

**WOMEN IN THE WELSH WORKPLACE:
LINGUISTIC TRENDS IN FEMINIZATION AS REFLECTED IN CONTEMPORARY JOURNALISM**

Kevin J. Rottet

Abstract: Welsh, like many familiar European languages, has grammatical gender in which every noun is either masculine or feminine. Grammatical gender sometimes conflicts with the competing desire to mark words referring to humans in terms of their biological sex. In this paper I lay out the various Welsh morphological categories of names of occupations, professions and trades as applied to males and females. Then I examine the use of such nouns in a contemporary sample of Welsh-language journalism. The data reveal an increasing preference for epicenes, nouns that in Welsh are nearly always grammatically masculine but that can refer to a person of either sex. Evidence includes the fact that with some occupational nouns, feminine forms that are nonetheless established and traditional are not always used, and with others new epicene forms have emerged. Reasons for this Welsh preference for epicenes are also considered.

1. Introduction

A number of western European societies have had to face contentious issues concerning references to professional and working women using linguistic tools developed in earlier and more androcentric times. The grammatical gender found in a number of familiar languages, including Welsh, specifies that nouns are more or less arbitrarily classified as either masculine or feminine; this sometimes comes into conflict with referential gender, the competing desire to mark words referring to living things, and especially to humans, in terms of their biological sex.

Welsh, a Brythonic Celtic language closely related to Breton and Cornish, and less closely to Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx Gaelic, is spoken by 20.5% of the population of Wales, or around 580,000 people according to the 2001 census. This percentage represents a slight but important change in the trend that marked the twentieth century, which was one of gradual decline, from 49.9% of the Welsh population classified as Welsh speakers in 1901 to 18.5% in 1991 (Office for National Statistics, 2004). Contemporary Wales is a hotbed of language planning, and education through the medium of Welsh has enjoyed tremendous popularity in recent years. There have been a number of positive developments such as an increasing perception among Welsh young people that one needs to speak Welsh in order to get a good job, and indeed, efforts to stimulate the use of Welsh in business have been one of the emphases of language planning (see Morgan, 2000, and Campbell, 2000, for discussions of language planning in the Gwendraeth valley).

Even though language planning has been intense in Wales, Welsh language norms concerning the feminization of names of occupations, professions, and trades appear to be moving in some identifiable directions with little specific intervention on the part of language

planners.¹ In this paper I will review issues of feminization in Welsh, and I propose to examine briefly the current norms reflected in contemporary Welsh-language journalism and to identify areas of variation.

A few general words are necessary about grammatical gender agreement in Welsh. As in the other Celtic languages, initial consonant changes, called mutations, are deployed for a variety of morphosyntactic and morphophonological purposes, including grammatical gender marking. As part of this system, it is typically the beginning of a modifier, rather than the ending, that shows gender agreements. There are three different mutations in Welsh, two of which are involved in gender marking: lenition, traditionally called the “soft mutation” in Welsh grammars, and the aspirate mutation. In lenition, which is by far the most frequent and pervasive mutation, voiceless stops become voiced, voiced stops become fricatives, voiceless liquids become voiced, and one nasal consonant becomes a fricative. The aspirate mutation applies (in standard Welsh) only to voiceless stops, which become voiceless fricatives. These changes are summarized in Table 1.

Lenition (Soft mutation)		Aspirate mutation	
Orthographic change	Phonological change	Orthographic change	Phonological change
p > b	/p/ > /b/	p > ph	/p/ > /f/
t > d	/t/ > /d/	t > th	/t/ > /θ/
c > g	/k/ > /g/	c > ch	/k/ > /x/
b > f	/b/ > /v/		
d > dd	/d/ > /ð/		
g > - ²	/g/ > /-/		
ll > l	/ʎ/ > /l/		
rh > r	/r/ > /r/		
m > f	/m/ > /v/		

Table 1: Initial consonant mutations in Welsh

The role of lenition in gender marking is illustrated in the following sentences showing agreements with *ci* ‘dog’, a masculine noun, and *cath* ‘cat’, a feminine noun:

- (1) Dyma’r ci. Ci bach du yw hwn.
 here-is DEF dog dog small black is this
 ‘Here is the dog. This is a small black dog.’

¹ There has been some official legislation bearing on the language of job advertisements, which must be phrased in a non-discriminatory way in Welsh as in English. See Awbery, Jones, & Morris (2001) for a discussion of this legislation and the linguistic issues involved. The focus of the present article, journalistic writing outside of ads, is not directly affected by this legislation.

² A /g/ is lenited to Ø, i.e., it disappears altogether in soft mutation contexts.

- (2) Dyma'r gath. Cath fach ddu yw hon.
 here-is DEF cat cat small black is this
 'Here is the cat. This is a small black cat.'

Grammatical gender is manifested in these examples in three ways. First, the initial consonant of feminine singular nouns undergoes lenition after the definite article (thus *cath* 'cat, a cat' becomes *y gath* 'the cat'), whereas masculine singular nouns undergo no mutation in this context (thus *ci* 'dog, a dog', and *y ci* 'the dog'). Second, some determiners and numerals change their form to reflect gender (e.g., *hwn* 'this (m.)' vs. *hon* 'this (f.)'). Third, attributive adjectives modifying feminine singular nouns are lenited, *bach* 'small' becoming *fach*, and *du* 'black' becoming *ddu*.³ Modifiers of masculine nouns undergo no such change. Even a noun used to modify a feminine singular noun is lenited, thus *piano* and *busnes* become *bi-ano* and *fusnes* when modifying *athrawes* '(female) teacher' or *gwraig* 'woman':

- (3) a. athro piano/athrawes biano
 'piano teacher (m.)'/'piano teacher (f.)'
 b. dyn busnes/gwraig fusnes
 'businessman'/'business woman'

It should be noted, however, that lenition is not limited to use as a marker of feminine singular; it occurs in many other contexts as well, and in some contexts any noun or adjective is lenited regardless of its gender or number. This is the case after the predicate marker *yn*:

- (4) a. Mae'r ci yn fach.
 is DEF dog PRED small
 'The dog is small.'
 b. Mae'r gath yn fach.
 is DEF cat PRED small
 'The cat is small.'

Therefore the presence of lenition is only interpretable as a gender cue in particular morpho-syntactic contexts (such as after the definite article or after a singular noun), but out of context, or in a different syntactic environment, it does not necessarily convey any morphological information.

The aspirate mutation plays a role in gender marking only with the third person singular possessive adjective *ei* 'his/her'. When *ei* means 'his' it causes lenition of the possessed noun it precedes, whereas when it means 'her' it causes aspirate mutation; thus, with the noun *cath* 'cat', we get *ei gath* 'his cat' but *ei chath* 'her cat'. In addition, *ei* 'her' causes [h] to be prefixed onto a following vowel-initial noun, thus *ei enw* 'his name' versus *ei henw* 'her name'.

In the next section I will lay out the various morphological categories of names of occupations, professions, and trades (henceforth "occupational nouns") as applied to males and females. Then in section 3 I will examine the use of occupational nouns in a contempo-

³ In addition, there are a few dozen common adjectives that show an internal vowel change when used attributively with feminine singular nouns, e.g., *dwfn* 'deep (m.)', *ddofn* 'deep (f.)'.

rary sample of Welsh-language journalism. The sample includes issues of two Welsh-language publications, the weekly newspaper *Y Cymro* and the weekly newsmagazine *Golwg*, drawn from the period 2000–2008.

2. Morphological categories of Welsh occupational nouns

Welsh occupational nouns are divided here into four main categories based on their morphological properties. These traditional categories are illustrated in Table 2 and discussed individually. The plural ending, or the full plural form when suppletive, is given in parentheses after the singular because these will prove relevant later in the discussion. These categories are compiled from information presented in descriptive grammars such as King (1993), Thorne (1993), and Thomas (1996), and dictionaries such as King (2000) and Lewis (1994).⁴

Category I employs suffixes that are historically (and still quite transparently) words for ‘man’ and ‘woman’. These are the masculine suffix *–wr* (cf. *gŵr* ‘man’) and the feminine suffix *–wraig* (cf. *gwraig* ‘woman’), as is seen in *gweithiwr*, *gweithwraig* ‘worker (m., f.)’. In the plural, *–wr* becomes *–wyr* (cf. *gwŷr* ‘men’) and *–wraig* becomes *–wragedd* (cf. *gwragedd* ‘women’),⁵ e.g., *gweithwyr*, *gweithwragedd* ‘workers (m., f.)’. Most members of this category are agentives derived from verbs, e.g., *gweithio* ‘to work’, *dysgu* ‘to learn’ (whose stems are *gweithi-*⁶ and *dysg-* respectively). However, a few nouns belonging to this category have no derivational relationship to any corresponding verb. This is the case with *athletwr*, *athletwraig* ‘athlete’ and *crefftwr*, *crefftwraig* ‘artisan/craftsman, craftswoman’.

In the second category the feminine is derived by adding the suffix *–es* to the masculine. There are two subtypes, those whose masculine ends in *–ydd* (group IIa), such as *gweinydd* (pl. *–ion*), *gweinyddes* (pl. *–au*) ‘waiter, waitress’, and those for which it does not (group IIb), such as *actor* (pl. *–ion*), *actores* (pl. *–au*) ‘actor, actress’. Most nouns in group IIa are agentives that are transparently derived from a verb, e.g., *gweini* ‘to serve, attend’, *ysgrifennu* ‘to write’, and *teipio* ‘to type’, whose stems are *ysgrifenn-*, *teipi-* and *gweini-* respectively. In a few cases the base is not a verb but a noun; e.g., the base of *organydd* ‘organist’ is the noun *organ*. For category IIb nouns (those which do not end in *–ydd*), there is usually no corresponding verb (an exception is *actio* ‘to act’). The latter have various origins, including borrowings (*awdur* is from Latin, *plismon* from English) and forms derived from a nominal base (*telynor* ‘harpist’ is based on *telyn* ‘harp’), as well as monomorphemic forms (*athro* ‘teacher’).

⁴ I am intentionally leaving out certain patterns that are clearly no longer productive, e.g., the suffix *–edydd* (e.g., *cerfiedydd* ‘sculptor’, *nofiedydd* ‘swimmer’, *dringhedydd* ‘climber’), almost entirely replaced today by one of the more productive suffixes (cf. *cerfluniwr*, *nofiwr*, and *dringwr*). I leave out of the table also nouns that change gender but not overt form (except that when feminine they lenite after the definite article, like other feminine singular nouns), e.g., *model* ‘model’, which becomes *y model* ‘the (male) model’ but *y fodol* ‘the (female) model.’ Although there are a handful of common nouns that behave this way (e.g., *priod* ‘spouse’ and *cariad* ‘love, sweetheart’), *model* is the only occupational noun I am aware of. Strangely, Welsh dictionaries systematically give *model* only as masculine, but attestations from Welsh journalism reveal that it is regularly used as feminine when it has a female referent.

⁵ The disappearance of the initial <g> in all of these endings is normal in lenition (see Table 1), which applies here because in morphological compounds the first segment of the second base is typically lenited. These agentive forms were historically compounds, though today they are thought of as suffixed forms.

⁶ With verbal stems ending in <i> as with *gweithio* ‘to work’, the <i> appears before the masculine suffix *–wr* but it is absorbed by the feminine and the plural suffixes.

In a small number of cases what appear to be simply masculine and feminine forms of the same term are not completely synonymous. For instance, a person who does secretarial work in an office is an *ysgrifennydd* or an *ysgrifenyddes* depending on his or her sex, but a public official in the Welsh or British government is always an *ysgrifennydd* (e.g., *Ysgrifennydd yr Amgylchedd*, ‘the Secretary of the Environment’), and Condoleezza Rice is called the *Ysgrifennydd Cartref* ‘Secretary of State (lit. Home Secretary)’ in the Welsh press, never the **Ysgrifenyddes Gartref*. Likewise, a teacher in primary or secondary education is an *athro* if male and an *athrawes* if female, but a university professor is always an *athro*.

Category	Masculine	Feminine	English
I	gweithiwr (gweithwyr) dysgwr (dysgwyr) arbenigwr (arbenigwyr) athletwr (athletwyr) crefftwr (crefftwyr)	gweithwraig (-wragedd) dysgwraig (-wragedd) arbenigwraig (-wragedd) athletwraig (-wragedd) crefftwraig (-wragedd)	‘worker’ ‘learner’ ‘specialist, expert’ ‘athlete’ ‘artisan’
IIa	gweinydd (-ion) ysgrifennydd (-ion) teipydd (-ion) organydd (-ion) cogydd (-ion)	gweinyddes (-au) ysgrifenyddes (-au) teipyddes (-au) organyddes (-au) cogyddes (-au)	‘waiter, waitress’ ‘secretary’ ‘typist’ ‘organist’ ‘cook, chef’
IIb	awdur (-on) plismon (plismyn) actor (-ion) athro (athrawon) telynor (-ion)	awdures (-au) plismones (-au) actores (-au) athrawes (-au) telynors (-au)	‘author’ ‘police officer’ ‘actor, actress’ ‘teacher’ ‘harpist’
IIIa	gwleidydd (-ion) cydlynnydd (cydlynwyr) cyfieithydd (cyfieithwyr) cyfrifydd (-ion, cyfrifwyr) gohebydd (-ion, gohebwyrr)	— — — — —	‘politician’ ‘coordinator’ ‘translator’ ‘accountant’ ‘reporter’
IIIb	bardd (beirdd) meddyg (-on) llenor (-ion) swyddog (-ion) cwsmer (-iaid) artist (-iaid)	— — — — — —	‘poet’ ‘doctor’ ‘author, writer’ ‘officer, official’ ‘customer’ ‘artist’
IV	dyn siop (dynion siop) dyn tân (dynion tân) gŵr busnes (gŵyr busnes)	merch siop (merched siop) dynes dân (merched tân) merch fusnes (merched busnes)	‘shop assistant’ ‘fireman/-woman’ ‘businessman/ businesswoman’

Table 2: Morphological categories of Welsh occupational nouns

The epicenes, those that can refer to a person of either sex without undergoing any change in shape or grammatical gender, make up Category III. The vast majority of epicenes in Welsh are masculine, though a very few are feminine, such as *cennad* ‘messenger, ambas-

sador' and *seren* 'star'. Many epicenes, identified in the table as IIIa, have the ending –ydd; these differ from category IIa in having no corresponding feminine. A morphological peculiarity of epicenes in –ydd is the variability in the way their plural is formed. For some, the plural suffix –ion is used, e.g., *gwleidydd* (pl. *gwleidyddion*) 'politician', but more often the plural is suppletive, borrowing the suffix –wyr from Category I, e.g., *cydlynnydd* (pl. *cydlynwyr*) 'coordinator'; for still others there is variation between these two endings, e.g., *gohebydd* (pl. *gohebyddion* or *gohebwyrr*) 'reporter'.

The majority of epicenes in –ydd are also agentives, e.g., *cyfieithydd* 'translator' (cf. *cyfieithu* 'to translate'), *cerflunydd* 'sculptor' (cf. *cerflunio* 'to sculpt'), but there are exceptions. Some are based on nouns, e.g., *colofnydd* 'columnist' (cf. *colofn* 'column'), and others are borrowed from or analogous to English words in –ist, e.g., *pianydd* 'pianist', *therapydd* 'therapist', *economegydd* 'economist'. There are many epicenes that do not display the ending –ydd (Category IIIb), and these are generally not agentives, e.g., *bardd* (pl. *beirdd*) 'poet', *llenor* (pl. *llenorion*) 'author, literary writer'. As was the case with nouns in category IIb, these have diverse origins. Some use a suffix that is no longer productive (–og and –or) while others are monomorphemic (e.g., *bardd*) and some are loanwords (*cwsmer* 'customer' and *ficcer* 'vicar' are from English).

Finally, Category IV is formed by preposing a word for 'man' or 'woman' to a noun. There is some variation in which word is used (usually *dyn* though occasionally *gŵr* for 'man', variably *merch*, *gwraig*, *menyw*, or *dynes* for 'woman'), e.g., *dyn tân* 'fireman', *dyn busnes* or *gŵr busnes* 'businessman', *dyn bara* 'baker (lit. bread man)'. This pattern has connotations of informality because most such terms have more precise equivalents that would be preferred in formal language (e.g., *ymladdwr tân* 'fire fighter' instead of *dyn tân* 'fireman').

All four of these patterns can be considered productive to some degree, in that each has certainly acquired new members in the twentieth century (though categories IIb and IIIb tend to acquire new members by borrowing rather than by derivation, because most of the derived terms in these categories use a nonproductive suffix such as –or). But the main trend appears to be a competition between two highly productive agentive suffixes, –wr and –ydd. Historically there was no apparent semantic difference between –wr and –ydd apart from their etymological origins; –wr is historically 'man' whereas –ydd is simply from a British Celtic suffix (Jones, 1913, p. 233). Indeed, a number of occupational nouns are attested with both suffixes. Some of these are listed in (5).

(5) Variable-ending occupational nouns

adeiladwr	adeiladydd	'builder'
ariannwr	ariannydd	'cashier'
astrolegwr	astrolegydd	'astrologer'
cemegwr	cemegydd	'chemist'
cerfluniwr	cerflunydd	'sculptor'
cymdeithasegwr	cymdeithasegydd	'sociologist'
daearegwr	daearegydd	'geologist'
darllenwr	darllenydd	'reader (university rank)'
syifaenwr	syifaenydd	'founder'
technegwr	technegydd	'technician'
trydanwr	trydanydd	'electrician'

It is undoubtedly this variation between –wr and –ydd that gave rise to the anomalous plurals of category IIIa, namely those singulars in –ydd that have plurals not in –yddion but in –wyr. In a few cases this variation has led to anomalous feminines too. A female baker (or a baker’s wife) is a *pobwraig*, but the usual masculine today is *pobydd*, not *pobwr*.

In other cases the two suffixes are used to create a lexical contrast, though the nature of this contrast is not consistent in all resulting noun pairs. In a few cases the forms are both human occupational nouns that have acquired slightly different meanings:

- (6) a. peiriannydd/peiriannwr
 ‘engineer’/‘machinist’
- b. ysgrifennydd/ysgrifennwr
 ‘secretary’/‘writer’
- c. adarydd/adarwr
 ‘ornithologist’/‘fowler, bird-catcher’

The pair can also be used to contrast a human occupational noun (in –wr/–wraig) with the name of an inanimate tool or device (in –ydd):⁷

- (7) golchwr (pl. golchwyr)/golchydd (pl. -ion)
 ‘washer (person)’/‘washer, washing machine’

Sometimes it is only in the plural that this animate-inanimate contrast is made, because the singulars both end in –ydd:

- (8) cynhyrhydd (pl. -ion)/cynhyrchydd (pl. cynhyrchwyr)
 ‘(electrical) generator’/‘producer (e.g., in the film industry)’

Exceptionally, even forms in –wr sometimes have nonhuman applications, and here no animate-inanimate contrast can be made even in the plural, which is always in –wyr:

- (9) Names of instruments in –wr

daliwr penseli (pl. dalwyr penseli)	‘pencil holder’
hogwr pensel (pl. hogwyr penseli)	‘pencil sharpener’
agorwr poteli (pl. agorwyr poteli)	‘bottle-opener’
taniwr sigarets (pl. tanwyr sigarets)	‘cigarette lighter’
cf. taniwr (pl. tanwyr)	‘stoker, fireman (on a locomotive)’

⁷ The suffix –ydd is frequently used to derive the names of instruments or tools, and the plural in this case is consistently in –ion, e.g., *cyflymydd* ‘accelerator’, *gwresogydd* ‘heater’, *recordydd tâp* ‘tape recorder’, *hofrenydd* ‘helicopter’, *darseinydd* ‘loudspeaker’, *cynhwysydd* ‘container’, *diffoddydd* ‘fire extinguisher’, *diaroglydd* ‘deodorant’.

In terms of its morphological behavior it could be said that *-ydd* represents two homophonous suffixes, one of which occurs as the masculine term in the pair *-ydd/-yddes* (category IIa), and the other of which is a marker of epicenes that, though grammatically masculine, can refer to persons of either sex (category IIIa). Whether an occupational noun in *-ydd* belongs to category IIa or IIIa is arbitrary because there is no way to know just by looking at one whether it will have a feminine in *-es* or not. In fact, category membership is not completely rigid, with some nouns able to behave either way. Thus, ‘the (female) typist’ can be called either *y teipydd* or *y deipyddes*, and the woman functioning as the chairperson can be either *y cadeirydd* or *y gadeiryddes*.⁸ A large majority of occupational nouns in *-ydd* are never feminized though, so ‘the (female) translator’ is always *y cyfieithydd* and never **y gyfieithyddes*.⁹ For this reason it seems safe to say that category IIa is much less productive than category IIIa.

Thus, at the risk of oversimplifying, the trend in Welsh occupational nouns today appears to be a competition between overt inflection for sex of the referent, using *-wr/-wraig*, and neutralizing the reference to biological sex by using the epicene suffix *-ydd*.

In the next section, we will examine the degree to which a sampling of contemporary Welsh language journalism conforms to or deviates from the patterns outlined here.

3. Reference to professional and working women in contemporary Welsh journalism

In this section I will examine some areas of variation in reference to professional women in a corpus of contemporary Welsh-language journalism. The corpus consists of more than 40 issues each of two Welsh-language weeklies, the newspaper *Y Cymro* and the newsmagazine *Golwg*, both of which were available to me in paper editions drawn from the period 2000–2008. An Access database was created into which occupational nouns used in reference to individual, specific women were entered. Each record in the database includes the occupational noun and its date and issue of appearance, as well as a sentence-length context. Any given occupational noun was entered up to a dozen times; this means that those of low frequency were entered every time they occurred (except that multiple occurrences in the same article and in reference to the same woman were entered only once).¹⁰ The database consists of over 600 entries.

There are of course some limitations to the use of such a corpus. Journalistic writing is a specific register that may or may not mirror everyday spoken usage. For instance, some

⁸ Thomas (1996, p. 148) notes that feminization can be a productive process since people may opt to feminize certain professional names out of sensitivity. He gives the following examples of recently formed feminines: *cadeiryddes* ‘chairwoman’, *comediwraig* ‘comediienne’, and *cynghorwraig* ‘counsellor’.

⁹ The behavior of any particular noun must be learned from usage, since grammars never give more than a handful of examples, and the majority of Welsh dictionaries give feminine forms only sporadically if at all. The most widely used dictionary, Evans and Thomas (1996), does not even give the traditional *ysgrifenyddes* ‘secretary (fem.)’, but only *ysgrifennydd*. Two Welsh dictionaries do list feminines, for the most part: Griffiths & Jones (1995), and the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* or University of Wales Dictionary (Thomas, Bevan, & Donovan, 1967–2002), though in the latter feminine forms are simply listed inside a larger article treating the masculine, with no further information provided. It is thus impossible for the reader to know which feminines are used systematically and which are possible but infrequent.

¹⁰ Since this is not a quantitative study there was no point of making note of every occurrence of the handful of occupational nouns which are extremely frequent in the corpus. Also excluded were occupational nouns occurring in job ads, since the focus of this study is on references to specific women occurring in journalism, not to the administrative language of job ads.

newspapers editors make general decisions about such matters as feminization of occupational nouns. However, the corpus used in this study reveals, by its very variability, that no across-the-board policies relating to feminization were applied in these publications. Indeed, we will see that there is sometimes variation for a single writer and within a single article.¹¹

Another limitation of a journalistic corpus is that some terms are far more likely to occur than others. Occupational nouns referring to Welsh politics and popular culture are frequent because those areas are regularly covered in these publications. References to women lawyers, cooks, and caretakers are considerably less frequent because such people are not customarily mentioned in the press unless they do something deemed newsworthy.

Upon examination of references to working and professional women in the contemporary Welsh press, it becomes apparent that such references are more variable than the traditional descriptions suggest. Occupational nouns occurring in the corpus can be categorized in three groups. The first group, presented in (10), includes the small number of occupational nouns which are consistently feminized when the referent is a woman.

(10) Invariable use of feminine in reference to a female jobholder

actores	‘actress’
arbenigwraig	‘expert, specialist’
athrawes ¹²	‘teacher (in primary or secondary education)’
cantores	‘singer’
hyfforddwraig	‘coach, trainer, instructor’
perfformwraig	‘performer’
telynnores	‘harpist’

It is interesting that four of the seven terms (‘actress’, ‘singer’, ‘performer’, ‘harpist’) refer to the entertainment business, and a fifth is a stereotypically feminine occupation (‘teacher’). Some of these terms occur with very high frequency, especially *actores* ‘actress’ and *cantores* ‘singer’, found in nearly every issue of the two publications. On the other hand, the terms *arbenigwraig* ‘expert, specialist’, *perfformwraig* ‘performer’, and *hyfforddwraig* ‘coach, trainer’ occur only five or six times each. The fact that the masculine forms of these have not been found in reference to a woman could thus simply be an accident of the data.

The second category contains occupational nouns for which no feminine form occurs in the corpus; in other words, the masculine is used as epicene. Those that occur five or more times in reference to a woman are given in (11).¹³ It is noteworthy that two terms in this list do in fact have attested feminines, according to dictionaries and descriptive grammars. For *cerddor* ‘musician’ the traditional feminine is *cerddores*, and for *nofelydd* ‘novelist’ there is variation between *nofeles* and *nofelwraig*. These feminines do not, however, occur in the journalistic corpus.

¹¹ Although no comparisons are made with other registers in this article, it is my impression that unplanned, everyday use of Welsh is no less variable than what is found in the corpus with respect to feminization.

¹² As mentioned earlier, a woman is always called an *athro* (n.m.) when she is a college professor but an *athrawes* (n.f.) when she teaches primary or secondary school. Thus, it seems best to consider these terms to be two different occupational nouns (at least when the jobholder is a woman).

¹³ Some of the terms listed in (11) occur far more often than five times, e.g., *gweinidog* ‘minister’ (given the regular coverage of politics), whereas a few occur only the five-time minimum, e.g., *therapydd* ‘therapist’.

The third category contains occupational nouns the use of whose feminine form is variable. In other words, women jobholders are not always referred to with an overtly marked feminine occupational noun even when one is available and well established. Not infrequently a woman is simply referred to in the corpus using what is traditionally a masculine form. Some of these are presented in Table 3, with feminine forms in the lefthand column, masculine forms in the middle, and English glosses on the right. The table is further divided according to apparent journalistic preferences. In some cases the feminine is more common in reference to a female than the masculine, in others the reverse is true, and in still other cases no clear preference emerges. A fourth group corresponds to those which occur fewer than five times and for which no inferences about a preferred form can safely be drawn.

(11) Masculine epicenes with no feminines attested in the corpus

arlunydd	‘artist’
artist	‘artist’
athro	‘professor’
bardd	‘poet’
cerddor	‘musician’
cyfieithydd	‘translator’
cynhyrchydd	‘producer’
cynghorydd	‘advisor’
enillydd	‘winner’
gohebydd	‘reporter’
golygydd	‘editor’
gweinidog	‘minister’
nofelydd	‘novelist’
pennaeth	‘chairperson, head’
swyddog	‘officer, official’
therapydd	‘therapist’
trefnydd	‘organizer’
ymchwilydd	‘researcher’
ymgeisydd	‘applicant, candidate’
ymgyngorydd	‘advisor, counselor’

The variable (non-epicene) morphological categories discussed in section 2 are all represented in Table 3: category I (e.g., *athletwr/athletwraig* ‘athlete’), category IIa (e.g., *cogydd/cogyddes* ‘cook’), category IIb (e.g., *perchennog/perchnoges* ‘owner’). The exception, not surprisingly, is category IV; it would be totally unexpected for a woman to be referred to with a term such as *dyn tân* ‘fireman’, and no such uses have been encountered. In addition to the regular variable categories just mentioned, there are several examples from the corpus in which the masculine and feminine endings come from different sets, e.g., *perffeithydd/perffeithwraig* ‘perfectionist’.

It seems least surprising to find feminines in *-yddes* (category IIa) that are variable, because it would appear to be simply a matter of reclassifying these as epicenes in *-ydd* (category IIIa), a group that is already quite large. For instance, although the overtly feminine

cogyddes ‘cook’ is well established, the following shows the grammatically masculine *cogydd* in reference to a woman:

- (12) Daeth o hyd i’w mama, a oedd wedi colli popeth, yn gweithio fel **cogydd** i uned o Brydain yn yr Almaen.
 ‘She found her mother, who had lost everything, working as a cook in a British unit in Germany.’ (*Golwg*, February 14, 2008, p. 24)

It is less expected to find references to women using occupational nouns in –wr, given that such use goes unacknowledged in Welsh grammars, and masculines in –wr have a ready feminine in –wraig. Yet such uses occur rather frequently in the corpus, as indicated in (13)–(16).

Masculine preferred over feminine		
arweinyddes	arweinydd	‘leader’
cadeiryddes	cadeirydd	‘chairperson’
perchnoges	perchennog	‘owner’
darlithwraig	darlithydd	‘lecturer’
llefaryraig	llefarydd	‘spokesperson’
Feminine preferred over masculine		
athletwraig	athletwr	‘athlete’
cogyddes	cogydd	‘cook’
gweithwraig	gweithiwr	‘worker’
myfyrwraig	myfyriwr	‘student’
newyddiadurwraig	newyddiadurwr	‘journalist’
pencampwraig	pencampwr	‘champion’
Both masculine and feminine are frequent (no clear preference)		
awdures	awdur	‘author’
cyfarwyddwraig	cyfarwyddwr	‘director’
cyflwynwraig	cyflwynydd	‘presenter, host’
cynllunwraig	cynllunydd	‘designer’
gweithredwraig	gweithredwr	‘executive’
rheolwraig	rheolwr	‘manager’
Too few occurrences to determine a journalistic preference		
arolygwaig	arolygydd	‘inspector’
colofnwraig	colofnydd	‘columnist’
cyfreithwraig	cyfreithiwr	‘lawyer’
darllenwraig	darlennydd	‘reader’
dylunwraig	dylunydd	‘designer’
glanhawraig	glanhawr	‘cleaning woman’
gofalwraig	gofalwr	‘caretaker, custodian’
llysgenhades	llysgennad	‘ambassador’
paentwraig	paentiwr	‘painter’
perffeithwraig	perffeithydd	‘perfectionist’
trysoryddes	trysorydd	‘treasurer’
ymgyrchwraig	ymgyrchydd	‘campaigner’

Table 3: Attested variable occupational nouns used in reference to women

- (13) Dechreuodd Iona, sy'n 41 oed, ei gyrfa ym myd darlledu fel **newyddiadurwr** gyda BBC Cymru.
'Iona, who is 41, began her career in the world of broadcasting as a journalist with BBC Wales.' (*Y Cymro*, June 8, 2005, p. 18)
- (14) . . . yn sgwrsio gyda **chyfarwyddwr** rhaglennu'r ganolfan, Fiona Allan. (*Golwg*, June 28, 2007, p. 28)
' . . . chatting with the center's programs director, Fiona Allan.'
- (15) Mae ei chwaer, Catrin ferch Gwilym, yn **weithiwr cymdeithasol** gyda Chyngor Sir Dinbych. (*Golwg* August 1, 2004, p. 20)
'Her sister, Catrin Williams, is a social worker with Denbighshire Council.'
- (16) "Rydym yn falch iawn o'r ffordd yr ydym yn gwasanaethu ein cwsmeriaid," meddai **rheolwr y siop**, Judy Horne. (*Golwg*, January 31, 2008, p. 30)
"“We are very proud of the way we serve our customers,” said the shop manager, Judy Horne.'

The usual feminines *newyddiadurwraig* 'journalist', *cyfarwyddwraig* 'director', *gweithwraig* 'worker' (as well as *gweithwraig gymdeithasol* 'social worker (f)'), and *rheolwraig* 'manager' would have been completely unproblematic had they been used in the above texts, yet the writers in these cases instead used the masculines in -wr. Even though Welsh grammars continue to present the paired suffixes -wr/-wraig as referring to male and female jobholders, respectively, the data presented here clearly reveal a system that is considerably more variable and that allows reference to the jobholder's sex to be neutralized by using the masculine as epicene.

A writer's motive for choosing whether or not to use an overtly marked feminine is sometimes apparent in context. The message in the above quotations seems to be that the jobholder's sex in such cases is irrelevant. In (16), for instance, it makes no difference to the story whether the shop manager is a man or a woman.

In other cases the choice appears quite deliberate and the contrast is deployed in a meaningful way. For instance, there are athletic events in which men and women compete against each other, and events that are limited to female or to male athletes. In (17), the use of the feminine *rhedwraig* 'runner' instead of the masculine *rhedwr* has the function of picking out only the female participants in the event:

- (17) Doedd neb wedi clywed amdani cyn iddi orffen marathon Llundain o flaen pob **rhedwraig** arall o wledydd Prydain ym mis Ebrill eleni. (*Golwg*, August 26, 2004, p. 7)
'No one had heard of her until she finished the London Marathon before every other [female] runner of the British Isles in April this year.'

But use of the masculine singular in (18) and plural in (19) suggests that the women in question are the best not just among women in the category but among men as well:

- (18) Rhian Pugh oedd yr **athletwr** cynta' erioed o wledydd Prydain i ennill medal aur ... (*Golwg*, July 24, 2004, p. 19)
 'Rhian Pugh was the first athlete from the British Isles ever to win a gold medal ...'
- (19) Daeth Delia Smith yn un o'r **cogyddion** gorau ar y teledu. (*Y Cymro*, September 2, 2000, p. 21)
 'Delia Smith became one of the best cooks on television.'

The clear implication in (18) is that Rhian Pugh was the first British athlete of either sex to win a gold medal in her category. Use of the feminine plural *cogyddesau* in (19) would have implied that Delia Smith became one of the best *female* cooks on television, but not necessarily one of the best cooks overall. In both of these cases, use of the masculine seems necessary to get the desired reading.

In some instances, a well-placed feminine form is used deliberately to foreground the sex of the jobholder. In (20) I give the opening lines of an article in which the kickboxing champion's sex is highly relevant to the story, which relates that male opponents often backed out of a fight as soon as they learned that their would-be opponent was a woman. The initial feminine form is thus quite significant. It is instructive that in the very next sentence, the same woman is referred to using the masculine form:¹⁴

- (20) Mae **pencampwraig** bocsiu cic o'r Gogledd yn barod i ymladd unrhywun yn y wlad. Dywedodd Kath Davies, sy'n **bencampwr** pwysau welter Prydeinig ...
 'A female kickboxing champion from the North is ready to fight anyone in the country. Kath Davies, who is the British welterweight champion, said ...' (*Y Cymro*, August 1, 2000, p. 1)

But it is not always so obvious that use of the feminine reflects a particular focus on the jobholder's sex. In the following quotes from a piece about the media personality Nia Roberts, the feminine and masculine forms seem to be used more or less interchangeably:

- (21) [F]e gychwynnodd ei gyrfa fel **cyflwynydd** teledu yng nghanol yr 1980au ar y rhaglen i blant yn eu harddegau, *Chwarter Call*. Erbyn hyn, mae ei chydweithwyr yn sôn am **gyflwynwraig** 'hollol broffesiynol', sydd ar ei gorau'n gweithio'n fyw ac yn tynnu straeon allan o bobl. [...] Ond os yw'r enw 'Nia Roberts' yn gyfarwydd iawn erbyn hyn, fe fu yna gyfnod pan oedd y **gyflwynwraig** yn cael ei nabod fel 'Nia Chiswell'. [...] On'd yw bywyd **cyflwynydd** enwog yn llawn cyffro, d'wedwch? (*Golwg*, January 17, 2002, p. 12)
 'Her career as a **television host** began in the 1980s on the program for teenagers, *Chwarter Call*. Nowadays her coworkers refer to her as an 'entirely professional' **hostess** who is at her best working live and in getting stories out of people. [...] But if the name 'Nia Roberts' is very well known these days, there was a time when the **hostess** was known as 'Nia Chiswell.' [...] Isn't the life of a famous **host** full of excitement?'

¹⁴ I have been unable to determine whether Kath Davies is the British welterweight kickboxing champion for both sexes, or whether the masculine was used here simply because the point about her sex was already made in the preceding sentence.

It is difficult to justify the particular choices here of the masculine or feminine forms as backgrounding or foregrounding the sex of the jobholder; this appears to be little more than stylistic variation or personal choice of the journalist. The last occurrence is a possible exception; if read as a generic, referring not just to female television hosts but to hosts of either sex indifferently, choice of the masculine is motivated by linguistic convention.

Above I referred to use of the overtly feminine *cantores*, *actores*, or *telynores* as categorical, but if this is so in the singular it is not so in the plural. It is not difficult to find a group of actresses referred to collectively as *actorion* rather than *actoresau* as in (22), where the referent is three young women, or a group of female harpists called *telynorion* instead of the feminine plural *telynoresau* (23):

- (22) ... rhaid ni brofi'n hunain fel **actorion**, a **chfarwyddwyr**, a **sgriptiwy** cystadleuol yn y byd proffesiynol. (*Golwg*, April 15, 2004, pp. 20–21)
 '... we must prove ourselves as competitive actors, directors and scriptwriters in the professional world.'
- (23) Athrawes a dwy o'i disgyblion oedd y **telynorion** teires oedd yn cystadlu am wobrgoffa John Weston Thomas ... (*Golwg*, August 12, 2004, p. 20)
 'A [female] teacher and two of her [female] pupils were the three-row harpists competing for the John Weston Thomas memorial award ...'

This difference in behavior between the singular and the plural is not especially surprising given that plurals are, by definition, less particularizing. Consider also the following:

- (24) ... gyda chymorth pedair dawnswraig sy'n **bencampwyr** ar fod yn cheerleaders. (*Golwg*, August 19, 2004, p. 18)
 '... with the help of four female dancers who are champions at being cheerleaders.'
- (25) Gwelir llawer mwy o ferched yn gweithio fel **cyfreithwyr**, **ymladdwyr** tân, **peirianwyr**, uwch **reolwyr**, Aelodau Seneddol, meddygon. (*Y Cymro*, January 20, 2001, p. 20)
 'A lot more women can be seen working as lawyers, firefighters, engineers, upper level managers, members of the Assembly, doctors.'

Feminine plurals may also be dispreferred simply because the suffix *-wagedd* is considerably longer and 'heavier' than the corresponding masculine suffix *-wyr*. The feminine plural suffix may seem unnecessarily tedious or cumbersome in a case like (24) where the sex of the referents is already clearly expressed, from both *dawnswraig* and also the form of the number 'four' (cf. masculine *pedwar*, feminine *pedair*). And in (25), the feminine would sound quite repetitive, where the suffix *-wagedd* would need to be used four times in a row.

To summarize the discussion so far, we have seen that overtly marked feminine forms are not always used even when they are available and well established, and this emerges as an important pattern in the journalistic corpus sampled. There is a second trend observed in the corpus that, though much less frequent, must be mentioned as well, namely the appear-

ance of previously unattested epicenes in –ydd where an occupational noun in –wr/–wraig represents established and traditional usage. Attested cases are listed in (26).

In other words, these occupational nouns are going in the same direction as *waiter* ~ *waitress* or *steward* ~ *stewardess* in English, whose replacement by *server* and *flight attendant*, respectively, is well under way in the first case and more or less complete in the second (although in the Welsh examples identified here, it is only the suffix, not the entire term, which is new). The clear effect of these neologisms in –ydd is to neutralize the reference to sex. This is particularly important in job ads, a context in which some of these words (especially *cynorthwydd* and *gweinyddydd*) are common.

(26) Neologistic epicenes attested in the corpus

<i>Established form</i>	<i>Neologism</i>	<i>English</i>
arbenigwr (f. –wraig)	arbenigydd	‘specialist, expert’
cynorthwywr (f. –wraig)	cynorthwydd ¹⁵	‘assistant, helper’
cyflogwr (f. –wraig)	cyflogydd ¹⁶	‘employer’
gweinyddwr (f. –wraig)	gweinyddydd	‘administrator’
rheolwr (f. –wraig)	rheolydd	‘manager’
cyfarwyddwr (f. –wraig)	cyfarwyddydd	‘director’

The ending –ydd is perceived as more ‘neutral’ than the suffix –wr (Thomas, 1996, p. 148, Gruffudd, 2000, p. 178) because, despite their being grammatically masculine, most words in –ydd are epicene and thus give no information about the sex of the jobholder. It is more difficult (though obviously not impossible, given the data examined above) to get such a neutral reading from –wr, whose historical relationship to the word *gŵr* ‘man’ is still transparent; it seems likely that an occupational noun in –wr predisposes a reader or hearer to a masculine interpretation, at least until there is evidence to the contrary. The suffix –ydd, on the other hand, is so comfortably neutral as to sex for so many occupational nouns that any inferences about the jobholder’s sex must come from somewhere besides the label itself.

Both of these trends, using a masculine form to refer to a female jobholder even when a feminine equivalent is readily available, and creating new epicenes in –ydd, suggest a contemporary preference for neutralizing overt reference to the biological sex of the jobholder. There are several possible reasons why such use of epicenes should come to be preferred over the opposite solution, overt marking of sex on all occupational nouns. The likely reinforcing effect of intense contact with English cannot be discounted, as all Welsh speakers in Great Britain today are fluent in English. English is a language in which occupational nouns are almost always epicene, and the few that are not have either dropped out of use entirely (*manageress*, *huntress*, *headmistress*, *stewardess*, *administratrix*, *instructress*) or are well on their way to doing so (*chairman/chairwoman* is increasingly replaced by *chair*, *waiter/waitress* by *server*). The fact that the dominant language of the United Kingdom has coped with gender issues in the workplace in part by preferring epicenes and eliminating

¹⁵ This is often spelled with a hyphen, i.e., *cynorthwy-ydd*, to break up the double <y> sequence that does not generally occur in the language.

¹⁶ This appears in the phrase *Cyflogydd Cyfleoedd Cyfartal* ‘Equal Opportunity Employer’ that appears in job ads placed by the University of Wales, e.g., *Golwg* June 28, 2007, p. 22.

overtly marked feminines cannot be considered irrelevant in analyzing the motives, subconscious or otherwise, for evolving Welsh norms.

But there are also linguistic considerations that may have come into play in this Welsh preference for epicenes. Welsh differs significantly from some other European languages in the ways pronominal reference interacts with grammatical gender. In a language like French, for instance, pronouns are traditionally expected to reflect the grammatical gender of the noun to which they refer, even when this conflicts with the real-world sex of the referent. Thus, one can end up with the undesirable situation in which the doctor who happens to be a woman must nonetheless be referred to with masculine pronouns because of the grammatical gender of *le médecin*. In Welsh, on the other hand, this simply does not happen because personal pronouns regularly refer to the biological sex of the referent, regardless of the grammatical gender of any contextual linguistic labels.¹⁷ This can be seen in the following examples (the words presenting an apparent conflict are italicised in both the Welsh and the English translation):

- (27) ... meddai Llinos Roberts, *meddyg teulu* wrth *ei gwaith* bob dydd ...
 ‘... said Llinos Roberts, a *family doctor* at *her work* every day ...’
 (*Busnesa*, published with *Golwg*, August 1, 2004)
- (28) Meri Huws oedd yr *ymgeisydd cynta*’ i gael *ei chyfweld* am ddeg y bore...
 ‘Meri Huws was the *first applicant* to be interviewed (lit. to get *her interviewing*) at ten in the morning...’ (*Golwg*, August 12, 2004, p. 4)

The occurrence of the feminine pronouns is especially striking in that they follow directly upon the masculine noun and its modifier (*teulu* ‘family’ and *cynta* ‘first’ are not lenited, as they would be if they were modifying a feminine noun; in addition, *meddyg* would also be lenited to **feddyg* after the definite article). However, it might appear that the mention of the female jobholder by name, right before the occupational name, is what creates this possibility of pronominal agreement with the real-world referent. The following examples show that this is not so. The real-world person is not named in these sentences, though in (29), (30), and (31) she was named elsewhere in the article:

- (29) [Y]n ninas Birmingham y cafodd *cyflwynydd Lunchtime Requests* *ei magu*.
 ‘The *host* of *Lunchtime Requests* was raised (lit. got *her raising*) in the city of Birmingham.’ (*Golwg*, August 1, 2004, p. 20)
- (30) Dyw’r *awdur* 91 oed o Geredigion byth wedi anghofio cerdded i mewn yn hwyr i ystafell arholiad y Scholarship pan oedd *hi*’n ddeg oed.
 ‘The 91 year old *author* from Ceredigion has never forgotten walking late into the Scholarship examination room when *she* was ten years old.’
 (*Golwg*, April 1, 2004, p. 22)

¹⁷ This claim is entirely based on my observation of the data. I have not found any discussion of this point in any Welsh grammar. It is not clear to me why this is so; do the grammarians take it for granted that everyone will make pronouns agree with real-world referents, despite the fact that so many European languages work differently?

- (31) Mae *arlunydd* sy'n enwog am *ei lluniau* o ddaear canolbarth Cymru yn dweud *ei bod* yn ail feddwl am felinau gwynt. (*Golwg*, January 24, 2008, p. 24)
 'An *artist* who is famous for *her pictures* of mid Wales says that *she* is rethinking windmills.'

The text of (32) is the subtitle of an article, and this is the first indication of the dramatist's sex. And in (33), which is the first sentence of a letter to the editor, the reporter in question is in fact never named at all, and this quote contains the only reference to her sex.

- (32) Pam fod *dramodydd* ifanc o Gymru yn cael *ei denu* i Wyl Caeredin bob blwyddyn?
 'Why does a young *dramatist* from Wales find *herself* drawn (lit. get *her drawing*) to the Edinburgh Festival each year?' (*Golwg*, August 19 2004, p. 23)
- (33) Mae arna' i ofn i'ch *gohebydd* gamddehongli peth o'r hyn a ddywedais *wrthi* mewn cyfweiliad ...
 'I'm afraid your *reporter* misinterpreted some of what I said *to her* in an interview ...' (*Golwg*, March 25, 2004, p. 27)

The point is that such examples are entirely normal in Welsh. In fact, I have not found any examples of a contrary use, where a personal pronoun would refer to grammatical gender rather than to the sex of a real-world human referent. Thus, one must conclude that the biological sex of the referent, and the grammatical gender of a particular linguistic label, are considered different matters in Welsh, with the former taking precedence over the latter in pronominal reference.

This aspect of pronoun use may go a long way toward explaining why Welsh speakers today have come to accept words that are grammatically masculine being applied to referents of either sex. In this light it can be instructive to compare the usage of political titles in Wales versus those in France. The gender of *ministre* was a significant issue in France when Edith Cresson became the first female French Prime Minister in 1991, and even more so when Lionel Jospin appointed a number of women to ministerial positions in his cabinet (Yaguello, 1998). Several of the women were well-known feminists who insisted on being called *Madame la ministre*, despite the fact that *ministre* was traditionally a masculine noun only; the ultimate result was that use of *ministre* as feminine came to be nearly universally accepted in the French press. In Welsh, however, Margaret Thatcher was simply *y Prif Weinidog*, with no attempt to feminize this title:

- (34) Margaret Thatcher oedd y *Prif Weinidog* hiraf *ei gwasanaeth* ers dros 150 mlynedd a'r wraig gyntaf erioed i gymryd y swydd.¹⁸
 'Margaret Thatcher was the longest serving Prime Minister (lit. the *Prime Minister* longest *her* service) in over 150 years and the first woman to ever hold the position.' (<http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page13172.asp>)

¹⁸ The word for 'minister', *gweinidog*, is here lenited because of the pronominal adjective *prif*. However, it is clear that *gweinidog* is grammatically masculine, because the adjective would lenite after the definite article if it were feminine, cf. *y prifathro* 'the headmaster' vs *y brifathrawes* 'the headmistress'.

Because Welsh personal pronouns are readily allowed (indeed, expected) to ignore grammatical gender and mark biological sex, as seen in *ei gwasanaeth* ‘her service’ (cf. *ei wasanaeth* ‘his service’), the fact that the title *Y Prif Weinidog* ‘The Prime Minister’ is grammatically masculine seems rather unimportant. The same is true of other ministerial positions. There have been in recent times a number of women holding the title of minister in Britain or Wales such as Jenny Randerson, whose title is *y Gweinidog Diwylliant* ‘the Minister of Culture’ and Karen Sinclair, called *y Gweinidog Busnes* ‘the Minister of Business’, both grammatically masculine in Welsh, but apparently quite unproblematically.

4. Summary and conclusions

An examination of contemporary Welsh-language periodicals, namely a sampling of issues of *Golwg* and *Y Cymro* from the period 2001–2008, reveals a distinct preference for epicene occupational nouns that are grammatically masculine but that can be used to refer to jobholders of either sex. This preference was shown in two ways: (1) for some occupational nouns with traditional and established masculine and feminine forms, it is possible to refer to women using either of these forms, suggesting that the masculine form in such pairs is becoming an epicene and the traditional feminine an increasingly marked choice; (2) for some occupational nouns traditionally ending in *-wr*, a competitor in *-ydd* has recently appeared. The suffix *-ydd* is far more easily construed as an epicene than is *-wr*, because *-wr* is transparently derived from the word *gŵr* ‘man’ and tends to set up the expectation of a feminine in *-wraig*, derived from *gwraig* ‘woman’, whereas *-ydd* is well-established as an epicene agentive suffix.

Two possible reasons for this preference were identified. The first is that all Welsh speakers in Great Britain today are also fluent in English, a language in which epicene occupational nouns are the norm and the strong tendency has been to neutralize references to a jobholder’s sex. Although the Welsh language cannot go as far as English in this regard because Welsh has grammatical gender in which every noun is necessarily either masculine or feminine, Welsh has been able to relegate this matter to the realm of grammar in that it freely allows personal pronouns with human reference to agree, not with the grammatical gender of a particular contextual linguistic label (such as an occupational noun), but with the biological sex of the referent.

References

- Awbery, G., Jones, K., & Morris, D. (2001). The politics of language and gender in Wales. In M. Hellinger & H. Busmann (Eds.), *Gender across languages: The linguistic representation of women and men*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 313–330.
- Campbell, C. (2000). Menter Cwm Gwendraeth: A community-based attempt at reversing language shift. In P. W. Thomas & J. Mathias (Eds.), *Developing minority languages: The proceedings of the fifth international conference on minority languages*. Llandysul: Gomer Press, 207–223.
- Evans, D. S. (1989). *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Evans, H. M., & Thomas, W. O. (1996). *Y Geiriadur Mawr: The complete Welsh-English, English-Welsh dictionary*. Abertawe (Swansea): C. Davies.

- Griffiths, B., & Jones, D. G. (1995). *The Welsh Academy English-Welsh dictionary*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Gruffudd, H. (2000). *Cymraeg Da: A Welsh grammar for learners*. Talybont: Y Lolfa.
- Jones, J. M. (1913). *A Welsh grammar: Historical and comparative*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- King, G. (1993). *Modern Welsh: A comprehensive grammar*. New York: Routledge.
- King, G. (2000). *The pocket Modern Welsh dictionary*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, D. G. (1994). *Geiriadur Gomer i'r Ifanc*. Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer.
- Morgan, T. (2000). Welsh in the workplace: A study of the Gwendraeth valley, south Wales. In P. W. Thomas and J. Mathias (Eds.), *Developing minority languages: The proceedings of the fifth international conference on minority languages*. Llandysul: Gomer Press, 224–231.
- Office for National Statistics. (2004). *Census 2001: Report on the Welsh language*. United Kingdom: National Statistics. Retrieved from http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/census2001/Report_on_the_Welsh_language.pdf.
- Thomas, P. W. (1996). *Gramadeg y Gymraeg*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Thomas, R. J., Bevan, G. A., & Donovan, P. J. (1967–2002). *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*. University of Wales Press.
- Thorne, D. A. (1993). *A comprehensive Welsh grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Yaguello, M. (1998). Madame la Ministre. In *Petits faits de langue*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 118–139.