Welsh, like the other Celtic languages, is a VSO language, with a verb or an auxiliary in pre-subject position in all finite clauses, both main and subordinate. It is also notable, like the other Celtic languages, for word-initial consonant alternations known as mutations. In addition, it has an interesting set of agreement processes, again like the other Celtic languages. The talk will look at all three phenomena and the relations between them and consider what sorts of analyses might be appropriate.