/be careful about.'

[dʁe zo œn dʁe mnak a ˈnøzɔ̃m ke gwɛt ˈmwæʁsə] *Dra zo un dra bennak a neus omp ket graet morse*. 'This is something we have never done.'

[ne ke o meˌlanom, me dʁe mnak a dɛn dœn dʁa] *n'eo ket ur melanom, met (un) dra bennak a den d'an dra*, 'it isn't a melanoma, but something similar.'

However, when one wants to attach multiple pieces of information to a statement, the absence of relative pronouns can make connecting this information to what precedes problematic. This is particularly the case when prepositions, or conjunctions are involved.

Studying the strategies used by native speakers to connect clauses is challenging. I have found that it is, in reality, quite difficult to elicit the utterance of connected clauses in native speakers out of context. They are generally not found in the material that is collected by recording native speakers because this material is often of a narrative nature involving reminiscing the past or describing situations as is the transcription of a recording present in Goyat's thesis. This sort of material tends to contain a dominant proportion of independent clauses, while connected clauses tend to arise from the necessity of immediate real-life interaction. This typically involves conveyance of multiple pieces of detailed information describing an item in relation to other items or events, with the purpose of causing someone to identify, visualise, remember or locate it. Situations involving this sort of interaction are, by nature, not very compatible with the fact of operating a sound recorder. Furthermore, as everyday life interaction in native Breton is now generally exceptional, few opportunities exist to record such interaction.

5.3.1 Connecting more than two clauses

A comparison of the following sentences given in German, French and BCB illustrates the reality of connecting more than two clauses in Breton. In the sentences below, three main items are connected:
— A man is present in front of the speaker and of a person accompanying the speaker.
— A friend of the speaker had an accident while driving a car some time ago.
— The speaker thinks the man may have been the owner of that car.

The speaker wants to connect all three elements in a description of the man:

German: *Das muß der Mann sein, mit dessen Auto meine Freundin ein Unfall hatte.*

French: *Ce doit être l'homme avec la voiture duquel ma copine a eu un accident.*

lit. This must be the man with whose car my friend had an accident.

Although the German and French versions of the above utterance belong to a slightly formal register, they would have their place in conversation and do not sound odd. The literal English translation, however, sounds unnatural and is very unlikely to be

produced by a native speaker. Likely ways in which this sentence would be expressed in English are rather:

'This must be the man whose car my friend was driving, when she had an accident', 'See this man, here? I think my friend had an accident once, while driving his car.' 'I think this is the man whose car my friend had an accident with.'

Ways of expressing this in BCB would be:

[hɛ̃s gles be an ˈdɛ̃ⁱːn mi goˈmɛːlɛs nøs bet øn akˈsiːdn gɐi i oto ˈdeɔ̃] *Hennez zo an den, ma gomalezh (e) neus bet an aksidant gant e oto dezhañ*, lit. this one is the man my female-friend (*vp.*) has been/had an accident with his car to-him.

[ɛ̃n dẽːnəse, mi goˈmɛːlɛs nøs bet øn aksiːdn o kõnˈdyːi i oto ˈdẽɔ] *An den-se eo, ma gomalezh (e) neus bet an aksidant o konduiañ e oto dezhañ*, lit. the man-this is, my female-friend (*vp.*) has been/had an accident *vp.* driving his car to-him.

[baj ən ˈdeⁱnse ni e, me goˈmɛːlɛs nøs bet œn akˈsiːdn gɐ i oto ˈdẽɔ] *Bai an den-se an hini eo, ma gomalez (e) neus bet un aksidant gant e oto dezhañ*, lit. Quite-possibly, the man-this this-one is, my female-friend (*vp.*) has been/had an accident with his car to-him.

The above sentences illustrate the fact that, similarly to English, prepositions in Breton can be placed at the end or near the end of the relative clause.

5.3.2 Cleft sentences

A typical way of connecting clauses in Breton, which is very common in BCB, is to use cleft sentences as in the last example of § 5.3.1 above. This is often also a way of placing emphasis on the first element of the utterance, as is the case above, but cleft sentences are also used without emphasis. They typically use the phrase [ni e] *An hini eo*, lit. the one is, 'it is this.'

In the following examples, emphasis is sometimes a matter for debate and can depend on the tone used by the speaker:

[dʁɐ ni e?] *(An) dra an hini eo?* lit. (the) thing, the one is? 'Is this it?' (Possible emphasis on *dra*).

(Handing the telephone to someone) [ˈpjeᵃ ni e] *Pierre an hini eo*, lit. Pierre, the one is 'It's Pierre'. (No emphasis).

[o ˈkweˑʁən nie, kea?] *Ho kwerenn an hini eo, (n'eo) ket ta?* lit. your glass, the one is, (not is) not therefore ? 'This is your glass, isn't it?' (Emphasis).

[ɐ ˈplɑ̃tənsə nie, nøs lak a ʃas də ve klɑ̃] *Ar plantenn-se an hini eo, (e) neus lakaet ar chas da vez klañv*, lit. the plant-this the one is, (*vp.*) has put the dogs to be sick, 'It is the plant that made the dogs sick.' (No emphasis).

[neke ãn tyˈjose, ve do dɪŋ kas de sofiˌmat?] *N' eo ket an tuyoz-se, (a) vez dao din kas da Sofimat?* lit. not is not the hose-this, (*vp.*) is need to me send to Sofimat (agricultural machinery supplier), 'Isn't it this hose, I am supposed to take to Sofimat?' (No emphasis).

[bɐ ˈkepɐ, nɪ �õn bet, a zjun paˈseːt ne ke bɐ põnˈɐːbət] *(E-)barzh Kemper an hini on bet, ar sizhun paseet; n'eo ket (e-)barzh Pont-'n-Abad*, lit. (*par.*) inside Kemper the-one I-am been, the week past; not is not (*par.*) inside Pont-'n-Abad, 'It is Kemper I went to last week, not Pont-'n-Abad.' (Emphasis).

5.3.3 Use of the word *la* or *lar* as a particle acting as a relative pronoun

When native speakers are questioned about this feature, they sometimes take a moment to acknowledge they have just used it, as they do it so automatically, that they are hardly aware of it. Then, they give it the meaning '*que*', '*that*'.

It is, indeed, listed as a particle specific to Continental Cornish under French *que* and Breton *la* and *lar* in Favereau (1992, 1224 and 459). Examples given by Favereau (459) are:

Ne gredan ket la vi ressevet, 'I do not think he/she will be received' and *komprenet 'm boa la oa gwir*, 'I realised it was true'.

Wmffre (1998, 57) reports on it under the transcription [laɣ] also meaning *that*, but categorises it as a verbal particle, new to Central Breton. He indicates, in a footnote, that the word *lar* may come from the verb *lâr* 'to say'. His examples are: [me waɣ (laɣ) mɔh tõnᵈ] *I know (that) you are coming* and [hɛ̃mə la.ɣe (laɣ) vɛle kalz tχɔw] *He said (that) he saw many things*.

Goyat (2012, 360) mentions it too, though he says it is infrequently used in the Plozévet dialect.

This expression is used frequently by all my informants, including the oldest (born 1923). It is often followed by a verb in the future tense, as in:

[xwã̃ᵗpøs la ˈzaʁin a ˈprenesᵗ ?] 'Do you want me to close the window?'

[ˈlaʁã̃n dwaχ, la vin əˈnɔʁət døs tut al ˈleˑbɐʁ mwaχ ˈfunyʃə] Let me tell you, I am honored by all the work you are doing.

Other tenses can also follow:

[møs ke laʁ ˈdeõ la i vãm ne va, pegwiʁ mɔd ˈal vi be lɛ̃ˈvaˑdek] *(Ne) meus ket lâret dezhan, lar e vamm an hini (a) oa, peogwir mod-all (e) vije bet leñvadeg*, 'I did not tell him it was his mother (who was on the phone), because, otherwise, there would have been some crying (he would have got upset).'

[bez e bed o mæᵃ la va hɛ̃ŋ pinˈviˑdik] *Bez eo bet ur mare, lâr (a) oa int pinvidik*, 'There was a time, when they were rich.'

[mɛt vo dwɛχ lɐ ˈjafɛn ba lɛχmə ga me ˈvutu hø:s?] *Mat (e) vo deoc'h, lar yafen e-barzh lec'h-mañ gant ma voutoù heuz?*, 'Will it be ok with you, if I go in there with my rubber boots?'

[mɛ̃ ˈʒɔ̃·ʒe dɪŋ laʁ ɑ̃n dʁɐ ve pase:t] *Me (a) soñje din, lar an dra (e) oa paseet*, 'I thought it had gone away.' (With reference to symptoms of an ailment).

5.3.4 Expressing a causal relationship between clauses

There is no direct translation of which my informants are aware, for the phrase 'because of which' in BCB. Thus, the sentence: 'It is the job because of which she was unable to come to Brittany' is expressed through the following cleft sentence:

[ɐl ˈlɐ:bɐ maj ˈo:bɐ ni e, nøz ɑ̃ˈpe:ʃ nɛj de zɔ̃n de bʁeiz ɑ̃mə] *Al labour emañ-he (oc'h) ober an hini eo, (a) neus ampechet anezhi da zoñt da Vreizh amañ*, lit. the work is-*sit*.-she (*vp*.) doing the one is, (*vp*.) has prevented her to come to Brittany here.

Another way of expressing the above is to use the conjunction *ha* 'and', followed by the word [dɑ̃m] *dam* 'because'.

[i nøs kae o ˈlɐ:bɐ, a dɑ̃m dal ˈlɐ:bəse i zo be ɑ̃ˈpe:ʃəᵗ de zɔ̃n de bʁeiz] *He (e) neus kavet ul labour, ha dam d'al labour-se, he zo bet ampechet da zoñt da Vreizh*, lit. she found a job, and because of the job-this, she is been prevented to come to Brittany.

The word *gant* 'with', can also be used to express causality, as in:

[gɐl ˈlɐ:bɐ nøs ˈkaɛt, ne ke be guɛs de zɔ̃n de bʁeiz] *Gant al labour (e) neus kavet, n'eo ket bet gouest da zoñt da Vreizh*, lit. with the job she-has found, she is not been able to come to Brittany, 'Because of the job she found, she was not able to come to Brittany.'

5.4 Omission of copula

The copula is often omitted in BCB, as in:

[ˈɑ̃mə oto ʁɛ̃s døt dɛχ, ne ket?] *Amañ oto (ar) re-se zo deuet dec'h, n'eo ket?* lit. here car the-ones come yesterday, not is not? 'Here is the car of the people who came yesterday, isn't it?'

[emə nwaχ ˈsylln] *Emañ an ozac'h Sulien* lit. this-one the boss Sulien.
'He is the boss of Sulien (name of farm)'.

The copula is omitted in particular when it would precede a past participle, as in:

[nuz ke ˈpeaχ ɛ̃ɔ kwe:t, hɑ̃ɔ̃] *(N') ouzon ket pelec'h eñ kouezet, ac'hanon.* lit. not I-known not where he fallen, me, 'I don't know where it fell.'

[hes dø·t dɔʷʁ yn bul] *Hennez deuet d'ober* une boule. lit. this-one-*m.* come to make a ball, 'It turned into a round mass' (speaking of a skin cancer).

[mɛ̃ be ɐˈʁok ˈkɐu nɛj] *Me bet a-raok kavout anezhi.* lit. me been before find her, 'I had already seen her' (speaking of a doctor the speaker had already been consulting).

5.5 Verbal syntax

Breton verbs are formed analytically, periphrastically or synthetically.

5.5.1 Analytical conjugation

The analytical conjugation follows the pattern subject + verb + object. In this construction the verb is normally left in its base form in all persons.

As stated in '4.2.1 Preliminary remarks on the inflexion system', contemporary BCB speakers tend to resort to analytical verbal forms where other forms would be possible. Thus, the structure: [mɛ̃ vel o ti døz ɑ̃m] *Me (a) well ho ti deus amañ*, 'From here I can see your house' is more likely to occur than the structures [døz ɑ̃m ˈvelõ o ti] *Deus amañ, (e) wellan ho ti* or [o ti ˈvelõ døz ɑ̃m] *Ho ti (e) wellan deus amañ.*

Similarly, the analytical structure [nɪŋ gɔˈʁeːᵉ ɐ ˈzaut bɛp ˈmɪtn] *Ni a gorree ar saout bep mintin*, 'Every morning, we milked the cows' is more likely than the synthetic structure [bɛp mɪtn gɔˈʁeːᵊm ɐ ˈzaut] *Bep mintin e gorreemp ar saout*. However, the periphrastic structure [gɔʁeˈʁeːᵊm ɐ ˈzaut bɛp mɪtn] *Bep mintin gorreañ (a) raemp ar saout*, is as likely as the analytical structure.

Other examples (the analytical verbal constructions are in bold and underlined):

[me gʁeᵈˈdeŋ] ***Me (a) gred*** *din*, 'I think.'

[ˈbʁemə mɛ̃ ʁɛ̃k lak ˈeɥ diwɛʃ ˈbɛmə pɔmad vagwæ hɛs vi sikɐˈtʁise] *Bremañ,* ***me (a) rank*** *lakaat ivez diou wech bemdeiz* pomade *war gorre hennezh evit sikatrise*, 'Now I have to put an ointment twice a day on it to help heal the wound.'

[dʁɐ zo ɛ̃teˈʁɛsən waχ] ***Dra zo interesant*** *a-walc'h*, 'This is quite interesting', instead of [ɛ̃teˈʁɛsən waχ ɛ] *Interesant a-walc'h eo.*

[me... xfi zo pʁɛs dõn ˈguːskət ˈbʁɛmə, nɛ̃] *Met* ***c'hwi zo prest*** *dont da gousket bremañ, neuze*, 'So you are ready to go to bed now, then', instead of [pʁɛs ɐχ de zõn de ˈguskət, nɛ̃] *Prest oc'h da zont da gousket, neuze.*

[ʁɛ̃ gus keᵃ tut] *Ar re-mañ (a) goust ker, tout*, 'They sure cost a lot of money.'

Even in cases in which the use of the synthetic conjugation system is required, in particular in negative sentences, the analytical conjugation is occasionally used by otherwise fully competent speakers. This is, however, described as incorrect or inaesthetic by some of my informants, though they may use such structures themselves.

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Examples:

[mɛ̃ ja ke dʁez ɐ mwæᵃs bɛt] ___Me (a) ya ket___ *dre aze morse ebet*, 'I never go through there', instead of [yɔ̃ⁿ ke dʁez ɐ mwæᵃs bɛt] *(N')ez an ket dre aze morse ebet* (this form also occurs).

[mɛ̃ vɛl ke ˈneɔ̃] ___Me (a) well ket___ *anezhañ*, 'I don't/can't see him', instead of [ˈvelo ke ˈneɔ̃] *(Ne) wellan ket anezhañ* (note that the transcription [velo ke] is not a typo but an actual common pronunciation of the 1st *sg.* present indicative ending. An alternative pronunciation is [ˈvelɔ̃ ke]).

In negative analytical sentences using subject pronouns, the verb is often inflected, although the presence of the subject pronouns makes this inflection unnecessary, as in:

[nɪŋ ˈvelɔ̃m ke ˈfilmu aˈmɔsᵊ] ___Ni wellomp ket___ *filmoù a mod-se*, 'We do not see such films.'

[hɛ̃ŋ ˈvweːeŋ ke χwɐ, nɛ, la o foːt vɐ be ˈlæɛt] ___Int ouient ket___ *c'hoaz, anezhe, lâr o faotr oa bet lazhet*, 'They did not know that their son had been killed.'

Note that when the negative verbal particle *ne* would precede a verb starting with a consonant, it is generally not expressed. When the verb starts with a vowel or a semi-vowel, *ne* is expressed, though generally reduced to *n*.

Examples:

[ve lɔ̃ ke txɐ ˈebɛt] *(Ne) wellan ket tra ebet*, 'I cannot see a thing.'

[sɛl ke zwɛ̃ŋ a mɔs!] *(Ne) sellit ket deusoudon a mod-se*, 'Don't look at me like that!'

[ne wax ket, nɛʲ] *Ne oar ket, anezhi*, 'She does'nt know.'

[nev ke mwæᵁs, ˈneɔ̃] *N'ev ket morse, anezhañ*, 'He never drinks.'

[nalym ke ˈnetʁɐ, a ˈbʁikɛ se, nøs ke gɐz be ken bæᵃs] *N'alum ket netra, ar* briquet-*se, n'eus ket gaz ebet ken barzh*, 'This lighter doesn't light anything, there is no gas left in it.'

While, in practice, BCB speakers do form negative sentences using subject pronouns, and therefore dispense with the need to use inflected forms, in sentences starting with adverbs or conjunctions like [bɛn] *benn* 'when' or [mɐ] *ma* 'if', synthetic forms are always used and Le Scao gives examples of this in some of his conjugation tables ('if I work' *ma labourān* for example, in the Fr.-Br. tome p.16).

[maz aˈlymɔ̃ a ˈgulu, tut a musˈtikɛt tjo ˈbæᵃs] *Maz aluman ar goulou, tout ar moustiket (a) teuyo barzh*, 'If I turn the light on, all the mosquitoes will come in.'

[ma ˈjeːⁱt ket, hi no kɛ̃] *Ma (n')ez it ket, he en do keuz*, 'If you don't go, she will be disappointed.'

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[bɛn ˈvelɔ̃ deˈpeta zo ɛt, nɛj, mɛ̃ zo tʁɪst] *Benn (e) wellan da petra zo aet, anezhi,*

me (a) zo trist, 'When I see what has become of her, I am sad.'

5.5.2 Periphrastic conjugation

Periphrastic conjugation using the verb *ober* 'do' as an auxiliary, is used when a speaker wants a positive clause to start with the main verb. This is also possible to achieve by using the auxiliary/verbal particle *bez* (see 4.2.7.4 Use of *bez* and *bet* as auxiliaries/particles to conjugate *bezañ* and *kaout*.)

The periphrastic conjugation is mostly employed when referring to habitual or recurrent behaviour and often with a degree of emphasis, as in the context of the following dialogue:

MC - [bɛp ˈmitn jɐ də vɛl ˈpesə moːᵈ ve pɛˈseː ən ˈtʁɐu pɐd noːs, məʃɑ̃] *Bep mintin (a) ya da wellet peseurt mod vez paseet an traoù (e-)pad an noz, emichañs,* lit. each morning (*vp.*) goes to see which-sort way (*hab.*)-is past the things (*prep.*) during the night, maybe, 'Every morning, he goes to check how things sort of went during the night in the garden.'

PN - [kʲeᵃˈkas al ˈləwæᵝn nøs løːst ˈmʲeᵃku ban ˈdəwah] *Kerkas al louarn (e) neus laosket merkoù e-barzh an douar*, lit. in-case the fox has left marks inside the ground, 'In case the fox left tracks in the dirt.'

MC - [bɛ̃ː paˈseːl ʁa bjuz ˈɐxə ˈgiʃə, ɛ̃] Ben... ***paseal (a) ra*** *biou aze, e-giz-se, hein,* lit. well... pass he-does past there/here in-this-way, hey, 'Well, he does indeed come through here, you know.'

PN - [aː!ʔ] *Ah!?*, 'Really!?.'

MC - [ˈveʃu ve gwɛl tʁas] *(A-) wechoù vez gwellet* traces, lit. (*prep.*) times (*hab.*)-is seen tracks, 'Sometimes, there are tracks.'

Other dialogue:

PN - (Tongue in cheek) [χɥ goz bʁəˈzɔ̃nɛk mɐ tʁɐ] *C'hwi a gaoz brezhoneg mat tre*, 'You speak very good Breton.'

MC - [eˈsɛj ʁɔ̃] ***Eseye a ran***, 'I try.'

Other example involving some degree of emphasis:

[ly ˈgeᵃne ʁɐ oto ˈpeːᵃ] *lugerniñ (a) ra (an) oto Pêr*, lit. shine does car Pêr, 'Pierre's car shines/is (always) shiny.'

As is apparent in the above dialogue, the use of periphrastic conjugation does not necessarily imply emphasis. This is also the case in the following three examples:

[ɔːb a ˈʁɛ̃ɔ̃ ˈdʁɐ χə ˈbɛmdɛ] *Ober a ran an dra-se bemdez*, lit. to-do *vp* I-do thing-this every-day, 'I do this every day'.

[oːʁ ɐ ʁɐ·t dy spɔʁ œn ˈtɑ̃mic] *Ober a rit du sport un tammig*, lit. do *vp*, you-do of-the sport a little, 'You do a little sport.'

[oːb a ʁɪŋ dʁɐ bɛn aˈχɔɐs] *Ober a rin (an) dra- benn arc'hoazh*, lit. do *vp*. I-will-do thing head tomorrow, 'I will do it tomorrow'.

Note that while *ober* 'to do', is pronounced [ˈoːʷɐ] or [ˈoːbə] in isolation, it is pronounced [oːʁ] or [oːb] when preceding a vowel, which is the case when it occurs as the main verb conjugated periphrastically, as in:

oːʁ aˈ ʁɛ̃ˀ or oːb aˈ ʁɛ̃ˀ	*ober a ran* 'I do'
oːʁ aˈʁɛfɔx or oːb aˈʁɛfɔx	*ober a rafoc'h* 'You (*Sg* or *pl*) will do'
oːʁ aˈʁɛfe or oːb aˈʁɛfe	*ober a rafe* 'He/she would do'
oːʁ aˈʁeːᵊm or oːb aˈʁeːᵊm	*ober a raemp* 'We used to do'
oːʁ aˈʁɛfən or oːb aˈʁɛfən	*ober a rafont* 'They will do'

Other examples:

[mɔ̃n ɐ ʁɐ ɐl ˈlɐbə dʁo ˈɐto?] *Mont a ra al labour en dro atao?* lit. 'to-go *vp* does the work around still?' 'Is the work still going well?'

[mɔ̃n ɐ ʁɐ ˈkʁɛ̃χən] *Mont a ra krec'henn*, lit. to-go *vp* does incline, 'It (the road or the ground) is steeper/is going up steeply.'

[fym a ʁɛː bɛn vɐ ˈjɔʷŋ] *Fum a rae, benn (e) oa yaouank*, 'He smoked in his youth.'

[esˈpɛʁ e ʁɔ̃, pjeᵃ, lɐvo paˈʁɛːt] *Esper a ran, petra, lâr vo pareet*, 'Well, I hope it'll heal.'

[gu ʁɐ bʁəˈzɔ̃ːnək?] *Gouzout (a) rit brezhoneg?* 'Do you know/speak Breton?'

The periphrastic conjugation does not have a negative form.

Periphrastic and analytical constructions can be used alternatively in some cases, as in:

[gu ʁɛt pɛχ mɐ me lyˈneːdu?] *Gouzout a rit pelec'h emañ ma lunedoù?*, 'Do you know where my glasses are?'

[χɥ waʁ pɛχ mɐ me lyˈneːdu?] *C'hwi a oar pelec'h emañ ma lunedoù?*, 'Do you know where my glasses are?'

5.5.2.1 Some other periphrastic expressions replacing verbs

Expressions are used periphrastically in BCB to convey meanings that could be expressed with single verbs in the following areas:

a) Necessity, obligation:

— [dɐo/do] *dao* (generally followed or preceded by *bezañ*), lit. need is, corresponding to the verbs *rañkout* or *dleout* 'must'.

[ˈveʃu ve do⁹⁵ ˈdjul] *(A) wechoù, vez dav diwall*, 'Sometimes, you must be careful.'

b) Ability:

The following three expressions correspond to the verb *gallout* 'can'.

— [gwɛs] *gouest + bezañ*, lit. able be.

[bliʃ ke dɪŋ mõn banˈɛ̃ʃu bɛn ve ʁøz amɔs, poˈgɐʁ ˈbʁɑ̃ku ve gwɛs de ˈgweo] *(Ne) blij ket din mont e-barzh an hentoù benn (e) vez reuz a mod-se, peogwir brankoù (a) vez gouest da gwezañ*, 'I don't like to be on the road when there is such disruption (in this case: stormy weather), because branches may/could fall down.'

— *bezañ* + [vi] *evit*, lit. be for.

This expression is only used in negative sentences.

[nõ ke vi læʁ dwaχ, ˈʃiwɐs] *N'on ket evit lâr deoc'h, siwazh*, lit. not I-am for tell to-you, unfortunately, 'I am unable to tell you, unfortunately.'

— *moaien* [ˈmwajən] + *zo*, lit. way is.

[ˈmwɐjən zo de gɐud ɛ̃ːn ˈheu ?] *Moaien zo da kaout unan hirio?* lit. way is to find one today? 'Is it possible to get one today?'

[nøs ke ˈvwɐjən de ˈgʁeˑdi!] *N'eus ket voaien da grediñ*, lit. not has not way to believe! '(This is) incredible!'

c) Authorisation/assent:

The expression *moaien zo* can also entail a more or less implicit request for assent from others. In that case it is an equivalent of the English 'may', as in:

[ˈmwɐjən zo deŋ mõn ba ˈlɛχmə game ˈvutu høːs?] *Moaien zo din mont e-barzh lec'h-mañ gant me voutoù heuz?*, 'May I come inside that area with my rubber boots on?'(This implies: 'Is it ok with you if I do so?')

mat [mɐːt] + *bezañ* (+ *da*), lit. good is (to), 'to be ok/allowable.

— [mɐd e mõn ba ˈlɛχmə ga ˈbutu høːs?] *Mat eo mont e-barzh lec'h-mañ gant boutoù heuz?* 'Is it ok to go in there with rubber boots?'

— [mɐd e dwaχ?] *Mat eo deoc'h?* 'Is it ok with you?'

5.5.3 Synthetic conjugation

In the synthetic conjugation the verb is marked for number in each person and there are feminine forms of the 3rd. *sg.* of the descriptive and situational forms of the verb *bezañ*. Synthetic verbal forms, except imperatives, do not normally occur in sentence initial position. Certain auxiliary and modal verbs are an exception to this:

a) The auxiliary verb *bezañ* in its descriptive and progressive forms

Examples:

[meχ ˈtibi, χɛ̃χ?] *Emaoc'h o tebriñ, ac'hanoc'h?*, 'You are eating, are you?'

[maj bɐ i gɑ̃m?] *Emañ-he e-barzh he gambr?*, 'Is she in her room?'

[ɛj bɛt de ˈɛ̃tɛʁ?] *Eo-he bet da Inter(marché)?*, 'Has she been to Intermarché (supermarket)?'

[vɑ̃m sɛl døz ɑ̃ ˈtele, se nɔ̃m ke kleːt ɑ̃ teˈlefɔn] *Oamp (o) sellet deus an tele, sed n'eus omp ket klevet an telefon*, 'We were watching the television, so we didn't hear the telephone.'

b) The verb *dleout*

Examples:

Note that some speakers pronounce *dlees* [glef], while others pronounce it [gles].

[gles be ˈkeːᵃ] *Dlees bezañ ker*, 'It must be expensive.'

[glef be ɛt ˈkɥit] *Dlees bezañ aet kuit*, 'He/she must have left.'

[glef ke be gwel vʁɛːs] *Dlees ket bezañ gwall vras*, 'It mustn't/can't be very big/it is probably not very big.'

[gles ke be pɛl] *Dlees ket bezañ pell*, 'It can't/mustn't be far.'

Synthetic forms are predominantly used in negative statements, in which case they effectively do appear in sentence-initial position since the negative particle *ne*, though implied by the mutation it triggers, is almost always omitted.

Examples:

[ˈgɑ̃nɔ̃ ke ma waχ, hɔ̃] *(Ne) ganan ket mat a-walc'h, ac'hanon*, 'I do not sing well enough.'

[ˈvelɔ̃m ke ne ken] *(Ne) wellomp ket anezhe ken*, 'We do not see them anymore.'

[gɔ̃ˈpʁenɔ̃ ke ʁe vɐːt] *(Ne) gomprenan ket re vat*, 'I do not quite understand.'

[mɛ̃iɲ ke ʃɔm ba ˈpɛiʃ ken] *(N') emaont ket (o) chom e-barzh Paris ken*, 'They do not live in Paris, anymore.'

5.5.4 Elision of the verbal particle *o*

As discussed previously verbal particles are routinely left out. Many cases of elision of *ne, a, e* are found in previous examples. Elision of the particle *o*, used to express a progressive action and often connecting two clauses, is also generally left out, as appears in the last example above and the examples below. The mutations triggered by the omitted particles, however, are always observed.

[giʃ ɛ̃n ve χul ˈgɑ̃ˈnɪɲ] *Giz un a oa (o) c'houlenn ganin...* It's like some person was asking me (some time ago)...

[mɐχ ˈtibi o leˈgymaʃ?] *Emaoc'h (o) tebriñ ho legumaj*, 'Are you eating your vegetables?'

[øn œʁ ˈɑ̃tɐ jeɔ̃ be ˈχɔˣtəs ˈhɑ̃ɔ̃] *Un eur hanter eñ bet (o) c'hortoz ac'hanon*, 'He was waiting for me for half an hour.'

6. LEXICON

6.1 Make-up of the Breton vocabulary

The chief known direct sources of vocabulary in Breton are inherited Celtic and Brythonic words. The all-important word *mor* 'sea', for example, is considered to be directly from Celtic.

Other main direct sources are Latin and French. The word currently used for 'lunch', *merenn* (BCB [ˈmʲeᵃn]) is directly from the Latin *Merenda*. So are the words for 'dinner', *koan*, [kwã̃n] in BCB (Latin *cena*) and for the table one eats it on: [toˑl] from Latin *tabula*. Another example is the word *kravaz* (BCB [ˈkʁɐ·vəs]) 'wheel barrow', which is from the Latin *grabattus* 'stretcher (with one wheel)'.

French has, predictably, contributed a very large proportion of borrowed words in Breton. These borrowings have been taking place for many centuries, including in the 9th century, when French-speaking parts of France were annexed by Bretons.

Many are therefore no longer in current use, or rarely used in contemporary French. Further, their meanings have sometimes evolved separately in each language. As their pronunciation is bretonized, they are often unrecognizable to the layperson. Here are some examples in BCB presented in order of increased dissimilarity from the French pronunciation:

[o fɔs] *ur fos* 'a pit/ditch', from Fr. *fosse* [fos].

[o ˈpoˑʷt] *ur pod* 'a pot', from Fr. *pot* [po].

[a· meˈdiʃɪn] *ar medisin* 'the doctor', from Fr. *médecin* [medsɛ̃] (southern pronunciation [ˌmedəˈsɛ̃ŋ]).

[o ˈpæᵃk] *ur park* 'a field', from Fr. *parc* [paʁk], which means 'park', not 'field' in French.

[o feˈnɛ·ʲn] *ur feneant* 'a lazy person', from Fr. *fainéant* [fɛˈneã].

[koˈʒeˑᵊl]/ [koˈzeˑᵊl] *koazeal* 'to have a talk with', from Fr. *causer* [koze]. The word has the same meaning in French, but is now old-fashioned.

[o hɐˈʁiˑᵊl] *ur c'harrigel*, other word for 'a wheelbarrow', from the Fr. *carriole* [kaʁiɔl], now rarely used and with the quite different meaning of 'small wobbly cart/car' in French.

[o pɛ̃·s]/[o py·s] *ur puñs* 'a well', from Fr. *puits* [pɥi].

[o ˈgwæᵃdn]/ [o ˈgwæᵃn] *ur gordenn* 'a rope', from Fr. *corde* [kɔʁd].

[a ˈbwæᵃʁd] *ar bord* 'the edge', from Fr. *bord* [bɔʁ].

[kɪsˈteˑiŋ] *kistion* 'question, issue', from Fr. *question* [kɛstjɔ̃].

[o pʁeˈsawaʰ] *ur pressouer* 'an (apple-)press', from Fr. *pressoir* [pʁɛswaʁ].

[o mã̃ˈʒawaʰ] *ur mañjouer* 'a feeding trough', from Fr. *mangeoire* [mã̃ʒwaʁ].

[a gwæʁˈnɐ·mən] *ar gouarnamant* 'the government', from Fr. *gouvernement* [guvɛʁnəmã̃].

Many words for recent non-agricultural inventions or realities went from French into BCB in a more-or-less bretonised form.

Examples:

[o ˈtʁɛ̃ːn]/ [o ˈtʁɛ̃] *un tren* 'a train', from Fr. *train* [tʁɛ̃].

[lɛˈtʁiˈsite]/[lɛktʁiˈsite] *letrissite* 'electricity', from Fr. *électricité* [elɛktrisite].

[an teˈleˑfɔ̃n] *an telefon* 'the telephone', from Fr. *téléphone* [teleˈfɔn].
[o ˈpweᵃˌtab] *ur portabl* (PU *hezoug*) 'a mobile phone', from Fr. *portable* [pɔʁˈtabl].

There are, however, Breton words for much of the mechanised farming equipment introduced at the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century, like, for example:

[o ʁasteˈleᵃs] *ur rastelerez* 'a mechanical windrow rake'.
[o biˈleᵃs] *ur bilerez* 'a harrow'.
[ɔ̃n ɐˈdeᵃs] *ur haderez* 'a seeding machine'.
[o dwaʁˈneᵃs] *un dornerez* 'a thresher'.

Some more recent farming equipment and infrastructure are borrowed from French:

[o tʁɛkˈtœᵃ] *un trakteur* 'a tractor', from Fr. *tracteur* [tʁakˌtœʁ].
[ən ˈɑ̃gaʰ] *un hangar* 'a hangar', from Fr. *hangar* [ɑ̃gaʁ].
[aˈlɛtʁi] *al letri* (no word in PU) 'the milk shed', from Fr. *laiterie* [lɛtʁi].

I am not aware of any Breton words used in BCB for farming equipment introduced in the last 45 years. Thus, tractor accessories (various buckets, front loading equipment, trailers etc.), combined harvesters, round balers, excavators, automated milking equipment and such like are only known in BCB, as far as I know, under their French names.

Lastly, the latest source of new words to come into Breton, are neologisms, largely developed by the Breton Language authorities such as Ofis ar Brezhoneg. Such words, like *skol veur* 'university', *etrerannyezhel* 'interdialectal' or *pelgomz* 'telephone' correspond to realities that were not part of the everyday life of most native Breton speakers before WWII and they have no equivalents in pre-1960s native Breton.
As this work concerns a dialect, rather than *peurunvan* Breton, the only neologisms, which are relevant to it are the ones used by its speakers. It is particularly relevant to collect the neologisms of speakers born around WWII and before, because they are more established than the more recent neologisms.
Because of the KEAV[96] program, which puts learners of Breton in contact with a few native speakers, some recent neologisms do find their way in the vocabulary of native speakers if they are relevant to their lives or that of their families. This is probably how the neologism *pred-ti*, PU for 'restaurant', is known and occasionally used by some of my informants.
The bilingual road signage installed in parts of Breton-speaking Brittany moderately enriches the vocabulary of native BCB speakers today. I have noticed that the expression *hent-tizh*, lit. 'road-speed', present on signs indicating freeways has entered the vocabulary of BCB speakers, all the more so that Briec lies along the Kemper to Brest freeway, which is a major economic feature of the city.

Examples of neologisms used by native BCB speakers:

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[96] An immersive Breton language program.

[ən disˈlɛ:vjəʁ] *un disglawier* 'an umbrella' (well established pre-WWII neologism in current use).

[o hæᵃ dʁe dɑ̃n] *ur c'har dre dan*, lit. a cart by fire, for 'a motorcar' (pre-WWII neologism). The most common word today, by far, however is [ə noˌto] *un oto*.

[ɑ̃n tiˈkeᵃ] *an ti-kêr* 'the City Hall'. This word, although recent, is used by older native speakers, though many speakers do refer to the City Hall by the French name *mairie* (pronounced [meˈʁi]) as well.

[ɑ̃n tiˈdɛⁱʐ̧] *an ti-deiz* 'the Day Centre (for the elderly)'. This recent neologism is in current use in BCB and it also is used in Breton in the French of the locals.

[pʁet ti] *pred ti*, lit. 'food house.' [ʁɛsˈtɔʁɑ̃] or [ʁɛsˈtɔʁɑ̃ⁿ] are, however, the words most commonly used for 'restaurant'.

[yʁˈziɛ:təʰ] *urzhiater*, lit. 'orderer', 'computer', based on the notion (that gave rise to the words *ordinateur* in French and *ordenador* in Spanish) that a computer does not just calculate but puts elements in order. Although it is unknown to the vast majority of native speakers, it was known to and used by one of my few informants to own a computer. The others use the French word *ordinateur* and its French pronunciation [ɔʁdinaˈtœʁ] or its abbreviation *ordi* slightly bretonised in its pronunciation ([ˈɔʁdi]/ [ˈɔᵃdi]).

6.2 Lexical variations

Lexical discrepancies are limited in scope within the Canton of Briec, and there is complete inter-comprehension between speakers of all areas. Speakers from one area are aware of the differences in pronunciation and vocabulary of other areas to their own and they comment on them or joke about them.

Pronunciation of *c'h*, which is a notable difference, has already been discussed in Phonology, 2.1.2 Demarcation line between [χ] and [h] in the Canton of Briec.

Lexical examples of variations are the words for attic and wheelbarrow.
'The attic' can either be [ɐ ˈzo:ljəʰ] *ar solier* or [aʁ ˈxiɲɔl] *ar c'hignol*. Perusal of Le Dû's linguistic Atlas (NALBB, 2001, map 538) indicate a dominance of the latter term in Canton Briec. However the dominant word amongst my informant is [ˈso:ljəʰ] and the word [ˈgʁiɲɔl] is known as an alternative not particularly attached to any region of the canton or of its surroundings.
The word for 'wheelbarrow' can either be [ˈkʁɐ:vəs] or [kɐˈʁi:l]. All my informants say [o ˈhɐ:vəs] while they consider [o gɐˈʁi:l] to be a term used in eastern and north-eastern parts of Canton Briec and rather outside of it.
Leroux's Atlas (1927, map 363) show that both words are relatively evenly spread throughout the Breton-speaking domain and in fact exist side by side in a number of locations. Although Leroux gives the word *dòw bènnek* which is unknown to my informants for Edern and surroundings, he also gives the word *krávǎs* along with it. The closest locations in which words similar to *karrigel* are found are indeed to the east and north-east of Canton Briec. This is equally the case in Le Dû (2001, map 314), in whose atlas, incidentally, *dòw bènnek* is not found. This matches my informants' perception.

Another example is the word for 'yes'. My informants, use [ˈɛjə] *eye* for a mere 'yes', but resort sometimes to [jɐ] *ya* for clarity, in particular when repeating themselves, as in this telephone exchange:

A: [mɐd e ɑ̃n ˈɑ̃mzɐ ˈdyˀx ?], lit. 'good is the weather, side that?', 'Is the weather good over where you are?'

B: [ˈɛjə, ˈmɐde], lit. 'yes, good is', 'yes, it's good'.

A: [petɐ?] 'what?'

B: [jɐ, ˈmɐde], lit. 'yes, good is', 'yes it is good.'

In addition, the syllable [jɐ] is part of the word [jɐu] *yeo*, used affirmatively in response to a negative question, as in:

A: [dʁɐ mɐ ke gɛnˈwɐχ?], lit. thing is not with you? 'You haven't got it?'

B: [jɐu!] 'I have!'

A further example is the word for 'up' or 'to/at the top', which tends to be [a laj] *a lae* to the west of Briec and [ba nɛχ] *ba nec'h* to the east. This appears clearly in the NALBB (map 019).

6.3 *Ober* used for *reiñ*

It is common in Breton, including in BCB, for the verb *ober* 'to do', to be used with the meaning of 'to give'. Helias (2002, 78), a speaker of the Pouldreuzig dialect of Bro Vigouden, gives an example of this use of *ober* in the sentence '*gret deom yod*' for 'give us porridge'.

Etymologically, *ober* comes from Latin *opera* 'piece of work', so the use of the word for 'to give' does not appear to be etymological.

Examples in BCB:

[mɛ̃ vɐ ɛt ban ˈɑ̃geʰ ˈdowɐ bwɛt dɐ ˈʃɐs] *me (a) oa aet e-barzh an hangar d'ober boued d'ar chas* lit. me was gone inside the hangar to do food to the dogs, 'I had gone to the hangar to feed the dogs'.

[ˈjafɛn ket, ma vi ke gʁɐt də ˈziːbə dɪŋ] *Ne yafen ket, ma vije ket graet(roet) da zebriñ din* lit. I-would-go not if would-be not made to eat to-me, 'I would not go if I weren't given something to eat/if they did not give me something to eat'.

There is a specific word, in Breton, for 'to give', which is *reiñ*, pronounced [ʁɔj] or [ʁɛj]. This word is less frequently used by BCB speakers.

A frequently used term to describe the act of physically seizing an object and handing it over to another person is the verb [paˈseo] *passeal* 'to pass, to give, to hand', fr. Fr. *passer* used in French with the meaning 'pass', 'give'.

Example:

[mɛ̃ zɔ̃n paˈseo ɑ̃n deˈlefɔ̃n dɛʲ] *me (a) zo o vont da basseal an telefon dezhi* 'I'll hand her the phone'. (note that, possibly because *passeal* is a borrowed word much used in French, speakers tend not to observe mutations in that word. Hence [paˈseo] instead of the lenited form [baˈseo] required in the above example by the presence of the preposition *da*, not expressed but implied in speech).

6.4 Important BCB words not found in PU dictionaries

1) **Benn**, pronounced [bɛn], 'when', 'in' + segment of time (an hour, a week etc.).

Benn is the lenited form of *penn*, meaning 'head' or 'tip'. The fact it is lenited indicates that it is preceded by a trigger of lenition, probably a particle, that is no longer expressed. In all likelihood this is the particle *a*, the first element of the expression *a-benn*, from which it probably originates. This expression does not have a unique or simple equivalent in English or French, judging by the fact that several examples have to be given in dictionaries to explain its meaning. It can be used for 'as soon as' and 'up until' and, in general, in contexts in which an event is placed in time. In BCB it precedes a verb or a noun referring to a segment of time.

When preceding a verb, it has the meaning of 'when'. I once was corrected by a speaker of the Bro Leon dialect, who also happens to be a highly competent Breton language specialist, for using *benn* when referring to the past. This person explained that the word to use for 'when' when one refers to the past is *pa*. The fact is, however, that BCB speakers use [bɛn] when referring to the past, as well as the future.
For example in the sentence:
[bɛn ve ˈmɛʁo me gwɛs] *benn e oa marw me gwaz* 'when my husband died'.
There is nonetheless a possibility that the word [bɛn] used by BCB speakers when referring to the past is, in some cases, the word [be] (see below) followed by the linking consonant [n] (see that consonant in 3. Morphophonology, 3.2.5.1.3 The case of *n* and n). There is some evidence for this in the fact that the word [bɛn] is used more often before vowels, while [be] is used more before consonants (see *be* and *pe* below). If this is confirmed, it could then be that [be] is an equivalent of the *pa* used in PU and in the Bro Leon dialect, which gave rise to PU. There is, however, a case in which [bɛn] in always used in front of a consonant: in the frequently used interrogative expression [bɛn peˈvæᵃ] *Benn pevare* 'when?'

Example of use of [bɛn]:

[pøs kem galv ˈnẽɔ bɛn ˈɔ̃n ˈœᵃ] *Peus ket nemet gervel anezhañ benn un eur*, lit. you-have not only call him head an hour, 'Just call him in an hour'.

2) **Be**, pronounced [be] (and more rarely **pe**, pronounced [pe]) 'when'.

The words [be] *be* and [pe] *pe* (more similar to the PU word *pa* used for 'when' with reference to the past) can also be used for 'when' with reference to the past.

Neither of the words *be*, *benn* or *pe* in the sense of 'when' appear in the Favereau or the Hemon/Huon dictionaries, nor do they appear in Le Scao's dictionaries. A word spelt *be* appears in Le Scao's Breton-French dictionary (1945, 16), but with a different meaning.

Examples:

[be vɐ ˈnɛ̃ɔ tʁi vlɐ] *Be va, anezhan, tri vloaz,* 'When he was three'.

[be no dʁwet de ˈgɛndɥi χwɐ] *Be noa droed da gunduiañ c'hoaz,* 'When he/she was still allowed to drive'.

3) **Benn pevare**? [bɛn peˈvaʁ] 'when?'

This is the common word used for asking when something will take place.

Example:

[bɛn peˈvaʁ vo ˈɐʃy o tɛːs?] *Benn pevare vo achu ho tesenn?* 'when will your thesis be finished?'

4) **Dam (da) betra** [dɑ̃m ˈpjeᵃ] 'why?' and **dam** [dɑ̃m] 'because'.

This word is the only translation of 'because' I have heard BCB speakers use. It is curiously not listed in Le Scao's dictionaries. The translations given by Le Scao for 'because' are *abalamour* and *rag* used in mainstream Breton, which I have never heard used by any of my informants who all use [dɑ̃m] though they know the word *rag*, pronounced [ʁɐk].

[dɑ̃m] is nonetheless listed in Favereau (1992, 117) as a Kerne Uhel (Ku/High Cornwall) expression meaning 'because'. Yet, Canton Briec lies entirely in Kerne Izel (Ki/Low Cornwall). *Dam* comes in response to the question [dɑ̃m ˈpjeᵃ] *dam (da) betra* (lit. 'because (of) what') used for 'why'. The answer to that question starts with the word [dɑ̃m]. Therefore [dɑ̃m] covers exactly the same meanings as the Italian *perché* or the Spanish/Portuguese *porque* which are used for 'why' and 'because'.

Example:

Q: [dɑ̃m ˈpjeᵃ ma ked ɑ̃m?] *Dam (da) betra (n')emañ ket amañ?* 'Why isn't he here?'
A: [dɑ̃m nøs bɛt o ˈme·sɐʃ ha nøs ˈʁɑ̃kᵉᵗ dɔ̃n nˈdʁowᵂ de lɑ̃nˈgoːlⁿ] *Dam (e) neus bet ur mesaj, ha(g) (e) neus ranket mont en dro da Langolen* 'Because he got a message and he had to go back to Langolen.'

6.5 *Dont* 'to come' and *dont* 'to go'

The verb *dont* 'to come' is often used to mean 'go', as in the common expression [deɔ̃m dɛj] *deomp dezhi, lit.* 'let's come to her', which means 'let's go'.

Other examples:

[neɲ no dʁwat dõn nɪpleχ bet] *ni n'en doa droed dont neplec'h ebet*, lit. we had right to-come nowhere at-all, 'we were not allowed to go anywhere'.

[nɪn dõn da· fwene'ʒiːən] *An hent dont d'ar foennegien*, lit. the road come to the paddocks/meadows, 'the road (that goes) to the paddocks/meadows'.

[bɛn ve død ãn 'tʁakˌtøᵉ kɪs'teiɲ dõn deiᵹ ketə gãto, eõ nɔ 'hæʁpət ãn tʁaktəᵉ kʁejz ɐ peᵃk] *Benn e oa deut an traktor, kistion dont (d'an) deiz kentañ gantañ, eñ en doa harpet an traktor e-kreiz ar park*, lit. when was come the tractor, question to-come day first with-it, he had stopped the tractor middle the field, 'when the tractor came, and one had to take it out on the first day, he stopped it in the middle of the field'. It is noteworthy that *dont* is used twice in the above sentence to mean, respectively, 'come' and 'go'.

6.6 Words for symmetrical body parts

A surprising trait of Breton, from an outside perspective, is that parts of the body which come in symmetrical pairs are expressed by words starting with number 'two', either in its masculine form *daou* (BCB ['dəu]) or its feminine form *diw* (BCB [dju]) followed by the part of the body in its singular form. Thus:

['skwæᵃn] *skouarn* 'ear'→[ãn dju'skwæᵃn] *an diwskouarn* 'the ears' lit. 'the two ear'.
['lɛːgət] *lagad* 'eye'→[ãn dɐu'lɛːgət] *an daoulagad* 'the eyes' lit. 'the two eye'.
['skwɐ·] *skoaz* 'shoulder'→[ãn dju'skwɐ·] *an diwskoaz* 'the shoulders' lit. 'the two shoulder'.
['bʁɛχ] *brec'h* 'arm'→[ãn dju'vʁɛχ] *an diwvrec'h* 'the arms' lit. 'the two arm'.
[dwæᵃn] *dorn* 'hand'→[an 'dawæᵃn] *an daouarn* 'the hands' lit. 'the two hand'.
[gaː·ᵃ] *gar* 'leg'→[ãn dju'haː·ᵃ] *an diwhar* 'the legs' lit. 'the two leg' or [ãn di'wɛskɛʰ] *an diwesker*.
['askᵊl] *askel* 'wing'→[an dju'askᵊl] *an diwaskel* 'the wings' lit. 'the two wing'.

This system applies also to the word for 'knees', though less straightforwardly than in the above cases:

The word for 'knee' in Breton is *glin* (n.m.). Following the system described above, the word for 'the knees' should be *an daouc'hlin*. This is indeed the term given by Le Scao (1945, 131) who presents '*klin*' (sic) as the singular for 'knee', as in the following example: '*Va hoar neuz torret é hlin klèi*' 'My sister broke her left knee.' The plural form given by Le Scao is '*daou'hlin*'.
While this matches the forms given in textbooks and dictionaries, it contradicts my informants, for whom 'a knee' is [opɛn gli·n] *ur penn glin* and 'the knees' are [ɐ pɛn 'daul] *ar penn daoul*, an abbreviation of [ɐ pɛn 'dauliːn] *ar penn daoulin*, lit. the head of two knees.

6.7 Other parts of the body

The words for these parts of the body are given with some random examples of use.
—[ɐ· pɛn] *ar penn* 'the head', [me fɛn] *ma fenn* 'my head', [i bɛn] *e benn* 'his head', [i fɛn] *he fenn*/[ibɛnⁿ dɛj] *he benn dezhi* 'her head'.
—[ɑ̃n tɐl] *an tal* 'the forehead', [møs ˈstɔkɛt me sɐl] *Meus stoket ma zal* 'I hit my forehead'.
—[ɐ· guk] *ar goug* 'the neck'. [õn ˈdɛis bed e be ˈkɐɛt gɐ o ˈgwæ̃ʁnᵊn dʁo di guk, isˈtʁɪːbiʎ] *Un deiz, bet eo bet kavet gant ur gordenn en-dro d'e goug, istribilh.* 'One day, he was found with a rope around his neck, hanging.'
—[ɐ· ʃuk] *ar chouk* 'the nape'.
—[ɐˣ hɔʁf] *ar c'horf* 'the body/torso' ([kɔᵉf] *korf n.m.*).
—[ɐ goːf] *ar gof* 'the belly'. [i goːf] *e gof* 'his belly'. [lɛ̃ːn e me hof] *Leun eo ma c'hof* 'My belly is full'. ([kof] *kof n.f.*)
—[ɐˣ ˈhɐol] *ar c'haol* 'the crotch'. [diˈgweᵃ o kɐol] *Digor ho kaol* 'spread your legs open'. ([gɐol] *gaol n.f.*)
—[ɐ· ˈvwæᵃzən] *ar vorzhenn* 'the thigh'. ([ˈmwæᵃzən] *morzhenn n.f.* PU *morzhed*).
—[ɑ̃n djuvˈwæᵃzən] *ar divorzhenn* 'the thighs'. (PU *divorzhed*).
—[ɐ· ˈfɛskən] *ar feskenn* 'the butt cheek', *pl.* [ɐ· fɛsˈkɛnu] *ar feskennoù*.
—[ɐ· pɛn dʁeõ]/[ɐ· pɛn dʁẽ] *ar penn dreñv*, lit. 'the back head', 'the backside, the butt'.
—[ɐ· ˈʁeːa] *ar reor*, 'the rear, the butt'.

6.7.1 Fingers

[o ˈbeⁱːs] *ur biz* 'a finger', [ɐ· bɪˈziːət] *ar bizied* 'the fingers'.
[ɐ· bɪzˈmøːt] *ar biz-meud* 'the thumb'.
[ɐ· bez bʁɐːs] *ar biz bras*, lit. the big finger, 'the thumb'.
[ɐ· bez juːt] *ar biz-yod*, 'the index finger'. lit. the gruel finger, thus called as it is the one one uses to collect left over gruel from a dish.
[ɐn ɛl beⁱːs] *an eil biz*, lit. the second finger, 'the index finger'.
[ɐ· bez ˈkʁeⁱs] *ar biz kreiz*, lit. the middle finger, as in English.
[ɐ· bez ˈkɐlõn] *ar biz kalon*, lit. the heart finger, 'the ring finger'.
[ɐ· bez ˈvwe·lən] *ar biz walenn*, lit. the ring finger, as in English.
[ɐ· bez beɲ] *ar biz bihan*, lit. the little finger, as in English.
[ɐ· bez ˈskwæᵃn] *ar biz skouarn*, lit. the ear finger, 'the little finger'.

[o· bez tʁwæt] *ur biz troad*, 'a toe'.

[œnˈtɔl bez tʁwæt] *un taol biz troad*, lit. a blow toe, 'the fact of tripping someone', Fr. 'un croche-pied'.

[eõ ʃyk e bez bʁɐːs] *Eñ (a) chug e biz bras*, 'He sucks his thumb'.

6.8 Months of the year

[miʃ ˈgɛnvɛʰ]/[miʃ ˈgɛ̃ːvɛʰ] *miz genver* 'January'.
[miʃ ˈχweːvʁəʰ] *miz c'hwevrer* 'February'.

[miʃ ˈmøːᵃs] *miz meurzh* 'March'.
[miʃ ˈɐːvʁəl] *miz ebrel* 'April'.
[miʃ mɛː] *miz mae* 'May'.
[miʃ hɛ̃·]/[miʃ hɛ̃·vɛn]/ *miz even* 'June'.
[miʃ ˈgweːᵃ] *miz gouere* 'July'.
[miʃ ˈɛɔst] *miz eost* 'August'.
[miʃ gwɛnˈgoːlɔ] *miz gwengolo* 'September'.
[miʃ ˈheːᵃ] *miz here* 'October'.
[miʃ dy] *miz du* 'November'.
[miʃ ˈkɛᵃˌzy] *miz kerzu* 'December'.

In order to say 'in + month', one uses the expression [a viʃ] *a viz* + the name of the month as above. Thus, 'in December' is [a viʃ ˈkɛᵃˌzy].

6.9 Days of the week

[lyːn] *lun* 'Monday' [diˈlyːn] *dilun* 'Monday'	[dalˈlyːn] *d'al lun* 'on Mondays' [bɛnˈlyːn] *benn lun* 'on Monday to come' [bɛnˈlyːn paˈseːt] *benn lun paseet* 'last Monday'
[ˈmø·ᵃs] *meurzh* 'Tuesday' [diˈmø·ᵃs] *dimeurzh* 'Tuesday'	For *meurzh*, replace *lun* by *meurzh* in the above sentences.
[ˈmʲexᵉx] *merc'her* 'Wednesday' [diˈmexəx] *dimerc'her* 'Wednesday'	[daʁˈvjeːxᵉx] *d'ar verc'her* 'on Wednesdays' [bɛnˈ mʲexᵉx] *benn merc'her* 'on Wednesday to come' [bɛnˈ mʲexəx paˈseːt] *benn merc'her paseet* 'last Wednesday'
[ˈjau] *yaou* 'Thursday' [diʁˈjau] *diryaou* 'Thursday'	[daʁˈjau] *d'ar yaou* 'on Thursdays' [bɛnaʁˈjau] *benn ar yaou* 'on Thursday to come' [bɛnˈjau paˈseːt] *benn yaou paseet* 'last Wednesday'
[ˈgwɛ̃ːnɐ]/[ˈgweːnɐ][97] *gwener* 'Friday' [diˈgwɛ̃·nɐ]/[diˈgweːnɐ] *digwener* 'Friday'	[daʁ ˈgwɛ̃ːnɐ] *d'ar gwener* 'on Fridays' [dɐ ˈweːnɐ] *d'ar wener* 'on Fridays' [bɛnaʁˈgwɛ̃ːnɐ] *benn ar gwener* 'on Friday to come' [bɛnˈgwɛ̃ːnɐ paˈseːt] *benn gwener paseet* 'last Friday' [daʁ ˈzæ·ᵃn] *d'ar sadorn* 'on Fridays'
[ˈsæ·ᵃn] *sadorn* 'Saturday'	

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[97] *gwener* has two realisations: I have encountered the realisation with [ɛ̃] somewhat more commonly than the realisation with [e].

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[diˈzedɔʁn] (rarely used) *disadorn* 'Saturday'	[bɛn ˈsæ·ᵃn] *benn sadorn* 'on Saturday to come' [bɛn ˈsæ·ᵃn paˈseːt] *benn sadorn paseet* 'last Friday'
[ʃyːl] *sul* 'Sunday' [diˈʃyːl] *disul* 'Sunday'	[daʁ ˈʃyːl] *d'ar sul* 'on Sundays' [bɛnˈ ʃyːl] *benn sul* 'on Sunday to come' [bɛn ʃyːl paˈseːt] *benn sul paseet* 'last Sunday'

6.10 Other chronological terms

I have heard three ways of expressing the notion of 'fortnight':
[o pɛm ˈzɛta]/[opɛm ˈzɛtət] *ur pemzekteziad*, a fortnight.
[o pɛm ˈzetəs] *ur pemzektez*, a fortnight.

Example:

[i vo ãm bɐ o pɛmˈzɛta] *He vo amañ, e-barzh ur pemzekteziad*, 'She will be here in a fortnight'.

6.10.1 Some Christian calendar events

[syl ˈblɛ̃ɲu] *Sul ar Bleunioù* 'Palm Sunday'.
[pask] *Pask* 'Easter'.
[ˈgwɛ̃·nɐ ɐ gʁwɐs] *Gwener ar Groaz*, lit. Friday of the Cross, 'Good Friday'.
[syl fask] *Sul Fask* 'Easter Sunday'.
[lyn fask] *Lun Fask* 'Easter Monday'.
[ˈjɐu bask] *Yaou Bask* 'Ascension Day'.
[guɛl ãnˈɔ·lzən] *Gouel an Holl Sent* '1st of November, All Saints day'.
[guɛl ɐn ˈɐnɐõn] *Gouel an Anaon* '2 November, celebration of those who have passed away'.
[ˈnuʷɛl] *Noel* 'Christmas'.
[guɛlˈnuʷɛl] *Noel* 'Christmas'.
[neˈde·lɛk] *Nedeleg* 'Christmas'.
[noz ɐˈpɛlgɛn] *Noz ar Pellgent* 'Christmas Eve'.
[guɛl maʁi ˈgulu] *Gouel Mari Goulou* 'Candlemas'.

6.10.2 Some sayings connected to calendar events

[ˈblɐɛz mɐːt!] *Bloavezh mat!* 'Happy new year!'

[ˈblɐɛz mɐːt! a ˈzyeto dwæχ. ˈjeχɛt a p(ʁ)ɔsˈpeʁite ag ɐʁ bɐˈʁɐːds fin o pø:] *Bloavezh mat! A souetan deoc'h, yec'hed ha prosperite, hag ar baradoz fin ho puez*, 'Happy new year! I wish you. Health and prosperity, and Paradise at the end of your life.'

6.11 Numerals

6.11.1 Numerals with pronunciations that differ from PU

[ɛ̃n]/[øn] *un* 'one' PU [ˈynãn] *unan* [ˈdəu] *daou* 'two' PU [dau]	[ˈpɛ̃:vaʰ] *pevar* 'four' PU [ˈpevaʁ]/[ˈpewaʁ] [ˈɑ̃:nɛk] *unnek* 'eleven' PU [ˈynɛk]

6.11.2 Cardinal and ordinal numbers

There are masculine and feminine forms for the numerals 2, 3, 4 and corresponding ordinal numbers.

[ɛ̃n]/[øn] *un* 'one'

[ˈkentɐ] (masc.) *kentañ* /[ˈgentɐ] (fem.) *gentañ* 'first'

[ˈdəu] *daou* 'two'

[ɛʲl] *eil* 'second'

[tʁi] *tri* 'three' (masculine)

[ãn ˈtʁi·vət] *an trivet* 'the third' (masculine)

[ˈte·jɛh] *teir* 'three' (feminine)

[ãn ˈtɛ:iʁvət] *an teirvet* 'the third' (feminine)

[ˈpɛ̃:vaʰ] *pevar* 'four' (masculine)

[ˈpe:dɐʰ] *peder* 'four' (feminine)

[ɐ pe'v:aʁɐ] *ar pevare* 'the fourth' (masculine)

[ɐ pe'dʲe:ᵃvət] *ar pedervet* 'the fourth' (feminine)

[ˈnɐo] *nav* 'nine'

[ãn ˈnɐovət] *navet* 'ninth'

6.11.3 Other expressions concerning the expression of quantities

[o ˈlo:dn døs ˈte·jɛh] *ul lodenn deus teir*, lit. 'a part of three', 'a third'.
[o ˈbeᵃn]/[o ˈbjɛᵃn] *ur bern*, lit. 'a heap', 'a lot of, heaps of'.

6.11.4 Numbers above twenty

Units are placed before twenty and connected to it by the word [væᵃ] *war* 'on', to which an *n* is added. That *n* is a remnant of the definite article *an* as in:

[ɛ̃n vaˈny:gən] *un warn-ugent*, 'thirty-one'

This applies to others decimal sets:

[ɛ̃n a ˈtʁe·gən] *un ha tregont*, 'thirty-one'
[tʁi agˈɑ̃:teᵃ̩kɑ̃n] *tri hag hanter-kant*, 'fifty-three'

Breton, like French, Welsh (until recently), and English until the 19th century, partly uses a vigesimal counting system, which appears in some of the following numbers:

[ˈtʁegən] *tregont*, 'thirty'.
[dau ˈy:gən] *daou-ugent*, lit. 'two score', 'fourty'.

['ɑ̃ːtɐ̩kɑ̃n] *hanter-kant*, lit. 'half-hundred', 'fifty'.
[tʁi 'yːgən] *tri-ugent*, lit. 'three score', 'sixty'.
[deg a tʁi 'yːgən] *dek ha tri-ugent*, lit. 'ten and three score', 'seventy'.
[pẽvaʁ 'yːgən] *pevar-ugent*, lit. 'four score', 'eighty'.
[deg a 'pẽvaʁ 'yːgən] *dek ha pevar-ugent*, lit. 'ten and four score', 'ninety'.

Contrary to how it was in English, units are placed before the scores. Thus, while English had 'Four score and seven years ago' (first words of Lincoln's 1863 Gettysburg Address), Breton has ['seiz vlɐ ɐ 'pẽvaʁ 'yːgən so] *seiz vloazh ha pevar ugent zo*, lit. 'seven years and four score ago'.

If a noun is added to a phrasal number (as in the above example), it follows the first element, thus:

['dəuzɛk 'weːʁɛs a tʁi 'yːgən] *daouzek werc'hez ha tri-ugent*, lit. twelve virgins and three score, 'seventy-two virgins'.

The numerals undergo substantial changes when associated with nouns as is the case in telling the time (see next paragraph).

6.12 Telling the time to the hour in BCB

This involves three irregular forms associated with the numerals 2,3 and 4.

['œn/øn œᵃ] *un eur* 'one o'clock'   [de 'øn œᵃ] *da un eur* 'at one o'clock'
['diːv œᵃ] *div eur* 'two o'clock'   [de 'ziːv œᵃ] *da ziv eur* 'at two o'clock'
['teːv œᵃ] *tev eur* PU *teir eur* 'three o'clock'   [de 'deːv œᵃ] *da dev eur* PU *da deir eur* 'at three o'clock'
['pediːv œᵃ] *pediv eur* PU *peder eur* 'four o'clock'   [de be'diːv œᵃ] *da bediv eur* PU *da beder eur* 'at four o'clock'
['pe·m œᵃ] *pemp eur* 'five o'clock' etc.   [de 'be·m œᵃ] *pemp eur* 'at five o'clock' etc.

6.13 Some countries and their inhabitants

The following words and expressions are in current BCB use.

['bʁɛiẓ][98] *Breizh* 'Brittany'.
[o 'bʁe·tõn] *ur Breton* 'a Breton'.
[o pɛn 'vʁe·tõn] *ur penn Vreton* 'a Breton'.
[ɐ· vʁe'tõːnɛt] *ar Vretoned* 'the Breton (people)'.

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[98] Wmffre points out, in his report on this thesis 'That *Breiz* is a literary loanword in Briec Breton'. This would explain why the word *Breizh* 'Brittany', may be pronounced ['bʁɛiẓ] rather than ['bʁɛis], while ['sɛis] *seizh* 'seven' is pronounced with a final [s]. The pronunciation ['bʁɛiẓ] is influenced by the French interpretation of final *z* as a voiced consonant.

[tyt ˈvʁɛiẓ] *Tud Vreizh* 'Bretons'.

[bʁo χɐl] *Bro C'hall* 'France'.

[fʁɐ̃s] *Frañs* 'France'.

[tyt gɐl] *Tud Gall* 'French people'.

[ɐ χaˈlawɛt] *ar C'hallaoued* 'the French'.

[bʁoˈzɔs] *Bro Saoz* 'England, Britain'.

[œ ˈnɑ̃ːglɛs] *un Angles* 'an Englishman'.

[ɐ zauˈzɑ̃ːnət] *ar saozaned* 'the English, the British'.

[ɐ ɐ nɑ̃ˈgleːsət] *an Anglesed* 'the English, the British'.

[(bʁo) aˈlɛmaɲ] (*Bro*) *Alamagn* 'Germany'.

[ɐn alaˈmɑ̃ntət] *an Alamanted* 'the Germans'.

[ɐ·ˈvɔʃət] *ar Voched* 'the Gerries'.

[ɑ̃n dɛʁˈmɐʃi] *an Dermaji* 'the Gypsies'. ([tɛʁˈmɐʃi] *Termaji*, fr. Fr. *lanterne magique* 'magic lantern', because Gypsies where known to entertain villagers with magic lanterns.

7. CONCLUSION

Though it is phonologically, syntactically and lexically essentially homogenous, BCB presents some linguistic variations. These are possibly due to the position of BCB on the confines of two linguistic areas (but which Breton dialect is not contiguous to some other dialect?) These variations also result from the development of idiosyncracies within increasingly isolated groups of related speakers (notably family groups). BCB also presents a number of endemic specificities and this conclusion is an opportunity to review them.

Phonologically it presents the characteristics emphasized in Madeg's treatise on North-Western Breton and in Le Ruyet's work on liaisons. In particular:

— it is generally strongly accentuated on the penultimate syllable.
— *c'h* in word-initial position is predominantly pronounced [h] though [χ] does occur.
— final consonants are voiced when the following word starts with a vowel.
— when following an initial consonant, the realisation of the grapheme *or* starts with /w/ leading to pronunciations such as [waᵃ], [wæᵃ], [weᵃ], [waʁ] and [wæːʁ] as in [pwæᵃs]/[pwaʁs] *porzh* 'courtyard' or [va ˈgwæːʁ] *war gorre* 'on/onto' etc.
— /ɛʁ/ is frequently pronounced [eːᵃ], as in: [ba ˈgeːᵃ] *(e-)barzh gêr*, 'at home.'
— the realisation of the grapheme *er* following a consonant frequently involves /je/, as in: [de ˈvjeːjɐ] *da verc'her*, 'on Wednesday', [mjeːt] *merc'hed* 'women, girls' etc.
— /e/ and /ɛ/ are often nasalised when preceding a nasal consonant and are often associated with the phoneme /i/ to form the diphthongs /ei/, /ɛi/ and /ɛ̃i/.

In addition the first person singular verb ending spelled *-an* is effectively pronounced [ɔ̃] as in [ˈvelɔ̃ ket] for *(ne) wellan ket* 'I do not see' and the prepositional third person ending spelled *-añ* is effectively pronounced [o] as in [gɑ̃to] for *gantañ* 'with him'. In other words, no /n/ is heard in those endings.

Morphophonologically, BCB appears to present an original way of dealing with liaison between words by using epenthetic linking consonants, of which /n/ is the most frequent. This feature, or aspects of it, which appears to have been under-reported is probably present in other surrounding dialects too.

Syntactically, the most common sentence structure follows the model: subject pronoun + verb + object or adjective, as in French. This appears to have already been the case at the time Le Scao was growing up (in the 1880s) and can therefore not be solely the result of a very recent influence from the French, as most Breton speakers in the 1880s spoke no or very little French.

While the Breton of native BCB speakers is getting lexically poorer, due to decreasing practice, they compensate for terms they have (often temporarily) forgotten by borrowing French terms. Their Breton remains nonetheless phonologically and syntactically almost identical to how it was spoken around the turn of the 19th century as recorded by Le Scao.

For centuries, societal and technological changes successfully took place in Breton society without any demand made on the Breton-speaking community to abandon its

mother-tongue and become solely French-speaking. Since, however, the end of the twentieth century the Industrial Revolution demanded large numbers of French-speaking labourers. Two generations of native Breton speakers were involved in an aggressive and unprecedented process of eradication of the Breton language orchestrated by political and educational authorities of that period, who believed that regional languages stood in the way of the linguistic unification of France as a purely French-speaking state. Native Breton speakers were certainly not initiators of that process, but they were drawn into collaborating to it. The generation born between the 1880s and WWI was recruited to assist in halting the transmission of the Breton language. That generation generally took an active part in it. Their children, who still acquired Breton natively but were taught, at best, to place no importance on it, did not see any point in passing it on to their own children. Some members of that generation, like one uncle of my grandfather, chose to support the eradication process. Since rural Breton society nonetheless continued to be Breton-speaking (as many if not most of its members were monolingual), their children still acquired Breton natively through immersion but were conditioned, at best, to place no importance on the Breton language, at worst to despise and reject it. All had the fervent desire to be ushered into the modern era, and that era appeared to be a French-speaking one.

In that context, some members of that generation (like JNM's parents, born in 1923, who forbade him to speak Breton) still made a point of avoiding its transmission to their children, while most simply made no effort to pass it on. Thus, for children born in Breton-speaking families at the time French was the dominant language outside of the family-and-friends circle (from the mid-1930s onwards) French became the default language and the language they often spoke with their parents, siblings and peers, while Breton was heard frequently but spoken with decreasing frequency to the older generation. When the generation of my informants had children, they predominantly spoke French to them.

Notions about the beneficial implications of multilingualism for children and adults were primitive, incorrect or non-existent at the time. Since, however, the benefits of multilingualism have become household knowledge, many older Breton speakers (in fact all my informants without exception) have completely espoused the validity of maintaining the practice of the Breton language alive. This reversal of perspective, which underpins Breton-medium education, is a prerequisite to a revival of the Breton language. Such a reversal and such a revival occurred in Wales. The problem, however, is that the Breton language is now mainly passed on by non-native speakers who have learnt it specifically to work in Breton-medium education or to teach Breton-language courses. The credibility of Breton-medium education and its relevance to the Breton community, in particular to descendants of native Breton-speakers, rests however, in part on the quality of the Breton spoken and taught in Breton-medium schools and recruiting competent Breton-speaking teachers for all subjects of the curriculum is a challenge for Breton-medium schools.

In the end, the survival of a dialect like BCB, as an authentic form of Breton, rests on the shoulders of the descendants of native speakers who were almost exclusively farmers. In my observation, if they have an advanced level of formal education, they typically have studied practical and technical subjects and languages, in particular Breton, are not amongst their areas of interest during their leisure time. If they have

remained on their parents' land and are directly involved in agriculture, that leisure time is scarce. Typically, they rarely or never listen to any broadcast in Breton and Breton is rarely a topic for them. They tend to view people with an interest for Breton with distrust and condescending unless they are native speakers. They, nonetheless, harbor a certain amount of unease, if not resentment in connection with the eradication of their parents' and grandparents' culture and language. This is in part because they see plainly that the promises of improvement of everyday life on the land through 'progress', modernity and through input from the French-speaking urban way of life has shown its narrow limits. There is therefore a faint possibility for this generation of mainly Breton-hearers to mobilise in favour of more deliberate and ambitious policies in favour of the Breton language and to have some input in them.

Although there is theoretically still time to revert the extinction of Breton, it is rapidly running out. This leaves a very difficult situation for those like AzC and her family who want to continue using the language socially.

Meanwhile, recording native speakers is an urgent pre-requisite if any linguistic knowledge at all is to be left to transmit.

Index of place names

This index lists place names and names of waterways mentioned in this thesis in ZH orthography with their BCB pronunciation.
(Where several phonetic transcriptions are given, the first one is the most common. An * following an entry indicates that I have not found the form on road signage or in other current official sources, but that I constructed the form on the basis of local pronunciation and ZH orthography. The Breton orthographic form follows the French form (unless both forms are identical).

Briec canton locations and rivers (other locations are listed separately at the end of this list):

Briec-de-l'Odet, *Brieg* [bʁeˑk]/[ˈbʁeᶦk]/[ˈbʁɪjek]

Canton of Briec, *Kanton Brieg* [ˈkãntõnˈbʁɪjek]

Cornouaille, *Bro Gerne* [bʁɔ ˈgɛʁne]

Edern, *(An) Edern* [ˈnɛᵃn]/[aˈneˑdeᵃn]/[ˈɛᵆn]/[ˈeˑdeᵃn]

Elliant, *Eliant* [ˈelən]/[ˈeljãn]

Gare de Quéménéven, *Gar Kemeneven* [gaʁ kemenˈveɲ]

Gulvain, *Gulvein/ Gwilvein* * [gylˈveᶦɲ]/[gɥilˈveᶦɲ]

Kerdelliou, *Kerdelioù*/Kerzelioù* * [kɛʁˈzelju]/[kɛʁˈdelju]/[kɛʁˈdiju]

Kerminguy, *Kervengi** [kɛʁˈveɲgi]

Landrévarzec, *Landrevarzeg* [lãnˈvaˑᵇzək]/[lãndʁəˈvaˑᵇzək]

Landudal [lãnˈdyˑl]/[lãnˈdyˑlⁿ]

Langolen [lãnˈgoˑlⁿ]

Le Niver, *An Niver* [ãn ˈniˑvɐ]

Le Steïr (river), *Ar Steir Deir* [a stɛʁ ˈdɛʎ]

L'Odet (river), *Ar Steir Odet* [a stɛʁˈoˑd̪]

Quéménéven, *Kemeneven* [kemenˈveɲ]

Quimper, *Kemper* [ˈkepɐ]/[ˈkepɐʰ]/[ˈkemˌpeᵃ] (rarely used)

Saint Adrien, *Sant Dreier* [sãnˈdʁeˑjɛʁ]

Sainte Cécile, *Sant Seleier* [sãn seˈleˑjɛʁ]

Saint-Thois, *Santoz* [ˈsãntɔs]

Skoldy, *Skoldi* [ˌskɔlˈdi]/[skɔli]

Stang Jean, *(ar) C'hastell Yann*[99] [(aʁ) ˌhastˈjãn]

Ty Bodiou, *Ti Boudiou** [ti buˈdju]

Other locations which I have heard mentioned in Breton by BCB speakers:

Auray, *An Alre* [an ˈalʁe]

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[99] Most of the time, place names follow prepositions such as *ba* 'in' or *da* 'to'. In such cases, names starting with *k* are systematically pronounced with a h or x as if they were preceded by a definite article triggering spirantisation. It seems that the spirantised form is then assimilated as the base-form.

Basse Bretagne *Breizh Izel*, [bʁeˈziːʒəl] 'Lower Brittany' (roughly the western third of Brittany where Breton is traditionally spoken)

Bigouden region, *Bro Vigouden* [bʁɔ vɪˈguːdn], (in Briec Fr.) *La Bigoudénie*, (In Paris Fr.) *Le Pays Bigouden*

Carhaix, *Karaez* [kɐˈʁeːs]

Cast, *Kast* [kast]

Châteaulin, *Kastellin* [kasteˈlin]

Châteauneuf-du-Faou, *Kastell-Nevez-ar-Faou* [(a)ˈxas neˑ]/[ˈxasl neˑ], ([ˈxasl neːvə], [ˈkasslneːvə] the last two pronunciations are rare).

Crozon, *Kraozon* [ˈkʁɔˑzõn]

Finistère (region), *Penn ar Bed* (lit. 'end of world') [pɛn aʁ beːt]

Langonnet, *Langoned* [lãnˈgõnət]

Lannion, *Lannuon* [ˈlãnjõn]

Leon region, *Bro Leon* [bʁɔ ˈleõn]

Locronan, *Lokorn* [lɔkˈwæʁn]

Lorient, *An Oriant* [nɔˈʁɛⁱn]/[a nɔˈʁɛⁱn]

Paris [ˈpɛˑⁱʃ]

Plozévet, *Plozeved* [plɔˈzevət]

Porzay, *Porzhe* [ˈpɔɐ̯ˌze]

Quiberon, *Kiberen* [kiˈbeˌʁen]

Sainte-Anne la Palud, *Santez Anna* [sãnˈzãn]

Saint-Pol-de-Léon, *Kastell Paol* [ˈkastɛl ˈpɐol]

Saint-Yvi, *Sant-Ivi* [sãnˈtivi]

Trégor, *Bro Dreger* [bʁɔ ˈdʁegɐ]

Trégourez, *Tregourez* [tʁeˈguːᵊʁs]

Vannetais region, *Bro Wened* [bro dʒweˈnet] (pronounced by one informant as in the Vannetais dialect, in which the written form is *Bro Gwened*. This is in spite of the fact that the rule governing mutation of the adjective in BCB should result in the form *Bro Wened*).

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Appendix I
My involvement with Breton

1. How Breton came to me

Breton was effectively the first other language I heard in the months following my birth in 1958. I was mainly exposed to it by my grandfather, Michel Le Gall (1897-1981), who, in his retirement, followed my grandmother (born 1900) to a place just outside Gien, in the northern part of the Berry region. There, they lived on acreage bought by my grandmother's grandmother. Though a long way from Brittany, Gien lies on the Loire river, which leads directly to the historical capital city of Brittany: Nantes. This was not an insignificant point for my grandfather. As he followed the river each year for part of his trips back to Brittany, my grandfather was well aware of that fact: he lived outside of Brittany, but on a pathway to it. In Gien, after four decades spent in the XVth arrondissement of Paris, a city he never had much interest or appreciation for, he re-enacted as much as he could the farming lifestyle of his childhood while regularly complaining that him and his wife should really be living in his native Briec, Brittany, where *his* mother had left him a perfectly good house. My half-brother and I spent at least part of every school holidays with my grandparents leaving with us memories we still cherish in spite of all heavy ethnic, cultural and generational tension. The spoken Breton we heard from my grandfather was principally at meal times, as he liked to offer bread, water and wine in Breton, for fun. I realised much later that the reason for the choice of these three foodstuffs, which were placed next to him on the table, was that, where he grew up, it was the prerogative of the head of the household ([an ˈwaχ] 'an ozac'h' 'the farm master', which he fancied himself to be) to measure them out to those sitting at the table. This was of particular import as these people included, in addition to the resident family, salaried workers for whom this food represented part of their pay. In the absence of any salaried workers, my grandfather held, at least, onto the tradition.

From the moment I could eat solids or thereabouts, I therefore heard the sentences [bepo ˈbæːᵃ pɔt?] *be po bara, paotr?*, 'will you have some bread, boy?' and [bepo gɥɪn pɔt?][100] *be po gwin, paotr?*, 'will you have some wine, boy?' first addressed to my half-brother, who is eight years my senior and then to myself. I hasten to add that if we answered [ɛje] *eye*, 'yes' to the question, all we would receive was a glass of water tinted with a few drops of red wine.

This exposure to Breton, along with contacts with Breton-speaking family, resulted in the largely passive acquisition, by my grandmother, my mother, my half-brother and myself, of more or less the same amount of Breton words and phrases. Though I was sometimes unaware of the individual words the phrases contained, I knew what they meant and I only knew them in their native pronunciation. As my grandfather was illiterate in his native tongue, none of us had any idea how anything was written and our pronunciation could therefore not be contaminated by orthography.

My personal Breton lexicon, around the age of ten, contained the following 43 words and expressions (listed in order of frequency and transcribed phonetically in the manner in which I heard them):

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[100] Note that [pɔt] for paotr was definitely the pronunciation of my grandfather as remembered by my brother and myself in those sentences, in spite of the fact the word can be pronounced [po] or [poˑt] by other native speakers.

mɐ ˈduˑe! *ma Doue!* 'my God' (favourite of my mother and grandmother).

bepo ˈbæːᵃpɔt? *be po bara, paotr?* 'will you have some bread, boy?'

bepo gɥin pɔt? *be po gwin, paotr?* 'will you have some wine, boy?'

jex mɐːt! *yec'hed mad!* 'cheers/skol!'.

wɐx! *walc'h!* 'enough!'.

bãn gɥin pɔt? *banne gwin, paotr?*', 'some red wine, boy.'

ɛje *eye* 'yes'.

jɐ 'ya', 'yes' (with emphasis).

ˈlytᵊn *lutin* 'malevolent elf' (which featured in two scary stories connected to my grandfather and a family farm hand, which I repeatedly asked to be told).

mɛʁsi *mersi* 'thank you' which made me aware that Breton could contain words directly taken from the French (though, in French, it is spelt *merci*).

tãm bɛɲ *tamm bihan* 'a little bit'.

nãn *nann* 'no'.

gɥin ry *gwin ruz* 'red wine.'

gast! *gast!* 'whore/damn it!'.

kɔχ! *kaoc'h!* 'shit!' (used exclamatively).

mɐːt *mad* 'good'.

pɛnˈdyːik *penn duig* 'titmouse' (name of several of my grandparent's cats).

pɛn *penn* 'head'.

fãʃ ˈkʰoʷs *Fañch Kozh* 'Old Frank' (name used by my grandfather for my half-brother François as he pronounced it).

miʃˈlɐːgəl *Michel ar Gall/ Michel Le Gall* the term by which his family referred to my grandfather.

aʁgal *ar Gall/ Le Gall* how my father, who had studied Breton, derisively referred to his father in law (this taught me that the definite article is *ar* in Breton).

pɛn ˈskãõ *penn skañv* 'scatterbrain'.

pɛn zoːt *penn sot* 'fool'.

pɛn ˈkɐˑlət *penn kalet* 'hard head/stubborn, headstrong person'.

taˈkoʷs *tad kozh* 'grandfather.'

mãŋ ˈgoʷs *mamm gozh* 'grandmother.'

kenɐˈvo *kenavo* 'good bye'.

pɛnˈgɥen *penn gwenn* 'White-head' (name of my godmother's dog).

nɪŋ nøs ˈmizːᵊ ˈpoˑkəs tyt *Ni 'neus miser paourkaezh tud* 'we have it tough, poor people!' (favourite of my mother and grandmother)

ˈʁuˑzik *rousig* 'little red one' (name of two family cats).

ˈbʁeiz *Breizh* 'Brittany'.

ˈbʁeiz aˈtao! *Breizh atav!* 'Brittany for ever!'

ˈglɐzik *Glazig* 'little blue ones', referring to the people of the Briec area, on account of their blue costumes.

ˈpeˑʁik *Pêrig* 'Little Pierre' (name my godmother used to call me by).

ˈbɐlbus ˈkoʷs ɐˈmɛs! *Balbous kozh ar mestr!* 'Old Balbous is boss!'

ˈkeːa *kêr* 'farmhouse and adjoining buildings, village, house.'

ˈkoʷs *kozh* 'old'.

ti *ti* 'house'.

ˈkeᵃmɛ̃ˌgi *Kermenguy* 'name of the farm of a favourite first cousin of my grandfather', though I found much later that the correct BCB form is ˈkeᵃveɲˌgi.

keᵃˈvẽŋgi *Kervenguy* 'alternative (and correct) morphology and pronunciation of the above farm name'.
ˈkʁɑ̃ˌpus *krampouezh* 'crêpes, thin pancakes'.
keᵃˈdi·ju / keᵃˈzelju / keᵃˈdelju *Kêrdelioù* 'name of the farm where my grandfather was brought up by his uncle'. The three forms were used by my grandfather, depending on the degree of adherence to Breton phonological convention that was justified in the context. The form keᵃˈzelju is the correct one.
fɛsˈnoʷz̦ *fest-noz* 'evening fete, ball'.

The retention by my grandfather's four closest relatives (including one, my half-brother, who is not a blood-relative of his) of forty or so words and phrases which my half-brother still remembers to this day, is a notable outcome, considering that neither my grandfather nor any of his relatives were overt supporters of the Breton language and that he never undertook to teach it directly to anyone.

This achievement is also notable, if one considers the following: My brother and I, in spite of our age difference, spent approximately the same amount of time in rural Breton-speaking Brittany between birth and the age of eighteen. This amounted to approximately ten visits of about ten days. Outside of Brittany, we had on average one contact a year, over a weekend, with first cousins of my grandfather who spoke Breton to him in our presence, though only when no one else was directly involved in the conversation. The only printed Breton document at our disposal was a 1950s Assimil Breton-language method devoid of audio recordings. This had been bought by my father, who had developed a strong empathy with Brittany and his father-in-law's land-working rural relatives. However, after battling with the problem of relating the book's written Breton to what he heard when visiting Briec, he concluded that 'Breton is a very difficult language' and largely gave up. I ended up being the main reader of the Assimil book in which I exclusively looked at the illustrations. Apart from the above, we had access to a half-dozen Breton music vinyls. Lastly, Google did not exist, telephone calls from Paris to Briec were expensive and until the 1970, not all of our Breton relatives had a telephone.

When in my teens, as I was seriously tackling German and English, at school, I became more curious about language as a topic and I occasionally asked my grandfather questions about his mother tongue. This, and my investigations allowed me to analyse somewhat what I knew and to understand some of the individual words used in the expressions known to me. I also started to pay attention to road signage and place names containing Breton words and to Breton family names. I thus enlarged my lexicon slightly. For example, I realised that, ironically, my grandparent's typical Breton surname, *Le Gall*, possibly means 'the French', or that the word [bɛɲ] in [tɑ̃m bɛɲ] ('tamm bihan', 'a little bit'), was the same word as the word *bihan*, pronounced [bijɑ̃] in French as part of the name *Morbihan*, the south eastern region of Brittany which means 'little sea'. Through this I acquired four new words: *ar* 'the', *gall* 'French', *mor* 'sea' and *bihan* 'small'. My understanding of the pronunciation of the word *bihan*, however, as well as that of the word *Cam* (see the list below), was incorrect. While I realised that the way they were pronounced in French ([bijɑ̃, kam]) were not Breton pronunciations, I believed that [ˈbijɐn] and [kɐm] were the Breton pronunciations. In other words, I believed that pronouncing the *a* as ɐ (and pronouncing the *m* of *Le Cam* as a strongly stressed m) was sufficient to achieve a Breton pronunciation of these two

words. As a result, I tended to pronounce any orthographic *an* or *am* sequence as /ɐn/ and /ɐm/. In Briec Breton, however, the correct pronunciations for *an* or *am* are [ãn] and [ãm]. So, while I was at least aware that the completely French pronunciations /an/ and /am/ where not correct, and though my pronunciation was closer to the truth, it was still incorrect.

Contrary to the 43 words and expressions listed previously, I learnt most of the 32 words listed below through information gleaned in a variety of sources external to my grandfather and Briec. For example, I learnt /men/ for 'stone' and /hiʁ/ for 'long' in a discussion with non-Bretons about the word *menhir* in association with the comic strip *Astérix*. I permanently retained the information because it concerned Breton, which was meaningful to me, as compared to a person with no particular connection with Brittany. However, while /hiʁ/ is a Breton word meaning 'long' in Briec Breton, the word /men/ cannot be considered Briec Breton, because in that language the word is [mɛ̃ɲ]. Similarly, [steiʁ] does not generally mean river in Briec, though the word in known for that meaning too. In Briec, where there is no large river, [stɛiʁ] means 'washhouse' and the main word used for any watercourse is [wiːs]/[weːs] which can mean 'stream' or 'brook' in other dialects. The reason for which I knew the word ['steiʁ] as meaning 'river', was that it is the name of a river flowing through Quimper and because I had found out from external sources that the word can indeed mean 'river'.

These further 32 words and expressions, transcribed phonetically, acquired in my teens are listed alphabetically below:

ˈãku *Ankou* legendary character representing death (acquired via a scary comic strip featuring the Ankou).
ɐ *ar* 'the' (from 'Balbous Kozh ar mestr' and my dad's 'ar Gall' I became aware of the definite article *ar* and of the elision of the *r* in its pronunciation).
bãn/ˈbãne *banne* 'an amount of drink' (Fr. 'un coup').
bɛk *beg* 'mouth' (learnt from the surname of my godmother's gardner, M. Le Bec, and in spite of the fact that *bec* in this surname probably does not come from *beg*).
(ˈbijɐn)/ ˈbiãn/ bɛɲ *bihan* 'small'
ˈdeːlju *'deliou'*, 'leaves' (I learnt this word by enquiring about Kerdelliou (see previous list). I realised the suffix *-où* was a plural marker, but I wrongly deduced that the singular form was *del* and not *delienn*).
dy *du* 'black'.
ˈenɛs *enez* 'island' (I learned this word, as do many people, by reading about Douarnenez. This was reinforced when I encountered its Irish avatar (inish) on Inishmore during a trip I took there, age eighteen in my first solo motorcar trip. The Briec Breton word for 'island', however is eˈneːzᵊn *enezenn*).
ˈgɥɛn *gwenn* 'white'
ɐ *ha* 'and'
iʁ *hir* 'long'
(kɐm)/kãm *kamm* 'crooked, lop-sided' (learnt by enquiring about the surname Le Cam).
kenɐˈvo avɛʃˈɐl *kenavo a wech-all* 'good bye, see you another time'.
ki *ki* 'dog'
kic *kig* 'meat'

kik a faʁs *kig ha farzh* North Breton stew made by a cousin of my grandfather who lived in Lesneven.

kɔʁ *korr* 'dwarf'

kɔʁgi 'corgi' this Welsh word for a dog-type, as well as *mamm gozh* were my introductions to mutations (in this case from k to g) though I did not realise it at the time. Of course, the word 'corgi' is not Breton, but its two components are words used in Breton, namely *korr* 'dwarf' and *ki* 'dog'. Corgi, along with Tanguy, below, made me realise that Breton, unlike French, had analytical compound words built in the same manner as words in English and German, which I was busily learning at the time.

kɔʁigã *korrigan* 'malevolent elf'. This is as much a French as a Breton word. In Briec, the term is ˈlytᵊn 'lutin'.

ma *ma* 'my' (though, as I found later the Briec Breton word is me).

mɐːt *mad* 'good'

mɛn *maen* 'stone'

meniʁ *menhir* literally 'long stone', 'standing stone'(though I have not heard the word used in Briec, it is listed in Le Scao's Fr.-Br. dictionary).

mɔɛl *moal* 'bold, hairless' (learnt by enquiring about the surname Le Moal).

moːᵉ/muᵉ *mor* 'sea'

pɔt *paotr* 'boy/man'. I previously incorrectly thought that this word was a borrowing of the French word *pote* pɔt 'mate, friend'.

pul *poul* 'pool'.

ʁy *ruz* 'red'

stɛiʁ *stêr* 'river'

tãgi *Tanguy* first name, means 'fire dog' (originally a warrior name)

tãn *tan* 'fire'

jeχ *yec'hed* 'health' from the expression ˈjɛχ mɐːt *jec'h mad!* 'skol!'.

Several hundred Gaulish words are known today. Yet, this is insufficient to re-create a dialect of the Gaulish tongue. Thus, my total Breton lexicon, amounting to a modest 75 or so words and expressions, (amongst which were only four verbal forms (*be* 'be', *(n)eus* 'has', *po* 'you will have', *vo* 'will be', of which I was not even aware), fell short of allowing me to have a conversation or an extensive representation of the language. Though I knew, for example, that the syntagm /bepo/ had to do with want or wish, I did not know that it was composed of two words, let alone that they mean 'will you have'. Similarly, though I knew that *kenavo* is a word for 'good bye', I did not know that it literally means 'until (what) will be'.

Apart from the limited lexical items discussed above, a precious linguistic asset was also transmitted to me, which was to prove invaluable in helping me reclaim Breton: an extensive familiarity with the sound of Briec Breton, which I acquired by hearing my grandfather and other relatives speak, and occasionally sing, in particular the chorus of *da feiz hon tadoù kozh*[101] which was my only exposure to literary Breton, and which they sang as a national anthem rather than a hymn, as they were far from assiduous church-goers.

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[101] 'To the faith of our ancestors', a hymn composed in 1906 in Breton by Vicar Loeiz Abyann (Louis Abjean) to extol the Christian faith in the wake of the expulsions of nuns and priests from religious orders from France as a result of anti-clerical laws passed by the republican government in the preceding years.

For the time being, however, I was set, like my mother, to miss out on anything more than remnants of Breton if it hadn't been for other intervening factors.

2. Exodus and return

As economic and industrial activities started to diversify and grow exponentially in Europe in the second half of the 19th century, the prospect of earning a wage and the promise of higher standards of living in large urban areas started to draw large numbers of people away from subsistence farming. It also depreciated greatly, in the eyes of those who stayed, the rural lifestyle, culture and language of their forebears. This was particularly true of those, like my great-grandmother Marianne Le Gall, née Balbous, who, due to adverse circumstances, faced very low economic, professional and therefore social prospects in the already poor farming communities in which they were born. Being widowed aged twenty following her husband's death from pneumonia before the boy he had sired was even born, Marianne's local prospects were gloomy. My grandfather Michel Le Gall ([miʃˈlɛːgəl] to his relatives) was therefore born fatherless in 1898 and soon became motherless eleven months out of twelve, as his attractive blond, blue-eyed and Briec Breton-accented mother went to Paris to hire herself out as a nanny as soon as Michel was weaned.

Marianne's northern European looks and a Briec-Breton accent were not insignificant assets for a candidate to nannyhood at a time when British nannies were all the rage in the moneyed classes. Although I do not have any recordings of my great-grandmother who passed in 1956, my close relatives attested how people were fooled into thinking she was British by her looks and accent. If the accent of today's Briec Breton speakers is any guide, I can understand why. It is not uncommon today in Briec to hear people refer to the supermarket brand Carrefour (pronounced [kaʁfuʁ] in French) as [kaˈfuə] or say that they have bought something from [ɛ̃ˈtɛʁ ˌmaːʃe], 'Intermarché' ([ɛ̃tɛʁmaʁʃe] in French) which is more or less how both words would come out with an English pronunciation. As for the looks, if britishness can be defined, at a physical level, by a fair complexion, blond or jet-black hair, blue eyes and rosy cheeks, then they certainly are as common in my Breton family, as they are on the streets of Briec and surrounding countryside. My bemoustached grandfather himself was a fine example of this. In addition, in spite of having lived only the first fifteen years of his life in the Briec countryside, he kept a very noticeable exotic accent till his passing in 1981.

Marianne combined skills, looks and presentation earned her a position as a nanny in a wealthy Paris family, the Duboscq, of which she became an honorary member, having the privilege to invite her son and granddaughter (my mother) to the luxury of their second home in Le Havre for prolonged holidays over many years.

Marianne's Briec relatives henceforth elevated her to the dignity of [tɑ̃t ˈpɛⁱʃ] 'Aunty Paris', a title she has kept posthumously to this day. She stayed with the Duboscq until her retirement, which was way after their children had flown the coop. She then returned to Briec where she bought a house close to the centre.

3. Pride, flint and the motorcar

A critical factor in the fate of Breton in my family as in other families, was modern transportation. The train brought my great-grandmother, Marianne Le Gall, out of Brittany and caused the irruption of French as main language in her everyday life, but

the motorcar brought her son back to his family, language and culture every summer from 1920 onwards.

As soon as it was practicable to do so, Marianne Le Gall extracted Michel, aged fifteen, from the rusticity of the farm of Kerdellioù where he had been living with his uncle since she had left Brittany. She placed him in a technical college in Mesnières-en-Bray, Normandy, where he received training in fitting, turning and mechanical engineering. The fact his entire family, barring his mother, all remained living in the Canton of Briec, provided an incentive to my grandfather to return home regularly. In spite of his modest standing, his skills, enhanced by his position as a truck mechanic during WWI enabled him, from 1920 onwards, to purchase second-hand cars, which he could afford to repair and maintain since he was able to do the work himself. This was absolutely critical in those days because cars were very unreliable. Rare were the trips to Brittany he took with my mother, grandmother and often his mother, during which he did not have to lift the hood of his car a number of times. In addition, many rural roads were unsealed and flint was and still is a ballast of choice upon which to build roads in France. The thin chards that flint produces, constantly caused tyre punctures. My grandfather always came back from Brittany having lost several kilos because of the hard work he had to put in to keep the car moving. The car, however, not only made the trips to the Briec area possible, it also was essential for travelling within it. My Breton family was then scattered in six different isolated farms over the Briec Canton from Kervenguy, near Kemeneven to the west, to Kerdellioù near Langolen to the east, a distance of 15 kilometres up and down hilly roads. Visiting relatives (who themselves only had carts and horses and were busy with the harvest), as well as doing some touring for the sake of my grandmother and mother over a two to three-week holiday would have been impossible without a car.

The car was not only a means of transportation. For my orphaned, one-eyed [102] grandfather, it was an opportunity to alleviate the inferiority complex, which plagued his entire life as a migrant Breton peasant. From Paris, where he was just one in scores of rural migrants, he returned to Brittany every year to be feted as a loved, respected and successful relative, who had not turned his back on his rural family. In addition, he was called upon to help with the farm work and mechanical repairs. His visits honoured his family and honoured him. They were for him a psychological necessity. Linguistically, they kept his skills in his native tongue alive and they introduced my mother and grandmother to the Breton language. My grandmother, in particular, being also called upon to help with domestic or agricultural tasks, had dealings with monolingual elderlies. If bilinguals were not present, she was sometimes forced to use the little Breton she had. This rural setting, including its linguistic specificity, was, in fact, familiar to my grandmother. The rusticity of Breton farms reminded her of that of the Berry farms she was used to. In those farms too older people spoke a language different from Paris French. The language was Berrichon, which, though it is a French dialect, was mainly incomprehensible to Parisians. She knew a substantial amount of Berrichon[103], some of which was passed on my mother and me. My mother, however, interacted more with youngsters her age, who were all bilingual.

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[102] My grandfather had lost his right eye in an accident, as a young child.
[103] My mother too, knew some Berrichon and I can remember half a dozen words. Both of us could do a Berry accent as it was still common when even I grew up.

4. Identity, indignation and affect

Some clues can be found in the preceding pages about the affective charge of things connected to Brittany and its language in my close family. This charge was heaviest for my grandfather who experienced at the same time homesickness and manifestations of ostracism expressed at his ethnicity. As a child, from 1903, he had endured the linguistic eradication policies in force at school. He often would recount how, if you were caught speaking Breton, Tid'll Kozh (Old Tidell, the teacher), would pinch the hair on either side of your head and lift you up until you were on your tippy toes trying to compensate the traction. Alternatively, a small wooden clog, the ultimate symbol of peasanthood, of subsistence farming, of poverty and lack of formal education would sometimes be hung around your neck as a humiliating punishment, similar to the 'Welsh not' badge, hung from the neck of children caught speaking Welsh. My half-brother and I listened wide-eyed to these stories and regularly steered my grandfather into telling them for the sake of hearing them again. All my close family had heard these accounts, and they stirred us all.

As an adult, my grandfather had chronically experienced contempt expressed at his origins and ethnicity to various degrees, from insidious to overt. I witnessed the latter type at close quarters when a neighbour called my grandfather 'un vieux con de Breton'[104] in front of me. This was far more meaningful to me than just calling him 'un vieux con', because the word 'Breton' referred to something that could not be, in any way, undone or reformed and that I had, ipso facto, inherited.

Experiencing discriminatory attitudes, (including as a perpetrator), was commonplace in his generation and, in fact, up to my generation. All my close family members had some direct or indirect experience of ethno-social discrimination.

My grandmother, had experienced it while in the care of her grandmother towards whom people were condescending on account of her rural appearance, strong Berry accent and dialectal grammar.

My mother had also experienced it, on two accounts: firstly in her early childhood during the long periods during which she was in the care of her great-grandmother (the woman mentioned above who had cared for her mother, twenty-two years earlier), towards whom people continued to be condescending. Secondly, she had experienced mockery triggered by her proverbial Breton name,[105] which she strongly disliked and was so eager not to resume bearing that she kept her married name after she divorced my father. This could be seen either as contradicting, or as exemplifying her attitude towards her ethnicity encapsulated in her saying: 'I am a Breton, *but* I am proud of it'.

My father too, who had no blood connections with Brittany, had witnessed discrimination through his grandmother, who had arrived in Paris, from her rural

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[104] Equivalent to 'An old Breton dickhead'.
[105] My mother's maiden name, Le Gall ([lǝgal] in French), is not only a proverbial Breton name, it also has a degree of homonymy with 'la gale' [la gal] the French word for mange, an embarrassing and painful skin condition that became common again in my mother's youth, due to malnutrition resulting from wartime food scarcity. The derogatory adjective *galeux* 'mangy', also derives from the word *gale*.

Alsace, a monolingual Alsatian speaker. He recounted how, although she was a victim of the Prussian invasion of her native land, some neighbours referred to her as '*la boche*', 'the Kraut' and how the local grocer served her the wrong items, by pretending he had misunderstood her French. In the presence of my seven-year-old father, the man once put a bottle of Port wine ([pɔʁto], in French) on the counter in front of her after she had asked for a bottle of Bordeaux ([bɔʁdo], in French). The Alemannic tendency to devoice /b/ and /d/, which resulted in my great-grandmother's pronunciation of Bordeaux coming out as [pɔʁd̥o], was the excuse for the grocer's trick, at which he guffawed heartily. My father recounted being overcome by a sense of embarrassment when such incidents took place. Ironically, the exact same xenophobic words ('*la boche*') were leveled at his own wife, my half-brother's mother (albeit in a less inexcusable context) after she moved from Germany to Paris seventeen years later when our father was discharged from the French occupation army in Rhineland in 1949. In today's Australia, displaying this sort of behaviour in a professional context could get one into endless trouble and result in demotion, but in those days, it was common currency.

There was therefore, an awareness about discrimination and a fertile substratum of understanding and indignant sympathy for the ethnically discriminated in my close family. It somehow appears to have crystallised on the Breton culture and generated both strong protective feelings towards it and various degrees of identification with it.

This was manifest in the heavily 'bretonised' interiors in which my half-brother and I grew up in Paris. Several paintings represented Breton seascapes bought from Breton artists, there were also engravings of Kemper street scenes, two Breton armoires richly adorned with sculptures of religious symbols, a chest made and sculpted in Landudal by my godmother's father, several stands made from wooden Breton cider-press vices and a *gwele klos* or 'box-bed' towering over the dining-room. Such box-beds still tower today over the dining-rooms of several of my Briec relatives and friends. Our one contained a lot of Quimper crockery out of which we ate daily. Needless to say, my grandparents' interior in Gien was similarly decorated, though with less flair.

5. Tentative return to the ancestral land

It would not be unfair to say that there was a degree of Breton idolatry in my family (albeit moderated by criticism of the oppressiveness of the rural and patriarchal Breton family structure, against which my grandmother and mother often railed). It involved a clear celebration of the worthiness of rural Breton culture as opposed to the supercilious Paris one. This attitude, in fact, readily extended towards the Brittons from the other side of the Channel. My mother said on many occasions, that she should have gone to live in Brittany or in Britain, particularly Devon, Cornwall and Wales, which were all places in which she declared feeling completely at home. In a trip to Wales we took when I was in my early 20s, she went pointing out all the words she could recognise from the Breton on signage. She never expressed such an attachment to the Berry, though she spent part of all summer holidays there, as a child. In fact, she rejected the idea of retiring there, in her mother's house, as being '*un endroit mortel*', 'a lethally boring place'.
So, our Briec family seems to have done a pretty good job, without particularly trying, of endearing themselves, their language and their culture to all of us, including the non-

Bretons. It is not a coincidence that my father bought an apartment in Quiberon in the 1990s. This purchase was the trigger of what follows.

6. Reclaiming the language

My mother presided over the contacts with our Breton family. After my settlement in Australia, in 1987 she was the only link I had with them. Contacts were scant, mainly by telephone. She never travelled there unless someone could drive her, because she found the trip by train too stressful and was daunted by the isolation of her relatives' farms and the dependence in which she was, as a non-driver, on other people's ability to drive her around the area. My mother's lack of driving skills was undoing the links carefully maintained by my grandfather. All the family's contact details were in a woefully disorganised book written in my mother's illegible handwriting. Upon her death, in 2000, the book was lost when my mother's apartment was vacated. All contacts ceased with my Breton family.

My father, however, established a logistical link with Brittany, albeit with a different region, by buying an apartment and then a house in Quiberon, Morbihan, in 1997. Kiberen was a place my parents had often stopped by, on the way to or from Briec, because my mother had a friend there. Near-yearly visits to Brittany resumed for me as I now visited my father in Quiberon. There was no bilingual signage in Quiberon, but the Breton language appeared occasionally on banners for various celebrations (Christmas and New-Year, amongst others) and on posters by Ofis ar Brezhoneg to encourage the learning of Breton. I was greatly interested by the Breton writings I encountered in town, in Breton place names everywhere and on the bilingual signage in Lorient. In 2004, we took a trip to Locronan in Cornouaille, situated 18 kilometres from Briec. This was tantalisingly close to Briec and we considered making a visit, but it was already late, we had no way of announcing ourselves and my father, who had not been there for more than 25 years was not sure he would find his way around. We abstained. Before leaving Locronan, however, I did a quick investigation of its only bookstore, the Librairie Celtique. As we drove away from the town, I was leafing through a copy of Mark Kerrain's Breton textbook *Ni a gomz Brezhoneg*.

Once in Sydney, I played the book's CD: over the following weeks, as I listened to the recorded dialogues; most of the 75 words of the above two lists appeared one after the other in the dialogues.

I undertook to learn Breton from that point onwards.

The fact of not having anybody to talk to, soon became frustrating. I contacted several organisations involved in the teaching of Breton to see if they could organise private lessons by telephone. As it proved logistically complicated, I contacted Mark Kerrain who, from February 2007 obligingly and free of charge, undertook to teach me from his office, in Rennes. In August of the same year I did a one-week crash course with Roudour in Karaez. As I was progressing in the language, I started to teach it to my elder son, born in 2000. I subsequently took a trip, with my then wife and son, to Western Brittany. We spent a few days in a farmstay on the Crozon peninsula. The hosts spoke Breton natively. This was the first time I was speaking to native speakers outside of a teaching context. Their accent was totally reminiscent of my grandfather's. Intercomprehension, on simple matters, was good, which was very encouraging and it was even better when I later watched the video recording I had made of the hosts talking about their lives.

I was yearning, however, to hear and speak the Breton of my childhood. In 2008, after many enquiries, I was put in contact with Mervent, a Breton language school established in Bro Gerne. I started to take lessons via Skype, with a young teacher who helped me continue to acquire vocabulary and syntax. Her accent, however, was not that of the natives of Briec. I finally telephoned the Briec town hall and asked if they knew any Breton native speaker, who would be happy to talk to me. They gave me Yves Le Du's telephone number.

As soon as I heard his slight Breton accent in French, I knew I was dealing with the right person. Yves, who volunteered for KEAV, an immersive Breton language program, was used to dealing with Breton learners, and his Breton, though dialectal, was clearly enunciated, so he could be followed by non-native speakers. It is only later, when I met him together with Thérèse, his wife, and heard them speak together, that I heard them speak truly colloquially. For the moment, however, our telephone contacts were still slightly tentative. Firstly, he was somewhat taken aback by the fact I was calling from Sydney, which I did not tell him straightaway. Secondly, he was uncertain of my resolve to learn Breton, let alone his specific kind of Breton. He nonetheless started to help me and as I did audio recordings of our conversations, I could multiply their effect in the subsequent days or weeks, by listening to them repeatedly and by taking detailed notes of the passages I had difficulty with. I would then ask him for clarifications. Yves did not know anything about my grandfather who was one-and-a-bit generation removed from him and had a very common name, but, at least, his father too had had *Tid'll Kozh* as a teacher, which created some connection between us. I tried to give him some details about my relatives, but I could not remember all their names or surnames. My great-grandmother's maiden name, Balbous, though quite common in Briec, was more evocative to him, and he thought he might know one of my female relatives by that maiden name. Though he promised to tell her about me when he saw her next, time passed and nothing happened. We were focusing on the language, rather than on genealogy.

One day, however, I sent him a photo taken at a wedding in Briec soon after WWII, on which were my grandparents, my great-grandmother, and a number of other people I knew, many in Breton costumes.

This had somewhat of a magic effect. When we talked next, he named for me one by one most of the 50 some people featured on the photo, as he knew most of them. He also told me my mother was on it, which I had never noticed. This information had been given to him by the woman whom he thought might be my relative: Annette Hascoët. After he guided me to where my mother was on the photo, I indeed recognised her, right at the back, next to her favourite cousin, Jo Balbous Jnr whose face was half-hidden.

When I returned to Brittany that year, my six surviving and able-bodied older relatives, Marie-Thérèse and Maurice Briand, Annette and Corentin Hascoët, Marie and Guillaume Quéré met me for a touchingly warm welcome over coffee, *krampouezh, gwastell braz, chouchenn* and *lambig* [106] at Corentin and Annette's place in Landrevarzeg. Boxes of photos of familiar faces (including my own, as a baby) from past decades, were spread out on the table in front of the *gwele kloz*. When I heard them speak Breton, however, I had a true Proustian experience, only aural. The sound of their Breton brought me back decades, to the time when my grandfather and his cousins were

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[106] Crêpes, Breton shortbread, mead and cider spirit.

still alive.

As she already had difficulty walking, I met Angèle Feunteun, Annette's sister, later at her nursing home. I had to wait a few more months to meet and re-meet my busy younger cousins Anne Briand, Odile Feunteun and Céline Hascoët. None of them speak Breton, but all three know a lot of Briec Breton, as well as much relevant information. I am the only person of my generation to have achieved a fluent command of the family dialect. The survival of Breton in my family will eventually rest in the hands of my sons Sébastien (aged eighteen) and Auguste (aged seven), both of whom I speak to in BCB, in the case of Auguste, since his birth.

Contacts with my Breton family as well as the yearly trips to Brittany have resumed, albeit from Sydney.

The samples of contemporary Briec Breton contained in the present thesis are the result of their generous and patient collaboration to my research and of the equally generous and patient collaboration to it by my other Canton of Briec[107] informants as well as informants from neighbouring cantons listed in the dedication of this work.

7. The long road to fluency

As I proceeded to learn Breton with textbooks, I started to make my own interpretation of the written forms under the influence of (mainly ZH) orthography. I had three assets at my disposal, however, to avoid a catastrophic contamination of my speech by a French interpretation of ZH orthography: 1) my still very clear memories of the sounds and prosody of Briec Breton 2) my formal teachers, who helped me understand basic pronunciation rules and 3) the recordings of the textbooks I used, in which pronunciation was realistic, even occasionally dialectal, though generally tending towards the formal and often French-influenced. While Mark Kerrain and my other formal teachers helped me avoid basic pronunciation mistakes, they could not prepare me for the specificities of my family's Breton.

BCB, as some other Cornouaille dialects, is characterised by such phenomena as elision, formation of metaplasms and apocope, which make it difficult to correlate with the written *peurunvan* Breton encountered in textbooks and their recordings.

In BCB, *petra* is [ˈpjɛᵃ], *ac'hanon* is [ˈhɑ̃ɔ̃n], *ac'hanoc'h* is [χɛ̃x], *an hini* is [nɑ̃e], *triwec'h* is [ˈtʁyəx], diwezhat is [dyˈveːt] and *pelec'h* is often [pɛx], to cite but a few examples. At least, the latter words exist in all Breton dialects, but there is also vocabulary that is unrecorded in dictionaries. I had a lot of re-learning to do.

Fortunately, only a small number of words and syntactic structures used in BCB do not correlate with PU. If one is not a speaker of Breton and wants to undertake the study of a Breton dialect, PU is therefore an useful and obligatory, though very misleading, platform from which to start. It is the only platform available to the general public that I am aware of, as there are few textbooks in Breton dialects and none of the recent and most used ones are. ZH, the orthographic system used in PU, however, is problematic to use as a base to transcribe BCB and from what I can tell from studying monographs on other Breton dialects, ZH presents difficulties for the transcription of all Breton

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[107] The Canton of Briec.

dialects, even the north-western ones.

With the combined resources represented by the access I have to a sizeable cohort of native speakers, textbooks and other printed documentation in PU, audio files associated with textbooks, others available online, many hours of my own audio recordings and my knowledge of IPA (which is critical for note-taking), I have been able to achieve a fluent command of the Breton spoken in Briec and surroundings enabling me to understand and be understood by native speakers and have conversations with them on any subject. By starting from the base of PU, I am also aware of what needs to be altered, in my Briec Breton, in order to be understood by PU speakers and thus escape the dialectal isolation of my relatives. Twelve years of almost daily work have been necessary to reach this outcome. This has been a humbling experience which has helped me realise the challenge facing Breton-language activists and educators in their endeavour to avert the extinction of Breton.

This is a transcript in IPA of a conversation between MTC and then twenty-six year old AzC on 7 August 2016 about MTC's intention to provide conversation classes in Breton. It is included here, as it covers some key points about the situation of the Breton language in Canton Briec and in Brittany in general. I have to warn the reader that what follows is a word-for-word transcript of spoken language, which, by nature, is chaotic. I hope the relevance of the contents to the topic of Breton language revival will make up for the erratic syntax. The IPA transcriptions are phonetic. An English translation follows.

MTC: Qu'est-ce qui me motive d'abord, moi? C'est... que je... c'est la mémoire du breton, c'est l'enfance qui revient au-dessus. Oui, petit à petit, quoi... ce qu'on a appris étant jeune, tout est enregistré... la mémoire, elle est euh... elle est pleine de souvenirs et faut les ramener plus aisément à parler, puis à les placer dans l'ordre, quoi... de communiquer, d'échanger, de transmettre aux autres... ceux qui sont désireux.

PN: (pointing to AZC) peta ˈsɔ̃ˌʒɪt døs ɛ̃ eˈmɔs a gɔz bʁəˈzɔ̃ːnɛk... a gɔz bʁəˈzɔ̃ːnɛk mat tʁei , ha nøs kem... peˈweˌd aˈzilis , peˈweːd ɐχ ?

AzC: ˈkoʷs !

(laughters)

AzC: eje ˈkoʷs, ˈseiz lɐ vaʁˈnyːgən , ˈeje, jauŋ koʷs ˈbʁəmã...

(laughters)

MTC: ˈjauŋ koʷs ! (laughters) ˈpɔta jauŋˈkoʷs , mjeˑᵈ ˈjauŋˈkoʷs . pesa moˌd ve læʁ dʁe? mjed ˈjaun : 'jeune'... 'jeune-vieux'... bʁəˈzɔ̃ːnɛk : mjeᵈ ˈjaun... ˈkoʷs mjeᵈ ˈjaun koʷs... pesa moˌd... ˈveʃu , ɛ̃ beˈnak... ne laʁ dɪŋ : 'Mais comment tu causes, toi?' (she gasps in embarrassed amazement) Je cause à la bretonne, quoi!

AzC: Ah, bon!

MTC: Ben oui. Parce que j'ai été appris... ou bien, dans ma tête... je suis une bretonne 'pure beurre', comme on dit, alors qu'est-ce qu'on changera? Et ça sort comme ça, comme j'ai appris. Et je suis à la dʁɔʃ, quoi, en français, peut-être... neke gʁɐf , ɛ̃ , (laughter): à la mode de Bretagne!

AzC: bɛ̃ , ja . me mɛ̃ møs ke diˈgaʁ də ˈgleo tyt a zaˈvaʁs bʁeˈzɔ̃nɛk kɪn, ɛ̃.

MTC: nãn ?

AzC: bɛ̃ nãn! me ɛ!

MTC: me... a χɥi zo joʷŋ , χɥi pøs ʃãs

AzC: kulsˈkud ɔ̃ joʷŋ , me bɔ̃ tyt... tyt døs bʁeːk , baʁz a fin... ə... ve ke ˈkaet... bɛ̃, mɔ̃ a ʁen gɐ meˈme , ˈveʃu də ˈgɔ̃ˌtə goˌz ga maˈwesᵊt... bɔ̃... e bʁeˈzɔ̃ːnᵉᵏ me pez ɛ, meme zo ˈmaʁo , tun dyt varv , bɔ̃... ve ke ˈkaləs ˈdigaʁ kɪn, ɛ̃ ... a tɐd a mɐm , bɔ̃...

MTC: (Not referring to Aziliz's parents) ɛtɛ̃ɲ kɥɪt . dʁɐ zo o biblijoˈtɛk a ja kɥɪt, døs a vøʸ...

AzC: mɛ̃ møs kɛ̃ , møs ke bed ˈãmzɐʁ... dɛnˈʁɔˌlə... ˈbʁemã ɔ̃ døt bʁeːs, ˈbʁemã ˈvefe ˈmɔɐjɛn dɪŋ ɛnˈʁɔlən dyt... bɔ̃... gwɐt møs , ɛ̃ , vit aʁ styˈdiju , vi a mastɛʁz, zbe gwɐt ɛnʁɔleˈdɐnu gɐˈnɪŋ, me... pez ɛ... me ˈviʒe bɐt dɛk lɐ eˈrok... me , ãfɛ̃ bɔ̃, dɔmaʃe, me møs kɛ̃ , a ə... bɛ̃ bʁemã e stjɛʁt ˈkɐut tyt ...

MTC: a ja ?

AzC: ɛ bɛ̃ ja ɛ ... ɛ bɛ̃ ja

MTC: ə.... ʁɛ̃k ˈkɐut tyt vi kɔˈzeˌl ganˈwaχ vi ãˈtʁɐtjen ə...

AzC: ɛje mɛ paz... pegyʁ ˈveʃu ˈvelɔ̃ tyt, mɛ tyt døs bʁɛsᵗ bɔ̃ mɛ a ˈzavæʁs bʁeˈzɔ̃... ɑ̃fɛ̃ paz bʁeˈzɔ̃·nɛk ʃimik , mɛ bɔ̃... bʁeˈzɔ̃·nɛk...

MTC: ʃimik?

AzC: bʁeˈzɔ̃·nɛk ə...

MTC: a vʁoʷ? bʁəˈzɔ̃nɛk bʁɛs

AzC: pe bʁeˈzɔ̃nɛk aʁ skuːl, ma pøs χwãn ag ə... pez ɛ , kɔ̃ta goz gɐ tyt døs dʁe hãn, tyt døs bʁe·k , døs neʁn , bɔ̃ bɛ̃.... ve ked eⁱ·z... ve ked eⁱ·z...

MTC: mɛ̃ laʁ o pɔʃ e mɔs : goz e ʁe bʁəˈzɔ̃ːnɛk? bʁeo e ãn ˈãmzɛʁ. ɔhɔ! lo·d... ve laʁ... dʁe ɐkʁɔʃ... e lod al... ɛ̃difeʁã... (she blows a raspberry) kɥɪt! 'Vous nous emmerdez avec votre breton, là...' enfin, c'est... ils disent pas, mais ça veut dire ça, quoi: 'qu'est-ce qu'elle me veut, celle-là?'... ouais.

AzC: o vɛʃ wãn ba bʁeːk, vaʁ a ˈblɐsən , ag ə... ag vãm ˈkɔ̃ta goz bɐ... e bʁezɔ̃nɛk ga tydyal me bʁøʁ beɲ ag ə... gãn tad...

MTC: ˈtʁezɐˣ...

AzC: ˈtʁezɔ̃m , ag ə dɛ̃n to·l , tø o ˈvaus sɛlae døzɔ̃m , ag e galɛk...

MTC: ʃulu mat...

AzC (as the woman): 'Mais, euh... Vous n'avez pas honte!'

MTC: (In amazement, slamming her hand on the kitchen table) 'Vous n'avez pas honte !!??'

AzC (as herself): 'Non... mais pourquoi... fin...'

AzC (as the woman): 'Mais euh... vous parlez breton... comme ça...'

MTC: Bien, quoi!!

AzC (as the woman): '... en public, enfin vous... comment ça se fait que vous parliez breton?'

AzC: o ˈvaus go:ʷs

AzC (as herself): 'Ben parce que... bon... parce que bon, enfin...' sety 'ben c'est notre langue maternelle, bon...'

AzC: sety , ag ə... i nøs læʁt amɔs : 'Ben, moi, à votre place, j'aurais honte!' (sigh of bewilderment) o ˈvaus... ə... ˈeje (sigh) o ˈvaus goʷs... mɛ...

MTC: o ˈvaus koʷs?

AzC: ˈeje, ol lɐlɐ (as the woman): 'vous n'avez pas honte?' a pøs kem ʃɔ̃ʒ ə... mɛ̃ møs be ˈtʁœje døˈzwi... ˈpokəs ˈmaus , læʁ ˈtʁɐu a mɔs!

English translation:

MTC: Well, what motivates me? It's... well... it's the memory of the Breton language, it's the childhood that comes back to the top. Yes, little by little... what one learnt in one's youth, everything's recorded... the memory is er... is full of things and you've got to bring them back, so they speak out more easily, then you must put them in order, you know... so they communicate, share, transmit to others... to those who are at all interested.

PN: (pointing to AzC) What do you think of someone like this who speaks Breton very well and who is only... what age, AzC? What is your age?

AzC: Old!

(laughters)

AzC: Yes, old. 27, yes young-old[108] now.

(laughters)

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[108] This is an adjective usually applied to spinsters and bachelors in Breton.

MTC: Young-old! (laughters) Young-old men, young-old girls, what is the system of speech here? Girls young: young. Young-old, in Breton: girls young... old. Girls young-old. What system... sometimes, someone says to me: 'Is that the way you normally talk?' (she gasps in embarrassed amazement) Well, I talk Breton-style you know!

AzC: Do you?!

MTC: Well, yes. Because I was taught... or the thing is... in my head... I am a dinkum Breton, as they say. So, what can you do about it? And that's the way it comes out, the way I learned it. And, maybe, in French, I make a fool of myself... that's alright, hey![109] (laughter): Breton-style!

AzC: Well, sure. I don't have opportunities to hear people speak Breton, anymore, actually.

MTC: Don't you?

AzC: Well, no! Of course not!

MTC: But... you are young, you are lucky.

AzC: I may be young, but, well... people from Briec, in the end... er... you can't find any who... well, sometimes I would go with Grandma, have chats with women... well... in Breton, but the thing is, Grandma is dead, everybody dies... so, there aren't many opportunities, you know... and Mum and Dad, well...

MTC: (Not referring to AzC's parents) They are gone. It's a library that disappears; a library about life...

AzC: I really regret not to have had time... to do recordings... now I am an adult, now I'd have the means to do recordings... well... I have, you know, for my studies, for the Masters, I have made recordings, but the thing is, if I had done it ten years earlier... but, well, you know, that's a pity. I have regrets and er... well, now, it is hard to find people...

MTC: Really?

AzC: Well yes... it is.

MTC: Er... you need to find people to talk to, in order to maintain... er...

AzC: Yes, but not... because sometimes I meet people, but people from Brest, ok, but people who speak Bret... well, not completely plastic Breton, but well... a sort of Breton...

MTC: Plastic?

AzC: Well... the sort of Breton...

MTC: Local Breton? Breton from Brest?

AzC: Or rather, school Breton, if you wish and er.... the thing is... talking to people from here, people from Briec, from Edern, well... it's not easy... it's not easy...

MTC: My approach is: 'do you speak Breton? Beautiful weather!' Oh-oh! For some... you would say... you get a reaction... and others... couldn't care less... (she blows a raspberry) Gone with the wind! 'You and your Breton just go and get lost, hey...' well, they don't say that, but that's what they mean: 'What does this one want from me now?'... Yup.

AzC: Once, I was in Briec, on the main square and er... and my little brother, Dad and I were chatting er... in Breton

MTC: Chatting between yourselves...

AzC: Between ourselves, and all of a sudden, there comes a woman, looking at us and in French...

MTC: Listen there...

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[109] This exclamation is to be understood here for the corroborative meaning it has in Australian and New-Zealand English.

AzC (as the woman): 'Well... aren't you ashamed?!'
MTC: (In amazement) 'Aren't you ashamed?!'
AzC (as herself): 'Actually... no... why should we be?'
AzC (as the woman): 'Well er... so you are speaking Breton... just like that...'
MTC: Meaning 'that's good', right?!
AzC (as the woman): 'in public, well you... how can you be speaking Breton?'
AzC: An older woman, she was.
AzC (as herself): 'Well because... actually... well, because... it is our native tongue... there you are.'
AzC: And she says 'Well, if I were you, I'd be ashamed!' (sigh of bewilderment) A woman... er... yes (sigh) an old woman... but...
MTC: An old woman?
AzC: Yes, fancy that: (as the woman): 'Aren't you ashamed?!' And just imagine... I felt sorry for her... poor woman... saying such things.

This exchange reminds of four essential notions concerning the fate of BCB and other Breton dialects:

1— They are disappearing under our eyes as is apparent in the fact that AzC can hardly find anyone with whom to speak BCB anymore, apart from her parents.
2— Recordings, of which, sadly, AzC has done too few, are now about to become the only way of keeping an access to how Breton dialects were spoken natively.
3— The Breton spoken by young people of AzC's generation is what she describes as 'school Breton' at best, 'chemical/plastic Breton' at worst. It is becoming dominant and does not satisfy the longing of native speakers for the alluring sounds of their linguistic community because it is linguistically and socially too removed from it.
4— Some native speakers are outright hostile to Breton and many are indifferent to those who want to keep speaking it, or even irritated by them.

This latter issue together with the very notion of shame, raised by the old woman addressing AzC on the Briec main square, are at the core of the demise of Breton.

For centuries, societal and technological changes took place successfully in Breton-speaking society without its members having to become monolingual French speakers. Since the turn of the twentieth century, however, two generations of native speakers took part in the annihilation of Breton and its replacement by French.

Now in their eighties and nineties, the last generation of native speakers have become conscious of the damage wrought on their own culture and identity and as the last potential transmitters of the language, they often readily express regrets for not passing on their knowledge. In that sense, the old woman who objected to Aziliz, her brother and their father speaking Breton in public, is unrepresentative of the current attitude of her generation.

Canton of Briec Breton–English–French glossary

The entries consist of the following elements:

1. The word (or phrase) in ZH orthography or in an orthographic form rendering more closely the BCB pronunciation if necessary (in that case the word or phrase is followed by the mention *unorth.* meaning 'unorthodox').
— A double asterisk (**) indicates that there is no entry for the word in Favereau's 1992 dictionary: *Geriadur ar brezhoneg a-vremañ, Dictionnaire du breton contemporain, bilingue.* (This is rare.)
— An (*) indicates that there is no entry for the word in Father Le Scao's dictionaries.
2. The grammatical class to which the word belongs.
3. The IPA transcription of the word.
4. The standard ZH transcription of the word in *Brezhoneg peurunvan* (abbreviated to PU), only if the word or phrase was not spelt in ZH in the first place. Alternatively an outright translation of the word in PU is given, if there is no PU form recorded for the word, which is rare.
5. English and French translations of the word or phrase, unless its meaning is clear from an example or examples that follow. Sometimes, a literal translation is given, before the English and French translations.
6. Examples:
One example (or examples) of the use of the word is generally given. These are also transcribed in IPA.
7. The literal word-for-word English translation of the IPA transcription of the example(s). If, in a word-for-word translation, a single Breton term is translated by several English words, these words will be linked by a hyphen or hyphens to show they are the equivalent of one single word.
8. The orthographic transcription of the example(s) in PU or in BCB or both if necessary
9. English and French translations of the above.

Caveat:
— I have translated the entries as closely as necessary to conversational *peurunvan*, English and French, which has led me to use of colloquialisms and occasional slang or possible rude terms where I judged it necessary to convey the real contemporary meaning of the item. This accounts for the liberties I have hereby taken with standard *peurunvan*, English and French.

ABARDAE *nm.* [abˈdɛj] Engl. late afternoon, early evening; Fr. fin d'après-midi. Essentially, this word depicts the time of the day when there is still enough light to make it home from the fields before nightfall. In Briec, this could be anywhere between 4:30pm and 10:00pm. The notion of afternoon is rather a Mediterranean, or urban notion of lesser relevance to rural agricultural Breton society. This appears in Le Scao's dictionary in which there is no entry for '*après-midi*', 'afternoon'. The word *abardae*, however, appears in the Br-Fr tome of the dictionary under '*soir*', 'evening'.

[bɛnabdɛm]
lit. head afternoon

PU benn d'an abardaezh-mañ.
Engl. until (see you) this evening, see you tonight.
Fr. à ce soir.

AC'HANT BUTUN *exp.* [ˈɛʰən ˈbyˑtn / ˈɛˣən ˈbyˑtʸn] lit. silver/money tobacco; Engl. (a) tip, tobacco money; Fr. (un) pourboire.

A-DAPER *adj. phrase* [a ˈdaˑpɐˣ] lit. *vp.* catch(-*impers.*); PU a-daper; Engl. contagious; Fr. contagieux.

[dʁɐ zo o ˈxlɛ̃ːvɛt a ˈdaˑpɐˣ]
lit. thing is an illness *vp.* catch(-*impers.*)
PU dra zo ur c'hlañved a-daper.
Engl. It's a contagious illness.
Fr. C'est une maladie contagieuse.

ALAN *nm.* [ˈɐːlən] PU alan/anal; Engl. breath; Fr. respiration.

[staʁd e tap ən ˈɐːlən]
lit. hard is catch a breath
(Context: Description of the symptoms of emphysema).
PU start eo tapout un alan.
Engl. breathing is difficult.
Fr. c'est difficile de respirer.

ANAL* alternative form of *alan* through metathesis *nm.* [ˈɑ̃nəl] PU alan/anal; Engl. breath; Fr. respiration.

[me zo baʁˈɑ̃ːnəl] (Context: Description of the symptoms of emphysema).
lit. I is short breath
PU me zo berr anal.
Engl. I am short of breath.
Fr. je suis essoufflé.

A HENI *adv.* [aˈhenə] (uncertain orthography. Possibly from the expression *a heni gentañ*). The speaker gave [de ˈgetə] *da gentañ* 'firstly' as being a synonym of this expression; Fr. d'abord.

[bɐ ɔstʁɐˈli ɑ̃glɛ vez kɔˈzeːt aˈhenə]
lit. in Australia English be(habitual)-3sg-pres spoken firstly
PU en Aostralia *Anglais* vez kaoseet da gentañ/ar c'hentañ.
Engl. in Australia English is the primary language spoken.
Fr. en Australie on parle d'abord anglais.

AM' GI'-ME *adv* [ɑ̃mˈgimə or ɑ̃mˈhim] lit. here manner-this; PU amañ e-giz-mañ; Engl. here (in the place on which the speaker stands or in the place he identifies with); Fr. ici, là (à l'endroit-même où se trouve le locuteur, ou bien à l'endroit auquel il s'identifie).

[ãmˈgimə ve ˈkozeːt ˌdɪˈʒɐ ˈãtəʁ ˈgelək ˈãtəʁ bʁəˈzɔ̃ːnɛk]
lit. here manner-this be-(impersonal) spoken already half French half Breton
PU amañ e-giz-mañ e vez kaozeet dija hanter Galleg hanter Brezhoneg.
Engl. around here, people already speak half-French, half-Breton.
Fr. ici, on parle déjà à moitié breton, à moitié français.

[ãmˈgimə gɐe meːt a ˈfuːᵃməʃ] lit. here in-manner-this find-(impersonal) good *prep.*
cheese
PU amañ e-giz-mañ e gaver mat a formaj.
Engl. there is good cheese here (context: discussion about the availability of good
cheese in France at large).
Fr. on trouve du bon fromage chez nous.

AM'-HICH *adv*. [ãm ˈhiʃ] lit. here in-manner-that/this; PU amañ e-giz-se; Engl. here
(close by); Fr. Ici, là (près de nous).

A' HICHE *adv*. [ɐ ˈhiʃə/ɐ ˈhisə] (Used by all BCB speakers from the Edern area
known to me. Both forms can be used indifferently even by the same speaker within
the same sentence, as in the example below). lit. over there in-manner-that/this; PU aze
e-giz-se; Engl. here, there (in the general location in which the speaker is, but at a
certain distance from where they are standing); Fr. ici, là (dans l'environnement proche
du locuteur, mais à une certaine distance de lui).

[me mo gʁɛt yn pɔʁˈʃʁi ɐ ˈhiʃə [...] mə møs gʁɛt ɐ ˈhiʃə bɐ lɛx me lɔ̃ˈʒɛʁ ɐ ˈhisə]
(Context: Discussing the lay-out of the speaker's farm buildings);
lit. me I-had made a pig-house there [...] me I-have made there in place be(*sit.*)-3sg-
pres long-farm-building there.
PU met em boa graet *une porcherie* aze e-giz-se [...] me, 'meus graet aze e-giz-se, e-
barzh lec'h emañ (al) *longère*, aze e-giz-se.
Engl. I made a pig-house here [...] I made (it) here, where the *longère* is.
Fr. J'ai fait une porcherie là, [...] je (l')ai faite là où est la longère.

[ken va o hɐs ɐˈhisə med ɛt eɔ̃ kɥit]
lit.earlier-on was a cat there but gone him away
PU ken e oa ur c'hazh aze e-giz-se, met aet eñ kwit.
Engl. earlier on there was a cat there, but it is gone.
Fr. il y avait un chat là, mais il n'y est plus.

ARBOELLAÑ *v*. [aʁˈbwɛla] Engl. save, economise; Fr. économiser.

[ɐː gɥin zo meːt daʁˈbwɛl ən duˑʁ, ən duˑʁ zo meːt daʁˈbwɛl ɐ gɥin]
lit. wine is good to save water, water is good to save wine
PU ar gwin zo mat d'arboellañ an dour, an dour zo mat d'arboellañ ar gwin.
Engl. wine saves water and water saves wine.
Fr. le vin économise l'eau et l'eau économise le vin.

BAE/(M')BAE *exp*. (**) (*) [bae/mbae] (It is plausible that this expression may come
from the French *il me paraît* 'it seems to me'); Engl. it seems (to me) that..., maybe,

they say that..., it may well be that...; Fr. il se peut bien que..., peut-être bien que..., on dit que..., il paraît.

[mˈbae maj bɐn tiː]
lit. maybe is she inside house
PU m'bae emañ-he e-barzh an ti.
Engl. she might be in the house.
Fr. peut-être bien qu'elle est dans la maison.

[nøske be ʁãˈplasmã dla ãʃ, me bae nøz eːm waχ]
lit. (he) has not been replacement of the hip, but it-seems-to-me he has need enough
PU n'eus ket bet *remplacement de la hanche*, met bae n'eus ezhomm a-walc'h.
Engl. he hasn't had a hip replacement, but he may well be in need of one.
Fr. On ne lui a pas mis de prothèse de la hanche, mais il se pourrait bien qu'il en ait besoin d'une.

[ẽɔ va ihøn, hag ə.... no œ̃ gʁam paʁ lit a ʁeː sã tʁãt alœʁ, bae, nuzket...]
lit. him was on-his-own, and er.... he-had one gram per litre and was-doing 130, maybe, I-don't know...
PU Eñ a oa he-unan hag eu... en doa *un gramme par litre*, ha rae *cent-trente à l'heure*, bae, n'ouzon ket...
Engl. he was on his own and er... he had one gram (of alcohol) per litre (of blood) and he was doing 130 (km/h), I think maybe, dunno...
Fr. il était tout seul et euh... il avait un gramme par litre et il faisait du cent-trente, je crois bien, j'sais pas...

BARN *nf.* [bæ·ᵃn]/[bæ·ʁn] PU barlenn; Engl. lap, knee; Fr. genoux (partie supérieure de la cuisse d'une personne assise).

[va bæ·ʁn isaːt]
lit. on lap her father
PU war barlenn he zad.
Engl. on her father's lap.
Fr. sur les genoux de son père (à elle).

BARZH *prep.* [bɐs/bɐʁs] PU barzh; Engl. while; within, before; Fr. pendant que, avant de.

[ˈkɐləs ˈlɐːbə ʁɛn bɐs tõn bʁɐs]
lit. a-lot-of work they-did-*imp.* while come big
(context: Discussion about how children learn).
PU kalz labour a reont e-barzh tont bras.
Engl. they do a lot of work while growing/until they grow.
Fr. ils font beaucoup de travail en grandissant/pendant qu'ils grandissent/avant de grandir.

BAZH-YOUD *nm.* [bazˈjʊːt] lit. stick-porridge; Engl. stick for mixing porridge; Fr. bâton à bouillie. Also see *youd*.

[χɥi zɔ̃ də ˈdɛput o ˈwisket ga bazˈjuːt!]
lit. you is-*vp.*-come to catch a coating with the stick porridge
PU c'hwi zo o vont da dapout ur wiskad gant ar bazh-yod!
Engl. you are going to get a good smack bottom in a minute! You'll get a hiding in a minute!
Fr. tu vas prendre une bonne fessée/raclée (avec le bâton à bouillie)!

BE (BEZ when preceding a vowel) *vp.* [be/bez]

This word, a derivative of *bezañ* 'to be', precedes the conjugated forms of *kaout* and *bezañ*, when they are placed at the beginning of a sentence.

[be pøs weχ?]
lit. *vp* you-have enough?
PU be'peus a-walc'h?
Engl. do you have enough?
Fr. tu en as assez?

[be zøs øn ˈχɔes]
vp has one still
PU bez ez-eus (*unorth.*) un c'hoazh.
Engl. there is still one.
Fr. il y en a encore un.

[be po gɥin pɔt?]
vp. you-will-have wine man/boy?
PU Bez ez po gwin, paotr?
Engl. will you have wine, boy?
Fr. tu prendras du vin, gars?

[beme ɐˣ]
vp sit.-be there/here
PU bez emañ aze
Engl. he/she is here.
Fr. il/elle est là.

Dialogue:
Q: [pøs ked œn yʁˈzieˑtə?]
lit. you-have not a computer?
PU Peus ket un urzhiater?[110]
Engl. you don't have a computer?
Fr. vous n'avez pas d'ordinateur?
A: [be møs!]
lit. *vp* I-have
PU be meus!
Engl. I do!
Fr. si!

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[110] See this neologism in §6.1 Make-up of the Breton vocabulary.

BE (**)(*) *adv* [be] PU pa; Engl. when+ *v*.; Fr. quand + *v*.
Note: this word is used with reference to both present and past events in BCB.

[be vwaχ ˈjauŋ χ ̍ɥi po ket lyˈneːdu]
lit. when you-were young you had not spectacles
PU pa oac'h yaouank, c'hwi 'poa ket lunedoù.
Engl. when you were young, you did not have glasses.
Fr. quand tu étais jeune, tu n'avais pas de lunettes.

[ˈgwɛlɔx vo dɔx gɛlv ɛnˈdʁo be vɔx diˈgweːt bɛ ˈbʁɪjek]
lit. better will-be to-you call in turn when you-will-be arrived in Briec
PU gwelloc'h vo deoc'h galv en dro be voc'h degouezet e Briec.
Engl. better if you call again once/when you have arrived in Briec.
Fr. il vaut mieux que tu rappelles quand tu seras arrivé à Briec.

[be vɐ dødɐ̃n ˈtʁaktɐʁ]
lit. when was come the tractor
PU pa e oa deut an traktor.
Engl. when the tractor arrived.[iii]
Fr. quand le tracteur est arrivé.

BEC'H *nm*. or *f*. [bɛx] Engl. 1) effort, exertion 2) conflict; Fr. 1) effort physique 2) tension, conflit.

[døzˈty ʁɔ̃ ən tɑ̃m bɛx benak døzˈty ɔ̃n baʁˈɑ̃nəl]
lit. immediately I-do a bit exertion some immediately I-am short breath
PU diouzhtu e ran un tamm bec'h bennak, diouzhtu on berr-anal.
Engl. as soon as I exert myself I struggle breathing/I am short of breath.
Fr. dès que je fais un effort, le souffle me manque.

BEM (**)(*) *prep*. [bɛm/bɛmə] PU bemdez; Engl. every day; Fr. tous les jours.

[bɛm dɑ̃m dʁɛk!]
lit. every-day piece little-thing
PU bemdez (un) tamm draig!
Engl. every day, there is something/some new challenge!
Fr. tous les jours y a quelque chose (à quoi on doit faire face)!

Context: This common expression refers to the problems that occur every day in life.

BENN(**)(*) *adv*. [bɛn] Engl. when + *v*., in + segment of time (an hour, a week etc.). It probably originates from the expression *a-benn*. *Benn* is the lenited form of *penn* meaning 'head' or 'tip'. When preceding a verb in BCB, it can be used to refer to future as well as past events. Fr. 'quand'.

[iii] Although the Breton phrase uses a pluperfect, the meaning intended is that of a perfect, which is typical of BCB.

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[pøs kem galv ˈnẽ bɛn ɔ̃n œʁ]
lit. you-have not only call him head an hour
PU peus ket nemet gervel anezhañ benn un eur.
Engl. just call him in an hour.
Fr. tu/vous n'as/avez qu'à l'appeler dans une heure.

[bɛn no ˈdeg lɐ]
lit. head he/she-had ten years
PU benn en doa deg vloaz.
Engl. when he was ten.
Fr. quand il avait dix ans.

BENNAK *adj.* [bᵊˈnak/bnak/mnak] Engl. some (sort of); Fr. quelconque.

[œn dʁa mnak]
lit. a thing some
PU un dra bennak
Engl. something.
Fr. quelquechose.

[ɛ̃n bᵊˈnak]
lit. a some
PU unan bennak
Engl. somebody
Fr. quelqu'un.

BENN PEVAR(**)(*) *adv* [bɛn peˈvæːʁ] PU pevare; Engl. when (interrogative); Fr. quand (interrogatif).

[bɛn peˈvæːʁ vo?]
lit. head/tip what-tide will-be
PU pevare e vo?
Engl. when will it be?
Fr. ça sera quand?

BEZ (see *be*)

BOMINO *adj.* (*) (**) possibly fr. *bomissañ* 'to vomit' or derivatives; Engl. incredible, great, terrible, horrific; Fr. incroyable, super, terrible, horrible.

[bɔmino e]
lit. unbelievable is
PU bomino eo.
Engl. it's unbelievable.
Fr. c'est incroyable, époustouflant.

[daɛʃ a ʁɐ tʁɐu bɔmino]
lit. ISIS *vp*. does things horrible
PU Daech a ra traoù bomino.

Engl. ISIS does horrific things.
Fr. Daech fait des choses horribles.

BIDOIG *n.m.* [biˈdo·ik] PU 'bidoc'hig'; Engl. 'youngest child, kid (young goat)'; Fr. 'benjamin, chevreau'.

[hus zo biˈdo·ik]
lit. this (female)-one is youngest-child
PU honnezh zo ar bidoc'hig.
Engl. she is the youngest.
Fr. c'est la benjamine.

BLEÑCHENN *nf.* [ˈblɛ̃·ʃɛnn] *pl.* **BLEÑCHOÙ** (*) [ˈblɛ̃·ʃu] Engl. twig; Fr. brindille.

BOZAD *n.f.* [ˈbɐuzət] *pl.* bozadoù [bɐuˈzɛdọ] Engl. the contents of two joined hands; Fr. jointée.

[o ˈfɐuzət gʁɛ̃n]
PU ur vozad greun.
Engl. two joined hands full of grain.
Fr. une jointée de grain.

BRANSIELEZH *nf.* (*) (**) [bʁɑ̃ˈsje·le/bʁɑ̃ˈsjeːls] PU 'brañsigell, brañsellerezh'; Engl. swing; Fr. balançoire.

BUTUN *nm.* [ˈbyːtn/ˈby·tyn] (also see *pouezh*) Engl. tobacco; Fr. tabac.

[ˈɛχən ˈbyːtn]
lit. silver/money tobacco
PU arc'hant butun.
Engl. tip, gratuity, tobacco money.
Fr. pourboire, pour les cigarettes.

CHAÑCH *v.* [ʃɑ̃·ʃ] PU sachañ; Engl. pull; Fr tirer, tracter.

CHEÑCH *v.* [ʃɛ̃·ʃ] PU chañch, cheñch; Engl. change; Fr. changer.

CHEÑCH TOULL-PENNEK (**)(*) *exp.* [ʃɛ̃·ʃ tul ˈpenɛk] lit. change hole heady (may be a reference to one's hind quarters taking the place of the head in a somersault); Engl. somersault; Fr. galipette.

CHOU! *exclamation* [ʃu!] Engl. shoo! Used for shooing chickens away; Fr. zou! ouste! pour chasser les poules.

CHUKA *v.* [ˈʃyka] PU 'chugal'; Engl. 'suck'; Fr. 'sucer'.

CHUKENN *nf.* [ˈʃykən] Engl. lolly pop; Fr. sucette.

DALEOÙ *n. pl.* Engl. last furrows ploughed along the edges of a field; Fr. fourrières/chaintres.

[mɛ̃ zo xɔʁ me daˈleo̥]
lit. me is doing my last-furrows
PU Me zo oc'h ober ma daleoù.
Engl. I am ploughing my last furrows. (Sentence uttered by YLD as he was close to death in January 2015).
Fr. Je fais mes fourrières. (Phrase exprimée par YLD au seuil de la mort en janvier 2015).

DAM *conj.* (**) (*) [dɑ̃m] (abbreviation of **PEDAM**) PU petramant; Engl. or; Fr. ou.

[lju gwɛn dɑ̃m lju ˈmelɛn?]
lit. colour white or colour yellow
PU liv gwenn pe liv melen ?
Engl. white or yellow?
Fr. blanc ou jaune?

DAM (**) (*) *conj.* [dɑ̃m] PU abalamour (ma/da), 'blam (ma/da); Engl. because, Fr. parce que.

Context: Used in response to the questions *pedam?* or *dam petra?* 'why?'

DAM PETRA (**) (*) *adv.phr.* [dɑ̃m pjea] PU abalamour da betra, 'blam da betra, perag; Engl. 'why? because of what? Fr. pourquoi?

Dialogue:
Speaker 1: [mɛ̃ sɔm sɐbɐˈtyːʁt ven dʁɐ, pjea]
lit. me/I stayed stupefied (lit. sabbathed) for the thing, what.
PU: me a chom sabatuet evit an dra, petra.
Engl. I was quite surprised by it.
Fr. ça m'a vraiment étonné.
Speaker 2: [dɑ̃m pjea?]
lit. because what?
PU 'blam petra?
Engl. Why?
Fr. pourquoi?
Speaker 1: [dɑ̃m tyt døs noˈɐ·ʒu ˈɛχ, goˈzeis ˈgɐlɛk ˈketɔχ vi bʁɐˈzɔ̃ːnək]
lit. because people from the ages there, speak-*pres.hab.* French rather for/than Breton
PU 'blam tud deus an oadoù-aze, a gaozeis(*unorth*.) galleg kentoc'h evit brezhoneg.
Engl. because people that age generally speak French, rather than Breton.
Fr. parce que les gens de cet âge-là parlent généralement français, plutôt que breton.

DA PEGEM (**)(*) *conj.* [da pegem]

[da pegem tʁɐu azo ɑ̃m bɐ faʁmasi!]
lit. so how-many things *vp.* is in pharmacy

PU kement-all a traoù a zo er farmasi!
Engl. there is such an amount of stuff in this pharmacy!
Fr. qu'est-ce qu'il y a comme choses, dans cette pharmacie!

DEHOÙ *adj.* [dju/dⁱu] PU dehoù; Engl. right (-hand side); Fr. droit(e).

[zju aˈglɛⁱ]
lit. right and left.
PU (A) zehou hag (a) gleiz
Engl. here, there and everywhere.
Fr. à gauche, à droite.

DISKONTER *n.m.* [disˈkɔ̃ːtɐ] PU diskonter; Engl. traditional healer; Fr. guérisseur, rebouteux.

DISTAÑ *v.* [distɑ̃n] lit. to de-fire; PU 'distanañ'; Engl. 'to cool'; Fr. refroidir, rafraîchir.

[ɐ muːʁ ve imˈpliːʒət vi disˈtɑ̃·n ən duːʁ]
lit. the sea is used to de-fire the water
PU ar mor a vez implijet evit distanañ an dour.
Engl. the sea is used to cool the water (with reference to a nuclear reactor).
Fr. la mer est utilisée pour refroidir l'eau (d'un réacteur nucléaire).

DIVALO *adj.* [diˈvaːlo] PU divalav ; Engl. bad, mediocre; Fr. mauvais, médiocre.

[ˈhɛ̃sə zo o pɛn diˈvelo]
lit. this (masculine)-one is a head mediocre
PU Hennez zo ur penn divalav.
Engl. he is cantankerous.
Fr. il a mauvais caractère.

DIVUS (*) *adj.* [ˈdiːvəs] PU (uncertain) 'dieub' (which means 'free') or possibly 'divus' (meaning 'entertainment, leisure') used as an adjective, hence the sense of 'not busy'; Engl. free, available; Fr. libre, disponible.

[neŋ zo ˈdiːvəs ato ˈbʁemə]
lit. we is free always now
PU ni zo divus atao, bremañ.
Engl. we are always free, now.
Fr. maintenant, on est toujours libres.

DOUAR LAPIN *loc.* [ˈdɔwaʁ ˈlɐpɪn] lit. soil rabbit; PU douar lapin; Engl. light dusty soil; Fr. terre légère et poudreuse.

DISKRIAL (*) *v.* [dɪsˈkʁeil] PU dekrial; Engl. to criticize; Fr. critiquer.

DIVIZ *n.m.* [diˈvij] Eng. agreement, talk, condition; Fr. accord, dialogue, condition.

[gɛl ʁet ˈkemɐ me ˈfwæᵃtab gɐ diˈvij də zɛs ne dʁowᵂ bɛn møˈz em ˈzuto]
lit. can you-do take my mobile phone, with condition to send (in)turn head I-have need of-it
PU gall a rit kemer ma fortabl gant diviz da zigas anezhañ en dro benn 'meus ezhomm deuzoutañ.
Engl. you can have my cell-phone, provided you bring it back when I need it.
Fr. tu peux prendre mon portable, à condition de me le ramener quand j'en aurai besoin.

DONT *v.* [dɔ̃n] Engl. come, become, go; Fr. venir, devenir, aller.

[i tø ˈbɛmmə]
lit. she comes everyday
PU he a teu bemdeiz.
Engl. she comes every day.
Fr. elle vient tous les jours.

[døsty ʁɐ o bɛx beˈnɐk tø a bɐːs ˈdeɔ̃]
lit. immediately does a exertion some/any come the cough to-him
PU diouzhtu e ra ur bec'h bennak, teu ar bas dezhañ.
Engl. as soon as he exerts himself, he starts coughing.
Fr : dès qu'il fait un effort physique, il se met à tousser.

[dɔ̃n koːs zo ˈstæʁt]
lit. to-come old is hard
PU dont kozh zo start.
Engl. growing old is tough.
Fr : c'est dur de vieillir.

[be vãm døt tyd ˈjauŋ]
lit. when we-were come people young
PU pa oamp deuet tud yaouank.
Engl. when we became young adults.
Fr. quand on est devenu grands adolescents, quand on a quitté l'adolescence.

[nøs ke kɪsˈteⁱɲ be dɪŋ dɔn də lɛχ mə lɛχ]
lit. has not question none to-me come to place if/that place
PU 'Neus ket kistion ebet din, dont da lec'h ma lec'h.
Engl. There is no way I am going to go here, there and everywhere (for the benefit of this person).
Fr. Il n'est pas question que j'aille courir partout (pour cette personne).

[ˈnɔ̃ᵊm ke dʁwat dɔ̃n nɪˈplɛχ bɛt]
lit. we-had not right come nowhere none
PU noamp (*unorth.*) ket droet dont neplec'h ebet.
Engl. we were not allowed to go anywhere.
Fr. on avait le droit d'aller nulle part.

[o ˈfɛ̃vaʁ majn tɔ̃n]
lit. their four they-are-*sit*. come.

PU o fewar 'maint (o) tont.
Engl. the four of them are going.
Fr. ils y vont tous les quatre.

DROUK *nm.* [dʁuk] Engl. harm, pain, anger; Fr. mal, douleur, colère.

[ˈveʃu ja dʁuk bɐ ɛ̃n xoʁ ən dʁɐ]
lit. times comes anger in one doing a thing
PU (a) wechoù, ya drouk barzh un oc'h ober un dra.
Engl. sometimes, while doing something, you get angry.
Fr. quelquefois, quelqu'un s'énerve en faisant quelquechose.

[ˈdjuəl! dʁuk vo ˈbæᵃs]
lit. watch-out harm will-be inside
PU diwall! Drouk vo e-barzh.
Engl. watch out! He/she is going to get angry.
Fr. Attention! Il/elle va se mettre en colère.

DUILH-KENEUD *nm.* [dyl kɛ̃ːn] *pl.* **DUILHOÙ-KENEUD** *nm.* [dylu kɛ̃ːn] Engl. bundle of sticks; Fr. fagot de bois.

EHAN *nm.* [ˈheːᵊn] Engl. cease, break, pause; Fr. cesse, arrêt, pause.

[hep ˈheːᵊn]
lit. without cease
PU hep ehan
Engl. continuously, ceaselessly.
Fr. sans arrêt, constamment.

[ən nəbød ˈãmzeʁ zo bez e beḍ ãmᵊ tyt hep ˈheːᵊn]
un nebeut amzer zo, bez eo bet amãn tud hep ehan.
lit. a small-quantity time is, be is been here people without cease
Engl. not long ago, we had people here continuously.
Fr. Il n'y a pas longtemps, on a eu des gens ici sans arrêt.

EN-UR (it is necessary to consult the entry for NAR in order to understand the two meanings of this locution in BCB) *conj.* [næːʁ/nɑː/nɑᵘ] lit. in a; PU en ur; Engl. in a, while + *v*; Fr. (tout) en + *v*.

[ˈtapɛt ɛ bɛt bɐ penˈiti, ˈnẽ, naᵘ võ deˈgepɐ]
lit. caught is been in Penity, him in the going to Kemper
PU tapet eo bet (e-)barzh Penity, anezhañ, en ur vont da Gemper.
Engl. he got caught (speeding) in Penity, on his way to Quimper.
Fr. il s'est fait choper (par un radar) à Penity en allant à Quimper.

E-SERR *conj.* [seːʁ/sæːʁ] Engl. while, at the same time as; Fr. (tout) en...

[bõ bɐ nɛŋ eːɔ bãn ˈkɐfe sɛʁ kɔˈzeːl?]
lit. well er... we drink a drop coffee while talk

PU bon, bah... ni a ev ur banne kafe e-serr kaozeal ?
Engl. well, er... shall we have a cup of coffee, while talking?
Fr. bon, ben on prend un coup de café, tout en parlant?

ESTON *adv* [ˈhɛsᵊn / hes] (fr. old Fr. *estoner* 'to stun, to astonish) Engl: much, a great deal, a huge amount of; Fr: énormément.

[nøs ket hes kemn ɐl giʃ kɔˈmɐl ˈneõ]
lit. has not much so much like friends him
PU e neus ket eston kement all giz kamaladed, anezhañ.
Engl. he hasn't got that much, by way of friends.
Fr. il a pas tant d'amis que ça.

[mẽ gaʁ ˈhɛsᵊn an dʁɐ xə]
lit. me love a-great-deal the thing there
PU me a gar eston an dra aze (an dra-se).
Engl. I really love that.
Fr. j'aime vraiment beaucoup ça.

[ˈhɛsᵊn ˈglɐo zo bet]
lit. hugely rain is been
PU eston a glav zo bet.
Engl. there has been a hell of a lot of rain.
Fr. on a eu des tonnes de pluie/il est tombé des cordes.

FARDET *adj.* [ˈfaʁːdɛt] Engl. dressed up, made up. Fr. endimanché, sur son trente et un.

[xɥɪ zo ˈfaʁːdɛt ˈheu xœ̃x, pjɛx mɐx hõn amɔs plax ? dɔ ˈfʁikɔ bᵊˈnak?]
lit. you is dressed-up today you, where you-are going this-manner girl? to-a wedding-lunch some?
PU C'hwi zo fardet, hirio, ac'hanoc'h, pelec'h emaoc'h o vont a mod-se, plac'h? D'ur friko bennak?
Engl. You sure are all dressed up today! Where are you going to, girl? To a wedding?
Fr. T'es bien sapée, aujourd'hui, toi! Où tu vas donc, la fille? À un mariage?

FRI-LOUS *n.m.* [fʁi luːz]/[fʁi luːs] lit. nose dirty ; Engl. snot, egg chalaza. Fr. morve, germe de l'oeuf.

[o vi zo gwɛt døz a ˈblysᵊn, a ˈmelɛn, ɐː gɥɛn ag ɐ fʁi luːz]
lit. an egg is made of the shell, the yolk, the white and the nose dirty
PU ur vi zo graet deus ar *pluskenn*, ar melen, ar gwenn hag ar fri-lous.
Engl. an egg is made of a shell, a yolk, a white and some snot (the chalaza).
Fr. un oeuf se compose de la coquille, du jaune, du blanc et de la morve (du germe).

[õ tãm fʁi luːs]
lit. a bit nose dirty
PU un tamm fri-lous.
Engl. some snot, a little snot-pot (a snotty little child).

Fr. de la morve, une petit gamin morveux (et non *un petit morveux*, qui se dirait *un tamm lousig*).

GAST *n.f.* and *excl.* [ˈgasᵗ] lit. prostitute; Engl. whore, damn! Fr. la vache ! putain !

[ˈgast ɐ χest!]
lit. whore (of) the whore!
PU gast ar c'hast!
Engl. freakin' hell!
Fr. putain de merde!

GAST FALL *exp.* [ˈgast fal] *pl.* **GASTOÙ FALL** [gastu fal] lit. prostitute bad; Engl. of a person: son-of-a-bitch, prick, of an animal: nasty/dangerous one; Fr. personne: sale con, animal: saloperie.

[ˈẽ zo o gasᵗ fɐl]
lit. him is a whore bad
PU eñ zo ur gast fall.
Engl. he is a nasty piece of work.
Fr. c'est un sale con, c'est une salope.

GAOL *n.f.* [ˈgeol] Engl. start of a forked branch, crotch; Fr. base de deux branches formant fourche, entrejambe.

[ˈplãtət nøs o tɔl buts bɐ i ˈgeol]
lit. planted he-has a blow boot inside his crotch
PU plañtet e-neus ur taol botez e-barzh e gaol.
Engl. he/she gave him a good kick in the crotch.
Fr. il/elle lui a donné un bon coup de pied dans l'entrejambe.

GAD *n.m.* or *f.* [gɐ·t] Engl. hare; Fr. lièvre.

[χɥi zɔ giʃ õn ˈtɐʁɔ gɐ·t]
lit. you is like a bull hare
PU C'hwi zo giz un taro gad
Engl. You are a real skirt chaser.
Fr. Tu cours comme un lièvre! T'es un vrai coureur de jupons!

GIZ *n.f.* [giʃ/gis] lit. guise; Engl. manner, way; Fr. manière, façon.

[ˈgiʃᵊ]
lit. manner there
PU giz-se.
Engl. like that, so-so.
Fr. couci-couça.

Dialogue:
Q: [mad n ˈtrau?]
lit. good the things?

PU Q: *Mat an traoù?*
Engl. Q: You well?
Fr. Q: Ça va?
A: [ˈgiʃᵊ]
lit. way there
PU *Giz-se.*
Engl. So so (not great).
Fr. Couci-couça.

GLEET *pp*. of *v. dleout* [gleːt] PU dleet.

[ˈgleːt vadõm mõn]
lit. owed was to-us go
PU gleet (e) oa deomp mont.
Engl. we should have gone, we were meant to go.
Fr. on était censé y aller.

GWELLOC'HIG *adj*. [gwɛˈlɔxik] fr. *gwelloc'h* 'better'+ diminutive suffix *-ig*

Dialogue:
Q: [psᵊ moˑd ja?]
A: [gwɛˈlɔxik]
lit. Q: which sort mode (*vp*.) goes? A: better+diminutive suffix.
PU Q: peseurt mod a ya? A: gwelloc'hig.
Engl. Q: how is it going? A: a little bit better.
Fr. Q: comment ça va? A: un petit peu mieux.

GOAP n.m. [gwɐp] Engl. mockery; Fr. moquerie.

[ne a ʁɐ gwɐp ba i ʁeːʁ stɐk]
lit. the one *vp*. does mockery, in his rear sticks
PU An hini a ra goap, (e-)barzh e reor stag.
Engl. If you cast mockery, it sticks to your backside.
Fr. La moquerie colle au cul du moqueur.

GOEZ *f*. (**) (*) *nm*. [gwɪːs]/[gweːs] *pl*. **– IOÙ** [ˈgweʃu] PU gwazh; Engl. small stream, brook, ditch or open drain with running water; Fr. petit ruisseau, fossé où coule de l'eau, rigole.

[o wɪːs]/[o weːs]
PU ur wazh.
Engl. a small stream.
Fr. un petit ruisseau.

GORRE (see *war gorre*).

GOUEL MARI GOULOU *exp*. [guɛl maʁi gulu] Engl. 'Candlemas'; Fr. 'La Chandeleur.'

[de g_{ɛ}l maʁi gulu, køː^y a hɑ̃tɔˈlɔʁju, twæ^a a hiˈgili]
lit. to holiday Mary light, hide the candlesticks, break the distaffs
PU Da Gouel Mari Goulou, kuz ar c'hantolorioù, torr ar c'higili.
Engl. On Candelmas, hide the candlesticks and break the distaffs.
Fr. À la chandeleur, rangez les chandeliers et cassez les quenouilles.

This saying refers to the increase of daylight and temperature in February, which makes it possible to save on candles and to return to work in the open. This leads to the abandonment of spinning work, which was typical winter work, and to the breaking of the now useless distaffs.

GOURD *adj.* [ˈguːᵉt] Engl. damp; Fr. humide.

[al liˈseʁju zo ʁe gu^at vi ˈdaspyɲ nɛ]
Lit. the sheets is too damp for collect them
PU al liñserioù zo re gourd evit dastum anezhe.
Engl. the sheets are too damp to be brought in.
Fr. les draps sont trop humides pour être rentrés.

HEUS *nm.* [høs] *pl.* **HEUSOÙ** [ˈhøsu] Engl. leggings; Fr. guêtre, housseau.

[ˈbutu høs]
lit. shoes leggings
PU botoù heus.
Engl. tall boots, rubber boots.
Fr. des bottes montantes, des bottes en caoutchouc.

KAMM DIGAMM *exp.* [kɑ̃m diˈgɑ̃m] lit. Limp de-limp; Engl. hobbling along; Fr. cahin-caha, clopin-clopant, en boitant.

[ẽ zɔ eˑt ɛn dʁɔʷ dal ˈlɛːbᵊ kɑ̃mdiˈgɑ̃m]
lit. he is gone in turn to the work limp de-limp
PU Eñ zo aet en dro d'al labour kamm digamm.
Engl. he limped back to work.
Fr. il est retourné au travail clopin-clopant.

KEM *adv.* [kem] PU *ket nemet*; Engl. just, only, apart from; Fr. que, seulement, sauf.

[pøs kem galv neẽ bɛn ɑ̃n œʁ]
lit. you-have not only call him head an hour
PU peus ket nemet gervel anezhañ benn un eur.
Engl. Just call him in an hour.
Fr. tu/vous n'as/avez qu'à l'appeler dans une heure.

[nɔ kem deg ˈøːʁɔ]
lit. not had only ten euros
PU n'en doa ket nemet deg euro
Engl. she/he only had ten euros.
Fr. il/elle (n')avait que dix euros.

[kem ˈtʁɑu koʷs tut]
lit. only things old all
PU ket nemet traoù kozh tout.
Engl. nothing but old stuff, no news, same old same old.
Fr. (Rien) que du vieux.

KEN *adv. conj.* and *prep.* [kɪn/ken]

1) *adv.* Engl. a little while ago; Fr. tout à l'heure.

[ken va ɔ hɐs aˈhisə met ɛt eõ kɥit]
lit.earlier-on was a cat there but gone him away
PU ken e oa ur c'hazh aze e-giz-se, met aet eñ kwit.
Engl. earlier on there was a cat there, but it is gone now.
Fr. il y avait un chat là, mais il n'y est plus.

2) *adv.*+ *adj.*+ all; Engl. so + *adj.*; Fr. si + *adj.*/qu'est-ce que + *sj.* + *être* + *adj.*

[ken ˈfiʃɛt al mɐ!]
lit. so adorned other is(situational)!
PU Ken fichet-all emañ!
Engl. She is so well dressed!
Fr. Qu'est-ce qu'elle est bien sapée !

3) *conj.* Engl. while, for as long as, up to/until; Fr. tant que, jusqu'à ce que.

[ˈkuləs deŋ pɐsˈfiːlə də ˈhɔʁtəs ken paˈseːs ɐ film]
lit. as-well to-me do-basting-stitches to wait until finish(frequentative form) the movie
PU koulz din pasfilañ da c'hortoz ken pasees ar film.
Engl. I might as well do my basting stitches while the movie finishes.
Fr. autant que je fasse mon bâti pendant que le film se termine.

4) *prep.* Engl. but for; Fr equivalent: sauf/à part.

[tundyt gɔˈzeː bʁəˈzõːnɛk, ken a vˈɛx]
lit. all people spoke Breton but-for the daughter
PU tout an dud (a) gozee brezhoneg, ken ar verc'h.
Engl. everyone but the daughter spoke Breton.
Fr. tout le monde parlait breton, sauf la fille.

KESKIÑ (**) *v.* [kɛski] probably fr. *kestal* 'to ask for offerings'; Engl. to insist to; Fr. s'acharner à.

[eõ a gesk de ˈgãnə, pɔʃ gãn fɐl ˈspõtys]
lit. he insists to sing though he sings bad horrible
PU Eñ a gesk da ganañ, posubl e-gan fall spontus.
Engl. He insists on singing, even though he sounds awful.
Fr. Il s'acharne à chanter, alors qu'il chante comme une casserolle.

KEUZ *nm.* [kœ̃] Engl. regrets; Fr. regrets.

[møs bet kœ̃ møs flɐstʀ a hɐs]
lit. i-have been regrets I-have squashed the cat
PU meus bet keuz, (e) meus flastret ar c'hazh
Engl. I felt awful for running the cat over.
Fr. j'ai eu des regrets d'avoir écrasé le chat.

KILAÑ *v.* [ki·lɐ] Engl. reverse ; Fr. reculer.

[ẽ nøs puᵃˈʃyət bɛk møs ˈkɪ·lət]
lit. he he-has pursued until I-have reversed
PU eñ e-neus pourchuet beteg e-meus kilet.
Engl. he insisted until I yielded.
Fr. il a insisté jusqu'à ce que je cède.

KIOZENN *nf.* [kiˈʲozən] Engl. female dog; Fr. chienne.

KISTION *nf.* [kɪsˈteʲɲ] Engl. word used to express that some action is or was necessary, or that a decision was made to undertake it; Fr. mot exprimant qu'une action est ou était nécessaire, ou qu'il a été décidé de l'entreprendre.

[bɛn vɐ død ãn ˈtʀaktəʀ, kɪsˈteʲɲ dõn deiz̟ ˈketə gã̩to, ẽ nɔ ˈhæʀpət ãn ˈtʀaktəʀ bɛ ˈkʀeʲz aʀ pɐʀk]
Lit. head/when was come the tractor, question to-come/go day first with-it, he had stopped the tractor in middle the field.
(Context: the first time M'nD's husband used a tractor).
PU Benn e oa deut an traktor, kistion dont d'an deiz kentañ gantañ, eñ en-doa harpet an traktor e-kreiz ar park.
Engl. When the tractor arrived and the day came to start using it, he stopped it in the middle of the field.
Fr. Quand le tracteur est arrivé, et qu'il a fallu commencer à l'utiliser, il l'a arrêté au milieu du champ.

[bɛ vɐ kɪsˈteʲɲ zɛs du·ʀ de ke·a]
Lit. when was question to-send water to house
PU Pa oa kistion da zigas dour d'ar gêr.
Engl. when the decision was made to bring running water to the house (via a pipe from a spring).
Fr. quand on a voulu amener l'eau (d'une source par un tuyau) à la maison.

[kɪsˈteʲɲ bɛ dɪŋ mõ̃ⁿ də lɛχ mɐ lɛχ]
Lit. question none to-me go to place if place
PU kistion ebet din, mont da lec'h ma lec'h
Engl. there is no question of me going here, there and everywhere.
Fr. il n'est pas question que j'aille par monts et par vaux.

KLASK *v.* [klɐsk] Engl. look for; Fr. chercher.

[be zɔ ɛ̃n mɛ de glɐs emɑ̃]
lit. be is one but to look-for is(-*sit*).
PU bez ez eus unan met da klask emañ.
Engl. there is one, but it still has to be found.
Fr. il y en a un, mais il faut encore le trouver.

KOK *nm*. [ˈkok] Engl. 'rooster, chicken (meat)', Fr. 'coq, (viande de) poulet.'

[gwɪt diŋ ɔ̃n tɑ̃m kok]
lit. do to-me a piece rooster
PU grit din un tamm kok !
Engl. Give me a piece of chicken!
Fr. Donne-moi un morceau de poulet!

In the Briec area, *gallus gallus domesticus* chicks were not sexed nor slaughtered as chicks. Females were used to produce eggs and males were eaten young as roast chicken, while females past the age of laying were eaten in stews. Therefore, most roast chicken was rooster meat, hence the term *kok*, lit. 'rooster' for 'chicken'.

KONT *nm*. [kɔ̃n] Engl. account; Fr. compte.

[nøs bed e gɔ̃n]
lit. has been his account
PU (e) neus bet e gont.
Engl. he has had enough. He had what he deserved. He's had it.
Fr. il a eu son compte.

KORN-TRO *n.m.* [ˈkwæʁn tʁɔʷ] PU korn-tro; Engl. (generally inside) corner (formed by two [generally] inside walls meeting); Fr. coin (généralement interne) formé par deux murs se rejoignant.
This expression is sometimes used for any sort of (inside or outside) corner involving walls.

[ɔ ˈχwæʁn tʁɔʷ]
lit. a corner turn
PU ur c'horn-tro.
Engl. an inside corner, a corner.
Fr. un coin interne, un coin.

KOUAR (see *skouer/skouar*) This word results from a case of rebracketing.

KOUKOU (C'HOARI) *exp*. [ˈkuku] Engl. play hide-and-seek, have sex; Fr. jouer à cache-cache, faire l'amour.

[ʁɛ̃s bet χwɐji ˈkuku ˈdʁeɔ̃ ɐ bɐʁn pluʒ]
lit. the-ones this been play hide-and-seek behind the haystack
PU ar re-se zo bet (o) c'hoari koukou a-dreñv ar bern plouz.
Engl. these two have been making out behind the haystack.

Fr. ces deux-là ont fait la culbute derrière le tas de foin.

KOULÂR *exp.* [ˌkuˈlæᵃ] lit. opportune-time say; PU koulz lâr; Engl. you might as well say, as good as; Fr. autant dire, pratiquement.

[ẽɔ veke meʁo tʁe, me ˌkuˈlæₐ]
lit. him was not dead through, but opportune-time say
PU eñ (ne) oa ket maro tre, met koulz lâr.
Engl. he wasn't completely dead, but as good as.
Fr. il était pas complètement mort, mais pratiquement.

KOVAD *nf.* [ˈkɔvət] *pl.* kovadoù [koˈveˑdu] Engl. bellyful; Fr. ventrée.

[e nøs ˈplɑ̃tɛt o ˈhovət]
lit. he he-has planted a bellyful
PU e neus plantet ur c'hovad.
Engl. he gobbled up a bellyful.
Fr. il s'est enfilé une ventrée.

KROGAD [ˈkʁɔːgət] *nm.* Engl. quantity that can be grasped with a hook, period of time, encounter between fighting individuals or fighting forces in battle; Fr. quantité pouvant être rassemblée sur un crochet, engagement violent entre deux personnes ou deux armées.

KROGADOÙ *nm. pl.* [kʁoˈgeːʒu] fr. *krogad*. Engl. sometimes; Fr. des fois.

[kʁoˈgeˑʒu tø ɑ̃ˈmimə]
lit. moments come here-in-guise-this
PU krogadoù eñ/he a teu amañ-e-giz-mañ.
Engl. sometimes he/she comes here.
Fr. des fois il/elle vient ici.

LESKIÑ *v.* [ˈlɛski] Engl. burn on a hot surface; Fr. brûler par contact avec une surface chaude.

[ɐ ˈjuːt zo ˈlɛːskət]
PU Ar youd zo lesket.
Engl. the gruel is burnt.
Fr. la bouillie a brûlé.

LESSENN *nf.* [ˈløsᵊn] *pl.* **LESSENNOÙ** [løˈsɔ̃ˑɲu] PU kentel, lessenn; Engl. lesson; Fr. leçon.

[løˈsɔ̃ˑɲu bʁəˈzɔ̃ːnək]
lit. lessons Breton
PU lessennoù brezhoneg.
Engl. Breton lessons.
Fr. leçons de Breton.

LIOU *nm*. [lju/liu] PU liv; Engl. colour; Fr. couleur.

[ˈviˌnɛg lju]
lit. vinegar colour
PU gwinegr-liv.
Engl. wine vinegar.
Fr. vinaigre de vin rouge

[veˈlɛᵃke lju kɪn døˈzutɔ]
lit. see(*hab*.) colour no-more from-him
PU ne weller ket liv ken deusoutañ.
Engl. you don't ever see him/it, anymore.
Fr. on n'en voit plus la couleur.

LISSER *nm*. [ˈliːsaʰ] pl. lisserioù [liˈseo̜]; PU liñser -ioù; Engl. bedsheet; Fr. drap.

LUIADENN *nf*. [lyˈjeːdn] *pl*. luiet [ˈlyːɪt] PU luc'hedenn, *pl*. luc'hed; Engl. lightning; Fr. éclair.

LODENN *nf*. [ˈloːdn] PU lodenn; Engl. part; Fr. partie de.

[al ˈlodᵊn ˈvʁɐsɐ]
lit. the lot biggest
PU al lodenn vrasañ.
Engl. the most part, most of.
Fr. la plus grande partie, la plupart.

MAKES *exp*. [ˈmɛkəs] Engl. you damn + *adj*', 'all you are is a...' 'a hell of a'; Fr. sacré, méga.

[ˈmakəs tã̃m ˈluːsik!]
lit. you-damn piece dirty-little-one
PU Makes tamm lousig.
Engl. you sure are a little scoundrel!
Fr. t'es qu'un sale petit morveux!

MARC'H *n.m*. [maχ] PU marc'h; Engl. gelding; Fr. cheval mâle castré, hongre.

[tã̃m a tã̃m aˈmax aya ganaˈbeⁱc]
lit. piece and piece the gelding *vp* goes with/by the magpie
PU tamm ha tamm ar mac'h a ya gant ar bik.
Engl. the magpie eats the horse bit by bit/little strokes fell great oaks/things are done a bit at a time.
Fr. petit à petit, l'oiseau fait son nid.

MARCHIGO *n.m*. [maʁˈʃigo] PU marsikod, fr. mascot; Engl. choir boy; Fr. enfant de coeur.

MARE *n.m.* [mæʁ] Engl. time, moment; Fr. moment.

[o maʁ fɛl e]
lit. a tide/time bad is
PU ur mare fall eo.
Engl. it is not a good time.
Fr. c'est pas le (bon) moment.

[mɐ ke ma·ʁ]
lit. not is not tide
PU n'emañ ket ar mare.
Engl. It is not the right season/time.
Fr. C'est pas le (bon) moment/ C'est pas la saison.

MARI KERZH LAEZ *exp.* [maʁi ˈkɛᵃzˈlaj/maj ˈkɛᵃz laj] lit. Mary goes up; PU Mari kerz a laez; Engl. a waitress who goes up to the bedrooms with customers, a slut; Fr. une serveuse qui monte, une traînée.

MICHAÑS *exp.* [meˈʃɑ̃] PU emichañs; Engl. I hope, I wish, maybe; Fr. peut-être, espérons que.

[meˈʃɑ̃ jɛj]
lit. maybe will-go-she
PU emichañs ez ay(-he).
Engl. maybe everything will go fine.
Fr. j'espère que ça ira.

MIZER *nf.* [ˈmiːzɐ/ˈmiːzəʁ] Engl. misery, hardship; Fr. mal, misère à faire qqch.

[ˈẽ nøs bɛt ˈmiːzəʁ naʁˈɔbəʁ ɑ̃n ˈdʁɐhə]
lit. him has been misery in the doing the thing this
PU eñ e neus bet miser, en ur ober an dra-se.
Engl. he had a hard time doing that.
Fr. il a eu du mal à faire ça.

[nɛŋ nøs ˈmiːsəʁ, ˈpokəs tyt!]
lit. we has misery, poor people!
PU ni e neus miser, paourkaezh tud!
Engl. life is tough on us, poor people! (saying).

MOD *nm.* [moːd] Engl. way, mode; Fr. manière.

[(a)mɔsa]
lit. *par.* mode-this
PU (a)-mod-se.
Engl. this way.
Fr. comme ça.

[mɛ̃ moːd]

lit. same mode
PU memes mod.
Engl. same way, the same.
Fr. pareil.

[pᵉsəˈmoːd?]
lit. what sort mode?
PU peseurt mod?
Engl. I beg your pardon?
Fr. comment?

MONT *vb.* [mɔ̃n] (*pp. aet* [ɛt]) Engl. go, become; Fr. aller, devenir.

In addition to its literal meaning indicating movement in space, this verb is used to express change of state exactly as 'to go' is in English in expressions like 'to go bad'.

[mɔ̃n gãn tãn]
lit. go with the fire
PU Mont gant an tan.
Engl : To burn down, to go up in flames.
Fr : Brûler, partir en fumée.

[mɔ̃n dɐ fɐl]
lit. go to bad
PU Mont da fall.
Engl. go off, go bad, rot; Fr : pourrir, tourner.

MOUCH-GOULOÙ *adj.* [muʃ ˈgulu] Engl. that which snuffs candles; Fr. ce qui est capable de moucher (dans le sens d'éteindre) une chandelle.

[o fʁi muʃ ˈgulu]
lit. a nose snuff-light
PU ur fri mouch-gouloù.
Engl. a big protruding nose, a big schnozz.
Fr. un (gros) tarin.

MUIOC'H *det.* and *pron.* [ˈmɛɲʲɐχ or (rarely) ˈmyjɔχ] Engl. more; Fr. plus.

[χwãn pɐs mɛɲʲɐχ?]
lit. desire you-have more?
PU c'hoant peus muioc'h?
Engl. do you want more?
FR. tu/vous en veux/voulez plus?

[vɛɲ a vɛɲ/vy a vy]
lit. to more *par.* more
PU da vuioc'h a vuioc'h.
Engl. more and more.
Fr. de plus en plus.

MUNIG coll. [ˈmyːnik] PU minwig; Engl. white part of the bread; Fr. mie.

[da ʁe goʷs ɐʁ myˑnik, da ʁe ˈjɐuŋ ɐ χɛn]
lit. to the ones old the white part, to the ones young the crust
PU D'ar re gozh ar minwig, d'ar re yaouank ar c'hrenn.
Engl. The white part of the bread is for the old, the crust is for the young.
Fr. Au vieux la mie, aux jeunes la croûte.

NA (following a vowel) *conj* [na] PU ha; Engl. and; Fr. et.

[an maʁi na me]
PU Anne-Marie ha me.
Engl. Anne-Marie and me.
Fr. Anne-Marie et moi.

NA *adv*. [nɐ]
PU ken... (all)
Engl. so (*adv*), to such a great extent.
Fr. que (*adv* exclamatif)

[na gɐˈluːdys e ˈdue]
lit. and powerful is God
PU Na galloudus eo Doue!
Engl. So powerful is God!
Fr. Comme Dieu est puissant!

[nɐ ˈkeːᵃ e ɐ vøˑ ba sidnɛ!]
PU ken ker eo ar vuhez e Sydney!
Engl. how expensive is living in Sydney!
Fr. Qu'est-ce que la vie est chère à Sydney!

NAER *nf*. [næːʁ/ˈnɛ̃ɛʁ]

[ɔ̃n næːʁ]
PU un naer.
Engl. A (grass) snake.
Fr. Un serpent, une couleuvre.

NAER-WIBER *n.f.* [næːʁ ˈviːva] PU naer-wiber; (note that [ˈviːva] , contrary to PU *wiber* is close to the Latin etymology of the word, from *vivus* 'alive').

[ɔ̃n næːʁ ˈviːva]
PU Un naer-wiber.
Engl. an adder, a viper.
Fr. Une vipère.

NAR (*) (**) (it is necessary to refer to EN-UR in order to understand the two meanings of this word) *conj. unorth.* [næːʁ]/ [nɐ]/ [nɐʁ]. lit. in a; metaplasm of *en-ur* ; PU en-(ur), en (un); Engl. in (a), while + *v*; Fr. en (un[e]), dans l'intervalle de, (tout) en + *v*.

[ˈẽ nøs aˈʃøːət i ˈlɛːbəʰ næʁ o noːs] (note that in this sentence [næʁ o noːs] can also be pronounced [næʁ ɔ̃ⁿ noːs]).
lit. him he-has finished his work in-a a (sic) night
PU eñ e-neus achuet e labour en un noz.
Engl. he finished his work in a night.
Fr. il a fini son travail en une nuit.

[ˈẽ nøs aˈʃøːət i ˈlɛːbəʰ nɐ ɔ̃ⁿ ˈdeːvəs]
lit. him he-has finished his work in-a a day
PU eñ e-neus achuet e labour en un devezh.
Engl. he finished his work in a day.
Fr. il a fini son travail en une journée.

[ˈẽ nøs nim ˈtʁɔxət nɐʁ esˈkene kwet]
lit. him he-has oneself cut in-a saw wood
PU eñ e-neus en em troc'het en-ur heskennat koad.
Engl. he cut himself while sawing wood.
Fr. il s'est coupé en sciant du bois.

NÂR *nf. unorth.* [næːʁ/nɛ̃ɛʁ] see NAER.

NÂR VIVA *nf. unorth.* see NAER-WIBER.

NI *sj. pron.* [ni] (also see *nign, nim* and *nomp*) PU ni; Engl we, us; Fr. nous.

This is the second form given by Le Scao (1945, 168) for *nous* 'we'. This implies that he considered it to be less frequent than the form he gives first: *nign* (see below). This matches my own observation of *ni* as a form practically unused in BCB.

NIGN *sj. pron.* [nɪŋ/neŋ] PU ni; Engl. we, us; Fr. nous. (also see *ni, nim* and *nomp*)

This is the first form given by Le Scao (1945, 168) for 'we' and it is the most common form. The next most common form is *nomp* (see below).

NIM *sj.pron.* [nim] PU ni; Engl we, us; Fr. nous. (also see *ni, nign* and *nomp*).

In my experience, *Nim* is only used by speakers from the Gulvein area. *Nim* is the most commonly used equivalent of 'we' in Plonvell, near Karaez (Wmffre 1998, 26).

NIOKUN *pron.* [ˈnjɔ·kˀn]/[ˈnœkˀn] PU nikun; Engl. none, not a single (applies mainly to persons); Fr. aucun(e) (appliqué surtout aux personnes).

[møs bʁøʁ be. møs ˈnjɔ·kˀn be]
lit. I-have brother none. I-have none none.
PU Meus breur ebet, meus nikun ebet.

Engl. I have no brother, none at all.
Fr. j'ai pas de frère, j'en ai aucun.

NOMP *sj.pron* [nɔ̃m] PU ni; Engl we, us; Fr, nous. (also see *ni, nign* and *nim*).

This is the second most commonly used form after *nign* amongst my informants. It is used more frequently by those of my informants who live west of Briec. All four forms, *nign, nomp, nim, ni* are known and understood by all BCB speakers.

NOZ-DEIZ *exp*. Engl. day and night; Fr. nuit et jour.

[ˈeɔ̃ ʁɑ̃k ˈkɐut ɐn okˈsiʒen nozdɛʲ]
lit. he must have the oxygen night-day
PU Eñ rank kaout an oksijen noz-deiz.
Engl. he needs oxygen day and night.
Fr. il lui faut de l'oxygène nuit et jour.

OKUP *v*. [ˈɔkyp] PU okupiñ; Engl. look after; Fr. s'occuper de.

[nim ˈɔkyp døs pez zel uˈzɐx ˈpjeᵃˣ!]
lit. oneself look-after of piece *vp* look up-against-you, what!
PU en em okup deus pezh a sell ouzhoc'h, petra!
Engl. mind your own business, alright!
Fr. occupe-toi de tes affaires, quoi!

OARC'H *nm*. (as spelt by Le Scao 1945, Fr/Bret 77) [ɔˈaχ]/[waχ] PU ozac'h; Engl. farm boss; Fr. maître de la ferme.

[emə nwaχ syln]
lit. this-one the boss Sulien
PU emañ zo an ozac'h Sulien.
Engl. he is the boss of Sulien (name of farm).
Fr. c'est le patron de Sulien.

PAR *adj*. [paːʁ] Engl. equal; Fr. égal.

[ɐn ˈdəu zoˈpaːʁ ɐn ɛl deˈgiːle]
lit. the two is equal the one to the other
PU an daou zo par an eil d'egile.
Engl. they are both the same.
Fr. Ils se valent.

PAOTR *nm*. [pɔt/ poːt /po][112] *pl*. **- ED** [ˈpɔta/pɔtət] Engl. man, boy; Fr. homme, garçon.

[ɔ po ˈjauŋ koːs]
lit. a man young old

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[112] See 2.4.3.8.8 [ɔ].

PU ur paotr yaouank kozh
Engl. a bachelor.
Fr. un vieux garçon.

[ɔ po ˈbeɲ̊]
lit. a boy small
PU ur paotr bihan
Engl. a little boy.
Fr. un petit garçon.
(note that sandhi provection applies here in some other dialects, notably that of Plounévézel, resulting in [poˈpi·jᵊn]. This is not the case in BCB).

[ɔ poˈsaut]/[ɔ poˈẓaut]
lit. a boy-cow
PU ur paotr-saout
Engl. 1) a cowherd who also may perform other tasks relating to cows, in particular feeding them, changing their litter and milking. 2) an electric fence.
Fr. 1) un gardien de troupeau, un vacher. 2) une barrière électrique.

[pøs ke poˈsaut ˈdɔːbɐ]
lit. you-have not boy-cow to do
PU peus ket paotr-saout d'ober.
Engl. you haven't got much to do.
Fr. t'as rien à faire, t'es pas chargé de famille.

[a pɔtaˈʁuːs]
lit. the boys red
PU ar paotred rous.
Engl. the seasonal farmhands.
Fr. les journaliers saisonniers.

PE *conj*. PU pa; Engl. when, whether; Fr. 'quand, que'.

[pe vɛχ ˈkɔtn pe vɛχ ket]
lit. when you-are-*pres.habit* satisfied when you-are-*pres.habit* not
PU pa vec'h kontant pa vec'h ket.
Engl. whether you are happy or not, whether you like it or not.
Fr. que tu sois/vous soyez content ou pas.

PEDAM (pe)dãm *conj*. PU petramant; Engl. or; Fr. ou. (See DAM).

PEGEM *adv*. (**) (*) fr. *pegement* 'how much'.

[pegem dõn e a foːʷs?]
lit. how(-much) deep is the ditch/hole
PU pegem don eo ar fos?
Engl. how deep is the ditch/hole?
Fr. quelle profondeur fait le fossé/la fosse?

PENN *nm*. [pɛn] Engl. tip, butt, head; Fr. bout, tête.

[bɐˈpɛn ˈnɛn]
lit. in head o' road
PU e penn an hent.
Engl. at the end of the road.
Fr. au bout de la route.

[mɔn da/va pɛn ʁɔk]
lit. go-*inf*. to/on head forward
PU mont da/war penn araok
Engl. go ahead/forward.
Fr. vas-y, commence. En avant.

[ˈkɛᵃz da geta mɔn va pɛn ʁɔk]
lit. go to first go on head forward!
PU Kerzh da gentañ, mont war penn araok!
Engl. Go first, move ahead!
Fr. Passe devant, avance!

[xɥi zɔ twæʁ pɛn a twæ ʁæʁ spɛn]
lit. you is break-head and break-ass up-to-head
PU c'hwi zo torr-penn ha torr-revr ouzhpenn.
Engl. you are a pain in the neck and, what's more, a pain in the ass.
Fr. t'es un casse-cul et en plus, un casse-couilles.

PENN YOUD *nm*. [pɛnˈjuːt] PU penn youd; Engl. tadpole, sulky antisocial person; Fr. têtard, mauvaise tête. See *youd*.

PEÑSELIAÑ *v*. [pɛ̃ˈseljɐ] Engl. mend; Fr. raccommoder.

[dau pɛ̃ˈselje i lweːʁ]
lit. must mend his sock
PU dao penseliañ e loer.
Engl. I got to mend his sock.
Fr. Il faut que je lui raccommode sa chaussette.

PERANN *nm*. [peˈʁɑ̃n/peˈhɑ̃n] fr. peware rann; lit. what-moment/piece. Untranslatable on its own. I have only heard it in the very common expression below:

[giʃ peˈʁɑ̃n]
lit. guise what-moment/piece
PU giz perann.
Engl. as if.
Fr. comme si.

[kemn al ˈbʁɐo vaj fiʃət... giʃ peˈhɑ̃n vwaj hɔ̃n do ˈfʁiko]

lit. so-much other was she adorned... guise what-moment-piece was she (*vp*.) going to a wedding-(banquet).
PU kement-all brao oa he fichet... giz perann oa he o vont d'ur friko.
Engl. she was so beautifully dressed... as if she was on her way to a wedding-(banquet).
Fr. elle portait des vêtements si chics, qu'on aurait dit qu'elle allait à un (repas de) mariage.

PEZH *nm*. [ˈpeᵗs] Engl. piece, whole; Fr. entier, entière.

[vaˈlu·eʁ no ˈfeᵗs]
lit. potatoes in their piece
PU avaloù douar en o fezh
Engl. potatoes cooked whole.
Fr. pommes de terre entières.

[aˈviʃən zo tu ne ˈfeᵗs]
lit. the loaf is all in her piece
PU ar vichenn zo tout en he fezh.
Engl. the loaf of bread is whole.
Fr. la miche est entière.

PIKOUS LOUS *exp*. [ˈpikus ˈluːs] lit. 'rheum dirty' ; Engl. sleep (gunk), rheum; Fr. chassie.

PIZMIGRA *v*. [pisˈmigʁɐ]/[pisˈmigɐ] PU pismigad; Engl. nitpick, split hair; Fr. pinailler, pinocher.

PIZMIGER (*) *nm*. [pisˈmigɐʰ] *pl*. **-IEN** PU pismiger; Engl. hair-splitter; Fr. pinailleur/se.

[ˈneχ kem o pisˈmigɐ!]
lit. not you-are only a hair-splitter
PU n'oc'h ket nemet ur pizmiger!
Engl. you are just splitting hair!
Fr. t'es qu'un pinailleur!

PLUSKENN (*) (**) *nf*. [ˈplysᵊn] Engl. peel, thin shell; Fr. pelure, coquille.

[o ˈplysᵊn vi]
lit. a peel egg
PU ur *pluskenn*-vi
Engl. an eggshell.
Fr. une coquille d'oeuf.

POCH *prep*. [pɔʃ] PU posubl, daoust ma; Engl. possible, in spite of, even (if), although; Fr. malgré, bien que, même si.

[eõ zo et meːs, pɔʒ ʁe glao]
lit. him is gone out possible was-doing rain

PU eñ zo aet maez, poch ree glav.
Engl. he went out in spite of the fact it was raining.
Fr. il est sorti malgré le fait qu'il pleuvait.

[pɔʃ kɔˈmãse heu, aˈʃyvən ket ʁɔk a møʁs]
lit. possible start today, I-would-finish not before *prep*. Tuesday
PU posubl komañs hirio, achufen ket a raok a meurzh.
Engl. even starting today, I would not finish before Tuesday.
Fr. même en commençant aujourd'hui, je ne finirais pas avant mardi.

[pɔʃ ma jeːn dan ostʁali, veˈlefen ke kãguˈʁuju ˈbemə]
lit. even I went to the Australia, I-would-see not kangaroos every day
PU posubl ma yeen d'an Aostralia, velefen ket kangourouioù bemdeiz.
Engl. even if I went to Australia, I wouldn't see kangaroos every day.
Fr. même si j'allais en Australie, je ne verrais pas des kangourous tous les jours.

POUEZH *v*. [pweːz] PU pouesañ; Engl. weigh; Fr. peser.

[puˈeːz ˈbytyn]
lit. weigh tobacco
PU pouezhañ butun.
Engl. to-weigh tobacco, to nod one's head while dozing off and coming to in quick succession, to drift off. In such circumstances, a person's head assumes an oscillation akin to that of a set of scales.
Fr. piquer du nez et se réveiller alternativement.

[vaʁ buˈeːz]
lit. on weight
PU war bouezh
Engl. in relation to, regarding.
Fr. à propos de, dans le domaine de.

[waʁ buˈeːz ãn ˈdəvwaʁ]
lit. on weight the homework
PU war bouezh an *devoirs*.
Engl. with regards to homework.
Fr. à propos des devoirs.
Context: MTC is talking about homework (*devoirs* in French) for a seniors' workshop she attends.

POURPREZ *coll.m*. [ˈpuᵃpəʃ] Engl. buildings; Fr. bâtiments (fr. Fr. *pourpris* 'building').

[o peːz ˈpuᵃpəʃ]
lit. a piece building
PU ur pezh pourprez.
Engl. a building.
Fr. un bâtiment.

[ˈpuᵃpɛʃ mɛːd a zo ˈãmə]
lit. buildings good *vp.* is here
PU 'Pourprez mat a zo amañ.'
Engl. 'There are nice buildings here!'
Fr. 'Y a des beaux bâtiments ici!'
Context: comment made by an elderly mayor of Briec in an excursion to Lourdes in the 1950s. This has stuck to the memory of his Briec co-travellers who expected a more dignified and spiritual assessment of the holy place.

RAMP *adj.* [ʁãmᵖ] Engl. (sitting) astride upon something; Fr. à cheval sur.

[ˈẽ vɐ ʁãmᵖ vagwæʁ ɐ zoːl]
lit. him was astride on top the beam
PU eñ a oa ramp war gorre ar sol.
Engl. he was sitting astride the beam.
Fr. il était à cheval sur la poutre.

RAZHEDENN *nf.* [ʁeˈjeːdn] *pl.* **RAZHED** [ˈʁeᵉːt] Engl. rat; Fr. rat.

Note that the word for 'rat' in PU is *razh* and its plural is *razhed*. Interestingly, the singular in BCB is based on the plural *razhed* to which the singulative ending *-edenn* is added.

REO *nm.* [ˈʁeo] PU rev; Engl. white frost, jelly (especially the savoury kind); Fr. gelée blanche, gelatine alimentaire (surtout sur le pâté de tête).

RONT *adj.* [ʁɔ̃n] Engl. round; Fr. rond.

[lɐke neɔ̃ ba ne ʁɔ̃n nehiʁ nøs bed e gɔ̃n]
lit. put-*inf.* it-*m* in the one round, the one long has been his account.
PU lakaat anezhañ 'barzh an hini ront, an hini hir 'neus bet e gont.
Engl. put it up the round hole, the long one has had its fill.
Fr. mets le dans le trou rond, le long a eu son compte.
Context: Though the rhyme is obscene (as it refers to the anus [the round hole] and the vulva [the long hole] and by implication to a lifetime of sexual intercourse), the words are cryptic enough to be unintelligible to the innocent ears of the child they were addressed to. In this case, a grandmother used these words jocularly, speaking to her granddaughter who was administering a suppository to her.

RUSKELL *n.f.* [ˈʁysəl̩] PU *ruskenn*; Engl. skin, peel, thin shell, bark; Fr. peau fine d'un fruit ou légume, coquille fine, écorce.

[vaˈluːᵉʰ dʁe ˈʁysəl̩]
lit. apple earth through skin
PU aval douar dre ruskell.
Engl. potatoes cooked with their skin on.
Fr. pommes de terre en robe des champs.

SA.../SAGA/SAÑS GA *unorth. adv.* [sa/sakɐ/sɑ̃s gɐ] PU asambles gant..; Engl. with, along with, together with; Fr. ensemble avec.

[sakɐ me goˈmɛːlᵉ]
lit. together with my comrades
PU asambles gant ma gomaled.
Engl. (together) with my friends.
Fr. (ensemble) avec mes amis.

[sagɑ̃nɪŋ / sagənɔ̃m]
lit. together-with-me/ together-with-us/we
PU asambles ganin, asambles ganeomp.
Engl. together, with me, with us.
Fr. ensemble, avec moi, avec nous.

SERR *prep.* [seːᵃ/sæːʁ] see E-SERR.

SKELIENN *nf.* **SKELIOÙ** (**) (*) [skelien/skelju] Engl. stick obtained by splitting a fine branch in four; Fr. tige obtenue en fendant une branche fine en quatre. *Skelioù* were used as firewood to achieve rapidly a high temperature, in particular under the cast iron crêpe-making plates.

SKOUER (SKOUAR) *nf.* [skwæʁ] PU 'skouer', Engl. 'example, model, set square', Fr. 'exemple, modèle, équerre'

[døs skwaʁ i vʁøːʁ]
lit. from set square his brother
PU deus skouar he vreur.
Engl. compared to his brother.
Fr. comparé à son frère.

[də skwaʁ dɪŋ]
lit. from set square to-me
PU deus skouer din
Engl. compared to me.
Fr. comparé à moi.

SORTEIÑ *v.* Engl. to come out with, to exclaim; Fr. sortir (dire qqch).

[hi a zɔʁˈteis ˈtʁɐu dʁɔl]
lit. she comes-out-with(frequentative form) things funny/bizarre.
PU he a sorteis traoù drol.
Engl. she comes out with weird things.
Fr. elle vous sort des trucs bizarres.

SORD *n.m.* [ˈswæᵃt] **- ED** PU so(u)rd; Engl. newt, lizard; Fr. salamandre, lézard. Note that lizards are rarely seen in the Briec area. Newts, on the other hand, must have been more common and although newts are amphibians and lizards are reptiles, my informants consider newts as lizards. The word [ˈswæᵃt] should therefore be

considered to apply, in BCB, to any non-mammalian vertebrate with an elongated body and a tail. This is confirmed by Du Rusquec (1895, 283) who lists the word as meaning 'crawling animal' ('*bête rampante*').

[o ˈzwæᵃt! o mɛl ˈswæᵃt ˈniʲe!]
lit. a newt/lizard, an enormous newt/lizard the-one is!
PU ur sord, ur mell sord an hini eo!
Engl. it's a lizard! A mother of a lizard! (commenting a video showing a six-foot goanna shown to the speaker).
Fr. C'est un lézard, un sacré gros lézard!

STREWAÑ *v*. [ˈstʁɛ̃ve] Engl. spread, spill, sow; Fr. répandre, renverser, semer.

[ne na stʁɑ̃ⁿ ket, na ˈzaspyɲ ket]
lit. the-one not sow not, not gather not
PU an hini ne strew ket ne zastum ket.
Engl. he who sows not, does not harvest / you only reap what you sow.
Fr. si on ne sème pas, on ne récolte pas.

STRINKAÑ *v*. [ˈstʁikə] Engl. splash; Fr. éclabousser.

[ˈdiwɛl, dʁe ˈstʁikɔ ˈpaʁtut]
lit. careful, thing will-splash everywhere.
PU diwal, dra strinko partout.
Engl. watch out, it'll splash everywhere.
Fr. attention, il va y en avoir partout /ça va éclabousser partout.

SUL GOUEL BEMME *exp*. [ʃyl gwɛl ˈbɛmə] PU Sul gouel bemdeiz; Engl. every day, day in, day out; Fr. tous les jours, sept jours sur sept.

TAMMIG *n.m*. [ˈtɑ̃mic] Engl. little piece; Fr. petit morceau.

[bep ˈtɑ̃mic]
lit. each little bit.
PU bep tammig
Engl. a bit at a time, little by little.
Fr. petit à petit.

[aʁe zyˈvaⁱzᵊ bet pjeʁʒɛ̃ na ʁəne ˈʁiju a ʁeal zo et kɰt bep ˈtɑ̃mic]
lit. the ones last is been Pierre Jin and René Riou, the ones other is gone away each little bit.
PU ar re ziwezhad zo bet Pierre Jin ha René Riou, ar re all zo aet kuit, bep tammig.
Engl. the last ones (to have a farm within the boundaries of Briec) were Pierre Jin and René Riou, the others left one by one.
Fr. les derniers (à avoir une ferme dans Briec) étaient Pierre Jin et René Riou, les uns après les autres.

TAPOUT *v*. [tɐp] Engl. catch; Fr. attraper.

[ˈkeməs ˈtɛpət e ˈato]
lit. so-much caught is always.
PU kement-se tapet eo atav.
Engl. what we got, we got. At least, we got that.
Fr. c'est toujours ça de pris.

TARDE (**)(*)

[dɛx ˈtæᵃde]
lit. yesterday evening.
PU dec'h tarde.
Engl. yesterday evening.
Fr. hier soir.

TARV-GAD *n.m.* [ˈtaʁoˈgaːt] lit. bull hare. Engl. jack-hare, male hare. Fr. lièvre mâle.

[ˈeõ zo giʃ õn ˈtaʁoˈgaːt, e ˈxalup ˈsɛⁱz ˈpæᵃs naʁ ɔ nos]
lit. him is guise a bull hare, *vp.* gallops seven parish in-a a (sic) night[113].
PU Eñ zo giz un tarv-gad, e c'haloup seizh parrez en un noz.
Engl. He is like a jack-hare (a skirt-chaser), he covers seven parishes over one night.
Fr. Il court comme un lièvre; il fait sept paroisses en une nuit.

TEOD *nm.* [tjɔt] *pl.* **- OÙ** [ˈtjɔtu] Engl. tongue; Fr. langue.

[o tjɔːt fɛl]
lit. a tongue bad
PU an teod fall.
Engl. an ill-speaker/nasty gossip.
Fr. une mauvaise langue.

[aʁe zo ˈtjɔtu fɛll]
lit. the ones is togues bad
PU ar re zo teodoù fall.
Engl. these people are ill-speakers/nasty gossips.
Fr. ils sont mauvaises langues.

TEUREUG *nm.* [tœʁk] *pl.* **-ET** [ˈtœᵃkət] Engl. tick (parasite); Fr. tique.

[mɛkəs tãm tœʁk fɛlˡ!]
lit. mega piece tick bad
PU makes tamm teureug fall!
Engl. what a pest, a nuisance (referring to a person)!
Fr. quel sale caractère!

TOULL *nm.* [tul] Engl. hole; Fr. trou.

[ʃɛ̃ʃ tul pɛnɛk]

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[113] See 'Nar.'

lit. change hole heady
PU cheñch toull penneg.
Engl. somersault.
Fr. galipette.

TOULL AR VIGOUDEN *exp.* lit. the hole in which the Bigouden people live (coastal region, south-west of Kemper). The Bigouden are often the butt of negative characterisations, in particular, they are accused of being stingy. Describing their region as 'a hole' fits with these characterisations.

[anˈaɛl zo bɐ ˈtul a viˈguːdən]
lit. the wind is inside hole of Vigouden
PU an avel a zo e-barzh toull ar Vigouden.
Engl. the wind comes from the south-west and will bring rain.
Fr. il y a un vent de pluie venant du sud-ouest.

TOURMANT BEMDEIZ *exp.* [ˈtuʁmᵊn bɛm] lit. torment every day; Engl. the daily struggle; Fr. la bagarre quotidienne.

TRAOÙ KUIT *exp.* [tʁɐᵘ/tʁɔᵘ ˈkɥɪt!] lit. things off; PU Traoù kuit! Engl. away we go/let's get into it! Fr. C'est parti/Allons-y!

Dialogue

PN: [gɛl a ˈʁɑ̃n aʁəˈʒɪstʁɐ?]
lit. can I-do record?
PU gall a ran arejistrañ?
Engl. may I record?
Fr. je peux enregistrer?
YLD: [ˈale ˈtrɑᵘ ˈkɥɪt!]
lit. let us go!/alright, away we go!
PU ale, traoù kuit!
Engl. away we go!
Fr. allons-y!

TRAP *n.f.* [tʁɐp] Engl. 'trap'; Fr. 'piège'.

[ɔn tʁɐp ˈlɔːgɔt]
lit. a trap mice
PU un trap logod.
Engl. a mousetrap.
Fr. un piège à souris.

[ve do lɐk ˈtʁɐpu ˈlɔːgɔt]
lit. be(habitual) necessity put traps mice
PU vez dav lakaat trapoù logod
Engl. we must set up mouse traps.
Fr. il faut poser des pièges à souris.

TROIAD *n.f.* [ˈtʁɔjət] Engl. a walk, a drive; Fr. un tour, une promenade à pied, ou en voiture, ou à vélo etc.

[ma ke ˈbageˑᵃ ˈhiʃə ˈbʁemə ˈneõ, sas gɐ i po beˑŋ eõ et doːʷ ən ˈtʁɔjət]
lit. is(sit.) not inside house in-manner-this now him, together with his boy little him gone to do a turnful
PU n'emañ ket er gêr amañ e-giz-se bremañ, anezhan, asambles gant e paotr bihan eñ aet d'ober un troiad.
Engl : he isn't here (at home) now; he has gone out (for a little car ride) with his grandson.
Fr : il est pas là pour le moment. Il est allé faire un tour avec son petit-fils.

TREUJENN *n.f.* [ˈtʁɔʒɛn] **TREUJOÙ** [ˈtʁɔʒu] Engl. (generally) thick stalk; Fr. tige (souvent) épaisse.

[ˈtʁɔxɛt mɐs tut ãn ˈdʁɔˑʒu kol]
lit. cut I-have all the stalks cabbage
PU troc'het meus tout an drojoù kol.
Engl. I cut all the cabbage stalks.
Fr. j'ai coupé toutes les tiges de choux.

[ne ke dao niˑt, ãn .|dʁɔːʒən zo glɐs χwɐ]
PU n'eo ket ao an ed, an dreujenn zo glas c'hoazh.
Engl. the wheat is not ripe, the stalks are still green.
Fr. le blé n'est pas mûr, la tige est encore verte.

TREUZOÙ *n.m.pl.* [tʁɛ̃ʒu] Engl. threshhold; Fr. seuil.

[ɛt ɐn eɔl vaʁ ɛ̃n tʁɛ̃ʒu]
lit. gone the sun on the threshold
PU Aet eo an heol war an treuzoù.
Engl. She is past her prime.
Fr. Elle a passé son heure de gloire.

TROUILHENN (*) *n.f.* [ˈtʁujən/ˈtʁuʎən] PU truilhenn; Engl. rag (to wipe with), old piece of clothing; Fr. chiffon. See TROUILHOÙ

[õn tãm ˈtʁuʎən]
PU un tamm trouilhenn
Engl. 1) a rag (to wipe with) 2) an old piece of clothing.
Fr. 1) un chiffon 2) une guenille.

TROUILHOÙ[114] *n.f.pl.* [ˈtʁuju] PU truilhoù; Engl. rags; Fr. chiffons.

[nøskem ˈtʁuju tut]
lit. has only rags all
PU e neus ket nemet trouilhoù tout!

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[114] Generally spelt *truilhoù* in dictionaries.

Engl. she/he has nothing but rags (for clothes)!
Fr. elle/il n'a que des hardes!

VEZ (fr. v. *bezañ*)

[ve ke ˈkeːⁱn]
lit. be not no-more
PU vez ket ken.
Engl. it's no longer the case/it's not like that, anymore.
Fr equivalent: plus maintenant/c'est plus comme ça.
Context: talking about the Bretons' old passion for getting each other drunk.
[ve ke ˈkeːⁱn ... bez e bɛd aˈʁok... me ve ke ˈkeːⁱn]
PU ne vez ket ken, bez eo bet araok, met ne vez ket ken.
Engl. it's not (done) anymore. Before, it was, but it isn't anymore.

WAR GORRE *prep.* [ˌvaˈgwaʁ] lit. on top; Engl. on, on top of; Fr. sur.

YOUD *nm.* [juˑt] PU yod/youd; Engl. boiled oatmeal, porridge; Fr. bouillie d'avoine.

[pɛnˈjuˑt]
lit. head porridge
PU penn yod.
Engl. tadpole, contrary/stubborn person/sulker.
Fr. têtard, entêté, boudeur.

[ʁe ke o pɛnˈjuˑt ɐχ!]
lit. do not your head porridge you
PU (ne) rez ket ho penn youd, ac'hanoc'h!
Engl. stop being antisocial! / stop being a gruff sulky head!
Fr. arrête de faire ta mauvaise tête!

ZEÑTO (*) (**) [ˈzẽto] Engl. what one decides, one's will; Fr. ses volontés.

I have not been able to identify a PU form for the word [ˈzẽto]. It may be a derivative of the informal preposition *deuzoutañ* 'to him', pronounced [døˈzuto] or [ˈzuto].

[me veʁ ke gwɛt i ˈzẽto, eõ a võːs]
lit. if be-*pres.hab.* not done his will, him *vp.* sulks
PU ma vezer ket graet e [ˈzẽto], eñ a voñs.
Engl. if he doesn't get his way, he sulks.
Fr. si on fait pas ce qu'il veut, il boude.

[ˈeõ ʁa kem i ˈzẽto]
lit. him do only his will
PU Eñ ra ket nemet e [ˈzẽto].
Engl. he just does what he wants.
Fr. il fait ses volontés.

Appendix IV
Excerpt from Wmffre's report

9.1. Final fortis *nn-mm-ll* and *nt-mp* in Briec

PN notes a particular pronunciation of final fortis [**n**-**m**-**l**] in Briec (which corresponds to orthographic *nn-mm-ll* and *nt-mp*). In his words:

> I have occasionally encountered this morpheme transcribed n: or n̠ and I considered adopting one of these transcriptions. However I find n: unsatisfactory as the final n I want to transcribe does not so much have a lingering quality (implied by :) or a reinforced quality (implied by n̠), as it has a resonant quality. I therefore decided to use the transcription n^n, which, in the absence of evidence that it was used elsewhere, was somewhat worrisome for me. Cornec, who uses n(n) (1996, 756) provided me with the reassurance that someone else has noticed something particular about the pronunciation of some final *n*s in BKB, and that this peculiarity is a resonant character, i.e. the sound n is produced twice. As Cornec's transcription n(n) clearly indicates, by placing the second n between brackets that its intensity is less than that of the first n, I decided to keep n^n, because the superscript position (not available to Cornec on the typewriter he used) indicates a lesser intensity for the second n. [43]

> Cornec (1996, 755 and 760) reports that both /n/ and /l/ come in a 'soft' ('*douce*') and in a 'strong' ('*forte*') version. Goyat (2012, 87), with regard to the Plozévet dialect also reports a 'soft' and a 'strong' version of /l/, respectively [l] (soft) and [ll] (strong). With regard to /n/ he also reports two versions: [n] and [nn], though he does not qualify them by using the terms 'soft' and 'strong'. / I have also noticed that BKB and, more generally, central Breton feature two different ways of pronouncing /n/ and /l/ in a final position. For me, however, what the above authors describe as 'strong' consonants, are rather consonants which are produced in a resonant fashion. This phenomenon involves a prolongation of the sound of each of these consonants, which, in my perception, resonate in the phonatory organs of the speakers. In addition, I have noticed that this phenomenon also concerns /m/. … I have considered the notation [nn] and [ll], but I have decided against them as they imply a redoubling of the consonant with equal strength as is, for example, the case in Italian in the word *anno*, [ˈanˌnɔ], 'year', which is different from the resonance I perceive in BCB. [79]

The above passages require extended commentary:

- In the second passage, the initial sentence ("Cornec (1996, 755 and 760) reports that both /**n**/ and /**l**/ come in a 'soft' ('*douce*') and in a 'strong' ('*forte*') version.") suggests that a distinction exists in Briec Breton between lenis and fortis *n* and *l* without a consequent IPA transcriptional difference to indicate a contrast. However, an inspection of the source material shows that Cornec not only applies the categorisation of lenis and fortis to these sonorants, but also to *r* which is not only a domal fricative in Briec but is also vocalised. Furthermore,

contrary to *n/nn* [755], *l/ll* [760], the distinction between *r/rr* [760] is one which – even in the conservative apical Léon variant – had been neutralised to *r* in final position [Falc'hun 1955: 50] meaning that Cornec's Briec examples of lenis/fortis **r/rr**, the 'lenis' *teir* ˈ**tɛja** against the 'fortis' *berr* ˈ**bæa** (both vocalised), simply represents a hypothetical difference based on Breton orthography and the underlying etymological-historical justifications.

- Against a seemingly hypothetical, undemonstrated and non-transcribed contrast between fortis and lenis sonorants in Cornec's consonant tables, the transcription **n(n)** for three words under the label "consonne forte" (namely **gɥɛn(n)**, **krɛn(n)**, **lãn(n)**)) in another page [756], seems a rather underwhelming way to indicate a significant contrast. What is more, even if one persists to understand that Cornec's transcription **n(n)** implies a significant contrast, that contrast may not necessarily equate with PN's interpretation of it. For example, Cornec's brackets may indicate that the consonant is sometimes **n** and sometimes **nn** with the **nn** representing a geminate (long) realisation. I understand PN has met Cornec but whilst he does propose an interpretation of Cornec's phonetic symbolism it does not appear that PN had actually asked and verified with Cornec what the latter meant by that particular transcriptional convention.

- Gary German [1984: 11, 42, 47, 54–55] also transcribed /**nn**, **ll**/ in the dialect for nearby of St-Yvi but has since informed me [personal communication] that he no longer subscribes to this transcription convention since he views them as simply allophones of /**n**, **l**/ following stressed short vowels and no longer favours their recognition as separate phonemes. He ascribes the inclusion of /**nn**, **ll**/ in his thesis to the undue influence, at the time, of Falc'hun's consonantic systematisation (which was justified for Falc'hun's own Leon Breton). German's only 'phonetic' description of the difference is fortis as opposed to lenis, derived from Falc'hun (1955), which implies gemination. We may wonder whether Cornec too might have been influenced by Falc'hun's conventions.

- Goyat [2012: 78, 87, 91] for Plozévet has [**nn**, **ll**, **rr**] as allophones of /**n**, **l**, **r**/ following stressed short vowels. He too describes them as is fortis as opposed to lenis, a terminology also derived from Falc'hun and without further discussion imply gemination as the phonetic feature of differentiation.

- Following instrumental phonetic studies carried out on his own Léon Breton, Falc'hun [1955: 44–51, 59–62, 65–70, 90–92, 94, 105–23] established the fact that among the sonorants there existed a lenis ('*faible*') variant /**n**, **l**, **r**/ distinct from the fortis ('*fort*') variant /**nn**, **ll**, **rr**/ the latter of which was characterised by increased duration/length. This difference was phonemic in Léon Breton inasmuch as minimal pairs existed in the context of initial lenition. Falc'hun was the most experienced active scientific dialectologist and phonetician of Breton in the 1950s and his findings based on the distinct Leon dialect with its strong consonant system (see below for NALBB confirmation) was extended uncritically to other dialects in budding dialect descriptions throughout the 1960s, 1970s and beyond.

- PN refers to Italian double *nn* as in *anno* as a redoubled [**n**] ("redoubling"). In Wiktionary, I find the word transcribed phonemically as /ˈ**an.no**/ or phonetically [ˈ**än̺o̺**]. It looks as if the syllable break symbol [**.**] of the

phonemic transcription has been misinterpreted by PN as the secondary stress mark [ˈanˌnɔ] (PN's final [ɔ] for [o] is also wrong). The transcription given by PN resembles the Polish treatment of redoubling double *nn* which does not represent lengthening but a repeated realisation of the [n] separated by an unstressed [ə], i.e. *Anna* ˈanəna (Wiktionary exemplifies the pronunciation of Polish *fontanna* in a phonemic transcription as /fɔnˈtan.na/, identically to the Italian /ˈan.no/ which shows inconsistency since I know it to be pronounced fɔnˈtanəna, something for which the spelling and regular penultimate stress in Polish did not prepare me).

PN, recalling his grandfather's peculiar pronunciation of French words includes: "Producing a final *l* as [lˡ] when speaking French is common amongst speakers of BCB and emulates the pronunciation of Breton words such as [pɛlˡ] *pell* 'far'." [59], and he gives two examples on the same page: **mɪlˡ** rather than **mil** for *mille* '1,000' and **pɪlˡ** rather than **pil** for *pile* 'battery'. This suggests a true reason for suspecting a particular kind of [l], particular inasmuch as it is different from French [l], but one should be wary of proposing a transcriptional distinction purely due to contrast with another language. Could it be that it is actually the lowered vowel in *mille*, *pile* that are responsible for the perception of [l] as being different? PN states that this realisation of 'resonant' *ll* is common in Briec Breton, but can he demonstrate the contrast with French with other vowels (*pelle*, *malle*, *folle*) ? And is there any significance that he does not remember any example from his grandfather in monosyllables with a vowel ending *-nne* and   *-mme*? One should be wary in introducing a novel never-as-yet phonetic distinction in language description.

PN's term "resonant" is not of the clearest. Trask [1996: 307], firstly, defines the term as an equivalent of ʹsonorantʹ which does not correspond to PN's examples. Trask's second definition is equivalent to Laver's ʹopen approximationʹ which approximates ʹapproximantsʹ and thus could, according to some phonetic analyses, include [h] or [ʔ] [Trask 1996: 30, 248, 307]. Despite PN describing the sound as resonating "in the phonatory organs" [79] which could describe a central Breton realisation, he also describes "a resonant character, i.e. the sound **n** is produced twice" [43] which would suggest a Polish-like realisation (rather than an Italian one). He also describes it as "a prolongation … of these consonants" [79] which would suggest the lengthened realisation which is phonemic in Léon Breton while also discounting both "a lingering quality (implied by :)" [43] and "a reinforced quality (implied by **n**)" [43] (the equation of [**nn**] as "reinforced" does not correspond to phonetic terminology, but to a phonemic one for Korean derived from that language's orthography although nowadays the term ʹtenseʹ rather than ʹreinforcedʹ seems to be favoured: thus Korean /**pp**/ = a phonetic [p] whose quality has "eluded precise description" and has been "the subject of considerable phonetic investigation" sometimes described as tense, hard, glottalised or fortis [Wikipedia s.v. *Korean phonology*]). And, as if the preceding descriptions are not confusing enough, PN adds that "the voicing of /**n**/ at the end of words in Breton in general and in BCB in particular, tends to resonate and linger on (as shown in the orthography of many words ending in *-nn*)." [128]

It is likely that PN's fortis [**nⁿ**-**mᵐ**-**lˡ**] are not geminate (? reinforced) since they never occur within a word, e.g. *soubennou* **suˈbɛˑnu** 'soups' [136].[115] This argues against the transcription representing Falc'hun's Léon geminates which are best illustrated by a

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minimal-pair *ho karrig* 'your little-cart' VS *ho karig* 'your little-leg' (also illustrated in ALBB *kirri* [362] and NALBB *parrez* [007]). The strong gemination of *nn-mm-ll* in monosyllables and intermedially is basically a characteristic of Leon Breton and some adjacent areas [NALBB: *pounner* 046, *unneg* 064, *c'hwennad* 288, *kezekenned* 332, *banne* 496]. In other Breton dialects, the gemination is not noticeable enough to warrant phonetic transcriptions although some linguists have been tempted to apply Falc'hun's doubling of sonorants for their dialect description.

Could it be that PN's [nⁿ - mᵐ - lˡ] do reflect a phonetic phenomenon which he heard, then the best I can say is that th are derived through a process of 'Chinese whispers' from the orthography and from Cornec's apparent confirmation with three monosyllables (*gwenn*, *krenn*, *lann*) noted with of [**n(n)**] on one page [1996: 756] but none of the other sonorants (*tomm* **tɔm** [755], *poull* **pul** [760], *all* **ɑl** [762]) with Falc'hun's influential precepts on the Breton consonant system in the background? Cornec's [**n(n)**] is ambiguous to say the least (see above). If PN's [nⁿ - mᵐ - lˡ] do reflect a phonetic phenomenon which he heard, then the best I can say is that the phenomenon in question might be similar to the quality of the final nasal consonants [**n-m-ŋ-ɲ**] in monosyllabic words such as *kant, sant, tant, koant, c'hwant, hent, pont, ront, eontr, montr, mond, tond, kambr, pemp, bomb, timbr, krank, stank, zenk, hint* (std. *i*)[116] in the central Breton of Plounévézel. This is a phenomenon which I believe is unreported so far and which was first pointed out to me by my father, Humphrey Humphreys, also a Breton dialectologist, when I was composing my Central Breton booklet around 1998 although I did not follow it up and transcribed it – wrongly, or rather misleadingly, I now believe – as nᵗ, mᵖ [Wmffre 1999: 5] in which the superscript indicating a weakened realisation (both Plourin (1982) for St-Servais and Favereau (1984) for Poullaouen had adopted the same convention). Long before, Humphreys [1982: 377] had published his interpretation of the final nasals in these contexts, practically hidden in a short review in *Studia Celtica* where, concerning a Bigouden dialect, he wrote: "on ne trouve pas cet assourdissement qu'on trouve dans le Pays Fañch et le Poher, [**stãŋ°**], qui ont également [**pɛm̥**] *pemp* 'cinq', [**põn̥**] *pont*)".

Having cogitated for a number of years about this matter I now believe the transcription of the unvoicing in these contexts to be only a partially correct solution. Having had the experience of hearing a similar phonetic phenomenon accompanying final sonorants in short-vowelled monosyllabic words in Donegal Gaelic and their comparison to Danish *stød*. I tend to hold the view that a more correct phonetic transcription needs to show an unvoiced glottal stop in **põnʔ, pɛmʔ, stãŋʔ** to represent the central Breton sound in final *nn-mm-nk*. In pre-pause final contexts, these Breton consonants tend to be pronounced as something akin to the Danish *stød* (see Wikipedia s.v. *Stød*) and the Donegal Irish Gaelic lenis finals *n, l, r* and semivowels *j, w* (also all in pre-pause final position, following short vowels). This phenomenon [...] has sometimes been described in articulatory terms as an unvoiced glottal stop and the Danish, Donegal Irish and my impressionistic experience of the central Breton examples feel as if the phenomenon is accompanied with something akin to a 'tense tonal uplift' and a tensening of the glottis. In the case of central Breton and of Danish – but not Donegal Gaelic – the process leading from a stop to a glottal is termed 'debuccalisation' or 'deoralisation'.

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[116] Verbal roots *sant, rent, kont, stank, lonk* (with their many derivatives) do not exhibit this phenomenon.

Why connect these final nasal clusters of central Breton with a possibly hitherto unnoticed realisation of double *nn-mm-ll* by PN? Apart from the likely under-reporting of such a feature I have heard an emphatic pronunciation of *gwenn* ɹɥɛn as ɹɥɛn**ʔ** by a speaker from Cléden-Poher and know of historically different words *tann*, *onn*, *sonn*, *lamm* which are pronounced in central Breton as if they were *tant*, *ont*, *sont*, *lamp* all of which suggest a link between monosyllabic final geminate nasal sonorants and monosyllabic final nasal clusters.

However, against the identification of PN's [n^n - m^m - l^l] with central Breton [n**ʔ**-m**ʔ**-ŋ**ʔ**-ɲ**ʔ**] are, not so much the absence of the latter two central Breton [ŋ**ʔ**-ɲ**ʔ**] in Briec for they do not include a large number of words but, the existence of PN's [l^l], for which a central Breton *[l**ʔ**] cannot be accounted. Irrespective of PN's argument for the geminate *nn-mm-ll*, can we suppose a central Breton-like final glottal stop [**ʔ**] in Briec. PN notes *c'hwant* χwãn$_t$ at least once [226] which due to its equivalence with the orthographical form cannot be used as proof of [**ʔ**] but there is a rather interesting expression containing an anomalous [**t**]. PN writes:

> *eon hag eon!* 'exactly!, precisely!' is realised ˈeɔ̃nˌtaˈgeɔ̃n or ˈjɔ̃nˌtaˈgjɔ̃n / "*Eeun* is pronounced [eɔ̃n] or [jɔ̃n] if said rapidly or due to personal manner of speech. / it is probable that, to the native speaker, the [**d**] of [ˈeɔ̃nˌdaˈgeɔ̃n], is perceived as being in final position as confirmed by YLD' with whom I was once discussing this expression, who said: 'Er... one would tend to put a *t* at the end of **eɔ̃nt**.'" [128]

This is suggestive of a similar phenomenon but hardly proof enough to establish the regular existence of the phenomenon in Briec. It is likely that Humphreys (1982), quoted above, discounting the unvoiced glottal stop in such contexts in the Bigoudén area, could conclude thus after having discussed the phenomenon with Goyat, a native speaker and specialist of Plozévet and other Bigoudén dialects.

Related to the question of the final fortis *nn-mm-ll* is the question of gemination of the articles before a vowel (see under section §8.8).

Conclusion

Unless PN can demonstrate in a more convincing way the existence of a significant distinction between final *nn-mm-ll* and final lenis *n-m-l* in monosyllables he would be advised to dispense with his phonetic convention [n^n - m^m - l^l] and retain only [**n-m-l**] for Briec Breton. Cornec's contribution is too unclear to be used as support for anything and the ambiguities demand that PN verify what André Cornec meant with regards to these sounds.