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The Evolution of Welsh- and Cornish-English Phonology in the Early Modern Period

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1. Welsh- and Cornish-English

This paper restricts itself to discussing the phonological traits of English as spoken in Wales and Cornwall since 1500, and within those countries I will concentrate my interest on varieties of English spoken by populations known to have formerly spoken Welsh or Cornish. Whilst the title of the Potsdam conferences implicitly accept as 'Celtic-English' any areal variety found within the boundaries of the 'Celtic' countries, the adjective 'Celtic' should, *strictu sensu*, be restricted to those varieties of English *known* to have been adopted rather than inherited by the long-settled populations. Some areal varieties of English in Wales and Cornwall are 'inherited' English. We have no reason to suspect a substratum in areas such as Gower and southern Pembrokeshire in Wales since the original Welsh inhabitants were dispossessed and exiled in the twelfth century and replaced by speakers of south-western English. Similarly the eastern fringe of Cornwall bordering the Tamar valley, was settled almost exclusively by English populations before the twelfth century. In all these areas the characteristics of the areal variety of English aligns them with general south-western English.[1]

In point of fact, since – unlike the Celtic languages themselves – 'Celtic-English' seems to lack a diagnostic body of shared characteristic features it should be firmly kept in mind that it is simply a convenient geographical term. I have preferred to refer to such kinds of English as 'adopted English' for it seems eminently sensible to have an umbrella term for areal varieties of English adopted by peoples who previously employed another language regardless of the nature of the preexisting language. Using the term 'adopted English' should encourage us to seek comparisons with varieties of adopted English such as Jamaican-English which – whilst hardly being Celtic – share a number of features with 'Celtic-English'. If one accepts that our main interest must lie in the close interaction between two distinct linguistic systems it behoves us to know well the preexisting characteristics of L1 and L2 before we begin appraising the special characteristics of adopted L2. In this paper L1 stands for the dominated preexisting languages (Welsh, Cornish), whilst L2 stands for the dominant expanding language (English) – this is a common convention amongst scholars (Pilch 1990: 576) though I further distinguish the adopted language (a variety of L2) from L2 proper.

The greater area of Wales as well as the survival of the preexisting language into the twentieth century obviously means that the evidence of Welsh-English as a guide to the modalities of language adoption will predominate in this paper.

2. Cornish-English <a>

Within Cornwall the areal variety of English found in the westernmost part of the county – the West Penwith peninsula – is universally recognised as a distinct variety of English. As West Penwith is precisely the area where the Cornish language survived into the eighteenth century it is hardly surprising that twentieth century Cornish language revivalists supposed that clues as to the correct pronunciation of Cornish were to be found in the realisation of Cornish place-names in that dialect.

Since Henry Jenner's time (1904) most of those teaching revived Cornish (Allin-Collins, Hooper, Smith, Nance, Gendall) have advocated pronouncing <a> in Cornish as in West Penwith English (WPE),[2] with Gendall (1988) providing the most detailed justification for pronouncing Cornish <a> as WPE [ẹ]. Gendall argues that Cornish long <a> had become a kind of [e] by 1700, and quotes Lhuyd's evidence (1707: 2) as to what <â> represented: " ˆ " denotes a long vowel, as *môr* "great" is pronounced as the English word *more*; and *mân* "small" as *mane*."[3] Dobson (1968: 594, 602) informs us that <aCe> (from ME ā) in E istence of [a:] for <aCe> in Welsh-English is supported by the large number of everyday Welsh words which preserve [a:], e.g. *crane* [kra:n], *phrase* [fra:s], *slave* [sla:v], *stage* [sta:dʒ], *sage* [sa:dʒ], *cage* [ka:dʒ], *trade* [tra:d]. The word *potato* – an agricultural novelty of the eighteenth century – was borrowed in Welsh as [tato] ~ [tatu] ~ [tatʊs]. The same is also true of place-names of English origin in Cardiganshire, e.g. *Bondaj* [bɔndadʒ], from E *bondage*; *Codatsh* from E *cottage*; *Lowgat* [lowgat], from E *Lowgate*; (3x) *Niwgat* [nɪwgat], (2x) [nɪwkat], from E *Newgate*; *Mowntan-gât* [mowntan'ga:t] from E *Mountaingate*; *Parc-gât* [park'ga:t], from E *Park Gate*. None of these place-names is likely to be older than 1700 which means they were coined when south-eastern English pronounced <aCe> as [ɛ:] or [e:].[8]

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[1] I am aware that a number of scholars see some 'Celtic' features in south-western and northern areal varieties of English. Such views are, of needs, underpinned by belief in a significant survival of Celtic British populations in those areas. However, in the present state of knowledge such survival cannot be taken as fact. The historical analysis on the modalities of the settlement of western and northern Britain by the Old English and the dispossession/subjugation/marginalisation of the Celtic British populations has not yet been established (indeed not even satisfactorily attempted). So, whilst I tend to the view that large displacements of population did occur in the period of Old English settlement, I accept that the matter remains as yet unresolved and so feel it acceptable that the Potsdam conferences have preferred a wide to a constricted definition of 'Celtic'.

[2] Jenner (1904: 61), Allin-Collins (1927: 4), Hooper (1931: 34 f.), Nance (1938), Smith (1939: 8), Gendall (1972: 121, 123 f.).

[3] The comparison with E *mane* is also repeated by Lhuyd in columns 695 f. of the 1722 edition of *Camden's Britannia*.

Dobson (1968: 599) made much of the fact that the Jesuit John Hughes author of the *Welsh Breviary*, equated <aCe> with W <ê> (but the book was published at Liège, Belgium, and it might be expected that the author was surrounded by many more Englishmen than Welshmen in his Catholic exile, as a result he would have been more aware of the south-eastern pronunciation than many Welshmen).[9]

Though we have proof of the Welsh perception of the English orthographical convention <aCe> as [a:] up to the nineteenth century, the Welsh perception is [e] ~ [ɛ] at present, e.g. *grefi* [grɛvi], from E *gravy*; *dêt* [de:t], from E *date*. The earliest certain evidence I have in West Wales that <aCe> was realised as [e] is in the name of a mansion named *Navy Hall* in Cardiganshire, founded c. 1750, which is pronounced [nɛvi'ha:l] in local Welsh at present. However, we find *o'r Nafi Offis* 'from the Navy Office' which means a realization [navi] in a contemporary letter from the Morris brothers of Anglesey in northern Wales. The uncertainty as to realisation of <aCe> in eighteenth and nineteenth century Wales is demonstrated by doublets of the surname *Davies*[10] which is either [dɛvɪs] ~ [davɪs] in Welsh, likewise: [ladi] ~ [ledi], from E *lady*; [staʃɔn] ~ [steʃɔn], from E *station*; [plan'taʃɔn] ~ [plan'teʃɔn], from E *plantation*; [bakɔs] ~ [bɛkɔs], from E *bakehouse* in which the first of each pair tends to be more typical of South Wales which was anglicised a little earlier than North Wales.[11] The increasing presence of English in Cardiganshire means that there is a tendency for forms with [a] to be replaced by [e], e.g. the inn-name *Salutation* pronounced *Y Salıwtashon* in 1909 now pronounced [salɪw'teʃɔn].

The inescapable conclusion, from all the above, is that Welshmen of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries seem to have employed a regional pronunciation of English as a 'standard' which was different from that prevalent in south-eastern England. The comment of the sixteenth century English orthoepist Lily that the English pronounced the Latin <a> in *aliquis* and *alius* "too slenderly" as if *eliquis*, *elius* (Dobson 1968: 599) is reminiscent of a common Welsh nickname for the English language – namely, *y(r) iaith fain* 'the slender language'. Though the earliest attestation of this nickname is only 1898, it makes perfect sense for the period when English pronounced [æ:] ~ [ɛ:] ~ [e:] whilst the overwhelming majority of Welsh-speakers pronounced [a:].[12]

The inescapable conclusion from all the above would seem to be that Welshmen of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and into the nineteenth centuries employed a regional pronunciation of English as a 'standard' which was different from that prevalent in south-eastern England. That the regional 'standard' which obtained in Wales was probably an archaic 'Standard' English pronunciation, that had obstinately survived in peripheral areas of the Kingdom as could be argued from similar survivals in Ireland, such as the anglicised Irish surname *Spillane* [spɪ'lan], as well as the anglicised Irish place-names *Leenane* [li·'na:n] (Co. Galway), *Strabane* [stɽə'ban] (Co. Tyrone).

Furthermore evidence of the persistence of an archaic English pronunciation in peripheral areas of the British Isles is not restricted to ME *ā* (or <aCe>) only, since ME ę̄ (or <ea>) was also preserved as [e:] in south-western Wales and is found in common English loanwords, e.g. *gear* [ge:r]; *lease* [le:s]. In southern Wales the mid nineteenth century pronunciations of *Justice of the Peace* were *Jestis o Pês* or *Jestes Pace* ("as the old people termed it") and we also find the spelling *wet* for E *wheat* in the welshified English in a Cardiganshire notebook of the 1850s. As with [a:] for <aCe> there is evidence of late survival of [e:] for <ea>, e.g. the word *tea* – a beverage first introduced to Britain in the mid-seventeenth century (Emmerson 1992: 3-12) – was loaned into Welsh as [te:] and strong evidence of the survival of this pronunciation into the mid-nineteenth century is the common pronunciation of *Reading Made Easy*, a textbook used in schools to teach English in the 1870s, which was pronounced by the Welsh children: *redi-mad-esi* (Bwlchllan), *redimaresi* and *redimadesi* (Llangeitho).[13]

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[8] Further evidence that <aCe> could continue to mean [a:] in Wales into the nineteenth century is found in the following spellings of place-names of Cardiganshire, e.g. *Pantglas* [pant'gla:s], *Pant Glase* 1670-1671, 1818, 1841; *Trefrân* [tre'vra:n], *Trevrane* 1760; *Rhyd-y-frân* [hri:də'vra:n], *Rhyd y Frane* 1811.

[9] The almost exact same situation occurs in the present-day: if a Welsh person is asked the standard pronunciation of *man* in English, [man] will be given, but a Welsh person in London might realise that the English of that area actually realise [mæn] – though it seems more likely, to my mind, that they would actually consider the pronunciation [mæn] as a dialectal rather than a standard form of English.

[10] Surnames with English genitival <'s> only gradually established themselves amongst the mass of the Welsh population during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[11] We can compare the southern and northern realisations of the following loanwords in Welsh: *auction* [akʃɔn~ɔkʃɔn]; *saucer* [sasɛr~sɔsɛr], *drawer* [dra:r~dro:r].

[12] Montgomeryshire Welsh-speakers – who realise [ɛ:] – referred to the way they spoke as *siarad yn fain* 'talking slenderly', in opposition to the *Cymraeg llydan* of other Welsh dialects which realise [a:].

[13] The form *redi-mêd-êsi* from Llanerfyl (Monts.) [1930 BBCS 5.112-114] with <ê> rather than <â> seems, again, to indicate a general later anglicisation in northern Wales, though there is a possibility that it stands long <a> [ɛ:] (the author did note long <e> as *stên* and long <a> as *pâl*, though he strangely neglected to comment on characteristic central Welsh [ɛ:] quality of long <a> in this area).

English thus became established in these uplands in the nineteenth century by the immigration of many English-speakers and especially those from south-western England. Their English and that of the majority of immigrants who were Welsh-speakers created a Welsh-English which shows features culled from both south-western English and Welsh and is the kernel around which south-eastern Welsh-English (henceforth south-eastern WE) – the best-known Welsh accent outside Wales – has been built.[15] There is evidence that this particular dialect has spread westwards into the Welsh-speaking rural hinterland, again this is hardly surprising as the greater concentration of population in the industrialised uplands was supplied in large numbers by Welsh-speakers from this hinterland. Most western Welsh-speakers had family ties with the industrialised uplands (or 'the Valleys' as they are often called).

The Welsh-English acquired in Welsh-speaking areas has many differences with south-eastern WE, and these differences can be used to chart the expansion of phonological features of south-eastern WE into south-western Wales.[16]

In an area where Welsh is no longer being transmitted to the younger generation the fact that local young Welsh-speakers in southern Wales in the mid 1980s pronounced *Glanaman* [glan'aman] as [glan'a·mən] in their Welsh shows they are adopting the south-eastern WE of nearby areas in Glamorgan rather than a more 'standard' variety of English. Further evidence of the spread of a 'south Walian' English into its Welsh hinterland is the fact that *family* is to be heard as ~~['famɪli]~~ amongst a number of children in Lampeter, suggesting that there seems to be a process of displacement of the form ['famɪli] that was the only form some 25 years previously in the early 1970s.[17] Pronunciations such as [glan'a·mən], ['fa·mɪli] with lengthening of a short [a] are considered as typical of south-eastern WE and originate in south-western English, whence came the majority of English-speaking immigrants to the Welsh coalfields. In Lampeter at present, the girl's name *Clare* tends now to be pronounced [kle:] rather than [klɛ:(r)], again such pronunciations as *care* [ke:], *fair* [fe:], are typical south-eastern WE realisations (though this time the raised quality of the long [e:] is due to the structure of Welsh, see below). Ironically enough the south-eastern WE realisation [e:] where Welsh has mostly disappeared is in fact Welsher than the [ɛ:] of south-western WE where the language has been preserved – the explanation for this apparent paradox is that south-eastern WE was learnt through informal contact with English-speakers whilst south-western WE tends to have been learnt through formal education.

ERRATA
['fa·mɪli]

The maps in Parry (1999) 'first' (map 209), 'thirst' (map 210), 'heard' (map 211) clearly show that [ø:] in southern Britain is restricted to two areas centred around, a) the industrialised areas of south-eastern Wales, and b) Wrexham in north-eastern Wales. Parry's information was gleaned from old rural speakers mostly in the 1970s and 1980s and despite [ø:] not having been attested by him in mid Wales, I can vouch for the fact that it is found in Aberystwyth, and remarked by an English student around 1990 who pointed out to this pronunciation amongst young 'townies' from Penparcau (the poorer district of Aberystwyth). On Parry's maps Lampeter appears on the north-western margin of this feature's distribution. Again I can add my own testimony for the Lampeter area: I and my generation generally realise [ø:] whereas older speakers do not. What all this amounts to is clear proof of the continuing expansion of [ø:] from south-eastern Wales.

Another clear contemporary example of expansion is the Liverpool (Scouse) variety of English which is clearly affecting the pronunciation of English (and even Welsh) amongst younger Welsh-speakers in northern Wales. Both the expansion of standard English and south-eastern WE seem to follow a wave model of linguistic change with a greater or lesser diffusion of phonological features depending upon proximity to the centre of expansion (Crystal 1987: 332). The present situation is complicated by the fact that whilst south-eastern WE and Liverpool English are expanding into their adjacent Welsh-speaking areas, standard south-eastern English aided by education and mobility is concurrently expanding into all areas. The simile would be of a large stone (south-eastern English) thrown into a pond and creating big ripples, followed immediately by two smaller stones (south-eastern WE and Liverpool English) thrown in different places causing smaller ripples in a smaller area.

In Cornwall the English variety of the central-western industrial areas seems to operate identically to south-eastern WE as the expansive areal dialect of the region. D.J. North (1991: 48) summarises his opinion on this variety – which he calls rather cumbersomely Cornish Regional Standard Pronunciation (CRSP) – describing it as a "local standard" or as "innovative with standardized features". He associates this variety with the industrialised area of Camborne-Redruth, Falmouth, Saint Austell (North 1983: 69 f.), and this is reflected by the comments of the nineteenth century Cornish dialectologist F.W.P. Jago (1882: 53 f.) who contrasted within the county the dialect of the miner in the west with that of the husbandman to the east. North (1991: 48) also ventures a chronology for the rise of central-western Cornish-English:

> It is believed that the diffusion of features now associated with CRSP in Cornwall began, in the progressive central part of the county, during the eighteenth century and had become established by the middle of the nineteenth.

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[15] It should be noted that the English of Cardiff and Newport is markedly different from south-eastern Welsh-English of the rest of industrialised south-eastern Wales. It is clear that Cardiff-Newport English owes less to Welsh and it is significant that for the inhabitants of these cities 'Taff' (the pejorative/jocular English term for a Welsh person) is applied by them to the inhabitants of the uplands immediately to the West and North.

[16] A fairly complete phonological description of south-eastern WE from the lower Swansea Valley with some variants in other varieties of Welsh-English is given by Thomas (1990: 114-130).

[17] I owe the present-day observations on the evolution of the English of Lampeter to Robert Déry, who has studied the Welsh and English dialects of Whitland (Carmarthenshire). My formative years were spent at Lampeter between 1964-1975.

between the ME diphthong ai and monophthong ā. South-eastern Wales clearly borders the area where south-western English is spoken so it is hardly surprising that it too should distinguish between the historical diphthongs and monophthongs. However, the realisation [ow] in south-eastern WE rather than some kind of monophthongal realisation for the *soul* subset as in south-western English seems to point to a reading pronunciation preserved or spread by learned individuals. This learned input makes south-eastern WE the only variety of English that comprehensively preserves the distinction between the ME diphthongs ai, ou and monophthongs ā, ǭ.

Again – as with features mentioned supra §4 – this south-eastern WE feature has expanded into south-western WE and it reaches its north-westerly limit in central Cardiganshire. It is the system common in Lampeter amongst my generation born in the 1960s, but older people in the area are more apt to retain the monophthongal pronunciation, e.g. *main road* [me:n ro:d]; *row* [ro:], *Western Mail* [wɛstən me:l].

6. Interplay between L1 and L2

As Pilch (1990: 586) justly remarks, it is not only specific phonetic features from L1 that go to constitute an adopted variety of L2 but the linguistic structures inherent in L1. Pilch demonstrates this by referring to the habit of German-speakers of unvoicing consonants in English, which is a preservation of the rule in their L1 whereby a final <d> must be realised [t] (cf. the pronunciation *Leid* [lajt] and its derivative *leiden* [lajdən]).

An interesting example of the interference of the structure of L1 on an adopted variety of L2 is to be found in Welsh-English. The common realisation [ø:][22] for <ir>, <er>, <ur> in Welsh-English has been characterised as inaccurate and foreign-sounding to the English ear (Webb 1982: 383; Coupland 1990b: 141), nevertheless it is as unknown to Welsh as it is to English. The English words *girl*, *term*, *curl* are generally pronounced [gə:l], [tə:m], [kə:l] in English

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23) [ɛ:]). This is all to say that North's statement that the two subsets *sole* and ***soul*** are clearly distinct in eastern Cornish-English needs further verification.

[22] The corresponding pronunciation tends to be a little lowered in the northern Welsh-English – e.g. [gø:l] (Bangor) – which agrees with the fact that [e:], [o:] also tend to be a little lower in northern Welsh (Wmffre 1998: 7 f.). Parry (1999: 11, 21, 308) subsumes the realisations [ø:] ("infrequent") and [œ:] ("relatively numerous") heard by his team as [œ:] in his analysis. However, my explanation for the genesis of this sound disagrees with this analysis, but I must emphasise that I had arrived at my perception of the sound before I thought of the explanation as I was very much aware of the distinction between [ø] identical to F. *peu*, *feu* rather than [œ] identical to F. *heure*, *beurre* (in my native Breton the word for 'hour' is pronounced [ø:ʁ] in contrast to French where it is pronounced [øʁ]).

proper,[23] whilst in south-western Wales they are regularly realised [gərl], [tərm], [kərl] by older Welsh-speakers, but [gø:l], [tø:m], [kø:l] by younger speakers of Welsh-English. Since pronunciations with [ø:] are not found in either L1 or L2, they cannot be simply explained as representing a Welsh or an English sound. However, I believe the origin of this hitherto unknown Welsh-English sound can be explained as due to the extension of a structural rule in L1 (Welsh) in the context of the intensifying adaptation of Welsh-English to L2 in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The perceived need to adapt from a Welsh to an English phonological environment can be clearly demonstrated by the pronunciation of the English word *lord* [lɔ:d] ~ [lɔ:ɽd] – which to accord with Welsh had to be pronounced [lɔrd] in Welsh-English, but with the increasing acclimatisation of Welsh-speakers to English became realised [lo:d].[24] We can see that in Welsh-English the difference between receding [lɔrd] and expanding [lo:d] can be shown schematically thus:

lowered vowel + [r]   replaced by   raised vowel + [:]

The loss of [r] and the lengthening of the vowel are clearly attempts to adjust the pronunciation to that of standard English, whereas the raising of the vowel preserves the general complementary distribution of members of Welsh vowel-pairs which distinguish lowered quality without length against raised quality with length,[25] thus according to the Welsh phonological structure a pronunciation before a cluster such as [rd] demanded a short lowered [ɔ] whilst a long vowel demanded the raised quality [o:]. Exceptionally within Welsh, [ə] – which is invariably short – does not compose a vowel-pair, so that a word like E *bird* was originally pronounced as [ər] in Welsh-English, but when adapted to the [ə:] pronunciation of standard English the *sprachgefühl* of the Welsh-speaker meant that it constituted the lengthened member of a vowel-pair and meant that there was also a tendency to raise its quality thus giving [ø:] rather than [ə:]. Thus, we see that in some cases the interplay between L1 and L2 can lead to novel phonetic features in an adopted language.[26]

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[23] Though D. Jones (1956: 23, 47) noted these with [ə:], they have come to be commonly noted [gɜ:l], [tɜ:m], [kɜ:l], [ɜ:] – according to the IPA (revised to 1993) – being slightly fronted and lowered from the classic position of [ə] in the centre of the vocalic trapezoid.

[24] A fudged form [lo:rd] is also found.

[25] The Welsh vowel-pairs are /i:/ and /ɪ/, /e:/ and /ɛ/, /a:/ and /a/, /o:/ and /ɔ/, /u:/ and /ʊ/ (Wmffre 1998: 6-8).

[26] After having given a preliminary version of this paper at Celtic Englishes III in Potsdam, I was reminded by some of the participants that a lengthened rounded vowel is attested (though not necessarily typical) for this set of words in the English of a number of conurbations such as Bolton, Liverpool and Birmingham. I believe my argument might have been misunderstood: it is not the rounding of the vowel of the NURSE set to [œ:] that is diagnostic of what I claim to be special and of significance to Welsh-English, but the degree of its raising to [ø:] (which makes it so noteworthy to speakers of other varieties of English). I have reason to doubt that in other varieties of English the realisations of the NURSE set are as raised as in Welsh-English (cf. note 22 supra, for my criticism of Parry's

(such as uvular <r> in the Germanic languages flanking the French-speaking areas) but the nature of some features are such common phenomena from the view of phonology – e.g. attrition of length in vowels or weakening of consonants – that one may also attribute such changes to internal factors. There is no clear example in Welsh of an English superstrate phonological feature, neither in Late Cornish (Wmffre 1999: 7-16) despite loss of features such as [x] and [œ:] which might have distinguished Cornish from English at one time. And whilst the evolved Cornish of the seventeenth century was indubitably closer to English than is present-day Welsh, it is incorrect to state it was 'identical' to English. The signs of phonological convergence between Cornish and English show that feature diffusion between L1 and L2 constitutes a continuous and unbroken evolution that, if we want a full picture of language contact, we should not artificially segregate between the study of features of L1 found in adopted L2 (substratum) and the study features of L2 that have diffused into the preexisting L1 (superstratum).

Restricting ourselves to phonological phenomena we notice that at an initial stage the adopted language is spoken only with the sounds of the preexisting language, but as speakers become more familiar with the target language they begin to adopt its sounds. What is noteworthy in the adoption of sounds from the target language is that it never seems to be carried out across board, as a result of which the adopted variety of a language usually 'ends up' consisting of a mixture of sounds originating from both the target and the preexisting languages. We are not well-informed as to which order target sounds replace preexisting sounds, presumably speakers on becoming more familiar with the target language become more aware of phonological differences.

A clear illustration – if I may be excused in going further afield – of this can be found in Finistère, western Brittany. Here we find that amongst older speakers the original Breton pronunciation of place-names (1) when given in French (2) do not always match up to the rules of French phonology, often retaining some, though not all, features of the original Breton form (the French pronunciation (3) of the younger generation which has lost all contact with Breton-speaking society is given as a contrast):

Mahalon	(1) [maˈha·əŋ]	(2) [mahaˈlõ]	(3) [maˈlo]
Poullaouen	(1) [puˈlɔwən]	(2) [pulɔˈwɛn]	(3) [pulaˈwɛn]

Pronunciations (2) are neither the original native pronunciations of L1 nor those of the expansive language L2.

Coming back to Welsh-English, we find that there is a similar discrepancy between the English of the Welsh-speakers of south-western Wales which show that the English pronunciations progressively tend to be less and less welshified and approximate the English pronunciation more closely. Here I give a (gross) generational contrast in the realisation of English words (some of which are used in English or Welsh or both) in the table below:

	older people (b.1900-1940)	younger people (b.1960-)
farmers	E [farmərs] ~ [farmərz]	E [fa:məz]
hard	E [hard]	E [ha:d]
watch	E/W [watʃ]	E/W [wɔtʃ]
bike	E/W [bejk]	W [bejk] vs. E [bajk]

Note that older people tend to realise *bike* as [bejk] in both languages, whilst my contemporaries – born in the 1960s – will tend to say [bajk] in English and [bejk] in Welsh. However, much younger Welsh-speakers will tend to realise both as [bajk] (suggesting that the use of differing forms for the perceived same word is the result of a particular balance of power between two languages, a balance of power that is not stable and is increasingly veering towards English).

The evolution of phonological features towards the dominated original language may happen in a somewhat less neat way than portrayed by the above table. This is clearly indicated to me by the variety of pronunciations gathered by me in Ceredigion of three houses identically named *Commercial*, which form a span of realisations going from very welshified to very anglicised realisations: [kʊmˈɛrʃal], [kɔmˈɛrʃał], [kʊmˈərʃal], [koˈmərʃəl], [kɔmˈərʃəl] (not forgetting the present-day Welsh-English [kɔˈmø·ʃəl] or the wholly anglicised pronunciation [kɔˈmə·ʃəl]). Notwithstanding the 'messiness' of evolution of such changes, there seems no doubt that in general the degree of preservation of phonological features corresponds to generational factors, as indicated by the variation in the place-name *Mountpleasant* realised [mawntˈplɛsant] by an old speaker, but [mawntˈplɛzənt] by a middle-aged speaker.

Why some phonological differences are singled out rather than others remains unexplained. I suggest it has to do with the fact that in every language some phonological forms are simply more salient or marked in societal terms than others. That this saliency (or markedness or high awareness) is societally- and not linguistically-led can be demonstrated from the contrasting attitudes of French and English speakers to the realisation of an initial <h>: in English one is considered uneducated if one does not realise initial <h>, whereas in French one is considered uneducated if one realises it (it is, I suspect, this saliency of initial <h> in French that gives French speakers such difficulties with this particular sound when learning English despite the existence of an initial <h> in exclamations and laughs). Anyone familiar with the Welsh of south-western Wales will know that a long trilled <r> and alveolar <n>, <d>, <t> mark out a 'countryish' person. Saliency of features can probably also be demonstrated in any language when attempting a comic mimick of another dialect – in most such attempts a few phonological features are selected to convey the target speech, but many others deemed less salient are ignored. Such imperfect mimickry for comic purposes reveal the subjectivity of saliency, which – I believe – goes much of the way to explain the failing of a perfect adoption of a target sound system.

Many linguists accept that a phonological change progresses through a language as an S-curve of graphs (Crystal 1987: 332) and the adoption of L2 pho-